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Identities in Media and Music

Case-studies from (Trans)national, Regional and Local Communities

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Introduction: »Identities in media and music. Case-studies from (trans)national, regional and local communities«

Verena Molitor and Chiara Pierobon

This volume of InterDisciplines includes some among the most compelling contributions presented during an international workshop on »National, regional and local identity/ies in media and music—Evidence from Europe and Russia,« held in December 2012 at Bielefeld University with the support of the Center for German and European Studies (CGES/ZDES) and the Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology (BGHS). The workshop brought together more than 20 doctoral, post-doctoral and senior researchers from 13 countries working in the fields of sociology, history, linguistics and literature, media and communication. The aim of the workshop was a comparative analysis of the contributions of media and music to the creation and articulation of identity on the national, regional and (trans-)local level. The following four main questions were addressed in the course of the workshop, these are also the central questions for this volume:

a) How do media and music take part in the production and dissemination of national, regional and (trans)local identity/ies?

b) What kinds of imaginary geographies and mythologizing narratives are constructed and spread through media and music?

c) How are these media embedded locally, nationally and transnationally; what is their relationship to institutions and power and which technological and financial means do they have at their disposal?

d) Which methods can be employed and which are the methodological challenges faced by researchers of this topic?

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In different research contexts, it is often stated that media and music influence the formation and construction of identities. It has also been asserted that it is possible to recognize a special coherence between national/regional/local identities and »their« media and music and that new forms of identities can be transported and formatted through media and music. Collective identity and in some respect also national/regional/local identity is described as a human conception of equality or homogeneity with other human beings or groups (Wagner 1998, 46–70). The process of collective identity formation is described by Frank Berge and Alexander Grasse as a »[…] dual process that on the one hand contains the act of separation, i.e. differentiation and disentanglement, and on the other hand the act of assimilation and homogenization« (Berge and Grasse 2003, 78).[1]

National identity is a special form of collective identity. According to Anderson, nations and, therefore, nation-based identities are »cultural artefacts« of a particular kind, which emerged

> towards the end of the eighteenth century from spontaneous distillation of a complex »crossing« of discrete historical forces but that, once created, became »modular,« capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations. (Anderson 1983, 14)

Nations are, Anderson says, »imagined« because »the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear from them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion« (ibid., 16). An important moment of the formation of national identity is the reference to common symbols, rituals and myths (Naglo 2007, 86–87). Furthermore, national identities always refer to territory, because a nation implies a territorial boundary. This marking of

1 All translations from the German by Verena Molitor.

boundaries has a central function in th expression of national identity (Hepp 2003, 99).

Regional and local identities—the local space being the next smaller entity of a region—are also a special form of collective identity, because a region or a local area is also separated from other regions or the country and there is perhaps an act of assimilation with the people who live in the same region and have some attributes in common. Regional identity is always localized, since the region always imposes a territorial boundary. This marking of boundaries has a central meaning in the expression of regional identities (Hepp 2003, 99). Regional identities also develop via external factors such as cultural and linguistic similarities or the feeling of common oppression. Regional and local identities tend to become stronger when they are questioned from outside.

In some papers in this issue (Damiens, Ventsel), minorities—especially regional minorities—play a specific role. Coray states »a minority exists only in relation to a majority« (Coray 1999, 183) and minorities have very different positions in different societies. Minorities may be ethnic, linguistic, national, regional, etc. and may develop out of shifting boundaries, overlap of national boundaries and community boundaries or migration (Boden 1993, 19).

To differentiate local and national identities, Andreas Hepp wrote in his article on deterritorialization and the adoption of media identity »that while local identities refer to experienced community on the basis of face-to-face contacts, concepts of national identity are transported via medial representations« (Hepp 2003, 98). Therefore, the media often delimit the area members of a region live in and forms their recognition of community.

The formation of national/regional/local identities can be affected by media and music. Indeed, media and music may provide the orientation necessary to delimit values and standards and to communicate traditions (but also construct und reconstruct them), bounding the area of our conceivable realities (Hipfl 2004, 16). As a result, individuals or even groups take up the symbols of identity supplied by the media and incor-

porate them into their own identity (Christmann 2003, 154). Brigitte Hipfl, in her article on medial spaces of identity, describes how the media even constructs geopolitical areas by the way in which they report (Hipfl 2004, 16). Furthermore, the media brings together different territories with certain behaviors, peoples and cultural practices and present areas differently in various comparisons with other areas (ibid.).

Bohlman focuses on the contribution of music in the articulation of national identity. For the author, music may »reflect the image of the nation« by referring to something quintessential about the nation, »so that those living in the nation recognize themselves in basic but crucial ways« (Bohlman 2004, 59). The nation may be depicted symbolically, through association with such intangible and specific traits as nature or natural landscape, national or proto-national language, national people and/or a common narrative and historical experience (ibid., 60). Moreover, music may serve a nation-state in its competition with other nation-states and contribute to a struggle over contested territory such as border regions. In this case, »possessing music becomes like possessing land« (ibid., 87). For the author, nationalist music relies on the symbolism of structures that define the nation, create and fabricate an image of the state and enter into public and political rituals, giving »nation« an identity. Nationalist music can mobilize the residents of the state by narrating a historical or political struggle, by identifying the entity against which the nation should fight and by drawing the battle lines, both abstract and real (ibid., 88). According to Cerulo, the articulation of national identity through music is well-exemplified by national anthems, which are able to »unite citizens every time they are performed, bringing citizens together (albeit mentally in many cases) in patriotic community« (Cerulo 1995, 17).

Nonetheless, as highlighted by O'Flynn, the creation of national identity through music—which he defines as musical-national identity—is not a univocal process. Indeed,

> although national identity is often imagined as »fixed,« in reality it comprises multiple identifications that arise from a plurality of social contexts and subject positions. Accordingly, the term »national identity and music« or media more in general can be under-

> stood as a general process by which individuals and groups may come to perceive, cognize and articulate associations between, on the one hand, specifically musical or media phenomena and, on the other hand, wider socio-cultural formations associated with national culture and/or the nation state. (O'Flynn 2007, 25)

Talking about identity and music, O'Flynn introduces the concept of »intercultures«; agencies partaking in the creation of musical-national identities beyond the nation-state (Slobin 1993, 61; cited in O'Flynn 2007, 30). Intercultures are, for instance, multinational corporations that produce music to be sold on the global market. Within this framework, multinational music industries are involved in the formation of »national« musical styles through a process of »glocalization«: »that is, the promotion and production of localized difference for global consumption« (O'Flynn 2007, 29). Other examples of intercultures are transnational diasporic communities which may contribute to the articulation of musical-national identities from outside the borders of the nation-state as well as musicians and audiences of local scenes in which national music is »replicated or adapted in other national-music contexts« (ibid., 31).

In this issue

This issue of *InterDisciplines* includes six contributions that focus on different aspects of identity formation through media and music.

In her paper on »The Myth of European Identity,« **Anna Wiehl** deals with the interdependence of European identity and national and regional identities in a globalized world. As a case study, she uses television news from Bavaria/Alsace, Germany/France and, on the supra-national European level, the Franco-German broadcaster ARTE. Methodologically, she uses a combination of a semio-historic cultural studies approach. First, she presents some concepts of collective identities and myths, with a focus on the creation of the myth of Europeanness. She then combines these concepts with television news as an example of a »virtual mediated community« and a possible source of collective identities. Her analysis of TV news focusses on the micro and macro level and divides this analysis into three parts. First, she illuminates the different concepts of Euro-

peanness and European myth as mirrored in TV news; second, she highlights the interrelation of European identity and national identity as shown in TV news; and third, Wiehl shows how European identity is represented vis-à-vis regional identity. The result is (audio)visions of the plurality of Europeanness shown in TV news.

Lieselotte Goessens presents a case study on the construction of collective identity and mythscapes through music on early Flemish radio. Her analysis centers around a few early Flemish radio programs; their music repertoire and the discourse that was built around them. The author uses a constructivist view of identities and has two main assumptions about the relation between collective identity and music. First, she points out that music produces a strong feeling of togetherness and that music can be used to express identities. Goessens begins her paper with a discussion of social identities, mythscapes and imagined community and shows the interrelation of music and mythscapes as well as media and mythscapes. Second, she explains the results of her analysis and connects them to theories of collective identities. She argues that early radio in Flanders used music, on the one hand, to further Flemish cultural emancipation and, on the other hand, to construct Flemish cultural identity.

Ulrike Thumberger focuses her paper on the contribution of two Austrian rap songs—»Vo Melo ge Schoppornou« and »Jö schau«—to the production and dissemination of regional and national identities. Her main argument is that language and dialects are important factors for the awareness of being a group, and thus support the formation of an in-group. This applies especially in the case of the Austrian rap phenomenon which emerged in the 1960s. In Austrian rap, regional dialects are used as a cultural demarcation from British and American cultural industries as well as from German cultural influences. In her analysis of the two songs, several aspects are taken into consideration including linguistic elements such as phonological features and lexical items, the content of the lyrics and the role of musicians as subjects of a larger discourse within Austria. The paper stresses also the crucial contribution of

media, especially the radio station Ö3, in determining the success of the genre in the country.

A broader look at the global and local dimensions of rap music is provided by **Anu Muhonen** in her paper on rap in Finland. Unlike Austrian rap, Finnish rap is a multilingual phenomenon and refers to music produced in Finland, whether the lyrics are in Finnish, English or some regional dialect. The paper describes the ways in which rap and hip hop identities are presented and thematized in two Finnish-language youth radio broadcasters: a national youth radio station in Finland and a Finnish minority language youth radio station in Sweden. The data is based on ethnographic interviews and recordings of live radio broadcasts including radio DJs intros, interviews and rap lyrics, all of which the author uses to analyze the ways in which local, regional, national and global elements are indexed in rap and hip hop identities. As the author highlights, rap music is made up of linguistic and cultural features »that index globality, locality and glocality respectively.« Global indexicalities can be closely connected to some very local and situated issues because globality and locality often interconnect in Finnish rap discourse.

Caroline Damiens focusses on the production of cinema by two Siberian minorities in the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic and the Republic of Khakassia. She discusses how feature films are used by these minorities to build their national identity in post-Soviet time. Damiens conducted interviews with filmmakers from Sakha and Khakassia on how they see cinema as a vehicle for the production of identity. As a second step, the author conducted a content analysis of some films produced by both minorities. This analysis reveals that these minorities wish to play an important and heroic role in Soviet history and shows how these films are used by the filmmakers to create (re)imagined geographies. The last part of Damiens' paper is a comparison of Khakassia films and Sakha films.

Aimar Ventsel's contribution also deals with minorities in Siberia, looking at Sakha music production. The paper distinguishes itself through its very ethnographic and descriptive character as well as through its focus on the processes of glocalization that characterize world music and

its positioning of local artists in this production. This is the reason why we decided to place the article in the special session **Miscellanea**. In particular, his contribution analyzes the ways in which Sakha artists have modified Sakha tradition in order to meet the expectations of and thrive on the global business market. The author provides a vivid sketch of the contradictory situation faced by these musicians; whereas at home they are seen as shining idols and heroes on a mission, representing the culture and traditions of the Sakha nation abroad, they are unequal protagonist in the international music business due to their lack of English language skills and their insufficient understanding of legal and contractual procedures. Ventsel describes different ways in which two Sakha artists—Chyskyyrai and Saina—have manipulated »tradition« and »authenticity« to become part of the world music market, for instance through extensive use of traditional instruments such as the khomus (Sakha mouth harp), rattles and shamanic drums. The articles ends with an invitation to broaden the post-colonial discussion on world music including new aspects such as competition among artists, the market value of a band and the expectation of managers.

Concluding remarks

When we talk about identities that are linked to communities, we can mean local, regional or national identities. In this issue, we present case studies that address different dimensions of identities—local, regional, national and even supranational as well as their intersections.

Going deeper into the multidimensionality of identities, the authors of this issue address, for example, supranational identity beyond the nation-state and even beyond the regions our world has been divided into. The case studies and approaches showcased in this issue, detect the boundaries existing within and connected to the different forms of identities. The boundary is seen as such as well as in its multiple meanings and dimensions—as political, regional, cultural or geographical boarders that intersect, mirror or challenge each other. The cover of this issue pictures the Europa-Asia obelisk that marks the geographical boundary between Europe and Asia. This is not a political boundary as it lies inside one

nation state, Russia, and is often connected to a cultural meaning as it symbolizes the border between Europe and Asia.

For the editors of this issue, this border symbolizes the polysemous interconnections between national, supranational and also regional or translocal spaces.

As this special issue demonstrates, media and music can be employed as methodological tools to explore the creation and articulation of identities, taking different levels—the (trans-)local, regional, national—and their interconnectedness into consideration. In order to stress the plurality of medial and musical identifications within a national culture or a nation-state, the title refers to identities or identity/ies. At the same time, this issue reflects the variety of research methods which can be employed in the analysis of processes of identity formation and the methodological challenges faced by scholars interested in this research field.

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The myth of European identity

Representation and construction of regional, national and European identities in German, French and international television news broadcasts

Anna Wiehl

Some preliminary remarks on Europe, Europeanness and the old medium of television

Even though several media theorists have repeatedly argued that new media, especially the Internet, are challenging traditional broadcasting, television—and above all television news—can still be considered one of the key media of our time.[1]

Although we are witnessing a kind of paradigm shift, television still fulfills two fundamental functions—one of a cognitive nature, the other more sociopsychological:

- First of all, television serves as one of our major sources of information—a window to the world that brings the outside world into our homes.
- At the same time, the practice of television viewing—e.g. the ritual which still exists of gathering at 8 o'clock in front of the TV set to

1 Quantitative as well as qualitative studies prove that television still plays a major if not the chief role as source of information and entertainment—especially with regard to such respected formats as television news. See, for example, »Habitualisierte Nutzung von Fernsehsendungen über das Internet noch gering,« ARD-ZDF-Online-Studie 2012, accessed January 10, 2013, http://www.ard-zdf-onlinestudie.de/fileadmin/Online12/0708-2012_Eimeren_Frees.pdf; »Media in life 2012—Les médias ›classiques‹ maintiennent leur intensité,« Médiamétrie: 6–10, accessed March 7, 2013, http://www.upf.edu/pcstacademy/_docs/MediaInLife.pdf.

> watch the news—fulfils indispensable sociopsychological functions: It structures our daily lives, offers a fix anchor point, creates a feeling of stability and provides emotional security in our fast-moving world.
>
> But above all, TV unites those who are (simultaneously) watching the same (live) program (and know that many of their neighbors are doing so as well). Members of a community of communication thus not only share the same background knowledge—which they could also gain via other media such as newspapers, the radio or the internet—they also know that they share habits and rites, which knits them even more closely together.[2]

Hence, television drives the construction of »imagined communities« (see Anderson 2006)—in our case a virtual, mediated community. The nightly news plays a particularly decisive role; not only because it is routinely and widely shared by a great part of the population—it also sets a sociopolitical agenda and functions as an anchor for everyday communication. This aspect—combined with the fact that television can be considered as the imaginary place where »the global meets the local,« to cite David Morley's famous catchphrase (Morley 1997)—television profoundly influences our notion of who we are, who the others are—and how we relate to them. Therefore, televised news programs in

2 It may be true that new media have taken over some of these functions—that for example video on demand is replacing live TV or that blogs contribute to the formation of even more closely knit, interactive communities; yet quantitative research as well as qualitative studies (such as the ARD-ZDF-Online-Studie, see note 1) have recently proven that at least some traditional television formats still rank high in attractiveness and importance. These empirical findings are analyzed comprehensively and interpreted theoretically by Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin (1999) in Remediation: Understanding New Media. They argue that all media refashion other media—newer media older ones and vice versa—and that these may be altered in form and be given new functions, but they are not likely to become extinct.

particular contribute to the development and maintenance of collective identities.[3]

Keeping this in mind helps us to understand why and to what extent communicative spaces and mediated images of selfness and otherness play such an important role in the construction of otherwise highly theoretical constructs such as Europeanness, national identity and regional rootedness or—even more abstract—the globalized world.

Europe—A cognitive construct

Although the continent of Europe as a cultural space has a long history with various myths of bondage,[4] it has never been sharply delineated—neither geographically, nor politically, nor economically—as the current so-called European crisis proves. Thus, when talking about Europe (and the same is true for the concept of nation), I always refer to the cognitive construction on a mental map; I refer to the myth and imagination of Europe—or, more concisely, the idea of Europe.[5]

However, Europe as a mental concept (see Beck) in which »historically and socially specific sets of meanings stretch out a field of polarities and polysemic interpretations and identifications« (Fornäs 2012, 265) can

3 In this context, Price (1995) gives an astute reinterpretation of television's decisive role and impact on democratic societies in a time of increased media globalization, particularly as to their unifying function. See for further analysis and case studies—especially concerning the formation of national identities—Drummond et al. (1993); Nossek (2004); Peter (2004).

4 In his book *Signifying Europe*, Johan Fornäs (2012) presents an extensive and illuminating survey of various founding myths of Europe.

5 This paper does not focus on the European crisis which, in my opinion, is mainly an economic (and thus possibly political) crisis that will—hopefully—soon be overcome. Although one cannot deny that the discourse of crisis has entered almost every discussion of Europe and, consequently, also encroaches upon our idea of Europeanness, I will deal with this aspect only as one momentary facet of the many facets of Europe as an imaginary space and cultural concept. Thus I would rather focus on the more persistent and consistent myths of European identity.

also change. Europe does not just exist as a phenomenon in people's imaginations, but, among other things, materializes—»organised into various forms of artefacts, texts, works, genres and discourses« (Fornäs 2012, 43)—in new narratives and related audiovisual manifestations.

But what kinds of (audio-)visions of Europeanness, of belonging to an us and differentiated from others, are currently circulating? What stories and images does television offer us every evening? To what extent does an arguably factual format such as television news contribute to the creation of highly imaginary constructs such as regional, national or supranational collective identities? Where can we find traces of significant regional, national or supranational specificities? Which symbols, narratives and discourses are recurrently referred to? Which historical contexts do they stem from—and how are they remediated in (new) frameworks?

These are only some of the questions that will serve as a guideline on our exploration of the myth of European identity.

Procedure or How we will advance on our exploration of the myth of European identity?

In order to find some answers to these questions, I propose an exploration in three stages:

- Before starting this *tour d'horizon*, it is certainly advisable to lay a theoretical and methodological foundation. I will thus take a short look at some key concepts for talking about this topic—i.e. identity, myth and television news.
- Secondly, I will try to obtain an overview of central artefacts or mythic elements that are fundamental to the (re)presentation and construction of European, national and regional identities in/via television news.[6]

6 I will focus on French and German public broadcasters as well as the supranational European, German-French cooperative broadcaster ARTE.

- Last but not least, I will cast a glance at a prototypical example—a paradigmatic case that gives an outlook and that serves as a starting point for discussing the main challenges and prospects for future (social-)TV programs to promote Europeanness as multifaceted, flexible pluri-identities.

Theoretical foundation, methodological toolbox and key concepts

In order to answer our initial questions without getting lost on our journey through the vast and still mostly uncharted cognitive spaces of European identities, I suggest following a pluri-disciplinary research axis—namely a combination of a semiological (or, respectively, semio-historical and semio-pragmatic)[7] approach together with essential instruments from the methodological toolbox of cultural studies. Proceeding in this way offers two advantages:

- Firstly, this research-axis will allow us to consider all kinds of identity-forming Cultures. Starting from a broad understanding of Culture with a capital »C« (as proclaimed by Raymond Williams, David Morley and others), we bridge the (presumed) gap between high, popular and everyday culture.

  This is not only essential as to our corpus—even something that is at first glance as trivial as television news—it also allows us to analyze and to contextualize the vast spectrum of completely diverse topics covered by TV news broadcasts. As we will see later, these range from political summits to the battle for the *real* French camembert (as a cultural exception), and from remembrance of the birth of the European Union to folkloristic Bavarian *Trachtler-Treffen*—a get-together of members of traditional regional costume associations.

7 As to the semio-historical approach, I mainly base my argumentation on Müller (1989) and Schmid (2000); for semio-pragmatic aspects of analysis, I refer to Odin's elaborate model of the interdependent relationship between text immanent, semiological aspects and how the reader/viewer cognitively emotionally and affectively produces meaning within a given context. See Odin (2011).

- Secondly, the semio-historical component allows us to take into account the material, social, cognitive and emotional reality of imaginations[8] of (European) identity (e.g. as manifested in televised audiovisions) as to their synchronic and diachronic circulation in society. This allows us to gain deeper insights into these phenomena: We will be able to interpret topical cultural phenomena and their expressions in (mass) media as socioculturally embedded imprints of collective memory and imaginations in their larger context of meanings.

All in all, the combination of this semio-historical view and the broad meaning of Culture embraced by cultural studies enables us to read these mediated manifestation of myths of belonging in their complex, versatile and dynamic relationship to each other; and it helps us to understand them as highly signifying sign systems.

Collective identity

These preliminary remarks directly take us to our first core concept—identity—or more precisely: collective identities. As the notion of *who we are* essentially exists on the basis that there are others from whom we try to distinguish ourselves, collective identity fundamentally depends on the interaction with those others.

Thus conceptions of identity are highly dynamic and situational: With each new contact, they are refashioned within the new context. However, it is important to note that some basic elements nevertheless exist

8 When I talk about reality, it ought to be understood as shorthand for a more complex idea: A more comprehensive yet less felicitous way to express it would be socially constructed and collectively shared assumptions on what is real. In this I follow Berger's and Luckmann's argument that reality (which they also refer to as »social order«) »exists *only* as a product of human activity. Both its genesis ([as a] result of past human activity) and its existence in any instant of time ([it] exists only and insofar as human activity continues to produce it) is a human product.« (Berger and Luckmann 1966, 53).

that are relatively timeless and stable, thus guaranteeing a deeper and more reliable feeling of selfhood and belonging.[9]

The coexistence of these two seemingly opposed features of collective identities—their situational dynamic and their relative stability—is possible because of a third essential characteristic of collective identities: Due to the diversity of contacts with others and due to the manifold alternatives of belonging, it is possible to be part of different groups at the same time. Some of these self-identifications might overlap or complement one another (one can, for example, identify as a fan of the national football team and as a dedicated Bavarian environmentalist at the same time), but they can also stand in rivalry to each other in some areas (as might, for example, be the case for a dedicated scientist and promoter of scientific progress who is simultaneously opposed to stricter hygiene rules in the food industry if traditional French recipes are endangered).

The concept of myth

This leads us to a second major concept that will guide us on our search for (audio-)visions of European identity—namely myth. When talking about myth and mythologies, it is essential to keep in mind that I will use this term in a broad sense. In my understanding, myth does not only refer to the brave deeds of ancient Greek heroes such as Ulysses or Heracles. Following Roland Barthes' assumptions that myth is more

9 In this context, Paul Ricoeur sums up the problematic interrelated with the critical hermeneutic analysis of identity as a conglomerate of three issues: »1. the indirect approach of reflection through the detour of analysis; 2. the first determination of selfhood by way of its contrast with sameness; 3. the second determination of selfhood by way of its dialectic with otherness« (Ricoeur 1992, 297). Therefore, if we want to understand European identity and identities, 1) We cannot approach the issue directly, but have to rely on the analysis of its expressions in (mediated) texts and symbols; 2) Furthermore, we cannot define identities if we do not try to trace the narratives, (communicative) practices and symbols in which they are embodied; and 3) We have to keep in mind that the formation and expression of identity always unfolds in a complex interaction with others. See also Fornäs (2012).

form than content (Barthes 1964),[10] anything and any topic can become myth—even profane television programs.

Referring to de Saussure's work, in his famous book *Mythologies*, first published in 1957, Barthes characterizes myth as a »second order semiological system« or a semiological chain: The sign of the first order/chain becomes the signified of the second chain. Myth—as any semiological system—is socially constructed, and when speaking of the process of mythologization, Barthes refers to the fact that such social assumptions, ideas, concepts and practices have a tendency to become naturalized when they circulate within a particular culture.[11]

Or as Roger Silverstone puts it: »Myth is a form of speech, distinct in its character, marked by the definable narratives, familiar, acceptable, reassuring to their host culture« (Silverstone 1988).

Moreover, myth is usually accompanied by rituals; it is at the same time rational and emotional, and—most importantly—persists throughout time. Myths may slightly change in form, but nevertheless stay reassuringly the same in their basic characteristics.

This point reminds us of the double nature of television as content and practice. And this is not the only congruence: When defining myth, we re-encounter several basic features and functions that we have already come upon when talking about television and its important double function:

> Both television and myth are necessarily participatory. […] Both television and myth define and reinforce the society that generates and receives them, in essential categories: the moral, aesthetic, and cognitive structures […]. Myth and mythic narratives are […] constantly at work translating and reassuring at the boundaries be-

10 When referring to Barthes' notion of myth, I leave out his ideological assumptions.

11 There are several parallels and points of contact between Barthes' concept of myth and Fornäs' definition of symbols. See footnote 14.

> tween the familiar secure world […] and the unfamiliar, insecure world beyond it. (Silverstone 2006, 37)

Television as contemporary expression of myth—The corpus examined

Let us take this assumption that »television is the contemporary expression of myth« as our point of departure and embark on an exploration of European media spaces—a search for traces of the interdependencies of European, national and regional identities in television news.

In order to keep the enormous spectrum of material down to a manageable quantity, it will be necessary to concentrate on a corpus of comparable programs—namely the respectable format of public broadcasters' daily TV evening news.[12]

As to the radius on our mental map of Europe, we can think of concentric (and/or overlapping) circles: Our exploratory tour of European mediascapes will take us to TV news reaching from

- regional channels (Bavarian/Alsatian broadcasters, i.e. the Bayerischer Rundfunk and France 3 Alsace),
- national channels (German/French broadcasters, i.e. ARD/ZDF and TF1/France 2),
- and one supranational, European public broadcaster (ARTE).

This selection is based on the fact that France and Germany can be regarded as two nations that are prototypical of Europe—at least

12 An analysis of the news programs of private German TV stations shows that the representation and construction of cultural identities is almost nonexistent due to their lack of interest in serious political or cultural issues of significance. Although the two French broadcasters TF1 and France 2 are, strictly speaking, not public stations, they were nevertheless included in the corpus for two reasons: firstly, they are still thought of by the majority of the French audience as *the* two national TV providers; and secondly, they actually enjoy a special status as *Généralistes Nationales Publiques* which makes them equivalent to the German *Öffentlich-Rechtliche Rundfunkanstalten*.

contemporary Europe. Not only have they formed the core or engine of what was to become the (political as well as cultural or mythical) European Union; even more relevant (with regard to my semio-historical axis of research) is the fact that France and Germany look back on an intertwined history of cultural encounters and exchanges and thus a shared history—even if a rather different history depending on the (national) perspective.

One of the decisive reasons to choose Bavaria and Alsace as representatives on the regional level is that both of them can (or perhaps might?—my analysis will shed some light on this issue) be considered to have developed strong regional identities. This, again, is mainly due to sociopolitical and sociocultural historical reasons. Think, for example, of Bavaria's status as *Freistaat* or Alsace as one of the few regions with a distinct language and cultural heritage in the otherwise homogenized *Grande Nation* of France.

The period of analysis stretches from January 2007 to February 2013 with a special focus on periods with significant events on the European as well as national scale—above all events that encompass both political as well as cultural issues; e.g. the 50th anniversary of the (later) European Union (May 2007), the Nobel Peace Prize Award (October 2012) or the 50th anniversary of the Franco-German friendship treaty and its impact on the further development of the European Union (2013).[13]

When considering these programs on both

- **the macro-level**
  (e.g. the habitual practices of television viewing, slot, news format, studio design, role of the presenter/anchor/host/pundit…)

13 A list at the end of this essay provides a survey of the programs analyzed in depth and the date of the periods of broadcast most closely examined.

- **and the micro-level**
  (narrative structures, persistent myths or audiovisual signs, mediation of symbols,[14] dramaturgic elements, the use of music, camera-angle and point of view in single sequences…)[15]

we noticed a number of similarities—and surprisingly many differences as to the representation and construction of regional, national and supranational European identities—depending on the broadcasters and their assumed community of communication.

Overview of central items or mythic elements[16]

Myths of European identity or: The myth of something bigger than us?

When dealing with the representation and construction of European identity in/via the media, we can distinguish two complementary tendencies:

- On the one hand, Europe can be seen as an enormous challenge (at least with regard to the current political/economic crisis).
- On the other hand, it is represented as a (hi)story of success and of hope for the future.

14 On the important role played by symbols in this context see Fornäs (2012), especially chapter 2. Although Fornäs does not refer directly to Barthes, his concept of »triple meanings« (Fornäs 2012, 53) is very close to Barthes' interpretation of myth as a many-chained semiotic system, see p. 20.

15 I hereby rely on my research axes based on semio-pragmatics/semio-history and cultural studies. Thus, I conduct a (qualitative) structural analysis, a semiotic/iconic analysis as well as content analysis. Decisive sections of material—for example the title sequence—are examined shot-by-shot—paying special attention to the interplay of visual and audio effects as well as the items mentioned above.

16 The following examples are a summary of extended research conducted between January 2007 and February 2013. This longer period of research allowed us to abstract from ephemeral issues and instead concentrate on more persistent myths of European identity.

This ambiguity becomes obvious when considering such events as the 50th anniversary of the (later) European Union (May 2007), the Nobel Peace Prize Award (October 2012) or the 60th anniversary of the Franco-German friendship and its impact on the further development of the European Union (2013). More than ever, archetypical myths loaded with various historical associations are evoked and refashioned when (re)mediating such decisive moments.

Europeanness as a (hi)story of success

This begins with the myth of Europe as a guarantor of democracy and peace—with Europe and Europeanness as the Prometheus-like bringers of freedom and democracy, e.g. metaphorically tearing down the Iron Curtain. In many news narratives that recapitulate the history of what they call the European Dream, the fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification are presented as the result of Europe having previously grown together.

As to the interdependence of European and national identities (in this case: French identity), it is significant that almost all French news programs (including ARTE) explicitly underscore the leading role of the French Nation in this process. In most cases they construct a direct link between the longing for democracy, the ideals of the French Revolution and the *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, and the Reunification of the two Germanys. A paradigmatic manifestation of this phenomenon is the iconographic parallelism in *arte info* as well as in *les 20 heures*, the main evening news on France 2: Both news programs underscore the textual argumentation with the montage of the assault of the Berlin Wall and Eugène Delacroix's famous painting *La Liberté guidant le peuple*—one of *the* emblematic paintings that represent the insurrection of 1830 and which is deeply rooted in our collective imagination.

Fig. 1: Audiovisual parallel drawn between the French Revolution of 1830 and its ideals and the fall of the Berlin Wall. Source: Eugène Delacroix, *La Liberté guidant le peuple*. (Source: Screenshot from *arte info*, ARTE, March 24, 2007)

Both the audiovisual and textual rhetoric underscore the tremendous contribution and decisive role of the *civilisation française* in the process of European unification. This national myth becomes entangled with the European dream not only in the introductory remarks of the presenter and the explicit arguments in the voiceover, but continues in the selection of interviews featured in this reportage. French media thus attempt to assimilate the myth of Europe as a guarantor of democracy into their own cultural/historical repertoire of national myths.

In contrast, German television news prefer to evoke the idea of the universality of the *Europäischer Traum*—the European dream—as the anchor of ZDF's *heute journal* puts it; and, in the special broadcast directly following the regular news program, he characterizes the unification of Europe as »das Wunder von Europa«[17]—the European miracle—a catch phrase that is not only the key idea of this program, but also the title of the whole evening's special program.

A related myth is that of the European family. This central idea is repeatedly evoked both in German news programs and in *arte info* (less often in French media)—sometimes explicitly on the textual level, sometimes more subtly on a pictorial level. In this context, a common strategy is a collage or slide show of images from the European »family album« as

17 *Das Wunder von Europa*, ZDF, March 25, 2007.

well as the direct montage of emblematic images of archival footage into the contemporary material.

In an extended report by *arte info* (March 21, 2007), for instance, the viewer virtually visits a former French diplomat who, as a young attaché, had prepared the signature of the Treaties of Rome.[18] In a very quietly and softly unfolding reportage, the (meanwhile) old man shows the reporters his photo album. Together with his guests, he is leafing through the book and, metaphorically, through his memories of this influential day, which he describes in a highly emotional way. As the camera literally looks over his shoulder, television viewers at home become virtual accomplices to the situation and, via the lively description, almost get the impression of being eyewitnesses to these past events.

This remediation (see Bolter and Grusin) immerses the audience in the elderly man's narration and enhances the feeling of really belonging to this big European Family.

18 These documents—signed in 1957—are regarded as the cornerstone of what was later to become the European Union.

Fig. 2: Audiovisual reenactment of the myth of the European family
The camera looks over the protagonist's shoulder when he is leafing through his family album—thus immersing viewers in the reportage and enhancing a feeling of being part of the community of communication and of the European Family.
(Source: Screenshot from *arte info*, ARTE, March 21, 2007)

When dealing with the idea of the European Family, one cannot help but mention a further decisive myth in this context: the Franco-German friendship as engine and heart of the European dream. In nearly all reports—even in those covering difficult political consultations between the two states—the current friendship (or marriage) after centuries of war and conflict is more or less explicitly mentioned. In this context, there are a number of iconic images that are part of our collective European memory and which are almost automatically sampled on television—including the image of former Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President François Mitterand holding hands at the Douaumont ossuary in Verdun.

Fig. 3: German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President François Mitterand holding hands at the Douaumont ossuary in Verdun. (Source: Screenshot from *arte info*, ARTE, March 25, 2007)

But when representing Europe as a success story, the media do not only look back, nor do they exclusively try to retrace historically crucial moments in order to represent and construct European identity. Especially in times of crisis, which necessitate the reaffirmation of what it means to belong to the European Family—i.e. when it is time to foster European solidarity and team spirit—media in both Germany and France attempt to associate European history with our present situation. Thus, the trope of tradition *and* innovation becomes repeatedly mediated—i.e. the idea that Europe looks back on a long, culturally rich history combined with the hope of a prosperous, peaceful, inspiring future. Here, once again, we encounter the integrative potential of myth as reassuringly stable on the one hand and highly versatile and adaptable on the other hand—as faithfully preserving time-honored ideals and simultaneously capable of incorporating the idea of renewal and perpetual change.

In this context, the idea of European identity as a concept that is in constant flux is often personalized via new narratives describing young people as the promising next generations of native Europeans.

An extensive reportage presented within the ZDF *heute journal* (ZDF, March 25, 2007) covering the festivities of the 50th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome features such a group of native Europeans: Five young women from different European nations have come to Berlin to celebrate »Europe's birthday« together. Although they first have to overcome various problems (they do not find their hostel, they get lost in Berlin, …), they have »a great time together« as each of them repeatedly exclaims in her native language.[19] This all occurs not *despite* their initial problems or *despite* their different cultural backgrounds but *due* to them. As the comment suggests, on a meta level the protagonists' situation perfectly mirrors the not always easy process of Europe growing together; and the fact that they simply enjoy the enriching multicultural atmosphere of Berlin on the occasion of this »gigantic birthday party« suggests that one of the decisive qualities of Europeanness consists in the enriching experience of belonging to a multifaceted community.

Thus, European identity as represented in such news narratives can be characterized by the formula »diversity and unity«—a paradox that is resolved via integrative potential of myth. This overall optimistic view is also expressed on the audiovisual level—e.g. by means of point of view, framing and the movement of the mobile camera that literally dances with the young women. The protagonists are repeatedly filmed using low-angle shots in front of a light blue sky—a visual allusion to the color of the European flag that also underscores their heroic importance as the next generation of Europeans.

Moreover, the energetic, vivacious but nevertheless harmonic camera movement visually translates the young generation's willingness to move—both literally and metaphorically. The young Belgian girl, for instance, speaks wholeheartedly about her dream of visiting as many other European nations as possible, and the German protagonist expresses her wish to be politically and socially active and to contribute to the further unification of a European (cultural) community.

19 All translations by the author.

This all-in-all lively and—if one considers the format, a German news program—highly immersive and emotionalizing reportage invites the viewer to identify with the euro-enthusiastic protagonists and to adopt their points of view. Thus, we are dealing here with a complex myth-based connotative system that not only represents a certain view of Europe, but also contributes to the construction of this (positive) notion of Europeanness; in this case, the myth of innovation and tradition, of diversity and unity is vividly mediated. Due to the intertwined audiovisuals and texts, based upon shared and widely incorporated, naturalized myths, the final statement of the commentary does not seem exaggerated when it concludes that »[O]ne thing can be taken for granted: This [i.e. a shared European cultural identity] is our opportunity for the future.«

Europeanness as a challenge

Despite this vast spectrum of positive myths of Europe and Europeanness, we must not forget that in everyday (political) news coverage, euro-skeptical narratives have been prevailing, especially in previous months. The monetary crisis and the fear of a financial breakdown are among the top news and thus dominate our (short term?) mental representation of what it means to be European. Thus the idea of a cultural European identity has been superimposed by a more political-economic (negatively connoted) image of Europeanness—the myth of Europe as a bringer of crises.

In the same vein, the persisting fear of a faceless, bureaucratic Europe has become predominant again—the horror of a domineering, regulatory super-state that decimates national and regional sovereignty and extinguishes cultural specificities. The heavily mediated French protest against a set of European laws limiting the production and distribution of the real camembert made of raw milk is just one symptomatic example of the deeply rooted fear of the loss of cultural heritage.

This David versus Goliath-esque fight is elaborately mediated in a TF1 news narrative. By presenting a *fromagère* who is absolutely certain that her raw-milk, handmade cheeses are light years ahead of sterile industrial

products, the reportage recycles the myth of Europe as a cold, bureaucratic super state.

Already the textual level plays with the contrast of the myth bad, sterile bureaucratic Europe vs. good *exception française.* Almost all passages presenting production that conforms to European norms employ factual and dry language, overloaded with technical terms (e.g. *éliminer tout germe therminogème*, *microfiltrer*, *risque d'infection* or *crise sanitaire […] fatal[e]*) that are reminiscent of complicated chemical processes; the passages situated in the *fromagerie*, in contrast, are kept in a familiar, affectionate style.

This verbal presentation of the arguments in favor of the French *exception culturelle* and *la bonne tradition* is supported by quite a number of audiovisual rhetorical strategies. Especially the point of view and the shot sizes (i.e. close ups vs. literally distancing long shots) contribute to the generally dualistic atmosphere of the reportage. The same goes for the deliberate use of the alignment of perspective, especially the many visual parallelisms. As consecutive sequences in the cheese factory and the *fromagerie* are composed of parallel shots, the gap between these two locations becomes even more obvious. This opposition is additionally underscored by the chart of color ranges (that were probably manipulated during the shooting or in post-production): The cold, bluish and metallic palette when showing the industrial site as well as the synthetically flashy colors of the supermarket are contrasted by the natural, warm, earthly colors that dominate the scenes in the small shop.


BARTHELEMY
REPORTAGE : S. ADRON E. PLANTARD
T. DEREIX J.F. LAIDIN N. MARIEL

Fig. 4: Visual strategies used to present the clash of two opposing myths: the deliberate employment of point of view, shot sizes, alignment and color range to underscore the contrast of bad, sterile bureaucratic Europe vs. good *exception française*. (Source: Screenshots from *les 20 heures*, TF1, March 23, 2007)

Although this paradigmatic example shows that the representation of Europeanness is far from being only sunshine and roses, the basic tenor of most of the voices we encounter on our tour through European mediascapes is realistically optimistic on the whole. And especially with regard to the last case—the excerpt from the national (French) news program—one thing should be kept in mind: There are strong interdependencies between the community fostering (re)presentation of myths of national identity and the (re)presentation of European identity.

European Identity and its interdependency with national identities

France: Vive la France, vive la France, vive la France! …and maybe Europe!

As I already suggested with regard to the struggle for an *exception française* for real French camembert, the French are above all French—and they are proud of this. Even a first glance at the macro-level of the news program confirms this common stereotype.

This myth of *La Grande Nation* begins with the corporate design of the two major broadcasters, TF1 and France 2: From the logo, the color gradation of the title sequence and bumpers down to the studio design—*bleu, blanc, rouge,* the national colors, prevail; and in many cases, emblematic national symbols—for example the *tricolore,* the *hexagone*[20] or the silhouette of *Marianne*—serve as mythically connoted visual shortcuts to activate collective identity fostering mechanisms.

Fig. 5: Animated collage of the *tricolore*, the *hexagone* and the profile of *Marianne* as mythically connotated visual shortcuts to foster the idea of national pride and *francité*. (Source: Screenshots from the title sequence of *La campagne vue de…*, a series of special reports within the *les 20 heures* news program France 2)

This focus on *francité* is not only apparent in the pictorial means of communication. It is also reflected in the content of the program. Although the national evening news—la *grand-messe* as the daily media ritual is called in otherwise secular France—present a rather mixed bag of stories, nearly all topics are somehow related to *La Grande Nation*: This concern with reassuring the community of communication about their collective national identity—to present *francité* and thus construct a feeling of national unity—can also be strongly felt on the micro-level of

20 The *hexagone* representing the geographical extensions of France in a stylized form is a well-established visual shortcut in the collective French imagination. The six-sided figure not only represents the (geo)political entity or the national state; it is also connoted with the myth of France as *la Grande Nation* and the idea of *la civilization française.*

nearly any reportage. One of the core elements of identification is a patriotic pride in French history—above all in the achievements of the French Revolution, *La déclaration des droits de l'homme* and the often-copied *Code Civil*; but also more recent history—e.g. patriotism and heroism within *la Résistance* during the occupation of France by Nazi Germany—is continually evoked.

A further trope that we encounter repeatedly is the myth of true, good old rural France with its picturesque villages and time-honored, down-to-earth country life—sometimes depicted in an almost kitschy way as in movies such as *Chocolat* (2000) or *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (2008). This trope of traditional France represents the complementary side to the myth of France as a leading global player in scientific and technological progress and innovation. In this context, emblematic high-tech ventures, as e.g. the high-speed TGV train, repeatedly figure as the heroes of news narratives promoting national pride. The visual presentation of this myth of progress and (scientific) trendsetting seizes most often on the core connotation of what it portrays: digital animation and (additionally emotionalizing) special effects can be found in almost any news narrative dealing with this topic.

One of the core identity-forming myths is the already axiomatic *exception française*—i.e. the unique, outstanding national French cultural specificity—whereby culture is (once again) to be understood in its broadest sense. Thus the myths of *savoir vivre* and *la cuisine française* count among core items (think of the abovementioned crusade for original French camembert as *emblème national* as it is literally called). And, last but not least, we encounter the myth of the *nation des lettres,* proud of its rich literary tradition and fine arts, *la langue française* and *la civilisation française* exported all over the world.

All in all, these myths of national identity seem to be compatible with the myth of a supranational European identity. However, as to the interdependencies of *francité* and Europeanness, one point is crucial: The whole harmonic system of coexisting identification only works as long as all forms of identification that differ from the primary identification (being French) are subordinated to the idea of being French.

Germany: The myth of Europeanness…but what about German identity?

When we move to the other side of the Rhine and come to Germany, one thing can be stated right from the beginning: German national identity is significantly less prominently represented than its overconfidently pronounced French counterpart. We hardly find any direct attempts to construct a feeling of national belonging. The general credo seems to be information, facts and objectivity.

This concern is also reflected in the attempt to always be absolutely politically correct—an anxiety that can be accounted for by the bad experiences of nationalistic political propaganda during the Third Reich and the SED regime in the German Democratic Republic. In order to never succumb to such catastrophes again, the emotionalizing mediation of myths of national identity is almost nonexistent, and if mythic elements are used at all, these are based on rather factual and functional aspects of public life[21]—e.g. the ideal of equal opportunities and social justice or the idea of ecological awareness, etc. In very few cases do news narratives become a bit more emotive and deal with what I earlier called myths. This is mainly true in cases where democratic ideals, tolerance and Germany's (new?) multi-/pluri-cultural identities are involved; or

21 In fact, (modern) Germany lacks strong myths of national foundation—in contrast to France, as will be explained later. Moreover, one must not forget that the Federal Republic of Germany is a political construct built upon a federation of 16 *Bundesländer,* some of which are rather proud of their regional specificities, cultural heritage and identity. The fact that Germany is not a more or less homogeneous state as, for example, France, is not only of political and administrational importance; it also affects German cultural life. As to the German public media sector, the »First German national broadcaster« (*Das Erste* respectively the ARD, *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*) is based on an association of regional broadcasters (more or less equivalent with the *Bundesländer*). As these respectively produce the content of the ARD program, or contribute material from their own regional productions to the shared stock of footage and shows, many programs bear traces of regional identity.

when the combination of myths of national identity and myths of European identity are concerned—whereby German national identity is almost always subordinate to or even partly subsumed by its supranational complementary.

One significant example of this phenomenon can be found in the national evening news about October 3—the German national holiday. On this *Tag der Deutschen Einheit* (the day of German reunification), the news coverage of the festivities in Munich and Berlin (as the two focal sites in 2012) hardly ever mediate the idea of Germany as a homogeneous national union—on the contrary! The programs of both ARD and ZDF underscore the idea of the federation, praising the richness of regional diversities and (cultural) specificities (represented e.g. in a report about the joyful get together of folkloristic dance groups from all over Germany).

This aspect of mediated identity formation is complemented by the emphasis on German Europeanness: The *tagesthemen* (ARD), for example, suggests that the reunification of the two German states was only possible within the larger context of Europe growing together; and they argue that all future economic as well as social and cultural prosperity depends on what becomes of the European dream. In this reading, the myth of Europe is of a Europe of regions. It is only within this framework that the preservation of the diversity of cultural heritage and the unconstrained development of further cultural particularities are possible.

Such a clear yet unusually outspoken viewpoint does not only unfold in the form of fairly emotive (background) stories and reportages. The otherwise factual news programs also present this idea of multidimensional pluri-identities as a substitute for one uniform German national identity by means of a humorous illustration: The insert, which serves as topic-setting studio background, shows the stylized contours of Germany framed and protected by the ring of the European stars—and based upon regional traditions (represented by a traditional Bavarian hat).

Fig. 6: Visual representation of the interdependence of German national identity and European and regional identity. (Source: Screenshot from *tagesthemen*, ARD, October 3, 2012)

What could be the reasons for these significant differences between French national pride and the rather self-conscious German unease with national identity?

One explanation may be found in the very different historical backgrounds of the two nations: France looks back on a long, rather glorious past as a nation; throughout its history, the consolidation of its outer borders as well as homogenization and centralization were important goals.

Germany, however, did not become a modern national state until the late 19th century. Before that time it was a patchwork of small independent kingdoms, dukedoms, ecclesial territories, fiefdoms, etc. In addition to that the memory of the Nazi period and of the later division of Germany into two states, still gives Germans feelings of uneasiness. That is why Germany still lacks (positive) emotionally connoted myths that could foster feelings of national identity.

This difficult past is probably the main reason why it seems easier for Germans to identify themselves as Europeans: in this respect, supranational identity compensates for the lack of national identification options—and bridges the gap between strongly developed feelings of

regional belonging and a more embracing option of being at home in Europe (and in a globalized word).

European Identity and its interdependency with regional identities

Bavaria: »*Mia san Mia*«—and a European Free State!

As to the representation of identity in the program of the major Bavarian broadcaster Bayerischer Rundfunk, both the geographic and the emotive focus lie on the *Freistaat* (free state) as the nucleus for the construction of a feeling of *Heimat* (homeland). The news narratives draw from a rich pool of identity fostering themes: Above all, one finds tradition and folklore—often connected with the myth of countryside, agriculture and a refashioned, modernized version of ecology. At the same time, technology, scientific progress and entrepreneurship are important elements in the self-image represented (and thus constructed and promoted). In fact, the myth of *Laptop und Lederhose* (notebook and leather trousers), often mentioned ironically, seems to play an important role after all. All in all, the seemingly contradictory combination of tradition and innovation seems to be programmatic and program forming.

The leitmotif of almost all reports seems to be the proverbial *Mia san Mia* (*we are we* with a Bavarian accent)—a self-confident self-assertion of a kind of Bavarian *exception culturelle*: the (sometime slightly self-ironic) stereotype of »the Bavarian« being Bavarian first and then maybe European. The identification as German, as mentioned above, is almost nonexistent.[22]

22 Regional differences within the Bavarian *Freistaat*—such as the existence of rich Franconian or Swabian cultures—are neglected, if not dismantled. In this regard, the configuration of Bavarian identity with its tendencies towards homogenization of the *Freistaat* has much in common with the attempts of national homogenization and the annihilation of regional diversity in France.

Alsace: Alsatian *francité* … and the dream of a Europe of Regions

In Alsace, the counterpart of Bavaria across the Rhine—analyzed here as an example—things are completely different. Alsatian identity as seen in its (re)presentation and construction in television news can hardly be found; on the contrary, regional Alsatian cultural identity is instead annihilated or dismantled.

This begins with the institutional organization of programming: The slots for very specific regional issues are quite scarce and/or marginal. The majority of the news program reportages and reports are taken from the national broadcasters. Consequently, regional station programs have to mediate centralized and homogenized material and thus represents and fosters feelings of national identity rather than of regional belonging.

Even the few parts of the program that are of regional character can hardly develop any identity-forming potential because they are absolutely heterogeneous, sometimes amateur-esque mixed bags of disparate elements. Many of them are more of local, ephemeral interest (such as tips for events).

In some cases, regional specificities such as traditions, folklore or the Alsatian language are neglected if not ridiculed; the cultural heritage is degraded to kitsch and décor. This tendency of rather biased attitudes toward regionalism becomes obvious in many reportages on TF1 and France 2. Yet even regional stations (e.g. France 3 Alsace) join in this chorus.

One reportage, for example, accompanies the actors of an Alsatian amateur folk theatre company. Although the story is set in the context of the *Printemps du Dialecte*—an annual festivity which is dedicated to the preservation of the regional dialects—collective identity on a regional level is dismantled, not fostered. The introductory characterization of the festival as »*une manifestation [qui] le met à l'honneur*« (a manifestation that honors [regional dialects]) already puts the Alsatian language and its literary production into the context of something lifeless or even obsolete. Thus, a (potentially) powerful factor for the process of identity formation and affirmation is represented as an antiquated, almost extinct

relict of former times—the very opposite of a lively, present-day cultural identity fostering practice.[23]

This attitude is sustained in the news story itself. The general atmosphere oscillates between a mock requiem of a vanishing peculiarity and an ironic tone, slightly ridiculing those who hold fast to this linguistic relict— the elderly women in the theatre group presented in the report, for example. In one scene (which is set back stage), a costumed amateur actress tries to welcome a friend with a familiar *bise*—the French cheek kiss of greeting—but she seems to have forgotten that she is already wearing the traditional bonnet as part of her costume. The bonnet pushes aside her friend's glasses, similar to a scene in a slapstick comedy.

Fig. 7: Dismantling of regional identity fostering myths: Representation of regional cultural specificities as ridicule; obsolete artifacts rather than living examples of collective identity. (Source: Screenshot from *les 20 heures*, TF1; also in *19/20*, France 3 Alsace, November 3, 2012)

As this paradigmatic case study shows, the remaining myths of regional Alsatian identity seem to get systematically dismantled in French televi-

23 As an aside, the Alsatian language is not a French dialect from a strictly linguistic point of view. It is a special variety of Alemannic—part of the Germanic language group—and, as such, an autonomous language within France. This important piece of information is omitted in this (often simplifying and emotionalizing) news story.

sion news. Yet the opposite development can be seen as regards the presence of regional Alsatian identity on the internet. On the website of France 3 Alsace, slightly abridged versions of regional television news are available in the regional language.

What is more—as a kind of bonus material—short news bits presenting the »latest and most important news of our region« can be watched online. In these (rather short) stories, some myths of regional identity are presented—such as »traditions in modern times« or »folklore refashioned.« And, even more importantly—probably due to the great interest in these online supplements, the lively feedback, and the many comments in blogs and on the website—some light entertainment TV shows have been developed that are dedicated to the representation of these specific regional features.[24] Most significantly, almost all these programs underscore that they are situated in the cultural *transfrontalier* (cross-border) context.

In this context, once again, the interdependence of concepts of regional identity and the idea of European identity—or rather multifaceted identities—as an alternative to submission to a strong national identity becomes decisive: A considerable number of these Alsatian identity fostering (news) stories promote the myth of a Europe of regions. Europeanness thus features as a savior of cultural heritage.

Findings and some (preliminary) conclusions

Arriving at the end of this exploration of Franco-German European mediascapes, it is time to reassess the main findings of our *tour d'horizon* and to develop some perspectives or an audiovisual vision of representing and constructing pluri-vocal, multifaceted European identities.

1. Concerning the representation and construction of regional identities, case studies from two example regions have brought up two

24 Examples include *A'Gueter*, a cooking show and *émission culinaire itinérante* in the Alsatian dialect with French subtitles, or *Pourquoi chercher plus loin*, a show that recommends locations for weekend excursions such as places of historic or natural interest.

diametrically opposed tendencies: Bavarian TV is eager to mediate myths that contribute to a self-confident affirmation of regional cultural identity while the news program of France 3 Alsace tend to be a manifestation of the annihilation or even dismantling of regional belonging. Yet, especially due to the convergence of television and the internet in form of augmented televisual footage, we also recognized first timid attempts of a more pronounced Alsatian voice within the framework of a Europe of regions.

2. As to national identity, we came to similar conclusions: French news narratives proved to be persistently reaffirming of the dominant cultural identity of the *Grande Nation*; German news programs, in contrast, are symptomatic of the German lack of a pronounced collective national identity. This »deficiency« is at least partly substituted by the medial presentation of alternative versions of belonging, e.g. by (audio-)visions of European identity or of regional identity in the case of Bavaria.
3. This European identity, however, as it is mediated in both French and German television news, still seems to be rather a vague idea: Although manifold myths of Europeanness are constantly mediated again as well as remediated, the main news narratives still oscillate between a vision of Europeanness as an opportunity and Europeanness as a challenge.

Challenges and perspectives—An audiovisual vision of representing and constructing pluri-vocal, multifaceted European identities

Despite or maybe even due to the elusiveness of what we called European identity, it is worth considering how television can contribute to enhancing a »vision« of what it means to be European. In this respect, the program of the supranational TV broadcaster ARTE can be regarded as trailblazering—not only with regard to its pan-European institutional organization, but also as to its participatory presence on the Internet, which is closely interrelated with the traditional television program;

and—above all—ARTE hazards using experimental styles and dares to experiment with new formats, even in factual (news) programs.

This general attitude is revealed in condensed form in the title sequence of *arte journal* (version 2011):[25] As can be seen in the actions presented in the spot, the program promises to cast a curious glance at European Culture and its pluri-vocal, multifaceted nature; all Europeans are invited to join the discourse—regardless of age, race, sociocultural background, nationality, and so on.

25 Although the material analyzed is not identical with the actual news show as a whole, it nevertheless can be regarded as a kind of essence or summary of it: »The trailer is a simulation of full length filmic experience« (Wythoff 2007). Furthermore, it presents a rather unchanging element of the otherwise manifold and sometimes stylistically diverse contributions in the program. Hence, the title sequences should be taken into consideration as much as the content shown afterwards.

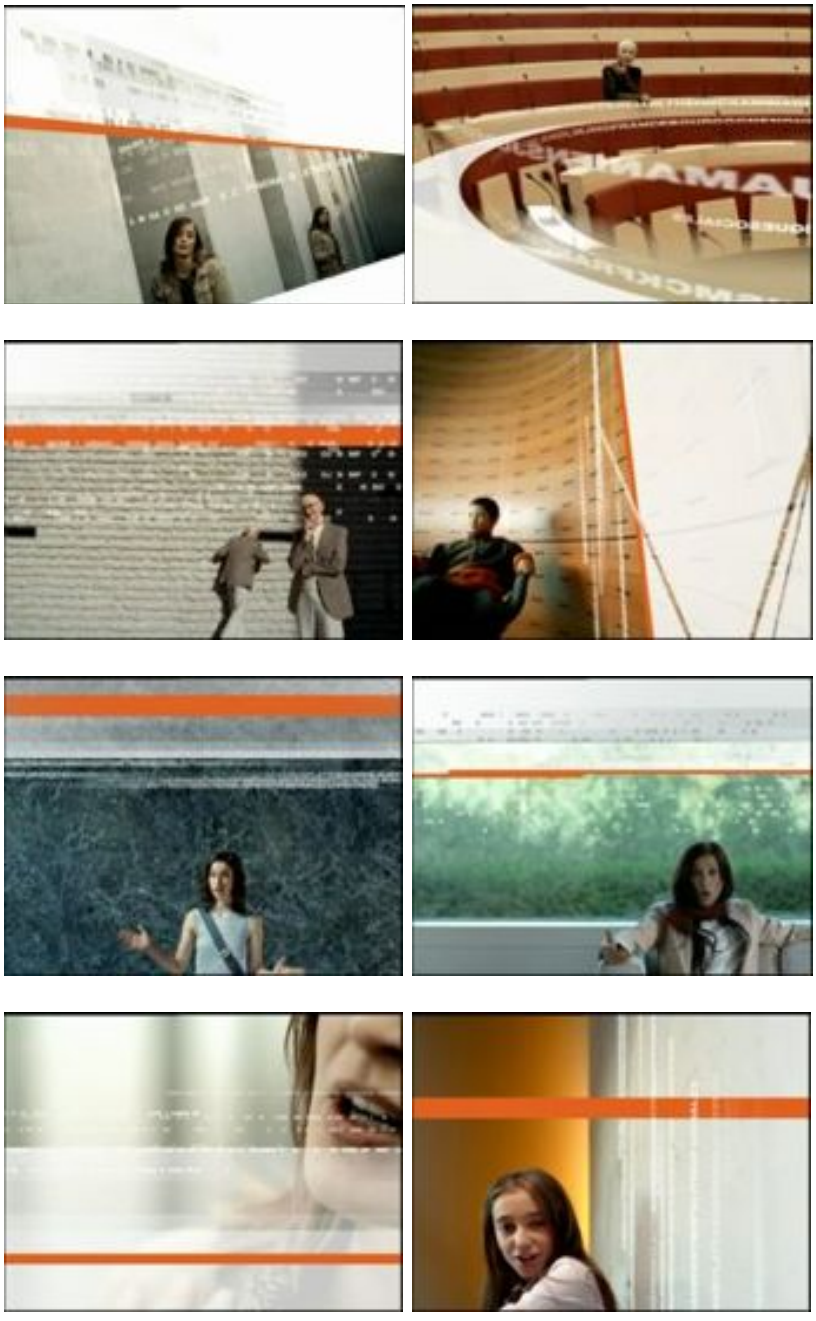

Fig. 8: Visualization of the maxim of the pan-European broadcaster ARTE promoting (audio-)visions of a pluri-vocal, multi-dimensional European Culture within a lively community of communication. (Source: Screenshots from the title sequence of *arte info*, ARTE, 2011)

The program promises to promote dialogue and discussion—here represented by very different people, most of them engaged in lively discussion. Although they are shot in individual sets, the dynamic soundtrack of a lively background hum of many voices, all talking in different languages, unites the different scenes and connects the protagonists. Thus, the idea of a pluri-vocal Europeanness can be taken literally.

Apart from that, the title sequence of *arte info* establishes an atmosphere that also inspires thorough analysis of controversial topical issues. It shows a man who is obviously pondering upon a topic (second row, at the left), but who also—after having reached a conclusion—turns around and springs into action. This embrace of autonomous consideration and active participation in the individual as well as the collective process of creating meaning is further encouraged by means of diverse ancillary texts, additional interviews and statements on arte.tv. The website explicitly invites the audience to join the discussion via blogs or to chat with the journalists, guest-experts or protagonists of the news narratives. In some cases, even user-generated (audio-visual) content is integrated to explore the issues in depth—and to add new perspectives; sometimes complementary, sometimes even contradictory to the main program's position. Thus, *arte info* (especially when taken as a multi-platform format) contributes to the representation of the multiplicity of

social realities and to the construction of Europeanness as a pluri-vocal, dynamic entity.[26]

Most important with regard to the exploration of the myth of European identity, the program dares to question established positions, e.g. by critically yet respectfully endorsing traditions in order to refashion them in our modern ways of life and to integrate them into the larger context of our globalized world. Not only does the title sequence feature protagonists who do not look like typical »Europeans« (e.g. the Asian boy, second row at the right); frequently the main news program also accompanies people from foreign countries or protagonists who are deeply rooted in their regional traditional settings—and who nevertheless express their cultural identities within the European framework and identify as, for example, Maghrebi, but also as Alsatian, French and European.

Thus ARTE proposes a concept of pluri-identities in which simultaneous, dialogically open regional, national and supranational Europeanness is successfully put forward—without any of the individual elements losing their specific uniqueness.

Maybe, this position can serve as a point of departure for further visions of Europeanness.

26 Without doubt, other broadcasters and media networks also try to reinforce their brands on the internet. Yet ARTE sets new standards for courage and readiness to experiment with new trans-medial concepts including social TV and audience participation that go beyond mere commercial interests.

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France 2—*les 20 heures*

France 3 Alsace—*19/20*: *édition régionale*, *édition locale*, and *journal national*

ARTE—arte info

Periods of broadcasts analyzed in detail:

March 20–27, 2007

October 1–7, 2012

July 20–27, 2012

December 5–12, 2012

January 14–21, 2013

February 10–17, 2013

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This is the soundtrack of our identity:

National mythscapes in music and the construction of collective identity through music in early Flemish radio (1929–1939)

Lieselotte Goessens

Introduction

This article is a condensation of a larger study on discourses and music programs in Flemish radio in the interwar period, which is to be published as a doctoral dissertation (in Dutch) later this year (Goessens forthcoming). Basis of the study is the scrutiny of discourses in both radio magazines and newspapers as well as the program of Flemish radio stations.[1] Both article and larger study are informed by a constructivist ontological and epistemological view of meaning and identities. Firstly, both identities and the meaning of music are viewed as social and thus discursive constructs. Secondly, the relation between collective identities and music is described in two ways: 1) Music is considered to have a strong emotional appeal and a catalytic function that enables it to produce strong feelings of togetherness. This makes music a common driving force in social and national movements. 2) Music can be used in an emblematic way to express identity. This expression of identity is however mainly the expression of an ideal, and thus itself a contribution to the construction of that identity.

In this article it will be argued that early Flemish Catholic radio used music both in a catalytic and in an emblematic way to further Flemish cultural emancipation and to construct a Flemish cultural identity. This

1 Radio broadcasts were scarcely preserved and could not be used for this study. However, the radio magazines of the Flemish broadcasters reflect very thoroughly on their radio programs and offer therefore a rich source for this study.

was done not only through music programming, but also through the concomitant discourses.

Flemish music was firstly meant to speak to feelings of togetherness and imagined community. Secondly, the meaning of Flemish music was discursively constructed in the program notes of the radio magazine *De Vlaamsche Radiogids*. Thirdly, both this discourse on Flemish music and the specific Flemish repertoire choices reflect an interpretation, and thus the content and color of Flemish cultural identity.

The emblematic use of Flemish music and the interpretation of Flemish identity that it holds are illustrated by examining the very first music program of the Catholic Flemish broadcaster in October 1929. This detailed analysis makes clear that music programs were not only an expression of collective identity, but also directed the meaning of that identity towards a specific interpretation, reflecting the norms and values of the Catholic broadcaster.

The context of early Flemish radio

Before 1830, two main languages were spoken on Belgian ground: French (and many Wallonian dialects resembling French) and Dutch (and, but only in the North, many Flemish dialects resembling Dutch). After Belgian independence, Flemish vernacular and culture were considered—mostly by Flemish men of letters—to be typically Belgian and were used to differentiate Belgium on the one hand from Holland, from which it had only recently won its independence, and on the other hand from France, which had annexed Belgium in the past (Gevers et al. 1998, 39; Vos 1999, 92; Wils 2009, 27). This interest in Flemish vernacular and folk culture was a symptom of romanticism and the concomitant interest in authentic cultural elements (Wils 2005, 154; Wils 2009, 97; Vos 1994, 127). At the same time, a powerful francophone bourgeois elite in Belgium made a resolute choice for the French language and culture to 1) ensure more national coherence through a unified language (Zolberg 1974, 192) and 2) raise Belgium's national prestige by associating it with a language of liberalism and high culture (Vos 1999, 91–92).

From the interest for the Flemish heritage of Belgium, a Flemish movement emerged that concerned itself with the preservation and revival of Flemish culture. A growing idolization of Flanders and Flemish culture (called *flamingantisme*), especially in the arts—in particular literature and music—awakened a sense of Flemish community. In the 1930s, this led to a full-blown Flemish nationalist movement that opposed the Belgian state and aimed for a separate Flemish nation-state, or at least federalism. However, this full-blown Flemish nationalism did not become a dominant political ideology in the years between the wars. Belgium only became a federal state in 1993. Most *flamingantisme* did not and still does not necessarily contradict Belgian patriotism. The Flemish collective identity did not contradict a Belgian identity, but was part of it. Between the wars, the collective identity of Flemings was becoming stronger every day and became a form of sub-nationalism that acknowledged Flanders as a separate entity without becoming disloyal to Belgium. For many Flemings, Belgium was only a state and had nothing to do with their national identity (Wils 2005, 209). Politically, the difference between Flemish sub-nationalism and Flemish nationalism in the interwar years was the difference between the minimalist and the maximalist Flemish political programs. The minimalist program, propagated by mainstream political parties (socialist, Catholic and liberal), was mainly concerned with language legislation acknowledging Flemish in the North. The maximalist Flemish nationalist program, put forth by the Flemish nationalist political parties VNV and Verdinaso, demanded a far-reaching separation of Flanders from the rest of the country (see among others Vos 1999, 95–98; Witte et al. 2005, 193–99; Witte et al. 2009, 171ff.).

Flemish radio was not only a mirror of these cultural and political evolutions. Radio as a cultural institution also contributed to the growing feeling of community amongst Flemish people by providing them with daily Flemish broadcasts. Especially noticeable in early radio history is radio's focus on Flemish music and art. Before engaging more thoroughly with the significance of Flemish radio music programs, it is

necessary to clarify the theoretical assumptions on which this study is based.

On identity, symbolic resources and mythscapes

The nature of social identities

This article is based on the constructivist premise that there is no such thing as an objective social reality. Meaning is always constructed. Something can only »mean« when it is given meaning. This meaning is attributed through communication and works via systems of representation (Hall 1997). Meaning is always dependent upon the socio-cultural context in which it functions and is given through expression, through communication for, as Foucault says, there is no meaning outside of language (Hall 1997, 45).

When we speak of the construction of meaning through language, language is understood not only as a system of written or spoken words, but as any symbolic or semiotic system in which people can communicate; including clothing, music, etc. In this sense, art can also be considered a language. The assignment of meaning to elements in a symbolic system is a socio-cultural and historical process that takes place through the practice of expression itself, not prior to it.

Identity or identification is a process by which we give meaning to ourselves and the social world around us. Identity is a tool with which we structure social life (see e.g. Jenkins 2008, 13) and is thus not something we think *about*, but something we think *with* (Gillis 1996, 5). Jenkins describes identity as »the human capacity—rooted in language—to know ›who's who‹ (and hence ›what's what‹)« (Jenkins 2008, 5). Identities have a close relationship with »social categories« or »social roles.« These are abstractions that are used to structure social life (Fairburn 1999, 20–21), ranging from categories such as gender, religion and nationality to marital or occupational status. They never exist in a »pure« form, but always intersect with other categories, other roles, and other identities (Wodak et al. 2009, 16).

Identities such as national identities are not a given with a tangible essence, but—just like other meanings—are constantly challenged, confirmed, enforced, revised and reinterpreted. Identity is not a way of being, but it is a constant state of becoming (Jenkins 2008, 5; Hall 1996, 2–3; Frith 1996, 122). This means that identification is conditional and historical. For example, what it meant to be a Fleming or a woman in the 18th century was undoubtedly very different from what it means to be a Fleming or a woman in the 21st century.

Symbolic resources and mythscapes

This article focusses on the symbolic expressions that contribute to the construction of collective (e.g. national or regional) identities. The concepts provided by A. D. Smith are points of departure in this matter. In his ethno-symbolic approach to the formation of ethnic or national identities,[2] Smith focusses on the importance of symbolism on the one hand and people's understanding and active remembrance of the past on the other hand. »Social reality is inconceivable outside of symbolism,« Smith states (Smith 2009, 25), continuing that it is largely through the interpretation of the past that the present is given meaning. This is why the »psychological center« of a nation is its »myth-symbol complex« (Smith 1986, 15, 57). A myth-symbol complex is a complex or network of myths and symbols that is used as a carrier for the norms and values of a community. Ethno-symbolists consider cultural elements such as symbols, myths, memories, values, rituals, and traditions crucial to ethnicity and nationhood (Smith 2009, 25). Likewise, these elements can be important for other kinds of collective identity and community.

Smith borrowed the term »myth-symbol complex« from Armstrong (1982) and used it exclusively in his earlier writings. Later he abandoned the term, but preserved the concept. In his 2009 summary of his own work, he refers to the »symbolic fund« of the nation, a similar term, albeit slightly vague. He also speaks of the »cultural resources« for nation

2 On the ethno-symbolic approach to ethno-genesis and nation-formation see Smith 1986, 1998, 1999, 2009.

formation. Among the cultural resources of the nation, Smith mentions myths of origin and descent (which he calls »mythomoteur«), the image of a golden age, the idea of sacred places, etc.

To circumvent Smith's inconsistency in terminology, I have chosen in this article to use the concept coined by Duncan Bell (2003): »*mythscape*.« Bell introduced the term to overcome Smiths entangled use of the concepts of myth, history and memory. Scholars of national identities, Bell remarks, have used the terms myth, history and memory almost interchangeably (think about the use of the term »collective memory«), which leads to theoretical confusion, especially about the concept of memory. Bell acknowledges however that the complex of myths, history and memories is essential for (national) communities. By introducing the term mythscape to indicate the complex of all of these elements, Bell safeguards the differences between the three concepts for other research.

Bell defines *mythscape* as

> the temporally and spatially extended discursive realm wherein the struggle for control of people's memories and the formation of nationalist myths is debated, contested and subverted incessantly. The mythscape is the page upon which the multiple and often conflicting nationalist narratives are (re)written; it is the perpetually mutating repository for the representation of the past for the purposes of the present. (Bell 2003, 66)

This conception of mythscape is very similar to what Smith called a myth-symbol complex or a community's symbolic fund, with the exception of symbols, which do not figure in Bell's mythscape, and real memories, which do not figure in Smiths myth-symbol complex. For my own purposes I have blended these concepts to include both the history-myth-memory complex and the myth-symbol complex. I use the concept of mythscape here to refer to the network of history, memories, myths, symbols, traditions and other symbolic resources that together constitute a communal identity with its own values.

Mythscapes are narratives as well as repertoires of symbolic resources that we can draw upon to represent community. A mythscape is also a

symbolic environment (a mental landscape as it were) in which we encounter meanings and implant other meanings while constructing our collective identities. The more symbolic resources we put into the mythscape, the more resources later generations have at their disposal to express their »collectiveness.« These mythscapes comprise essential symbolic processes such as boundary delineation, name-giving, symbolic cultivation, differentiation of »us« and »them,« cultivation of internal sameness and external difference, etc. (Smith 2009, 46-52). A mythscape is, as it were, the psychological fabric from which a community is woven.

Despite its name, a mythscape is not only about myths. A mythscape contains a mythomoteur (the dominant, constitutive myths of a community's origin and past) as well as other stories/myths drawn from history, mythology or collective memory; containing heroes, memorable events, the image of a golden age, references to a real or fictitious territory, idealized or romanticized landscapes, and so on. It also includes self-stereotypes and diverse symbols.

Symbolic resources or symbols are products of symbolic expression that have come to signify more abstract concepts (e.g. a nation). A straightforward example of a symbol is an emblem (a flag is an emblem of a nation), but symbols can be far more complex than emblems. Symbols can be purely mental, but also visual or auditory. Architecture, works of art and music, but also *lieux de mémoire* (places invested with memories, myths and thus meaning; Nora 1989), traditions, and rituals can become symbols and be integrated into a mythscape. For music, W. J. Allenbrook (1983) proposed the term »topoi,« to refer to musical material that carries extra-musical meanings or associations (see also Dibben 2003). Both musical topoi and whole pieces of music can be considered symbolic resources on which one can draw to express, for example, collective identity. Symbolic resources can be carriers of a community's mythscape and at the same time themselves become part of this mythscape.

A meaningful past, art and imagined community

Almost all of the elements that make up a mythscape provide a connection with the past. They bring the past into the present, at the same time bringing meaning into the present. In a way, present meanings and identities are always made out of elements of the past, which are constantly redefined and rearticulated to contribute to the present. This can happen explicitly, but more often happens rather unconsciously. We constantly connect new things with what we already know. A mythscape fixes the past in a meaningful way. It creates a »we«-feeling, because it provides a group of people with a common past and a common culture.

Mythscapes are powerful for the formation of identity, because they offer us a self-image. A mythscape gives us information about who we are and where we come from—it is a meaningful carrier of community values. Even if we don't believe the so-called facts contained in the mythscape, or the mythscape is mainly fictitious, it can still define who we are and where we come from. Drawing from Benedict Anderson's standard work, we can describe a mythscape as a powerful complex of symbolic resources that help us to imagine community. »Communities,« Anderson explains, »are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined« (Anderson 2006, 6). The mythscape is the nation's image of itself.

Although Anderson's work has been used mainly to explain the dynamics behind national communities, it is equally useful in the study of other types of community. What is important in Anderson's work is the observation that cultural products and media have the power to distribute symbolic resources that create a feeling of community among people who have never met and will likely never meet. This is true for literature and newspapers, Anderson's own cases, and likewise for art and music (Anderson 2006). While historians and intellectuals have always contributed to the formation of mythscapes, artists are most often the ones who give substance to the abstract concept of community (Smith 2009, 86). Artists provide a fund of symbolic resources. »If the schools and armies provided the conduits and vehicles of the national idea,« Smith writes about national communities, »it was the poets, artists

and musicians who infused it with imaginative content and gave it tangible, and often memorable, form« (Smith 2009, 90).

The same can be said about other types of social movements. Eyerman and Jamison (1998) describe how music made a large contribution to the social movements of the 20th century. Music constituted not just an expression of these social movements, but more importantly an impulse for them. Music is a symbolic expression which can be crucial in the formation of collective identities. Music is not only a driving force behind social movements, but also preserves the memory of those movements and thereby provides a source and inspiration for later movements.

Mythscapes in music and music in mythscapes

Part of music's power in these social movements has been music's mobilization of tradition:

> Tradition, the past in the present, is vital to our understanding and interpretation of who we are and what we are meant to do. As such, it is a powerful source of inspiration for social movements and emergent cultural formations. These include most obviously traditions of protest and rebellion, but also, more subtly, forms of living and underlying sensibilities […] Such structures of feeling can be embodied and preserved in and through music, which is partly why music is such a powerful force in social movements and in social life generally. (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 161)

Music as symbolic expression is, as Georgina Born emphasizes, multitextual. It comprises multiple layers or texts, each of which can generate meaning: sound, notation or visual form, technology, performance, words and/or narrative structure, and the discourses (e.g. theoretical) built around it (Born 1995, 16–18; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 37). Music's engagement with tradition, with the past or with a mythscape, can be found on any of these levels. The most obvious connection of music with a mythscape is the use of historical and mythical themes. These themes can be mirrored in the title, in the text of vocal

music or in the text from which the music drew inspiration (e.g. symphonic poems). Music in itself can also establish a connection with the past and can mobilize tradition in a purely musical way; by re-using musical elements from earlier contexts in a new way and with a different meaning, but still carrying the meaning of the original context. Nationalist composers for example have made ample use of folk songs or folk dances to give their music an authentic national character, and musicians of the civil rights and black power movements in 1960s America drew upon the black musical tradition of spirituals and blues (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 74–105). On a more abstract level, text and music can be felt to embody the virtues a community bestows on itself.

Music's meaning is affected by the context wherein it took form, the context wherein it was performed and experienced in the past and the one wherein it is performed and experienced in the present. The meaning of a musical text and performance is above all a socio-cultural construction: meaning is not inherent in the musical forms and properties themselves, but is »being brought to life in and through the interplay of forms and interpretations« (DeNora 2000, 22). Musical meaning is largely constructed through the discourses built around music. These can be philosophical or theoretical discourses created by composers or musicologists and the like, but can also be more popular discourses, for example the discourses disseminated by radio stations. Frith is convinced that radio is one of the most important sources of popular musical discourse, »defining genres and genre communities, shaping music history and nostalgia« (Frith 2003, 96).

Music is not only able to refer to elements of a mythscape, music can also become part of it. Music might become a symbol of something important to the community or of the community itself (e.g. folk songs as a symbol for the authenticity of the community). Music can come to embody a myth of community; musical elements such as composers, instruments or musical features can become strongly associated with a particular community and also with nationality. By becoming part of a community's symbolic resources, music can also bear references to a community's musical past. One way in which this often happens is

through a composer's reputation and/or the discourse around his or her music. Applegate and Potter explain how, for example, Wagner established himself as a German nationalist composer not only through his music, but also through his ability to write about music. His nationalist agenda is obvious in his writings and activities, and his music has become associated with this agenda. As a result, »Germanness« in music eventually came to denote Wagnerism (Applegate and Potter 2002: 11–12). In other words, Wagner in his music referred to mythical elements of the German mythscape, but both Wagner and his style also themselves became part of the German mythscape. Musical references to Wagner's music and style can be understood as references to German identity, but also as references to nationalism per se. In the course of time, music can accumulate layers of meaning through the functions that have been ascribed to it and through the discourses wherein it has been used. The favorable position of Wagner's music in Germany during World War II, for example, has put a new layer of meaning onto this music.

Music and mythscapes are thus in constant interaction: music can use elements of the mythscape and thus be a carrier of that mythscape, or the music itself and the artists involved can become part of the symbolic resources of a community, and thus contribute to its mythscape.

Media and mythscapes: negotiation and naturalization

Collective identification can be influenced by explicit engagements, but even more by daily, casual references. According to Michael Billig (1995), it is in particular the confirmation of collective (e.g. national) identity on a daily basis and in everyday life that has a naturalizing effect and makes it a strong part of people's individual identity. This daily confirmation of collective identity is provided by, for example, newspapers and broadcasting media.

Mass media have a close connection to collective and social identities. They are, have been and will probably always be important public sites where identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed. Many scholars, often inspired by Anderson, have shown how media have

always been influential instruments in the creation, confirmation and delineation of imagined communities, more specifically national communities (see e.g. Cardiff and Scannell 1987; Scannell and Cardiff 1991; Waisbord 1998; Van den Bulck 2001; Dhoest 2003, 2004; Smith and Philips 2006). Media provide conditions under which national or regional communities can foster by connecting people on a national or regional scale, giving them a feeling of togetherness, and making them imagine a community with people they have never even met. Media however also contribute to the interpretation, the content and the meaning of collective identities. Media can give, as it were, color and taste to an identity (Smith 2009, 14–16). By their connection to the art world and to the entertainment world, broadcasting media offer us a range of symbolic resources that co-construct the collective identity of the community, giving this identity a specific content and meaning. Media make certain myths, memories and symbols part of the everyday life of every individual (Hobsbawm 1990, 141–42). Media thus make mythscapes part of the life of every individual, and also have the power to negotiate these mythscapes.

Since modern times, media have provided a link between the art world and people's daily lives. While nowadays our most important connection with the world of art and more specifically music is probably the internet, this service was formerly provided by the broadcasting media. In the 1920s and 1930s, the period discussed below, radio was an important source of music in Western people's daily lives.[3] Since music was not yet as available on recordings as would later be the case, many people turned to the radio to provide them with daily musical entertainment. This gave radio a unique position as everybody's DJ. Radio more or less decided which music its community could listen to.[4] From this unique and rather dominating position, radio has played an important role in the »shaping of a nation's taste« (Doctor 1999), but also in the stimulation of musical

3 In Belgium television was introduced as late as 1953, while regular radio broadcasts had already been provided since 1923.

4 You could, of course, always listen to foreign radio stations.

culture (on the Belgian case see Van den Buys and Segers 2013; on Ireland see O'Neill 2000). By shaping a nation's taste, radio was also able to negotiate music's position in the mythscape.

Belgian radio identities[5]

Belgium's first radio station, Radio Belgique, started in 1923 as a politically neutral commercial station. It was patriotic and made an effort to support »Belgian music« and it was French-speaking (see Putseys 1987; Goessens et al. 2013). Although Flemish composers were not absent in the musical programming, Flemings complained about the lack of representation of Flemish culture. The station was seen as un-Flemish by Flemings, as anti-Flemish by Flemish nationalists, as too liberal by Catholics and as too capitalist and bourgeois by socialists. Too many, in other words, felt left out because they could not find the basic contours of their collective identities in the programming of Radio Belgique.

This led to the foundation of Flemish radio associations. From 1928, some of these associations started airing specifically Flemish broadcasts by buying airtime on Radio Belgique. Eventually, a second Belgian wavelength was designated for Flemish broadcasts. Catholic organizations built a radio station in Flanders and Flemish broadcasts were provided on an almost daily basis after the end of 1929. Not until 1931 was a Belgian national broadcasting institute founded.

In the beginning, in 1929, there were two main radio associations that provided Flemish broadcasts: a Catholic broadcaster called Katholieke Vlaamsche Radio-Omroep (KVRO) and a socialist broadcaster called Socialistische Arbeiders Radio-Omroep voor Vlaanderen (SAROV). Their early broadcasts were driven by discontentedness about the lack of Flemish language and representation on Radio Belgique. They were also motivated by the lack of support for Flemish culture in general in Belgium, and by their wish to express their political or religious ideas via

5 For a more elaborate history of Belgian/Flemish radio, see De Cang et al. 2010; Goessens et al. 2013; Goessens 2014 [t.b.p.].

radio. This led to overtly pro-Flemish, political and religious broadcasts. In a 1929 issue of its radio magazine, the KVRO wrote:

> We aim at the refinement and moral enlightenment of the Flemish people through the dissemination of healthy art and beauty. There will be no short-sightedness in our program choices, but enough pride and racial consciousness to dare to flaunt with all the beauty of our Catholic life and our Flemish culture. All our broadcasts, our existence, our magazine and our work will be Flemish.[6] (*De Vlaamsche Radiogids*, Dec. 8–14, 1929)

Alongside their Flemish identity, the broadcasters also displayed a political identity which intersected with their national identity.[7] This intersection is noticeable in the way the two broadcasters resorted to and constructed different versions of the Flemish mythscape. In both their magazine and their broadcasts, KVRO and SAROV made reference to a Flemish mythscape that reflected both their Flemish and their political/religious identity. Their identity was also reflected in their music programming. The programming of Flemish music, for example, was one of the ways in which the Flemish broadcasters gave expression to their Flemish identity.

In the following I will go deeper into the function of music in general, and Flemish music specifically, in the expression and formation of collective identity by these early broadcasters.

Symbolic functions of music for Flemish broadcasters

When we consider the music of the very first KVRO and SAROV programs, it is striking that it is almost exclusively Flemish music performed by Flemish artists. On the surface, providing indigenous music instead of

6 All English excerpts from *De Vlaamsche Radiogids* or other Flemish magazines or newspapers are translations from the Dutch by the author.

7 Although we can, from a theoretical point of view, question the terminology of »national identity« to designate Flemish identity, it was, in effect, experienced as a national identity by the broadcasters. They speak about Flanders as a homeland, a country, a people, etc.

the French music that had been flooding the Belgian concert halls and Radio Belgique was an act of national pride. In a socialist newspaper, the socialist broadcaster wrote the following about its first broadcast from Brussels in 1929:

> The concert was exclusively dedicated to works of Flemish composers […] Many thousands of Flemish listeners will have been satisfied. It feels strange to our people to hear, from the capital of our country, our wonderful Flemish language and the works of our composers, transmitted throughout our regions. (*De Volksgazet*, Apr. 13–14, 1929)

However, there was more going on than just national pride. Choosing Flemish music was a sign of belief in the power and symbolic function of music. This strategy is important on two levels: 1) The emotional impact of music (its catalyst function) enhanced a collective feeling of belonging; and 2) As a symbolic expression of collective identity (the emblematic function of music) music was closely related to (versions of) the Flemish (or political) mythscape, and thus enhanced Flemish identification and emancipation.

Emotional impact: music as catalyst for collective identity formation

Music has the ability to enhance collective feelings of belonging. It is a catalyst of the collective identification that lies at the root of social movements (Eyerman and Jamison 1998, 7; on the catalyst function of music see Hammarlund 1999, 94; cited in Folkestad 2002, 156). Whether music indeed influenced social change in Flanders by encouraging collective identification is something I cannot determine conclusively based on this research. However, in some published letters by members of the KVRO audience, people described how they and their family jumped up when they heard »De Vlaamsche Leeuw« (the anthem of Flanders, which at that time was not yet an official anthem) and started singing along so loudly that they could no longer hear the speaker. This is one of the few examples I have that indicate the real emotional impact of music in these first Flemish broadcasts. I am however able to ascertain that the broadcasters themselves believed in the catalyst function of music, which

had a significant influence on both their music programming and on the way they wrote about music.

The first Flemish radio broadcasts in Belgium were emotional events. Flemish music provided them with an even more profound emotionality and enhanced the involvement of their listeners. This can be illustrated by the following account of the very first KVRO broadcast on October 6, 1929, published in December in the first issue of the KVRO's radio magazine, *De Vlaamsche Radiogids*:

> See how they're sitting there; ear on the receiver, tuning buttons in hand, one turn left, one right, one lamp lights up, another goes out, adjusting the window to the left, to the front … and all the while this whistling, hissing, creaking, whining, really maddening. Mother and the little rascals crowd around the radio set … »Dad, when will it begin?« … dance music … »Boys, I think I've found it« … ah no, it's Toulouse … one turn left, right … Until suddenly: »Allo, allo. Hier Veltem! Katholieke Vlaamsche Radio-Omroep« … Hurray! What joy! And triumphantly the »Rubensmars« [march by Peter Benoit] starts. Good, because now »the Carrillon will play from every tower« [this refers to the text of the »Carillon Song« from Benoit's *Rubenscantate*]. Thereafter sounded the tuneful and appropriate »Moederspraak, mij lief als geen« [»my mother tongue, so dear to me«, from the song »Mijn moederspraak,« again by Benoit]. In spite of the terrible hissing and whistling everybody sang along: »Diep roert me uw zoet geluid« [»your sweet sound moves me deeply«]. Not only emotional listeners felt a shudder of pure emotion because their language, their mother tongue was being broadcast across the world. (*De Vlaamsche Radiogids,* Dec 8–14, 1929)

This account illustrates the emotional effects of this particular music. The choice of these pieces for the first KVRO broadcast was certainly not a coincidence, but conscious and meticulous. Many of the songs included in this broadcast (see appendix) can be considered part of the standard repertoire of the Flemish movement and are thus associated with the emotionality of Flemish emancipation. This emotional layer of

meaning within Flemish music contributed to the meaning of the first broadcasts.

The songs that carried the Flemish movement since the 19th century often originated in or were cultivated by either the Flemish folk song revival or the Flemish *liedbeweging* or song movement and the *zangfeesten* or sing-along festivals (Willaert and Dewilde 1987). These songs were cultivated during evenings and festivities where people sang together. Consequently, they were probably known by many people and singing along was integral to them. Heightening the involvement of the audience through the act of singing along was encouraged even more by publishing the lyrics of the songs broadcast. This contributed to a heightened feeling of togetherness among the audience.

Singing together is described by Anderson as an activity that enhances the imagining of community. He talks about »unisonance« to indicate a situation, for example singing a national anthem, in which many people sing the same words at the same time and feel part of a collective or community. Music, in such cases, is indeed a catalyst that arouses feelings of togetherness (Anderson 2006, 145).

Crucial to the experience of sharing created by radio is radio's reach on the one hand and its simultaneity on the other hand. Listeners everywhere in Flanders listened to the same songs at the same time and maybe even sang the same songs at the same time, giving them a feeling of unisonance and thus of unity.

David Hesmondhalgh is convinced that the excitement or sadness experienced when listening to a piece of music »can be intensified through the sense that such […] are shared, or even potentially shared« (Hesmondhalgh 2008, 329). He refers to both collective listening at live performances and to an individual listening while imagining others sharing the experience, as is the case with radio. Although the experience of sharing a common culture can be felt through many other cultural expressions, music might be the most powerful, because of its link to the emotions (Hesmondhalgh 2008, 329–30).

Based on interview material, Tia DeNora demonstrated how music has real power in everyday life. It influences the way people compose their bodies, how they behave, how they experience the passage of time or how they feel in terms of energy and emotion (DeNora 2000, 17). This means that »[t]o be in control, then, of the soundtrack of social action is to provide a framework for the organization of social agency, a framework for how people perceive (consciously or subconsciously) potential avenues of conduct« (DeNora 2000, 17).

As radio makers, KVRO and SAROV saw the opportunity to exploit music's social and emotional powers. Music was supposed to heighten the emotional involvement of the audience. Music was also supposed to stimulate certain patterns of thinking and behavior by means of identification.

The soundtracks of identities

In their musical programming, the broadcasters searched for music that fitted their cultural ideals and national and political identity. Hammerlund and Folkestad speak about the emblematic function of music (Folkestad, 2002, 156). To use music emblematically means to use music as an expression of social/collective identity. According to Frith, music is constructive of our sense of identity »through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives« (Frith 1996, 124). Music is part of the imagining of our identity (Frith 1996, 109) and thus also of the imagining of our collective belonging. What Frith suggests is not just that social groups share certain values which they express in music or other cultural activities, but »that they only get to know themselves as groups […] through cultural activity, through aesthetic judgment« (Frith 1996, 111). By offering what they considered appropriate music, Flemish broadcasters hoped to influence not only Flemish identity, but also the coherence of the audience.

KVRO often wrote about music in its radio magazines. One of the ideas developed in these magazines was that Flemish music helped Flanders to develop its self-awareness as well as a belief in its own possibilities. By

making the audience familiar with Flemish composers, it hoped to cultivate more pride and self-awareness and thus through music produce an ideal Flemish nation. In the same way a mythscape resonates with the ideals of a community, with its values and its images of the future, music also resonates with an »ideal identity.« By identifying certain composers, genres or even instruments as »Flemish« (and omitting others), these broadcasters constructed the meaning of »Flemish music« and at the same time constructed the meaning of »being Flemish.«

The suitability of music for broadcasts was in large part dependent on its relationship to a (politically or ideologically) desired version of the Flemish mythscape. KVRO, for example, interpreted Flemish identity as a Catholic identity. This is reflected in the use of a Flemish mythscape containing Christian and Catholic elements, and in a preference for Christian music or music that propagated Christian values. This interpretation was obviously not shared by the socialist SAROV. The cultural profile of KVRO was relatively high-brow, because the goal of Catholic radio (or its »ideal identity«) was a cultivated, Christian and emancipated Fleming. Because of its own preoccupation with the »soul« of Flanders and Flemish music, the broadcaster also had a preoccupation with national schools of music. National music was considered an acoustic manifestation of the *volksgeest*, the national character. By arranging music broadcasts by the nationality of the composer, listeners were led to become inclined towards the national in music, making music the national product *par excellence*. Moreover, the programming of national music from around the world served as an example: the support and acknowledgment these national schools received elsewhere was presented as a model for Flanders.

The socialist broadcasting association devoted its attention above all to the social needs of Flemish laborers. This is why it provided social lectures, but also light entertainment music to satisfy its target audience, which was not familiar with »high« musical culture. Music was perceived as »refreshing« for the mind of the everyday laborer in between his work and the (socialist) lectures. At the same time music was considered a means to »cultivate« the laborer, because the eventual goal of socialist

radio (or its »ideal identity«) was an emancipated Flemish laborer. Although its repertoire was much more international than that of the KVRO, Flemish music was especially important in SAROV's initial broadcasts and on special occasions. On these occasions Flemish music played a symbolic role. SAROV's musical preferences inclined towards Flemish leftist composers such as Jan Broeckx or Jozef Van der Meulen. In articles on international music, sympathies went out to leftist composers and conductors around the world, but also to artists and composers who stood up against or were victims of Nazi Germany. By associating music with politics, repertoire choices sometimes became political statements.

Music programs as expressions of a Flemish collective identity

Context and meaning

Since it is the socio-historical context of music that defines its (layers of) meaning, one can only come to understand music's contribution to social and national cohesiveness by studying the performances of, contexts of and, in particular, discourses constructed around music. In the research on which this article is based, both the music programs of Flemish radio broadcasters as well as the discourses they built around their repertoire were studied within their historical context to understand the music's place in the construction of Flemish identity.

Based on the insights we have gained so far, the remainder of this article will consist of an analysis of KVRO's music repertoire, framed within the context of accompanying articles in KVRO's own radio magazine *De Vlaamsche Radiogids*. To make the analysis more comprehensible, the focus is mostly on the very first KVRO program on October 6, 1929.

As first program it is most telling 1) of the ways in which KVRO used Flemish music both as a catalyst and in an emblematic way; and 2) of how the music programming reflected the Flemish mythscape or Flemish identity as represented in the discourses of KVRO. The analyses are based on a study of the program as a symbolic expression or semiotic system, using those properties that could be found in the published

schedule and aided by a discourse analysis of the magazine. An analysis of the musical scores is not included, rather only properties that were directly accessible to broadcasters and audience alike such as the titles of the works, the language and content of the texts (if any), the composers, the text writers, the style and genre, and the instrumentation and performance (musicians, performance character, etc.). These properties were all mentioned and even thoroughly discussed in the magazines, which means it is possible to verify their meaning in this particular context. Of course this also means that many other properties were ignored.

The initial program was also compared to the overall repertoire of KVRO to determine how representative the broadcast was. While the first broadcast of SAROV was an exception to its overall program, the first program of KVRO was very similar to its everyday programs.

Through a detailed analysis of KVRO's first music program and KVRO's discourse on Flemish music, I have aimed to demonstrate the relation of music to and music as an expression of one version of the Flemish mythscape. I have also aimed to demonstrate how collective identity can be expressed and even propagated through music programming. An overview of the repertoire of the first KVRO broadcast can be found in the appendix.

Signification of the composers and songwriters

Composers

The image that early Flemish broadcasters created of Flemish music was a reflection of their image of Flemish cultural identity. Composers were praised and programmed whose accomplishments were considered valuable for the reputation of Flemish music and for Flemish cultural identity. Based on an analysis of KVRO's discourse on Flemish composers, we found six categories of composers that the KVRO deemed important for Flemish music and identity: 1) the Flemish »polyphonists« (15th–16th centuries); 2) the collector/arranger of Flemish folk songs; 3) Peter Benoit and his Flemish contemporaries; 4) composers active in the song movement, especially in the *Liederavonden Voor Het Volk* (people's

#sing-alongs); 5) Flemish composers who developed a more international outlook on music while at the same time remaining true to their Flemish roots; and finally 6) composers who contributed to the development of Flemish ecclesiastical and religious music.

Each of these six categories at the same time refers to a story. Each category represents part of Flemish music history as narrated by KVRO. We might even be able to discern a specific musical Flemish mythscape, because these narratives contain references to golden ages, ages of struggle and revival, composers figuring as heroes, both historical and more recent memories, and many traditions and symbols. By writing about Flemish music, its mythscape and significance, and by putting together music programs based on this musical Flemish mythscape, KVRO inserted pieces of Flemish music history into a general Flemish mythscape.

When we take a look at KVRO's first music program on October 6, 1929 (see appendix), the first thing we notice is that only one of the composers in the program (Lodovico Grossi da Viadana) is not Flemish. The ten remaining Flemish composers together represent all six categories of important Flemish composers. Analysis of the complete interwar period 1929–1940 showed that approximately 21% of the musical pieces on the programs were works of Belgian composers, mostly of Flemish origin (it is not always possible to distinguish between a Flemish and a non-Flemish Belgian composer). The general top five KVRO composers were Franz Schubert, Johann Strauss II, Franz Lehár, Peter Benoit and Emiel Hullebroeck. Two of the five are Flemish.

To allow comparison of the music programming with the discourses and of the first program with the overall musical repertoire of KVRO, the figure below (Fig. 1) shows those Belgian composers most often broadcast by KVRO. The second most broadcast composer, Emiel Hullebroeck, was aired mostly during the KVRO children's hour and will thus not be considered in the following analyses of the musical programs.

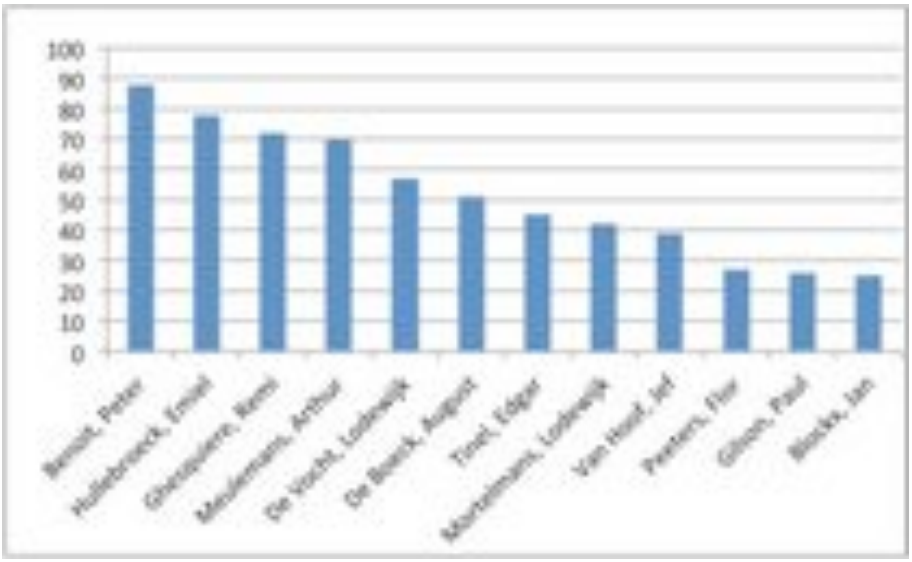

Fig. 1: Overview of the Belgian composers broadcast most often in KVRO music programs between 1929 and 1940. This is based on an analysis of one of four broadcasts.

The KVRO described the age of the Flemish polyphonists as the golden age of Flemish music. The international success and glory of these composers is something to which KVRO hoped Flemish composers might once again aspire. On the first KVRO program, Jacob van Berchem from Antwerp and Ludovicus Episcopus from Mechelen represent this category. The song by Episcopus was known in Flanders in 1929 because it was republished by Florimond Van Duyse at the beginning of the century. The KVRO considered Van Duyse's folk song anthologies evidence of a Flemish *volksziel* (soul of the people) that had survived centuries despite foreign occupations. Songs from his collections were played regularly by KVRO. On the initial program under consideration here, Van Duyse was present a second time in a composition by Arthur Meulemans based on Van Duyse's arrangement of »Van twee coninckskinderen,« a folk song based on a medieval text. By selecting two pieces based on old folk songs and two motets from the 16th century, KVRO made a connection to a distant past and suggested continuity in the history of Flemish music and identity.

The program also showcased three pieces by Peter Benoit. Benoit was the founder of the first Flemish conservatory and has therefore generally been considered the father and founder of the Flemish school of music. KVRO described him as the man who »invented« Flemish art music, without whose struggles Flemish music would never have had a chance to flourish. His accomplishments, and even his personality, were strongly romanticized in the magazine. The only composer romanticized more than Benoit was Beethoven. Benoit figured in the musical mythscape of KVRO as a founding father and in the general Flemish mythscape as a hero, a fighter for Flemish rights in Belgium. He was one of the most popular composers in the programs of KVRO. Although not programmed as much by SAROV, Benoit was also one of their most popular Flemish composers. Of all his works, Benoit's »Mijn moederspraak« was aired most often on KVRO, both as a song and as an arrangement for orchestra, organ, strings, cello or carillon. It was much less popular on SAROV. The lyrics of the song describe the emotional bond of Flemings with their mother tongue, which is why the song has such emblematic power.

The Flemish-minded Jan Blockx, also on this program, was Benoit's successor at the Flemish conservatory. Blockx's music is often evaluated in relation to Benoit's. Because of his importance for the development of Flemish music, Benoit's style and Benoit himself came to denote »Flemishness.« Up until the 1930s, the music of Benoit often served as the standard against which the Flemish heart of other composers was measured. KVRO described Blockx as the only true successor to Benoit. Blockx's works aired most by KVRO were the serenade from his ballet *Milenka* and his *Vlaamsche dansen*. The same pieces were played regularly by the other broadcasters and can be considered part of a standard Flemish repertoire.

Although KVRO sometimes described the music of Benoit and his contemporaries as old-fashioned or esthetically uninteresting, their spirit, their reputation and their importance to the development of Flemish music were considered sufficient reason to put them on the repertoire. This means that socio-cultural significance was more important to

KVRO programming than aesthetic significance. That's why the composers who were involved in the Flemish movement figured prominently not only on this particular program, but on all KVRO programs. Through music programs like this first one, Flemish people got to know those who were considered by KVRO as the »heroes« of Flemish music, making them part of the Flemish mythscape.

Renaat Veremans, Jef Tinel and Arthur Meulemans are composers of the fourth category, composers active in the Flemish *Lied* movement. They composed for, organized and conducted musical events of the Flemish movement that mostly involved singing in smaller or larger groups. According to KVRO, the *Lied* or #sing-along movement awakened the self-awareness of the Flemish community and aroused the demand for a specific Flemish song repertoire. Consequently, composers active in this movement were represented in the main by their vocal repertoire, though some of them wrote many non-vocal works. Jef Tinel did not write much and was not aired much in the programs of either broadcaster, but Veremans was well known and loved by KVRO, especially for his song »Vlaanderen.« Arthur Meulemans was the third most-aired Belgian composer in KVRO programs (*children's hour* not included) and the seventh most-aired composer in general. He also figured prominently in KVRO's discourses on Flemish music. This can be explained not only by Meulemans's Flemish allegiance, but also by the fact that Meulemans was the conductor and programmer of the KVRO radio orchestra from 1929 until 1931. He was in more than one way a figurehead of the Flemish Catholic radio movement. SAROV, for example, almost never aired his music. Two other popular KVRO composers who do not figure on the first KVRO program but belong to this category of composers are Jef Van Hoof and Emiel Hullebroeck. None of these composers were aired more than once or twice a year by SAROV.

Composers from the fifth category were the only composers lauded for their symphonic achievements. They were described as composers who gained international recognition by combining international musical developments with a Flemish musical idiom. The discourse on these composers is very similar: their spirit is national, but their techniques

international. This means that KVRO often looked for signs of »Flemishness« in their music. It is these composers the KVRO counted upon to write Flemish music back into the international history of music. One of the composers most representative of this category is August de Boeck. He was mentioned as one of the finest impressionists in Flanders, but also as an exuberant romantic, renowned for his technical qualities. On the first KVRO program, we find one of his orchestral pieces with explicit reference to the Flemish identity of the composer. The program also showcased one of his songs based on a Flemish text. Lodewijk Mortelmans was also lauded as an important representative of impressionist music in Flanders, keeping his Flemish identity while working under foreign influences. Remarkably, Mortelmans's only works in the KVRO repertoire were his songs. The symphonic works of two other impressionists, Paul Gilson and Arthur Meulemans, were more popular. However, Meulemans' symphonic music was again not as popular as his songs. The first program aired an orchestral piece by Meulemans, and a song based on a Flemish text. By selecting Meulemans', Mortelmans' and De Boeck's more obviously Flemish pieces, KVRO highlighted their identity as Flemish composers even in their orchestral works. Of these composers, only Lodewijk Mortelmans (again mostly his songs) was aired regularly by SAROV.

The category of composers who stimulated the development of Flemish ecclesiastic and religious music is personified mostly by Edgar Tinel. As director of the interdiocesan institute for ecclesiastic music or *Lemmensinstituut*, he contributed greatly to the development of Flemish ecclesiastical music, but he also added much to the Catholic repertoire as a composer of Flemish religious music (oratorios, cantatas, religious songs etc.). His most popular work on Catholic radio was his oratorio, *Franciscus*. That Tinel disliked nationalist tendencies in Flemish music and that he seldom spoke Flemish (Willaert and Dewilde 1987, 68) was of course never mentioned by KVRO. Obviously, KVRO favored a combination of Christian and Flemish elements in music. Meulemans, who was a student of Tinel, often also combined Christian and Flemish elements in his vocal music. Tinel's song, »'t Pardoent,« chosen for the first KVRO

program is one example. However the other piece by Tinel, the march from *Klokke Roeland,* was not religious, but one of his few overtly Flemish works. Tinel did not figure on SAROV's programs except for the non-religious, Flemish music from *Klokke Roeland*.

Songwriters

Four songs on the program were based on texts by Guido Gezelle, a Catholic priest and poet and contemporary of Benoit who was one of the figureheads of the Flemish movement in West Flanders. While he was still alive, Gezelle was already a symbol for both the Flemish movement as a cultural movement and for the Catholic interpretation of Flemish identity. His texts were often set to music. He was an important symbolic resource in KVRO's Flemish mythscape, which is illustrated by its first program. Julius Sabbe, who appeared twice in the program, was a very Flemish-minded but liberal poet-essayist and friend of Peter Benoit, about whom he wrote one of many glorifying books. Julius Sabbe, Willem Gijssels and the hidden Julius de Geyter were all active in the Flemish movement. Florimond van Duyse, a collector and arranger of folk songs, was a writer-composer of the very first generation of the Flemish movement, which was mainly preoccupied with the Flemish language. This means that except for the motets based on bible texts, all texts within the program were written or published by poets active in the Flemish movement.

Again, this proves how meticulously the KVRO choose the repertoire of its first broadcast to call upon feelings of collective Flemish identity. The program reflects the six categories of important Flemish composers identified within KVRO discourses. One part of the meaning of this music is derived from the reputation of these composers and the stories that connect to them. Another part is derived from the context and authors of the textual sources. Each piece of music brings its own story with it. A story which is tied to the context in which it originated. Through this story, each piece of music brings meaning into a music program.

Themes

Not only the composers and songwriters give these pieces of music their meaning, but also the text's topics and the references these pieces make to elements of the Flemish mythscape. Examples of the topics, symbols and references that can be found in this broadcast's program are: the Flemish language, an idealized Flemish landscape, bells and carillons, Catholic traditions in Flanders, significant artists and Flemish traditions and folk music.

Two songs on the program express the importance of the Flemish language and imply that speaking your mother tongue is a form of freedom. Language is associated with family and with art, and described as something that we carry in our hearts. The account of the broadcast cited above links the emotional qualities of these songs to the emotional experience of hearing Flemish over the radio for the first time:

> In spite of the terrible hissing and whistling everybody sang along: »Diep roert me uw zoet geluid« [your sweet sound moves me deeply]. Not only emotional listeners felt a shudder of pure emotion because their language, their mother tongue was being broadcast across the world. (*De Vlaamsche Radiogids*, Dec 8–14, 1929)

Veremans's emblematic song »Vlaanderen« (»Flanders«) was a popular song in early Flemish broadcasts. The first stanza of the song is an ode to the landscape of Flanders, with its fields, meadows and rivers, its villages and its cities. Flanders is described as a *locus amoenus* or an idealized place where one can feel safe and at home, where nature is peaceful and beautiful. In the second stanza the poet describes how the identity of Flanders can be found in the art of its people. The refrain repeats the association of Flanders with its nature and affirms the song's pro-Flemish character.

Three songs on the program refer to bells. The first one is the »Rubensmars,« a march based on themes from Benoit's *Rubenscantate*. The cantata itself is a tribute to Pieter Paul Rubens, one of the most famous Flemish painters. In their account of the program however, KVRO refers to the text of the »Beiaardlied« (»Carillon Song«) from the

Rubenscantate, »then the carillon will play, from every tower.« The song refers to the symbolic function of bells and carillons in Flanders. Bells, high in their city towers, used to have a signaling function for the community. Bells were used to gather citizens for meetings, but more importantly warned them in case of dangers such as fire or war. Carillons were festive instruments that functioned as radios *avant la lettre* (Beyen, Rombouts and Vos 2009). Because of this utterly communal function, bells and carillons came to denote community. They were symbols of pride and prestige for Flemish cities, but also maintained their association with a readiness to defend. KVRO used both bells and towers as symbols for the combativeness and self-awareness of the Flemish community.

In Tinel's march from his cantata *Klokke Roeland (*named after a famous series of bells in Ghent) the bells remind us to defend our freedom with our own hands, like the heroes of the *Guldensporenslag*. The *Guldensporenslag*, a 1302 battle, figures in the Flemish mythscape as the first manifestation of Flemish community. Just like in the »Rubensmars,« the text is not heard on the program, but it is implied, since both works were familiar to a large part of the audience.

The third reference to bells is the song »'t Pardoent,« a religious song about the pardon or forgiveness conferred by church bells. This brings us to another topic found throughout the program: religion. The Flemish mythscape of KVRO has a decidedly Christian interpretation. KVRO considered Catholic traditions in Flanders as Flemish traditions and aimed at preserving or reviving them. The veneration of Mary is especially strong in KVRO's mythscape. Mary is mentioned in both »'t Pardoent« and »Ave Maria,« two of the six religious works on the program.

The two orchestral pieces by Blockx and de Boeck refer to Flemish traditions in both their titles and their music. Both are based on Flemish folk music, the first on Flemish folk dances and the second on two Flemish folk melodies.

Genres

Twelve out of eighteen pieces of music chosen for the first broadcast were vocal, and only six were not. Even those composers who were praised for their technical skills in writing symphonic music were represented in the program with a song. According to Jan Dewilde, Benoit's preoccupation with language and vocal music might have been one of the reasons Flemish music, especially music by more nationalist composers, developed mostly on the vocal terrain, while a symphonic tradition remained underdeveloped in Flanders and was the terrain of more cosmopolitan composers (Dewilde 2001). Another explanation is the importance of the Flemish language in the Flemish movement, stimulating the production of vocal music. KVRO believed that songs are strongly connected to national movements. Songs grow on people and songs that play an important role in a national movement will always accompany that people. In its preference for Flemish vocal pieces, KVRO expressed its own connectedness to the Flemish #sing-along movement. Songs like »Mijn moederspraak« are described as songs in which you can feel the »Flemish soul« tremble. Songs that are the »mental property« of the Flemish community and with which it can express its national feelings. In other words, KVRO itself considered these songs a musical part of the Flemish mythscape. It is perhaps telling that SAROV also aired the songs »Mijn moederspraak« and »Vlaanderen« on its first broadcast in Belgium on December 20, 1928[8] and that the Flemish-nationalist radio founded in 1930 also chose »Mijn moederspraak« for its very first program on March 6, 1931. This proves the emblematic values of these songs.

Conclusion on the KVRO program

The brief analysis above of KVRO's first music program shows us that it was meant as a summary of Flemish music history. It contained those styles, genres, composers and movements deemed most emblematic by

8 An earlier broadcast by SAROV was made at the studios of the Dutch socialist radio in Hilversum.

KVRO. The meaning of the music selected derived both from the Flemish allegiance of the composers and songwriters, and from the context in which the works (supposedly) originated. Whether the songs originated during the golden age of polyphonic music, during the foundation of the first Flemish music school or during the Flemish #sing-along movement, all of these contexts establish the meaning of these pieces as testimonies of Flemish cultural emancipation.

The stories behind each composer, each songwriter or piece of music in this KVRO program, or the themes and symbols carried by the music, constitute a Flemish mythscape with a Christian leaning in which music is given a central place. While Flemish identity was constantly negotiated in the magazines, it was given substance through its musical expression. In this manner, the broadcasters were able to create a »soundtrack« for their preferred collective identity.

The program's preoccupation with vocal music has much to do with its invitation to participate. By selecting songs that had a clear standing in the Flemish movement—and also by publishing the lyrics—KVRO invited participation (by singing along) and maximum emotional involvement.

General conclusion

Collective or social identities are social constructs that result from specific socio-cultural circumstances. They are constantly questioned, confirmed, revised and negotiated. This negotiation takes place through the expression of identity: to express identity is to construct it. National communities express and construct their identity by constructing mythscapes. Mythscapes provide a community with a sense of continuity and cohesiveness, they give sense to the past and they provide structures for present social agency. They also provide community members with a fund of cultural symbols with which they can give expression to their communal identity, to their community. If national communities are *imagined*, mythscapes are the material with/through which they are imagined.

If a large amount of people, e.g. a nation, are to imagine their community similarly, mythscapes need to be disseminated among these people. Media have been most influential in the dissemination of symbols and myths of and discourses on national identity. Media connect people on a large scale; who thus come to share cultural material on a daily basis. Among other things, media make mythscapes part of everyday life. Through daily confirmations of national identity through discourses and other symbolic expressions—such as music—media naturalizes national identities. This also gives media the power to negotiate these identities.

In this article, the thesis was developed that one of the ways in which radio confirms and negotiates national identity is through its music programming. Music's emotive qualities make it a powerful motor behind social agency and can be consciously used to enhance identification. At the same time, music has symbolic qualities, which make it a likely candidate to either disseminate mythscapes or itself become a part of a national mythscape. Music can fulfill an emblematic function, giving expression to identity, but music also constructs that identity through the musical expression thereof.

Based on research on Flemish radio, this thesis was illustrated by demonstrating how the Catholic radio broadcaster in the interwar years 1) constructed the national meaning of music discursively in its radio magazine; 2) made use of the emotional association of Flemish music with Flemish emancipation to enhance Flemish identification during its broadcasts; and 3) negotiated the character of this Flemish identity through musical expression thereof.

Appendix

Title	Composer	Birth Place of Composer	Genre	Songwriter	Language	Main Themes
Rubensmars[9]	Peter Benoit (1834–1901)	Belgium (Flanders)	march, secular	—	—	tribute to P. P. Rubens, a famous Flemish painter; based on musical themes from the cantata *Rubens-cantate* (lyrics by Julius de Geyter, 1830–1905)
Mijn moederspraak	Peter Benoit (1834–1901)	Belgium (Flanders)	song, secular	Julius Sabbe (1846–1910)	Flemish	the emotional bond with the mother tongue

9 An account of that first broadcasts suggests that this concerns the march and »Beiaardlied« (»Carillon Song«) from Benoit's *Rubenscantate*, also called *Vlaanderen's kunstroem.*

Waltz, from *Charlotte Corday*	Peter Benoit (1834–1901)	Belgium (Flanders)	waltz from lyrical drama, orchestral, secular	—	—	—
Exultate Justi	Lodovico Grossi da Viadana (1560–1627)	Italy	motet, sacred	Based on bible texts	Latin	praise
O Jesu Christe	Jacob van (Jacquet de) Berchem (1505–1565)	South-Netherlands (Flanders)	motet, sacred	Based on bible texts	Latin	sorrow, mercy
Ave Maria	Jacob van (Jacquet de) Berchem (1505–1565)	South-Netherlands (Flanders)	motet, sacred	Based on bible texts	Latin	Hail Mary

Jesu wijs en wondermachtig	Jef Tinel (1885–1972)	Belgium (Flanders)	song, religious	Guido Gezelle (1830–1899)	Flemish	Jesus, humility
't Pardoent	Edgar Tinel (1854–1912)	Belgium (Flanders)	choral, religious	Guido Gezelle (1830–1899)	Flemish	»pardon« by the church bells, Flemish tradition, Virgin Mary
Vlaamsche dansen	Jan Blockx (1851–1912)	Belgium (Flanders)	symphonic	—	—	Flemish folk dances
Fantaisie op twee Vlaamse volkswijzen	August de Boeck (1865–1937)	Belgium (Flanders)	symphonic	—	—	Flemish folk songs
Ick seg adieu	Ludovicus Episcopus (1522–1595)	Belgium (Flanders)	choral, secular	original folk song, republished by Florimond van Duyse (1843–1910)	old-Dutch	old farewell song

De Vlaamsche tale	Lodewijk Mortelmans (1901–1984)	Belgium (Flanders)	song, secular	Guido Gezelle	Flemish	the Flemish language
Van twee coninck-skinderen	Arthur Meulemans (1884–1966)	Belgium (Flanders)	choral, secular	original folk song, from anthology of Florimond van Duyse (1843–1910)	old-Dutch	separated lovers, fate (based on medieval story)
Serenata voor orkest	Arthur Meulemans (1884–1966)	Belgium (Flanders)	symphonic	—	—	—
Hymne aan de schoonheid	Renaat Veremans (1894–1969)	Belgium (Flanders)	choral[10]	unknown	n.f.	n.f.

10 Information on this piece of music was not found.

Wierook	August de Boeck (1865–1937)	Belgium (Flanders)	song, religious	Guido Gezelle (1830–1899)	Flemish	praise, thanks
Vlaanderen	Renaat Veremans (1894–1969)	Belgium (Flanders)	choral, secular	Willem Gijssels (1875–1945)	Flemish	glorification of Flanders, its nature and its art
March, from *Klokke Roeland*	Edgar Tinel (1854–1912)	Belgium (Flanders)	orchestral march from a cantata, secular	Julius Sabbe (1846–1910)	—	Klokke Roeland (the famous bells of Ghent); the *Guldensporenslag* of 1302

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Regional and national identity in Austrian dialectal pop songs

A critical analysis of two Austropop songs

Ulrike Thumberger

Introduction

Austrian identity is definitely not easy to grasp. Edward Larkey (1993) writes in the preface of his study *Pungent Sounds. Constructing identity with popular music in Austria* that Austria has been regarded in two associated manners, on the one hand »in terms of a negation of something else« and on the other, as »something ›not just‹«. So Austria is, for example, *not* German and it is *not just* Vienna (Larkey 1993, xxi; italics in original).

What then are constitutive factors of Austrian identity? Apart from many others, one of them is the language(s) spoken in Austria, especially dialect(s), inasmuch as these still play a major role in daily life and people's sense of self. Another factor that Austria has always identified with is that of music, although this is usually related to »serious« music (Larkey 1993, 309), i.e. »high culture.« However, popular music turns out to be just as important for Austrian identity as classical music.

This paper will deal with the question of how Austrian popular music may serve as a means to construct both regional and national identity. For this purpose, two pop songs which are sung in dialect and which I consider representative will be analyzed: the Vorarlbergian song »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou,« and the Viennese song »Jö schau.«

Methodology

Which methods to employ when doing research on pop lyrics sung in dialect and the potential influence they may have on society? By what

means do we grasp questions of identity, and how do we deal with the significance of texts and communication?

In the first place, when working on dialectal features and dialectal differences in pop lyrics, we have to set up the basics of dialectology and explain what the characterics of dialects are and so on. This topic is covered in a general sense by the work of Chambers and Trudgill (1998) and in a more specific sense—with regard to Austrian dialects—by the standard study *Die österreichischen Mundarten* by Hornung and Roitinger ([1950] 2000), as well as by the work of Wiesinger on Austro-Bavarian dialects[1] (1990) and of Gabriel (1987), Jutz (1931; 1961), and Allgäuer (2008) on the Alemannic dialects of Voralberg. Secondly, with regard to pop music and its significance, the work of Frith (2001) as well as of Hall and Whannel ([1964] 1990) may be useful, and when dealing with the lyrics, a brief look at text linguistics, e.g. studies by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) as well as Widdowson (2007), appears to be useful as well.

Thirdly, inasmuch as the question of identity and identities arises, we need to turn toward cultural theories. Here, the theory of cultural memory, which was developed by Jan Assmann (1992) together with Aleida Assmann, plays an important role as it tries to define what we mean when we talk about identity. The notion of identity (as well as the different kinds of identity) has also been taken up and elaborated by Straub (2004). Other influential models, which may help to elucidate this notion, are communication theories, e.g. those of Littlejohn and Foss (2008), as well as Goffman's sociological concept of »face« ([1967] 1982).

Finally, we need to clarify how different types of identity develop within society. Identity does not exist on its own but it is constructed within a community, that is to say, by means of communication. At this point we

1 Another source for experts is the Institute for Lexicography of Austrian Dialects and Names, which has meanwhile become a part of the Institute for Corpus Linguistics and Text Technology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (http://www.oeaw.ac.at/icltt/dinamlex-archiv/WBOE.html, accessed February 14, 2014).

must turn to linguistics again and take a look at critical discourse analysis represented in the work *The discursive construction of national identity* by Wodak et al. (2009), which is in the line of theories by Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1984; 1998). At the same time, other cultural studies approaches, such as Stuart Hall's treatment of cultural identity (1996), may also come in handy.

What is a dialect?

Any language of the world shows variation. Pronunciation, grammar, and use of words may differ according to factors such as geography, social class, age, or gender. In the case of geographical variation we may speak of different dialects. Spolsky notes that

> [i]t was long obvious (and sometimes troubling) that people who spoke what they considered the same language had different words for the same thing or different pronunciations for the same word. (Spolsky 1998, 27)

He goes on to mention that the first account of dialectal differences can be found in the Bible, specifically in the Book of Judges (12: 4–6) where the pronunciation of the word *shibboleth* is used to dinguistish between friends and enemies. To this day the term *shibboleth* is used in linguistics to describe typical language features that allow for an unambiguous assignment of a particular speaker, be it social, regional, or other (Bußmann 1990, 666).

According to Chambers and Trudgill, the term *dialect* »refers to varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties« (Chambers and Trudgill 1998, 5), moreover, it is often »associated with the peasantry, the working class or other groups lacking in prestige« (Chambers and Trudgill 1998, 3). This lack of prestige may result from the fact that dialects (as well as colloquial language) are varieties that have—in contrast to a standard language—never been normed and thus do not feature a homogeneous written form.

Above all, however

> dialects [...] can be regarded as subdivisions of a particular language. In this way we may talk of the Parisian dialect of French, the Lancashire dialect of English, the Bavarian dialect of German, and so on. (Chambers and Trudgill 1998, 3)

Dialect(s) in Austria

Most Austrian dialects belong, in fact, to the Bavarian group, which is »the largest German dialect group« (Wiesinger 1990, 438). Within Austria, the Bavarian group stretches from the federal province of Burgenland in the East to the Tyrol in the West (ibid.), so Bavarian dialects are spoken in 8 of the 9 federal provinces of Austria. Only a rather small territory in the far west of the country (mainly in the federal province of Vorarlberg) is of Alemannic origin.

As both Bavarian and Alemannic belong to the High German dialects, they share a number of dialectal features, notably the High German consonant shift which made the voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k* change into the affricate consonants *pf*, *tz*, *kch*, or the fricatives *f(f)*, *z(z)*, *ch* respectively (König 2001, 62–63; Bußmann 1990, 872). This difference in sound can be perceived in English words such as *apple*, *cat*, and *(to) make* and their German equivalents *Apfel*, *Katze* and *machen*.

However, Bavarian and Alemannic also differ according to a number of features. First of all, there are notable phonological differences: the Alemannic dialects have retained the Middle High German (MHG) monophthongal vowels *i*, *iu*, *û* (*Wiib, Liüüt, Huus*), whereas in New High German (NHG), and thus also in the Bavarian dialects, these vowels have generally become diphthongs (*Weib, Leute, Haus*) (Allgäuer 2008, 4; Russ 1990, 364). Likewise, there are several features typical of Bavarian dialects, among which we find the following (Wiesinger 1990, 452–53):

- The MHG vowels *ü*, *ö*, *œ*, *üe*, *iu*, *öü* (corresponding to the Standard German front-rounded vowels *ü*, *ö*, *äu/eu*) are unrounded, which produces forms such as [ʒisl] NHG *Schüssel* »bowl,« [me:(g)ŋ] NHG

mögen »to like,« [riɐsl] NHG *Rüssel* »trunk,« and [daidʒ] NHG *deutsch* »German.«[2]

- The MHG short and lengthened *a* (corresponding to Standard German *a*) is raised and backed to a more or less open [ɔ, ɔ:], which produces outputs such as [blɔtn] NHG *Platte* »plate, slab,« [zɐlɔ:d] NHG *Salat* »lettuce« and [ghɔɐl] for the name *Karl* (this rule, however, only applies to native words, old loans and names).[3]
- Standard *b* between vowels and before *l* becomes [w], i.e. the initial sound in the English word *water*; this produces forms such as [draiwa], NHG *Treiber* »beater« and [ghi:wə] NHG *Kübel* »bucket.«

Secondly, there are certain shibboleth words (so-called »Kennwörter« in German) in both Alemannic and Bavarian, the most striking of which are *gsi*,[4] the past participle of »to be« in Alemannic (Russ 1990, 364), and the Bavarian pronouns *eß* »you (pl.)« in the subject position and *enk* »you (pl.)« in the object position[5] (Wiesinger 1990, 451; Zehetner 1985, 57, and 123–25).

2 For the use of IPA symbols, see »The International Phonetic Alphabet,« in *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association: A Guide to the Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet* (revised 1993; updated 1996; repr., Cambridge: 1999), ix.

3 Actually, in a number of Austrian dialects consonants do not exhibit the feature voice (as transcribed in Wiesinger's examples), rather the traditional distinction is one between *lenis* and *fortis* consonants, see Hornung and Roitinger ([1950] 2000, 14). A detailed account of this topic can be found in Kurt Gustav Goblirsch, *Consonant strength in Upper German dialects* (Odense: 1994).

4 For this reason, people from Vorarlberg are occasionally called »Gsiberger« or »Xiberger« in the Bavarian-speaking part of Austria (Fluch 2010, 39).

5 Actually, *eß* and *enk* used to be Bavarian dual forms but came into use for the second person plural pronouns (Wiesinger 1990, 451).

Alemannic

Alemannic dialects are spoken in the southwestern part of the German-speaking area, so within Austria they cover only the western part of the country. As mentioned before, they are mainly spoken in the province of Vorarlberg (which is located west of the Arlberg mountain and is thus literally »in front of Arlberg«), and in a very small part of the Tyrol known as Außerfern.

To the east, the Alemannic dialect group borders the Bavarian dialects. Within Austria, we find a broad transition zone of Alemannic features reaching into the western Tyrol which stretches approximately from just south of the German village of Mittenwald (on the border between Germany and Austria) down to Telfs on the Inn, and further across the Stubai Alps and the border between Austria and Italy, all the way to the Silvretta Alps (Wiesinger 1983, 830). The Austro-Bavarian dialect does not extend further west than to the village of Weißenbach in Tyrol, south of Reutte, and from there to the border between the provinces of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg; Austria's westernmost province thus belongs entirely to the Alemannic dialect group (Wiesinger 1983, 830 and 832; Jutz 1961, 102). The Arlberg mountain forms a relatively sharp linguistic border dividing Alemannic and Bavarian according to several distinctive features.[6]

In a study on the relation between Swiss and Austrian German, Wiesinger cites relevant examples from the Arlberg border so as to highlight striking differences in sound, form, and lexicon. These examples include the following (Wiesinger 1986, 104):

6 See the map »I DINAMLEX: Oberdeutsche Dialekträume im Bearbeitungsgebiet« in Bergmann et al. (2005); also available online at http://www.oeaw.ac.at/icltt/dinamlex-archiv/bearbeitungsgebiet.PNG, accessed February 14, 2014.

Vorarlberg (Klostertal)	The Tyrol (Stanzertal)	Standard German	English
IIs, Huus, Hüüser	*Eis, Haus, Heiser*	Eis, Haus, Häuser	ice, house, houses
Faß, Fäßli	*Fåß, Faßli*	Faß, Fäßlein	barrel, small barrel
mir wissend *ir wissend* *si wissend*	*mir wissa* *eß wissets* *si wissa*	wir wissen ihr wisst sie wissen	we know you know (pl.) they know
goo(n), stoo(n)	*gia(n), stia(n)*	gehen, stehen	to go, to stand
gsii(n)	*gwest*	gewesen	been
Ziischtig	*Erti*	Dienstag	Tuesday
schaffe	*årwata*	arbeiten	to work

Fig. 1: List of examples illustrating significant differences between Alemannic and Bavarian. (Source: Wiesinger 1986, 104)

This table clearly shows that the differences between the two dialect groups are quite large and that there is hardly any mutual understanding on a dialectal level between speakers of Alemannic and speakers of Bavarian.

As for a finer division of Alemannic, the different dialects spoken in Vorarlberg can neither be characterized as Swabian nor as High or Low Alemannic, but rather form an interference area which is called Middle Alemannic (Wiesinger 1983, 836; Hornung and Roitinger [1950] 2000, 133). A more detailed outline of Vorarlbergian dialects is given by Gabriel (1987), which reveals among other things the phonological sub-

leties to be found in the dialects of the Bregenz Forest and in the lyrics of the Alemannic song presented in this paper.

Central and Southern Bavarian

Bavarian dialects within Austria can be further divided into Central Bavarian and Southern Bavarian plus a transition zone between the two (Hornung and Roitinger [1950] 2000, 16; the map »I DINAMLEX: Oberdeutsche Dialekträume im Bearbeitungsgebiet« in Bergmann et al. 2005). Central Bavarian dialects are spoken in Vienna, Lower Austria, Northern Burgenland, Upper Austria, parts of Salzburg, and parts of Styria, whereas Southern Bavarian is spoken in the Tyrol, Carinthia, most part of Styria, and small parts of Salzburg and Burgenland (Hornung and Roitinger [1950] 2000, 15).

Central Bavarian dialects are said to be more open towards linguistic innovation than Southern Bavarian dialects (Wiesinger 1990, 456). Within Austria, this tendency also has to do with Vienna's position as the capital and as »the linguistic model which shapes and influences the east and south of the country with Lower and Upper Austria, Burgenland, Styria and Carinthia« (Wiesinger 1990, 456).[7] What then are the differences between Central and Southern Bavarian dialects? Here, only a few features shall be enumerated in brief:

- A prominent feature in Central Bavarian is the vocalization of *l* before consonants, which does not occur in Southern Bavarian. Thus, a word such as NHG *Hals* »neck« is rendered as [hɔɪz] in Central Bavarian, whereas in Southern Bavarian the same word will turn out as [hɔls]. Front vowels may turn out differently, depending on the region and the phonological environment.

7 For a detailed account of the Viennese influence on Austria's dialects, see Eberhard Kranzmayer, »Wien, das Herz der Mundarten Österreichs,« in *Festschrift für Otto Höfler zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Helmut Birkhan et al. (Wien: 1967), 339–49.

- Likewise, the Central Bavarian *r* is often vocalized after a vowel and before certain consonants (especially in the East), and so words such as NHG *kurz* »short« are rendered as [ghuɐts].
- Central Bavarian dialects lose the simple word-final *n*, while Southern Bavarian dialects retain it; in Central Bavarian the preceding vowel is nasalized instead. Thus NHG *Mann* »man« turns out as [mɒ~:] or [mɒo~] in Central Bavarian.
- Due to the loss of *-e-*, stems with labial and velar plosives generate the clusters [bd], [kt] and [mbd], [gŋd] in the third person singular, the third person plural, and the past participle. These clusters are retained in Central Bavarian, rendering such forms as [ɛɐ gipt] NHG *er gibt* »he gives,« [ɛɐ zɔkt] NHG *er sagt* »he says,« [zi ge:(b)mbd] NHG *sie geben* »they give« and [zi zɔ:(g)ŋd] NHG *sie sagen* »they say,« whereas they show further signs of assimilation in Southern Bavarian, leading to the forms [ɛɐ gip] NHG *er gibt* »he gives,« [ɛɐ zɔk] NHG *er sagt* »he says,« [zi ge:(b)mbd] NHG *sie geben* »they give« and [zi zɔ:(g)ŋd] NHG *sie sagen* »they say.« (Wiesinger 1990, 459–60)

There are more characteristics that are especially important for Southern Bavarian dialects, however, as no Southern Bavarian lyrics shall be treated in this paper they will not be mentioned here. For more details see Wiesinger (1990).

The sociolinguistic situation in Austria

The varieties of German spoken in Austria

As for the sociolinguistic view, the situation in Austria can be described as basically diglossic. The term *diglossia*, which was coined by Charles Ferguson[8] in 1959 (Eßer 1983, 60), denotes »[a] situation when two distinct varieties of the same language are used, side by side, for two different sets of functions« (Spolsky 1998, 122).

8 Charles A. Ferguson, »Diglossia,« in *Language and Social Context: Selected Readings*, edited by Pier Paolo Giglioli (Middlesex: 1972), 232–51.

In his work on dialect and identity (1983), linguist Paul Eßer applies the notion of diglossia to the dialects of the Lower Rhine region. With reference to Dittmar (1973), he describes the local dialects as the low variation, i.e. one that is mainly used for spoken communication and which is both bound to a particular region and to a certain social class; the high variation, on the other hand, is a supra-regional language (in his case German Standard language) that is used primarily for written communication as well as in an official context and usually has high prestige (Eßer 1983, 60–62; Dittmar 1973, 150).

The same can be said of the varieties in Austria. Wiesinger (2008, 34) even talks of polyglossia when classifying spoken language in Austria, as he comes up with four different varieties (or registers, in his words), namely:

- Basisdialekt (i.e. »base dialect«)
- Verkehrsdialekt (which can be roughly translated as »link dialect« and is comparable to a lingua franca)
- Umgangssprache (i.e. colloquial language)
- Standardsprache (i.e. standard language)

(Wiesinger 2008, 26)

As such, the »base dialect« can be defined as the type of language that is traditionally used for daily communication by the older citizens within small villages, mostly peasants and craftsmen, and their younger family members (Wiesinger 2008, 27), whereas the »link dialect« is used to level out differences between dialects and is thus extended into a kind of regional language in a (slightly) larger area (Wiesinger 2008, 27). The colloquial language, by contrast, can be described as a semi-official type of language used in business transactions as well as official proceedings; apart from that it may also be used in private communication where it is sometimes mingled with dialectal elements (Wiesinger 2008, 30). Just like the dialects in Austria the colloquial language is very diverse, although, especially in the eastern part of the country, it is very much affected by the colloquial language in Vienna (Wiesinger 2008, 32). In Vorarlberg,

with its Alemannic background, the colloquial language frequently corresponds to that of Switzerland and the Upper Allgäu, especially on the lexical level (Wiesinger 2008, 33). Finally, the standard language is a »regional realisation of the written language« (Wiesinger 2008, 34) and is the language of public life used by the teachers in school, by ministers and priests in the church, by politicians in public addresses, as well as on TV and radio (Wiesinger 2008, 34).

However, as both Wiesinger and Hornung and Roitinger mention, language is not just locally bound to a certain region; rather, different varieties of it can be found interfering and overlapping with one another in the same area (Hornung and Roitinger [1950] 2000, 12; Wiesinger 2008, 26). This has to do with speakers using different varieties—or registers—according to the particular situation they are in or consider themselves to be in.

Language use and perception

In 1998, Guido Steinegger conducted a survey dealing with this very topic (Steinegger 1998). His findings are somewhat similar to the abovementioned perception, i.e. that dialect is spoken mainly within the family (especially with grandparents, parents, and siblings), whereas the standard language is spoken most frequently with teachers, authorities in cities, and one's superiors (Steinegger 1998, 111–13). So dialect is usually chosen when the situation is considered to be an intimate one, whereas standard language is chosen when the situation lacks intimacy and the people or institutions spoken to appear to have a clearly defined social function (Steinegger 1998, 111). In addition to this, Steinegger comes up with another choice of register he calls »adaptation« (»Anpassung«; Steinegger 1998, 101). This means that people in Austria may (and will) decide to adapt to the manner of speaking used by their conversational partner whenever they consider such behavior to be most appropriate. In Steinegger's survey, this is mostly the case when people find themselves in situations that are not standardized and are thus characterized by a high variability (Steinegger 1998, 113). Such situations demand more flexibility from the speaker; at the same time, however, they also grant

more linguistic freedom (ibid.). The percentage of adaptation is therefore rather high with friends, as these may come from very diverse linguistic conditions. With strangers, the choice of language may also be adaptation (or standard language).

As for colloquial language in Austria, Steinegger describes it as a relatively neutral way of speaking that can be used in all speech situations as it is always tolerated (Steinegger 1998, 114). It is mostly bound to the semi-official range, however, which can be located in between the private range (with strong use of dialect) and the official range (with dominance of standard language and adaptation). The semi-official range includes, for example, the hairdresser, clothing stores, municipial offices, and banks. In some cases, as with the hairdresser, linguistic behavior may also vary according to gender: in this situation women tend to use much less dialect than men (Steinegger 1998, 116).

Generally speaking, the use of colloquial language is rather high with men, whereas women tend to use far more standard language. In this context it should be noted that the reason for using higher registers has less to do with being understood than with leaving a good impression or earning respect (Steinegger 1998, 117).

What is identity?

The use of a particular type of language or variety is not just a linguistic question, it is also a matter of identity. As Littlejohn and Foss explain

> your identity is a »code« that defines your membership in various communities—a code that consists of symbols, like certain kinds of clothing or possessions; and words, such as self-descriptions or things you commonly say; and the meanings that you and others ascribe to these things. (Littlejohn and Foss 2008, 89)

Thus »[y]our identity, in your own eyes and those of others, is established when you interact socially with other human beings across your life span« (Littlejohn and Foss 2008, 89). Likewise, Assmann calls identity a social phenomenon (Assmann 1992, 130).

Straub (2004) differentiates between personal identity and collective identity, with personal identity drawing on the central question of »*what sort of a person one is and what sort of a person one wants to be*« (Straub 2004, 63; italics in original). In this sense, the question of identity can also be related to Goffman's concept of face-work, with face being »an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes—albeit an image that others may share« (Goffman [1967] 1982, 5).

However, the concept of identity that we are dealing with in reference to varieties of language is not so much one of »personal identity,« but rather of »collective identity,« for the use of a certain variety is usually determined by your association or relation to a particular group. Thus Straub defines »collective identity« as follows:

> An identity is thereby ascribed to a collective, often as though a »biophysical unity« like a person were in fact meant—be this collective a group, a gender, an ethnic group or nation, a society or a culture, an alliance of nations or even humanity. (Straub 2002, 67)

The feeling of being part of a collective has to do with »sociocultural origin and a certain tradition, […] certain modes of action and styles of life« (Straub 2002, 72). Apart from that, Wodak et al. call identity a »relational term« which »defines the relationship between two or more related entities in a manner that asserts a sameness or equality.« (Wodak et al. 2009, 11)

Regional identity

This explanation can be related to the phenomenon of regional identity as described by Pümpel-Mader:

> A space-specific collective identity is established by transposing the experiences that a social collective has in its immediate space, its space of origin, to a state or regional territory whose name (e.g. *Tyrol*) constitutes it as an identifiable quantity. (Pümpel-Mader 2000, 124; trans. Bill Martin)

In this context, language functions as a symbol used to express both demarcation and sameness. People feel (and convey) they are the same because they speak the same language according to pronunciation, lexis, and syntax, that is to say the same dialect (Pümpel-Mader 2000, 132–33). In other words, dialect contributes to the awareness of being a group and thus supports the formation of an ingroup (Eßer 1983, 126), i.e. a »cluster of people who can use the term ›we‹ with the same significance« (Allport 1954, 37).

Likewise, van Dijk highlights the importance of language and communication for establishing group identity, suggesting that »[a]n important part of the formation and reproduction of social groups may indeed have a discursive nature« (van Dijk 1998, 125). He further distinguishes between »*intragroup discourse*, such as meetings, teaching, calls for solidarity, and other discourses that define the ongoing activities, the reproduction, and the unity of the group« and »*intergroup discourse*, in which groups and their members engage for reasons of self-presentation, self-defence, legitimation, persuasion, recruiting, and so on« (ibid.; italics in original).

However, as Pümpel-Mader emphasizes, the regional group is a fiction; it is constituted, passed on, and stabilized through names as well as the contextualization of symbols, be they verbal or non-verbal (Pümpel-Mader 2000, 128). Furthermore, most individuals do not belong to just one collective group, but to (many) more than one, i.e. collective groups are, in fact, »hybrids of identity« (Wodak et al. 2009, 16).

National identity

Similar to the phenomenon of regional identity, national identity is not something which consists in or by itself. As Benedict Anderson states

> [A nation] is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson 2006, 6; italics in original)

How can people who do not know each other believe they are part of a particular collective?

In the case of the nation this can be explained by their sharing certain media like newspapers, TV, and radio programmes (de Cillia et al. 1999, 154). This is why de Cillia et al. call nations »mental constructs […] represented in the minds and memories of the nationalized subjects as sovereign and limited political units« (de Cillia et al. 1999, 153). But although nations may be mental constructs, these constructs are real for the individual inasmuch as he/she »is convinced of it, believes in it and identifies with it emotionally« (Wodak et al. 2009, 22). National identity is, as a consequence, constructed through discourse (Wodak et al. 2009, 22). Stuart Hall even goes as far as to call a national culture a discourse, which he traces back to the significance of the narration (Hall 1996, 613); in his view, »meanings about ›the nation‹ […] are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it« (Hall 1996, 613). One might add at this juncture that such meanings can also be contained in the songs that are written in a nation (or even about it).

Pop music

What is pop music?

In describing pop (and especially Austropop) phenomena in this paper, the term *pop* will be used in the broad sense described by Frith (2001). There he states that »[p]op can be differentiated from classical or art music, on the one side, from folk music, on the other, but may otherwise include every sort of style« (2001, 94), although he also indicates that there are sociological distinctions between pop and rock (e.g. the different age groups addressed) which must usually be considered. Hall and Whannel explain what they regard as the reasons why young people especially are so fond of pop music:

> There is a strong impulse at this age to identify with these collective representations and to use them as guiding fictions. Such symbolic fictions are the folklore by means of which teenagers, in part,

> shape and compose their mental picture of the world. (Hall and Whannel [1964] 1990, 32)

In this sense, forming an identity as a process within adolescent development certainly plays an important role. But, as Larkey shows even in the title of his work *Pungent Sounds: Constructing identity with popular music in Austria* (1993), questions of identity in conjunction with music are not exclusively bound to teenagers, but also apply to (young) adults. Moreover, as Frith remarks: »Pop does not have a specific or subcultural/communal market/culture. It is designed to appeal to everyone« (Frith 2001, 95).

The role of language in pop music

An important feature of pop music is obviously the use of language. In a general sense, a pop song is usually regarded as such only if it is sung, i.e. if it features lyrics, otherwise many people might not call it a song but merely a melody. As Frith puts it, »a song […] is grasped by people through its words« (Frith 1996, 159), so in this regard, it can be perceived as a text. However, texts are not just abstract linguistic items, as Widdowson remarks; rather, regardless of whether they are written or spoken, »[p]eople produce texts to get a message across, to express ideas and beliefs, to explain something, to get other people to do certain things or to think in a certain way, and so on« (Widdowson 2007, 6). In fact, texts may be defined as communicative occurences (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, 3).

Machin is more specific about this when he writes:

> Lyrics are not only about artists telling stories but also communicating discourses about their identity. However banal lyrics might seem, as in the case of love songs, they can reveal much about cultural discourses of a specific time alongside which an artist may want to align themselves. (Machin 2010, 77)

Frith acts on this suggestion when he says that »the use of language in pop songs has as much to do with establishing the communicative situation as with communicating« (Frith 1996, 168). He concludes that pop

songs actually have to do with *spoken* language (ibid., 166; italics in original) even though their words may be written down on paper.

This view is in line with the quite frequent use of colloquial language or even dialect in pop songs, both of them being language varieties which are usually spoken (see the above section **The varieties of German spoken in Austria**).

A description of Austropop

The notion of Austropop was allegedly coined by the Austrian music magazine *Hit* in 1977 (Larkey 1992, 156), but the phenomenon itself is said to have arisen in the 1960s. Its development can be portrayed as follows:

> Austropop has emerged as a form of musical culture in resistance and adaptation to the diffusion of rock music in the late 1960s in Austria. It is regularly applied as a term to a variety of popular music styles of Austrian musicians, but includes also foreign musicians producing and living in Austria. It has undergone several changes since its emergence in 1971 from previous music stylistic traditions such as the »dialect wave« and the »green wave.« (Larkey 1992, 154)

Thus Austropop is a very vague term, it neither refers to a definite style of music nor does it refer to music produced only by Austrians and sung exclusively in German. It should be noted, though, that »[u]p to the Austropop period, English had been considered the ›Ur-language‹ of pop music and had become a part of its acoustic and aesthetic structure« (Larkey 1993, 176), an attitude that changed throughout the evolution of Austropop with the work of Wolfgang Ambros, who »is generally considered the ›father‹ of Austropop« (Larkey 1992, 158), and that of others who sing predominantly in dialect.

Larkey describes Austropop as a »transcultural style,« i.e. a mix of »imported musical and cultural innovations […] with domestic styles and traditions« (Larkey 1992, 151). In this regard he considers »lyric content

and language […] the two most important issues involving Austrian popular music« (Larkey 1993, 303).

For the emergence of Austropop from the 1960s on, the birth of the pop radio station Ö3 was crucial; without its existence Austropop could not have developed the way that it did.

According to Larkey, the history of Austropop can be divided into four different phases (Larkey 1992, 151–52):

1) consumption: the intake of rock and roll during the 1950s
2) imitation: the copying of British and American styles by domestic bands
3) de-anglicisation: the combination of foreign and domestic elements
4) re-ethnification: the emergence of independence and »cultural legitimacy«

One of the functions of Austropop was and is the »cultural demarcation towards the British and American cultural industries« (Larkey 1992, 153–54); at the same time it has played an important role in negotiating the rather complicated relationship that Austrians have with the cultural influence of Germany (ibid.). So the topic of Austrian identity has always been an important one with regard to Austropop.

Analysis of Austropop sample texts

The central question of this paper is how Austrian pop songs take part in the production and dissemination of regional and national identities.

For this purpose I will analyze parts of two Austropop texts, namely »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou,« which is sung in the Alemannic dialect as spoken in the Bregenz forest, and »Jö Schau,« which is sung in the Bavarian dialect as spoken in Vienna. These two songs were chosen because they exemplify the two main dialect groups of Austria. For Bavarian, a song in Viennese dialect was chosen since Vienna is the capital of Austria, and as such its dialect has a high influence on all Bavarian dialects in the eastern part of the country. Apart from typical dialectal

features, the songs to be analyzed were also chosen to make use of particular names (which the selected songs both do) as these allow for identification with a specific region.

In order to demonstrate how identity is constructed in the two songs mentioned, I will apply traits of critical discourse analysis as described by Wodak et al. (2009, 30–35). In doing so, I will keep to the following two points:

- Means and forms of realisation
- Content

The former will be a showcase analysis of linguistic elements, including the use of names of different kinds (be they names of villages, famous places, or people) and the use of dialect through typical phonological features and typical lexical items.

The latter will focus on the discourse circling around Austropop songs which is engaged in the question of national identity; its topics can be identified as distinguishing Austria from Germany (Wodak et al. 2009, 188; Larkey 1993, 311) and »the three primary components of identity within the genre of Austropop: the *sound*, the *lyrics* and the *vocalists*« (Larkey 1993, 215; italics in original). The questions to be posed are: in what way are the contents of these songs used to distinguish Austrian identity from German identity, and how do characteristics such as the sound, (parts of) the lyrics, or the musicians function as subjects of a larger discourse within Austria?

»Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou«

»Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou« (»From Mellau until Schoppernau«) is a song by the Vorarlbergian band holstuonarmusigbigbandclub (HMBC) which was released in 2010. It can be described as a fusion between pop and brass instrumental music (Skocek 2010, 45). Since all members of the band come from the Bregenz Forest (Bregenzerwald), the song is rendered in the Alemannic dialect of that area. It must be emphasized once more that Alemannic dialects are very hard to understand for speakers of Bavarian (see the above section **Alemannic**), and the

Alemannic dialects of the Bregenz Forest are said to possess a number of phonetic specifics that take getting used to even for speakers who come from other Alemannic areas (Allgäuer 2008, 5; *Die Presse* 2010); this may also be demonstrated by the fact that the band themselves decided to place an official translation in German standard language on their website.

The song deals with a young man who gets drunk in a bar on a Saturday night and has to walk home for a distance of about 12 kilometers. The text contains references to three villages in the Bregenz Forest (Egg, Mellau, Schoppernau), whereby the story is embedded in the area from the very beginning. The first stanza and the chorus of the song serve as further illustration:

Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou	English translation
First stanza:	
Samstag **Zaubod** a dor **Egg**, I **beo** wiedor **amaul** halb varreckt	Saturday evening in Egg [a town close by] I almost kicked the bucket once more
Oas, zwo, drü, vier, fünf, seggs, siebo Gläsle sand **oas** zviel **gsin**, I gloub i ka nix daföar	One, two, three, four, five, six, seven glasses were one too many, I think it's not my fault
No an letschta blick **uf mine** Rolex Uhr, häb **oa** Oug zua, dass I **jau** do Zwölfar sea,	One last glance at my Rolex watch with one eye closed so that I still see the 12
Glück kea, glück kea und scho hat ar mi **gseah**	Lucky me, lucky me but he's already seen me
Guni seyt itz **züod fädo** I toar	Guni [the boss of the pub] says,

nämle zuo min Lädo.	»Get out of here right now, I'm going to close my bar.«
Chorus:	
Vo **Mello** bis ge **Schoppernou bean** I gloufo, d'Füaß himmor weh **tau**	I walked all the way from Mellau until Schoppernau, my feet hurt me
Vo **Mello** bis ge **Schoppernou bean** I gloufo, d'Füaß himmor weh **tau**	I walked all the way from Mellau until Schoppernau, my feet hurt me
Weh **tau**, we **tau**, we **tau**, d'Füaß himmor weh **tau**	Hurt me, hurt me, hurt me, my feet hurt me.

Fig. 2: Text sample from »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppernou«. (Source: http://www .hmbc.at/de/media/cds/vo-mello-bis-ge-schoppernou/offizieller -songtext/)

The transcription of the dialect exemplifies that the phonetics of Alemannic are very different from Standard German (and also from Bavarian). Examples of the typical Alemannic monophthongal vowels *i*, *u*, and *ü* (as mentioned in the section **Dialect(s) in Austria**) can be found in the words *uf* (NHG *auf*), *mine* (NHG *meine*) and *dütsch* (NHG *deutsch*; see text sample in Fig. 4). But there are also phonetic features unique to the Bregenz Forest, or rather to parts of the Bregenz Forest as the text clearly is sung in the dialect spoken in the area between Mellau and Schoppernau, i.e. in part of the so-called Hinterwald. The diphthongization of MHG *â* to *au* which renders the NHG phrase *z(u) Abend* as *Zaubod* and the NHG words *einmal*, *ja*, *(ge)tan*, and *Blasen* as *amaul*, *jau*, *tau*, and *Blausa* (for the latter, see Fig. 3) is such a feature; it is restricted to the village of Schwarzenberg and the Hinterwald (Gabriel 1987, 39; Allgäuer 2008, 5). Other characteristic traits found in the Hinterwald (and also in the central part of the Bregenz Forest) are the diphthongization of MHG *ë* with the lengthening of the vowel *e* in the

form *gseah*, NHG *gesehen* (Gabriel 1987, 36),[9] the diphthong *ɐə* for MHG *i* in the forms *beo* and *bean* respectively, representing NHG (*ich*) *bin* (see the Hinterwald pronunciation of NHG *Sinn* in VALTS I [Gabriel et al. n.d.], map 183a), and the pronunciation of NHG *eins*, *ein* as *oas, oa* (Hornung and Roitinger [1950] 2000, 137; for more details, see Gabriel 1987, 36–39, and Allgäuer 2008, 5).

In addition, the text shows lexical items like the shibboleth word *gsin* »past participle of be« (see the above section **Dialect(s) in Austria**) and the imperative form *züod fädo* »get lost.« The latter is listed in the dictionary of Vorarlberg (*Vorarlberger Wörterbuch*) by Hubert Allgäuer under point 21 of the headword *Faden* and explained by the phrase »Aufforderung, zu verschwinden« (Allgäuer 2008, 529), i.e. »request to disappear.«

There are more words of this kind which can be found in the following line:

Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou	English translation
Blausa kea an Füaßo, **Blausa** kea im Kopf, so **bean** I **ietrolat** i üsa **Gadoschopf**	Having blisters on my feet, blisters in my head, so did I stumble into our patio

Fig. 3: Text sample from »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou.« (Source: http://www.hmbc.at/de/media/cds/vo-mello-bis-ge-schoppornou/offizieller-songtext/)

The first example is the verb *ietrolat*, listed in Allgäuer under the headword *trolen*. The meaning of the verb is explained by »fallen, stürzen« (ibid., 441), i.e. »fall, tumble,« or, which is probably more exact here, by

9 Before *l* plus consonant the monophthong has been kept, however. For Schwarzenberg and the Hinterwald Gabriel cites examples such as *helfə* (NHG »helfen«), *seltə* (NHG »selten«) and *geld* (NHG »Geld«; Gabriel 1987, 39).

»er stolpert oder torkelt (u.U. betrunken) herum« (point 8 of the entry, ibid.), i.e. »he stumbles or lurches around (possibly drunk).«

The most interesting word here, however, is *Gadoschopf* as it is a compound consisting of two Alemannic words. The first one can be found under the headword *Gaden* with the meaning »allg.: Kammer, Zimmer neben der Wohnstube, meist Schlafzimmer der Eltern« (ibid., 617), i.e. »chamber, room next to the living room, typically the parents' bedroom.« The expression is in general use in Vorarlberg. The second part, *Schopf*, is even more particular; the dictionary entry explains it by »lds. (BrW): integrierter Balkon (Laubengang) an der Traufseite des Wälderhauses« (ibid., 1411), which can be translated roughly as »integrated balcony located on the rainwater pipe-side of a typical Bregenz Forest house.« The dictionary label »lds. (BrW)« identifies the word as regional and limited to the Bregenz Forest.

Apart from that, there is a nice example in the lyrics of code-switching (i.e. a change in the variety spoken) when a German cook appears with his car and gives the narrator a lift:

Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou	English translation
Deanna huckt an **Dütscha** Koch, ar seyt	Inside a German cook is seated, he says:
»Ich kann Dich mitnehmen bis nach Mellau	»I can give you a lift until Mellau,
von da an musst du schauen wie du selber weiterkommst	from there you'll have to see for yourself how to continue
und jetzt steig ein und mach das Fenster auf es stinkt«	and now get inside and open the window, it's stinking«
ja reg di ned **uf** Zefix!!	oh well, don't make a fuss,

	jeepers!!

Fig. 4: Text sample from »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou.« (Source: http://www.hmbc.at/de/media/cds/vo-mello-bis-ge-schoppornou/offizieller-songtext/)

The direct speech is entirely held in a German standard pronunciation (as spoken in Germany, as the exact pronunciation in the song reveals); this immediately marks the cook as a foreigner from Germany who is unable to speak Alemannic. The line right after the direct speech expresses the narrator's reaction to the German's utterance and thus switches back to dialect.

»Jö Schau«

The song »Jö Schau« (»Wow, just look«) was written by Georg Danzer and released in 1975. It deals with a streaker who turns up at the Cafe Hawelka, in the inner city of Vienna, and so the song contains references to the cafe and its owners at the time, Leopold and Josefine Hawelka, as well as to the city itself. It is sung in Viennese dialect, thus typical features of both Central Bavarian and Viennese can be heard. As for the transcription of the lyrics, I have decided to use my own which is a compromise between capturing the most important linguistic features and avoiding any special characters, so as to facilitate reading.

The first stanza of the text begins like this:

Jö schau	English translation
Neilich sitz i umma **hoiwa zwa** im Hawelka	Lately I'm sitting at half past one in the Hawelka [=a famous cafe in the city of Vienna]
bei a **boa Wuchteln** und **bei** an Bia	with a couple of »buchteln« [=yeast dumplings originating in Bohemia] and with a beer
auf **amoi** gibt's **beim** Eingang	suddenly there's great agitation at

vuan an **Muads** Drara	the entrance
weu a Nockata kummt eine bei da **Dia**	because a naked guy comes in through the door
da oide Hawelka sogt: »Suach ma an **Blotz**«,	Old Hawelka says, »Let's look for a seat,«
owa sie mocht an Botzn **Bahö**	but she makes a lot of fuss about it
weu sie mant, dass sowos do net geht	cause she thinks such a thing is not possible in here
und er **soi** si **schleichn**, owa **schnö**.	and he should get out, and right away.

Fig. 5: Text sample from »Jö schau.« (Source: transcription by author)

The text is literally peppered with dialectal features. General Bavarian features like the unrounding of *eu* or *ü* can be found in the words *neilich* (NHG *neulich*) and *Dia* (NHG *Tür*), likewise words such as *hoiwa* (NHG *halber*), *boa* (NHG *paar*), or *Blotz* (NHG *Platz*) show an [ɔ] where NHG has [a], and *b* is pronounced like [w] in *hoiwa* (NHG *halber*), *Wuchteln* (NHG *Buchteln*), and *owa* (NHG *aber*). Moreover, there are also phonological processes typical of Central Bavarian: the words *hoiwa* (NHG *halber*), *amoi* (NHG *einmal*), *soi* (NHG *soll*), and *schnö* (NHG *schnell*) all show a vocalised *l* whereas *vuan* (NHG *vorn*) and *Muads* (NHG *Mords*)—among several others—clearly exhibit a vocalised *r*. And finally, there are also features typical of Viennese dialect like »the presence of [a:] for standard/MHG *ei*« (Wiesinger 1990, 465) in words such as *zwa* (NHG *zwei*) and *amoi* (NHG *einmal*) and the so-called »monophthongization of Viennese« which renders the diphthongs in words like *bei, beim, eine, weu, schleichn, schau*, and *sau* (for the latter two see text sample in Fig. 6) as monophthongs (Wiesinger 1990, 466), but this Viennese particularity cannot be perceived in my transcription but in the sung version only.

Let us take a look at a few more lines, taken from the chorus:

Jö schau	English translation
Jö **schau**, so a **Sau**, jössas na,	Wow, just look, such a scumbag, oh jesus,
wos mocht a Nockata im Hawelka?	what's a naked guy doing in the Hawelka?
geh wui, oiso pfui, meina Sö,	Phew, oh yuck, my goodness,
hearst i schenierat mi an seina Stö.	you know, I'd be embarrassed in his place.
ana ruaft: »ein wahnsinn,	One guy shouts: »That's madness,
gebt's eam wos zum anziehn!«	Give him something to dress himself with!«

Fig. 6: Text sample from »Jö schau.« (Source: transcription by author)

As for lexical items, the Bavarian shibboleth word *eß* is used once, it appears in its clitic form *s* in the verb phrase *gebt's*. There is Viennese lexis as well, with words such as *Bahö* or *Wuchteln*. According to the Viennese dictionary (*Wörterbuch der Wiener Mundart*) by Maria Hornung and Sigmar Grüner the word *Bahö* refers to »Lärm, Wirbel, Krawall« (Hornung and Grüner 2002, 121), i.e. »noise, fuss, riot,« and can be categorized historically as »aw., nw., jw.« (Hornung and Grüner 2002, 121) which means that it was as much in use in Old Viennese as it is in New Viennese and Modern Viennese (for the dates of these terms see Wiesinger 1990, 466). The word *Wuchtel* has a number of meanings the first of which is »eine Germmehlspeise, Dampfnudel (Rohrnudel)« (Hornung and Grüner 2002, 827) which can be translated as »an often sweet dish made of flour and yeast, yeast dumpling (oven dumpling).«

The etymology given shows that the word is of Czech origin which is not unusual for »typical Viennese words« as Vienna was inhabited by many Czech people during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The construction of regional identity

The examples cited show that the lyrics of both songs fulfill the criteria for establishing regional identity as described by Pümpel-Mader. In the song »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou« three villages in Vorarlberg are mentioned and can be identified by their (dialectal) names: Egg, Mellau, and Schoppernau. Thus the region where the narration takes place, namely the Bregenz Forest, is also recognizable. The shared experience of knowing the area (and maybe more precisely, knowing the road the young man takes in the middle of the night) can be transfered to the identity of the collective. Moreover, the dialect used in the song is limited to a small area and is able to generate an ingroup with regional awareness, namely all those who can speak and understand the dialects of the Bregenz Forest. The code-switching within the text illustrates this all the more as it definitely serves as a means of demarcation.

Likewise, in »Jö schau« the setting is embedded in Vienna with the German name of the city, Wien, mentioned once, and otherwise several references to the Cafe Hawelka and its owners (referred to as *da oide Hawelka* and *sie* in the song). The lyrics are sung in Viennese dialect and contain typical phonological as well as lexical features. Thus, together with the place of narration, »Vienna's celebrated Café Hawelka« (*London Telegraph* 2011), as well as the mentioning of Mr. and Mrs. Hawelka, they may contribute to the regional identity of people living in Vienna and considering themselves Viennese.

The construction of national identity

At the same time, both songs may also contribute to a sense of Austrian national identity. »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou« is still in regular rotation on Austria's pop radio station Ö3. With Austria being so small in size, Ö3 is a radio station which broadcasts nationwide. Due to this, songs played on Ö3 quickly gain recognition throughout the country, all

the more if they are played in heavy rotation as was the case with »Vo Mello bis ge Schoppornou.« In due time, this song also became popular in Bavaria and was played on the regional radio station Bayern 3 (Stecher 2010, 27; Skocek 2010, 45), and the band was presented in several articles in Austria's nationwide newspapers, such as *Der Standard*, *Kurier*, and *Die Presse* (Fluch 2010, 39; Stecher 2010, 27; Skocek 2010, 45). One of these articles, »Crossover im Bregenzerwald« (Skocek 2010, 45), also elaborates on the »Sound of Blasmusik,« mentioning that such *Blasmusik*, i.e. brass instrumental music, is common in rural settings from Lake Constance in Vorarlberg to the Marchfeld in Lower Austria, and that it provides for example the sound for important occasions (such as baptisms and funerals), thus embedding the band's sound in a national (Austrian) context. In addition, it is a curious fact that the weather report on Ö3 began regularly informing all of Austria about the weather in Schoppernau (the village holds a meteorological station) after the song became a big hit.

Similarly, »Jö schau« was Georg Danzer's first big hit in Austria and is still a very popular tune, Georg Danzer himself having been very popular as a singer and public person. When he died in June 2007, his death was a topic in all of Austria's news, be it on Ö3, the television broadcasting station ORF, or the Austrian newspapers (OE3 2007; ORF 2007; Köck 2007; Schachinger 2007). Even Austria's Federal Chancellor at the time, Alfred Gusenbauer, commented on his death, as did the Federal Minister for Education, Arts and Culture, Claudia Schmied, who called Danzer a musician with a great impact and a role model for the Austrian music of the last decades (ORF Wien 2007); Vienna's Cultural Councillor, Andreas Mailath-Pokorny, even described him as one of the pillars of Austropop (ibid.). This shows that Danzer was a central figure of the Austropop scene and thus a symbol of Austrian identification.

Apart from that, Wodak et al. found in their studies that regional identities »seem to have been important to ›pan-Austrian‹ national identity« (Wodak et al. 2009, 191). Moreover, both songs share a demarcation against Germany (especially Northern Germany) through their use of dialect. As Larkey mentions »Austrian vocal artists […] cannot be under-

stood north of the so-called *Weisswurst*-Line of Bavaria/Baden-Württemberg« (Larkey 1993, 302). Since dissociation from Germany is an important issue in Austria, dialect may serve this need, all the more so as linguistic differences are primarily associated with the vernacular or dialect (Wodak et al. 2009, 192–93). In any case, both songs are or have been objects of discourse within an Austrian context, be it »by means of language [or] other semiotic systems« (de Cillia et al. 1999, 153).

Conclusion

References to places, regional names, and the use of dialect all may function as a means to create regional identity; and national identity, likewise, is a mental construct of a national collective that arises through discourse. A final word from Larkey, whose definition of Austropop encapsulates this phenomenon:

> Austropop is a hegemonically-determined symbol and boundary-setting mechanism for selecting which types of popular music traditions will be channelled into legitimate culture and thus help constitute Austrian national identity. (Larkey 1992, 183)

And as we have seen, dialectal lyrics can play a critical role in constructing regional and national identity in Austrian songs. Thus in our globalized world, people's regional and national identities are not easily lost, but are maintained by different modes and mechanisms—even by the impact of popular culture.

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There are no ghettos: Indexing global rap and hip hop in local Finnish youth radio discourse

Anu Muhonen

Introduction

Excerpt 1:

> […] Rap is the new rock. With its visibility, fashionable nature, and music, rap is gaining more fans than any other music style at the moment. In Finland there are rap battles, fashion shows and gigs almost every weekend or week.[1] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

This comment, excerpted from an interview on a Finnish youth radio station, reveals that in 2005 when the program was recorded, rap music was gaining publicity and popularity in Finland—it had become the new rock. According to this Finnish rapper, the position of prestige previously held by rock music in Finnish popular culture was being overtaken by rap. Alongside this gradual change, features of the global (often American) rap scene were becoming fashionable in Finland: In addition to rap music, various hip hop cultural events such as *muotinäytöksiä* (fashion shows), *battle-bileitä* (rap battles) and *keikkoja* (gigs) were popular activities in Finland (see also Muhonen 2014a).

The term *hip hop* is used by practitioners to refer to a wide array of cultural practices in and around what is called »hip hop culture«: MCing

1 »[…] rap on uusi rock, näkyvyydellään muodillaan ja musiikillaan rap saavuttaa enemmän ihmisiä ku mikään muu musiikkityyli tällä hetkellä, Suomessakin lähes joka viikonloppu ja viikko järjestetään alan battle-bileitä, muotinäytöksiä ja keikkoja […].« All quotations translated by the author.

(rapping), DJing (spinning), graffiti and breakdancing as well as wearing and displaying cultural artifacts such as rap clothing and styles (see Alim 2009a, 2). Hip hop has become *pars pro toto* for the whole rap culture including music, clothing, lifestyle, films and graffiti (Alim 2009a; Berns and Schlobinski 2003). An indispensable part of hip hop culture is rap music and rapping, which is the practice of producing music. Rap can be defined as the spoken lyrics of a hip hop song, or singing or speaking rhythmically. Rap music is a form of rhymed storytelling accompanied by highly rhythmic, electronic music (Rose 1994, 2). Rap music and hip hop are popular among Finnish youth. This position of prestige (see also Muhonen 2014b) has been the inspiration for this present paper, which investigates how global rap and hip hop identities are indexed and expressed locally in Finnish youth radio discourse.

The global Afro-American rap genre arrived in Finland and became established in Finnish popular culture at the end of the 1990s during the commercial rap boom that took Finland by storm (see Mikkonen 2004, 70; Nieminen 2003; cf. Johnstone 2010, 390). By the end of the decade, rap music also began to compete with other music genres (see Westinen 2007, 21; Nieminen 2003, 172). The internet and MTV helped to establish rap music in Finland rapidly and visibly (Nieminen 2003, 169, 173):

Excerpt 2: Rap is everywhere

> rap music and hip hop culture are everywhere, you only need to switch on Music Television whatever the time of the day and you can check out the newest car models, hottest girls, biggest bums and finest jewelry[2] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

As the rap artist in the interview above explains, rap music and hip hop culture are everywhere and one only need switch on MTV to become familiar with its features. Due to their »extensive accessibility and scope, mass media can serve as both reservoirs and reference points for the

2 Rap is everywhere. »rap musiikki ja hip hop kulttuuri näkyy jo ihan kaikkialla ei tartte ku se musiikkitelevisio avata ihan mihin aikaan päivästä tahansa ni voi tarkistaa ne uusimmat automallit ne kauneimmat tytöt isoimmat bebat ja hienoimmat korut.«

circulation of words, phrases, and discourse styles in popular culture« (Spitulnik 1996, 162). Features of hip hop and rap are circulated by media and it is through media that they have become part of Finnish popular culture. »Late modern society is characterized by fluidity« (Jørgensen 2010, 3)—different ways of communicating and being are circulated across different global and local scenes. Part of the globalization process is that, among other things, social and cultural processes take place on a global scale instead of being represented in particular countries or regions (Fairclough 2000b, 165). Kubota (2002, 13) writes that »globalization implies increased local diversity influenced by human contact across cultural boundaries as well as speedy exchange of commodities and information.« Due to such globalized processes, local forms of rap and hip hop have been established around the world.

Appadurai (2001, 5) notes that »we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion.« The world of flows includes, for example, circulating ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages (Appadurai 2001, 5). When it comes to indexing hip hop and rap—the focus of this paper—the »transcultural flows« of global hip hop culture are »the ways in which cultural forms move, change, and are reused to fashion new identities« and refer to »processes of borrowing, blending, remaking and returning, to processes of alternative cultural production« (Pennycook 2007, 6–8). Therefore, as Alim (2009a, 3) suggests, hip hop »is the most profound and the most perplexing cultural, musical and linguistic movement on the late 20th/early 21st century« (see also Alim 2009b, 105).

Hip hop and rap should not be considered an imitation of African American popular culture. They offer vehicles for global youth affiliations and tools for creating local and regional hip hop identities all over the world (see Alim 2009b, 122; Mitchell 2001, 1–2). Local rap music and hip hop communities are situated the world over and they simultaneously display and index features of global hip hop identities, as well as locally situated reflections of the same (Alim 2009b; see also Muhonen 2014a). Hip hop, as suggested by Levy (2001, 134) constitutes a »global urban subculture that has entered people's lives and become

universal practice among youth the world over.« He goes on to explain that »from a local fad among black youth in the Bronx,« hip hop has become a global practice that is giving new meanings to diverse local or national identities. These communities can be seen as what Anderson (2006, 6) calls »imagined communities,« which means that members of local rap communities belong not only to the local community, but also to an imagined global hip hop community. What characterizes these communities is that members will »never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or ever hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion« (Anderson 2006, 6). Mitchell (2001) talks about »a global hip hop nation« and refers to a multilingual and multiethnic nation with a fluid capacity to cross borders. There are features of Finnish rap music and hip hop culture that display and index »glocal« features (linking both the local and the global; Lee and Barton 2011). The synergies of the global and the local, i.e. *glocalization,* are described by Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopoulou (2007, 143) as the »dynamic negotiation between the global and the local, with the local appropriating elements of the global that it finds useful, at the same time employing strategies to retain its identity.« It goes without saying that rap music and hip hop culture are globally situated, but there are also globally-inspired locally situated hip hop communities all over the world.

This paper is a sociolinguistic study of global and local youth radio discourse (i.e. everyday verbal communication) and other discursive practices (i.e. ways of indexing identities as a form of meaningful social action) in a Finnish rap context (compare »socioblinguistics« in Pennycook 2007, 9; »hip hop linguistics« in Alim 2006, 6–11). I aim to describe how rap music, hip hop styles and different features and artifacts associated with hip hop culture and ideologies are circulated locally and globally in Finnish youth radio discourse. I take a closer look at how Finnish rappers and radio broadcasters talk about Finnish rap and hip hop in Finnish youth radio and at the kinds of identities that are indexed in this discourse. The main research question is: How are different global and local rap and hip hop identities displayed and indexed in youth radio discourse?

Local and global indexical practices of Finnish rap and hip hop are investigated »through the window of discourse,« that is, by investigating discursive practices in youth radio broadcasting (see Blommaert 2005, 66). Discourse is understood as language-in-action (Blommaert 2005, 2). In order to show indexicalities of rap and hip hop identity, discourse is explored by looking more closely at the discursive practices that are taking place, and by investigating exactly what is being discussed and what kind of rap and hip hop identities are being indexed through discourse. In exploring indexical meanings, I aim to connect discourse to contexts and suggest identities, styles and elements that belong to or deviate from certain expected features (see Silverstein 2003). Indexicality connects discourse practices to cultural meanings (see Blommaert 2007, 115).

This study is based on recordings collected from two non-commercial and independent public service radio broadcasters, Finnish national Yleisradio Oy (YLE) and its youth channel YleX and a Finnish-language channel, Sisuradio, and its youth programs *Klubi-Klubben*, both of which operate under Sweden´s national Radio Sweden (SR). YleX describes itself as a multimedia channel for popular music and culture, with fast-paced commentary complemented by music programs and humor (*Find your own Yle* 2007; Yle 2007). YleX is »an up to date and versatile source of a popular culture aimed especially at a younger audience« (www.yle.fi). Radio Sweden's (SR) Finnish language station Sisuradio is the only Finnish-language media in Sweden that broadcasts programs aimed specifically at a young audience. Sisuradio's (sverigesradio.se) youth program *Klubi–Klubben* provided program content for young listeners. It broadcast interviews of and by other young Swedish Finns, popular culture, discussions about the situations of young people, played music and created music charts. All of the broadcasters named above that targeted young audiences broadcast popular music, updates on newly released movies and games, interviews and live concerts as well as news and reports and events related to popular cultures. The data selected for the present paper was drawn from radio broadcasts (i.e. DJs and reporters' dialogue

and excerpts from interviews) by both broadcasters with a special focus on rap and hip hop discourse (see *Klubi-Klubben* and *Yle X X-ryhmä*).

In youth radio discourse, references to »Finnish rap« or »Finland rap« denote rap music produced in Finland. The term is not however, limited to any specific language but can denote rap in Finnish, English or Swedish. Finnish rap is also produced in minority languages such as Sámi (see Leppänen and Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2008) and in regional dialects. One sign of the wide repertoire of the hip hop and rap genre in Finland is that the internationally known deaf rap artist Signmark, who raps in sign language, is from Finland. There are also quite a few female rap artists in Finland (see Hilamaa and Varjus 2004, 199; Mikkonen 2004, 115–16). Finnish-language rap music is also produced and performed in Sweden, but this music does not appear in the current data (see Muhonen 2014a and b).

According to Pennycook (2007), hip hop culture is spreading across the world; it has also been altered, developed, reinterpreted and reclaimed. Local rap scenes are situated in every country in the world, from the sophisticated hip hop and rap scenes of France to swa-rap in Tanzania and Surinamese rap in Holland (Krims 2000, 5; see also Varis and Wang 2011, 74). This has been recognized by many researchers: Pennycook (2003) explores the domain of global rap in Japan. Berns and Schlobinski (2003, 202) discuss the great diversity of German hip hop as well as identity construction and maintenance of young hip hop artists in Germany (see also Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002, 2003). Finnish rap and rap lyrics have also been studied (see, for example, Westinen 2007, 2010). Mitchell (2001, 3) writes that »it is becoming increasingly necessary to look outside the USA to countries such as France, England, Germany, Italy and Japan« in order to understand how hip hop and rap become a vehicle through which local forms of popular culture and identity are reworked. The more one investigates the features of global rap in different contexts and communities around the world, the better one can understand its significance as a global transnational phenomenon, as well as the social significance and indexicalities of rap music and hip hop in local communities. This paper widens the discussion to include Finnish

youth radio and offers glimpses into how global rap features are situated locally within it. »Hip hop may be one of the most important sites of the study of globalization in general« (Alim 2009a, 4). As Pennycook (2007, 47) writes, transcultural and transidiomatic practices refer not to homogeneity or heterogeneity, but to alternative spaces of cultural production. An examination of the Finnish rap scene yields a reflection of its global nature; it also offers an understanding of the world of flows and features on the move in the late-modern mediated world. Furthermore, it provides insight into the local Finnish rap and hip hop scenes, which is still a rather unexplored area. When seeking global phenomena involving language use, rap music and hip hop is, as Pennycook (2003, 513) has said, »a good candidate.«

Indexicality and stylization in rap and hip hop radio discourse

This paper incorporates and applies theories of indexicality. Indexicality means that all language use indexes social positionings (Silverstein 2003). What one says signals how one is or will be presented. Certain discourse practices are connected with certain ways of being. In indexing »being a rapper« in a youth radio discourse, speakers makes use of certain discourse practices. Ochs (1992) claims in her theory of *indexicality* that »gender ideologies are socialized, sustained, and transformed through talk« (Ochs 1992, 339; 1993). The same applies in a wider perspective. Indexicality may, but does not necessarily, refer to the way identities and ideologies are constituted and sustained in discourse. Indexical meanings connect radio discourse to certain ideologies that are socialized and sustained through this discourse. These ideologies become noticeable particularly through »verbal practices that reoccur innumerable times in the lives of members of social group« (Ochs 1992, 339). In indexing features of one's identity through discourse practices, one employs certain manners of speaking and being. These styles or registers are »likely to carry associations that are somehow relevant to the specific activities and social relations in play« (Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 5). They tell stories and situate a person in a multimodal way. Indexicality is »the connotational significance of signs«; indexical meanings make discursive practices dependent on their situated social and cultural factors as well as

on their settings (Blommaert 2005, 12; Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 7).

As Bailey (2012, 502) writes, »meanings are not stable across people, activities or contexts.« Some relationships and indexicalities are inherent, but many identities do not mean much without »social and historical associations from prior usage« (Bailey 2012, 502). Every linguistic fact is an indexical fact, a way in which situated features point to contexts of occurrence relevant to users in one way or another (Silverstein 2003, 194). These exhibit associations and indexicalities with different features, but also connect certain discourses with certain imagined groups and their activities. These »indexical orders« (see Blommaert 2005) incorporate an idea that meanings and indexicalities that are connected to certain signs (i.e., discourse practices, cultural artifacts, pieces of clothing) are systematic and specific to certain contexts; »indexed meanings occur in patterns offering perceptions of similarity and stability« (Blommaert 2007, 116; see also Silverstein 2003). Meanings are attributed to signs according to conventionalized and partly normative patterns; indexical meanings are not random or arbitrary (Blommaert 2005). As Varis and Wang (2011, 75) summarize, »shared indexical orders are acknowledged and recognized as belonging to a certain super-vernacular,« a global way of fashioning identities, forms of communication and, for example, genres that are »recognizable for members of emergent super-groups« (Varis and Wang 2011, 75).

Alim (2009b, 104–5) refers to »translocal style communities« when he describes groups in which the focus is on the transportability of mobile matrices (e.g. styles, ideologies, knowledge) that travel across different localities »to explore the repeated stylizations involved in Global Hip Hop Culture(s).« He goes on to say that one must consider popular culture and music as central to linguistic processes (Alim 2009b, 105). This paper pays attention to stylization as a discourse practice because defining styles and stylizations is incorporated in the concept of indexicality. Stylization indexes issues of identity and belonging (see Blommaert 2003); styles carry social meanings. Many of the discursive practices this study examines define different styles as markers of differ-

ent socially significant actions and groups (see Leppänen 2007; Muhonen 2008, 191–95; 2010a, 208–10; 2014a). Style is not a fixed condition, but is constantly re-shaped and in flux. According to Rampton (2006, 27), stylization in Bakhtin's terms (1981, 362) is an artistic image of another's language Membership in a local hip hop community is negotiated through particular styles that are ideologically mediated and motivated; their use allows for shared respect, representing a particular locality (Alim 2009b, 111).

Indexing global and local identities through Finnish rap and hip hop radio discourse

Word up dog: Indexing identities though global discursive practices

The discourse in excerpt 2 (newest cars and finest jewelry, see page 2) reveals that features associated with global commercial rap are visible and easily accessible to the Finnish rap scene through media. On TV, you can check out the »newest car models,« »hottest girls and biggest bums« and »jewelry«—all representations of a global hip hop nation that indexes certain artifacts. Rap videos commonly deal with, for example, exclusive jewelry, dancing women and big expensive cars. These global cultural rap and hip hop flows are available all over the world, at all times of day and to everybody through global youth media. In this case, MTV is foregrounded as an inspiration for the Finnish hip hop audience. Rap and hip hop travel transnationally and globally: cultural global indexical artifacts (i.e., newest cars, big bums, jewels) index both the global nature and commerciality of the global rap and hip hop culture. When the global features of rap and hip hop are discussed in Finnish youth radio discourse, they become part of the local practices of Finnish rap.

Pennycook (2007, 2) writes that »the language of hip hop forms something of a subcultural code itself.« Global rap and hip hop flows circulate and gain their indexical meanings in discursive practices and incorporate the global and stylized rap and hip hop »flow« by using it as a resource.

Excerpt 3: Nice flow

> That was Jane and Entinen, what a nice flow there[3] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

Flow »is the criterion for judging hip hop performers« (Berns and Schlobinski 2003, 200; see also Muhonen 2010b, 5–6). A good rap *flow* refers to the rappers' ability to follow the rhythm and beats and simultaneously connect lyrics and a sound into a flow of music. When the reporter comments that the song by Finnish artist Jane had »a nice flow,« she defines the song as pleasant to listen to, because the rap rhymes, beats and lyrics were put together into a successful, smooth and enjoyable music entity. The iconic word »flow« echoes and indexes global rap discourse (see Appadurai 2001; Pennycook 2007) and is used as a style resource; it is a well-known and global denotation which carries an indexical meaning. When referring to the flow of music as an index of successful rap music, the speaker describes Finnish rap in common global rap terms. Global rap and hip hop features are also used in the following introduction to a Finnish rap song:

Excerpt 4: Timberland shoes YO YO

> And now it is time to put on Timberland shoes and really baggy trousers and say YO YO WAZZZZ UP! Next up is a Finnish rapper rapping in English Redrama Hang It Up YO YO YO.[4] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

While introducing the song, »Hang It Up« by Redrama the reporter makes several indexical references to global hip hop culture and rap music. First of all, she refers to the use of iconic global hip hop styles »really baggy trousers« and clothing brands »Timberland shoes.« These references to cultural artifacts make use of indexicality as »connotational significance of signs« (Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 5). Cultural hip hop artifacts are treated as indexical signs, as orders of indexicality that

3 »se oli Jane ja Entinen olipas kiva flow siinä.«

4 »nyt on taas Timberland-kenkien aika pistää oikein kunnon lökäpöksyt ja sanoa että YO YO WAZZZZ UP vuorossa on nimittäin suomi rappari mutta englanniksi vinkuileva *Redrama Hang It Up* YO YO YO.«

link to hip hop culture and rap (Blommaert 2005). When the radio reporter associates these styles as indexical artifacts of hip hop culture she also positions the Finnish rap artist Redrama through these clothes and gadgets. This is evidence of the indexical affiliations of global hip hop culture where music and certain styles go hand in hand.

Affiliations to global rap music and hip hop culture are also indexed through discursive practices. When the reporter stylizes and makes use of the globally indexical saying »YO YO WAZZZZ UP« and later ends her intro with the well-known rap greeting »YO YO,« she makes use of global rap flows as an indexical style resource, showing awareness of the indexical orders (or »recognizable semiotic emblems«; Blommaert 2007, 117) connected to hip hop and rap. Such practices, as Varis and Wang (2011, 80) write, are »recognizable hip-hop English«; global elements that are iconic discourse practices in hip hop culture. The radio reporter shows that she is aware of these indexical stylizations—and perhaps even a member- of the global hip hop nation—authenticating herself through their use.

Stylized and indexical iconic discursive practices are exhibited in the next excerpt as well, from an interview with a well-known Finnish rapper, Steen 1:

Excerpt 5: Word up dog

Reporter:	with us we have one of the Monsp artists Steen one
Steen 1:	yeah yeah word up dog
Reporter:	well, rap greetings right from the start [5] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

Our words reflect and mirror the intonations and evaluations of others who have used them before, and from whom we have learned them

5 Reporter: »[…] mukana on myös yks Monsp artisteista eli Steen ykkönen

Steen 1: yeah yeah word up dog

Reporter: no niin tuli heti rappitervehdykset alkuun«

(Lensmire and Beals 1994, 411). The rap greeting »word up dog« makes an indexical association to a discourse that circulates in different rap and hip hop sceneries across the globe. When the reporter introduces the rapper, Steen 1 greets back by saying »yeah yeah word up dog.« »Yeah yeah« confirms what the reporter has just said. »Word up« is a global rap greeting and means »I comprehend and verify what you are saying and I greet you.« The message »how are you doing« is also associated with »word up dog« (urbandictionary.com). In other words, Steen 1 is simultaneously greeting the radio reporter, making small talk, and asking: »what's up, man,« »dog« meaning a man. Our language experiences are shaped and developed in others' utterances (Bakhtin 1981, 89). Steen 1 greets the radio reporter by stylizing his speech with a global rap greeting »word up dog,« as many other rappers have probably done before. Bakhtin (1981, 89) writes: »Our speech, that is all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of our-own-ness.«

When Steen 1 stylizes, he both imitates the words of others and situates himself as different from others in the situation framed by the radio broadcast. In other words, global discursive rap practices incorporate situated and delimited orders of indexicality to indicate the locally situated identity of the Finnish rapper performing on youth radio. Indexicality of discourse, and stylistic differences, are further confirmed by the radio reporter when he comments »well, rap greetings right from the start.« Both speakers legitimize »word up dog« as a global iconic and indexical rap greeting, used here locally in Finnish youth radio. Stylized discursive practices also index the performativity of being a rap artist; the application of features of global rap discourse is further evidence of that social order. Bakhtin (1981, 293) suggests that our words are half someone else's and they become »one's own« »when the speaker populates it with his own intention.« In this case, there is also a wider social reference. By repeating the words of so many other rappers, Steen 1 includes himself into a global group of hip hop practitioners.

In the following, an example of discourse practice is explored that expresses local indexicalities and localization of global rap features:

Excerpt 6: Phat beats aka *biitit*

> We're on holiday, so the songs and beats are really relaxed.[6] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

»Phat beats« or (Finnish) *biitit* refer to the instrumental nature of rap music. Beats are related to the breakbeat technique, in which only breaks or parts of songs are played by the performing DJ. Pennycook (2007, 75) emphasizes that one should aim at »an integrated understanding of the body as interlinked with other social and semiotic practices.« Playing beats is a special global rap activity and indexes certain global activities (i.e. actions the rappers both do and talk about) as related to the expression of identity. This is sometimes also important for the local order of indexicality. In this case, global beats are adjusted to fit Finnish hip hop discourse (biitit).

Keeping it real in Finland: global and local indexicalities of credibility

In the following I take a closer look at »credibility« and »realness« in Finnish rap and hip hop discourse broadcast by youth radio stations. »Keeping it real« is an important virtue in rap and hip hop communities around the world and credibility and having »street cred« is a central theme in Finnish youth radio discourse as well. Authenticity is »about discursive orientations towards a specific configurations of norms in order to ›pass as‹ someone or something« (Varis and Wang 2011, 81; see also Blommaert and Varis 2011). For the purpose of the present paper, the question of how global features of credibility and authenticity connect to and are adjusted to fit local Finnish circumstances is central.

Certain (iconic) cultural artifacts and products are associated with commercial hip hop and further what is known as »bling bling« (see excerpts 1 and 2). Bling bling, according to the *Hip Hoptionary*, means

6 »ku ka *biitit* tässä ollaan lomalla nii biisit ja *biitit* on tosi rentoa tavaraa.«

1) jewelry

2) material showoff

3) the glitter of diamonds

(Westbrook 2002, 14)

Although bling bling is a central concept within commercial global hip hop, a rejection of the bling bling world and materialism is a common phenomenon in some hip hop subcultures (Pennycook 2007, 3; see also Ibrahim 1999, 365–66). In Finland, it seems to be a strong signifier of Finnish rap. In the following radio interview, a Finnish rapper describes the Finnish rap and hip hop scene:

Excerpt 7: Two poles of bling bling

> Some songs attack the other side's bling bling culture. There are also people in Finnish hip hop who get their style directly from USA. I don't know how much it belongs, but there are jewels and other stuff.[7] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

The speaker describes some Finnish rap songs that attack the opposing party, the bling bling rap and hip hop culture. He also mentions Finnish rap artists who deliberately dissociate themselves from bling bling. As the rapper says, the opposing bling bling party »gets their styles directly from USA« when they wear »jewels and other stuff.« This discourse indexes two hip hop communities in the Finnish rap scene—bling bling rappers and a group that shares an opposing ideology. Rap music offers a medium for the verbal expression of different identities (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002, 30). Here, the speaker indicates that he is not sure whether these two poles can be heard in the actual music, other than in the rhymes that »attack the other side,« but bling bling affiliations become evident based on styles and gadgets worn by rappers.

7 »muutamassa biisissä hyökätään sitä toista puolta niin kutsuttua bling bling—kulttuuria vastaan kun onhan suomi hip hopissakin tyyppejä jotka kyllä hakee sen tyylinsä aika suoraan jenkkipuolelta siis en tiedä kuinka paljon se kuuluu mutta on niitä koruja sun muita […].«

In another interview, a Finnish rap artist comments on what he has observed at a rap event in Helsinki:

Excerpt 8: Mercedes necklace

> At Tavastia on Saturday I saw, well there were not that many, wearing pink over-sized track suits or those necklaces, maybe some Memmy Posse guys were wearing Mercedes labels around their necks.[8] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

Tavastia is one of the most important music venues in Finland. During a big rap event in Tavastia, only few rappers were, as the speaker observed, wearing bling bling, (i.e. »Mercedes necklace«). He says he did not see »pink over-sized track suits and necklaces.« This means that not many bling bling rappers were participating or perhaps it indexes Finnish rappers in general as not belonging to the bling bling group. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010, 243–44) talk about a »localized form of cosmopolitanism,« which in the Finnish rap scene means that a Finnish rapper may wear a Mercedes necklace as an indexicality of situated and authentic bling bling (see Muhonen 2014a, 2013; also Pennycook 2010). It is not quite the same as the real diamonds and other exclusive bling bling artifacts associated with world-famous American rappers, but is a more or less an authentic version of Finnish bling bling.

In the Finnish context, I refer to this local phenomenon as a Finnish anti-bling-rap mission, which takes a stance against the MTV rap scene, i.e. the commercial rap and hip hop culture presented by global mainstream media (see excerpt 1). In Finnish radio discourse, the anti-bling-mission is a matter of an authentic, local practice and not a purely ideological stance. As Varis and Wang (2011, 74) mention, authenticity within hip hop is a mixture of global and local authenticity; to keep it real »involves the creative blending of local and translocal resources.« That

8 »mä katoin *Tavastialla* lauantaina ni ei siellä oikein niin tuota pinkkejä ylisuuria oloasuja eikä niitä ketjuja näkyny ehkä muutamilla Memmy Possen jätkillä oli mersun merkit kaulassa.«

means that global features are enough to index global hip hop flows, but ought to be real and trustworthy in the local Finnish context.

The rejection of bling bling is a topic in an interview in which a Finnish anti-bling-rapper describes his music:

Excerpt 9: Inner bling bling

> As I said, this is more like Finnish Indie rap and not bling bling. This is more like what you could call inner bling bling. Monsp Records artists do not flash with big cars, they don´t shoot music videos under the southern sun.[9] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

The rapper describes the way in which the Finnish anti-bling rap scene differs from commercial rap by describing what it is not: His music is »inner bling bling« because there are no big cars and no music videos shot in exotic locations. This replicates a central youth radio discourse that indexes real Finnish rap as different from the commercial American bling bling culture presented on MTV (see above; also excerpts 1, 2 and 7). The rapper's utterance about inner bling bling echoes indexicality to a culturally-situated discourse where keeping rap and hip hop real and not selling oneself out is appreciated more than materialism. It renders the global with local features (see Varis and Wang 2011, 74). The anti-bling-mission is also delineated in Finnish rap artists' lyrics (see excerpt 7 and 9) as well as in other representations of contemporary Finnish rap culture (see excerpt 14). »Inner bling bling« describes a local stance against commerciality (i.e., making profit, money or gaining fame) with regard to authentic Finnish circumstances.

In the following, a radio reporter asks a manager of an underground Finnish rap music record company, Monsp Records:

9 »tää on ehkä sellaista Indie Suomi rappia ei niinkään sitä bling blingia tää on ehkä sitä sisäistä bling blingia Monspin artistit ei juuri isoilla autoilla broneile eikä käy kuvaa videoita etelän auringossa.«

Excerpt 10: Get a record contract?

> If you have like a tilted baseball cap, casual clothes and jewelry hanging around your neck do you get a contract with Monsp?[10] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

This question makes indexical reference to icons of global hip hop fashion (see Varis and Wang 2011, 77) and opens up a discussion of authentic Finnish rap and hip hop.

The reporter's inquiry indexes a mismatch between certain rap and hip hop artifacts and styles that carrying indexical cultural meanings such as tilted baseball caps jewelry and being a rapper who could be signed to Monsp Records. By referring to the indexical styles of global commercial rap culture and the odds of signing a record contract, the reporter is indirectly stating that these artifacts index affiliation to global commercial rap culture and not to the rap scene the Finnish underground company Monsp Records represents and prefers. The reporter allies himself with the underground rap manager's expected viewpoints by implying that wearing bling bling might be an obstacle to signing a record contract. Finnish rap is therefore not just about rap music but also about styles, taking stances and belonging. The reporter's question mirrors real-life encounters of two co-existing rap scenes within Finland.

Taking a stance against bling bling is more than an ideology. In Finnish radio discourse it is described as a »mission« and »an idealistic profession.« For example the manager is asked:

Excerpt 11: Rap as a mission

> What is the mission then and what kind of idealistic profession is it to release domestic underground rap?[11] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

10 »jos on tota sellanen lippa vinossa ja ylisuuri oloasu päällä ja on killutinta kaulassa ni pääseekö Monspin leipiin?«

11 »Mikä se missio sitten oikein on ja millainen kutsumusammatti on julkasta kotimaista underground rappia?«

The concepts »underground,« »mainstream« and »real« refer to ideological stances and to the market positioning of rap artists and cultural products (Berns and Schlobinsky 2003, 200). The reporter's question confirms this. The term »underground rap« signifies certain core values and ideologies of the subculture (see Berns and Schlobinski 2003, 200–201). The reporter's question indexes a particular idealistic mission and being an underground rapper as intertwined. The reference to Finnish rap as an idealistic profession indexes that (at least some) music is not produced for commercial, but idealistic motives.

The Finnish radio discourse on internationality is also relevant in this context.

Excerpt 12: No international hits

> This is a rare Finnish international hit. Everybody knows this song. Freestyler and Bomfunk MC: »Rock a Microphone«[12] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

The reporter states that a Finnish breakbeat group, Bomfunk MC, has succeeded in releasing an international hit, »Rock a Microphone« and that this is a rare occasion in Finnish rap history. In this example, it becomes even more evident that the global commercial bling bling rap community does not define the reality and authenticity of Finnish rap. The fact that Finnish rappers do not make big money on the international market from their music implies that it is perhaps not possible to become rich, wealthy and internationally successful by making rap music in Finland to the same extent that many world-famous American rappers broadcast on MTV have succeeded. Perhaps there is no big money available on Finnish rap markets. Perhaps the rejection of bling bling rap culture, i.e. the dislike of expensive cars, jewelry and clothes is simply the result of local conditions. Finnish rap artists cannot afford fancy cars and diamonds. They do not make enough money to gain real bling bling. Local reality may be a contributing factor to the differences between the

12 »joka on niin harvinainen kun suomalainen kansainvälinen hitti kaikki tietävät tän biisin Freestyler ja Bomfunk MC Rock a Microphone«

Finnish underground rap scene and the global commercial MTV hip hop scene. More importantly, it may explain why it is so popular in Finland and why rappers claim that the real Finnish rap music is situated far away from bling bling.

The next speaker sees Finnish cultural and societal reality and even the Finnish language as prerequisites for rapping and rhyming:

Excerpt 13: Can't blast in Finnish

> I listen to more rap now I have deep gangsta rap and of course Asa [an underground rap artist]. I think Finland, Finnish language is more or less the language of honesty. In other words, it's difficult to blast about issues we don't have out here.[13] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*)

The speaker identifies the Finnish language and Finland as elements describing why it is impossible to »blast« (to play music loud, to have fun) in Finnish rap. To him, Finnish is »the language of honesty.« As mentioned above, »realness« and »honesty« are core values of rap subculture (see also Berns and Schlobinski 2003, 201). The speaker claims that certain things do not exist in Finnish culture and cannot be represented in the music either. He indexes features of »deep gangsta rap« as inimitable in Finnish rap because these global rap flows do not mirror real and authentic Finnish rap and hip hop. The gangsta rap (Los Angeles based rap that reflects criminality, drugs, sex and life in ghettos and relates to culture of violence in the US; Pennycook 2007, 85) he listens to is not Finnish rap. When he claims that Finnish itself is »honest,« he indexes it as unable to express issues that are not real in Finnish culture. Therefore, it is not suitable for »blasting« in the original meaning of the word. Deep gangsta cannot be produced in Finland because one cannot »blast about issues we don't have out here.«

13 »mä kuuntelen nykyää enemmän rappii mullon *diippia gangstaa* ja tietysti Asaa mun mielestä Suomi suomen kieli on jotakuinki niinku rehellisyyden kieli elikkä suomeks on vähä paha *blaastaa* niinku sellasist asioista mitä meillä ei oo täällä«

The discourse above mirrors rap indexicalities that are subject to real Finnish circumstances and authentic social reality. Global flows are adapted to new communicative practices and they are always subject to local norms (Blommaert 2003). Although indexicalities of global rap identities are displayed in Finnish rap and in radio discourse of it, they are subject to local real conditions and are accordingly either applied or adjusted to Finnish rap and hip hop. Pennycook (2007) calls this the »global spread of authenticity,« meaning that the spread of global cultural features adhere to certain principles of what it means to be authentic, but at the same time there are local processes that make »staying true to one-self dependent on the local contexts, languages, cultures, and understandings of the real« (Pennycook 2007, 103). Because certain things, such as gangsta rap, are typical of global commercial rap and do not exist in Finnish culture, it is challenging to index them authentically. The speaker claims that there is no gangsta rap in Finland because the gangsta rap culture does not index honesty and emulate authenticity in the Finnish scene. Although Finnish rap music is made up of features that index globality, locality and glocality respectively, it always also reflects culturally situated authenticity.

In the following, a Finnish rapper describes the prerequisites of making a Finnish rap movie targeting a young audience:

Excerpt 14: No ghettos

> We ripped this movie from all that kind of MTV rap things and flows like that. The truth is there are no ghettos in Finland, there are no drive-by-shootings, so it is difficult to make a movie […] We wanted as trustworthy and as genuine a picture as possible.[14] (*Yle X X-ryhmä*).

The Finnish rap scene differs from the global MTV rap scene because in Finland there are no ghettos or drive-by shootings. The discourse

14 »me kyllä riisuttiin tää elokuva kaikesta semmosesta MTV rap meiningistä tai semmosesta tosiasia on se että Suomessa ei oo gettoja Suomes ei oo drive by shootingeja sit siitä on paha tehä leffaa […] me pyrittiin mahdollisimman uskottavaan ja aitoon ilmasuun«

around Finnish rap and hip hop movies mirrors the local cultural setting in which it is situated. Regardless of the fictional character of the film, gangsta rap reality cannot index authentic hip hop community in the Finnish context. The filmmakers aimed at »as trustworthy and as genuine a picture as possible.« If it wants to gain trust, a Finnish rap film cannot be situated in ghettos regardless of the fact that such settings are »authentic« for the young audience because of international Hollywood rap movies. The speaker's need to explain this proves their central role in indexing »authenticity« in modern rap movie setting and simultaneously also explains why such authenticity is not reflected in the Finnish rap movie.

Otsuji and Pennycook (2010, 243–44) write:

> What often seems to be overlooked in discussions of local, global and hybrid relations is the way in which the local may involve not only the take up of the global, or a localised form of cosmopolitanism, but also may equally be about the take up of local forms of static and monolithic identity and culture.

The Finnish filmmakers disassociated the movie from MTV rap flows in order to gain authenticity. This relates to the fact that hip hop is a self-reflexive culture and members of the global hip hop culture are aware of its basic ideas and concepts (Berns and Schlobinski 2003, 214). The discourse demonstrates how self-reflexivity is displayed in the making of a Finnish rap movie. A specific social, cultural and perhaps even economic Finnish context shapes the Finnish hip hop scene. The lack of certain phenomena (e.g. ghettos, drive-by-shootings, international chart hits) thus does not mean the nonexistence of these features in radio discourse. The speaker recognizes global indexicalities such as less privileged neighborhoods (ghettos) and instances of gang violence (drive-by-shootings), but in order to keep it real and authentic, reflects these in local Finnish contemporary culture. The display of global rap features and flows is adjusted to local conditions.

Indexing belonging

So far in this paper, I have explored global and local discursive practices and the issue of authenticity in Finnish youth radio discourse. Below, I shall look at global and local indexicalities in discourses of belonging by exploring the term »hood« (from neighborhood) in the context of global and local indexicalities of rap identity. Neighborhood, a global indexical feature of rap, is a fundamental part of a rapper's representation of identity. Every rapper in the world raps about his or her hood. Rap artists index belonging to their neighborhoods and Finnish rappers are no different. Indexing belonging to certain hoods is a central theme of rap, even in Finland. Finnish youth radio discourse uses »hood« to convey an indexicality of localized and situated rap identity. Finnish rappers often come from small suburbs and neighborhoods, and what they claim as their territory can denote a very small part of a smallish Finnish city. This is naturally self-evident—there are no big metropolises in Finland. Even a big Finnish city is very small in relation to cities and neighborhoods such as New York and the South Bronx. Yet, using neighborhood to index global rap identity is done regardless of where one comes from, the South Bronx in New York or Roihuvuori in Helsinki:

Excerpt 15: Straight from the hood

> Reporter: so, great Finnish rap Roihuvuori YES STRAIGHT FROM THE HOOD[15] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

Excerpt 16: Rollo in Tampere

> next, dialect rap from my own hood, from the people, Rollos in Tampere aka Mr Hane and my personal drinking buddy Mr Soppa[16] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

15 »näin hienosti suomirappia *Roihuvuori* YES STRAIGHT FROM THE HOOD«

16 »Seuraavaksi mun omien hoodien murrerappia Tampereen rollolaisilta eli Herra Hanelta ja henkkohtaiselta ryyppykaveriltani herra Sopalta«

Indexicalities are made through references to authentic places and backgrounds. For example Hane and Soppa are called »Rollos in Tampere« (*Tampereen rollolainen*) or somebody who lives and raps in Tampere, but originally comes from »rollo« (i.e. Rovaniemi), a small town in Finnish Lapland. Finnish rap artists present their hoods to index belonging to certain places and to claim ownership to these local suburbs. Where they come from and where they currently live are indexed as their home, their rap territory, their »hood.« Here the speaker indexes his hood and belonging by geographically denoting his hood and placing it in a wider Finnish context, by speaking or stylizing the dialect of his hood, and by naming on-air some famous people who hang around in the same hood.

In extract 16 other representations of rap belonging are also indexed. When the speaker introduces Mr Hane he also refers to his personal drinking buddy »Mr Soppa«—his »homeboy« or »homie,« a good friend who comes from the same neighborhood. In this case, the homeboy is also into rapping and is indexed as being a member of the global hip hop nation. The speaker indexes rap at a global and local level, because the concept of »hoods« connects both the local places and the global concept, but also because place, space and locality are represented in a different scale in the Finnish context[17]. The issue of hoods in relationship to local dialects is also relevant. When the Finnish rapper points out his origin and neighborhood by mentioning »regional dialect rap from my own hood,« he connects the global rap flow of »hood« with several local conditions. Using »regional dialect rap« (*murrerappia*), he indicates that there are certain regional ways of speaking and that these are applied by the rappers who make rap music in their local dialects (see also Leppänen and Pietikäinen 2010).

Global and local rap indexicalities of belonging can also be identified in the following radio talk by a Finnish DJ and rapper hosting a show at the

17 New York City has over 8 million inhabitants, about 1.4 million live in the borough of Bronx (www.nyc.gov). There are around 5 million inhabitants in Finland, approximately 200,000 in Tampere and 61,000 in Rovaniemi (www.rovaniemi.fi).

Finnish youth radio channel in Stockholm. The DJ finishes his radio broadcast by saying:

Excerpt 17: I am out

> This was A. A. from Oulu's 90100. Thanks and bye bye. I'M OUT[18] (*Klubi-Klubben*)

Oulu is a mid-size town in Northern Finland and Oulu 90100 is a local radio channel in Oulu. When the DJ says that he comes from Oulu 90100 he indexes this channel as his local station, situated in his neighborhood. By mentioning that he comes from Oulu, and not for example, from Finland, he also indexes a regional rap identity. When the visiting DJ ends his radio show with a well-known global farewell, »I'm out,« he conveys several messages. He expresses that the show he has been hosting is over and he is leaving the Finnish youth radio scene in Sweden; the greeting emphasizes his status as a visiting DJ. He also indirectly states that he is returning to his country, home town and local radio station, i.e. to his own local hood (of rap). By concluding with »I'm out,« he indexes, in addition to his local belonging, his affiliation with global hip hop and rap (see also Muhonen 2014a). The role and the identity of a visiting DJ is also indexed as not static, but performed and situated in a context. Furthermore, the radio audience hears that the rapper speaks a local Northern Finnish dialect. By clearly stylizing and foregrounding his local affiliation and manners of speaking and blending it with the global rap farewell »I'm out,« the speaker indexes belonging to a global rap scene. He signals that he is a local Oulu rapper as well as a global member of a hip hip community (see Blommaert and Varis 2011).

No ghettos—concluding words

In this paper I have discussed indexicalities of rap identities in the Finnish context using texts recorded from youth radio broadcasts with a focus on discursive practices, credibility and belonging. A closer analysis

18 »täällä oli äänessä A. A. Oulun ysinollasadasta kiitos ja kuulemiin I'M OUT«

of the indexical radio discourse reveals a diversity of identities in the Finnish rap and hip hop that connect to the global rap and hip hop nation, where locality also plays a strong role. Globalization is not new in substance, but in scope and intensity (see Fairclough 2000a, vii). This intensity becomes evident both in the circulation of the global rap features that are situated in Finnish local rap practices, as well as in the significance of youth media for dissemination. Globalization is not a story of cultural homogenization (Appadurai 1996, 11). Finnish rap music and hip hop is not a replication of American rap culture, but a situated rap scene of its own (see also Muhonen 2014a; 2013). It is a combination of a global, modern, popular subculture and locally situated practices. Finnish youth radio rap and hip hop discourses show a rich, socio-culturally situated indexicality in which global rap features are adjusted and made authentic and real in the Finnish context. The diversity of local and global features are used creatively to produce representations and stories of the Finnish rap and hip hop scenes and contribute to the construction of indexical Finnish rap and hip hop identities.

Globally distributed but locally situated stylizations are a fundamental feature of mediated radio discourse in indexing representations of the local Finnish rap and hip hop community. Indexicalities of globality are situated in youth radio discursive practices which make use of different stylizations. Global rap greetings such as »word up dog« or »yo« are used locally. The global nature of Finnish rap discourse is also revealed in references to global hip hop cultural features and artifacts such as Timberland shoes, baggy trousers or tilted baseball caps. The global rap identities are indexed in discursive practices in which speakers use and stylize different global resources. Further, the discourse also indexes global rap identity by thematically connecting it to a cultural *habitus* (see Bourdieu 1990, 56–57) of being a rapper; wearing certain clothes and performing certain actions (hosting shows and DJing) as well as other people´s conceptions and recognitions of them. Rap's indexical stylized discourse practices also signify identification with regional affiliations.

Hip hop scenes are localized and situated in different places of the world. Hip hop flows and features do not travel between global and

transnational communities as a one unified representation of hip hop and rap. Part of the nature of glocal rap indexicalities, developing Blommaert's (2003) concept of the »sociolinguistics of globalization« (see also introduction), is that what is globalized in the discourse of Finnish rap are specific speech forms, genres, styles and discursive practices, indexicalities and adjustments of cultural phenomena (see Blommaert 2003). Global hip hop and rap phenomena are reused to index belonging to the global culture of rap as well as to locally situated representations of the same. Finnish rap and hip hop communities are situated not just in Finland, but in different regional areas of Finland, in different Finnish cities and even different suburbs of these Finnish cities. Features of hip hop and rap also travel with rappers. Locality is a complex manifestation of place (Pennycook 2010). The same applies to other cultural artifacts and representations that index hip hop culture. The global bling bling hip hop culture is associated with jewelry, expensive brand-name clothing and cars. Music videos are shot in exclusive places. These features are indexed as inauthentic in the Finnish hip hop context, where both the gangsta rap lifestyle and showing off with expensive artifacts lack credibility. The Finnish equivalent to bling bling is wearing a necklace with a Mercedes label (see Muhonen 2014a). Although imitating a broader global ideology, ideologies of »keeping it real« are culturally situated. A rap mission is subject to situated Finnish cultural reality; this is a matter of authenticity. »Hip hop presents several layers of modality« (Pennycook 2007, 48). Representations highlight the intersection of different aspects of discursive practices, local and global rap identities, hip hop culture(s), globalization and localization.

In this paper I have taken a closer look at the indexical features of hip hop and rap identity in youth radio discourse in Finnish youth radio broadcasting in Finland and Sweden. My investigation shows that indexicalities of Finnish (local) and global rap occur when Finnish rap identity is displayed through glocal (see Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopoulou 2007) discursive practices. The radio discourse of Finnish rap indexes different styles of rapping, ideological missions and ways of dressing. It is important to be »real« and »trustworthy,« to produce music

and index identities that are authentic in the Finnish cultural context. The anti-bling bling rap mission in the Finnish context is juxtaposed to representations of mainstream commercial bling bling rap. Some hip hoppers are indexed as belonging to the global hip hop nation, some are indexed as belonging instead to a group that distances itself from or even rejects bling bling. Speech produced in a certain cultural space is always influenced by projection across that space, by transposition out of that space and into arenas where social conditions can be substantially different (Rampton 1999, 423). This happens when global features of rap and hip hop culture are situated locally. Certain rap features are recognized as global, they have travelled transnationally but are adjusted and negotiated to fit local Finnish conditions and prerequisites.

A closer investigation of radio discourse (e.g., how rap and hip hop were discussed on Finnish youth radio) opened a door to exploring cultural practices, stylizations, productions, and stances in which different rap identities were indexed (see also Muhonen 2014a). As Alim (2009b, 104) writes, hip hop youth can be viewed as cultural critics whose thoughts and ideas help us to make sense of important linguistic movements, but also of broader cultural changes in the world. Through a close analysis of radio discourse and discursive practices, as well as of the topics of discussion, I have aimed to make some of the indexicalities of identity visible. The present analysis gives glimpses into how rap music and hip hop culture are situated in the Finnish context. Discourse on rap and hip hop connects global forms of discursive practices in which the global spread of cultural artifacts and ideologies take on locally situated authentic forms.

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A cinema of one's own

Building/reconstructing Siberian indigenous peoples' identity in recent cinema: examples from Sakha (Yakutia) Republic and the Republic of Khakassia

Caroline Damiens

This paper discusses indigenous cinema from Siberia and how this media is being used by Siberian minorities as a means to (re)build national identity following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Indeed, in recent years films made by and for indigenous peoples have flourished on the other side of the Urals. Coming from regions as diverse as the Tuva Republic (Antuf'eva 2012) and Buryatia (Shagdarova 2011) as well as the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic (Anashkin 2006; Vanina 2012) and the Republic of Khakassia (Galetski 2008), these films are very often low-budget, practically amateur video productions, that have nevertheless found their way to enthusiastic audiences. One short film even made it to the world-famous Cannes Film Festival (Beloborodov 2012). This phenomenon is linked to goings-on elsewhere in the post-Soviet space where recently independent states have used cinema to reconceptualize their new national identities. Numerous studies have examined post-Soviet cinema in these terms, analyzing in particular how it engages in the creation of new heroes (Beumers 1999; Larsen 2003) and new myths (Abikeeva 2003) or, more recently, using a postcolonial approach to explore it (Abikeeva 2006; Kristensen, Mazierska and Näripea 2014). This article focuses on films from the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic and the Republic of Khakassia. Both republics are federal subjects of the Russian Federation and are located respectively in the Far East and the South of Siberia. They bear the name of the first nations that originally occupied—and still occupy—these lands: the Sakhas (also known as the Yakuts or Yakutians in Russian) and the Khakas, both of which are Turkic speaking

ethnic groups. Since *glasnost* in the 1980s, Sakhas and Khakas, along with other Siberian minorities, have experienced an ethnicity-based cultural revival (Le Berre-Semenov 2003; Nevolko 2011; Nyssen 2005) that became especially intense during the years just after the end of the Soviet Union in 1991. In the cinematic field, however, this process has evidently extended into the first decades of the twenty-first century.

This paper asks what role cinema has played in this revitalization process. To explore the question, it is focused on feature films inasmuch as they are the ones most acclaimed by audiences and most likely to be released in theaters, sold on DVD, or informally exchanged in digital format. First I will examine why and how Khakas and Sakha filmmakers consider cinema to be a good vehicle for reinforcing identity. This part will be based largely on interviews conducted on-line during the summer of 2012 and on-site in Yakutsk in August and September 2012. Further, by investigating the content of Siberian indigenous cinema, I will show how, in both Yakutia and Khakasia, filmmakers are rethinking the supranational (Russo-Soviet) narrative, re-imagining geography and trying to reconnect with their own past. Finally, I will highlight the differences between Khakas and Sakha cinema by showing how these national[1] film productions can express a strong or a weak feeling of identity.

A brief history of Sakha and Khakas feature films

The first Sakha and Khakas features appeared quite recently on Siberian screens (*Middle World* in 1993[2] and *Land of Our Fathers* in 2008 respectively), in both cases after the Soviet Union ceased to exist. These initiatives were carried out by two studios with similar names: Sakhafilm and Khakasfilm. The former was created as a national film company sup-

1 My use of the term »national« follows its Russian usage, which is closer in meaning to »ethnic,« but reflects the Russo-Soviet custom of distinguishing between nationality (ethnicity) and citizenship.

2 The very first Sakha film, *Maapa*, was actually made in 1986: it is a short graduation film by Sakha director Aleksei Romanov.

ported by rather meager governmental funds from the Sakha Republic. Khakasfilm, despite having been launched by »enthusiasts,« is likewise dependent on state subsidies for successfully completing its productions. While Khakas national cinema is still in its infancy, as audiences await the next national feature film and have only a few documentaries to watch in the meantime (Khakasfilm has produced 11 films since 2003), Yakutian[3] cinema underwent a »boom« in 2002 with the commercial success of *Black Mask*, and that has since encouraged the creation of many other film companies and the acceleration of film production. If we refer only to the Sakhafilm catalog, we can observe that between 1993 and 2001 only nine fiction films were produced, while in the next decade (2002–2012) the figure jumped to 25.[4] Following this success, a second major national film company was born, Almazfilm, which has since proven to be the most profitable and successful commercial attempt at a national cinema in the region, to such an extent that the director of the Yakutian box-office hit *Path of Death*, Anatoli Sergeyev, has spoken of it as a »revolution«: there's money to be made in indigenous films (Yakimenko 2008, 49). At present, Yakutian film production is extremely diverse, boasting a range of genres, from comedy and horror to art house and drama. In 2011, 17 locally produced films were released in Yakutia (Vanina 2012), whereas only two appeared in Khakassia (Kurochka, pers. comm.).[5]

Identity strengthening through film

Cinema is seen by many as a strong means for promoting national culture. From the late 1980s onward, the concept of a national cinema has been examined in a wide range of scholarship (Hjort and MacKenzie 2000; Vitali and Willemen 2006). In many cases, these scholars apply the

3 I will use the term »Yakutian« with reference to the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic, all nationalities represented and »Sakha« with reference to Sakha nationality (etnicity).

4 For the same periods, seven documentaries were made before 2002 and 51 after.

5 Yuri Kurochka, online-interview by the author, August 4, 2012.

modernist approach (Anderson 1991; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) which claims that nation and national identities are constructions and the product of modernity. Anderson's concept of »imagined communities« has been particularly popular as it »can be usefully extended from print to cinematic cultures« (Hjort and MacKenzie 2000, 2). Nevertheless, it has been noted that this concept cannot fully »do justice to the internal diversity of contemporary cultural formations« and that »the contingent communities that cinema imagines are much more likely to be either local or transnational than national« (Higson 2000, 70, 73). This perhaps explains the emergence of these regional cinemas.

For Sakha filmmakers, film possesses a »simple language, more accessible and more popular than theater« (Arzhakov, pers. comm.).[6] It is additionally more economical because once the film is done, it can be sent to the other end of the world on a DVD, which is a simple and effective way to »transmit to the world one's own culture, traditions and view« (Romanov, pers. comm.).[7] Furthermore, it is also seen as a means for preserving the endangered culture of a minority (Kurochka, pers. comm.). It is in this vein that the Sakha Republic's president wrote the decree establishing Sakhafilm in 1992. According to the national film company's statutes, its aim is to make films »for developing and preserving the traditional cultures of the native inhabitants of Yakutia [the Sakha Republic], promoting those cultures through film and video« (Sivtsev 2005, 117). In a strategy typical of nation building, promoting cultures often means reinterpreting tradition, even inventing it (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), and the visual medium is expected to participate fully in this process.

The promotion of national culture through cinema often starts with the production company's name and logo, i.e. even before the production of films. Sakhafilm and Khakasfilm both obviously bear the name of the nationality they promote. Other film companies are also clearly desig-

6 Nikita Arzhakov, interview by the author, August 28, 2012, Yakutsk.

7 Alexei Romanov, interview by the author, August 30, 2012, Yakutsk.

nated with markers of national identity: the name Almazfilm refers to the main source of wealth for the Sakha Republic: diamonds (*almaz* means »diamond« in Russian); Tuymafilm refers to the Tuyma River in Yakutia, birthplace of the company's founder (Evseyeva and Nikonova 2008, 73). Firm logos play the same role. Sakhafilm's emblem is the typical Sakha oval shamanic drum; Khakasfilm uses the megalith, a Khakas national symbol. Even the Yakutian companies Detsat and 20:06 Pictures, which have »neutral« names, use animation showing the well-known Sakha mural paintings, which have become well-established national symbols since the republic gained sovereignty in 1990. It must be noted that all of these logos are inspired by ancient indigenous art from the pre-contact past.

Apart from logos, films often exhibit many other identity markers. The first national element that attracts attention is language. It is seen by outsiders as denoting the absolute originality of Sakha cinema, its very quintessence (Anashkin 2006, 85). For insiders, it is an essential trait, the most important bearer of culture. The Sakha language has been classified as »vulnerable« by Unesco: most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (Moseley 2010). Russian being neither the filmmakers' first language, nor that of the viewers, Sakha cinema has an »internal« market as its first target (Ivanov and Kirillim, pers. comm.).[8] Some filmmakers argue that it is a way to better understand what is being said, especially when it comes to humor, which proves to be quite untranslatable (Shchadrin, pers. comm.).[9] Sakha-language films are also wielded like a defensive weapon against invasive Russian language. »Everything is in Russian […] Many started to think: what's the use of Sakha language? I started to film in Sakha to ›counter‹ this feeling,« explains producer Alexander Danilov. »I want people to be proud of their language« (Danilov, pers. comm.).[10] For Khakas filmmakers, it is even more essential. The Khakas language has been largely abandoned

8 Nyurgun Ivanov and Anatoli Kirillim, interview by the author, September 3, 2012, Yakutsk.

9 Dmitri Shchadrin, interview by the author, September 10, 2012, Yakutsk.

10 Alexander Danilov, interview by the author, September 6, 2012, Yakutsk.

for the benefits of Russian. According to Unesco, the language is classified as »definitely endangered«: children no longer learn the language as a mother tongue in the home (Moseley 2010). Filming in their own language gives Khakas directors the feeling of participating in the preservation and revitalization of Khakas (Galetskaya, pers. comm.; Kanadakova, pers. comm.).[11] However, this concern for national languages can be found in other sites of the post-Soviet space, where language is not particularly at risk, such as Ukraine (Hosejko 2001, 371). It can thus be understood as a reaction against the dominance of Russian, a way to denote one's specificity.

Cinema also permits the display of culture-bearing items such as traditional objects, costumes, or musical instruments. Many films incorporate insistent shots of traditional tools and gestures (*Middle World*, *Land of Our Fathers*, *The Moth*), show traditional sports or dances (*Black Mask*), or integrate shamanic artifacts (*Path of Death*, *Path of Death 2: Expiation*) or the traditional Sakha tent (*Cranes over Ilmen Lake*); musical instruments are displayed (the Sakha khomus in *Sakha Sniper* and the Khakas chatxan in *Land of Our Fathers*) or played on the soundtrack (*My Love*, *The Free Warriors*); and national costumes are worn (*Middle World*, *Land of Our Fathers*, *Maapa*, *The Free Warriors*). All these items and gestures are put forward to reaffirm »the value of the things that surround [indigenous people] and that can serve as one of the factors for ethnic identification« (Nevolko 2011, 1122). These Siberian films are comparable with Central Asian films from the 1960s. Gul'nara Abikeeva notes that films made by Central Asian directors during the Thaw period showed a similar tendency to display a traditional way of life (Abikeeva 2006, 52). This concern for verisimilitude is a distinctive trait of national drama and cultivates an »ethnic atmosphere« (Smith 2000, 50). While acknowledging Hobsbawm's famous concept of »invented traditions« (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), Smith argues that the rediscovery and authentication of »pre-existing myths, symbols, values, memories and traditions of ›the

11 Nonna Galetskaya, online-interview by the author, July 22, 2012; Marina Kanadakova, online-interview by the author, August 5, 2012.

people« serves to »locate the ›old-new‹ nation […] within its evolutionary ethnic framework« (Smith 2000, 48).

But the main »item« displayed in film is of course people themselves. The list of Soviet fiction films depicting Siberian indigenous peoples is not very long. The Sakha and Khakas peoples were rather seldom represented on the Soviet screen. According to the *Catalogue of films on Yakutia*, until 1976 there existed only ten full-length fiction films presenting Sakha characters (and even then, some of these appeared only for a few minutes in supporting roles, in *The Long Way*, for example) (Savvinov 1976). Two more films from the 1980s can be added to this list.[12] As for the Kakhas, no inventory has been made so far. But more importantly, Siberian indigenous people are now calling for self-representations, images of and by themselves, not those constructed by outsiders. In the Soviet context, the national cultures of the USSR had had to perform a delicate balancing act between socialist and traditional values in accordance with the slogan »national by form, socialist by content,« which ultimately led to mere folklorization. In order to create a new image of themselves, indigenous peoples first needed to rediscover who they were and reinvent their identity. National film production started at a time, the 1990s, when the former Soviet Union was being shaken with national revivals. Influenced by other nationalities, the recent film school graduate Aleksei Romanov began questioning his own Sakha identity. »I am Sakha. What is special about me in terms of ethnicity? … What distinguishes me from a Mongol or a Tuvan? Based on this, I started a film« (Romanov, pers. comm.). In light of the post-Soviet context, this statement reflects the search for a cultural specificity that needs to be reshaped in the reconfiguration of the region (Maj 2009, 69). In terms of globalization, it can be read as a new emphasis on the local. Indeed, Sakha people and Sakha culture are the focus of Romanov's film *Middle World*. The film eschews the typical storyline in favor of presenting all sides of the life of a people (birth, marriage, etc.) in an almost encyclopedic way, as a first attempt at self-representation.

12 *Urgent… Secret… Gubcheka* (1982) and *Semyon Dezhnyov* (1983).

More informally, people are often happy to see themselves existing on screen. »It was nice to see so many familiar faces,« expresses a viewer of *Land of Our Fathers* on a local Khakas Internet forum (Forum Khakasskogo Naroda 2008). According to some, it may even explain the local box-office success of Sakha cinema (Ivanov and Kirillim, pers. comm.). Film works like a vehicle that confirms the very existence of a people. Hence, the return of a feeling of pride and self-esteem at seeing one's own traditions and language being shown in a film alongside blockbusters originating from powerful and confident cultures such as the American, Russian, or French ones. Khakas filmmaker Marina Kanadakova says she chose to film the biopic of Khakas scientist Nikolai Katanov, *Destiny of an Alien*,[13] to encourage Khakas national pride (Kanadakova, pers. comm.). Sakha film producer Alexander Danilov compares his task with Hollywood's effort to promote patriotism (Kolbasina 2008a, 7). Journalist Marina Kolbasina is not afraid to speak of the »civic duty to make films about the best persons of our republic […] they allow us to be even more proud of our native republic« (Kolbasina 2008b, 44). All these assertions point to the increasing valuation of the local and the »familiar« in a more and more globalized and homogenized world.

Rethinking the supranational (Russo-Soviet) narrative

The Sakha and Khakas peoples want to exist on screen as well as in history. Their films often provide an alternate vision of the Russo-Soviet narrative. They demonstrate a desire to be fully integrated in this supranational narrative. By choosing Nikolai Katanov, a great man of Khakas history, Marina Kanadakova shows in *Destiny of an Alien* that indigenous people played a full part in the scientific history the of Russian Empire and in global history: »Thanks to people like Katanov,

13 *Destiny of an Alien* is actually half-documentary (interviews with academics), half-fiction (performed by actors). I chose to include it there as another Khakas feature in the corpus after Kanadakova explained her decision to incorporate fictional elements in it; she found documentary insufficient for expressing everything she wanted to say (Kanadakova, pers. comm.).

our people has a future and its full place in the sphere of world history« (Kanadakova, pers. comm.).

Many films, in particular Sakhafilm productions, express a desire to integrate Yakutians in recent Soviet history and emphasize their role in it. It is particularly striking in films commemorating important historical events such as Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War.[14] Both *Cranes over Ilmen Lake* and *Sakha Sniper* were commissioned by the Sakha Republic's president and government in honor, respectively, of the 60th and 65th anniversaries of the event. Both films emphasize the suffering endured by Yakutians, whether on the front lines or on the home front. By doing so, Sakha filmmakers and their official sponsors call for full acknowledgement of the Yakutian role in this victory. Their fiction films are augmented by the impressive figures of Yakutian snipers, victims of war, or decorated soldiers in the opening or closing credits. *Black Mask*, also a commissioned film, was made to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Russian police. The action takes place in Soviet times, just after the victory (which provides another opportunity to hear the names of many dead Yakutian heroes). The main character of the film is a Sakha police officer who manages to arrest a criminal gang terrorizing the whole Soviet Union. Here again, the closing credits inform the viewers that the film is based on a true story and provide a short biography of this everyday hero.

This emphasis on real events and the very fact that these films were made in conjunction with supranational commemorations is a way to bring to light new historical sources. Film is used to revise history. In this regard broad distribution beyond the borders of the Sakha Republic is vital. *Cranes over Ilmen Lake* was broadcasted on the all-Russian TV channel Kul'tura on February 4, 2008, marking a first for Sakha cinema.

This concern with revisiting history is common to many post-Soviet cinemas, particularly in reexamining the Soviet period (Abikeeva 2003; Balčus 2012; Beumers 2012; Laaniste 2010). In the newly independent

14 The Second World War.

states films tend to rewrite the Soviet or pre-Soviet past through a »national perception of the world« (Abikeeva 2003) or to establish a »›right way‹ of remembering historic events« (Laaniste 2010). In the case of Siberian indigenous peoples who remain part of the Russian Federation, however, such films express a desire for inclusion in Soviet and pre-Soviet history.

In revising history, these films also counter outsiders' stereotypes. One stereotype is the absence of native Siberians on Siberian land. Indeed, in films like *Siberiade* or *Farewell*—to refer only to milestones of Soviet cinema—Siberia is shown empty of indigenous people. This absence is reversed in some indigenous films where instead it is the Russians who are missing. *Run*, for instance, portrays the city of Yakutsk with no Russian inhabitants: all the characters are Sakha, speak Sakha. The entire environment is Russian-free: Sakha features on TV as well as in the background music. Films by Vyacheslav Semyonov, for example *The Moth*, also depict a life without Russians, although the action takes place in the Soviet context of a kolkhoz. In indigenous cinema, the absent figure has changed nationality.

In Russo-Soviet cinema, when Siberian peoples are represented, it is always by and for outsiders and in a stereotypical way. However, unlike Hollywood westerns where indigenous people were more often than not depicted as a brutal and fierce enemy, in Soviet movies, they were not rivals but peoples to be freed and enlightened by socialist progress. Some current indigenous filmmakers are very critical of what they perceive as a misrepresentation. For example, director Nonna Galetskaya, without naming any particular film, states: »We were then shown as uneducated savages, although we have our own ancestral culture with its own writing system,« (Galetskaya, pers. comm.). Most of the time, they criticize the lack of »soul« and the fact that they are represented as generic »peoples of the North« (Timofeyev, pers. comm.),[15] a statement that can be linked

15 Konstantin Timofeyev, interview by the author, September 8, 2012, Yakutsk. It must be noted that there are others who think differently and fondly remember the few films where indigenous peoples appear; and

to the habit of giving Siberian roles to actors originating from Central Asia in Russo-Soviet films.

Another stereotype that has been particularly robust in Soviet filmography is the advanced ethnic Russian, most of the time a Bolshevik, who saves the Siberian native from his own backwardness and integrates him or her into the dominant—predominantly ethnic Russian—society, as occurs in the Stalin-era film *The Romantics*. In recent Sakha and Khakas cinema, this process is reversed. In *Cranes over Ilmen Lake* and *Sakha Sniper* it is native Siberians who save the Russians (and the whole Soviet Union) by playing a decisive role in World War II. In *Black Mask* they save the Soviet Union from a terrorizing gang. In *Land of Our Fathers* Khakas adopt blond Russian orphans, assimilating them into their society.

Re-imagining geography

In addition to revising history, Siberian indigenous cinema serves as a tool for re-imagining geography. Closely linked to the cultivation of an »ethnic atmosphere« is the creation of an »ethnoscape« figuring the ancestral »homeland,« a landscape that mirrors the ethnic community by historicizing the territory through particular historical events or relics and monuments. More poetic than strictly factual, their authenticity is mainly »emotional and moral« (Smith 2000, 55). As well as other identity markers, films display locations that translate ethnicity, sometimes insistently like the long and numerous shots of the Lena River pillars in *Cranes over Lake Ilmen*. This spectacular rock formation has turned into a Sakha Republic national symbol and is used in the film to represent the fatherland that Sakha soldiers are leaving in order to join the front. Playing the same role, megalithic architecture is used in *Land of Our Fathers* both as a national marker and as the mythological place where the future mother of the Khakas people takes refuge when she is exiled. Focusing on this burial architecture allows for identification with a buried past through its

some are convinced that a national (Sakha) cinema would have emerged sooner or later, had the Soviet Union lived longer.

most visible symbols and makes it possible to »recover […] the submerged landscape of a pre-Soviet and pre-Russian collectivity« (Anderson 1998, 64).

More casually, many well-known places in the city of Yakutsk are used as a set for contemporary Sakha teenage films (*Looking for Joy*, *Run*, *Debt*): the Main Street, The National Sakha Theatre, The Opera and Ballet Theatre, the War memorial, etc. Beyond that, these films offer an alternate vision of the republic's capital city. Usually mentioned in outsiders media as the coldest city in the world (with temperatures dropping to -50° C in the winter), in Sakha teenage movies Yakutsk is a sunny and trendy place where one can go shopping in the most fashionable boutiques, stay at five-star hotels, or go out to exclusive nightclubs and restaurants where pop stars are putting on a show. Judging from the beach location where the heroes of *Looking for Joy* are flirting with girls, Yakutsk looks more like Los Angeles or Miami than North Siberia! In these films, the Sakha Republic's capital city is a center where anyone can become a VIP. The films show tourists from surrounding villages and towns visiting and taking souvenir pictures of Yakutsk's memorable sites. In short, no need to go to Moscow in order to live a glamorous life or go sightseeing; Yakutsk is the place to be. Making their capital city an attractive destination is a way to reassert the value of their own geographic location. In doing so, these films shift the center eastward. This reconfiguration of the relationship of center to periphery at the Federation level must be correlated with the successful development of the Neo-Eurasianist political tendency in the Sakha Republic. Emerging after 1991 in an effort to reshape a national identity on the ruins of the Soviet Union, Neo-Eurasianism emphasized Russia's geographical position as a link between Asia and Europe. This special location, at the crossroads of civilizations, gives Russia a particular messianic role to play in the post-Cold War era, no longer at the periphery of Europe, but at the same time culturally closer to Asia. Although its political ramifications are diverse and sometimes contradictory, Neo-Eurasianist discourse rehabilitates national and religious diversity within the Russian Federation, fully acknowledging its Muslim and Turkic components (Laruelle 2007b).

Consequently, Neo-Eurasianist ideas have developed in ethnically non-Russian regions such as the Tuva Republic, Buryatia, and the Sakha Republic, in all of which the argument of being at the crossroads of the Eurasian space is reinterpreted (Laruelle 2007b, 201). In the Sakha case, renegotiating the rhetoric of center vs. periphery has augmented the desire to associate more closely with Central Asian Turkic peoples and allowed both for an increase in distance from Moscow and emphasis on a regional hegemonic role (Laruelle 2007b, 203; Maj 2009).

This center shown in these films radiates out to the borders of the republic while the rest of the Russian Federation is notably absent. As I mentioned earlier, some films simply »erased« the Russian side of Yakutia (*Run*, *The Moth*, *The Free Warriors*) by not showing it. Life can go on without Russians. The geography imagined by these films turns its back on Russia (and Europe) and looks entirely towards Asia. The young heroes of *Run* escape the Yakutsk mafia for a sunny paradise located in China. Sakha horror films take Japanese horror as a model and a point of comparison (Maksimov and Schastlivaya 2012; Yakimenko 2008, 47).[16] Almazfilm's latest project is the dubbing of Chinese films into the Sakha language. When asked why they've chosen Chinese and not Russian (or Euro-American) films, producer Alexander Danilov explains that

> The Chinese look like the Sakha, they have Asian faces […] When a Russian or a French person speaks Sakha, it is hard to believe […] We are used to the fact that foreigners speak Russian […] If a Kazakh, Chinese person, or a Buryat speak Sakha, it is ok, I think (Danilov, pers. comm.).

Once again, this statement echoes some new trends of Neo-Eurasianist thought: that Turkic populations represent a chance for the Russian Federation because they embody a »fusion« with the »Confuciano-Buddhist axis,« and are attractive because of their extreme dynamism and economic success (Laruelle 2007a, 92).

16 It must be noted that horror is a genre almost absent from Russo-Soviet cinema.

By the Will of Genghis Khan, the first Yakutian super production,[17] directed by the current Minister of Culture himself, Andrei Borisov, is a biopic of the Mongol conqueror. Borisov, a dedicated Eurasiasnist (Laruelle 2007b, 201; Chusovskaya and Krasil'nikova 2009, 22), explains that Genghis Khan and the philosophy associated with him is a legacy of all Asian peoples. The film »reveals those deep strata of history when all Asians were initially united« (Chusovskaya and Krasil'nikova 2009, 23). This is the reason why the cast comprises representatives of so many Asian nationalities: Tuvan, Buryat, Sakha, Mongolian, Altaic, Khakas, Bashkir, Japanese, and Chinese, along with Russian and American. According to the producer, the film promotes Tengrism, which used to be the religion of ancient Turks and Mongols (Ivanov, pers. comm.).[18] Some have even perceived the film as a Tengrist symbolism manual, seeing it as a kind of Turko-Mongol *Da Vinci Code* (Fedorova 2009, 28). In short, *By the Will of Genghis Khan* clearly posits Sakha people and culture in the Asian sphere. By employing Tengrism, understood as a return to the origins, it serves the purpose of uniting Turkic peoples in a Neo-Eurasianist vision (Maj 2009, 79–80).

Reconnecting with the past

As noted earlier, films are used to question one's own identity. In this process, digging into the past is a way to reconnect with native traditions that had been interrupted by the Soviet period. *Middle World*, the first Sakha feature film, is clearly a search for a lost purity. It narrates the life and death of a typical Sakha according to Sakha traditions and rituals. Every step of life is depicted: birth, education, marriage, etc. Traditional occupations such as shaman or blacksmith are described. »With this film, one can learn a lot about our culture, our traditions« (Romanov 2012, pers. comm.). And not only outsiders can benefit from the learning.

17 It is the only project originating in the Sakha Republic to have been released in mass distribution in the Russian Federation and abroad.

18 Vladimir Ivanov, interview by the author, August 26, 2012, Yakutsk.

According to the director, his film contributed to help Sakhas themselves rediscover their own traditions.

> At a time when people were celebrating weddings Soviet style, after having seen the film, people started to […] celebrate weddings according to our national traditions, to dress in national costumes […] People told me that. My film helped people rediscover traditions (Romanov, pers. comm.).

Having no record of »traditional« weddings after 1993, but no reason either to doubt the director's statement, we can only once again observe the level of influential power attributed to film in terms of nation-building, a power also ascribed to other post-Soviet cinemas, for instance in Ukraine (Hosejko 2001, 369).

Historical films are often good vehicles for national narratives. It has been noted that nationalisms have an investment in the past, memory being particularly subject to mobilization. As Anthony Smith argues: »no memory, no identity; no identity, no nation« (cited in Hayward 2000, 90). *Land of Our Fathers* narrates how all the Khakas men are killed at war while the women and children, among whom a new chief has just been born, are re-founding the nation in another place. Not content to offer an account of the origins of the Khakas, the film stresses this point by using old women to represent the ancestors in the opening and closing scenes of the film, a kind of missing link between past and present: they lead viewers to the origin. In a Neo-Eurasianist effort, the blockbuster *By the Will of Genghis Khan* reaches very far back in time to reunite the Sakha people with Asia. In addition, its hero has an Uryankhay mother, a tribe that is considered one of the ancestors of the Sakha people (Anashkin 2006, 90).

One simple way to reconnect with traditions and perpetuate them is to adapt works by national writers for the screen, a task that has been taken on by Sakhafilm. According to the company's chief executive, Sakha youth no longer read the national classics. It is therefore the national film company's responsibility to show these literature classics at local

schools in another format (Sivtsev, pers. comm.).[19] Film director Vyacheslav Semyonov, for his part, stresses the importance of adapting national writers in order to preserve the language (Semyonov, pers. comm.).[20]

While not literature per se, the oral tradition is also taken as a source of inspiration for screenplays. The script of *Land of Our Fathers* comes from a folk story that was adapted for the stage before being made into a film (Galetskaya, pers. comm.). *Maapa*, the very first Sakha film, has its origin in the frightening Sakha legends that filmmaker Aleksei Romanov was told as a child.

These scary legends are fertile ground for recent Sakha horror films (*Path of Death*, *Path of Death 2: Expiation*, *Naaxara*, *Paranormal Yakutsk*). Sakha folklore is rife with evil spirits, restless and tormented souls that have found a new cinematic life after having kept silent for decades. All these teenage films, while targeting younger audiences, are actually forging links with the ancient traditions of their ancestors (Kolbasina 2008b, 42; Maksimov and Schastlivaya 2012). Oral sources such as the Sakha epic, *Olonkho*, with its many heroes and stories, may serve as a great basis for films, but they are still seen as taboo by some (Ivanov and Kirillim, pers. comm.), which testifies of the vitality of the myths. Nevertheless, some filmmakers, mostly of the younger generation, use this material for their stories. Producer Konstantin Timofeyev knows that showing *abaahy* (Sakha evil spirits) will be a source a discontent for many, but he is not afraid to do so precisely because this is what invests *Paranormal Yakutsk*, the local version of *Paranormal Activity*, with »Sakhaness« (Timofeyev, pers. comm.). Interestingly, by their use of both traditional legends and the aesthetics of horror, they take their material not only from the national register but from the global register as well. Claiming influence from the Japanese and Hollywood horror industries, these films cross borders and end up being hybrid, »impure« objects. They make global

19 Stepan Sivtsev, interview by the author, August 28, 2012, Yakutsk.

20 Vyacheslav Semyonov, interview by the author, September 5, 2012, Yakutsk.

products local, and are ultimately transnational, reminiscent of other post-Soviet cinematographies (Mazierska 2010).

While reconnecting with the past, these horror films also highlight a rupture in tradition. Every one of these films shows young people facing phenomena they cannot understand. When they realize they have disturbed an ancient order, most of the time by breaking a traditional taboo, they do not know what to do to restore normalcy. When they can, the young heroes have to consult elders, as happens in the two-part film *Paths of Death*. Otherwise they are damned for eternity for their transgression, as in *Naaxara*. In any case, these films show that there has been a discontinuity, a failure in transmission. They are used to reconnect with the tradition, but this tradition has now become impenetrable because »the cultural, identity and linguistic link with elders, and above all with ancestors, has been broken« (Le Berre-Semenov 2003, 399). They also engage in what Faye Ginsburg calls »mediating across boundaries,« that is »the mediation of ruptures of time and history—to heal disruptions in cultural knowledge, historical memory and identity between generations due to the tragic but familiar litany of assaults« (Ginsburg 1991, 104).

Strong and weak feeling of identity

When comparing films from Khakassia and Yakutia, the first striking difference one notices is the number of films that have been produced so far. Khakassia is just starting its national film industry; and the few films made so far have had a very ceremonious destiny: they are shown at local Houses of Culture, libraries, schools, etc. (Kurochka, pers. comm.). The situation is very different in the Sakha Republic, where films have been produced for almost 20 years, and the exhibition of them is more casual: they are released at local cinemas, mostly with success (Vanina 2012). The second divergence is that Sakha films do not necessarily demonstrate the same approach to their past and traditions. Khakas films regard their history with great reverence. This has even been criticized by Khakas viewers of *Land of Ours Fathers* on an Internet forum: »The speech seemed artificial, histrionic, bookish. Conversations should be true-to-life« (Forum Khakasskogo Naroda 2008). One could

think that the filmmakers are filming this way in order to pay respect to a culture that has been disregarded for decades.

This kind of criticism or prudence seems to have been overcome by Sakha filmmakers. In this regard *The Free Warriors* is paradigmatic. The film is a comedy that makes fun of *toyons* (Sakha traditional chiefs) and *booturs* (epic warriors) in the manner of Monty Python's lampooning of the Arthurian Legend. Here, speech is by no means bookish and histrionic. On the contrary, when the chief ventures to speak in a serious and erudite way, his interlocutors do not understand him anymore and ask him to repeat his statement in an intelligible manner. Even the subtitles are only quotation marks during these scenes to stress the literary language. The film also plays with the traditional celebration Yhyakh (a national holiday in Sakha Republic), which an unorthodox rap singer surrounded by chorus girls is to host. It also shows no reverence for religion or the Sakha belief that nature is omniscient: the »all-knowing forest« answers directly the warriors' questions and loudly groans when someone breaks a branch.

The Free Warriors is not an isolated case, although other examples do not twist tradition so openly. The rude and rough loser who is the protagonist of *Breathe* is called Nyurgun, which is the name of the greatest hero of traditional Sakha epic tales. The heroic deeds of this cinematic Nyurgun are clumsy attempts to get by in life (rob a shop to feed his family, save his son from thugs representing evil-spirits). *Breathe* replays mythology (Filippova 2008, 63). Other films simply depict a darker side of Yakutian life. *Debt* and *My Love* openly deal with troublesome issues such as alcoholism, rape, murder, or prostitution. Accused of showing Yakutians in a bad light in his films, director Sergei Potapov claims he is merely showing them honestly (Potapov, pers. comm.).[21] But not everybody is ready to reveal what they perceive as the »negative side of life« (Everest 2008, 60), »negative« here being used to describe issues as diverse as »nonstandard« (in the Yakutian context) sexual orientation,

21 Sergei Potapov, interview by the author, September 5, 2012, Yakutsk.

diseases that are supposedly »shameful,« or criminal behavior. The reason given for this reluctance is that Sakhas are a »minority.«

> Majority peoples have the right to show another side of life [in their films] because everybody knows England, USA, France […] They are so powerful that if they show homosexuality, drug addiction, there are no consequences. We are so few that we must protect ourselves […] We have to show the positive side (Arzhakov, pers. comm.).[22]

However, the very fact that not all films are limited to showing the »positive« side of life is a sign that the Sakhas, although small in number, think their culture is not at risk. On the contrary, it demonstrates confidence in their cultural identity. A proof of this is that *The Free Warriors* was the 2010 Sakha box office hit in Yakutia. Being able to make fun of traditions or to criticize their society implies a secure sense of identity. In the Khakas case, films show nothing of the sort. They manifest the desire to exist and to be taken seriously, what Sakha cinema was doing 20 years ago with films such as *Middle World*. In this regard, Khakas films demonstrate much less confidence in the power of their cultural identity. This might be linked to the fact that in the Republic of Khakassia, Khakas represent only 12.1% of the population, while 81.7% of the inhabitants are Russian. Khakas are indeed a minority in the republic that bears their name. In the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic, on the other hand, the Sakha people account for 49.9%, nearly half of the total population, with »only« 37.8% being ethnically Russian (Federal State Statistics Service 2011). Although Sakhas were a minority in their own republic

22 In his vision of homosexuality or addiction as »shameful« behaviors that should be hidden, film director Arzhakov expresses an opinion so widespread in the republic (as in the whole of the Russian Federation) that members of the Yakutian regional assembly (*Gossobranie*) addressed the issue by making »gay propaganda« illegal (Adamov 2012), some politicians going so far as to view homosexuality as a kind of »fascism« coming from Europe (SakhaNews 2013). It must be noted that this view is far from being unanimous, and some people actively protest against such laws (Stopzakon 2012).

during the Soviet period, their proportion of the total population has increased significantly since the end of the Soviet Union.[23] The differing degrees of confidence in the Khakas' and Sakhas' respective cultural identities can be correlated with these population statistics.

Moreover, as Ian Jarvie suggests, a national cinema is not sufficient to build a nation, but merely contributes to the process. Indeed, a national cinema arises in places with an already established clear national identity or a strong language and culture (Jarvie 2000, 80). Unlike the Republic of Khakassia, the Sakha (Yakutia) Republic seems to be such a place. At least since the beginning of the twentieth century, a sense of national identity has existed among the Sakhas and has continued to develop ever since, the Sakhas demonstrating »a determination to preserve their national culture« even during the radical changes of the 1930s (Forsyth 1992, 168, 319). All this makes them one of the »most original of Siberian peoples,« capable of asserting their individuality (Forsyth 1992, 381).

In spite of their differences, the Siberian indigenous peoples of these two Russian republics, »like a handful of indigenous people throughout the world, are using film both as a mechanism of self-expression and as a tool in the process of cultural revitalization and political recognition« (Fienup-Riordan 2003, 162). In this revitalization process, films prove to be good tools for strengthening national and cultural identity, promoting language and a traditional way of life. In addition, they play a significant role in creating narratives, whether national or otherwise. They revise history by rethinking the supranational narrative in order to be fully acknowledged as members of Russo-Soviet history. But they also re-imagine geography in order to reassess the location of the center, moving it eastward toward Asia. Finally, indigenous filmmakers are attempting to (re)discover their own history by re-connecting with their

23 It is to be noted that Sakha (Yakutia) Republic numbers among its population other Siberian indigenous minorities: Dolgans, Evenks, Evens, Yukaghirs, and Chukchis, who are very few in number. They, too have seen their populations increase proportionally in the censuses following the collapse of the USSR, but they are not represented in recent Yakutian cinema.

past and traditions while at the same time revealing the rupture in contact with this past. Indeed, films fully participate in the process of »imagining the community,« offering this community a space, a time, and an image of itself. Even though the »imagined communities« of the Khakas and the Sakhas demonstrate differing levels of self-confidence, both use film to provide a more complex image of themselves and their present than the one imagined by outsiders.

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World music routes: the modification of the Sakha musical tradition[1]

Aimar Ventsel

The end of the 1980s was also the beginning of the rise in »world music« and of WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance), an arts festival founded by Peter Gabriel, Thomas Brooman, and Bob Hooton in 1980. While the first WOMAD festival had taken place in 1982,[2] the term »world music« was coined only in 1987. This happened at a meeting of independent record label representatives and music journalists whose goal was to launch a new marketing category for various music genres that existed outside the average Euro-American pop music scene, being recorded mainly in the Third World (Mitchell 1993, 310; Pietilä 2009, 4). In the meantime, world music had crossed over into the mainstream and become a soundtrack for both semi-alternative student parties and intellectual music hall events. On the other side of the former Iron Curtain, these were exciting times. Suddenly new music was everywhere—on daytime radio, on TV, and in the emerging pirate cassette market via new private shops and market stalls. In this period, I was a passionate follower of the late night TV program »Programma A,« on Ostankino TV, the Russian central television channel, which was run by the famous Russian rock journalist Artemii Troitski and aired new underground music from all over the Soviet Union. For many Soviet music fans, »Programma A« developed into an important source for new music, for discovering new artists from both the West and Eastern Europe. I remember being thrilled one evening while watching

1 This research was supported by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence in Cultural Theory CECT).

2 http://womad.org/about/.

»Programma A« by a concert by a six- or seven-member Sakha (or Yakutian) rock band. The musicians were wearing long leather coats and had long black hair covering their faces as they hunched over their guitars. The man in the center was almost kneeling, holding in his hands something I recognized as a shamanic drum, and produced deep magical sounds, drumming and singing. The music was extraordinary—monotonous, dark, depressive, and very impressive. Years later, while conducting my PhD research in the Republic of Sakha, I learned the name of the band—Aital—and that they were one of the founding ethnic rock bands of the region. Aital was also one of the first Sakha music groups to tour in the West, benefitting from Gorbymania and the world music craze. They performed in festivals in Finland, Germany, the UK, and the USA, and some of their concerts were released as bootleg CDs. However, in 1993–1994 Tuvan bands like Yat-Kha and Huun Huur Tu, which were better promoted, gained greater success and became international templates for the »authentic Siberian sound.« By the mid-nineties, a disappointed Aital gave up touring in the West. Their short international career reflects the struggle in which the whole genre is caught: namely, how to market authenticity.

World music in the academic context

The least common denominator among various definitions for world music is that world music is typically defined geographically as non-Western music (Erlman 1994; Frith 2000; Pietilä 2009) with folk-related or »ethnic« music made within the Western hemisphere being included as well (Mitchell 1993, 310; Thornton 1998, 260, 263). Although world music is as much a marketing category as any other music designation, it appears to rely overwhelmingly on small record labels to produce it because the owners are enthusiasts. This enthusiasm of small labels is a factor that delivers authenticity to all these various music styles (Hattersley 2004; Pietilä 2009, 8). Scholars have argued that the majority of the world music audience are Western white middle class listeners seeking an alternative to commercial mainstream pop, which for them lacks authenticity and an exotic »vibe« (Haynes 2013; Hutnyk 2000). Relatively small, the world music audience is considered to be committed to the

cause and ready to invest a substantial amount of money by purchasing CDs and attending concerts (Boyd 2009, 49). Therefore world music is often described as an elitist genre, even as the new classical music »of our time« (Ling 2003).

Producing and marketing authenticity is one important topic in the scholarly debate over world music. Not unusual is the view that world music is just a form of the Adorno-esque »monopolistic culture industry,« which manipulates music in order to sell it (e.g. Frith 1991). However, this discussion is related to the post-colonial reading of these marketing strategies. Indeed, as research demonstrates, until the collapse of the Soviet bloc, »exotic« music travelled to the Western world overwhelmingly as a result of colonial relations with non-European countries. By the 18th century, travelling noblemen had brought back to Europe sounds originating in Asia and Africa, which were then incorporated into classical and popular music (Ling 2003, 235–36; Savigliano 1995). Spain had already begun to introduce Europe to the music of its colonies in the 16th century, the first country to do so (Savigliano 1995, 86). Behind this process was the perception that non-European people had maintained »real« and »authentic« values, which Europeans had by and large lost. In Europe, the import of music and dance from the colonies was accompanied with a fascination for lower class dances, and involved simultaneously exoticizing »rough« and »authentic« folk culture (Savigliano 1995, 96). Both processes also involved a high degree of codification: after tango manuals had standardized Argentinian dances (Savigliano 1995, 130), various folk music collectors in Europe began distinguishing »authentic« music from »less authentic« (e.g. Francmanis 2002). Soon such »folk music« was marketed as a source of passion, for its exotic vibe and connotations of virility (Savigliano 1995). The process of the »commodification of the Other« (Kellner and Durham 2001, 22) is interpreted as a power struggle that aims to make non-Western music »accessible« to Western audiences (Mitchell 1993, 314).[3] This music,

3 Among world music fans there has been a discussion about which record marks the beginning of the world music wave in the post-second world war West. Generally it is agreed that the first record was Paul

offered to listeners who are »largely uncritical of world music« (Hutnyk 2000, 22; see also Haynes 2013), is often rearranged and recorded using modern means of music production, which often leads to a high degree of homogenization and hybridization (Mitchell 1993; O'Hagin and Harnish 2006). Haynes (2005, 369) argues that the balance between hybridization and authenticity is one of the dilemmas in world music. Orientation to Western audience disconnects the exported music from new sounds in the country of origin either because it involves the merger of local music with global pop influences (Boyd 2009; Bilby 1999; see also Laing 2009), or because it contravenes local ways of making and consuming music (Bigenho 2002; Kevin 2004). Two opposing positions in theories about world music are the »top-down« perspective (by which the music industry creates homogeneity and markets local musical forms of resistance) and the »bottom-up« perspective (by which Western instruments and technologies are adapted in order to renew local styles) (Stokes 2004, 50). The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that both processes occur simultaneously and are interrelated.

Sakha and the fieldwork

The Sakha (Yakutia) Republic (Yakutia 2007) is the largest region of the Russian Federation. Comprising more than three million square kilometers, it is located in the Russian Far East, not far from the coast of the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese border and has been a part of Russia since its incorporation in the 17th century. The republic is famous for its mineral resources, producing roughly one third of the world's and 99% of Russia's diamonds; and it also has quite impressive oil, gold, coal and timber reserves (Tichotsky 2000; Duncan 1994). The titular ethnic group are the Sakha, a Turkic language people, who make up roughly half of

Simon's 1986 album *Graceland*, which featured several tracks that were recorded with the collaboration of South African groups. Immediately after the release, Paul Simon was accused of exploiting African music (Mitchell 1993, 323). However, some fans point to the works of Santana and Osibisa, who released successful albums before *Graceland* (see discussion in *Songlines*, February–April, 2013).

the republic's fewer than one million people; the majority of the incomer population are Russians and Ukrainians. Apart from the Sakha, other indigenous peoples of the region are the Evenki, Eveni, Dolgan, Chukchi, and Yukaghir, who number 30,000 in total. The Sakha people are better known by their Russian ethnonym »Yakut«; but since the 1990s, after the declaration of sovereignty, their native expression »Sakha« has become better known outside the republic and is spreading internationally (Yakutia 2007).

Since 2000 I have conducted fieldwork in the Sakha Republic. During several field trips I interviewed most major Sakha recording artists and record label owners. During these trips I collected a solid archive on the republic's media, including its coverage of the activities of local music artists. Thanks to the generous help of friends in the republic's local television, I have several hours of recordings of TV shows covering local music events and youth programs, including interviews with the artists. In 2012, I helped to organize concerts for Sakha artists travelling to Estonia, Germany, and Finland; and I am in contact with promoters in the UK who promote Sakha artists, and I have a good understanding of their strategies. The secondary data for this research was collected by studying the few Sakha academic works on pop music and by conducting field work among world music promoters, record labels, and artists. As a journalist, I have interviewed dozens of artists and industry people. In 2010 and 2011 I participated in WOMEX, the most important annual world music industry gathering. A stint as host of a world music radio show on Estonian Radio 2 provided invaluable insights into the world music industry. I met numerous artists, promoters, and activists. Simultaneously I was a member of the World Music Charts Europe,[4]

4 The World Music Charts Europe unites nearly sixty radio-DJs from different European countries. To become a member of the board of the WMCE, one must have a weekly radio show which plays world music for at least one hour. Every month this jury compiles a TOP 10 chart of the best world music albums. In order to evaluate and compile the charts, radio-DJs receive dozens of albums with additional promotional materials every month, usually posted by the artists themselves or their record labels. The volume of CDs that land in the WMCE DJ post box

which gave me insider access to promotional materials and a good overview of the marketing strategies of world music labels and management companies.

Short overview of Sakha music up until the early 1990s

Music is an essential ingredient in Sakha culture: there is hardly a celebration, whether private or public, that is without singing and the performance of songs featuring guitars or accordions. The Sakha have a rich musical culture that dates back centuries, and until the 1990s it remained up-to-date with music recorded for radio and written for concerts and releases of vinyl LPs and cassettes. Nowadays, local radio stations play Sakha music, local record labels release it on CDs, the live music scene is vivid, and the club circuit booming.

Some ten years ago Sakha music was organised into four genres: *estrada* or *narodnaya muzyka,* which in the UK is often classified as vintage easy listening, somewhat similar to German *Schlager* (melodic singing accompanied by an orchestra). There is also rock, as well as *popsa*, or pop music (including hip-hop and electronic remixes); and there is traditional/folk music (*folklornaya muzyka*). Curiously, most artists have tried to perform in all these styles and successful artists have done so on a regular basis. There are several reasons for this phenomenon, but some are more noteworthy than others: first of all, the money involved in live performances was too little to focus solely on one style and by performing folk, estrada, and rock, the artist demonstrated her or his artistry, maturity, and sophistication (Ventsel 2004a; 2004b).

Historically, Siberian indigenous music developed in a different setting compared to that of African, Asian or Latin American colonial subjects. On the one hand, the Soviet authorities attempted to »enlighten« the

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are testimony to the importance which the bands, their management, and record labels place in this channel to get their new music on the air. The World Music Charts Europe is loosely related to the British world music magazine fROOTS, that also publishes the chart in every issue (see wmce.de).

»backward« indigenous people, not dissimilar to the colonial powers, but on the other hand to »preserve and develop« their cultures under the motto »socialist in context, national in form« (Forsyth 1992, 80, 244; Slezkine 1994, 205). In order to follow this policy, houses of culture were established in villages to house folklore groups and ethnic theatres (Donahoe and Habeck 2011; King 2011). Folk music was given exposure throughout the former Soviet Union on TV, state celebrations, and in various song and dance festivals. Some of the groups—mingling their music with *estrada*—became pop stars in their republic or even nationally (Olson 2004; Rouldand 2007). To monitor the folk music, the Soviets established music schools and opened folk music departments in universities, in Siberia it was also part of the school curriculum (Bloch 2004). Several Soviet-era Sakha artists developed their folk music not only in local schools but also in Moscow. The critics of this policy argue that Soviet state and culture institutions often turned indigenous cultures into museum objects (Baisheva et. al. 2012; Vakhtin 1994). However, the lasting impact of such a policy has been that Siberian indigenous people tend to believe that even their modern identity can be expressed through elements of traditional culture, such as wearing ethnic jewelry or eating traditional food. Traditional music and instruments continue to be central to Sakha identity in the modern world, both at home and abroad.

The development of later Sakha world music is closely related with the history of local rock music. It is generally agreed that the first Sakha rock group was Cholbon, quite a VIA-style[5] dance rock band in the 1970s with an ethnic edge. Out of that band evolved other rock groups that

5 VIA or vocal instrumental ensemble (*vocal'no instrumental'nyi ansambl*) were state-approved music collectives that fused rock, funk, jazz, and dance music in the Soviet era. VIAs were relatively big (6 to 12 members) and due to their big lineups, their music was quite complicated, although the primary directive of the VIA was to entertain and make dance music. In Russian rock studies it is argued that VIA music was a watered-down state-approved rock music (Steinholt and Wickström 2009; Yurchak 2006). The critics support the position that VIAs were an attempt to make Western music in a framework tolerated by the Communist state and its institutions (Grabowsky 2012).

became benchmarks of the so-called shamanic rock scene: Aital, Choron, Serge, etc. These were bands inspired by Pink Floyd and Led Zeppelin as well as Sakha traditional music, especially the songs of shamans. A wave of shamanic rock bands took off in the 1980s, as described by Artemii Troitski in his book *Back in the USSR* (Troitskii 2007). These bands experimented with folkloric sounds and ritualistic elements, such as performing shamanistic ceremonies on stage accompanied by electric guitars and loud drums. As a result, such hybridization changed the discourse of the Sakha tradition. By adopting Western instruments and melodies but remaining Sakha, these bands opened up the musical horizon and came to symbolize »Sakhaness.« Regev (2007) discusses »otherness,« national uniqueness, and rock music criteria in the Argentinian and Israeli rock scenes and concludes that in cases when the music finds a balance between the »interior« and »exterior,« fans have no problems identifying themselves with the music (318, 322). Interestingly, ethno-rock bands were not seen as »sell outs« defiling traditions, but as artists making contemporary Sakha music by adapting Western instruments and skills in order to modernize the Sakha tradition[6] (Drobizheva 1998). As is the case with other hybrid styles, like bhangra or hiphop (Hutnyk 2000; Mitchell 1993), ethno-rock became the poster child for authenticity.

The authenticity of this music was confirmed by the short-lived success of Sakha rock in Russia and abroad. In the early 1990s Sakha rock bands were receiving greater exposure everywhere: the sound was seen as unique by listeners who discovered it at festivals, via the media, or by the few tapes in circulation. Cholbon released an album with very enthusiastic liner notes from Troitskii (1992). In 1987 the well-known Russian semi-alternative rock band Zvuki Mu performed in Yakutsk with local rock bands; and Russian musicians were so impressed that in 1991 they helped to release a sampler of Sakha rock groups, *Sovremennaia muzyka naroda sakha* (Modern music of the Sakhas), in which artists like

6 This is very unusual on the world music circuit; artists who usually fuse traditional music with rock or hip-hop are accused of spoiling the music at home (see discussion in *Songlines*, March 2013).

Stepanida Borisova, Aital, Choroon, Serge, and Cholbon mixed shamanic songs with psychedelic rock. At the same time Sakha rock groups began to travel: for instance, Aital performed in Finland and Japan; and soon nearly all the main Sakha ethno-rock groups had performed in Moscow several times (Stephanida Borisova even toured Germany and Italy).

Thanks to the »allegories of technological progress« (Savigliano 1995, 82), amplified Sakha bands, dressed in traditional costumes, created a powerful »authentic Siberian sound«— monotonous, grim and mystical. With songs about ancient shamans and warriors, they offered a different kind of »exotic« to audiences accustomed to the playful dance music of African and South-American groups (Frith 1988; King 2004). This music, similar to some genres of Indian music (Hutnyk 2000, 3–4), seemed »intellectual« to the audience and yet still provided the form of »otherness« that people expected from performances by Sakha artists. However, this was not »autoexoticization« (Savigliano 1995, 2), but the belief, inherited from the Soviet house of culture, that the degree of traditional culture is measured by the degree of visibility of artifacts and sounds.

The media steps in: different interpretations of success

The media, especially radio, is a powerful medium for the promotion of new songs, albums, and artists. In modern times very few musicians are not interested in media coverage. The practice shows that even politically conscious artists cooperate with the mainstream media, not to mention less political artists who are glad for any kind of media coverage (Street 2012). The power relation in and around the media has been scrutinized in depth by Hesmondhalgh (2007) who argues that creativity in mainstream media is subordinated to profit. However, this—and similar—approaches have been called into question by Alan O'Connor (1990), who asserts that the degree of conservatism and the political economy of the media is a matter of discussion and often depends on the conceptual position of the analyst. Media can definitely be seen as part of the culture industries that construct and enforce images and concepts, and this is

especially true in the world music scene (Dawe 2004). Similar to the record labels (see Negus 1999), different forms of media create and popularize concepts of authenticity in world music. And similar to other spheres of the culture industry, the media does not control the music (Frith 2001, 25). Between the culture industry and the artist exist different degrees of cooperation or dominance and subordination (Hutnyk 1998, 2000a, 2000b) as well as complicated networks in which every member profits from the other (Negus 1996). In world music scholarship, journalism is discussed in terms of the Western media that helps to define the »world music discourse« (Stokes 2004, 58) but very little attention is paid to the »home media.« As will be discussed below, the »home« media presence can develop into a relationship of obligation.

In interviews, Sakha rockers told me that in addition to having successful concerts, they had also experienced the downside of the music business; it soon became clear to me however that these stories were kept secret when returning home. The local, ever-expanding media landscape celebrated the concerts and tours with national pride. The new private post-Soviet media (radio and glossy magazines) exploited the topic and made the artists who performed in foreign countries into national celebrities. Artists were portrayed as apostles of Sakha culture to the outside world, their mission being to carry and develop Sakha culture, to introduce and popularise it among foreigners (Doidu 2001; Utkin 1999; Ventsel 2009; Vorob'eva and Spiridonov 2003). Sakha artists presented their journeys and performances solely as success stories, not mentioning the problems they encountered: being cheated of their wages and manipulated by agents, being forced into bad contracts and so on.[7] At this time it is useful to bring in Sally Ann Ness's article about the variable meanings and commercialization of rock climbing (Ness 2011). She writes about the »outward« and »inward« movement in climbing: The outward movement, or the meaning-in-the-making, means a spontaneous process of recreating and confirming a climber's individual experience and his or her bond

7 I must mention that the Sakha mentality is extremely similar to the Jamaican mentality described by Gunst: by going abroad either you win or you should not return at all (Gunst 1995).

to climbing and the landscape—basically making sense and lending purpose to what they do. The inward movement is the growing influence of external agents like international corporations who get involved in climbing in order to market their products and services. In this context, the inward process on a large scale is the international (world) music business but on a local scale the local media, that creates the meaning and expectations related to performances abroad. The outward movement is how these bands create meaning and sell it to audiences in an existing framework of image, concepts of authenticity and the expectations of the audience—similar to Asian bands in the UK (Hutnyk 2000a, 2000b).

In short: in the Sakha Republic, touring artists are expected to be successful, which means that failure is inadmissible. In fact, the lack of English language skills and a scant understanding of legal procedures have made Sakha artists unequal protagonists in the international music business. Moreover, they were not well orientated to the global music landscape and had difficulties, for instance, in judging the prestige of a given festival to be performed at. Deficient knowledge of the terms of contracts led to several artists signing binding contracts that resulted in them having to withdraw from the global music scene for a year or even longer. But there was one thing the travelling artists learned from their hectic relationship with the global music business: you should make music that pleases promoters and the audience.

At home, the media turned Sakha artists into political activists—who represented the Sakha nation, its culture and traditions abroad. All this has substantially contributed to create pressure on the artists: the touring artists are shining idols, role models for dozens of young musicians, showing what a Sakha musician supposedly can achieve. By promoting this image, the media placed on artists' shoulders a heavy burden of responsibility, while managing to avoid sharing it.

Authenticity and roots

There is another aspect that should be mentioned in order to present the full picture. A closer look at the cohort of Choroon and Cholbon reveals

that all the musicians involved in these bands are village boys (and a few girls as well). In the case of ethnic music, having a rural background lends the artist a gloss of authenticity and exoticism. The reason for this rural origin of the first generations of Sakha musicians is very simple: until the end of the 1990s, the Sakha were overwhelmingly rural people, and only after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the constant growing migration to cities can we talk about a significant urban-born and -bred Sakha population. Sakha villages are quite desolate places—no jobs, no income, no prospects for the future, and marked by a predominantly subsistence economy (although this situation is slowly changing). As a young person, one has limited possibilities to escape such a life. If someone dreams of prosperity, the choices are few. Here I would like to draw a parallel between Afro-American kids in United States' ghettos—whether growing up in a remote village in the Sakha Republic or in a poor area of Los Angeles or Detroit, the quickest way to get access to money can be by becoming a criminal, an athlete, or a musician (Rose 1989, 1994). However, having roots in a village gives the artist the authenticity and credibility required when one performs ethnic music: in world music, the authenticity of a music of the »simple« people is guaranteed when the artist and the music is rooted in a concrete place and an historical context (Stokes 2004, 58; Frith 1988; e.g. Stoke 1992 for Turkish Arabesk; Thornton 1998 for Irish folk; Mike 2009 and Myles 2000 for Calypso and Soca; Järviluoma 2000 for Finnish music). Notwithstanding the argument that modern world music is often disconnected from the place (Piettilä 2009, 8), the practice proves this to be untrue. My journalistic career has shown that even the émigré who performs a hybrid fusion of styles tends to claim a symbolic connection with some place on the globe.

When I returned to Yakutsk in 2008 after a break of two years, I found that the music landscape had again radically changed. There now existed a more polarized scene—*bogema* vs. (ethno) rock, both camps with an exclusive and clear identity established, keeping a distance from the other side. Some artists—Khatalaev Family, Stepanida Borisova, Legentiai, Chyskyyrai—had earned the reputation of »national musical success

stories,« an image they also cultivated in their media appearances. What is significant is that these artists—especially Chyskyyrai and the Khatalaevs—gave up performing other styles like *popsa* or estrada and focused on performing more or less exclusively ethnic music. When talking to them, listening to and watching their recordings from festivals in Moscow or Western countries, I noticed several changes. First of all, the large band was gone. Another change is that some artists have a binding contractual relationship with Western managers. And the music has changed as well.

A good example of the transformation of Sakha tradition and its interconnectedness with the local media is the singer known as Chyskyyrai. We met in 2000 on Lenin Square in Yakutsk where she performed under her official name Valentina Romanova. She comes from a village called Myndygai, from the Churapsa district, in the Sakha heartland. As a young girl, Valentina used to dress as a punk and liked heavy guitar music. Later she studied music and Sakha culture in Yakutsk and started her singing career. When we met for the first time she described herself as an ethno-jazz singer but actually scored some hits with electronic disco songs. She has always been extravagant and not part of the mainstream pop culture in Sakha. Part of her uniqueness is her phenomenal voice and the ability to play with the notes. When performing with her band, she improvised wildly, sneering, howling, and crying over the music. The local media did not embrace this form of music. She was described in newspapers as someone who brings shame to the local pop music scene (*pozorit' yakutskuyu estraduj*) and was constantly criticized for her »deliberate lack of respect« for Sakha »ancient tradition« (*Yakutsk Vechernii*, April 20, 2000). Around 2004 she had the chance to travel to Europe. With the help of a Sakha DJ and promoter who lives in London, Chyskyyrai (as she was now calling herself) performed in the UK and around Europe, giving some master classes in London, appearing as a studio guest on BBC Radio 3, releasing an album, and signing a contract with a Polish manager. All these events were covered in the local media as Chyskyyrai's path to worldwide stardom and no-one mentioned that a few years before she had been

labelled as »shameful.« Chyskyyrai herself did everything to support this image of success: it remained unknown that her album was a very limited edition release on a university label targeted mostly at libraries. She also did not reveal that she received very little money for her performances and was actually not that famous at all. In March 2012 I organized a visit for her to Estonia to perform some concerts. In the interviews she gave to the Estonian media, Chyskyyrai revealed that she was the grandchild of a female shaman, on a mission to represent Sakha culture. She cultivated a mystique with her biography and seemed to enjoy her role at the center of public attention. What surprised me was how different her concert was from what I had seen a decade before in Yakutsk. It was very controlled, included very little improvisation, the music was very tight and … she and her husband (who accompanied her as a percussionist) switched between different instruments using the khomus (Sakha mouth harp), different rattles, shamanic drums, etc.

Why is this surprising? First of all, Chyskyyrai never really played instruments, especially the khomus. The khomus is not her instrument, although it is an important instrument in Sakha traditional music. The level of khomus playing in the Sakha tradition is incredibly high, it is a real art form. However, only I and a few Sakha in the audience understood this, and for the other people the show she delivered was flawless. Moreover, the switching between instruments was unusually intense; in traditional Sakha music this sort of mixing is extremely rare. As a rule, in Sakha music each person plays one instrument or sings. Even the ethno-rock bands—which are quite large—do not typically feature an artist playing more than one instrument. Later I was struck by another surprise. I Googled Chyskyyrai to see what has been written about her, discovering a clip featuring her on a talk show, with another Sakha singer, Saina. Saina used to be the bad rock bitch of Yakutsk—a leather-clad tattooed copy of various female American hard rock artists. Now she lives in Moscow and has apparently turned into an Evenki traditional

singer. As she explained on the TV show, she discovered her roots, gave up commercial music, and now follows the same path as Chyskyyrai.[8]

What I know about Saina is that she moved to Moscow around 2003 and tried a career as a pop singer, but apparently without any notable success. She tried to collaborate with different pop bands who were looking for a singer with an exotic Asian appearance. Saina performed for a short time with a pop group that had recently fired a female singer of Central Asian origin. After this brief period performing pop music, Saina turned to the world music scene of the Russian capital, using the popularity of certain new clubs that hired ethnic music artists. By making contacts in these clubs she became increasingly active on Moscow's world music circuit, occasionally helping Chyskyyrai to book concerts. In 2011, the new radio Etno-Radio was established in Moscow, and Saina was the person to lead it with music by Siberian indigenous people.

So, how to interpret this spiritual awakening and increasing consciousness of one's roots? As an artist, every musician wishes to perform and explore new horizons. All the ethno-musicians, who form the bulk of the musical export from the Sakha Republic, are very famous at home and have reached their artistic peaks: they have performed in every club, appeared on every TV and radio show. However, the only way Sakha musicians can have success outside of the republic is by performing ethnic music, as is demonstrated by Saina's lack of impact as a pop singer. As ethno-music performers, artists become part of the world music scene and adapt themselves to the expectations of the audience. Michelle Bigenho argues in her book *Sounding Indigenous* (Bigenho 2002, 17), in which she discusses authenticity in Bolivian traditional music, that one part of the perception of music is »experiential authenticity,« or how the music is experienced, what kind of feelings it initiates. This »experiential authenticity« is based on the perception of »groove« or how a certain musical style should sound. Sakha artists follow in the path of Tuvan artists like Yat-Kha or Huun Huur Tu, bands that have

8 http://mirtv.ru/programms/3705737/episode/4784222.

conceptualized the Siberian sound, dark music accompanied by throat singing. For example, a few years ago Sakha artists began to use the term »throat singing« for one of the Sakha singing styles which is quite similar to Tuvan throat singing.[9] The other feature—something in which Sakha musicians are not unique—is to »tame« the sound, to make it more listenable for a Western audience. In practice this involves shortening of songs and rearranging rhythmic patterns (Langlois 1996; Mitchell 1993 for Rai and Aboriginal music). Music that used to be performed as a long loose improvisation is nowadays rearranged, tightly organized to form five minute songs, with several »exotic« elements being embedded in a single song—such as the khomus, the imitation of animal noises, and elements of shamanic music. At the same time Sakha music lays claim to what Bigenho refers to as »cultural-historical authenticity« (Bigenho 2002, 18), i.e. despite listener-friendly rearrangements, the performance must maintain a certain aspect of Siberian culture, manifested through costumes, heavy Sakha silver jewelry, and a sonic experience that the audience expects (the use of particular sounds and instruments) (Haynes 2005). Moreover, Sakha artists are also framed through stereotypes by their Western managers, who market them as the »voices of Siberian wolves,« »shamanic singers,« etc. and create expectations for a certain type of performance. In a few cases, promoters will ask artists to perform a certain type of music—as a rule, the more exotic the better (Boyd 2009). In the Sakha case, the marketing strategy is not only to make the music listener-friendly but simultaneously offer a more »exotic Other« through hyper-traditionalization. Such hyper-traditionalization does not contradict the Sakha rock tradition of innovation and is also legitimized by the media-created image of the artist as a »messenger of the national culture,« a recycled Soviet-era formula. In this way, the reciprocal bonding between the culture industry, media, and the artists themselves, and the mutual relationship with the audience, redefine tradition but always preserve the element of authenticity.

9 Stepanida Borisova advertised herself in Germany as a Siberian throat singer.

Conclusion: making world music

In academic circles there exists a rich body of literature discussing the world music scene. The widespread focus of this literature is the discussion of post-colonialism—how African or Asian artists are pushed into certain musical frameworks that a Western audience associates with the music of the region. Nonetheless, this discussion should be broadened and such variables as competition among artists and within the music business, the market value of a band, and expectations of managers and style based on regional music clusters within world music should all be taken into the consideration. For example, Sakha and Buryatian artists compete for resources in a musical niche already occupied by Tuvans trying to push aside Mongolians, whose musical invasion has been relatively successful. As a strategy, Sakha artists have to be flexible. One mode of flexibility is to reduce costs involved with performing abroad in festivals or clubs: Therefore Sakha bands have become smaller, containing two to four artists, in contrast to the earlier big rock bands. Also they tend to use instruments that one can easily pack into a suitcase: the khomus, rattles, etc. No guitars, drum kits or amplifiers. Considering that a two-way ticket for one person from Moscow-Yakutsk can cost up to 1000 euro and overweight baggage is very expensive, this is a very effective strategy for keeping costs low.

In the debate around post-colonialism in relation to world music a few aspects remain underdiscussed. One is the way that artists have to manipulate »tradition« and »authenticity.« Despite traditional rock and jazz arrangements, Sakha artists know that they can utilize traditional music. In my view, they do not compromise but rather choose those elements of tradition that fit into the »groove.« Another issue is the heavy pressure at home: the media needs success stories, and the artists are portrayed as heroes on a mission to represent their nation. For that to happen the artists must garner great media coverage and stories. But it means that the music they make also must demonstrate a Sakha »groove« for the home audience as well. The legacy of ethno-rock is likely of enormous help to contemporary Sakha artists. The rock tradition in Sakha allows a combination of Western music with elements of traditional

Sakha music, and the outcome is widely recognized by local people as part of traditional culture. As far as I know, all »musical export artists« have distanced themselves from *popsa*, which in the Sakha Republic is seen as being »inauthentic« music, but they do not hesitate to perform with rock bands.

After the collapse of the Soviet bloc, several regional music styles have entered the world music market which have no typical post-colonial relationship to a Western nation. Notwithstanding the fact that every transnational power relation in the music business can be described as »colonial« (Larkey 1992), theorizing similarities and differences in a post-colonial and post-Socialist setting is still academically a marginal topic (Moore 2001; Chari and Verdery 2009; Gerasimov et.al. 2013). However, the impact of the position of the »national culture« within the framework of Socialist culture affects how artists interpret and legitimize their marketing strategies. Moreover, artists from former socialist countries lack a direct post-colonial bond to any of the western countries as former »mother countries.« This aspect of world music research needs further discussion and examination.

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