

Online version of

Music Media Multiculture. Changing Musicscapes.

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Preface

If someone is eating kidney pie and gets the remark: “How can you eat that appalling food?”, the response will not be very harsh. If someone is listening to music and gets the remark: “How can you listen to that terrible music?”, the music listener gets hurt and angry and starts to defend her/his musical preferences. But if the person who gives such a remark was aware of that the music is linked to the music listener’s origin and cultural background, there would probably be no remark at all or just a mumbled: “Interesting!”.

Music is of deep significance to most people. The relations to music can say a lot about individuals, groupings and communities. The urge to get to know more about how this works was the motivation for us to start this research project. It mainly concerns developments in Sweden but with quite a few international perspectives added. The results of the study were originally published in Swedish in December 2000. The changes in the Swedish musicscapes have been mapped out to increase the knowledge about music and its contexts but also to increase the knowledge about important processes of change in societies such as the Swedish. One of the aims was that decision makers, educators, and others would be able to use the results of our research in order to make wise decisions. When we presented parts of our research results at international conferences we found a keen interest shown by people from all parts of the world, both in our methods to classify and analyze data and in our results. Thus we decided to translate the book into English and publish it on the Internet World Wide Web in order to make our methods and results available to an international readership.

When collecting data we have been assisted by other researchers, musicians, and experts. Lots of conversations have been conducted with or without tape recorder. We want to thank all those people who have readily answered our questions about what they are doing with music. Without your answers nothing would have been accomplished. We also want to thank those who have guided us to the right people and places in strange environments: Sammy Oyando in Nairobi, Bernie Hewett in Dar es Salaam, Mike Tabor in Lusaka, Karissa Lewes in Trinidad, Dermot Hussey in Jamaica, the Poli family in Tumba, Albert Gabriel in California, Jonas Hjalmarsson in Tobo, Becky Weiss

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We are very grateful to Gidlunds förlag, the publisher of the Swedish edition of this book, for letting us use the layout and form from that book here. Special thanks to Anders Svedin who has edited this version.

Thanks to all colleagues for comments and views in informal meetings, seminars and conferences. A special thank you to the scholars from different countries that came to the ICTM colloquium on “The role of music in ‘emerging multicultural’ countries” arranged by us in Visby in January 1999: John Baily, Dieter Christensen, Beverly Diamond, Salwa El-Shawan Castelo Branco, Eva Fock, Hasse Huss, Josep Martí I Perez, Pirkko Moisala, Pieter Remes and Mark Slobin.

Finally, thanks to the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and The Royal Swedish Academy of Music for financing the project and to the research secretary of the Academy Henrik Karlsson for inspiration and administration.

Dan Lundberg Krister Malm Owe Ronström

Aims, Themes and Terms

Three phenomena that have had an impact on people's lives in the Western world in recent decades are music, media and multiculturalism. Music has moved beyond its previously limited and well-defined context and is now to be found everywhere; in the car, the lift, when shopping, when cycling, on the beach. The quantity of music and the time we spend on it has grown at a great pace. There are now more media, the newest of which are CDs, video, satellite television, private radio and the Internet, all with a large music content. Twenty years ago, multiculturalism was an unknown concept in Sweden. Today, we frequently refer to "the multicultural society". These changes are clearly linked and are interdependent. Music and media have been central for the origins as well as the understanding and shaping of multiculturalism as a phenomenon. At the same time, music combined with media is one of the most common ways for various groups to define their individuality in multicultural societies. How do these processes work? How is the individual and society affected? Which kinds of new structures arise? Where are these developments leading?

In order to look for the answers to these and related questions, the Music · Media · Multiculturalism (MMM) project was initiated in 1996 at the Royal Swedish Academy of Music. The Project has first and foremost focused on the situation in Sweden during the 1980s and 1990s. The collection of data was completed in 1999. In some areas, developments in other countries have also been investigated.

The project's main purpose was originally formulated as follows:

- to study *production and organisation of social and cultural diversity* from a contemporary and future-orientated perspective with an accent on the expressive manifestations of diversity, in particular *music and dance*;

During the course of the project the original aims have been pursued while also being clarified and modified. The first aim emphasises the investigation of the role of music, dance and the media in the production and organisation of social and cultural diversity. We have primarily concentrated on music, since

we discovered that dance was only present in some of the contexts and environments covered in the study. We also soon realised that we had to differentiate between the concepts of *cultural diversity* and *multiculture*. The expression “social and cultural diversity” in the original formulation has thereby become more precise in its meaning. The second aim has been concretised by attempts to create models and tools in order to be able to say something about music and the future and methods by which music can be used as an indicator of more general processes of change in society.

The primary object and field of study is music in live and mediated form. On the most abstract and general level the project sheds light on questions of cultural complexity with a focus on the relationships between expressive forms, media systems and the multicultural society. It has also been our ambition to study relations rather than products and conditions. Both objects and fields of study have been treated as parts of a coherent global system and not as isolated units.

The project has been financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. Henrik Karlsson, research secretary for the Academy, has been the coordinator. The project has been planned and executed by the authors. We have been assisted by a number of colleagues in different sub-projects. Data has been collected primarily through interviews and documentation with tape-recorders, still photography and video. We have also, amongst other things, collected documents (press clippings, documents of policy, etc.), searched through archived material and made participative observations. New methodological techniques have also been employed. Sources in the form of electronic files on the World Wide Web have been used to a large extent and we have interacted with interviewees, researchers and other parties of interest via e-mail and the project website (<http://www.visarkiv.se/mmm>).

During the course of the project a series of sub-reports have been published (in print, on the project website and on CD-ROM). The participating researchers have contributed with presentations and items of discussion at conferences and seminars, as well as speaking in various contexts. In January 1999, a colloquium was arranged on “The Role of Music in ‘Emerging Multicultural’ Countries”.¹ The preliminary results of a range of projects were discussed in a forum comprising 14 internationally recognised researchers of ethnomusicology and anthropology from Denmark, Finland, Canada, Portugal, Spain, the UK and the US. A list of the project’s participants, sub-reports and other significant presentations can be found on pages 437, 449–455.

¹ The colloquium was part of a series organised by the International Council of Traditional Music (UNESCO).

Many different avenues of approach have been tested during the project. A large number of ideas, hypotheses and methods of analysis have been tested in fieldwork and on colleagues in various contexts. The knowledge gleaned has been added to the extensive experience each of us already possessed from research on and practical work with music, media and multiculturalism in different parts of the world. In this study we summarise the most important results of our research within the Music · Media · Multiculture project.

Music as Objective and Means—Expression and Cause

There can be no doubt that cultural diversity is on the increase in the Western world. The flow of forms, styles, objects and ways of living and thinking over all kinds of social and cultural boundaries is more intense and perhaps also more consciously defined than previously. The origins of this increasing diversity are many, and include migration, tourism, globalised consumer markets and new technology. When considering the increasing diversity, one should also consider the increasing willingness of people to meet and deal with social and cultural diversity in their daily lives.

We have made music our point of departure for studies on the multicultural society. Music is a “keyhole”—a zone accessible to study in a discourse where much else is inaccessible and hard to grasp. By “peering” through music’s keyhole we have been able to study aspects of society’s organisation of cultural diversity and the internal structure and interrelations of the groups involved.

Why music? A prominent aspect of the growth of cultural diversity is the almost incredible broadening of contemporary music, in every direction, on every level, in all parts of society, which has made music a constant in humanity’s world of sound.² The expansion has come about because certain musical styles have spread across the globe via the music industry and media and because music has become detached from time and place. Never before have so many styles, genres, forms and methods of expression been accessible at the same time. Never before have so many been involved so much with music.

One cause, and effect, of this development is that music has grown into one of the world’s most important industries.³ The music industry generates increasing national and transnational flows of capital, which has made it possi-

² Increased music consumption is clearly reflected in, for example, IFPI’s (International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers) yearly phonogram sales figures.

³ In 1986 the entertainment industry, in which the music industry is central, was the second biggest industrial sector in the US. Only the aerospace industry was bigger. Since then, the entertainment industry has enjoyed significant growth in relation to other industries, growth per annum is expected to be around 10% for the foreseeable future (Our Creative

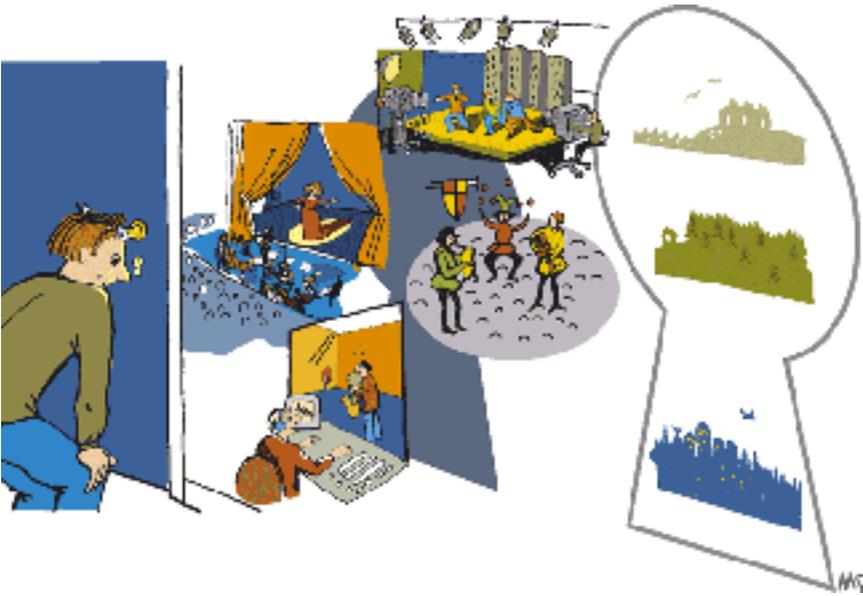
ble for multinational leisure conglomerates to acquire greater global influence. An example of this is the way the big companies have worked in recent years to acquire control, not only over the production of the “software”, discs, cassettes, etc., but also over the “hardware”, i.e. units on which to play the music, not to mention the copyright of recorded work. At the same time they have succeeded in persuading many countries to retroactively lengthen the period of copyright for music from 50 to 70 years after the composer’s death and the mechanical rights from 25 to 50 years. The music industry has thereby succeeded in increasing its capital to a point where, for the first time in the beginning of the 1990s, music rights generated more profit than the sale of albums and bands. (Malm 1997:58)

One reason for having music as the starting point for our studies is quite simply that more people are involved in music than ever before. Studying that which occupies many people is important in itself, but that which occupies many also generates wealth, which in turn generates power. The music industry has acquired more money, power and influence than ever before. So the study of music and culture or music as culture is a reason in itself. (Merriam 1964)

A further justification is that whatever “diversity” and “multiculture” may be, it is clear that they are related to cultural identity. “Culture” and “identity” are closely linked, and separately and together they form some of the most important organisational concepts in modern society. Cultural identity relates in turn to style and taste. Style is a practice that creates meaning (Hebdidge 1979). Style and taste are decisive for the production of identity and difference—messages about what one *is not*. That is why the expressive forms that promote and highlight style and taste in particular are the most useful.

Music is without doubt one of the most commonly employed and charged forms of expression. One reason for this is music’s rapid expansion and significance in society in general, which in turn is closely related to the constant growth in the accessibility of live and recorded music of every kind. The enormous range of forms, styles and genres has made it possible to express fine nuances in the definition of aesthetic and affective values, social situation and status, and various identities. Another important aspect in this context is that the performance of music is an activity that can be charged with many, and perhaps widely differing, types of messages, opinions and meanings at one and the same time. By making music together, a group of people can experience strong feelings of belonging without needing to discover if they in fact have nothing in common other than these feelings.

Diversity, p 237). Sweden is now third in the world when it comes to the balance of current payments for music. Only the US and UK have better balances of payment.



Music is our “keyhole”, our portal into studies of society’s cultural fields of tension. By studying music we can gain knowledge about peoples’ lives on a large scale, knowledge which can be difficult to get in any other way.

Identities are formed, negotiated and exceeded by a practice that gives form. Music does not simply represent attitude, values and identities of various kinds, music embodies and gives rise to them. In the words of the English sociologist Simon Frith, studying what music says or reveals about a group of people is therefore not sufficient, one must also study how music creates them:

The issue here is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience—a musical experience—that we can only make sense of by *taking on* both a subjective and a collective identity (...). What I want to suggest (...) is not that social groups agree on values which are then expressed in their cultural activities (the assumption of the homology models) but that they only get to know themselves as a group (as a particular organisation of individual and social interests, of sameness and difference) *through* cultural activity, through aesthetic judgement. Making music isn’t a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them. (Frith 1996:109, 111)

In our project we have viewed the relationship of music and society from a dialectic perspective: on the one hand we see music as the expression of profound societal processes of change, and on the other as the cause of such change (Malm

1981, Ronström 1992a, c., f., Leach 1968, Berger & Luckman 1979). Music and dance have thus twofold significance for the project, partly as that which needs to be explained and partly as that which explains.⁴ When viewed from this perspective, people's increasing desire to invest time, energy and money on music and dance can be understood as a consequence of the fact that these activities are in themselves the goal, aesthetically, emotionally and socially while, at the same time, being the means by which various types of message are given form and communicated both individually and collectively.

Assumptions and Questions

The project's basic assumptions are:

- There exists a strong connection between live and mediated music and the construction of multicultural societies.
- A re-stratification is underway in Swedish society from groupings based on *social affinity* (family, hometown, occupation, place of work, etc.) to groupings based on *cultural affinity* (music, sport, opinion, taste, etc.).
- These assumptions are intimately related. Giving form to individual difference and similarity via expression is a prerequisite for the transition *from a social to a cultural understanding* of differences in society.

These assumptions give rise to a number of questions that are central to the project:

- In which way do different groups in a multicultural society use music (both live and mediated)?
- Where and in which contexts does this take place?
- Who are the major proponents of these activities?
- What is the significance of live and recorded music respectively?
- How does the media affect music and what does this consequently mean for live music?

In order to find answers to these questions, a number of case studies have been undertaken (see introduction p. 77–92 and also the introduction of studies p. 93–329). By means of case studies, significant details of the processes of change can be pointed out and described. Conclusions can then be

⁴ The same duplicity typifies other important scientific cultural concepts, of which the most problematic and at the same time most central is “culture” (c.f. Arnstberg 1983).

drawn about the significance of general patterns that these processes conform to. Conclusions can also be arrived at on the significance these patterns have for connections between the assumptions mentioned above and thereby for changes in society as a whole. These conclusions can also provide the basis for discussions of likely changes in different music-related areas of society over the coming decade, or in some cases even further into the future. These conclusions and discussions are presented in the last part of the book “Changes in the Musicscapes” (p. 331–436).

The Production of Difference

With the support of a phenomenological and knowledge-based sociological tradition of research⁵, we proceed from the following train of thought: people are interpretative, classifying and categorising beings. Basic ideological principles of order for categorisation are provided by previous generations, but are changed, expanded and put aside in actual social contexts where people meet and interact. Out of this, two different rival versions of social and cultural values arise: on the one hand *reality as spoken of*, a discursive level which describes the world both as we understand it and as we wish it was; on the other *reality as lived*, a concrete level of practice, i.e. those forms that social interaction takes in actual situations. Social reality is created, passed on and changed in the dialectical interaction between reality as discourse and practice.

Categories are built on perceived differences and construed socially in series of contrastive relationships. Difference is produced and organised via four closely related processes: *differentiation*, which is to perceive and organise, *shaping*, which is to give form and content, *separating*, which is to order into hierarchies and marginalize, and *managing*, which is to put into practice. Theoretically speaking, the number of possible categorisations is infinite, as the number of differences between people is infinite. In practice, perceived differences are reduced to a small number of broad, highly relevant categories, e.g. race, gender, class and ethnicity.

Class and Ethnicity⁶

Two important and essentially different and incomparable ideologies for social categorisation have been termed *class ideology* and *the ideology of ethnicity* by the American anthropologist Dan Aronson (1976). Class ideology claims that justice and equality is everyone being treated as equals. Ethnic ideologies claim

⁵ Primarily, the works of Alfred Schultz, Merleau-Ponty, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, as well as Ulf Hannerz (mainly 1992) and Ervin Goffman (1974).

⁶ The excerpt is based on Ronström 1996.

the relativity of values: “we are not in agreement about the decisive values (or goals) of society and we want to be left alone in order to work towards our own aims, regardless of what others think of them.” Justice and equality is to be recognised and treated as different. While class ideologies dictate that we are the same “inside” and that observable differences are the result of outer circumstances, ethnic ideologies prescribe that we are essentially different and neither can nor should ignore the differences we in reality observe. Ethnic ideologies evoke and establish differences, which is why the social interaction is to a large extent focused on the production and communication of difference.⁷

The same basic values—equality and justice—are in other words central for both class ideologies and ethnic ideologies. The problem is that the definitions of these values are incompatible. This, “the multicultural society’s” fundamental point of breakdown is discussed by the Canadian Professor of Philosophy Charles Taylor in his essay “The Politics of Recognition” (1994). According to Taylor, struggle for recognition has become significantly more important in recent years: “Behind not only contemporary feminism but also race relations and discussions of cultural diversity there is the conception that a refusal to recognise is a form of oppression” (Taylor 1994:46). This “politics of recognition” has had two different consequences. The conception that everyone is in principle equal has led to universalistic politics that emphasise each citizen’s equal worth. The development of a modern concept of identity has given rise to the politics of difference.

It is Taylor’s view that even if these two packages of morally charged ideological conceptions appear to oppose one another and strive in different directions, they are in fact closely related. The politics of difference grows organically out of “the politics of general values”.

The politics of recognition, according to Taylor, prevent discrimination and work against a second class citizenship. It leads to the fundamental idea of equality in value. But when we reach that point it is still difficult to effectuate this politic in society because it demands recognition and status for something that does not include everyone. Put differently: we recognize only what is everywhere present. Everyone gets the right to his own identity through the recognition of individual differences. The general demand generates recognition of the specific. (Taylor 1992)

In this study we have discussed these questions with Ervin Goffman’s “frame” concept as our point of departure. Put simply, a frame is a horizon of understanding, or a sort of spectacles, through which the world is perceived. Everything

⁷ Compare Bourdieus’s arguments about difference (“la difference”) as a fundamental component in the struggle between different classes and strata of society (1986).

we perceive, all answers to the simple and fundamental question “what is happening here?”, are interpretations in the light of the frame or the spectacles we apply.⁸ Two such frames of a larger kind we term *social* and *cultural frames of interpretation*. In a *social frame of interpretation* people’s objective social living conditions are in focus and are represented as being generally applicable for everyone. Justice and equality are to be managed in the same way, because we are the same. Everyone should therefore have the same access to what is good in society. Difference is principally interpreted as a negative deviation, which is why a basic strategy is to suppress difference and deny stigma. The route for citizens to increased justice and equality is via general welfare politics, social reforms and class struggle. In a social frame of interpretation, society meets people as individuals. Thus, it is society’s duty to look after the individuals’ best interests.

In a *cultural frame of interpretation* people’s cultural origins are in focus, objectively defined as membership of a collective, subjectively experienced as identity. Justice and equality are to be treated as different based on collective membership and experienced identity, because we are different and belong to different groups, each with their own culture. We should therefore have different access to what is good in society. Difference is interpreted principally as positive deviation, and a fundamental strategy is therefore to strengthen differences and celebrate stigma. The route to increased justice and equality is via selective welfare politics, positive discrimination and the struggle for cultural identity. In a cultural frame of interpretation, justice is collectively divided between groups. As a member the individual gains access to justice and equality. Society’s mission is therefore to look after the groups’ best interests.⁹

From Similarity to Difference

An assumption from which we have proceeded is that significant changes in Sweden and elsewhere in the Western world in recent years can be described as a shift in values from social to cultural frames of interpretation.¹⁰ There are

⁸ One point with the concept “frame” is that it does not necessarily have to be written in the singular. As Goffman shows in his *Frame Analysis* (1974), every event can be interpreted through many frames simultaneously, such as when a carefully choreographed “catch as catch can-match” develops into a genuinely raw fight, until it becomes apparent that even this fight is carefully choreographed.

⁹ Swedish immigration policy is constructed throughout from a social frame of interpretation. Existing legislation is intended to regulate the immigrant individual’s rights and obligations in Sweden. Immigrant organisations have more often proceeded from a cultural frame of interpretation and demanded collective rights for their members.

¹⁰ A discussion of developments in England can be found in Jordan & Lent 1999. American conditions are discussed by Stefan Jonsson (1993).

many signs to suggest that the cultural habit of treating similarity and equality as synonyms, something that is considered obvious and not reflected upon and has for some time been built into Swedish social life and bureaucratic practice, is today increasingly challenged by demands for different—and therefore equal—treatment.¹¹

One such sign is the growth of “multicultural Sweden”. While “immigrant Sweden”, which arose during the 1960s and 1970s, could be regarded as a new and exotic colouration of a Sweden that was basically the same, “multicultural Sweden” is regarded as a new kind of society. Groups or “cultures” struggle with one another for power and space by promoting their specific individual interests with “We are also different, we have our own culture!” as a war cry. When a group grows powerful enough to assert its interests, it consequentially makes visible those who it profiles itself against. Those in power, who have been “invisible” due to their ability to define themselves as “normal”, may then find themselves representing a partial minority interest. The powerful “Swedishisation” (Ehn, Löfgren & Frykman 1993) that Sweden has undergone during the 1990s can be understood as a result of that which was previously regarded as “obvious” and “normal”, now increasingly being made visible and conscious as ethnically specific. Through the massive presence of peoples from the four corners of the earth, Swedish appears as just one of many features in the multicultural Sweden.

Our discussion here is basically the same as Ernest Gellner’s on nationalism as an irreversible process with a domino effect: where one has gone, the others are forced to follow. The fundamental rule is “win or disappear”. A clear tendency throughout Europe is the way this process has now been transformed to a regional level. Increasingly, regions promote themselves as small “nations” with clear cultural characteristics. During recent decades, a large number of areas of activity have gone over from “general” to “distinctive”, which can be seen as a result of the same trend. One example is the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, which in its capacity as a public service function has long served as “his master’s voice” for the Swedish people as a whole. The programmes

¹¹ C.f. Gullestad 1985, 1986, 1991. I rätt riktning [in the right direction] SOU (Swedish Government Official Reports) 1984:55. Sallerberg 1994 describes how the handicap movement has changed in the same way during the 1980s and 1990s. Perhaps the clearest example is the new legislation on equality between the sexes, which on decisive points goes against earlier Swedish judicial practice. In a study, Mats Lundström claims that the positive discrimination of women, e.g. giving them precedence in recruitment, goes against, among other things, the fundamental principle that Swedish administration of justice is based on citizenship and therefore deals with individuals, not groups and that nobody shall be punished for the actions of another (Lundström 1996).

were intended for and directed to the general public, “One nation, one people, one language, one radio!” as the slogan put it. In today’s ideology the radio is only capable of profiling programmes and channels for specific target groups.¹²

Expressive Forms and Aestheticisation

If differences are to be communicated they must be given forms that are possible for others to interpret and understand. Some expressive forms are exploited more often than others and have the status of being particularly potent bearers and expressions of social and cultural differences. As numerous studies have demonstrated, music, dance, food, clothes and certain verbal forms belong to the things that ethnic groups most often employ to give form to their origins. (C.f. Klein 1988, Ronström 1992a)

From an essentialistic perspective, where ethnic and cultural identities are seen as born of nature, the function of expressive forms in a multicultural society is not problematic. They constitute visible and audible proof of the fundamental differences between “cultures” and furthermore serve as symbols for cultural identities.¹³ The result is a self-confirming circular argument: “I am Swedish and do this in Swedish, which proves that I am Swedish”, etc.¹⁴ From the constructivistic and dialectical perspective we have used here, the expressive forms are not only seen as giving voice to differences but also simultaneously as giving rise to these differences. Cultural identities are seen not as endowed by nature but as a question of politics and power, where the central issue relates to the group’s possibility to appropriate the forms with which differences can be given shape and made visible. From an essentialistic perspective, “culture” becomes a field where inherent differences are played up. From a constructivistic perspective, “culture” becomes instead the primary ideological battlefield, where the differences give shape to, spread and strengthen fundamental conceptions of these differences (c.f. Wallerstein 1990).¹⁵

¹² Many restaurants have also changed in the same way from “general” to “typical”, often with an ethnic profile.

¹³ The relation between groups and the expressive forms that symbolise them is usually metonymical, i.e. the part represents the whole.

¹⁴ Government bill 1997/98:16, “Sweden, the future and diversity—from the policies of immigration to the policies of integration the government writes” [trans] states: “Even if it can be difficult to say unequivocally what is Swedish, cultural life in Sweden is clearly characterised by the Swedish cultural inheritance.” The same problematic circular arguments are adhered to in many studies of ethnicity and ethnic groups. Compare with Corlin 1988.

¹⁵ This is discussed in more detail in MMM report no. 2, Lundberg 1997.

In multicultural societies, where difference becomes a value to live and die for, *aestheticisation* is a prerequisite.¹⁶ By aestheticising and designing all manner of objects, behaviours, styles, etc. several important results are achieved. During the design process the product, behaviour, is made conscious. Firstly, the observer is made central to the detriment of the observed in accordance with the expression “beauty is in the eye of the beholder”. In the modern industry of experience it is the experience and the subject of that experience on which production is focused, while that which is to be experienced plays a subordinate role. In an essay on post-modernist strategies for living, the Polish-English sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1994) writes:

Aesthetic value, which is the most common and embraced of the post modern strategies, differs from other social constructions of value (such as ethic or knowledge based value systems). The point of departure for aesthetic comparison is the exclusion of the objects intrinsic qualities and the acceptance of qualities that are connected to the subject (interest, excitement, satisfaction and lust). [trans.]

Secondly, the product or behaviour is made conscious during shaping. “Giving form” becomes an aspect of “giving life”. Out of design, a named, and thereby visible, object is born. Thirdly, aestheticisation strengthens the object’s symbolic dimension and makes it possible for people to communicate what kind of people they wish, for the present, to be seen and recognised as. The endless and constantly increasing numbers of consciously, aesthetically formed objects, behaviours and styles make it possible to communicate very complex, shaded messages on individual and collective identities.

Several important and related assumptions can now be summarised:

- Firstly, we assume, with the support of earlier research on the social and cultural organisation of diversity, that the growth of “the multicultural society” can be understood to a significant extent as a process where cultural frames of reference and ethnic ideologies that accentuate peoples’ differences have

¹⁶ This excerpt is based on Ronström 1995. In a study of art in sixteenth century Italy, Michael Baxandall (1972) shows how the absence of a standardised system of weights and measurements and standardised ways of expressing social hierarchies gave rise to a heightened ability in most people whereby measurements, weights, spaces and social position could be read with only the help of outer signs that could be read by the eye. In a similar way it is conceivable that if people are seen as basically different, outer signs become the only means of reading how one is different, which leads to symbols being increasingly charged and the aestheticisation of every kind of expressive form.

been established. This has been done at the cost of social frames of reference and class ideologies that accentuate people's inherent similarity.

- Secondly, we assume that this has brought about a growing need for expressive forms with which cultural differences can be given shape and communicated on both an individual and collective level.
- Thirdly, we assume that one reason for music, dance and certain other expressive forms being apportioned such extensive significance in today's Sweden, as in many other modern, complex societies, is the great potential of these forms to establish, uphold, store and communicate complicated messages with many shades of meaning about social and cultural identity, thereby establishing differences, fortifying social boundaries and creating new contexts for opinion.
- The fourth assumption is that the decisive aspect of these processes of boundary establishment is not differences in, for example, the melodies or steps to be performed, but in the way sound and movement are produced, the way they are organised and the contexts in which this takes place. The production of sound and movement gives rise to *shapes of sound* and *movement*, which are often given the position of symbols of cultural identity, a kind of sonic brand name. In the same way, certain types of arenas or situations are often given the position of being centres for the production of identity.

Visibility

Cultural Brand-naming

Multicultural societies are often compared to mosaics. The multicultural society comprises a frame in which different groups or “cultures” form a pattern like the tiles of a mosaic. The mosaic presupposes difference—to be entitled to a place the tiles must be clearly distinguishable. The tiles must be *different, but still comparable*. Each group must therefore appoint its own particular cultural features within a clearly defined frame. Through expressive forms such as food, dance, music, clothes, etc. the cultural individuality of various groups is exposed. Music and dance express and make the groups visible in relation to each other and thereby simultaneously establish the very boundaries they represent.

A keyword for “multicultural” manifestations of culture is *representation*. In societies where culturally diverse arenas are increasing and becoming more important, the interplay of cultural symbols is increasingly a struggle for power.¹⁷ The culturally representative symbols are most clearly distinguishable at public manifestations where the theme is “cultural diversity”, e.g. immigrant days and festivals of international culture. At such events the mosaic metaphor can almost be exaggeratedly obvious. In Sweden, a common form of multicultural festivals is for each culture to be represented by a booth or a book table (often around the main square in the centre of town). Here, food, drink, CDs and cassettes, literature and clothing are on offer. The public is able to enjoy *representative expressive forms* in a comparable format from the four corners of the earth—Chilean, Iranian, Finnish or Turkish, side-by-side and packaged in the same forms.

Another keyword—or perhaps even a vital condition—is *visibility*.¹⁸ By being visible, a group on the fringes of society can move into the centre and thereby appropriate power. A premise of visibility is the group becoming aware

¹⁷ In Sweden at the end of the 1990s several laws have been passed intended to make societal arenas and institutions “further ethnic diversity” e.g. Swedish Statute Book 1999:130.

¹⁸ This and the following passages are based on Ronström 1995.

of itself, how it “is”, its “culture” or “identity”. Gaining self-awareness has the effect of standardising, objectifying and fixing the group’s collective distinguishing features, which are given, clear symbolic characteristics. By *cultural brand-naming*¹⁹, well worked out, clearly defined group-specific cultural markers—brands—are established.

For post-modern lifestyles, however, objectification and fixation are the same as stagnation and death. The members of the group, for whom membership is situational and partial, find it difficult to relate to the reduced, aestheticised and objectified fixed images of themselves that are created by the process of becoming visible. Those who find the cultural brands too limiting have then to choose between abandoning the group or reformulating its cultural identity: “No, we are not that, we are this!” This, however, results in the disruption of the progress toward the centre of society, which the process of becoming visible was aimed at, and the group is once more returned to the periphery. Groups on the periphery are of course clearly recognisable by the vociferous manner in which they work to make themselves visible to the majority at the centre. Because they, themselves, confirm how different they are, they justify for the majority their position on the fringes.

In the multicultural version of post-modern societies, the question is not just “what”. Equally important, if not more so, are the questions “when”, “where” and foremost “how”. In this light, “cultural identity” becomes not a question of “who are we?” but of “where, when and how are we what we are?” “Where” refers to the arenas in which difference is made visible; “when” refers to the special situations and contexts where it is relevant to represent difference, and “how” refers to the kinds of form and skills through which differences are shaped and dramatised. “How” has two equally important aspects, *skills* and what we shall call *mode*. Skill is the knowledge and technical expertise with which the expressive forms are staged. Mode is the way the actors relate themselves to their own message: seriously, playfully, ironically, ambivalently, etc.

Representative Symbols

The struggle for difference becomes most clearly defined when several groups claim rights of ownership over the same expressive forms. Dan Lundberg has described the way in which certain CDs and cassettes can have covers and textual inserts that present the music as specifically Kurdish, while others present the same music as just as typically Turkish (Lundberg 2000). In the beginning of the 1990s, highly placed representatives for Tuva and Mongolia propagated

¹⁹ The process of “cultural brandnaming” has been pointed out by Mark Slobin (1989).



Choomey singer Kangar-ool Ondar in Kyzyl, the capital of Tuva, 1992. Photo Owe Ronström.

at UNESCO for sole rights to *choomey*—“overtone singing”. Overtone singing—the ability to master the overtones in one’s own voice in order to sing in two pitches at the same time—has been practised for several hundred years by Tuvans, Mongolians and several other peoples of Central Asia. At the beginning of the 1990s, some of these peoples began to regard the idea that others might learn the technique as threatening. The people of Central Asia might thereby lose a unique cultural form of expression that distinguished them from others. With UNESCO’s assistance, both Tuvans and Mongols hope to make choomey their cultural brand-name. (Lundberg & Ronström 1995)

It is no accident that Tuvans and Mongolians are fighting over the same expressive forms. Everyone struggling to make their cultural distinctiveness visible with the aim of winning greater social and cultural space must begin with and keep to the same forms, arenas and situations. When groups set about giving shape to their inner differences, they are required to form their messages in accordance with the rules that apply to stage appearances. These are decided by

the groups who have already established themselves on the stage, by the audiences who usually frequent the arenas and to whom the messages are directed, as well as those who produce the shows, take entrance fees and make decisions on “microphones” and “spotlights”, what and who should be amplified and illuminated. The groups are therefore forced to resort to expressive forms that have already, many times previously, been employed for the same purpose by completely different groups.²⁰

Bauman (1994) describes the result as a gigantic amusement arcade, a “cosmic casino”, where:

all values one can strive for and desire, all types of rewards one can fight for and all available tactical tricks that can be used to assure the achievement of them, are taken with the attempt to make “the greatest possible impact in shortest possible time”. [trans.]

In this “cosmic casino”, making an impression is not only important—it is vital. Not being noticed is to be forced to remain invisible; to be invisible is not to exist: “Hear me, see me, otherwise I will die!” This, the dying post-modernist person’s cry for help, has been called “ego-screaming”. “I am seen, I am heard—therefore I exist”.

The vital condition does not only apply to individuals, but also—and perhaps especially—to groups. In “the multicultural society” an audition is permanently underway. Groups of various kinds are packed into the porch, fighting over who will be given room on the stages where visibility is produced. They argue over and negotiate what form the performance should take, in what clothes and with what attributes they should appear, and what they should use to attract the audience. Each wishes to appear different, as separate and distinct.²¹ Those who are most successful win first prize in the shape of visibility, until the next competitor pushes them from the podium. The arrangers, the majority, the powers that be, supervise and check that the rules of the game are followed.

Group members do not themselves attend the cosmic casino, however—they perform via intermediaries. The intermediaries master the expressive forms and have access to the amusement arcades. In our model, the intermediaries are equivalent to the expressive specialists. They gain great power in their struggle

²⁰ Barbro Klein’s discussion of research into immigrants’ expressive forms in the US shows that there are extensive similarities between the US and Sweden, which suggests that it is very much a question of “the language of difference”, with an internationally widely distributed vocabulary and grammar that is adopted in order to give form to cultural differences (Klein 1988).

²¹ The anthropologist Verena Stolcke calls this type of ideology “cultural fundamentalism”. Since the 1970s it has taken root across Europe and organises the world in terms of different cultures, fundamentally separate and mutually untranslatable (Stolcke 1995).

for attention from their access to the arenas where the game of visibility takes place. Without expressive specialists, the group risks continued marginalisation. Access to the arenas requires adaptation to the demands that are placed. It is our hypothesis that an increasingly important demand is *distinctiveness*. Distinctiveness is a fundamental and paradoxical process which forces groups to express their differences in similar ways, whereby they become increasingly similar and comparable at the same time.

Visibility is a primary condition for having a place in society. *Visibility* is a prerequisite for *being noticed*, which in turn can lead to what is in most cases the goal—*recognition*. In a series of articles the American economist (and physicist) Michael Goldhaber described the premises for what he called the *attention economy*. Fewer and fewer work in manufacture of products in the West. Increasing numbers are instead engaged in the production and spread of information. Information has thereby become a significant commodity and we sometimes speak of the information economy. Goldhaber (1997a), however, points out that economies build on the relationship between supply and demand, on how a society distributes limited resources. That a product's worth is dictated by supply is of course one of the foundations of the monetary economy. However, in today's society, information is generally speaking not in short supply, quite the opposite, we are awash with information to the extent that the problem instead is one of choosing and sorting. Seen from the perspective of the provider of information, it is attention that is in short supply.

The attention economy's significance has been made clearer by the development of new media. Access to attention is becoming a factor in economic power, e.g. on the Internet. At the beginning of 1997, it was estimated that there were 50,000,000 pages of text on the World Wide Web and the rate of expansion (which increases constantly) was 10 per cent per month. The enormous quantity of information makes search engines and link pages, etc. indispensable.

Attention is a subjective process in human consciousness. The special thing about attention is that it cannot be bought, but can be created, accumulated and transferred.

Contrary to what you are sometimes urged to believe, money cannot reliably buy attention. Suppose it did work that way. Then you could have been paid to sit here and listen closely even if I were to read you something as boring as the phone book or an unabridged dictionary. Presumably it wouldn't even matter if I kept repeating the same few syllables over and over. If money could reliably buy attention, all I would have to do is pay you the required amount and you would keep listening carefully through all that, not falling asleep en masse, nor allowing your minds to wander. (Goldhaber 1997b)

Attention can still be transformed into a commodity by redirection. People who already have attention can redirect their audience's attention to something else. This is precisely what happens when celebrities are employed in an advertising context. When the celebrity names or points out someone or something, attention is transferred. However, it is by no way certain that those who get attention can keep it. Attention must constantly be supported if it is not to disappear. To attain recognition it is not sufficient to be visible and gain attention, the object of attention must also be worthy of such attention. The risk that someone else steals attention away is ever present. "Attention is a limited resource, so pay attention to where you pay attention."

Earlier economic theory proceeded from three factors: products, services and information. The last of these can be traded for attention. Because music and other related art forms are the focus of an incredible amount of attention, this new way of viewing economic theory moves music from a peripheral position to the centre of the economy. This is reflected by, amongst other things, the fact that in Sweden music has in recent years become a matter for the Ministry of Industry and not just the Ministry of Culture.

Diversity and Multiculture

A central idea in this study is that the social and cultural interaction in contemporary society is increasingly focused on the production of difference and its communication, two processes that can be summarised in the term “*distinction*”. A number of related yet clearly distinct discourses on difference have arisen, originating in ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, etc. Two of the most important are “diversity” and “multiculture”. What do they mean? In the dictionary of the Swedish Academy (SAOB), diversity is to be found as an entry but not multiculture. According to SAOB, diversity is “variety”, “large or significant number of creatures or objects or phenomena (frequently of varying nature)”, “general term covering a thing which shows distinctions within itself (discretion)”.²² In the significantly more modern Swedish National Encyclopaedia, diversity is only discussed as a geometrical concept. The entry “multicultural” (Swedish “multikulturell”) is explained as a type of variable agriculture. Another term for multiculture (Swedish “mångkulturell”) is described as “bearing the stamp of many different lifestyles, languages and experiences. Residential areas with high proportions of immigrants from different countries, e.g. Rinkeby in the suburbs of Stockholm, are characterised by multi-cultural experiences and values.”

The concepts “diversity” and “multicultural” cover a set of limited, distinguishable objects. For such a set to be comprehensible, the different objects are required to share certain basic qualities, a categorical similarity. Diversity on one level presupposes unity on another. At the same time, the objects must be sufficiently different to be perceived as distinctly separate. Differences must be *relevant*, i.e. they must vary the category’s basic qualities. Therefore it is neces-

²² In the literature in English the words “diversity” and “multiculture” are used for the Swedish words “mångfald” and “mångkulturell”. Diversity has the advantage that the word does not mean “many of anything” but rather refers to the actual blend. The Concise English Dictionary says that the word comes from the Latin “divertere”, to turn to the side, swing but also to entertain, amuse. Diversity has the meaning “difference, unlikeness, variance variety” (i.e. the same foundation as variety–entertainment!). Manifoltness, from manifold in its turn from the Anglo-Saxon “manigfeald” (same root as the Swedish “mångfald”): “Of various forms or kinds; many and various, abundant”. The word “multiculture” is not included.

sary that similarities are represented in different ways or, obversely, differences are represented in the same way.

The gist of this argument is that “a multicultural society” seen logically cannot be understood as anything other than an abstraction, a depicted category of the same sort as for example “the nation” or the EU. Such categories arise by means of two parallel processes acting together: diversification and homogenisation. One example is ethnic groups. In order to be seen as parts of the cultural diversity in a multicultural society they must first be represented as being of the same type with certain common qualities and characteristics. Then they must be depicted as being distinctly different from one another within the category “ethnic groups”.²³ The key word for both of these processes is distinction, which makes ethnic groups similar in their differences and dissimilar in their similarities. (Ronström, Runfors & Wahlström 1994).

A Tradition of Liberal Thought

“Cultural diversity” has been a significant concept in Swedish political and cultural debate since at least the 1970s. It has mainly been used in two different ways. One is the *richness in species*, i.e. the number of cultural building blocks that bear meaning available to society,²⁴ everything from objects through forms and styles, to ideas and opinions. This use has its origins in a liberal tradition of thought, first and foremost in John Stuart Mill’s classic works from the middle of the nineteenth century. It has also primarily been liberals who have, over the years, most enthusiastically upheld the value of diversity. In liberal tradition, diversity is a goal in itself. A rich variety of types in all areas is clearly good and worth striving for, because with increased diversity comes *increased individual choice*, a fundamental value in Western society. In a widely disseminated metaphor, society is seen as a botanical garden full of rare plants. Society’s leaders are charged with the task of being like gardeners and cultivating as many of these plants as possible: “Let a hundred flowers bloom!”

In Swedish cultural politics, “diversity” became an especially frequently used prestige word during the Swedish Liberal Party member Jan-Erik Wikström’s

²³ Another example is where UNESCO establishes a list of world heritages to ensure the diversity of forms, styles and expressions on a global level. In order to be able to achieve this, every named “world heritage” is given an ascribed character or “hallmark” and it is then up to the place to strengthen and cultivate its hallmark. On a local level there therefore arises a strong homogenisation in order for the different world heritages to be perceivable as an unequivocal diversity on a global level.

²⁴ “Memes”, “wits”, “chunks” are some of the terms that have been invented for such “cultural morphemes” (Hannerz 1992).

time as Minister of Culture. The background was that a long period of social democratic government had ended. The Liberal and Conservative coalition government that came to power in 1976 profiled itself by moving away from its predecessor's "monopolistic cultural politics".²⁵ In his book *Frihet, mångfald, kvalitet. Liberal kultur- och utvecklingspolitik* [Freedom, diversity, quality. The liberal politics of culture and development] (1978) Wikström writes that society's primary task in cultural matters is to:

... guarantee and broaden freedom and diversity. (...) People are different and should be allowed to be. We appreciate more or less different cultural types, there is nothing unnatural in it. The important thing is that those whose cultural needs are more distinctive can also be catered for. An important task for cultural politics is precisely to safeguard the interests of minorities. That is why diversity in cultural life is such a central concept. (Wikström 1978:13) [trans.]

Diversity is here clearly related to differences between people and the distinctive cultural needs of minorities. Despite the fact the Wikström makes use of some of the terms that later would become central in the debate on the multicultural Sweden, it is not the diversity of ethnic groups with different cultures he is referring to. He is instead talking about minority groups of opinion, style and interest of every kind, the cultural needs of the individual and a diversity of expression, forms and styles. By being able to freely choose among them, people are able to express their individual differences.

An example of such a way of reasoning is *Our Creative Diversity*, which was published in 1996 by UNESCO's World Commission on Culture and Development.²⁶ The report is an official document, which was discussed thoroughly back and forth on many levels of the organisation before it could finally be published. The Commission was comprised of over twenty members from all over the world. The expression of thanks to the Commission's contributors at the end of the report covers six densely written pages. We assume therefore that it reflects the values among influential scientists, cultural politicians and debaters across the world at the beginning of the 1990s. In the report the need for a new global ethic is discussed and the importance of upholding pluralism in all areas. Through chapter titles such as "Creativity is Power" and "Culture and Environment", the discussion leads to a proposal for a new internation-

²⁵ Telephone conversations with Jan-Erik Wikström 15 March and 9 May 2000.

²⁶ An independent international commission, with Javier Pérez de Cuéllar as chairman. The report was published by UNESCO for the first time in 1995, the second revised edition came out in 1996. The English title is *Our Creative Diversity*. The translation into Swedish was done by the SWEDISH UNESCO Commission in 1996.



“Diversity of mouths” Diversity is understood as something good of itself. This poster is part of the Federation of Swedish Farmer’s campaign 2000 to preserve arable land.

al programme of action for renewed cultural politics based on *Our Creative Diversity*. Early in the report it is established that pluralism and diversity have a value in themselves. “We regard the principle of pluralism as fundamental” (p. 17). In the reasoning that follows the Commission writes:

Cultural freedom guarantees freedom as a whole. It protects not only the group but also the rights of every individual within it. Cultural freedom, by protecting alternative ways of living, encourages experimentation, diversity, imagination and creativity (*Our Creative Diversity* p. 17).²⁷

For the Commission natural diversity is not just an underlying image but a clearly expressed point of comparison: “The advantages of cultural diversity and pluralism can be compared with those of biological diversity. Pluralism draws attention to humanity’s collective experience, wisdom and behaviour” (p. 54). In these and many similar writings it is apparent that the UNESCO Commission is building on the liberal tradition in which cultural diversity is regarded as a beneficial and self-evidently positive richness in the variety of types.

It is not difficult to find examples of the same argument in official discussions

²⁷ Summary of *Our Creative Diversity* 1996:2.

and documents from other sources. In the rhetoric surrounding the EU it is common that variety is presented as Europe's greatest asset e.g. in the EU slogan "unity in diversity".²⁸ An example closer to home is Krister Malm's report *Musik, media och mångfald* [music, media and diversity] (1997) commissioned by the Swedish Council for Diversity in the Mass Media, a committee within the Ministry of Culture (compare p. 137–145). In the report the diversity of music supplied by the mass media is discussed. One conclusion is that the increase in the number of radio stations during the 1990s has not contributed to an increase in the diversity of music on offer. Another conclusion is that if the diversity of music in the media is to continue the ongoing concentration of ownership should be prevented. Here it is apparent that diversity is related to the amount of music—the number of available genres, forms and styles—which in turn is linked to the number of media, owners and radio stations. The fundamental idea could be summarised as: the more and the more varied, the better.

The Anthropological Concept of Culture and Postmodern Politics of Identity

The other usage of "cultural diversity" is more recent and has its origins first and foremost in anthropology. Among anthropologists "culture" has been used, since the turn of the century, as a collective term for a given group of people's way of living and thinking. Under the heading "the anthropological concept of culture" this usage was spread during the 1960s and 1970s to completely new users throughout the Western world, among other things as a consequence of a growing discussion on ethnic differences and the implications of large-scale international migration. The result was that "cultural diversity" in its older liberal sense "many different cultural expressions" now competed with the meaning "many different cultures", which as mentioned has often been depicted as a mosaic.

This newer way of using "diversity" is also well represented in the report *Our Creative Diversity*. One example is the following paragraph where pluralism stretches from culture's "content" to cultures as related wholes:

Attempts at 'nation building' through making all groups homogeneous are neither desirable nor feasible. Nor can the domination of one ethnic group provide long-term stability in a society. The most durable way to accommodate ethnic diversity is to create a sense of the nation as a civic community, rooted in values that can be shared by all ethnic components of the national society. (p. 7)

²⁸ "Unity in diversity" is most closely an expression of the idea that even if Europe's populations are not the same, they are at least of the same race.

From “richness in the variety of types” “cultural diversity” has here glided over to “diversity of cultures”. From there it is but a short step to “multiculture”, many groups, each with its own culture living side by side in a single society.²⁹

As such, multiculturalism can in principle extend to include every kind of group, whether based on different interests, styles, gender, age, class or something else. The concept has also been employed in the postmodern politics of identity that have arisen during recent decades, where the goal is to consolidate the particularity of separate groups and ensure their well defined places in society. In practice however, this newer usage has primarily been linked to *ethnic* groups. “Cultural diversity” and “multiculture” have therefore been strongly associated with “immigrants” in most Western cultures, including Sweden.³⁰

There are also many examples of this line of reasoning in the report *Our Creative Diversity*. Two brief quotes will serve to illustrate how pluralism and diversity are used periphrastically for “multiculture”:

The message of the discussion of pluralism is that cultural pluralism is an all-persuasive, enduring characteristic of societies, and that ethnic identification is a normal and healthy response to the pressures of globalization. (p. 16-17)

Cultural policy should be directed at encouraging multi-cultural activities. Diversity can be a source of creativity (p. 18)

In one instance alone it is briefly noted that cultural diversity is not just ethnic diversity:

Gender has turned out to be among the most sensitive issues in a changing world, all the more so since any transformation in this realm inevitably disrupts the pattern of identity of both genders and touches upon issues of dominance (and hence of power). (p. 130).

Age and gender come no closer to discussion as ingredients in cultural diversity, despite special chapters on genus and gender, children and youth. Class is not highlighted either, which might be regarded as strange given that throughout

²⁹ A common further step is to translate “culture” as “language”. When the report claims that it is via multilingual education that a multicultural system of education can be achieved, it is precisely such a translation that is occurring.

³⁰ According to *Our Creative Diversity* (p. 242), the first law to further multicultural development was established in this sense in 1988 when Canada passed The Multiculturalism Act, “which gave different state organs and activities the right to support cultural diversity reference to the fact that such diversity is a fundamental element in Canadian society.” The new law in Sweden on the furtherance of diversity in working life relates to immigrants and ethnic groups.

the 1990s, class has been on the whole one of the most important and most relevant categories in this kind of discussion of principles of justice.³¹

In *Our Creative Diversity* the second, and newer, usage tends to dominate when diversity is discussed in principle. “Cultural diversity” then becomes synonymous with “multiculture”, which in turn becomes synonymous with “ethnic diversity”. However, when diversity is discussed in more concrete terms, e.g. in passages on “diversity in media”, the tendency is instead for the older liberal usage to dominate: diversity stands for the amount of different voices, expressions, styles and forms. In certain passages a significant division is marked between diversity and multiculture such as in the following line:

Indeed, it is the diversity of multi-cultural societies, and the creativity to which diversity gives rise, that makes such societies innovative, dynamic and enduring (p. 26).

Here “multicultural” describes a particular kind of society, while “diversity” rather refers to its contents. Yet it is still not clear what diversity really refers to, a rich variety of types or ethnic diversity.

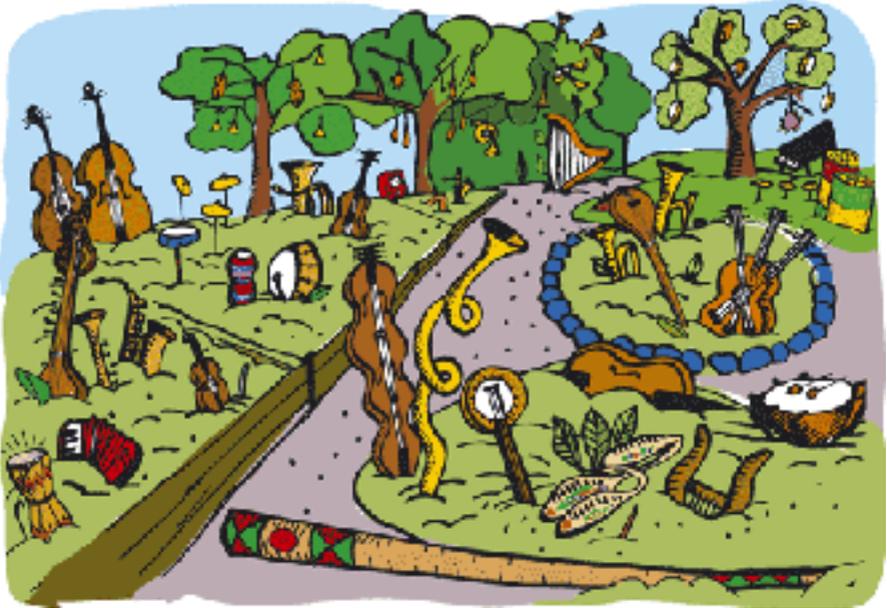
Confusion

Closer inspection of official documents, research reports and newspaper editorials clearly shows how a liberal tradition of thought, which has freedom of the individual, justice and equality as its starting point and goal, has diverged with a completely different discussion on the freedom of ethnic groups, justice and equality to become a complex and often confusing figure of thought.³² Much of the lack of clarity that has characterised the discussion of “cultural diversity” and “multicultural society” generates from exactly this unfortunate confusion of two traditions of thought, with different origins and areas of application.

One example is the Swedish Committee for Immigrant Policy’s report *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden* [Sweden, the future and diversity] (SOU 1996:55). The committee points out in particular how “multiculture” and “the multicultural society” has often been used synonymously with “multi-ethnic” in Swedish public debate. The opinion is that there are reasons to regard “multi-

³¹ Cast, which is of course relevant in India, one of the world’s most densely populated lands, does not appear either. Race is not mentioned at all, which may be because it has become taboo thanks to its misuse at the hands of previous generations of politicians and scientists. “Ethnic group” and “ethnic culture” function instead as a sort of euphemism for race.

³² Compare Lindström 1996 on the same type of confusion in the discussion of sexual equality.



Diversity as a rich variety of types. The garden as a metaphor.

cultural” as an issue concerning society and not just one relating to immigrants because “multicultural” as a concept covers more than just ethnic dimensions. However, despite the praiseworthy expressed ambition, to broaden the discussion of cultural diversity to include all of society, diversity is immediately afterwards tied to immigrants and ethnic groups.

The Committee is of the opinion that the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity existent among the population, and the spread of people with foreign backgrounds in the country are sufficient criteria for describing Sweden as multi-cultural (p. 72) [trans.].³³

Another example is the Swedish government bill *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden—från invandrapolitik till integrationspolitik* [Sweden, the future and diversity—from immigration politics to integration politics] (bill 1997/98:16), where the “different and often conflicting meanings, which the concepts mul-

³³ The same slippage between diversity as “cultural richness of species” and “many different ethnic groups” is to be found in several of the reservations to the bill, e.g. Ingela Mårtensson’s reservation on page 409.



Diversity as a collage of cultures. The mosaic as a metaphor.

“Diversity and multicultural can be ascribed” are discussed. It is pointed out that in political debate in Sweden, a normative meaning is usually given while researchers often choose to use the concepts descriptively. The government has “as a consequence of the concept multicultural being charged with so many different meanings” gone over to talking about society’s diversity instead:

The diversity, which is relevant as the subject of appraisal and proposal in this bill, does not solely concern ethnic but also cultural, religious and linguistic diversity. Diversity can also refer to all of the life experience possessed by the country’s citizens, some of which is acquired beyond Sweden’s borders. (...) The government proceeds in this bill from the position that ethnic and cultural diversity are concepts that include linguistic and religious diversity, that ethnic and cultural are concepts whose meaning overlaps and that they often, but not always, can be used as synonyms. Because diversity is not automatically associated with a particular kind of diversity, a one-sided focus on ethnicity and ethnic affiliation is avoided. Furthermore the government proceeds from the view that a person’s ethnic background or affiliation can be Swedish just as well as for example Lappish, Finnish, Kurdish, Muslim, etc. (bill 1997/98:16, chapter 5) [trans.]

The ambition here is clearly to abandon multicultural and broaden the meaning of diversity in the direction of “a rich variety of types”. Both concepts are nevertheless firmly anchored in the discourse that achieves precisely the opposite for the remainder of the bill. Already in the preamble it is established that Sweden’s transformation from “monocultural to multicultural” has resulted from the immigration of recent years, though older domestic minorities have also contributed:

In a very short time, only a few decades, immigration has radically altered the composition of the population. Sweden has become a land with ethnic and cultural diversity. Those minorities who have been in Sweden for a long time also contribute to the ethnic and cultural diversity. (bill 1997/98:16, chapter 4) [trans.]

In conclusion, it is clear that a least two meanings of the concept cultural diversity exist side by side. In Sweden diversity as a politico-cultural concept is the older with roots in liberal ideology where the individual is central. The social frame of interpretation is primary. The goal is the individual’s freedom to choose. The motto is “more is good”. The more types, styles, forms and ideas that exist, the better. Innovation is highly valued. A common metaphor is the botanical garden full of different plants. Society and cultural life are seen as homogenous. The ideal is inclusivity—everyone is to be included. In practice, however, weeds are not allowed to grow in the garden. It is watched by gardeners, i.e. authorities in the shape of artists, cultural politicians, critics, etc. In practice diversity is mainly limited to “the great tradition” and other high-status forms of culture. One common method of trying to achieve cultural diversity is deregulation.

Multiculture and multicultural are concepts whose roots go back to socialistic discourse, and above all an ethnic discourse, which arose in the United States during the 1960s where the group is central. Important goals are the groups’ rights to their roots, cultural rights and visibility. The cultural frame of interpretation is primary. The motto is “roots are good”. Many groupings/cultures of different sorts (ethnic groups, immigrants, etc.) are good. Folk culture as demarcated “cultural heritage” is highly valued. A common metaphor is the mosaic. Society and cultural life is seen as divided into clearly defined groups. The ideal is inclusivity at society level and exclusivity at group level. Ethnic activists, purists and the various groups’ politicians guard the borders of the mosaic tiles. In practice, multicultural refers primarily to “the little tradition”, for example in the form of “folk music”. A common means of guarding the different groups’ rights is regulation.

These traditions with their different signification and connotations are often confused whereby diversity is sometimes different from, sometimes the same

as, multicultural.³⁴ On the one hand “diversity” is translated into repertoires of styles and forms, on the other also to ethnic groups seen as the bearers of these alien repertoires and which together create “multiculture”. In other words, multicultural and cultural diversity become both a diversity of expression and a diversity of cultures. In the same way, diversity as an empirical description is often mixed with diversity as an ideological direction to make a practically impenetrable body of words, where opinion is disguised as insight.³⁵

One troublesome consequence of the fact that both multicultural and cultural diversity are so often linked with ethnic groups in practice is that differences between Swedes and non-Swedes are over-emphasised. Another is that the extensive contribution made by Swedes to the cultural variety of types in Sweden is rendered invisible. A third effect is that difference within the two categories relating to for example, gender, age, class, regional origin and interest are made invisible. Ethnic groups are homogenised and “Swedes” are also treated as a uniform category, either in opposition to ethnic groups as in the common phrase “Swedes and immigrants”, or as an ethnic group among the others.

One conclusion we have drawn from this discussion is that “cultural diversity” must be made precise if it is to be used. In this study we will hereafter use the term “diversity” to mean “rich in the variety of types”, i.e. the amount of available separate expressions, objects, styles, forms and shapes, etc. “Multiculture” and “multicultural” are reserved for society as such.

³⁴ “Sweden, the future and diversity—from policies of immigration to policies of integration” (government bill 1997/98:16) states: “The discussion of immigrant policy which towards the end of the 1980s began to be carried out in terms of multicultural did not differ greatly from the case for freedom of choice. The main interest revolved in both cases about immigrant rights and opportunities compared with those of Swedes. Both freedom of choice and multicultural became thereby concepts linked to immigrants. It has been common for multicultural to be used as a synonym for multi-ethnic.” [trans.]

³⁵ They were particularly clear in the extensive and heated debate on “cultural diversity” and “the multicultural Sweden” that ran in the country’s leading newspapers in the wake of an article in *Dagens Nyheter* in the spring of 1997 where social anthropologist Kajsa Friedman-Ekholm discussed the causes of ethnic conflict. DN 20/4 1997, SvD 26/4 1997, DN 3/5 1997, DN 6/5 1997, DN 24/5 1997, DN 24/10 1997.

Individuals, Groupings, Institutions

Groups of various kinds occupy a central position in this study. We study the expressive forms with which they shape themselves and the situations and arenas in which this occurs. Who are the actors in this process? A musical event requires the collaboration of musicians in live or recorded form. People who come to watch and listen are on the other hand not absolutely necessary. Many events are directly dependant on attendants, waiters, guards, ticket-sales staff, sound and light technicians, people who have to supervise but not participate actively in the event's central activities. Goffman (1961:36p) distinguishes between three types of participant: *actors*—who are directly engaged with thematically related activities, *audience*—who are present without participating actively and *personnel*—who are appointed to carry out specific service functions. The boundaries between different types of participant are in many cases fluid. In this study it is actors in a somewhat broader sense of the word than Goffman's who are examined. Actors can be individuals, groups or institutions. They take up various typical positions, proceeding from different prerequisites and competencies and act out different defined roles. An actor can have several different roles, at the same time or on separate occasions.

Individuals

For our current purposes we have we have identified several types of individual actors with given positions and roles.

- *Intermediaries* are middlemen who distribute types of music to a broader public, but can also be those who promote the actual events.
- *Gatekeepers* decide what should be publicly performed and who is permitted to do it. The gatekeeper might have financial, political or cultural values as a point of departure. This means that the role can be played by a representative of the cultural establishment, the music industry or quite simply represent "good taste".



*Expressive specialists:*The Swedish master nyckelharpa player Eric Sahlström (upper left, from a postcard), the Assyrian singer Habib Moussa (upper right, photo: Dan Lundberg), carnival dancer in Stockholm (lower left, photo: Eric Malm), rap artist Markoolio (lower right, from the album cover for *Sticker hårt* (stings hard) 1998).

- *Expressive specialist* is a collective term for different kinds of *performers* in the cultural area. Expressive specialists have the status of being *culturally competent* within their respective group in society. Recognised musicians, singers, dancers, actors, artists, authors, etc. belong to this type.
- *Enthusiasts* are instigators, dedicated individuals and people who with great dedication have been responsible for building a group, an institution or a company. It is often also dedicated individuals who are behind larger events within a particular genre, e.g. festivals.

Groupings

“Group” is a central term in the language of sociology. The distinction is often made between *primary groups*, where the members are in direct contact with each other, and *secondary groups*, where the members only enjoy indirect contact. In this study we will hereafter be using *groupings* as a broader term for collectives of individuals who gather around roots/origins, e.g. ethnic groups, or around a mutual interest, e.g. nyckelharpa players or aficionados of classic jazz. Those who collaborate in a grouping can do so directly or indirectly, voluntarily or involuntarily. The origin or interest can be acquired or ascribed. “Grouping” is here primarily an analytical tool and does not proceed from the members’ own affinities and categorisations, even though they coincide in most cases.

For a grouping to be visible, its members are required to distinguish themselves from both the society of the majority and from other groupings in a decisive, relevant and perceivable way. Difference is not a quality but rather a relation that is produced from negotiation between different parties. That people perceive themselves as belonging to a distinct grouping is therefore insufficient; others must also perceive it. Groupings that do not distinguish themselves sufficiently from the majority society may find it difficult to make themselves visible, e.g. immigrants from the Nordic countries in Sweden. Groupings that distinguish themselves from the majority but not enough from other groupings may also experience problems with visibility.

One way to organise groupings is based on origin. One type of grouping comes about by choice, while another arises from the fear that society has identified a deviating attribute in a number of individuals. Often, voluntary groupings are based on interest, while those that are forced into being are more often based on roots/origins. The boundary between them is not unequivocal: some can choose to appear as deviants, e.g. punks or skinheads, while others are forcibly grouped together on account of, for example, skin colour, handicap or sexual orientation.

In this study we have identified five types of groupings based on how they have arisen: by *segregation*, *migration*, *separation*, *opposition* and *interest*—in our case mostly by *choice of music*. Music has an important function for all types as an identity marker even if its position can be more or less central. In groupings based on musical choice, such as hip hoppers or fans of classic jazz, music is of course the crucial point without which the grouping would not exist. In other cases music is only a part, if often important, e.g. neo-nazis or different ethnic groups.

SEGREGATION

Old groupings: Lapps/Saami
 Gypsies/Romanies
 Tinkers/Travellers

New groupings: Refugee groups, often placed in camps

Segregated groupings are often placed at the lowest level of society's groupings. The boundaries for this type of grouping are often fluid. In the example above, society's discrimination and marginalisation has been especially apparent, while other groupings have been exposed to less well-defined segregation. Saami, Romanies and Travellers are examples of groupings that have for centuries been exposed to marginalisation and discrimination. During recent years, these groupings have themselves, together with self-appointed spokesmen of different sorts, worked for the introduction of new designations. The old—which were allotted them by the majority society—have increasingly been felt to be disparaging or quite simply offensive. A change of name might help the grouping escape the majority society's well-rehearsed discriminatory practices. Furthermore the difference the discrimination is based on and of itself establishes can, in a cultural interpretative frame, be turned to an asset by becoming the foundation of visibility, positive cultural identity and recognition.

MIGRATION

Voluntary migration: Itinerant labour

Involuntary migration: Political refugees, etc.

Many of the immigrants who came to work in Swedish industry, from the Italians in the 1950s, via Greeks to the immigrants from Turkey during the 1970s and 1980s, were formed into "ethnic groupings" in Sweden. South Americans during the 1970s and Somalis and Bosnians during the 1990s belong to the category of involuntary immigrants.

SEPARATION

Groupings built through voluntary separation can be based on age, for example. Youth groups in the 1940s and 1950s that became the first "teenagers". Groupings among pensioners in the 1990s who have gathered at senior-dance and "nostalgoteque" where music from "yesteryear" is played are examples. (C.f. Ronström 1997b, Hyltén-Cavallius 1998)

OPPOSITION

New ethnic awareness:	Swedes
Ideological groupings:	Environmental activists, vegans, neo-nazis
Affinity and stigma:	Sexual minorities, football fans, etc.

As already mentioned, the multicultural awareness has led to even “the Swedish” taking their place in the multicultural arenas. “Swedishness” is clarified where it meets other “cultures”. Symbols of Swedishness assume increasingly prominent roles, not least in the form of music, from ABBA and Roxette to Nordman, teams of fiddlers and Garmarna depending on the context. Even the groupings of the “alternative movements”, from vegans and homosexuals to neo-nazis, often use music as a trademark and means of creating identity.

A special type of grouping originates from stigma. A prototype, the black organisations in the United States during the 1960s, made many blacks change from denial to celebration of their stigma: “I’m black and proud!” In the handicap movement many similar examples can be found, as well as in organisations that strive for sexual justification. These groupings draw nearer to the segregational type. The strategy is to start from the majority society’s practice of marginalisation and use the highlighted deviation as a basis for building a positive identity. Groupings on the fringes can thereby win visibility, social and political space and, in the best cases, power by the re-ordering of group hierarchies in society.

CHOICE OF MUSIC

Hip hoppers, nyckelharpa players, accordion players, punks, fans of classic jazz and early musicians all belong to groupings based on choice of music. In these groupings, the members need have nothing more in common than their interest in a certain sort of music and the styles, behaviours, and forms which go with it. If choice of music is also linked to special points of view, e.g. among punks, the grouping can also be counted as of the oppositional type.

Institutions

Institutions and authorities that make up society’s *policymakers* are a prerequisite for a diversified cultural life. We have used Krister Malm’s and Roger Wallis’s distinction between *Direct* and *Indirect Policy Makers* (Malm & Wallis 1992:35):

DIRECT POLICYMAKERS

- *Government.* In Sweden it is primarily the Swedish National Concert Institute, the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs, regional music foundations, schools of music, etc.
- *Media corporations.* Both radio/TV and producers of phonograms and video.
- *Music press.* Writers, journalists, photographers, etc.

INDIRECT POLICYMAKERS

- *Trade and interest organisations.* Board members, representatives and assistants in secretariats. In practice the assistant's power is greater than one might think because of their roles as investigators and their reporting on various cases.
- *Agents and their clients.*
- *Educationalists.*
- *The musical establishment.* Academic researchers, authorities on music and others.

The commercial policymakers dedicate a large part of their activities to attempting to influence other policymakers. Perhaps the clearest example of this is the massive effort made by the phonogram industry to market its products via the producers of radio. An unspoken alliance arises between those in power. Record companies on the one hand want to market their new products and on the other, at least some radio producers want to play the "latest" on their programmes.

Doers, Knowers, Makers

One method of classifying the actors is by their aims or goals. In the groupings, which place music in a central position, the prime motive for most actors is quite simply to make music. They will be referred to as *doers*. In order to practise their music, doers have to gain considerable knowledge and resources, but these are primarily means by which to attain the goal of making music. Abstract, theoretical knowledge that does not relate to practice generally plays a minor and subordinate role. For the typical doer, quality and authenticity are deeply rooted in actually doing and those experiences, that arise from it rather than external conditions: “What is right is what feels right for me”.

For another category of actors the opposite is true, abstract knowledge of external conditions is the goal. We shall call these *knowers*. The aim of the knowers is the possession of knowledge; research, finding answers to questions of how, when or why. A typical case is of course the academic researcher, but in reality the majority of knowers are “amateur researchers” who do not belong to Academia. When knowing is given a central position the result is that most things revolve around and are about words, spoken or written. The typical knower carries out most of his activities at a desk, in archives, in libraries, in lecture halls and at conferences. Quality and authenticity are rooted in scientific procedures and in the external conditions that are studied. Exegesis is therefore a meaningful activity, i.e. discussions on how sources and material ought to be interpreted and treated. The result of such discussions, which can be presented by the knowers as the central results of many years of research, can from the doers’ perspective appear uninteresting and pedantic because they lack a clear connection with doing. The fundamental differences in perspective that doers and knowers give rise to have, in the area of music, been institutionalised in Sweden in the division between the training in practical music at colleges of music and the academic courses in musicology given at the universities’ musicology departments.

Those whose principal motive is to distribute and sell the results of first and foremost doers, but also the work of knowers, form a third category. Record producers, publishers, arrangers, marketers, managers—entrepreneurs of various kinds—are here called *makers*. The activities that make up the goals of do-



Doers, makers, knowers.

ers and knowers are at the same time means to other ends for makers: e.g. drawing attention to, distributing messages, attracting crowds, selling their products and making money. Quality is related in typical cases to how successfully these goals are achieved and is therefore easily equated with quantity. “That which sells well is good”.

Doers, knowers and makers are three positions that actors can adopt in relation to an activity and should not be confused with the qualities of individuals. Neither are the positions mutually exclusive. Individuals might cultivate one or switch between several.

In our case studies we have employed the system of positions, doers, knowers and makers as a model for description and analysis of conditions in the groupings and how they differ in important respects. In all of the groupings we have studied, music is the focus, which is why doers make up the majority. In certain groupings, knowers are many and influential, in others they are few and with little influence. In some groupings makers have a decisive influence, while in others they are of virtually no importance at all. The constellation of positions is of vital importance for how the groupings function and what resources they have at their disposal.

Arenas

The making of music is never unconditional. The opportunity of appearing on stage and performing music is not presented to just anyone. Forms of cultural expression are surrounded by and dependent on a large number of rules and conditions: on what is judged to be suitable, what is culturally permissible and perhaps even legal, what is to be played on the radio, what should be released on CD, who is entitled to cultural support, etc. The conditions do not just apply to public performance. Performing in informal situations is also governed by systems of cultural rules and practical frames—what is permissible and/or possible. We have chosen here to use *arena* for those conditions and prerequisites for musical performance that exist within a society.

An arena is in a general sense a scene of action where one can appear and become visible.³⁶ The concept will be used here to denote those “places of performance” where social and cultural difference can be made visible and manifest. There are different types of arenas that exist on separate levels. They can arise and exist in *formal* and *informal* contexts. The jazz club, party, opera and theatre are examples of different sorts of arenas. Arenas can be connected with each other or overlap in various ways. Actors can switch between different arenas; the musicians at a Greek restaurant might be playing at a jazz club the following night and so on.

The arena model is intended for use in describing and analysing both live and different forms of recorded music. These two types comprise a motley collection of musical genres and elements that affect one another and overlap in different ways. In our model the actual prerequisites of performance are symbolised by the arena’s physical construction. It houses the material, political and economic prerequisites for performance in a society. Access to instruments, technology and the necessary media are among the material preconditions. Cultural and political regulations and sanctions on both international and local levels, the regulations of cultural support, sponsoring and interest from the recording industry belong to the political and economic preconditions.

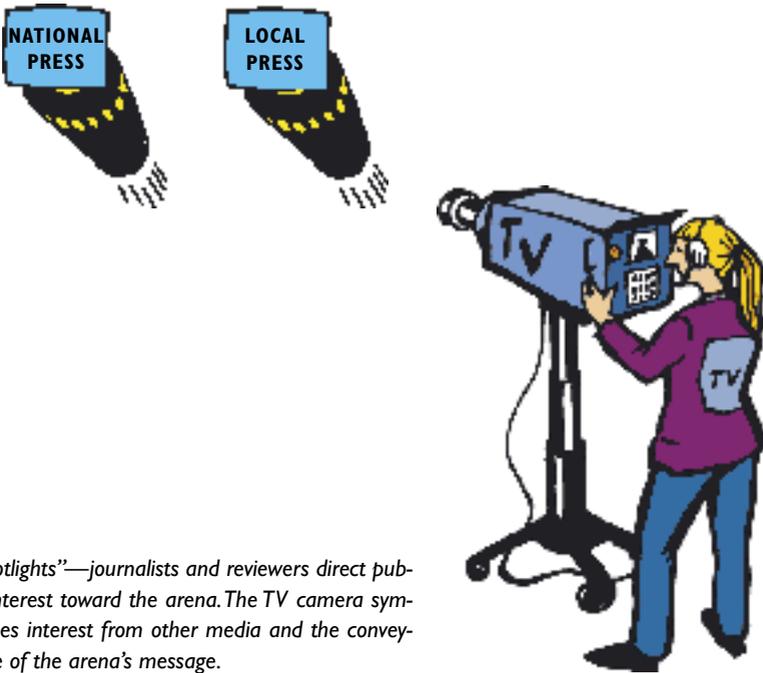
³⁶ The word “arena” comes from the Latin “sand”. Sand was scattered on the floors of amphitheatres where gladiators fought to the death, in order to soak up the blood.

Arena is in other words the larger physical unit in which the meetings and events we are investigating take place. *Stage* is the surface where focused performances take place and *backstage* are those surfaces where performances are prepared. At concerts, when music itself is the theme, it is the musicians who are in focus. The “hottest” area of the stage is generally the centre at the front, *frontstage*. That is where the “front figures” take their places and is the area to which all attention is focused by means of, amongst other things, spotlights and loudspeakers. At a dance event the focus is shifted to the dance floor, which then becomes the new frontstage. This means that the surface where the musicians are becomes less “hot”. Stages are in other words surfaces intended for performances, and performances take place when someone deliberately steps out to execute or present something. Performance is a type of communication that involves the performer shouldering a special responsibility in front of an audience, not only for what is to be communicated but also for how (Bauman 1986). At a performance, a stage comes into being which results in actors being differentiated from audience. The result of a successful performance is visibility and attention.

Behind the stage there is a special place where appearances on stage can be prepared. Such backstage areas are usually protected from observation and function closest to a sort of sluice. In many instances, the magic of a performance depends on the artists having the opportunity literally to withdraw in order to be able to step out of their ordinary clothes and establish a new role identity. In the same way it is often necessary to return to everyday life via the backstage after the performance. Offstage is the term we use for “cold” surfaces that are not in focus and which surround stages.

A form of music that is offstage can be moved onto the stage if society’s values *change* or if the form of music *adapts* itself to prevailing norms.³⁷ This process takes place constantly, changes in values and adaptation often take place simultaneously. The fact that hip hop has been taught at Ballet Academy in Stockholm since the end of the 1990s is a sign of a *change* in values. A typical *adaptation* is when the Swedish rap artist Markoolio with his “safe” form of Swedish rap music became the best-selling artist in Sweden during this period. Hip hop could in other words be transferred from offstage to frontstage because of adaptation and a change in values. At the same time, this transfer is hard to accept for many followers of hip hop who identify themselves as marginalized outsiders.

³⁷ Some typical forms for this kind of adaptation are discussed in Slobin & Ronström 1989.



“Spotlights”—journalists and reviewers direct public interest toward the arena. The TV camera symbolises interest from other media and the conveyance of the arena’s message.

Potential Spaces

The arena’s different parts represent recognised and controlled zones in musical situations. But music is also made in contexts that cannot be described using the metaphors of the stage. New contexts such as the Internet have led to the creation of new and exciting musical arenas. Previously unknown opportunities for visibility can open up to new actors. Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of activities in these contexts is that they are typified by playfulness and that the established arena’s gatekeepers often perceive them as a threat. The English psychiatrist and play-theorist Donald Woods Winnicott has used the term “potential spaces” to describe how children conquer new and to some extent unknown places and extend their world through play. *Potential spaces* could in our context signify new arenas and backdrops which have as yet not been recognised but which have nevertheless been brought into use. One hypothesis that provides a starting point for our studies is that postmodern or contemporary societies force increasing numbers of people to replace a familiar reliable daily reality with one that is new and unfamiliar through, among other things, accelerating technical developments, increased migration, increased

mobility in labour markets and increased segregation between, for example, different ethnic groupings. The loss of what one previously took for granted in life can cause people to embark on the conquest of new potential spaces. We wish to test the idea that these spaces have increased in number and importance and that it is precisely in such vaguely defined potential spaces with low formalisation and focus that new expressive forms arise, amongst them music.

The Arena's Actors

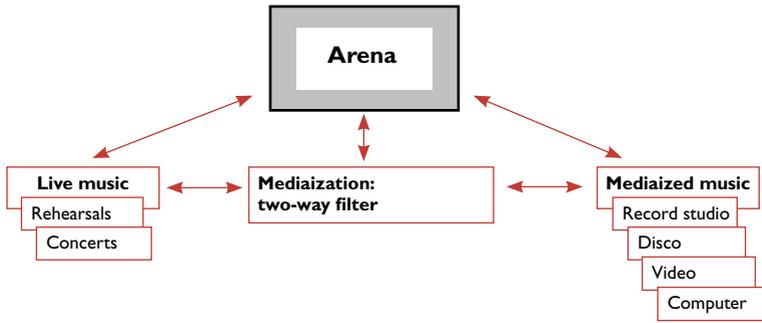
Different typified roles or functions direct the design and control of the arena's surfaces and boundaries (see fig. p. 58-59), which, like "arena", are here used metaphorically.

- The arena's *spotlights* represent the interest of journalists and marketers.
- *Microphones* represent interest from other media. Both roles can be related to *intermediaries*.
- Sound technicians or *mixers* decide what should be heard and can therefore shift the focus of the music. The mixer can amplify certain expressions in a performance and subdue others. The role is often that of the music producer. The roles of mixer and spotlight coincide to a certain extent.
- The arena's *gatekeepers* decide who has access to the stage.

These actors have crucial roles in the arena. They decide who has access to different surfaces, what should be in focus and what should be mediated. The bases of decision are founded in demands for *competency* and *relevancy*. In relation to the stage, the backstage can be regarded as a drawing room where music, which has the stage as its goal, takes place. Certain demands for competency are placed on those who are backstage too, but as being there does not amount to visibility in the arena, the demands are not as exacting. Offstage, music is made that does not in any clear sense have the stage as its primary goal. The music offstage lacks the relevancy or competency demanded by the stage and is therefore not given visibility.

Actors and audience act within well-defined frames as already mentioned. Who can, will and should appear and be given attention and visibility is decided by factors of cultural power. One such factor is society's policymakers, both direct and indirect. They have great importance through their creation of the preconditions for different types of arena. Policymakers are the arena's *architects*, but can also be seen as its gatekeepers, for it is they who decide the content of the concepts *visibility*, *competence* and *relevance*.

Ordinary arenas for which the model can be used for description and analy-



The various forms of mediated and live music in the arenas are constantly involved in interplay with each other.

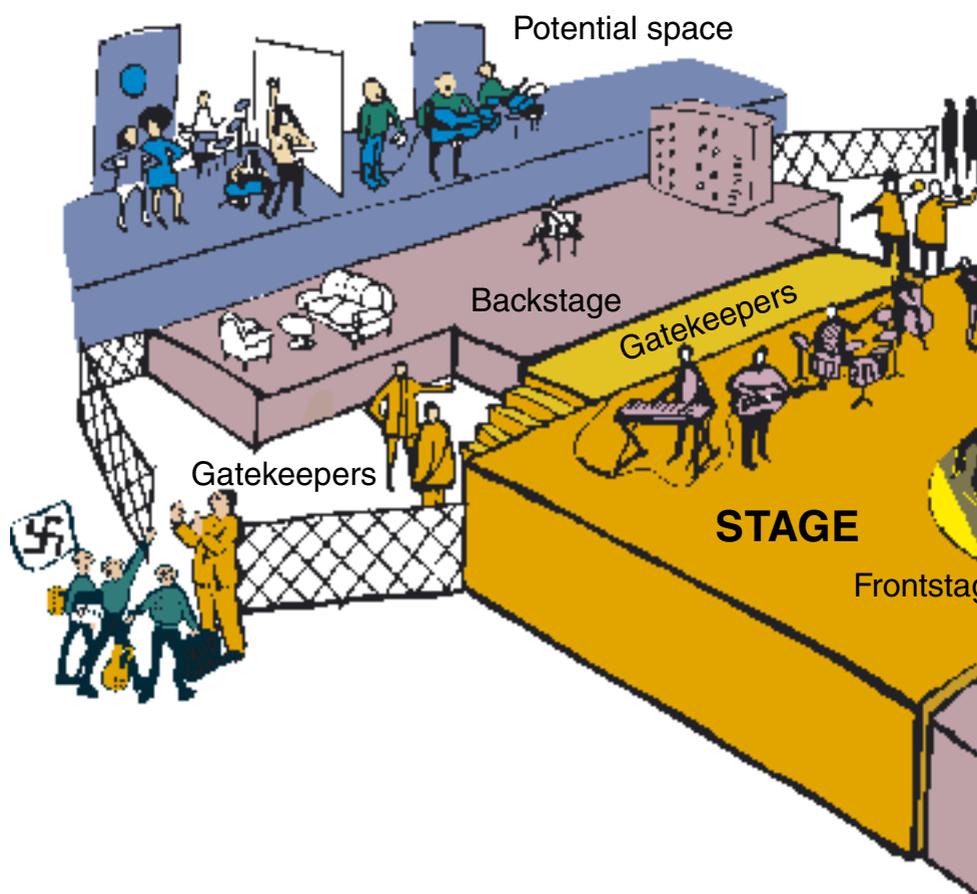
sis are concert halls or a published videos or phonograms. But the model can also be used to describe and analyse the interplay between expressive forms and genres in smaller contexts, e.g. within a defined grouping.

Two of music's forms of existence, *live* and *recorded*, can be described with the arena model, likewise the intermediate forms that have arisen through, for example, parts of a performance of live music building on recorded elements. We are in other words studying two connected areas or types of arena where music and dance comprise a hub around which complexes of identity creating cultural and social processes revolve.

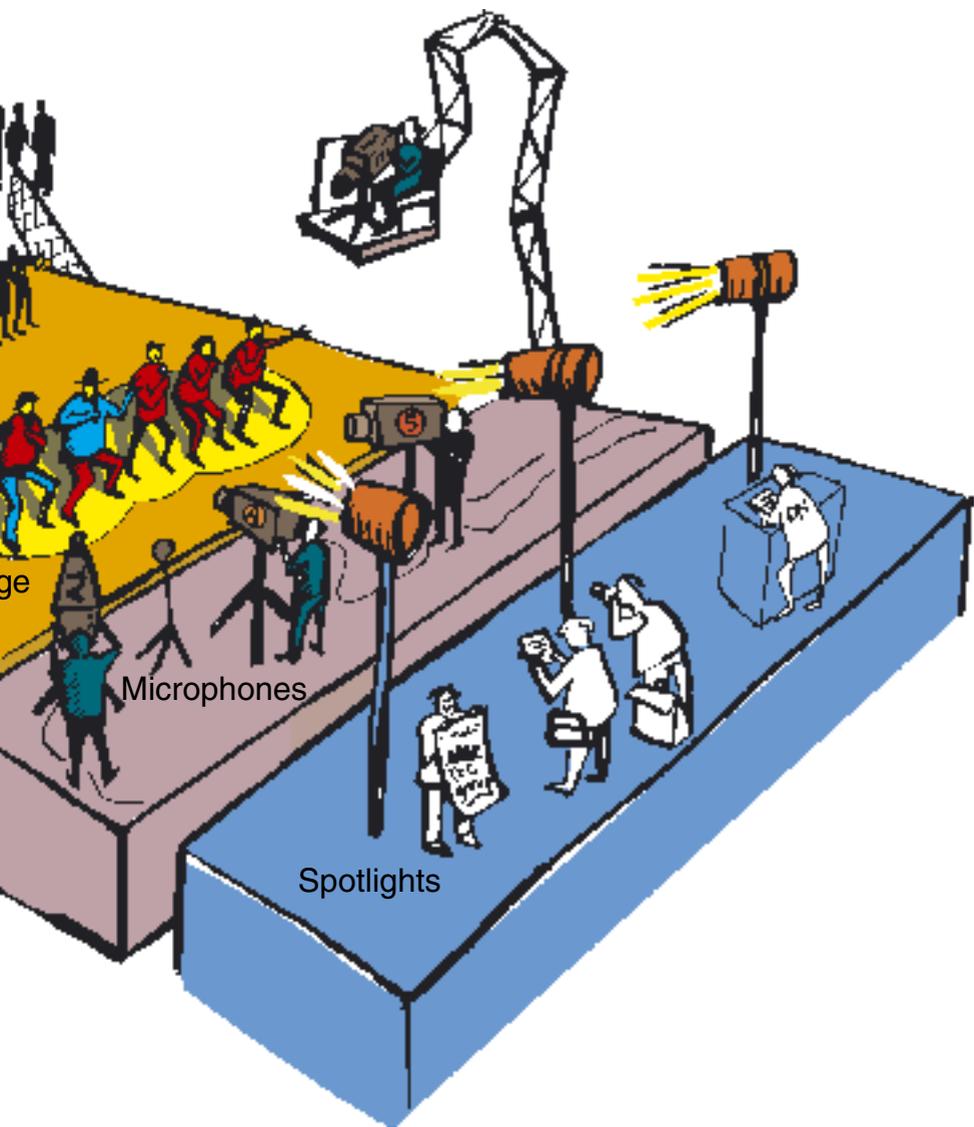
Formalisation and Focusing

Arenas can be divided into different types, e.g. for public and private music. Proceeding from the degree to which it is public, in reality the degree of performance, it is possible to decide an arena's status with the help of two qualifications, *formalisation* and *focus*.

The signs that indicate how formal one should be are a clue as to how people perceive a given place, i.e. in which mode they perform. Formality is partly related to how public a thing is and partly to status. The simple rule runs: the more public and the more status, the more formal. The arena's status and the music's degree of formalisation are in other words closely connected. Therefore the degree of formalisation affects the extent to which the arena is perceived as a clearly defined stage, e.g. music club, theatre, concert hall, etc. The greater the formalisation, the greater the expectation of what is to happen and how one should behave. When a music group appears at Fasching, a Stockholm jazz club, it can be presupposed that the audience has in advance certain knowledge



The arena model is a useful metaphor for giving shape to musical forms of existence in modern society. In this symbolic sense, an arena can be different contexts in which music is performed—everything from internal parties to recording studios and the Internet.

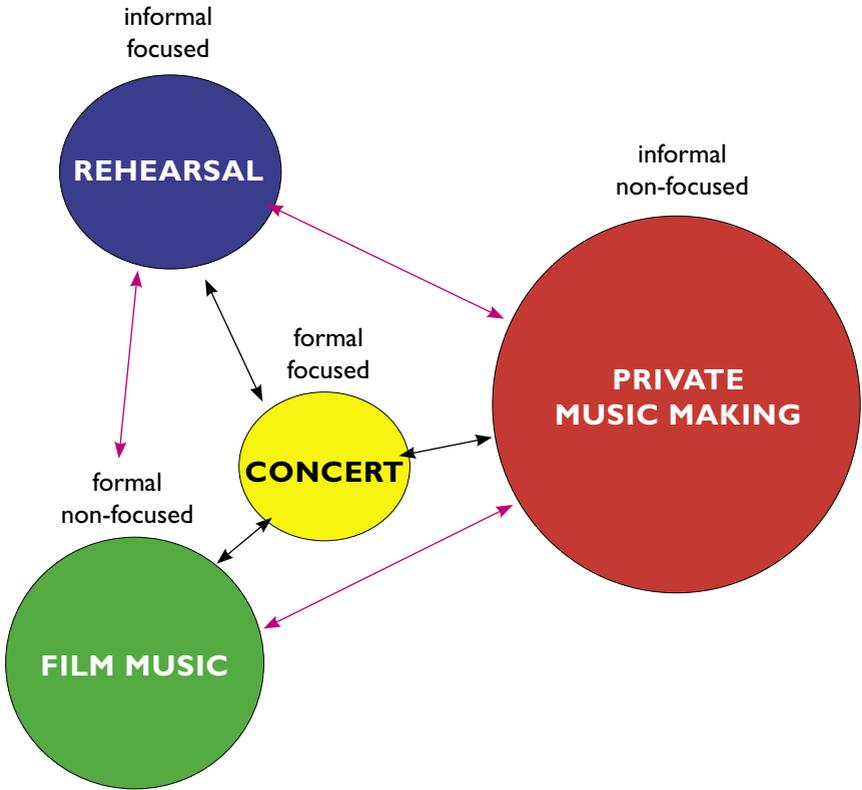


ge

Microphones

Spotlights

of sound, setting, audience, etc. When the same group appears instead at the huge sports arena Scandinavium in Gothenburg, the arena gives a completely different message. The various arenas represent different degrees of accessibility from a social, cultural or financial perspective. Not everyone attends a concert at a sports stadium, pensioners are for example probably underrepresented. It is hardly a question of “high culture”, even if the ticket prices can be comparably



The interplay between different musical situations (see also the table below). The forms of music and performance in the illustration and table are examples of what can be found in the respective categories.

	<i>Formal</i>	<i>Informal</i>
<i>Focused</i>	Concert	Rehearsal
<i>Non-focused</i>	Film and restaurant music	Party performance

high. Both Fasching and Scandinavium bring about definite audience selection. The degree of formalisation is dependent on the context.

The arena can also be identified from another perspective, namely from its focus, i.e. what activity is central to the arena's total operations (c.f. Goffman 1974). On the concert stage the musician is of course central. Other kinds of arena can be arranged in a descending scale by the extent to which music is the focus, e.g. from music pubs, theatre music, restaurants with dance floors, restaurants with music, to the spontaneous performance of music at a party. For the musicians, the degree of focus is often related to how clearly defined the role of music is in the context. Often, though not always, increased focus leads to increased formalisation.

The formal and focused forms of music represent in many cases the left wing in those fields of tension we have studied (see below, p. 62–67). They often represent tradition, collective, homogenous and global culture. What they have in common is that they represent high status positions in musical life. At the same time it is apparent that the majority of all musical performances takes place at informal arenas and surfaces where the actual music is not in focus.

Fields of Tension

Polarity in Musical Life

A number of apparently contradictory tendencies are observable in modern musical life in many parts of the world. Here are a few examples:

- On the one hand, musical life is becoming increasingly homogenous. The same types of institution, recorded music, performance, etc. are to be found in all countries. On the other hand the number of styles and forms is increasing and musical life is becoming more diversified.
- On the one hand the number of mixed styles of music is increasing while on the other there are strong tendencies towards the preservation of musical styles, “genuine” and “authentic” performance and ethnic and other forms of cleansing in the area of music.
- On the one hand increasing numbers of musical styles are arising that achieve global distribution. On the other hand local musical styles seem to be becoming increasingly important to many.
- On the one hand the so-called great traditions in concert halls, opera houses, festivals, the ceremonies of established religions, etc. are becoming more dominant. On the other an upswing is underway for a number of little traditions such as Swedish fiddler teams, shepherd’s song, Irish folk music, didgeridoo and djembe playing.
- On the one hand the stress is on the individual: the big stars, listening individually to CDs and tapes with earphones. On the other hand increasing numbers of collectives and groupings of various kinds related to music are becoming visible.
- On the one hand the amounts of media-adapted music have increased explosively. On the other the number performing various kinds of live music have increased.

The list of contradictory tendencies above can be described as six tension fields between twelve poles.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. HOMOGENOUS – DIVERSIFIED | 4. GREAT TRADITION – LITTLE TRADITION |
| 2. PURE – MIXED | 5. COLLECTIVE – INDIVIDUAL |
| 3. GLOBAL – LOCAL | 6. MEDIATED – LIVE |

These contradictory phenomena can be described as *fields of tension*. Between at least two contrary sources of power there arises currents of different strengths and directions. Together these fields form a multi-dimensional *energy sphere*. In its simplest form a tension field has two poles.

It is possible to distinguish and define many other fields of tension, but we have judged these to be the most significant for our studies of the interplay between music, media and multiculturalism as well as for the analysis of the production of similarity and difference. The energy sphere, made by the fields of tension together, forms a model of a musical phenomenon's environment. The degree of influence exerted on a musical phenomenon by the tension field's poles determines in which direction the phenomenon is transported with the current through the sphere of tension as the musical phenomenon is altered over time. By musical phenomenon we mean categories within the area of music, from the musical life of entire world regions and countries to clearly defined types/forms of music, types of ensemble, repertoires, etc. Within every musical phenomenon there exist *specific examples*, i.e. different pieces of music of a certain musical type/form and different individual ensembles of a particular kind, e.g. symphony orchestras.

A model that only includes the above mentioned fields of tension naturally provides a sketchy image of reality. These fields can, however, provide very useful tools for the analysis of patterns of change in the system music–media–multiculturalism, which can also contribute to better predictions on the direction that change will take in the near future. For example, the effect of a political decision on music, or other actions, can be predicted with more certainty if an analysis is done of how the poles' charges in the different fields of tension are affected by the decision. In other words, it is of great importance that the poles' components and their effects are determined as accurately as possible. A great deal is already known about the poles' characteristics and those processes to which they contribute. Some of the poles are closer to one another while others are further apart.

Some Processes Within the Six Fields of Tension

A large part of the discussion about “postmodernity” relates to the world's increasing fragmentation and dissolution, division and decline (Rosenau 1992). Jonathan Friedman, a social anthropologist active in Lund, contends that during the most recent decade:

a most remarkable rebirth of cultural identities has taken place. The world's dehegemonisation has—at least temporarily—led to its dehomogenisation. This development can be welcomed in one respect and can be seen as a revitalising liberation of cultural difference, a veritable symphony of human variation. (Friedman 1994:27) [trans.]

What has not been highlighted quite as much in this debate, however, is the concurrent homogenisation of cultural expressions and the incredibly powerful monopolisation and globalisation of the world's cultural production to a handful of huge industrial conglomerates. That which characterises world developments is not just increasing cultural variation but also that centrifugal forces are at work in parallel with increasingly strong centripetal forces. The consequence is that now, for the first time in history, it is in certain respects beginning to be meaningful to talk about the “world” in singular.

In a critical comment on the postmodern discussion's partial perspective on this point, the ethnologist Orvar Löfgren writes:

Precisely as in the turn of the century debate on cultural dissolution—the decline of the home, the destruction of the nations and local districts—there is too much talk today of “breaking” down, though naturally in a different vocabulary. In this entire debate there is too much “post”, post-national, post-modern, post-local and too much “de-”, de-focused, de-centred, de-territorialized. (Löfgren 1995:7) [trans.]

In line with this criticism, one can with the help of the homogenous-diversified and pure-mixed fields of tension plot out the opposite's interplay between unity and fragmentation, similarity and difference. On the one hand there is an increasing concentration of power and capital and greater global hegemonisation, and on the other a growing diversity and fragmentation of worlds in which to live. If, as Friedman says, developments are moving toward “a revitalising liberation of cultural difference, a veritable symphony of human variation”, it is also important to investigate who conducts, composes and produces the symphony.

All six of the fields of tension have great significance for the production of similarity and difference, but most particularly the first three. Thus, for example, moving a musical phenomenon toward the poles homogenous, pure and global means that the style and performance, etc. of the individual pieces of music become increasingly standardised and similar. Similarly an approach to the poles “diversified”, “mixed” and “local” means that the individual pieces become more different.

Many studies identify syncretism, eclecticism, and bricolage as fundamental contemporary or postmodern strategies. These aspects belong to the “pure-mixed” field of tension. Friedman writes:

Today the media have concurred with the accentuation of the world's fragmentary condition, partly because of the intensity of the connections running between its constituent parts. Music, television and literature that have "world-" as their first element are becoming everyday fare for global consumers. (Friedman 1994:28) [trans.]

But what is not sufficiently highlighted is how the conscious mixing of forms, styles and expressions builds on and presupposes a preceding process of standardisation, purification and homogenisation. Obversely, purification presupposes a previously mixed condition. The cultural collection, with its point of departure in groups and collectives, now underway in many parts of the world, can on a global level be described as a fragmentation of old superpowers. The same collection can be described, on a local level, as intensive homogenisation and hegemonisation with the purpose of achieving a distinctive, unified "culture".

But as soon as such "cultures" have been brought forth, a space is set up for them that consciously brings separate entities together, e.g. for the purposes of play or provocation. The "mix-aesthetic" which characterises postmodernism as a style, presupposes and builds on the separation of groups with clear—and homogenous—cultural distinctiveness. Purism (ethnic cleansing) and syncretism (cultural diversity) should not be seen as conditions that succeed one another, as the conceptual pair modernity-postmodernity give the impression of being, but rather as fields of tension which continuously establish and condition one another.

One field of tension with particular relevancy for studies of multicultural societies is global-local. One aspect is of how local forms, styles and genres via mediation (see below) become accessible regionally, nationally and trans-nationally (Wallis & Malm 1984, Slobin 1993). Another aspect is how global or transnational expressive forms assume local meaning. Even if a small number of styles, artists and genres have more or less achieved global distribution, they do not have the same meaning, significance or function everywhere. They become *localised*, i.e. interpreted and adapted within the governing conventions in the local context (Malm & Wallis 1992:237–239).

In Sweden it is important to draw attention to the global forms, arenas and media that are used to facilitate the perception and judgement of differences between the old "monocultural" and the new "multicultural" Sweden, and also "multicultural Sweden" and other multicultural societies. Special cases of great interest are "the national" as an international project where globally distributed forms are given nationally distinctive meaning and how immigrants in Sweden give a local Swedish meaning to their homeland's forms of dance and music.

The labelling of the poles in the tension field great tradition-little tradition

is taken from Robert Redfield's work (c.f. Burke 1983). It deals primarily with how "the classical European cultural heritage" combines with and is confronted by folk and popular styles from all over the world. An increase in the charge existing in this field of tension has been reported in many countries. It is caused by representatives of "the great tradition" exploiting their cultural capital to exclude alternative traditions to a greater degree. In Sweden, just as in the United States, France, Germany and England, powerful forces are working for a gathering around "the classical European cultural heritage".³⁸

Central attributes of the "great tradition" are high status and vast resources. In the area of music today, it is not just Western art music that enjoys these attributes but also missionary religious music and not least the music that the international music industry launches on a global level. The consequence is that a small number of styles, distributed by the media industry and supported by national cultural elites, become nationally and transnationally visible while an increasing number of styles are rendered invisible to all but small groups of performers. Cultural diversity thereby becomes impossible to for the majority to take in or grasp. To a greater extent than previously people are therefore forced to assume what they have in common, which creates representative communities of a sort that are founded to a greater degree than before on ideological assumptions on a discursive level rather than on experience on a practical level.

In international cultural research new areas are sprouting up, such as *post-colonial studies*. These studies are launched from the fact that the postcolonial world is no longer proceeding from a Western political and cultural centre with other cultures in the periphery. Instead a new process is now taking place with many different centres (Hong Kong, Bombay, New York, Los Angeles, Amsterdam, Berlin, Paris etc.). Conservative circles in the United States have refuted and sought to thwart this. Amongst other things, the American Scientific Academy has refused to recognise "Multicultural Studies" as science. The Dutch Scientific Academy has also been hesitant and does not want to recognise the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis as a research school. Another example is how, at large American universities, institutions concentrating on feminism and the history and culture of African Americans, etc. have been closed in favour of increased concentration on education in English and both English and French literature. It seems as parts of the academic community does not want to understand or accept that Western high culture is losing its traditionally dominant role and that sub-cultures should be able to be studied as equals.

³⁸ An example is how regional musical foundations in Sweden through the intervention of politicians are forced to close down activities for schoolchildren, immigrants, the sick, etc. in favour of permanent ensembles with programmes of Western art music.

A phenomenon that belongs primarily to the field of tension collective-individual is that which has been referred to previously as cultural branding. In this tension field, and also partly in the fields homogenous-diversified and great tradition-little tradition, we find the often confused politico-cultural discourse about the concepts diversity and multicultural. These concepts are used sometimes as synonyms and in other cases with completely different meanings and connotations. As we have shown above (p. 33–43), we have chosen to give these terms different meanings to avoid a lack of clarity, since they belong to two different conglomerates of components. “Diversity” lies closer to the poles individual, homogenous and great tradition, while “multiculture” lies closer to the tension field poles collective, diversified and little tradition.

The tension field mediated-live has great importance for patterns of change in the last few decades. At one pole is the music that is mediated by the mass media as phonograms, radio, TV, Internet, etc., and at the other the music that is performed live. The mediated music is as a rule divorced from time and space, while live music is tied to a situation. At the same time as an increasing proportion of music is mediated and mediaized, there are also greater numbers performing live music than ever before. Both the global music industry and local actors are active at both poles but in different ways. Interestingly, the boundaries between mediated and live music are progressively being erased in the tension field between these poles. Through the use of modern technology parts of a live performance can build on recorded music. The boundaries are becoming increasingly diffuse.

Mediation and Mediaization

The Interplay between Music and Technology

The fact that a type of music is conveyed to its recipients via media, i.e. mediated, also means that it is affected by the media system's technology and organisational structure. In the project *The Music Industry in Small Countries* this was termed mediaization (Wallis & Malm 1984:278–281). The term has now been incorporated into the standard terminology in studies of media and music. Mediaization means that a form of music is changed in different ways and adapted to the media system. The concepts *musical form* or *musical type* are used here to mean not only a certain sort of music but also the practices associated with that music relating to performance, usage, functions, etc.

A musical form can be changed because of the technology that is used in a mass medium. An example is how with the introduction of microphones in the 1920s the vaudeville singers' strong voices changed character to become intimate in tone.

In similar ways the *muezzins'* (Muslim prayer-criers) shrill voices have during recent decades become softer in tone because cassette recordings have replaced live calls to prayer. Another example is that many forms of music have been cast in the three-minute format that was dictated by the playing time of the 78rpm record.

A change might depend on the demands placed by the organisation of the conveying media system or economic prerequisites. A musical type that is to be distributed to a mass audience over a larger geographical area must be adapted to certain stylistically common denominators. Lyrics containing references to local phenomena have to be replaced by lyrics with a more generally valid content (c.f. Lundberg 1997). Conceptions of ownership and rights of use concerning works of music are affected by the money transactions that are bound up with the media.

There are many examples. Often a type of music's form, usage and function are affected in a decisive way through mediation and mediaization. Because the conveyance of music is increasingly achieved via media, the media's importance for changes in music and musical life has grown during the twentieth century.



Bing Crosby's intimate tone would not be possible without electronic amplification.

In the industrialised countries some relatively distinctive periods with different prerequisites for mediation and mediaization can be identified during this time. The more recent of these periods also include the third world to a significant extent.

- The first period runs from the establishment of the phonogram industry at the beginning of the twentieth century until the breakthrough of electrical recording technology and radio in the 1920s.
- The second includes the period from the late 1920s until around 1970. During this period, technical innovations such as the LP and stereo were launched, though these did not alter the prerequisites for mediation and mediaization in a significant way.
- The third period starts around 1970 with breakthroughs in cassette technology and battery-powered radio and cassette recorders. The low investment and acquisition costs of these technologies meant that music could be recorded and distributed to the most remote places, long before such locations were served by roads, piped water or an electricity network. On an international level electrical musical instruments and multi-track recording techniques were established at the same time. This meant amongst other things that more forms of music in more countries were incorporated into the world of media.
- A fourth period begins during the second half of the 1980s. It is characterised by extensive diversification in musical production and media structure due to progress in electronic technology. Satellite communication, digital sound and

images, electronic musical instruments, various kinds of CD, computers and networks and a rapid change in methods of working with the conveyance of music via media typifies this period. It is currently still ongoing and will probably be so for some years to come.

During the most recent period it is possible to identify four main types of mediational and mediaizational processes, the most common and typical during the twentieth century. These are below named *primary mediaization*, *mediaizational reworking*, *demiaization* and *remediaization*. All of these processes presuppose the mediation of music, but also include a number of courses of events outside the immediate media environment. Practically all actors within the field of music today are involved in one or more of these processes of mediation and mediaization.

Primary Mediaization

Primary mediaization means that a music type with local roots begins to be spread by local or regional media. Ordinarily it is a question of recording and release on a cassette or CD and radio broadcasts. In the recording studio the musicians encounter multi-track recording techniques, the possibility of re-takes, supplements, mixing and changes in tone, etc. perhaps for the first time. They might try out new, often electronic, instruments, etc. that affects their way of making music. The music that results from the recording is different from the live music that was its source. It is mediaized.

In some cases, the mass media distribution of the musician whose music is locally rooted stops at a regional level. In other cases national and international media companies take up the music. This results in the type of music in question being further mediaized. It begins to reach a genuinely mass audience, who have never heard the form of music in its non-mediaized form. The original musicians might be replaced and the music is taken over by professional studio musicians and instruments and sound are increasingly altered.

There are a number of examples of this process during the twentieth century, e.g. the blues music of the Mississippi delta in the United States, which was transformed to rhythm and blues by its meeting with media and amplifier technology. The music originally played by black musicians was then taken over by white musicians and transformed into rock'n'roll in connection with its international launch.

During the twentieth century, the number of local music types that have been mediaized has increased rapidly. When they are adopted by the international media industry they often become one of the types of music that are

gathered under the umbrella term “World Music”. Because music technology and media channels have gradually been changed over the years, in particular the last ten years, the prerequisites for primary mediaization have also changed. Primary mediaization today conforms to a different pattern than that which applied up to the 1980s.

Mediaizational Reworking

Mediaizational reworking occurs when previously already mediated and mediaized types of music are further mediaized by being welded together and adapted to electronic music and media technologies. Mediaizational reworking has mainly taken place within the confines of the international music industry with, among others, producers and technicians as actors and does not belong to any particular ethnic or other musical grouping. The term “transculturation” was coined for this kind of process in the project *The Music Industry in Small Countries* (Wallis & Malm 1984:300–302). Because “transculturation” has in recent years also been used to denote all processes where elements from more than two cultures are blended, we have chosen to use the term mediaizational reworking.

One of the first examples of mediaizational reworking was disco music in the 1970s where style characteristics from a number of different types of music were welded together in recording studios and control rooms. During the 1980s, many previously mediaized forms of music were adapted to a new medium, i.e. the music video. This process is still ongoing in the 1990s and one might even speak of tertiary mediaization in cases where older music videos are reworked using today’s possibilities for electronic remastering of sound and image.

During the 1980s, so-called scratch was developed in disco environments whereby disc jockeys used music from different records to create effects and sometimes even new works of music. Rap has partly developed from scratch. It builds to a great extent on elements of previously mediated and mediaized music.

Earlier it was possible to mediaizationally rework music only in the studios of the big media companies. Falling prices for computer technology have meant that mediaizational reworking is now possible at a local level, e.g. in the home with the aid of a computer and music-editing software. Remixing of older recordings is also a form of mediaizational reworking. There are sites on the Internet where enthusiasts with home studios can download multi-track musical recordings. They then do their own mix of the music and send the results back to the site where they can be listened to and judged by other enthusiasts. This activity takes place simultaneously on a global and local level. The

rapid increase of mediaizational reworking with the help of sampling and the Internet has among other things led to demands for the adaptation of copyright legislation, since increasing numbers of previously released recordings are being used in mediaizationally reworked music.

It is increasingly common for a type of music that is locally or regionally based and mediated for distribution via new media channels and sometimes through the migration of a performer so that it gains an international following. The audience is limited in each country but is distributed over large areas of the world. These musical networks can include older types of music that are sometimes as good as extinct in their original environment but which have received a new lease of life by being learned from old recordings and then played and mediated anew. Modern rapid communication technology makes it possible to inform others about, for example, new releases of music in genres with very few fans, even if they live in different parts of the world. The special variations of mediation and mediaization produced by this process can be termed *network-mediation* and *network-mediaization* respectively. We are here discussing mediation and mediaization that for the most part take place outside of the international music industry's channels. The possibilities for conveying sound that exist on the Internet will increase network-mediation and mediaization. This is probably an area that will prove highly significant for the entire music industry in the future.

Demediaization and Remediaization

Demediaization means that primarily mediaized or mediaizationally reworked music is taken up by musicians and performed live in a local context. The mediaized types of music are adapted to the local music group's range of instruments, style of play, etc. and are incorporated into the repertoire at live performances. At this stage the music is once again changed so that a diversifying and profiling process replaces the earlier process that primarily homogenised and mediaized. Lyrics in English are replaced by lyrics in the local language; the music is performed on a particular folk group's traditional instruments or is used in traditional ceremonies or festivities. As a consequence, many of the features that mediaization gave the music vanish because it is now once again performed live. The music has been demediaized. This results in many new cases where new musical variants arise. The music is *localised*.³⁹

Remediaization occurs when the demediaized music is again conveyed via a medium, e.g. it is recorded at a local recording company with all of the

³⁹ Such processes have been described by Mark Slobin as "reinterpretation", "re-ethnification" and "domestication" (Slobin & Ronström 1989).

pressure for the local adaptation of mediated music, which that includes. Demediaization is not always followed by remediaization, but it is often the case.

Examples of demediaization are the many types of music that in the project *The Music Industry in Small Countries* are called “national pop/rock” (Wallis & Malm 1984:302–311). During the 1980s the majority of these styles were remediaized, which was a decisive factor for the growth of so-called world music (“world music” or “world beat”).

When demediaization, remediaization and localisation blend into a single process the result is a variation of mediaizational reworking.

Points of Departure for the Case Studies

Overview

The empirical point of departure for MMM is fourteen case studies of different direction and extent that have been carried out within the framework of three main areas of study.

- In the first area of study we want to shed light on the discourse and practice of diversity and multiculturalism.
- In the second we investigate the existence and growth of culturally oriented groupings, i.e. groupings that proceed from both interest and roots. The purpose is to attain knowledge of these groupings' *structures* and *strategies*.
- In the third we study the interplay between live and mediated music—new prerequisites for the distribution and production of music provided by new technology and media.

Within the framework of what we have called “multicultural Sweden’s when, where and how”, we have used concrete case studies to investigate in which situations, in which arenas and by what means a multicultural Sweden takes shape. The goal has been to obtain knowledge of music’s place and function. It is partly about how music and other expressive forms are used by different groupings in society to create, maintain and mark cultural identity, and partly about society’s attitudes to and interpretations of diversity and multiculturalism. What repercussions does the government’s cultural policy have on musical forms and arenas? How do media, cultural policies, the recording industry, etc. affect the expressive forms that are included in the “multiculturalism” on offer?

Through case studies we have also asked questions about music’s globalisation and mediaization. What happens when music forms, originally with local roots, are globally distributed? How are their meaning and content changed? What repercussions does this have on local contexts? Music’s globalisation is a two-way process. On the one hand, local forms, styles and genres become accessible regionally, nationally and transnationally via mediation and mediaization. At the same time a clear localisation of certain globally accessible music genres and styles

is taking place. One assumption is that when a global music form is taken up by a local tradition, it is charged with new meaning and significance. By means of the case studies we wish to gain more knowledge about these processes.

Within our three areas of study we have chosen a number of “cases” for closer study. The choice is intended to give a multifaceted picture of both “multicultural Sweden” and of music’s function as a symbol or marker for different groupings in society. A number of studies were chosen primarily to shed light on the interplay between live and mediated forms of music.

Developments in music and media technology are incredibly rapid, which we were of course aware of at the outset of the project. Throughout, we have been aware of the fact that a number of the case studies would need to be reformulated and altered during the course of the work. With reference to technical developments and increased accessibility via the Internet, advances have been enormous. In the argument for the case study “Music and Technology. The Use of the Internet and other Computer Networks for the Conveyance of Music”, we wrote in the original project description: “Many of the internationally distributed groups of followers of various types of music have begun using the Internet and other associated networks to spread information and music.” The idea was to investigate the interplay between music and new technology, in particular the use of electronic networks, by studying groupings that had begun to build up their organisation with the help of websites and e-mail lists. Developments, however, have been more rapid than we could have ever suspected. Today, it is the rule rather than the exception for interest groups in the West to employ electronic networks. After the development in recent years of the MP3 format and broadband, the distribution of music on the Internet has become many times more effective. The intended case study was therefore instead incorporated into the case studies “The Nyckelharpa People”, “Assyria—a Country in Cyberspace” and “Mediaevalists and Early Musicians”, where we have devoted special attention to the use of the Internet.

The Completed Studies

Of the project’s fourteen case studies, eleven are accounted for in this book. The remainder have been published separately during the course of the project. They are not presented here but knowledge and results from them have naturally been taken into account in the final report:

- In *The Place of Music in Multicultural Sweden* Jan Hellberg analyses the collections of minority and immigrant music to be found in the Music Museum in Stockholm (Hellberg 1999).

- A study of the music on offer from private radio stations and the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's channel P3 was carried out by Krister Malm in 1997 and published in the report *Musik, Medier, Mångfald* (music, media, diversity) published by the Swedish Council for Diversity in the Mass Media (Malm 1997). This study is briefly summarised and updated in the present book.
- *Music, Individuality and Collective Identity* is a study of the relationship between individual expressive forms and collective values (Lundberg 2000). In the study, light is shed on the complex relationship between individual and collective in multicultural contexts.
- In the article *Didgeridoo—from Arnhem Land to the Internet—and back*, which was published on the project website 1999, Owe Ronström investigates the interplay between a local expressive form and global distribution.

The principal method used in the case studies is fieldwork. During the last few years the Internet has developed into a new “field” where new methods of field study have been tested. The majority of the groupings we have studied have parts of their organisation placed on the Net and the Internet forms an increasingly important musical arena. One of the clearest cases is the Assyrian grouping. The Assyrians are today very active and exploit many different channels in order to create visibility. For them, the Internet has meant an opportunity to maintain cohesion in a grouping with cultural centres spread across the world. To create a dialogue with the members of the grouping, parts of MMM's research results were published on the Internet. Information about this was then distributed to Assyrian webmasters, who in turn added links to MMM's website. Key people in the Assyrian network very quickly found MMM's interest a confirmation of their grouping and also of the fact that they had received attention. They have since used this confirmation to reach broader recognition. Assyrian makers and knowers rapidly became interested in publishing and using the results of MMM's research in their own work.

The result was a sort of “research into our own research” since MMM's facts and analyses were adopted and studied by the grouping, which was studied in turn by MMM... An affirmative answer to a request for an interview was often delivered with a condition: “Yes, if we can interview *you!*”. The result of this interaction has been that we have continuously been able to share points of view and interact in our research in a fruitful and exciting way.

The case studies presented here have been divided into two sections:

A) *Studies with a geographic point of departure, i.e. studies of cultural expressions within a limited area.*

1. Multicultural Visby.
2. Stockholm—Homogenous Diversity.
3. Music Industry and Music On Offer in the Media.
4. Swedish World Music.
5. Global Pop in Some Countries in the Caribbean and Eastern Africa.

The investigations of Visby and Stockholm serve as a background to an argument on multiculturalism, diversity and ethnic pluralism. What are the multicultural society's musical forms of expression; where, when, how and why are they exploited; what are the necessary and satisfactory conditions for the arising and maintenance of a multicultural music scene?

Stockholm is a city with a rich variety of music on offer. There are many groupings large enough to organise their own music life, a fundamental prerequisite for a multicultural music life. Visby is a small town with a relatively stable and homogenous population and less well equipped for a differentiated musical life. The foundation for this study is Visby and Gotland's music life, which has been subjected to close scrutiny with a sharp focus on detail. Stockholm is placed in contrast to Visby but it is not the aim of the study to capture the entirety of cultural life in Stockholm. Instead, certain special areas and aspects of "multicultural Stockholm" are taken up in a perspective of contrast.

The studies of the development of Swedish world music and global pop in the Caribbean and Eastern Africa cast light on the issue of processes, such as the various processes of mediaization and the development of forms of music based on the effects of the increased mobility of music. The study of the range of music on radio deals with the effects of the deregulation of Swedish radio. The question of whether more agents in the radio market has actually increased the diversity of musical forms is not examined in this study.

B) *Studies of groupings. These studies deal with different types of grouping that can roughly be divided into groupings of origin and groupings of interest.*

6. Accordion and Old-time Dance
7. The Nyckelharpa People
8. The Dixie boys—Classic Jazz
9. Swedish Caribbeans
10. Assyria—a Country in Cyberspace
11. Mediaevalists and Early Musicists

The idea is that the case studies in both sections will combine to make a larger whole—a common database for our themes of study. It means that in each case there is overlap to a greater or lesser extent. An example is that in the studies of Visby and Stockholm, apart from the basis of the discussion on “multicultural Sweden’s when, where and how”, data on the individual groupings and access to music and the media situation have been collected. Each individual study of groupings has at the same time contributed facts relating to the processes of mediaization and the cultural fields of tension.

There are a number of illustrations to accompany each field study on the website in the form of brief sound and video sequences. The reader can with the aid of these get an idea what the various music forms sound like and what a number of the arenas described in the study look like. There is also extensive multimedia material to accompany “Assyria—a Country in Cyberspace” and “Global Pop in Some Countries in the Caribbean and Eastern Africa” that complements the important points in the text. A reading of the book’s sections on the various case studies should therefore be combined with the illustrations and presentations on the website.

The Groupings Structure and Strategy

The study of each grouping has been conducted in rather different ways, based on actual circumstances. As a starting point we have used a questionnaire containing questions about the grouping’s size and participating actors, distribution and dynamics, background, driving forces and horizons, arenas and, finally, music’s place and function in the grouping’s activities.

SIZE AND PARTICIPATING ACTORS. The description of the grouping’s size, scope, distribution, reach. Questions relate to how many members the grouping has, how many are active practising musicians and which kinds of other actors are to be found.

DISTRIBUTION AND DYNAMICS. One group of questions relates to aesthetics, style, values and intensity. Another relates to the grouping’s social network. How does the grouping hold itself together? Where is it localised and where is its centre? Further questions relate to group dynamics, e.g. what degree of activity has the grouping as a whole? Is it expanding or contracting? How does its members perceive it in terms of status, values, etc.? How are new members recruited? Is it a grouping that wants to expand, whose mission is to win new converts, or is it an exclusive movement that says: “We do not need you, but you might need us”. The difference between an inclusive ambition and an ex-

clusive practice is highlighted, e.g. when the grouping is based on exclusive technique or exclusive expertise that only a few have access to. Which expressive resources are to be found? Which kinds of expressive expertise does it have access to? Are the expressive specialists of sufficient number or is there a shortage? Is expressive expertise accessible within the grouping?

BACKGROUND, DRIVING FORCES AND HORIZONS. One group of questions relates to the history of the grouping, its actors' social status, gender, ethnicity, class and interests. Age is an important attribute. Is there one or several generations? Another group of questions relates to actors in a historical perspective: Who set the whole thing in motion? Who are the enthusiasts, the dedicated and the entrepreneurs? What are they eager to accomplish? Is it the music or something beyond the music? How are activities financed? Are there ideologists not directly involved in activities who are in control? Deviating interpretations of the same procedures and conditions within a grouping are particularly highlighted here.

Against which *horizons* are the majority of activities played out? Where are they brought forth and how are they presented? Is it the same as in many revival movements, i.e. a place beyond the place and time of the modern world? Is it the golden age or the happy land over there where they do it for real? What accomplishes visibility against these horizons? Is there a direct and busy traffic of communication with the fundamental horizon that encompasses the whole grouping, or is the bulk of communication via groups of performers who are spread out across the world? In the first case, performers evolve similarities over time without having direct contact with each other. In the second case, the grouping's different parts can become increasingly similar while becoming distanced from the fundamental horizon's prototypes. An example of the latter is the Assyrian grouping in Sweden, which via modern media has strong and vivid contacts with other Assyrians in the diaspora but few contacts with Assyrians in the "home land" in the Middle East. For a grouping such as Swedish descendants in the US, Sweden becomes a natural horizon for cultural activities. The activities of other Swedes in exile, e.g. in Australia, are on the other hand less important.

For the Nyckelharpa People across the world, the natural horizon is Sweden, perhaps even the province of Uppland. But what goes on among Nyckelharpa players in the US is probably of little consequence in Germany where, despite the existence of both Nyckelharpa makers and musicians, not much is known about activities in the US.

ARENAS. This deals with which arenas the grouping appears at, performance forms, limits imposed on time and place. What arenas are there—clubs,



American Swedish Institute spelmanslag from Minneapolis, USA.

records, festivals, company parties, etc.? Are the groupings orientated toward live or mediated music? The question is where the “real” music is: are records an extension of the live music’s arenas, or is the live music a (poor?) copy of the mediated? What are the decisive factors in the media system and musical life that affect the various processes of mediaization? We have also highlighted the grouping’s annual cycles and term schedules.

MUSIC’S PLACE AND FUNCTION. This section is about the aesthetic, expressive content, in most cases music and dance. In the light of the discussion above on horizons, the question becomes where the grouping’s aesthetic is defined, where power over the expressions exists. Are there some that are *more genuine* than others? What qualities make music or people more genuine? There is a connection here to revival studies, which have of course highlighted the fact that it is often in the diaspora that authenticity becomes especially important. An example is when the Swedish folk music group *Väsen* tours the US and is well received by some but reviled by others who do not regard the group’s music as sufficiently genuine. Horizons are an explanation for the significance placed on the music performed. Horizons are givers of meaning and the exciting thing is that there are often many simultaneous horizons, one layer upon another.

What forms the group’s centre? Is music the hub, one of the spokes or some-

thing completely peripheral? Which expressive forms and activities are in focus? Is the grouping's music homogenous or heterogeneous? Is there a canon everyone must keep to, e.g. in the form of a central repertoire, a well-defined aesthetic or style, a particular group of instruments? In such a case, who are its defenders—the orthodox—and who are the heretics? What values form the basis of internal struggle?

Redundancy is a key word; it makes possible rapid new recruitment and the temporary incorporation of followers from elsewhere. Once again it is a matter of the relationship to the surrounding world. Does a grouping want to recruit members and have open borders to the world at large or does it want to be exclusive? Aspirations relating to whom and how many possible members one wants to reach, form an important point that is connected to a discussion on *broadcasting* and *narrowcasting*. The assumption is that narrowcasting increases explosively with the emergence of digital techniques. This is an area where music is a forerunner.

It is important to highlight admission thresholds. Who has access? What is required to gain access? The right instrument, ethnic membership, class membership, gender, age, competency, etc. This is related to the question of expertise above but also to whether the grouping is inclusive or exclusive. What do they fight for? Who are they fighting with/against?

The When, Where and How of Multiculture

What is “multicultural Sweden”? In newspapers, books, tv and radio, all of the information channels that are usually referred to as “the public conversation”, Sweden is portrayed as a land where diversity is on the increase. The equation is simply expressed: numbers of immigrants and refugees are increasing and therefore diversity of people, languages, styles, genres, entire cultures. In 1930, approximately one percent of Sweden's population was born abroad, in 1995 almost eleven percent. In 1930 there were perhaps a dozen languages spoken in Sweden, today around 150. Sweden, then, is multicultural. But is it really so simple?

What is cultural diversity comprised of? In principle one can think of an endless series of criteria, from the most general to the most specific, on which conceptions of the fundamental differences of peoples can be based. But in practice “multicultural” usually refers to a combination of a few particularly effective grounds for division: class, language, religion, race and ethnic origin. According to a common Swedish view of history, it was through the large waves of immigration in the 1960s that Sweden was fundamentally changed and the transformation from a homogenous to a multicultural society was begun.⁴⁰



Musical meetings at the youth music camp Ethno 2000 in Falun, Sweden. Photo: Peter Ahlbom.

Where can cultural diversity be found? In the Swedish National Encyclopaedia (NE), localisation has been built into the explanation of what multicultural is: “characterised by many different lifestyles, languages and experiences. Residential areas with high proportions of immigrants from different countries, e.g. Rinkeby in the suburb of Stockholm, are characterised by multicultural experiences and values.” [trans.] What NE relates is a summary of widely disseminated conceptions that equate “multicultural” with immigrants.

A few city suburbs have been made into icons in the mass media debate as particularly “multicultural”, e.g. Rinkeby, Hammarkullen in Gothenburg and Rosengård in Malmö. One thorny consequence is that a highly symbolic boundary has arisen between two different sorts of Sweden, one “multicultural” with many immigrants and one “ordinary”, “normal”, inhabited by Swedes. It has resulted in the marginalisation of important research on multiculturalism and

⁴⁰ As previously mentioned, an effect of this emphasis on ethnicity is that less attention is devoted to linguistic, religious and class differences *within* ethnic groups, which in turn means that “multicultural” in many contexts is reduced to being synonymous with “multinational” or “multi-ethnic”.

cultural diversity with a focus on immigrants and therefore eligible to be dismissed as irrelevant for the understanding of Sweden as a whole.

Perhaps it is in “the public conversation”, in speech, writing and image that multicultural Sweden has been given its clearest shape. All of the talk about immigrants and refugees in scientific literature and political debate, TV and radio programmes makes up a multicultural discourse that is now firmly rooted in Swedish reality. The question is, however, what equivalents this discourse has in everyday practice.

Metaphors

How can diversity be described? We have previously discussed the metaphor of the *mosaic* as a description of cultural diversity (see fig. p. 41). The various groups of refugees and immigrants are seen as tiles with different shapes and colours. Together they form a many-faceted mosaic. Sweden and the Swedes can then be viewed either as the unitary base or frame against which diversity is made to appear, as the mortar that holds the tiles together, or as one tile among many.⁴¹ Another possibility is to perceive cultural diversity as a *cocktail*, a blend where the various fluids are so mixed that they can no longer be distinguished, let alone separated. An intermediate metaphor might be described as *selective cultural blending* or *fruit cocktail* (Lundberg & Ternhag 1996:137p.), where certain ingredients are mixed while others remain distinguishable.

Another model, which is given by Fredrik Barth in a study of Sohar in Oman, is that people maintain their different cultural systems like a mosaic, while simultaneously developing a metaculture for certain specific types of situation based on a limited number of basic principles that everyone can accept (Barth 1983). All of these metaphors can be applied to daily life in Sweden today. Some behaviours, forms and expressions seem to be able to be blended like liquids and the result is something qualitatively new. Others continue to exist side by side without being affected by one another, like tiles in a mosaic. Still others are at the same time both mixed and separated, like a fruit cocktail. In addition, there are forms of interplay between youths in some city areas densely populated by immigrants that can be described as the beginnings of a metaculture.

⁴¹ A variation of the same theme is a gleaming *pearl necklace*. Each pearl represents a culture and Sweden is then either the thread on which the pearls are arranged, or one among the other pearls. A metaphor that allows much room for change is to see the different cultures as pieces of glass in a *kaleidoscope* forming new patterns when they are twisted round by the hands of the majority population.

Perspective

By whom and for what purposes is a society described as multicultural? From a *research perspective*, all societies are multicultural, quite simply because there are no “pure” homogenous monocultures. All societies are affected in at least some way by at least one other society. There is also a respectable amount of empirical research on how people, objects, customs, rituals and entire ways of life flow continuously back and forth over every kind of boundary. But regardless of how convincingly researchers manage to demonstrate diversity in ways of life and thinking within a society, it is not at all certain that the people themselves regard their society as mixed or multicultural in the slightest. They can disregard all difference and persist in describing their society as homogenous and themselves as belonging to the same group, family or tribe. The opposite also applies: in societies which seen from without are socially and culturally homogenous, the citizens can regard themselves as being of a completely different origin and their society as multicultural.

One possibility is of course that there are several parallel discourses for different purposes and contexts. In Sweden, sociologists, historians, linguists and folklore researchers have during a lengthy period of time put a lot of effort into demonstrating the great diversity in ways of thinking, habits, customs, language usage, forms, styles, etc. that has existed and still exists in our country. “Cultural variation!” has been and still is one of cultural research’s most important war cries. Immigrant researchers from different disciplines have made their contribution by researching the Swedish history of immigration and demonstrating that Sweden has always been multicultural in some sense.⁴²

Among “ordinary people” there have long been perceptions of how people in Sweden differ from each other in important respects. These perceptions have found their most stereotypical expression in legends, proverbs and phrases, such as self-important people from Skåne in the south of Sweden, meddling Stockholmers, pot-bellied wholesalers, quiet Norrlanders, parsimonious Jews and untrustworthy Gypsies.

As mentioned, much of the discourse on cultural diversity has focused on ethnic groups. In keeping with the increase in importance of ethnicity as an ideological principle for societal categorisation and organisation during the 1970s and 1980s, a series of completely different groups and categories have also been distinguished as different in significant ways and been equipped with “a culture of their own”, e.g. women, youth, the blind, the deaf and pensioners. By occupying themselves with the same types of activity and obtaining the

⁴² IMER, International Migration and Ethnic Relations.

same types of institutions, symbols and attributes, these and other groups have developed so many similar features with immigrant groups that one can speak of a process of “ethnification”.

Parallel Discourses

Parallel with these ways of perceiving and describing Sweden’s cultural diversity, there have been equally common perceptions among researchers and laymen whereby Sweden is regarded as a fundamentally culturally unitary nation with a homogenous population. One could believe that the homogenisation of Swedes has been in decline during recent decades, in pace with the increase in multiculturalism. However, the process of homogenisation has not only continued but has even been strengthened. “The Swedish” is now as alive as ever, not only in the form of increased use of the national anthem, the Swedish flag and other “blue and yellow” symbols⁴³ but also as an increasingly powerful and more clearly manifested perception of cultural affinity on a deeper level. In many of the texts that have been produced since the mid 1970s on immigration and immigrants, it is precisely the view of Sweden as unusually homogenous that forms the starting point.⁴⁴

These two parallel discourses describing the same Swedish reality have probably existed side by side for some time but their validity and degree of dissemination has varied, as has their basis in different classes or groups. Workers from the turn of the 20th century and the feminists of the 1970s, Norrland’s small-farm owners, fishermen from Halland, Lapps and Finns from Tornedal, immigrants and refugees have all had reason to clarify the social, economic and cultural variation in Sweden against the old and deeply rooted Swedish bureaucratic state tradition, which treats all citizens the same and with the same basic rights and obligations, despite their, in reality, highly different prerequisites.

Parallel Strategies

In the lived reality, there are also several parallel strategies for dealing with social and cultural diversity. Billy Ehn, an ethnologist who was employed at a day-care centre in a suburb of Stockholm with a high proportion of immigrants, noticed that diversity was toned down so successfully that the meeting of cultures appeared unclear (Ehn 1986). But on the garden allotments next door, the meeting

⁴³ The use of the colours blue and yellow in advertising and public images has increased dramatically during the 1990s. See Ronström 2000.

⁴⁴ “Sweden is a very Swedish country. Only 30–40 years ago, Sweden was one of Europe’s most ethnically homogenous nations”, as it goes for example in Jonas Widgren’s book on Swedish immigration policy from 1983.

of cultures was consciously emphasised and dramatised. By exploiting colours and forms in their plants, fencing and decoration, gardeners from a large number of different countries are able to express ethnic and individual distinctiveness and in a most tangible way mark various types of cultural boundary (Klein 1990).

Gardening is a clear example of the process that the American folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1983) has called “cultural foregrounding”, whereby groupings of different kinds highlight and accentuate their internal differences. But not all types of difference are as useful in the struggle for social space and not all can be made visible. Certain types of behaviour, certain situations and arenas are better suited to exploitation than others for the presentation of social and cultural difference. They function as a background, a fund of similarity against which difference is made visible. Through the exploitation of a limited number of means of expression within certain given frames, the different groupings—immigrants, pensioners, youth, deaf, blind and many others—come to stand side by side on particular societal stages and arenas. They thereby become visible to one another and also comparable because their relative differences are temporarily reduced. In this process of making visible, forms taken from culture’s expressive domains have been ascribed special significance, forms with an emphasis on the senses, on ears, eyes, smell and taste rather than head and intellect. By staging occasions with “typical” food, dance, music, in “typical” clothes and with selected strongly emphasised “typical” symbols, the different groupings are able to publicly present a specific ethnic/social/cultural identity (Klein 1988, Ronström 1990, 1992, Slobin & Ronström 1989). The groupings thereby obtain and are ascribed their own stereotypical “brand”, which summarily and concretely symbolises what it means to belong to a particular grouping.

Music and dance hold a unique position in this nexus of strongly typified forms for publicly dramatised distinctiveness. Music seems to possess an altogether special ability to simultaneously give rise to and express social solidarity, and this is perhaps the most important reason why so many groupings dedicate so much time, energy and money to producing music.

Homogenisation and Diversification

The talk of a pluralistic, multicultural Sweden refers often to a surface layer that has deliberately been made visible. At the same time, the underlying fundamental patterns—political and economic power structures, etc.—have a completely different outline. Sweden has in certain respects never been as homogenous as now. Whether we live in Stockholm or Visby we can shop in outlets that are part of national or even international chains, stay at Best Western or Sweden Hotels, eat at McDonald’s and Pizza Hut, watch the same TV-pro-

grammes and listen to the same kinds of music. The “multicultural” landscape’s variegation stands in glaring contrast to the brands’ uniformity.

Diversification and mobility are on one level closely related to homogenisation and on the other to stability. Pluralism, diversity, multiculturalism are dependent on uniform structures—a versatile society requires a stable infrastructure. Regular flights, the tourist industry, transnational companies for production, distribution and sales of sound and image, the Internet and other sorts of transnational motorways belong to the fundamental structural prerequisites of increased diversity. A rapid and powerful monopolisation and globalisation by a few gigantic industrial conglomerates is underway within these structures. Almost the entirety of the avalanche of texts that nowadays stream out across the world do so with Bill Gate’s and Microsoft’s blessing. Most of the incredible numbers of programmes transmitted over radio and TV networks across the world reach their public via radio and television sets from Sony and Matsushita. The new DAB radio will provide the possibility of simultaneous transmission of channels, which individualises the radio and gives increased opportunities for narrowcasting. The precondition is of course the development of a standardised stable system, which requires very sizeable investments. The list of examples could go on forever.

In other words, the growth of “multicultural society” has gone hand in hand with capitalistic and technological development, not least in the area of music. The range of music on offer has been diversified as never before thanks to the new globally distributed music technology. More genres and artists reach a public over increasingly large areas. It is now possible for Stockholm’s and Visby’s Greek population to find themselves in the same type of musical space as Greeks in Athens and Thessaloniki. At the same time, music technology has contributed to an increased homogenisation of music throughout the world, by mediaization and global distribution of a handful of megastars. In 1996, we carried out a survey among music store customers in Stockholm. Each music store we visited had specialised in an “ethnic” range. One of the questions we posed was what artists the customers listened to apart from the music they were looking for at the moment. The most common answer among young music consumers was Michael Jackson and George Michael, regardless of the customers’ national or ethnic origins or whether the music store they visited was in central Stockholm, Botkyrka, Rinkeby or some other of Stockholm’s suburbs densely populated by immigrants.

Many Questions—Few Answers

In summary one can say that the questions surrounding “multiculture” far outnumber the answers. The problems with the concept of culture are many

and extensive. With the prefix multi- they increase in number and difficulty. Is “multiculture” a descriptive, normative or political programmatic concept? (C.f. Westin 1999). Does it relate to a decisive deep change in Swedish society or a surface phenomenon that has been dramatised for particular political purposes? Does “multicultural Sweden” exist only as representations and ideas in the “spoken reality”, or does it also exist as a reality that is lived? Are the descriptions of Sweden as multicultural rooted in the experiences of everyday life or only from successive messages?

Despite all of these problems, the government has decided that Sweden is a multicultural society. Since 1 May 1999, Swedish employers are required by law, Swedish Statue Book 1999:30, to actively promote ethnic diversity in the labour market. If the law is to be followed, they must know what the concept multicultural/diversity means. But the translation into concrete practice is not easy. A clear example is the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, which has received express orders from the government to mirror multicultural Sweden in the programmes they offer.⁴⁵ On the question of what that means, Kjerstin Oscarsson, Head of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation’s channel P4, replies:

Multicultural Sweden is of course immigrant groups; it reflects the fact that people are included. That you have a programme assistant, an immigrant freelancer who makes programmes. In other words its about inclusion plus having colleagues. (...) Either you make a programme that is about immigrant culture and cuisine, or you spread it out like stardust over everything. (...) We shouldn’t allow ourselves to become isolated. It should be everything from Persian names to... We must of course see to it that we also get staff who are... (...) The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation mustn’t be white, it has to be colourful (...) It is very easy because it is about journalists and the spoken word, that you exclude immigrants because they don’t have perfect Swedish. They are difficult to understand and so excluded here and there. So it’s very important that the fact that they should be included is expressed. There have also been really strong forces within the Broadcasting Corporation for having this type of rule. So it’s not just coming from on high, it has existed as an express desire from within too. (...) If we look at the whole of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation we have very few immigrants who participate in a natural way without being an immigrant and telling us about their immigrant background. As I interpret “multicultural Sweden”, it should be included in a natural way, not artificial. Because it is a diffuse concept, you’re forced to make your own interpretations and that is a danger. But I interpret it as natural that the Broadcasting Corporation’s programmes are as colourful in voices and music as when you’re out in the street. (M.0R970305)

⁴⁵ Directive put to the Swedish Riksdag (parliament) 1997

Under the threat of penalties many institutions, companies and organisations are now attempting to understand what it is they are actually supposed to do to promote ethnic diversity in working life. The result is undoubtedly that even if we do not know what it is, we are going to find out. In any case, it is reasonable to stick to the first and simplest question: “Multicultural Sweden”, what is it? Or rather, where, when and how is “multiculture” given shape in Sweden today? In what arenas and in what contexts? By what means and expressive forms?

We have tried to wrestle with these questions by comparing two places that on the surface represent extremes of “multicultural Sweden”. Stockholm was an obvious choice. Stockholm County has the highest proportion of immigrants, every third person having a foreign background. We were also helped by our basic and significant collective experience of and knowledge about Stockholm’s music life. Proceeding from Michel Foucault’s methodology, i.e. that it is in the outskirts and borderlands that central values are most clearly negotiated and formed, we wanted to compare a place as far from ready-made representations as possible. We chose Visby and Gotland for four reasons. The first is that Gotland is one of Sweden’s regions with the fewest immigrants, where less than every twelfth person has a foreign background. The second is that Gotland is a society that defines itself as a unit, a local society and thus provides a clear and limited field of study. The third, which is partly a consequence of the second, is the ease with which it can be surveyed. Gotland has a small population where “everyone knows everyone” and where locally significant information quickly reaches a very large portion of the population via two daily papers and Sweden’s most listened to radio station Radio Gotland, among other things. The fourth reason is accessibility. Public information, e.g. in the form of statistics, investigations and plans, are easily accessible because Gotland is an administrative unit. Because one of the researchers in this project, Owe Ronström, was born and brought up on the island and has lived in Visby since 1996, another more informal sort of information was also easily accessible.⁴⁶

The differences between Stockholm and Gotland are dramatic in many respects. What consequences do these differences have for how multicultural can be given shape? If multicultural is not especially visible on Gotland because immigrants are few, the consequence becomes that the New Sweden, “multicultural Sweden”, will be imposed by the city as a model and normative guiding principle? Does Gotland even belong to “multicultural Sweden”?

⁴⁶ Owe Ronström has also had a role as player in the context he has studied, i.e. as a musician, concert arranger and board member of Roxy, Gotland’s cultural association.

Multicultural Visby

The question to be discussed in this case study is how the “multicultural” takes shape in a particular place. As in the other case studies music is central for observations and analyses. We are going to draw attention to is the interplay between structural conditions—demography, economy and level of education—and cultural conditions—marginality, vulnerability and peculiarity—and against which horizons the local music life is played out.

The idea was originally to study local music life in the small town Visby and compare it with certain features in Stockholm’s music life. We quickly discovered, however, that it was impossible to separate Visby from the rest of Gotland. Therefore this presentation is going to describe conditions on Gotland as a whole, but with the emphasis on Visby.

Structural Resources and Conditions

Gotland’s population is relatively small and stable and has been so for the last few decades. At the end of 1998, 57,643 people lived on the island, 0.65 % of Sweden’s population.⁴⁷ Approximately 22,000 live in Visby. Together with the inhabitants of the other 13 larger areas and 44 smaller population centres on the island, they make up more than half of the population. The rest live in what the population statistics describe as “genuinely thinly populated areas”. The depopulation of the countryside has been rapid and is still going on. The gender proportions are about the same as the rest of Sweden: there are slightly more women than men.

Gotland is a traditional farming area. Agriculture has a prominent position, even if the farmers are now few and their numbers declining.⁴⁸ Industries are few and are constantly under threat of closure. In the north and furthest south there has been a labour-intensive stone industry and thus also a population of workers. Cementa in small town Slite is still northern Europe’s biggest supplier of lime for cement, but the number of workers is nowadays small and declin-

⁴⁷ The statistics from Statistics Sweden’s (SCB) population statistics 1998:part 3, taken from *Dagens Nyheter* 24 February 1997.

⁴⁸ In 1988 there were 2,354 farms on the island. In 1998 the number had decreased by 410. *Gotland i siffror*, 1999.

ing. Unemployment has been high for a long time, particularly among young people, although it has gone down during 2000. The largest employers are Gotland's municipality, the electronics company Flextronics, the military stationed on Gotland, Samhall, a state-owned company offering employment to the disabled, the transport company Destination Gotland and CEMENTA. Since olden times there has also been a small but influential merchant class, "Visby nobility", which together with governors from the mainland have managed the island's inhabitants.

These conditions are directly reflected in political life. Gotland has long been a stronghold for the political centre and for the social democrats. For a long time the island's two parliamentary seats were shared between these two parties. The right and left parties have traditionally been small with their strongest base in Visby. Conditions are different today and the class structure less easily penetrated. Workers and farmers are becoming fewer, while increasing numbers populate the intermediate strata: craftsmen, intellectuals, freer occupations, not least artists and musicians.

Most people on Gotland have low earnings. The county of Gotland has for some time been at the bottom of the list for taxed income per capita.⁴⁹ Among the country's 288 communes Gotland has swung between 246th to 252nd place. Increases in pay have been the lowest in the country during the late 1990s.⁵⁰ At the same time, food prices are the highest in the country. Differences in income between the cities and the rest of Sweden have increased dramatically during the last thirty years and continue rising steadily. People in the countryside and thinly populated areas get steadily less in relation to those in the cities. In 1996, the average taxed income on Gotland was SEK 115,800. The lowest incomes were in Borgholm on Öland (the other large Swedish island in the Baltic Sea) at SEK 106,000, while Stockholmers for example were on average taxed SEK 160,000 and those living in Danderyd, in the north part of the town, no less than SEK 231,000.⁵¹

Levels of education are low. The secondary school in Visby, for many years the only one on the island, is among those with lowest average results in Sweden.⁵² The level of education is, however, on the way up, not least thanks to the new University College in Visby.

⁴⁹ Statistics from SCB reproduced in the publication *Gotlands Tidningar* (Newspapers of Gotland) 12 February 1997.

⁵⁰ According to statistics given on Radio Gotland 27 May 1998.

⁵¹ Of the ten municipalities with the highest taxable income per earner, eight are in Stockholm and two in Malmö.

⁵² During recent years, two new, small secondary schools have been started in two small communities on Gotland.

Origins and Citizenship

75 % of Gotland's population were born on the island. 8.2 %, almost 5,000 people, were born in Stockholm county. Approximately as many again, 5,013 people, or 8.7 % of the island's population, were "born abroad and born in Sweden with a foreign background", what in everyday terms are referred to as "immigrants". The number born abroad is approximately 2,200 (3.8 %, national average 10.9 %) and foreign nationals approximately 1,000 (1.7 %, national average 5.6 %). Over half of all "immigrants" on Gotland, 2,830 people, were born in Sweden. Of them the majority, approximately 2,400 people, have one parent from Sweden and one from abroad. Roughly half of those born abroad are today Swedish citizens. Most of those born abroad are from Nordic countries (654), the majority from Finland (489). Of the others 144 are from Germany, 134 from South America, 82 from Chile, 118 from Estonia, 99 from the Soviet Union, 72 from Poland, 39 from Bosnia and 44 from former Yugoslavia. 100 come from Africa and 465 from Asia, of which 117 are from Iraq and 84 from Iran.

What do these figures tell us? We discover that those born on Gotland are in the majority and that almost everyone else is either a Stockholmer or "immigrant". We have already seen that Gotland is one of Sweden's counties most thinly populated by immigrants. If we instead compare communes then Gotland is part of a large group in the lower middle. The highest proportions of immigrants are in Haparanda and Övertorneå, in the absolute north of Sweden, and the city suburb communes. The lowest proportions are found in the communes of the counties Västerbotten, Hälsingland and Västergötland. We can also suspect that the majority of immigrants on Gotland are not the stereotype unemployed "black heads" living on social welfare, that the stereotyping presents as typical. Many are from nearby countries such as Finland, Estonia and Germany. They have lived on the island for a long time and are well integrated socially and culturally.

One category with great importance for life on the island is the Summer Gotlanders—people who spend part of the summer on Gotland. It is difficult to ascertain how many there are but two types play a particularly important part. One is the more than 21,000 Gotlanders who live on the mainland. Another is the small, but very influential and mainly Stockholm-based political, economic and intellectual elite that every year moves to their summerhouses on the island.

With this account as a background it is now time to go out into the pubs, shops, associations and residential areas to look more closely at how "multicultural Gotland" is transformed and given form in practice.

Touring Multicultural Gotland

Gotland's social and cultural geography is easily surveyed. In the centre is the World Heritage Hanseatic City of Visby. The most important organisational factor here is time. The strong emphasis on the Middle Ages and cultural heritage has resulted in few and unclear traces of immigrants, workers and farmers.⁵³

Instead the traces of the relocated urban intellectual elite are more apparent. The periphery is the rural districts. Farmers, craftsmen and workers dominate them and traces of immigrants and intellectuals (summertime excepted!) are few. Between the centre and the periphery, in a belt around the town, are Visby's "suburbs", a zone set aside for trade and residence, which is mainly populated by the lower middle-class. It is for the most part only here we find clearly ethnic marked arenas. There are not many. As in other parts of Sweden the majority revolves around food: restaurants, fast-food outlets and supermarkets: Visby Orient, Ali's kiosk, Restaurang China, Vartans, Supin livs (a grocery shop), Dhaka Tandoori and a few others.⁵⁴ Munkkällaren (The Monk Cellar, a bar and restaurant) on the main square has a popular salsa bar and the commune's cultural centre Borgen's restaurant has recently been converted into Kroa Thai.

These, Visby's ethnically marked arenas, have a clear but low-key image. The signs point out the products' and perhaps also the staff's foreign origins, but otherwise they differ little from their surroundings. Dhaka Tandoori serves Indian food in premises that owe most to the pizzeria that was there before. The food, the name and an elephant represent the Indian. Vartans serves some Armenian specialities but has pizza as its main product. Supin livs next door, which sells rice and other staples, also has a number of Thai specialities. There are also some kebab shops and a number of pizzerias. These are, however, so commonplace in Sweden that most of their ethnic distinctiveness has disappeared. (Ronström 1992, 1993, 1999)

In addition, there are a number of temporary ethnically marked arenas. A popular youth dance and music club played reggae and became Club Jamaica for an evening. A Latin American festival with music, dance and food was held

⁵³ Immigrants run many restaurants and shops in the inner city. However, they are all active in a cultural-tourist market and not in the ethnic food market that in recent years has arisen outside the centre (Ronström 2000). One general hypothesis is that cultural heritage, by emphasising time, surrounds and subordinates place/ethnicity as an organising principle.

⁵⁴ Several of these are run by immigrants and function as meeting places for their families and friends. But they do not seem to have been established as semi-public "living rooms" for larger groups of immigrants from particular countries such as has happened in Stockholm and other larger towns in Sweden. A more thorough discussion of ethnically marked arenas and how they are publicly given shape can be found in Ronström 1999.



The “ethnic” in Visby has a modest appearance. Photo: Owe Ronström.

at Borgen. A multicultural festival, “Samklang” (accord), was arranged each November between 1996 and 1999 with a large number of participant Swedes and immigrants from different parts of the country.

The association *Gotlands vänner* (Friends of Gotland) arranged an “Arabic Evening” with Arabic music, dance and food at Södervärns Secondary School’s refectory one Saturday night in May 1998. Over and above these examples, the Swedish Mission Covenant Church and the Methodist Church have activities for immigrants and public programmes where immigrants are given the opportunity of showing of “their cultures” to the general public.

Immigrant associations are also few. Only six are listed under the heading “Immigrant Contact & Activities” in the Culture and Leisure Council’s catalogue of associations on Gotland for the year 2000: Gotland’s Finnish Association Orion, *Gotlands vänner* (with Swedes and Arabs), The Islamic Association, The Latin American Association, The Sweden-Israel Society on Gotland and The Future Club. One reason that immigrants on Gotland have found it difficult to build vital associations or interest groups is that they are too few. On Gotland the Finns are in the majority. But they are nevertheless not so many or so strong that a “Finnish World” has been established. There are no Finnish-speaking classes in the schools, no Finnish day-care groups. The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation’s Radio Gotland is one of four local radio stations in Sweden that do not have transmissions in Finnish. The Finnish Association Orion has over forty members, but only a few actors who are driving forces. The situation is much the same for most of the other immigrant groups on Gotland.

The Latin American Association

The Latin American Association is an exception. It was formed in the autumn of 1993 and moved to premises in central Visby spring 1998. "In the beginning all Latin Americans wanted to be part of it," says Gladys, an association member, "but then many disappeared. There are now between 28 and 30 in the association and we get on well with each other and enjoy meeting." The majority of Latin Americans on the island are Chileans, and the Latin American Association is associated with the National Chilean Federation. There are, however, Spanish speakers from other countries such as Spain, Peru and Sweden.

"There are around 70–80 South-Americans on Gotland and we know them all," explains Freddy, who is one of the driving forces in the association. "We meet them in the town or at the salsa bar at Munkkällaren on the main square." When we object that there are around 130 people born in South America on Gotland according to the statistics he exclaims: "Impossible!" It demonstrates that he has only thought about Chileans, while the statistics encompass all South Americans. "But now there's another!" says Marcia. "No, two actually!" says Gladys. After a few moments they agree that there are probably four new South Americans on the island. The conversation is typical. Many on Gotland, both Gotlanders and newcomers, believe they have an overall picture of the social life surrounding them and are surprised if it turns out they do not know everyone in the group they regard as "theirs".

The association has started a whole range of activities. There are study-circles on diverse subjects in Spanish. A youth folklore group is involved with Chilean folk dances. The musician Tito Silva from Chile has led a youth group that plays Latin American music, everything from cueca on panpipes and drums to songs by Silvio Rodriguez and different kinds of dance music. They have a football team in the inter-company football league and in their premises they show an exhibition of folk costumes, masks and objects of different sorts, accompanied by explanatory texts about Chile and Chilean culture.

The most extensive activities are the parties, which are arranged once a month. At smaller parties recorded music is sufficient. Records are bought from the music store Latin Records in Stockholm, or ordered through the chain store Åhlens' music department in Visby. For larger occasions live music is contracted, such as Salsa Amorosa, a popular Gotlandish big band with a Latino repertoire. Via contacts on the mainland the association has managed to enlist among others Piña Colada, Echos de Chile and Raisas, a trio of dancing ladies from Peru. In the spring of 1998 La Sabrosa from Stockholm appeared, with salsa, merengue and tropical in its repertoire, and at the end of May, Bella Tropic Sound from Stockholm, a trio who attract crowds with "Salsa Party" and scantily dressed

dancers performed. The buildings where the parties are held vary from small association premises to the big Latin American festival that was arranged at Borgen in Visby, with an attendance of between 250 and 300 people. "A mixed public attends our parties," says Freddy, "perhaps 60 % are Swedes and 40 % are Latin Americans." "Everyone seems to want to be with us," says Marcia. "Iraqis, Iranians and Yugoslavs come to our parties, since they have none of their own." "And Swedes," adds Jessy, "they think we are warmer..."

Working under their own steam, they do everything alone. "We do it to show our culture," says Jessy and then adds "and to have fun together." Marcia fills in: "It's for the children's sake, so that they can learn the language and our culture. We all speak Spanish at home, it's important that the children learn Spanish." After a short pause she adds laughingly: "That's why we speak such poor Swedish! But our children speak (Swedish) well!" Marcia shows pictures of the dance group. She is shown in folk costume with her children. "That girl is adopted from Chile. That one is Swedish. But it makes no difference here, they are part of the association like us."

The Latin American Association is in many ways a typical Swedish immigrant association.⁵⁵ One centre is the premises, another an "ethnically marked" restaurant, which in this case is run by a native Gotlander. It gives them access to both an informal collective "living room" to preside over and a more public arena where they can meet people from outside and still be on home ground. As in the majority of immigrant associations, activities are centred on sport and the traditions of the homeland, first and foremost music, dance, food and clothes. Internal conflicts and political differences exist of course, but outwardly they are toned down in favour of the work to "show off our culture".

One side of this work is directed inwardly to the members and perhaps most particularly the children, whom they want to socialise into the cultural and social world they are attempting to set up. Much is centred on the family and the entire association can be seen as an extended family. Creating arenas and contexts where several generations can meet is upheld as important; it is something that is missing in Swedish society. Another side of the work is directed outwardly, to the surrounding society. That which is exhibited is a small number of expressive forms, which are ascribed high symbolic value as the group's cultural "brand". Folk music, dance and costumes belong here in particular but also salsa and other clearly Latin American forms of popular music and dance with popular origins.

⁵⁵ The literature surrounding immigrant associations and their activities is quite extensive. Of significance here is Slobin & Ronström 1989, Hammarlund 1990, 1993, Ronström 1990a, 1991, 1992a, b, c, d, e, 1993, Schierup & Åhlund 1987, Lundberg 1990, 1994, and Bäck 1983. Latin Americans in Sweden have been studied by Lindkvist 1991.

Tito Silva

Tito Silva came to Gotland in 1988 with other refugees from Chile.⁵⁶ He quickly acclimatised, thanks to both personal qualities and the reception he received. The ground was well prepared, by widely travelled people who occupied themselves with “international issues”, solidarity work and the music and dance of other countries. In the beginning he was part of the association but today both the association and his homeland are more distant to him. Other Chileans on Gotland watch satellite TV from Chile but not Tito, he wants to live here. Of course Chile is an important horizon, but Gotland is equally important. Chileans in other parts of Sweden tell him that they feel badly treated, but not here. Tito says that he has not felt exposed as an immigrant, that people say “Hola Tito!” to him as an individual rather than as a Chilean.

Nevertheless it is precisely as a Chilean, or at least as a Latin American, he has appeared since he came to Gotland. He took on an important role as a Latin American expressive specialist early on. Like many other immigrants it was in connection with emigration that Tito began seriously to devote himself to music. At first there was a lot of protest music, now it's more his own ballads. He has played for children in schools, appeared in different churches, ABF and Vuxenskolan (adult educational organisations) and at various kinds of parties.

Others who have contributed to making Latin Americans visible locally are Xavier from Ecuador and Ruben from Chile, who appear with songs in Spanish accompanied by guitar; Machu Pichu, a group of Latin Americans and Swedes who with pan-pipes, charango, guitars and drum perform “Indian music” from Peru and Bolivia; the big band Salsa Amorosa, also comprising both Swedes and Latin Americans.

Local Visibility

The Latin American Association is, as mentioned, a rather typical Swedish immigrant association. But on Gotland it is an exception. How is it that the South Americans, despite being so few, hailing from many different countries and in reality only having their immigrant status and Spanish in common, have still managed to make themselves visible as a collective? One answer is that their efforts to build institutions of their own have probably been greater than those of the Finns or Germans, groups which despite their greater numbers and potential resources have still not given form to their origins in the same visible way. This certainly relates in turn to the degree of perceived linguistic and cul-

⁵⁶ M.0R970610. Interview with Tinto Silva and Birgitta Komstadius.



Immigrant associations are part of the Swedish society. In Visby much of the immigrant activities are incorporated in the historic perspective that displays a mediaeval Visby.

tural distance. For Spanish speakers, the language seems to be a particularly strong basis for association, which results in the blending of a series of different groups into a larger linguistically defined grouping, “Latinos”.⁵⁷ At the same time, however, the linguistic and cultural distance from Sweden and the Swedes is not so great that it becomes a threat, hardly even a hindrance. Rather a lot of Swedish inhabitants speak Spanish and a lot of the music and dance that is cultivated among Latin Americans in Sweden, e.g. salsa, tango, merengue and samba, are also very popular among Swedes and other immigrants. Put concisely, the Latin American culture that is developed in Sweden seems to be just different enough to be exotically fun-filled and at the same time sufficiently well-known not to threaten and provoke aggression.

Another explanation is that common contact surfaces from both sides have enabled Latin Americans to create a platform for themselves in Sweden. On Gotland three contact surfaces in particular have been decisive, The Hassela Collective—a home for problem youths, the Swedish Mission Covenant Church

⁵⁷ Another example of how Latin Americans in Sweden can merge as “Latinos” is given in Olsson 1995. The same tendency exists in many other countries, not least in the US.

in Visby and the international folk dance association Gotland's Hopp. At the Hassela Collective there are several young people with a Latin American background. As part of the work of rehabilitation they have devoted themselves a great deal to dance and music, from places such as the Balkans and Latin America. Several of the young people play in a salsa band and close contacts are cultivated with Cuba. The Swedish Mission Covenant Church has actively worked to create common arenas for immigrant Swedes by such activities as a series of music programmes in its church in Visby. Gotland's Hopp has for almost 25 years cultivated not only folk dance and folk music, but also a vital interest in foreign cultures and people from other countries. During the 1980s when Gotland received a large number of refugees from Latin America and elsewhere, members of the association actively sought and established contact with the new arrivals.

Ethnic Diversity?

Why then are immigrant groups generally speaking not very visible on Gotland? One answer is that their opportunities for making their origins and cultural identity visible are few. There is a lack of resources such as "ethnic products", expressive specialists and arenas and contexts where it is possible to give form to their origins: "We are allowed to and we want to, but we can't". Another and perhaps better answer is that ethnicity is not a particularly relevant factor in social interaction, and that the discourse and practice that brings out and foregrounds ethnic origin therefore does not play a significant part in everyday interaction either: "We are allowed to and we are able to, but why should we?". The answer brings us to the issue of how local identity is constituted on Gotland.

Local Identities

Gotland is a large island with too few people. An island on the fringes, out of the way. 100 kilometres of water lie between Gotland and the Swedish mainland, over 200 between the island and the Baltic coast. The Baltic, which once made Gotland one of northern Europe's most important centres, today makes Gotlanders isolated and different. Transport is long and dear, direct communication difficult. Everything must be planned, nobody can drop by.

That is the first verse of an elegy in a minor key, popular among Gotlanders about what it is to live on the Island of Roses. The second verse is in the major:

Gotland—a beautiful isle with character and distinctiveness, that attracts and maintains. A delimited, surveyable unit. A land of its own with a history and cul-

ture its own. To that must be added the remains of a mystical and original fellowship that now, alas, is almost lost to us.

That which is captured by the word island is a widely distributed discourse that populates islands with a particular kind of people and ascribes a particular kind of consciousness, a distinctive way of thinking and feeling—an island mentality—and a special way of seeing themselves—an island identity. Distance, marginality and distinctiveness are the core of the discourse. About this revolve two loosely connected packages of perceptions. They give the appearance of being opposed but are in fact closely related as each other's mirror image. In one package there is the positive: closeness, warmth and context. In the other the negative: incest, backwater and stagnation.

A lot could be written of what this island discourse expresses. More important is what it brings about. And most important of all is that it creates what it describes—a clear boundary with the surrounding world and within this boundary a conception of a fundamental similarity and belonging. Negotiations are constantly ongoing as to what this similarity is based on and what it means. Most people seem to be in general agreement that it exists, however. This is not least expressed by a clear and consistent administrative superstructure. Gotland is a landscape, a military area, a commune, a county, a diocese, it has a head councillor, a county governor and a bishop.

The perceived unity and fellowship result in differences being relegated to the background even when they belong to the most prominent aspects. And there are many types of boundaries on the island. One that is still partially existent separates worker Gotland, mainly in the northern and southern parts of the island, from rural Gotland, whose seat is in the centre of the island. A particularly living boundary passes between natives and those who have moved here, particularly if it is a question of Stockholmers. Many who have moved here share an insurmountable feeling of exclusion: "One cannot become a Gotlander, one is born to it." At the same time many natives share a feeling of inferiority and subordination. Power has always come from without. Even today the majority of managers in business, regional government, county council and other authorities are from without, most particularly from Stockholm. An exception is the commune where a slight majority are Gotlanders.⁵⁸ Over and above these there are of course always the boundaries between young and old, men and women, rich and poor and the constantly accessible but not especially dramatised boundaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants".

⁵⁸ According to a survey presented on Radio Gotland 25 March 1997.

It is far from certain which differences between people are relevant. In practice, the actual attitude to Gotland can in many cases be decisive. One sort of island inhabitant are the ones who are passing through on their way elsewhere. They often find it hard to settle and difficult to establish themselves. The island repels career people; those who put money first, those who want to come up in the world. But it attracts at the same time another sort: survivors, polymaths, seekers of every kind, people who would rather change jobs, domicile and life in order to stay. A third kind are those born there, who never think of leaving.

In other words, there are many sorts of Gotlander. The rhetorically prescribed fellowship is highly conditional. The relevance of the differences depends on the context and situation. In practice, all of these differences often tend to be subordinate to the great watershed that separates islanders from mainlanders, whether they are from Stockholm, Cologne or Madagascar. At Visby airport one could once see this important boundary in corporeal form as two post boxes, one marked "Gotland" and the other "Mainland". Today the post boxes are gone, but this way of organising the world into two parts, near and far, local and global, is to the highest degree still alive.

But boundaries are constantly crossed. People have always moved back and forth across the Baltic Sea, today perhaps more than ever. Many find themselves in a condition of migrancy: daily commuters, weekly commuters, all of the soldiers, students, conference delegates and Summer Gotlanders.⁵⁹ Nearly all islanders we have spoken to in connection with this study have their own experiences of long journeys and stays in foreign countries. Their horizons are often anything but local such as the accordion player who has had all of Sweden as workplace, the guitarist whose CDs sell well in Beijing, or mediaeval enthusiasts in the worldwide Society for Creative Anachronism. The influx from without is and has in fact been a continuous factor in life on Gotland as far back as we can see.

It is then important to remember that the boundary with the mainland is also symbolic, which is why it is possible to maintain, despite all the traffic. The boundary's function is to create a perception of separateness that can form the basis for identity-founding feelings of individuality and community.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁹ In the essay "De flygande gotlänningarna" (the flying gotlanders) by cultural geographer Eric Fransson, it is clear that the number of people who have commuted by air to the mainland every day, or in any case several times a week, during the 1990s has varied between around 20 up to over 100. (Fransson 1997)

⁶⁰ As mentioned these feelings have two sides. One is a prominent pride for what is theirs, with an independent and sometimes self-sufficient attitude. The other is a feeling of being the underdog: they are up there, we are down here. It is one cause of the prominent ambivalence in the islanders' relationship both to Gotland and the mainland.

distance to the mainland means that the islanders often feel forced in the first instance to trust their own resources. This has a number of interesting consequences for the shaping of local identity. One is that the local is very often pitched against the national, which is one reason that both “immigrants” and “Swedes” tend to be toned down in social practice and official rhetoric. There are few arenas or contexts where “Swedish” and “immigrant” can be clearly given form. A more relevant boundary instead passes between Gotlanders and mainlanders. There are also a number of arenas, contexts and forms with which the Gotlandish can be presented publicly. Class, age and gender are also important categories, but there are few clear groupings, power centres, arenas or contexts where these are given shape publicly.

In other words, a multicultural Gotland does not appear to exist. And yet there is, as we shall see, a very large assortment of styles, forms, genres of every kind, from all kinds of countries. There are performers of balalaika, didgeridoo, djembe, hurdy-gurdy, fiddles, fujara (Slovak overtone flute) and sitar. There is bellydancing, polka, salsa and ambient, blues, fusion, swing, techno and much more. If a “multicultural Gotland” does not exist, then there is at least cultural diversity. What happens if we change our point of departure and examine everything from another perspective? What cultural conditions and resources are relevant for cultural diversity on Gotland in the area of music?

Thresholds

A condition for achieving and maintaining cultural diversity is sufficient economic resources. In a society with few assets the opportunities for supplying many different alternatives are, generally speaking, few. The chronic lack of money in Gotlandish society has many consequences. One is that many accounts are regulated without money, as straightforward favours or through exchanges of labour. This means the exchange of favours on the island is extensive and that local networks become strong. This is not least true of music. There are many musicians on the island and the need for musicians from without is therefore small. Many of them play for low or no pay but are able instead to receive other types of services or goods for little pay.

Another consequence of the weak economy is that the threshold to the mainland is high. If you cannot rely on favours or exchanges of labour then you must pay with ready money. Because inhabitants on the island are few, the potential audience is small. That is why all imported live music becomes an economic balancing act. If one does not want to enlist local forces or musicians from outside who are willing to play for little or no money, then one might be forced to desist. Gotland seems to exert a powerful attraction on cultural

practitioners of every kind, for which reason there are quite large and tight networks of musicians across the entire land that can easily be activated. A further interesting consequence of the high threshold to the surrounding world is that the difference between Sweden and other countries becomes small. It is almost as expensive to hire musicians from Stockholm or Gothenburg as, for example, Tallinn or Riga. The lack of money also makes for heavy dependence on financiers other than the municipality.

Music's Infrastructure: Actors and Arenas

These fundamental conditions are reflected in the area of music. Most forms must be accessible locally, but there is not room for especially many of each sort. The breadth of musical life is very great, but in most areas not very deep. Specialists easily become alone in their area of expertise. There is one concert harpist, one concert flautist, one professional jazz singer, one concert guitarist, etc. In only a few areas is competition fierce. More than ten skilled electric guitarists, for example, compete for work in the pop/rock bracket.

The range of concerts is both large and broad. During the period 8 February–8 March 1997 (30 days), 108 musical events were advertised in Gotland's newspapers, 3.6 per day. During the period 7 June–31 December, i.e. 207 days, 902 musical events were registered in a calendar put together by the network Music on Gotland, 4.3 per day. Over and above this an unknown number of events were of course arranged but not entered into the calendar.

In Visby there are five stores with a larger selection of recorded music. The largest is Record News, housed in an electronic's shop in one of the shopping centres with three employees and a turnover of approximately SEK 4.5 million. The business policy is to supply a broad range. All tastes should be catered for. The result is "Gotland's only music store offering the whole range" as it says in the advert, with 7,000–8,000 disks in stock. Music purchaser Olle Leino explains that he orders music for the sake of breadth, even if it does not sell so well. He believes that they have an unusually broad range for such a small place as Visby, even in comparison with Stockholm. Many mainlanders exclaim: "What a lot of CDs there are!"

Record News orders its stock from 15–16 distributors with which they have constant contact. They also import a number of CDs directly for individual orders, mostly from the US. Purchases are either based on intuition, steered by demand, newspaper articles and trends, or completely at random. Chart-topping music sells best. They have no particular promotion of Gotlandish products, which is otherwise common in Visby, but they have a section with "Miscellaneous Gotlandish" among the ordinary CDs. Olle has not noticed a

demand from Gotland's immigrant population for music from their homelands. Finnish music is, for example, non-existent. "The only thing that sells a little bit is salsa and that is bought by all and sundry."

Olle Leino is of the opinion that Gotlanders are not very trend-sensitive, but do what they want rather than stealing anxious glances at what is new in Stockholm. They do not have enough money to take a chance, instead they buy what they want after first thinking it over. He also says that sales are on their way up again after a period of stagnation.⁶¹

The survival strategy for Record News is breadth and the sale of many different CDs, because they are unable to sell many copies of the same title. The same idea forms the basis of the ranges offered by the two department stores. Contrary to Record News, however, the department stores are too small to stock genuine breadth. The department store OBS! has about a thousand titles, mainly chart-topping music and "related products".

Breadth as survival strategy also dictates what is on offer at Solkristallen, the only New Age shop on Gotland. Even if the range might appear narrow and specialised it is, from the owner's point of view, still broad. Specialisation in one respect quite simply has to be combined with breadth in another. Therefore jewellery, instruments, tarot cards, books on healing, astrology, meditation, CDs and cassettes and many other things are sold. The shop has been in existence for three years and is run by two women between the ages of 35 and 40. Jessica tells us that they have built up the product range mainly on intuition. They purchase from many different importers and bring home some things themselves from, for example, trips to Bali. The CDs are purchased from a central distributor: "It's a commercial secret: but I can tell you it's in the Nordic area at least." (M.OR970123)

The music stores play an important part in local music life. They function as a meeting place and mediator of expertise in various directions. The notice boards are full of notices: "Bass-player needed for rock-band", "Piano Lessons, cheap", and advertisements for concerts. Åkessons acts as a contact intermediary for guitar-makers, instrument repairers and a music data expert. The music stores thereby help both musicians and people with unique specialist skills to survive on an island that is in reality too small to support them.

Another prerequisite for the maintenance of breadth and diversity in local cultural life is local expertise. On Gotland the levels of formal education are, according to the statistics, among the lowest in the land. The low levels of education are of course related to the island being firmly rooted in agricultural and working classes. The shortage of higher education has meant that anyone wish-

⁶¹ M.OR970128, and several conversations and visits during the spring of 1997 and a short article in *Topp* 40 on 2 October 1997.

ing to pursue further education is forced to leave the island. This situation is about to change thanks to the new University College, which a few years into the 21st century will have 3,500 full-time places.

Monica Karlsson's dance school is centrally situated in Visby. In 1998 the school had 500 pupils attending different dance courses and a further 300 participating in various training programmes. There are three full-time teachers and 15 freelancers. Dancing and even training are common on Gotland. Very many of the young people have in some way come into contact with the dance school. Dancers from Gotland are highly accomplished, as are those who do, for example, aerobics, stress the teachers.

People say "Do you come from Gotland?" and then they get the job at once. We're at the top when it comes to dance in Sweden in every possible area, we've had a European Champion in jive, and now we have a Swedish Champion in hip hop, and we've won many prizes at competitions. But people don't know that on Gotland.
(M.OR980116)

Like the municipal music school, Monica Karlsson's dance school is an important institution on Gotland, with many pupils and a wide range and is in keeping with so many other areas on the island: high quality and more practitioners per capita than elsewhere in the country. At the same time it is difficult to convince others that this is the case. This is partly the result of the everyday practice of marginalisation, which has created a deeply rooted perception of always being behind, that what comes from without and in particular from the cities is better and classier.

Monica Karlsson's dance school also plays an important part as a window onto new styles and trends in music and dance, in Sweden and the rest of the world. Knowledge of news in the world of dance can be had in part directly from personal contacts in the world of dance and in part via media, foremost perhaps MTV. Global trends no longer need to filter through national media or knowledge intermediaries first, before they reach local practitioners.⁶² It is the same story in several other areas, e.g. the New Age shop Solkristallen (The Sun Crystal), whose owners are trying to gain control over what they buy in and sell on by travelling to the lands where their products are produced. These "windows" don't just make global cultural currents visible at a local level, but also create a feeling among the local population of being part of an increasingly large surrounding world. The local horizon can thereby be shifted further away.

⁶² In other parts of musical life, such as for example music stores and the music school, the national level seems to have greater significance and the direct influx from other countries seems to be lower.

The mainland and capital are no longer the given points of comparison. It is difficult to predict what significance such a shift might have in the future, but that it will be significant seems clear.

Expressive Specialists

Even if the level of formal education on the island is generally low, access to specialists is high. The island has attracted a large number of expressive specialists—intellectuals, artists, craftsmen, and musicians—whose collective competency is both high and broad. It is of course difficult to measure how many expressive specialists there are, or how great their collective competency is, but it is likely that there are more in relation to population size than anywhere else in the country. A survey conducted in 1999 by the music-network Music on Gotland found 428 artists and groups (together probably several thousand people) divided into 18 categories: jazz, folk music, rock, heavy metal, techno/DJs, church music, choirs, children, chamber music, ballads, blues, country, soul, music courses, pop, dance, humour, new art music and miscellaneous. Some of these artists and groups are active in different genres and can therefore be found in several different categories.

The survey gives a fairly good picture of the most visible part of the music life. Of course, nobody knows how big the less visible part is. A clue might be that while the list of choirs includes 23 names, Gotland's Choir Association reports all of 70 member choirs, of which are 20 only in Visby. What is more: a number of the choirs on the list are not included in the Choir Association, while there are also choirs and singing groups who are neither on the list nor in the Choir Association.⁶³ Gotland is therefore probably the Swedish county with the most choirs.⁶⁴ Another clue is Club Svensson, which arranges live music in Visby every other week. During the first three years about 150 of Gotland's groups and artists participated from all genres.⁶⁵ The club can be seen as a concrete manifestation of what we pointed out earlier: multicultural is not especially relevant on Gotland, but the musical and cultural diversity is great. Various kinds of musicians tend to perform on the same kinds of stages and arenas, rather than on ones that are specially marked.

⁶³ Anders Jansson's music investigation.

⁶⁴ According to the local daily paper *Gotlands Allehanda* 6 May 1997, there are 1,600 singers on the island.

⁶⁵ During the first three seasons, 77 different Gotlandish groups and constellations appeared in every imaginable genre and style. According to the statistics reproduced in the local daily paper *Gotlands Tidningar* special supplement *Kulturen* 1998.

Versatility, Surveyability, Overlap

The areas of music, like social life in general, is characterised by *versatility*.⁶⁶ A jazz musician and big band arranger is a shepherd. A guitarist is a school caretaker. A singer, guitarist and bass player is a brewer. Illustrators, painters, authors, filmmakers and photographers struggle by from project to project, with interludes in the most varied of professions. Their combined resources are thereby vastly increased and they are also relatively easily mobilised because most of them value music highly and don't immediately demand economic compensation for performing a service. Versatility promotes rich networks of contacts across genre boundaries, but counteracts specialisation in narrow fields. This does not of course mean that there are not those with specialist knowledge, but they are often specialists in several fields. Versatility promotes musical diversity because the entrance thresholds are low for those who wish to start something new in the area of music.

Another striking feature is *surveyability*, or transparency if you like. Many think they have an overview of their areas of activity and can therefore also easily activate the resources that actually exist, e.g. in preparation for special events and projects. Yet another striking feature is *overlap*. The same people are active in many areas, play many parts and also thereby gain access to many contact surfaces of different sorts.

Versatility, surveyability and overlap are three factors that together make the local structure strong by forging many bonds between people, which together become strong bonds.⁶⁷ This is also true of many newcomers to the island, if at first to a lesser degree. As a consequence, people tend to become visible as individuals rather than as group members and their competency, interest, style or taste is in focus rather than their origin and "culture".

All of this together means that "multicultural society" and "cultural diversity" on Gotland have different meaning and form than in cities such as Stockholm, for example, where so much of the public rhetoric of multiculturalism and diversity centres on the relationship Swedes-immigrants. As we have seen it is diversity that exists, a diversity of expression, forms and styles which is more dependent on "a few who each do many things" than on "many who each do a few things". Because immigrants also participate in many different contexts, they will also be able to appear as individuals. This makes it difficult to set up

⁶⁶ Polymath conditions can be seen as a constant in the conditions for survival on the island since ancient times.

⁶⁷ Social anthropologist Tomas Gerholm reasons in a similar way on ethnicity (Gerholm 1982).

a practice that reduces them to only “immigrants”, which is one cause of the immigrants’ relative invisibility on Gotland.

A concrete example is when a “Salvadoran Folk Mass” was set up in one of Visby’s churches during the winter of 1997. Several of Visby’s choirs and the group Machu Pichu took part. It was not stated anywhere, prior to or after the performance, in advertisements or newspapers that this was an immigrant event, despite the fact that several of those involved were immigrant Latin Americans and despite the fact that Latin Americans are the most visible immigrant group on Gotland. There was no emphasis placed on the fact that many Swedes took part either, which is why the rhetoric about the meeting of cultures became irrelevant. The main frame that was given to the performance was instead musical and religious, i.e. a concert and a service. The Salvadorian origin was there in the introduction, but that was an explanation of the service’s origins and not the performers. This example is one of many and the tendency is unequivocal: the discourse on immigrants, the meeting of cultures and cultural diversity in the form it has been given in the cities and in national media has little relevance on Gotland.

It is important not to idealise relations between natives and immigrants. Immigrants naturally have problems on Gotland as elsewhere: unemployment, poor finances, difficulties finding somewhere to live, racism and hatred of immigrants.⁶⁸ But the relative absence of immigrant and multicultural discourse that singles out immigrants as bearing especially large and complex problems means that immigrants are not automatically perceived as members of a group with a different culture.

Because the most relevant boundaries on the island are between “Stockholmers” and “Gotlanders” it is not certain that a Gotlander automatically takes the “Swedish” position in relation to an “immigrant”. In the social interplay surrounding the musical activities we have studied it is on the contrary not unusual that Gotlanders and immigrants end up on the same side in relation to more temporary visitors from the mainland.

Another interesting consequence of surveyability, overlap and versatility is that genres and activities that cross boundaries have become normal everyday occurrences and are therefore more or less invisible. This has made it difficult to meet the politically correct rhetorical celebration of some forms of mixing—the meeting of cultures, mixed culture, multicultural events and world music—as an intrinsic value. In the city, different kinds of groups can

⁶⁸ One of the few people in Sweden who has been convicted of persecuting national groups and for possession of nazi symbols is a Gotlander, and the activities for which he was convicted were also carried out in part on Gotland.

meet and in isolation cultivate lifestyles and group identities with distinctive expressive forms in focus. Cultivation in isolation can then create the prerequisites for “cultural meetings that cross boundaries” such as in “world music”. The idea of “the meeting of cultures” builds on a dichotomy that first produces isolated exclusive units and then praises their being brought together in a new and “mixed” form.

All of the talk about the meeting of cultures and mixed cultures in today’s Sweden has been created with city conditions in mind. On Gotland there is very little of such “boundary crossing” activity. This is partly because the numbers of people are small and it is therefore difficult to create distinctly separate groups with boundaries between them that can be crossed, partly also because there are few traces of the discourse that upholds the value of such activities. However, because a very large number of styles and genres are represented on the island despite the small population, many different kinds of people must practice many different types of style and genre in many different contexts. It is precisely this overlap that makes the meeting of cultures, the crossing of boundaries and cross-fertilisation a part of the everyday that does not require any special emphasis or celebration.

Another important quality of Gotlandish cultural life is that it is “flat”. There is a significant group of performers and an active audience, but there is little between. A critical and evaluational stratum that is able to point out good and bad, ascribe or remove cultural capital is missing. The role of the newspapers and radio is mainly that of reporting that something has occurred and to see to it that everyone participating is included in the photograph and has their name mentioned. This results in most of what happens ending up on the same plane, that the division high and low culture or grand and small tradition does not have much relevance. It can in turn have positive effects on the diversity of forms of expression because the thresholds for cultural production, as well as the investments and risks, are low. It does, however, mean that thresholds with the mainland and beyond are reinforced.

Pathways

Ruth Finnegan’s study of music life in the English town of Milton Keynes north of London, *The Hidden Musicians* (1989), is in many ways a prototype. Just as in Milton Keynes, Visby’s music life can be described as a series of pathways over a field, paths that never cease to cross one another. Some are well worn in and easy to find, while others can scarcely be seen at all. They are trafficked by people who sometimes choose one sometimes another, in a mishmash of relationships and connections. Together they form a significantly more complex and extensive

cultural life than the majority in Visby and on Gotland seem to know about. Precisely as in Milton Keynes, this life is for the most part “hidden” from even the most active performers. Nevertheless music life has great significance socially, economically, politically and culturally, which is perhaps Finnegan’s most important point. “Homo ludens”, the playing human or humanity as creature of culture is as important—or more so—for local living conditions in Visby and Milton Keynes, as “Homo economicus” or “Homo politicus”.

Visby’s musical pathways are intimately related to one another because of constant crossing and overlapping. But they also reach far beyond local contexts, beyond Gotland, the mainland and the world. The local environment is a point of intersection for them, not a point of departure or destination. There are no clear rules or regulations for how they are organised. Age is for some an important factor while for others family, class, gender, ethnicity, etc. The most apparent thing is the complexity, that they are not only different, but also different differently. The complexity that is already built in thanks to differences in the pathways of the organisation is amplified because they all compare and measure themselves with horizons that are not directly accessible in local life. “Local” makes us think of something limited, defined with an undertone of community, *Gemeinschaft*. But it is important to remember that the local does not need to be the most important arena for locally performed expressive forms. The horizon that decides a performance’s content form and meaning might very well be far away and invisible to anyone but the performers. That which appears to be a local concern might at the same time very well have regional, national or transnational meaning. In such situations the local becomes just one horizon of many that are simultaneously accessible, and for those involved perhaps not at all the most important.⁶⁹

In conclusion: Gotland has a small, relatively stable and homogenous population. Certain structural prerequisites are lacking for a differentiated music life, while other conditions are more than satisfied. The most difficult problem is that forms of distribution are missing. The distance to the mainland makes dependence necessary primarily on mediated music and local musicians. Yet the music life is still very differentiated because of the abundant availability of certain other important factors such as competency, expressive specialists and local distinctiveness, and because the threshold with the mainland works as a protective barrier.

⁶⁹ A common phenomenon, not least among migrants, who often have their “homeland” as the nearest horizon despite it being invisible to others.

Stockholm—Homogenous Diversity

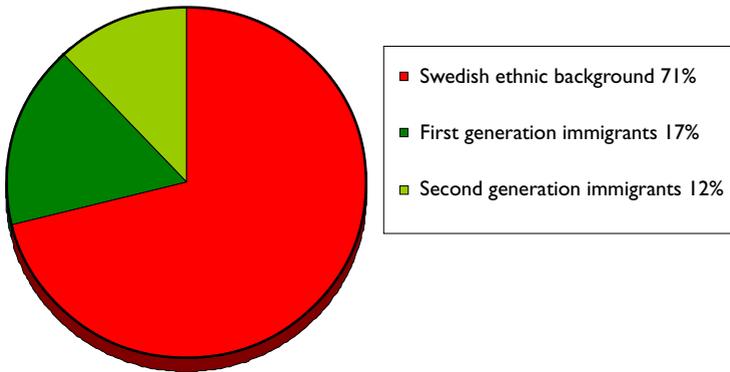
Cultures become visible by their boundaries. One of the reasons it is difficult to find multicultural Sweden on Gotland is the absence of clear boundaries between different groupings. The versatility that characterises Gotlandish cultural life creates bridges between separate activities and groupings. When the same person is active in a large number of groupings an overlap arises that leads to surveyability. This allows *individuals* to stand out while the collective, multicultural level is pushed into the background. If “multicultural Sweden” is not especially visible in small-town Visby, is it more apparent in the city? Is “multiculture” particularly visible even in Stockholm? Or is the stereotypical image of the multicultural, with variegated suburb Rinkeby as its archetypal icon, perhaps nothing more than a mass media illusion?

Diversity in Different Dimensions

When multiculturalism is interpreted as ethnic diversity, the difference between Stockholm and Visby is huge. The sum of first and second-generation immigrants on Gotland is, as we have seen, five thousand individuals, approximately 8.7%. In Stockholm County, the Swedish county most densely populated by immigrants. Almost half a million, nearly 29% of the population (Statistics Sweden 1995) have immigrant background. Almost every third Stockholmer has a “foreign background”. The basis of the population ought to be a sufficient basis for multicultural cultural life in Stockholm.

According to the 1995 population statistics, Stockholm County is the one most densely populated by immigrants in Sweden with 28.6% first and second generation immigrants. It is followed by Västmanland's County and Gothenburg and Bohus County, both at 23.0%, and Malmöhus County with 22.1%. In the statistics we find only four counties with fewer than 10%. Apart from Gotland, these are the northern counties Västerbotten (9.4%), Västernorrland (9.1%) and Jämtland (8.1%).

Stockholm, like many other larger cities, has a long history as an immigrant city. The city was largely created by central Europeans and the German dominance during the Middle Ages is especially well documented. While the



Demographic background, the province of Stockholm.

countryside has been depopulated, immigration from other countries has increasingly been aimed at the cities. In April 2000 there were 223 immigrant associations in the municipality of Stockholm registered at the Immigrant Institute. In the rest of Stockholm there were a further 262 associations, altogether 485.⁷⁰

Is this multiculturalism that we see reflected in the immigrant statistics? Whether people born in other countries “have” or represent different cultures is of course an important question in this context. Approximately 30% of those in Stockholm County who were born abroad have emigrated from the other Nordic countries. To what extent do they contribute to a multicultural Stockholm? Saami, Romanians and Jews belong to Stockholm’s multiculturalism but despite this are not in the statistics as so many of them have lived in Sweden for such a long time that they are not counted as immigrants.

Differences in habits and ways of life are related to the country of origin, but there are many other perhaps more important factors. The daily paper *Dagens Nyheter* published two articles under the collective name “Separate Worlds” in March 2000. In the articles two immigrants from Stockholm were presented. The two young men, Yashar from Iran and Eyüp from Turkey, both appear to have the same prerequisites, but when examined more closely have nothing in common other than the fact that their families come from two adjacent countries in the Middle East.

⁷⁰ At the same time there was only one registered association on Gotland, namely Spansk-Amerikanska Föreningen (the same as the Latin-American association) in Visby. (<http://www.immi.se/irf>).

Yashar Maradbakhti is counting on success in life. He lives at Gärdet in Stockholm and is studying to become a computer engineer at the Royal College of Technology. Eyüp Akdag lives in Flemingsberg south of Stockholm. He dreams of becoming a mechanic but first of all he must fill the gaps in his primary school education and qualify for secondary school. Both young men are immigrants but they live in separate worlds. (Svensson 2000) [trans.]

Yashar Maradbakhti was born in Teheran in 1979. His parents belonged to the Iranian upper class. His father was managing director of a large company and his mother a well-paid economist. The change in regimes in Iran occurred the year Yashar was born. The family's situation changed successively and in 1986 they decided to flee to Sweden. His parents decided to "get into" Swedish society and therefore moved to a flat at Gärdet in Stockholm's inner city.

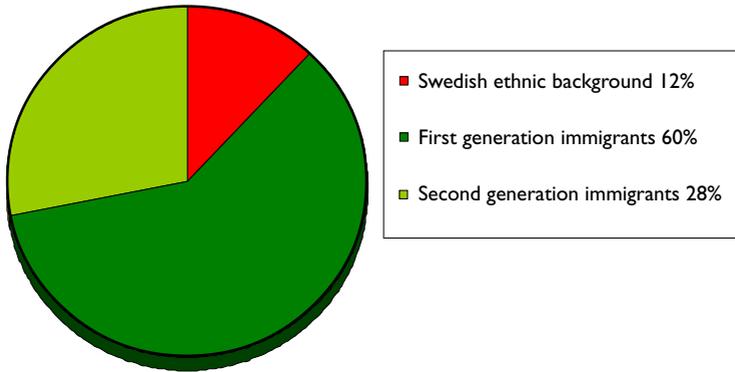
"I grew up as a Swede," says Yashar. "For a long time we were the only immigrants in the building, and I had almost only Swedish friends."

He graduated from high school with good grades from a three-year scientific programme at the Gymnasium on Östermalm. He is now studying computers at the College of Technology in the same part of town. (Svensson 2000) [trans.]

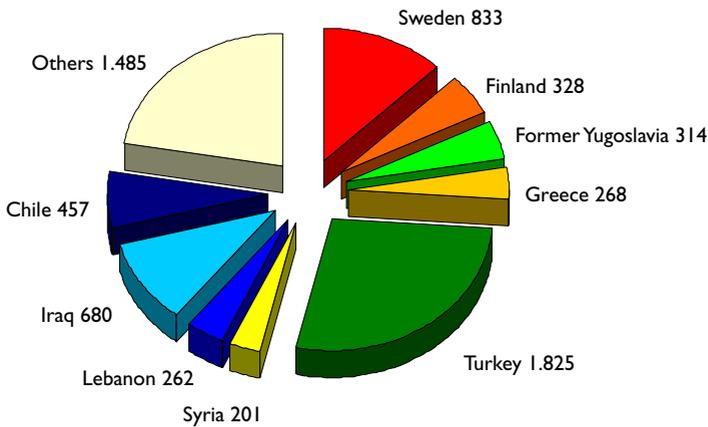
Both of Eyüp Akdag's parents are Turkish immigrants. He was born in 1982 in Sweden and grew up in Flemingsberg, an area with many immigrants south of Stockholm. Eyüp's parents were for a long time uncertain if they would stay in Sweden or move back to Turkey. They chose therefore to place their son in the Turkish class at school in Flemingsberg, which he attended for the first six years. He learnt Turkish well but no English and poor Swedish. Today he has considerable problems continuing his education to become a mechanic because his knowledge of the basic subjects is lacking.

The *Dagens Nyheter* article shows clearly how that what can be described as multicultural when simplified in reality hides more complex contexts. Eyüp and Yashar are young men of the same age with their origins in Western Asia. They nevertheless live in "separate worlds". Cultural diversity in Swedish society quickly slides over to social diversity, which can most easily be described as class differences.⁷¹ It is clear that the population of suburbs like Flemingsberg or Botkyrka in the north have different advantages and opportunities to those in Stockholm's inner city or in "Swedish" suburbs like Täby and Djursholm. Differences in education, wealth, status and language skills, factors of a decisive

⁷¹ Whether or not social differences can be described as "diverse" is debatable. "Cultural and social diversity" is seen as something to strive for in, for example, the National Agency for Higher Education's investigation of quality, and the Swedish Green Party manifesto states that "cultural and social diversity are necessary for a society that wants to develop."



Demographic background in Fittja (a southern suburb to Stockholm).



Inhabitants of Fittja, regarding mother countries.

significance for people’s prerequisites in live, are hidden in the talk of immigrants as a unitary category or representatives of “their culture”.

A City of Differences

The ethnic and social differences between Stockholm’s inner city and outlying areas are great. In the inner city the dominant immigrant groups are Britains, Germans and Americans (Järtelius 1993:68). Immigrants with origins in poor countries who move into central Stockholm have, like Yashar Maradbakhtis’ parents, often chosen to live a “Swedish” life.

Immigrants are most numerous in the southern and western suburbs, Skärholmen, Vårberg, Tensta, Rinkeby and Hallonbergen, and in the municipalities of Huddinge and Botkyrka south of Stockholm. Botkyrka has the most immigrants with over 48%. The Stockholm County municipality with the fewest immigrants is Norrtälje at 15.6% (compare with Gotland's 8.7%). Furthermore the concentration varies significantly between different parts of the municipalities. Relatively few immigrants live in southern Botkyrka while there are all the more in the northern part. The municipal sub-district of Fittja is usually highlighted as being the area with "the fewest Swedes" in Sweden (Andersson 1998).⁷² According to the latest population census (December 1997) Fittja had 6,941 inhabitants (Lernebo 1999:2). Approximately 60% of them were born abroad. If we also count second-generation immigrants, 88% of the population had an immigrant background.

Unemployment in Fittja is high, approximately 8%. But the so-called hidden figure is approximately 30%, which means that almost every third adult in Fittja is not registered as gainfully employed, studying, unemployed or in early retirement. The hidden figure is made up of people whose occupation is not known to the authorities. A large part are probably housewives, but there are also black market workers, criminals and people whose prerequisites are so disadvantageous that the labour exchange does not regard them as being at the labour-market's disposal. (Lernebo 1999)

The average income in Fittja is SEK 94,100 p.a. to be compared with Gotland's SEK 115,800 and Stockholm's SEK 160,000. Fittja is thereby, in official statistics, placed under the heading "extremely low income", together with a few areas in the municipality of Malmö. The cultural geographer Roger Andersson (1998:23p.) describes the connection between the "ethnic hierarchy" in Botkyrka and the population's economic prerequisites. First generation immigrants from Iraq, Lebanon, Chile and Turkey live to a very high degree in areas with few Swedes.

This ethnic segregation of domiciles possibly offers a form of basic security in the confirmation of identity, preservation of the ability to communicate, etc., and if it did not also reflect an economic-structural subordination and material vulnerability in the form of small cash margins and dependency on benefits it would hardly of itself be a cause for municipal and state attempts to intervene. The overriding problem is that the ethnic hierarchy in terms of the location of domiciles very clearly reflects the hierarchy of the earnings situation. (Andersson 1998) [trans.]

⁷² In an area with few Swedes, first generation immigrants comprise 30% or more of the total population.



Multicultural Stockholm?
 Photo: Dan Lundberg

In Fittja the segregation of domiciles has clearly both social and ethnic causes. Unemployment rates are high and incomes very low among Fittja's "Swedish" population when compared with the rest of the country. Among the unemployed in Fittja, both Swedes and immigrants, levels of education are also very low. In a survey conducted in April 1992, 52% of job-hunters possessed only primary school education. (Lernebo 1999)

Fittja's diversity of ethnic groups does not seem to be the answer to the question of where multicultural Sweden is to be found. Fittja's stereotypical blocks of flats and indoor town centre has more in common with other dormitory areas of Sweden from the same period than with the inhabitants' different homelands and cultures.

The Multicultural Restaurant Scene

Perhaps it is when we look at the restaurant scene that Stockholm really appears multicultural? Food from other cultures is nothing new. Stockholm's Grand Hotel had an "Indian Taverna" in 1900 and in the 1940s, Russian food was

served at Restaurant Kremlin in the city centre. The first pizzeria in Stockholm was opened in 1959 (Järtelius 1993). At the beginning of the 1970s there was an explosive increase in pizzerias while at the same time Chinese restaurants became a common sight. Since then the Swedish restaurant world has been increasingly “ethnified”. A clear sign is that the restaurants in the Yellow Pages’ “Restaurant Guide” in today’s telephone directory are sorted by the food’s ethnic origins. There are, for example, Greek, Persian, German and American restaurants. Of 34 restaurant categories, 21 are references to where the food comes from. Over and above this there is a range of categories with links to certain geographical or cultural origins, e.g. “kebab restaurants” and “pizzeria”. The category “Swedish restaurant” is also in the guide nowadays, another sign that “the Swedish” has now definitely taken its place in this multicultural arena.

A taste of Greece

Marketing a restaurant as “Greek” demands that one offers a comprehensive image where the supporting elements quickly and simply create a Greek atmosphere: food, drink, music, the appearance of the staff and their clothes, decorations, etc. At Restaurant Esperia the customers are offered “A taste of Greece”—an appetiser. That is in any case what it says on the matchboxes on the tables. When we arrive at the restaurant it is still early evening, but it is already half-full of customers. Some are eating, others sit and sip a glass of Retsina or stave off their hunger with a little bread and tzatziki while awaiting company. Esperia’s atmosphere is part of the presentation of the restaurant as genuinely Greek. But the restaurant is at the same time very Swedish, it is situated on Södermalm in Stockholm and is part of another whole, an ethnic range of restaurants that are typical of Western European cities.

As a Swede one feels like a tourist, which is naturally the whole idea. The staff is Greek, the music is Greek, the wine is Greek, the food—even the scents in the premises—are Greek. And precisely as on the Greek tourist islands Kos or Rhodes the customers are predominantly Swedish, at least this early in the evening.

Esperia is a family business. The waiter Sakis Karafanos runs it with his father, brother, sister and cousins. The restaurant is frequented by both Swedes and Greeks. Sakis tells us:

Just over 60% of our customers are Swedish. At the weekends it is mainly Greeks, they come when we have live music.

Do you think Greeks choose places with music?

Yes, if they have the choice that’s what they choose. They listen to a lot of old Greek rebetika. It still works, everybody knows those songs.

Do you mean that the songs from the 1930s are still popular among young people?

They still work.

Would there be any differences if this restaurant were in Greece?

This is not a restaurant like those on Rhodes, but they are not representative of Greece, this is more like in northern Greece.

What do you do to make it more Greek?

It's always a plus if you can make the customers relive old memories.

Do you think there many Swedes who come here and relive holiday memories?

I've heard it said many, many times... But for the Greeks the music is especially important. One wants to feel that one is Greek.

So music is especially emphasised?

It is essential. Everyone wants to dance... If there is a party without music, everyone goes home.

(M.DL960203)

When we have spoken to Greeks in other situations—at parties, at home, in sports associations, we also meet a different Greece, a “Greece in Exile” which lives through the life of associations. It is to be found on the premises where they meet and talk, play board games, party and dance. In the Greek Association's restaurant in the Stockholm suburb Skärholmen there is none of Esperia's consciously presented “Greekness”. For those who do not know where to look it can even be hard to find. At the entrance there is a simple sign in Swedish and Greek: “Greek Association. Skärholmen”. A counter for self-service that leads to the till borders the restaurant's long room. There are simple quadratic tables with checked tablecloths and steel-legged straight-backed chairs. Apart from the Greek flag crossed with the Swedish on the wall behind the counter, there is nothing here that promises “a taste of Greece”. The restaurant does not have much in common with Esperia, but instead is like the majority of cafés beyond the tourist strips in Greece.

Kostas Malouchous moved to Sweden 26 years ago. He was much involved in the Greek Association during the first few years. Kostas often visits the restaurant in Skärholmen. A majority of Stockholm's Greeks are members of Greek associations, which makes it easy to meet friends on their premises.

Why do you go there?

To meet other Greeks as it is now. To have parties, to celebrate Greek holidays. To maintain the culture and language. Today the association's primary objective is to preserve the culture and...15 or 20 years ago there was another problem. Then we had immigrant problems.

What were they?

The dream of returning to Greece. We couldn't speak the language. There were always problems with insurance, pensions and everything else.

(M.DL960201)

The high point of Greek immigration to Sweden was during the 1970s. Today the Greeks are for the most part established in Swedish society and the function of the Greek associations has changed in keeping with that. During the 1970s, for example, their most important task was to support their members in the difficult social situation that is exile—unemployment, elimination, and social problems of various kinds. Today the associations are more focused on cultural activities and unity. Together they celebrate religious festivals and arrange parties, almost always with dance, music and guest artists from Greece.

The Panipirotic Fellowship

The Panipirotic Fellowship is an association that primarily organises Greeks from Épirus in northern Greece. It is the most vital of the Greek associations in Greater Stockholm. The association's parties are always well attended with many guests from other parts of Greece. The Fellowship was formed in 1974 and today has approximately 700 members, which give it a good financial foundation on which to stand. For over a decade they have had their premises in Sickla outside Stockholm. Letsios Mantos, the board member responsible for sport and culture, says that the association has no political activities. The goal is instead cultural and social:

We try to preserve our culture, our nationality, help each other. If there is anyone who needs help and we can be supportive, contribute in any way, we do so. There are no other goals.

But, how does the Panipirotic Fellowship's activities differ from those of other associations? Are there cultural differences that you want to maintain? Is there a special Épirotic Culture, if you know what I mean?

Yes I understand. Each part of Greece has its own culture. For example Pontos has its own culture. When they dance, within the family, they have their own culture and we have ours. They differ, although not much.

Are your members often part of for example the Greek Association then?

Yes, it happens but it's completely different here and we don't really have anything to do with them.

Which activities are there? You are responsible for sport and culture, you said.

We started a basketball team last year. That was the beginning of more extensive activities. And now we are trying to get more children, younger and a little older, so we can have different teams. We are most interested in young children, so they can learn to preserve their own.

Do you have dance instruction?

We have dance too. We will be starting guitar. We will be starting bouzouki. We had planned to start clarinet too but that's difficult, there is nobody who can teach. There are a few lads who want to learn though.

(M.DL970202)

Dance instruction takes place in age-determined groups. The youngest are about 8 and young people generally dance in the association up to 18 years of age. Mantos explains that there is no upper age limit but that at 18 even the girls, who stay longer than the boys, usually drop out.

There is always live music at their parties and that is one of the reasons why many Greeks other than those who come from Épirus attend these parties. For the most part, music groups who live in the Stockholm area are hired. “Sometimes, a couple of times a year, we get (performers) from Greece. But because it is so dear it doesn’t happen so often”, Letsios Mantos tells us. An ensemble with clarinet, violin, lute, drums and song costs around SEK 45,000–50,000 to bring to Sweden.

Is there co-operation between different Greek associations in those cases to reduce costs?

There’s no direct co-operation. But thankfully for the most part we have good attendance when there is a party at the Panipirotic Fellowship.

(M.DL970202)

Letsios Mantos would also like it to be possible to learn clarinet via the association. Clarinet music is one of Épirus’ cultural trademarks, but when clarinet is required at a party in Sweden, a musician has to be flown in from Greece. There are bouzouki players, singers and accompanying musicians in Sweden but hardly clarinet or accordion players. Clarinet music is such an important regional symbol that they pay whatever it costs to make the parties “authentic”. There is a shortage of expressive specialists with the right sort of expertise who can produce the exact expressive forms needed by the fellowship to give shape to Épirotic culture, first and foremost on public arenas. Bouzouki music is often acceptable in internal contexts. It ought to be possible to dance to the music at parties and in such cases modern instruments can be acceptable, sometimes even better. The demands placed on the musicians are that they are competent and know the relevant repertoires—the latest sounds from Greece are a must. In emblematic contexts, however, things are different, a different type of competency is required. If, for example, they use bouzouki players, they run the risk of being confused with other Greeks. Why have an Épirus association in such a case? The demand for distinctiveness can justify the cost of musicians from Greece (c.f. Lundberg 1994:65pp).

The number of presumptive members is decisive for the types of activity open to an association. That the six Greek-born individuals on Gotland (SCB 1995) would be able to maintain an association is an impossible thought. In Stockholm, where there are approximately 15,000 people of Greek extraction,⁷³

⁷³ The estimates come from Kostas Theocharidis, M.DL971105:1 and Kostas Malouchos, M.DL960201.



Posters in Alby Centre, spring 2000 (a southern suburb to Stockholm). Photo: Dan Lundberg.

there is not only the basis for “general” Greek associations, but also for regional associations such as the Panipirotic Fellowship.

Cultural Activities

How is cultural diversity reflected in Botkyrka’s institutions and living environment? One might expect schools, youth clubs and other institutions with schooling in music to have a “multicultural” content in their activities.

In a survey of musical activities among Swedes and immigrant youths in northern Botkyrka it was established that immigrants were very significantly under-represented in practically every instance (Thorell 1999). George Varney, who is responsible for music training in Rinkeby, says the same thing of the music school in Rinkeby. The result also very much agrees with similar studies from Copenhagen (Fock 1996/1997). Young people with immigrant backgrounds are almost completely absent in aesthetic secondary school education, in municipal music schools and other municipal musical activities.

In Botkyrka there are two youth clubs with a musical profile. One is Musikhuset (The Music House) Kårsby in Norsborg. Visitors to the youth club are representative of the rest of the population in Norsborg i.e. more than 50 % have an immigrant background. In Musikhuset there are nine rehearsal

rooms, a concert hall, a recording studio and a “rock school” with teachers from the Royal College of Music in Stockholm. At the time of the survey there were 23 bands using Musikhuset’s premises. In two of them, a rock group and a hip hop group, there were young people from Latin America. It seems likely that the popular Swedish rap group Latin Kings have played a large part as role models for Latin American youth. There was also the band Elfquest with two Syrian boys who play techno and a lone Turkish hard rocker. The other 20 bands at Musikhuset all had Swedish and Finnish members, often in mixed constellations. The Finnish young people are musically active and are part of the same grouping as the Swedes in northern Botkyrka. This reflects differences in musical practices that also exist in the countries of origin. Pop music enjoys a similar significance in Sweden and Finland. The same connection to musical practices in countries of origin underlies the fact that young people with, for example, Polish and Hungarian backgrounds devote themselves a great deal to music. The interest in music relates often in such cases, to genres within “the Grand Tradition”, i.e. Western art music.

Musical Education

At Botvid’s Gymnasium in northern Botkyrka 85–90% of the pupils have an immigrant background (Lernebo 1999:26). The “most Swedish” course is the aesthetic music programme, pupils with an immigrant background comprising about 20%. Thorell reports that one “...notices an eye-catching shortage, or rather a total lack of pupils born in or with parents from Turkey, Syria and Iraq...” [trans.] Similarly, “Swedish” pupils dominate municipal schools of music. Ann-Birgit Idestam-Almqvist, who is responsible for music training at the Municipal School of Music in Botkyrka, is of the opinion that pupils with an immigrant background are “exceptions” in her music school. (Thorell 1999:7) However, there has been instruction on several occasions in *saz*—the Turkish long-necked lute—that attracted Assyrian/Syrian and Turkish pupils (c.f. Hammarlund 1993).

Thorell states that a partial explanation for the low numbers of immigrants taking courses in aesthetic music, in Musikhuset and in the Municipal School of Music are the differences in taste—that these institutions are primarily occupied with music that does not appeal to young immigrants. The Municipal School of Music is associated with Western art music, Musikhuset like the aesthetic music programme, is based on rock from the 1960s and 1970s. The young immigrants in Thorell’s study preferred to watch MTV on which modern soul and similar genres dominated. Guitar groups of the type prevalent during the 1970s, which have a great influence on the choice of music in the

aesthetic music programme, were for the main part entirely absent from their preferences.

At the same time one cannot ignore the fact that musical training is a question of class, or perhaps rather a class-related question of culture. Music training is not included in most Turkish parent's horizon, which has to do with both their cultural values and their class background. The point is that culture and class are interwoven and that that which was previously interpreted in terms of class is now often interpreted in terms of culture or origin. For the majority of poor Turkish immigrant families, the idea of letting the children attend music school is quite simply alien.

Compared with immigrants from, for example, Germany, Yugoslavia, China and Poland, the groupings that dominate in northern Botkyrka seldom pursue further education. Nabu Poli from Tumba in Botkyrka is the first Assyrian to have studied at the Musicology department at Stockholm University.⁷⁴ Nabu's father, Aziz, is proud of his son's playing and desire to advance himself in music. Without his support Nabu would not have chosen a musical education.

Aziz Poli has several reasons for supporting his son's choice of education. Practising music was opposed in his homeland by the church and therefore, he thinks, it is more important to exploit the opportunity for musical education here in Sweden. But music is not a profession of choice for the majority of Assyrians. Why? In a conversation about music as a profession the members of the Assyrian music group Qenneshrin (in which Nabu Poli plays the keyboard) gave quite a unanimous answer. A musician has low status and earns little money. The musician's profession is attractive to youth but is not something to be contemplated in the long run. The three young musicians in Qenneshrin described the status of the profession among Assyrians and their own plans for the future as follows:

NABU: They go about and people ask of course what you're doing, what are you studying, are you studying anything? You say that yes you're studying to be an engineer or economist or something, then you've got higher status. Ah, he's studying... But if you say you're a musician or something similar, then it's still this...

GABRIEL: I think a lot about what I earn myself. I've wasted my time at school and all that. The only thing I thought about was when would I get training and when was I going to play at the next party and so on. Now I think, a musician, what's that? I've wasted my time. But if you're a singer you earn well. Then maybe you think that this is good both financially and as a hobby and you have more status. Yes the status; that's the thing, a singer has much more status; that's how people think. I think that way myself. It's all about money. Many have a good education but they don't earn

⁷⁴ Nabu Poli read musicology at Stockholm University in the spring term of 1997.



Saz-player Emanuel Demir and Nabu Poli, synthesizer in the background. From a concert with the group Qenneshrin at Mix musikcafé in Stockholm. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

much. If you see someone working at the post office you're bound to think he didn't finish school and begun working at the post office straight away. But he's also been to college. Doctors earn a lot of money, a lawyer earns money. That's why you think, you should become a lawyer because then you'll have status, you'll make money. Everything is about money.

EMANUEL: No, it's not the same values, but deep inside you know that it's two worlds [life as a musician and the "ordinary" professional life]. In other words you deceive yourself. I think music is great and so on, but then I sit there at home and think "what the hell have I done, wasted my time on music." It was worthless. Deep down inside you know what reality is like.

(M.DL970226:2)

What should one be if the musician's profession is not an attractive prospect? Synth player Gabriel Masso's view of his future also represents many other young Assyrians in Botkyrka.

What are you going to be then?

Me? Either I'll continue studying something economic or I'll start my own company.

And do what?

Hotdog stand or tobacconist. Hamburgers, do you want fries with that... (laughs).

(M.DL970226:2)

“Ethnic” Music Stores in Stockholm

Access to expressive specialists is decisive for the ability to maintain ethnically marked worlds or niches, e.g. immigrant associations. One also needs access to the products that are necessary for the alternatives to appear credible to the members.⁷⁵

The “right” music, live or recorded, is an absolute necessity for the creation of credibility. Where do you get hold of it in Stockholm? The knowledge of where to find music and which channels of distribution are the best becomes very important.

For some groupings the availability of recorded music is very high in Stockholm. It is easier to find the latest recordings of Greek music in Stockholm than it is in rural areas of Greece. The situation is the same for most of the larger immigrant groups. In some cases, such as with the Assyrians and Iranians, Sweden and Stockholm along with certain places in the US have become new centres for the production and distribution of phonograms.

If you compare with Greece, is it difficult for you to get hold of recordings here in Sweden?

No, it's not difficult because there's Kostas. As long as there's Kostas, Zorba's CDs, then it's no problem.

For the most part he has the CDs at the same time that they come out down there in Greece. (Interview with Letsios Mantos, M.DL970202)

Zorba on Vasagatan in central Stockholm is something of a musical hub for Greeks in Sweden.⁷⁵ The shop was opened in 1973 by the enthusiast Kostas Theocharadis. Kostas makes his purchases directly from the production companies in Greece and his prices are well under those of the large music stores in Stockholm.

Who buys from you?

First and foremost Greeks. They're a little isolated and so on. We have our culture in Greece and they always want to live with culture. First and foremost it's Greeks who come here to shop. But Swedish customers shop here too.

If you were to estimate roughly how many Swedes and how many Greeks there are?

Well, there are more Greeks, 75–80%. Yes, I always expect more Greeks.

What do the Greeks buy?

The Greeks buy what's here. All sorts of music. It's not easy if you have a shop. You have to stock everything there is in Greece. It's difficult.

If you look back over the years you've been here, have tastes changed? You've been going for such a long time. If you look at the Greek public, do they buy different things now?

⁷⁵ E.g. Zorba's Greek and Arabic records.

No, it's the same. First and foremost it's the rebetiko that sells.

That's old music.

Yes, it's old music. But young people, they want more rebetiko, it's the excitement. There are some groups who play here too. They like rebetiko. And there are young people who know old rebetiko too. You see young people growing up with new music and suchlike. I used to have a lot of young Greeks who bought American pop, etc. They don't buy that any more. They like Greek music. The young people come more for Greek music.

Has it changed?

Yes and I wouldn't have believed it. I had a lot of old Greeks who used to come here. They stopped, but the young people, they buy Greek music. They are interested in Greek music.

If you think of the Swedes, are there more buying now than there were ten years ago?

No, there are fewer Swedes. In the old days, during the junta, it was Teodorakis's and similar music that sold. The reduction is caused by economic problems recently. The Swedes are having some problems. Running this sort of shop is getting more difficult, small shops that is. It's getting more and more difficult for specialised shops.

(M.DL97II05:1)

Norsborg's "Video och Konfekt" (video and candy) is one of the best shops for Turkish and Syrian pop music in Stockholm's southern suburbs. The shop's owners, Yilmaz and Ibrahim, explain that pop that is popular in Turkey sells best:

How do the customers know what's popular there?

YILMAZ: It's on cable-TV. You watch TV, for example via satellite dishes. It's everywhere now, Germany, RTL. The people who come here know exactly what's hot. They watch the charts and know what's out there and what's coming out. Then they come here.

How long does it take for you to get the products in. If Ibrahim Tatlis releases a new cassette when do you get it?

YILMAZ: If he released it today for example, then we order it tomorrow. It takes a couple of days.

So it's as quick here as in Istanbul?

YILMAZ: Yes, we get them from Germany. It's quick; it takes at the most a couple of days.

IBRAHIM: It takes 3–4 days. They come c.o.d. by the post.

Do you only deal with German companies or also with Turkish?

IBRAHIM: Many Germans buy in Istanbul and then sell them on.

In other words, they go from Turkey to Germany and then on to here?

IBRAHIM: You can now have deliveries direct from Istanbul too.

(M.DL96II30:3)

Several other music stores in the Stockholm area testify to the rapid distribution. Mohsen, who works in the Iranian music store Music For You in Hallonbergen's shopping centre, told us the following:

There are four or five suppliers in the US, big companies that produce this music. Then there's the usual market in Iran, but different music comes from each source. From Iran we get classical music and from the US we get both classic and pop. They are our suppliers.

If you compare with the way it is in Iran, is there the same range? That is, can an Iranian living in Sweden get hold of the same music as in Iran? Can he get more?

No, there are not more of the products produced in Iran. On the other hand the CDs produced in the US, they don't exist in Iran. If they do exist they're sold on the black market. The price is higher and the range is not as broad as it is here. So here, we can say the range is greater than in Iran because some of this music is forbidden in Iran.

Why is it forbidden?

Because of the regime and their attitude to music that is made, produced, in the US. It's the artists who are living in exile.

I see. What music sells best?

It is mostly young people who buy music. It is mainly modern music that sells.

Iranian pop music?

Yes, exactly, modern music. Like pop music; it's the groups that play European instruments like keyboards, guitar. It's all about those. It's mainly that that sells. Otherwise it's the usual classical music that sells to a lesser degree.

(M.DL961139:2)

The music store Music For You had an approximate turnover of 4,000 cassettes per month during 1996. Customers came from all over Scandinavia and a large part of the sales were by mail order. At the time of the interview sales figures had fallen somewhat.

The largest "ethnic" range in Stockholm is "Latin", which apart from selling well at the largest Swedish stores in Stockholm—Mega, Åhlens City and Multi-Kulti—is also to be found in three specialist stores. The distribution routes are different. The Swedish stores have to rely on ordinary music distributors or intermediaries. Special stores, on the other hand, buy CDs directly from companies in the US and Latin America. Julio Caronell, who owns the music store El Barrio on Södermalm in Stockholm, is critical of the range on offer at Mega and Åhlens. He is reticent about sharing his knowledge of how and where one finds the latest music.

Åhlens and Mega, for example, they don't get much of what South Americans or Swedes who like Latin want. They just know that there are those who are interested in Latin. They just buy stuff in. Anything.

So they don't have the same knowledge of the range and so on?

No, there's a big difference. I've been collecting music for 22 years and I have over 10,000 LPs of just Latin. For 6 years I've been building up a knowledge base that's grown from year to year. I didn't plan to open a shop. It just turned out that way. I just wanted to come here and stay five years then move back to my own country. Now I've been here 22 years...

Did you sell music in Peru?

No, no, but I know the latest on what's happening in South America and in New York. We're in touch nearly everyday via fax or phone. It might sound like I sell very little at 150 CDs a month, but it's enough.

Do you have a background as a musician?

No, I can't play anything. I can't read music either. But I know the whole development from what was played in salsa and other sorts of music. I know every such break there is, what they're called and all of it. But I can't play.

When you buy music, who do you buy from?

Miami, New York or Colombia, but I don't go by the musician's name. I go by who has done the arrangement. Because you know it's different styles for different people. A musician can change "director musical", musical director, the one who arranges everything. It can then become a completely different style.

Are the companies big, those selling in Miami...

One of them is Ail. That's the biggest in Miami. I've heard they sell for nearly 35,000 or 50,000 dollars a month. That's a lot.

Do they send you catalogues and the like?

Yes, they send a catalogue that is sizeable considering the genre (he shows the catalogue). As you can see they're good.

It would be good if you have an old catalogue or similar I could have.

No, I don't give catalogues away. For me it would cost several years of contacts.

I see, no, I mean if you have an old one.

No, I mean the contacts. That's what is important to me and I want to keep them to myself. There are many who come here and ask me to show them everything I have. They want to open a shop. They ask me and they want all the contacts. (...) And I sell 150 and then turn to someone else and give him or her all of my contacts. Then maybe I sell 30 CDs every month. You don't give anything away. If so, you might just as well go to Amigo. Amigo, they have Latin.

If you order from this company, how long does it take for you to get it?

I order Wednesday and then I have it on Friday. Only two days.

(M.DL970128)

Competition is fierce between different music stores in the Stockholm area. The big stores with broad ranges of world music are in the inner city and cater for a Swedish or possibly mixed clientele. The majority of stores catering for specific ethnic groupings are situated in the outlying areas. They have, as a rule, lower prices and generally have larger ranges in certain defined genres. The



Record shelf at “Alby foto godis” (Alby’s photo and candy) in Alby. The large record stores in the centre of Stockholm have a generally “Swedish” clientele. The price difference is obvious. In the suburbs south of Stockholm one can buy a Turkish CD for 100 Swedish crowns (approximately 10 USD), which is about 50 (5 USD) crowns cheaper than in the inner city. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

shops in the inner city, on the other hand, have a broader selection and from a musical perspective can be described as “multicultural”!

The special stores that have the most mixed clientele are those who sell Latin. Raul Tierro at Latin Records has sold music to Swedes and Latin Americans for over ten years. The shop is in the inner city, which is perhaps a prerequisite for reaching a mixed clientele. Practically everything that can be called “Latin music” is included in the range—tango, folk music, nueva canción, merengue, cumbia, salsa, Latin jazz, mambo, cha cha—and from different countries—Puerto Rico, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, etc., but a lot is also produced in New York and Miami.

If you compare Swedes and Latin Americans, do they buy different things?

Yes, it differs a little what they buy because Swedes are mostly interested in Latin jazz, folk music and also salsa. There are a lot of salseros among the Swedes.

What do Latin Americans buy?

The charts.

OK, so they buy what is in right now.

Yes, exactly that which is happening. But there are different age groups. For example it’s unusual for youngsters to buy tango or look for their roots and buy Latin

<i>Store</i>	<i>Localisation</i>	<i>Customer category</i>	<i>Supplier</i>	<i>Music type</i>
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Afro Tropical	Inner city	Swedish	Personal contacts, relatives in Paris	Latin (some Arabic)
El Barrio	Inner city	Latin American, Swedish	Personal contacts in New York, Miami and in Venezuela	Latin
Bel Canto	Suburb (south)	Swedish	ARC	World Music
El-boden	Suburb (south)	Mixed	Owner's own bootleg production	Swedish and global pop, Greek and Bulgarian folk music
Latin Records	Inner city	Latin American, Swedish	Major companies in USA, Colombia and Venezuela	Latin
Mega store	Inner city	Swedish (Mixed)	Mostly Amigo (MD, CDA) and from the store Afro tropical	World Music/ Mixed
Multi-Kulti	Inner city	Swedish (80%)	Amigo, MD, CDA, Euroton	World Music
Music Corner	Suburb (north)	Mixed – mostly Turkish	Turkish companies in Germany and Turkey. Also from Amigo	Turkish pop (also global pop)
Music for you	Suburb (north)	Iranian	Personal contacts in Los Angeles and Teheran	All kinds of Iranian music
Norsborgs video och konfekt	Suburb (south)	Turkish, Assyrian	Turkish companies in Germany and Turkey	Turkish pop
Zorba	Inner city	Mixed – mostly Greek	Personal contacts in Greece	Greek folk music and pop. Some Arabic
Åhléns City	Inner city	Swedish	Mostly Amigo (MD, CDA) and from the store Afro tropical	World Music/ Mixed

American classics. You can't say unequivocally that it's like this, but generally... they buy the charts, but also classics.

If you look at young people who are born in Sweden, is there a difference? I mean with Latin-American parents but born here—second generation immigrants.

There might have been differences a few years ago. But now that there are salsa clubs there's no difference because they experience the same music.

(M.DL96II05:2)

Young Latin Americans are interested in the charts, the latest sounds that are in among Latin Americans in New York or Miami. The same thing applies to the other young people with an immigrant background included in the study, who are primarily interested in pop music from their homelands. The Swedes who frequent these shops are partly consumers of world music and those who have specialised in a particular music style, e.g. salsa.

Multicultural Stockholm

The pulse of Johannesburg's lively streets, the exuberant delight of Quebec's blend of cultures, the power of afro pop's capital Paris and the magic of Delhi's art music. The world in the north is immersed in the buzz of the cities of the world—obvious meeting places where new and old traditions are constantly born and rediscovered. Världen i Norden (The World in the North).

The quote comes from the music project *Världen i Norden*. It describes the face of multicultural –positive cultural cross-fertilisation. These special cultural meeting places do not arise of themselves. They are often, as in *Världen i Norden*, the result of initiatives from institutions of culture.

We find consciously presented expressive multicultural in central Stockholm at music and dance arrangers like *FolkoFolk* (people&people), *Föreningen Omåttlig dans* (the immeasurable dance association) and *Mix music café* or in projects such as *Forum för världskultur* (forum for world culture) with *Stockholm Folk Big Band* and *Världsmusiklaboratoriet* (the world music laboratory).

Multicultural is a description of levels of society that cannot be applied to individual or group level. No individual or group is multicultural, but some societies can be. Multicultural also has to do with those who describe it. There is a hidden hierarchical structure that makes some peoples' descriptions of society as multicultural more valuable than others'.

There is a paradox built into the description of "multicultural Sweden", namely that cultural diversity is least apparent for a visitor in the areas where those who are identified as its cause—the immigrants—live. Alby centre is

comprised of rows of identical tower blocks cast from the same mould. In other areas, diversity and individual differences are greater, e.g. the inner city. There is greater homogenisation of diversity's public forms of appearance in Fittja, and greater diversification in Stockholm's inner city. This is of course related to the opportunities people have to realise their ambitions, in the form of access to money, products and specialists, etc. The availability of products and specialists has increased in Fittja but the availability of money has not. The question is, however, whether it really would be so very different if people in Fittja also had a lot of money. It all depends on what aspirations for "institutional completeness" the inhabitants have, whether the goal is to live in a "Turkish", "Swedish" or perhaps quite simply "Fittjish" way. It is here that different groupings differ from one another. However, there are also differences between generations in the same group and between refugees and imported labour, etc.

An important line of division passes between that which is consciously produced to represent multiculturalism and that which people "just do". Consciously produced multiculturalism is found where there are people who are interested in such things, among policy-makers, in the city centre rather than on its fringes. The multicultural is a sort of display not just of what we have, but of what some think we ought to have, or ought to get. In this way the multicultural is part of a political project that reminds us of the way the national project set sail at the turn of the century, with Swedish Flag Day, the Nordic Museum and the open air museum "Skansen". Those who were behind this had a vision—they had "seen the light". They had realised something that others had not (that nations existed and that Sweden was a nation) and their mission became to spread the word, this insight, to others.

Stockholm's multicultural potential has become a concern for those who have "seen the light" in today's Sweden. In the 1998 budget bill (1997/98:1) the government suggested that a pilot project, named Forum för världskultur (forum for world culture), would commence in the spring of 1998. The project would aim to increase the artistic and cultural diversity in Sweden by taking initiative in and co-ordinating the presentation of expressions of culture from throughout the world. In December 1997, the Swedish Parliament approved the running of the project in accordance with the aim given in the bill (bet. 1997/98:KrU1, rskr. 1997/98:97).

In the bill we read that:

The aim is to give all of Sweden's population, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, new possibilities to convey or experience a diversity of cultural expression.

The forum shall have the following main tasks:



Dance evening at "FolkoFolk" (People 'n' People) in Stockholm autumn 1999.

Photo: Jonas Thorell.

- to initiate, stimulate and co-ordinate activities within existing institutions and organisations,
- to realise own projects aimed at presenting culture in different forms from throughout the world, whereby large scope shall be given to new cross-ethnic and cross-cultural expression,
- to arrange meetings between artists and cultural workers with experience of different cultures,
- to inform about world cultural events,
- to take the initiative in cultural societal debate in different forms,
- to develop co-operation with cultural institutions, cultural associations and municipalities across the land with the purpose of drawing up proposals for a plan of action for a multicultural cultural policy, which has the aim of building a new cultural community in Sweden.

An agreement was reached between the government, the City of Stockholm and Stockholm County Council on the organisation of the forum. According to the agreement, the forum would be run as a committee within the Department for Culture. The committee would be comprised of three delegates represent-

ing the government, Stockholm County Council and the City of Stockholm. A programme advisory comprising of at the most five experts “with a cultural background” should be attached to the committee.

One of the forum’s projects is *Världsmusiklaboratoriet* (the world music laboratory) that was run at the premises of *Södra Teatern* in 1999.

When new exciting “cross-road music” arises, it is normally seen in large metropolises or in other places where people have been set to migrating so that large culture-bearing groups come to live in close contact with each other. It is there, in the daily meetings of peoples, that the crossing of cultures arises spontaneously and naturally (if not yet without friction...), but in towns like Stockholm, Gothenburg, Värnämo or Sundsvall, the immigrants are too few and too isolated for this to take place spontaneously. The consequence is that immigrant musicians easily become isolated, or exclusively directed to their own cultural group. In Sweden such cross-cultural meetings could instead take place as pilot experiments in our world music laboratory.⁷⁶ [trans.]

That they call the project a laboratory says a lot about the conditions of multicultural. The multicultural becomes a special case, a special type of cultural expression that can arise and sometimes even be produced by researchers and cultural politicians in societies with the right ingredients. The multicultural arena becomes part of cultural diversity, a genre among many others. The multicultural is in several ways “a project” that is run by certain people with particular aims. A concert pianist who only plays for a small circle of art music enthusiasts in a small number of arenas in Stockholm’s inner city would never be described as “isolated, or exclusively directed to their own cultural group”. It is the immigrants on the fringes of society with their small traditions who should be brought out of isolation. The world music laboratory is part of an adult education project like the one social democracy ran to take the working class out of its “cultural isolation”. An “ethnocentric” characteristic is hidden in the idea of adult education—the idea that the educator’s culture is better than the pupil’s.

Conclusion

In two case studies we have searched for multicultural expressions in small-town Visby and big-city Stockholm. In the example of Visby it becomes clear that discussion of cultural diversity in society must be held in a way that does not reduce it to just being about immigrants and Swedes. Gotland is an island and a thinly populated area, which lacks the population basis to allow, for ex-

⁷⁶ <http://www.forumkultur.com/sv/musik/vmold.html>.

ample, several different ethnic groupings to maintain independent “cultures”. The requisite expertise is often lacking among their expressive specialists. In that respect, however, the majority of ethnic groupings in Stockholm are also islands and thinly populated areas with similar problems financing their cultural production. Despite the fact that the Assyrian grouping in Sweden comprises upwards of 50,000 people, musicians are brought in “from outside” on certain occasions. When the Assyrian hip hop artist Addo wants to make his music “extra Assyrian” by adding an ethnic wind instrument, he engages the Turkish zurna player Ziya Aytekin.⁷⁷

The concept of multiculturalism is a frame that “produces” a certain way of seeing and describing reality. The meeting of musicians is described as something strange, remarkable, and creative or boundary-crossing. Theatre manager and debater Ozan Sunar describes the problem:

There is something seductive about grand words. How often do we hear phrases like “*Now we will tear down the walls and build bridges between cultures*”. One can easily get the feeling that cultures are immovable blocks of granite, separated by almost untraversable gulfs. A simple meeting of people is transformed suddenly into gigantic building projects, which must be administrated with precision engineered by the cultures’ builders complete with dungarees. (Sunar 1997) [trans.]

The studies of Visby and Stockholm show that multiculturalism is a special way of organising social and cultural diversity, which arises in particular arenas under special circumstances. In multicultural arenas differences are focused and the actual blending is central. Styles and forms are presented in contrast to each other and this creates a form in itself. “Multicultural Sweden” is, in other words, not a description of the Swedish cultural landscape but of its parts. *The multicultural can be described as one of many forms for expressions of culture, a genre side by side with others within Swedish diversity.*

⁷⁷ One example is the tune *Leyto shafer* from the CD *Hawri*, 1999 (lacks record number).

The Music Industry and the Range of Music in the Media

The project's case study focusing on the range of mediated music in Sweden has been published in a separate report (Malm 1997). The study covers conditions, patterns of interplay and tendencies within the music industry and the mass-mediation of music in Sweden during the first six years of the 1990s with emphasis on the situation that was then current. The study concentrates primarily on the situation relating to the diversity of music types on offer in the mass media, in particular phonograms, as well as the producers, intermediaries and usage in the broadcasting media. A summary of the results concerning structure and processes that affect the range of music in the media is given below supplemented with current information. Quantitative data from the 1996 study have as a rule not been included in this summary. The principal structural and process-related conditions are largely the same in 2000 as they were in 1996.

Actors and their Activities

The music and media industry is a complex business with many actors. It is also an extensive business that branches out in a broad and far-reaching international way. The most significant categories of units/actors in music and media are to be found in three areas:

1. Production and mass-reproduction of music products.
2. Dissemination/distribution of music products.
3. Management of rights.

1. THE PRODUCTION AND MASS-REPRODUCTION OF MUSIC PRODUCTS, i.e. music equipment (hardware) and packaged music (software). Manufacturers of instruments, recording, mass-production and playback equipment and editing units, phonogram and video publishers as well as units of mass-reproduction (record presses, etc.) all belong to this area.

There are no longer any manufacturers of musical instruments on an industrial scale in Sweden. Neither are there any significant manufacturers of recording, mass-reproduction and playback equipment in the country.

During the last decade, the costs for advanced recording and editing equipment of both sound and image have fallen radically. Equipment for multi-track recording, digital technology, etc. that only the big companies could afford during the 1980s are now to be found throughout the country in both larger and smaller companies, in media workshops and even in the possession of private individuals.

In Sweden there are in principle two industry organisations for phonogram and video companies who release music on CD, cassette and other mediums: the Swedish division of the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) and the Swedish Independent Music Producers, SOM (Svenska Oberonde Musikproducenter). In practice SOM is a member of IFPI even if SOM is also a separate organisation. In recent years a large number of small phonogram publishers have also arisen that belong to neither IFPI nor SOM. These are sometimes companies but can also be associations or other types of organisation. New, small phonogram publishers are constantly surfacing while others disappear. In total there were over 250 phonogram publishers in Sweden in 1996, the majority of which were very small. In practice, phonogram publishing in the Sweden in 1996 was dominated by five major international companies: BMG, the EMI Group, the Polygram Group, Sony and Warner. In 2000, the concentration to a handful of companies has increased as Polygram and Universal merged.

While the total number of phonograms released on the Swedish market has increased significantly during the 1990s, the number of Swedish-produced releases during the last twenty years has been between 600 and 900 per year. The differences between genres has varied somewhat from year to year, but pop/rock and phonograms for children have on the whole made up a larger proportion of the Swedish releases than these genres' proportion of the total number of releases.

2. DISSEMINATION /DISTRIBUTION OF MUSIC PRODUCTS. Promotional units, distributors, retailers, radio and TV companies as well as distributors of music over electronic networks, among others, all belong to this area.

In Sweden promotional activities for originators/artists/groups and phonograms are usually carried out by the music publishers, phonogram companies or distributors. There is not, as yet, any extensive activity among so-called independent promoters outside of the established phonogram or distributions companies. Such activities are, however, on their way. On the other, hand independent so-called booking companies play a part in this context.

Booking companies distribute work for the artists/bands for a percentage of income. Production companies and impresarios are other names for these

units. Activities have increased rapidly during recent years in Sweden, partly because of changes in legislation pertaining to labour agencies. Booking companies work together with the range of music in the media in many ways. They arrange tours with a band in connection with the promotion of a new phonogram etc. They also promote new artists/bands who then become media-artists. The majority of booking companies are members of the Swedish Association of Impresarios, SVIMP.

All of the larger phonogram companies have marketing units. They are primarily active in affecting gatekeepers in the broadcasting media with the aid of *pluggers* (radio promoters). This takes place in different ways depending on the repertoire. Marketing is often built on the promoter having a broad network of contacts among producers and other gatekeepers in the broadcasting media within the genre.

A particular sort of promotional activity is performed by the units who compile different sorts of charts in combination with marketing. Charts based on sales are compiled by the Swedish Association of Gramophone Suppliers, GLF (Gramofonleverantörernas förening). Charts of the tracks most frequently played by the radio stations are compiled by, among others, Music Control Sweden and Radiolistan (The Radio List), Phonogram companies, daily and weekly press and other subscribers to different charts. The major radio chart is the Top 75 in which the range on offer in all radio stations is taken into account.

The distributors in collaboration with the phonogram companies aim their marketing primarily at retailers and the music-buying public. This takes place via catalogues, newsletters and not least through salespeople who visit the stores. Distribution is dominated by GLF, which is comprised of over ten members, all of whom are connected with phonogram companies and are members of IFPI. GLF's members account for an estimated 90% of phonogram sales in Sweden.

In the study carried out in 1996, the number of phonogram retailers in Sweden was estimated to have fallen by about 300 from the approximately 720 that existed two decades earlier. In 1996, retailers existed in all parts of the country, primarily in the larger towns and least in the far north of the country. The music stores' stock, according to industry insiders, was highly varied. It is likely that the number of retailers has declined further since 1996 while sales over the Internet have increased.

The same owners undertake publishing activities, phonogram production, release and distribution in a range of companies. The four major companies have a certain amount of joint ownership of the hardware wholesalers and phonogram wholesalers. The connections are the same as with production above

when it comes to both joint ownership of publishers, phonogram companies and distribution companies and joint ownership of hardware wholesalers and phonogram wholesalers.

3. MANAGEMENT OF RIGHTS, i.e. work on agreements, collection and distribution of copyright revenues and associated rights. This area includes copyright organisations, phonogram and video trade organisations and alliances of practitioners in the production of mediated music.

Those in possession of copyright and neighbouring rights are represented by various organisations whose task is to reach agreement with those who use music, collect the revenues due in accordance with agreements and law, and distribute the revenues to those in possession of the copyrights. The most important organisations in Sweden are *STIM*, the Swedish Composer's International Music Bureau, *IFPI*, the Swedish Group (including *SOM*) and *SAMI*, the Association for the Interests of Swedish Artists and Musicians. *STIM* represents Swedish composers, music arrangers, lyricists and music publishers, *IFPI* represents phonogram and video publishers, and *SAMI* represents performers who collaborate on phonogram and videos.

The Interplay Between Actors—General Processes

A key concept in the interplay among the music business' actors is *integration*. Formal integration is a consequence of formal conditions of ownership and agreements. Informal integration depends on, primarily, tradition and personal contacts.

Formal integration can be either vertical or horizontal. In the case of vertical integration there are common owners or co-operational agreements between company divisions (sometimes individual actors) in the chain of production, from creation to listening to the music. Horizontal integration means that the same corporate group owns other subsidiary or affiliated companies or has co-operational agreements with other types of company.

Informal integration exists generally between phonogram companies and media that use phonogram and video, primarily radio and TV companies.

The phonogram companies are the central units in the music industry system. As a rule it is in these companies that decisions are made on which music should be published in mediated form. The music publishers previously played a large part as those that released sheet music, but nowadays they are chiefly marketing units. The majority of larger companies are part of corporate groups in the music industry.

Different types of phonogram companies are cast in different roles. Small

companies generally have close contacts with a particular area of local musical life and are often run by enthusiasts who will happily invest time and money in the music that interests them. If artists become successful in small companies, the major companies often take over. If a small company becomes successful with high phonogram sales and begins to grow, they are as a rule bought up by one of the major companies. In general terms one might say that the basic difference in roles between small and major companies is that the former are innovative risk-takers while the latter deal with marketing mass sales.

Radio and TV companies are usually called the music industry's "shop windows". A listener seldom buys a phonogram without having heard it first. Paradoxically, one might say that the phonogram is consumed before being bought. The question of what music is played on the radio and what videos are shown on TV is therefore highly important to the phonogram industry. Measured in the number of radio hours to which every Swede has access, the range of music available has increased many times over during the 1990s. The increase has primarily come about via the many new private radio stations that are financed by advertising.

Radio stations financed by advertising use music to sort their listeners. If a certain type of music is played the station gets a certain type of listener, which can then be offered to the advertising purchasers. Several so-called formats for the music supplied have been given form by the interplay between phonogram companies, radio companies, radio listeners and purchasers of advertising. In this process the media system is segmented into groups of stations with similar music formats. The majority of stations want to reach the groups with the most purchasing power. In a little country like Sweden there are not many audience segments that are sufficiently large to make up a consumer group. Therefore the music supplied is subject to so-called "streamlining". In practice, the music becomes limited to relatively few formats.

The radio companies do not want to deal with too many phonograms within the given format. For that reason so-called playlists are made with a limited number of pieces of music. A roughly equivalent process takes place on video channels, which in practice are used by viewers in the same fashion as radio stations. Music formats in the broadcasting media steer the content of the range of phonograms towards music that fits in with the stations' formats.

The music industry's activities involve a range of capital flows, which in different ways decide choice and content in the media. The basic principle of the music industry, as for many other industries, is the profitability of long production series, i.e. the more copies of a product that sell, the more money producers and intermediaries make. This applies to both hardware and software (often the same as phonogram). The result of this fundamental economic principle is

that the international groups try to sell the same products in all markets. The principle is of itself anti-diversity. The major phonogram companies have invested a great deal in marketing so-called megastars such as Madonna, Bruce Springsteen, Michael Jackson or the Swedish groups Ace of Base and Roxette throughout the world. The global sale of phonograms is, however, less focused on a handful of artists today than it was a few years ago.

The fact that sales have spread to more phonograms at the same time as they have increased during the 1990s is also partly because of the profitability of the long series. After the breakthrough of CD, many old LPs and other recordings from the phonogram companies' archives have been re-released on CD. This has extended the sales-runs for these recordings and contributed substantially to the major companies' profitability of recent years.

The two most common types of capital flow in the system comprised of the music industry and mass media are on the one hand those brought about by direct sales of a product (musical instruments, phonograms, etc.) and on the other those arising from the trade in various kinds of rights. Conditions pertaining to the direct sale of products are the same in the music industry as they are in other industries. The products are sold and their sale generates a profit or loss. If many different products are acceptably profitable, there is greater diversity. The trade in rights is, however, more specific to the music industry. This has an effect on the range of phonograms on offer and principally on the range of music in the broadcasting media.

The US is the dominant country both in the production and sale of phonograms. All major phonogram companies therefore target that market for their production.

The trade in rights is partly made up of fees and royalties that are paid by the phonogram companies to those involved in the phonogram's production; producers, production companies, etc. Another type of economic account is licences for the production of phonograms that were originally recorded and released in another country. The largest area, however, is copyright and so-called neighbouring rights.

It is not easy to obtain a relevant measure of the extent of the trade in rights. It involves many parties in many countries. Several attempts have, for example, been made in recent years to calculate income from Swedish music exports. The results presented have varied between SEK 1.5 billion and SEK 13 billion. This substantial variation is mainly caused by difficulties in following the flows of rights money in and out of the country as this primarily takes place within the major international groups. It is a question, however, of vast sums.

The copyright owners within STIM who have the closest connections to the music industry are the music publishers. Practically all of the larger publishers

are part of corporate groups that also own major phonogram companies. The Swedish Music Publishers Association, SMFF (Svenska Musikförläggarföreningen), has a total of 60 members who hold the rights to 1.5 million musical works. STIM has approximately 1,500 publishers registered throughout the world, but 90% of remuneration paid out to publishers goes to members of SMFF. In 1996, 23 of the 43 largest music publishers in SMFF were tied via ownership to phonogram companies active in Sweden.

Certain structural aspects are more significant in studies of how the trade of rights affects the range of music available in the media than the exact monetary turnover. During recent years those in possession of rights have been particularly active and successful in influencing political decision-makers to extend the rights. When it comes to music, this applies to both the extension of the period of protection and of what is covered by that protection. A phenomenon that also extends the scope of copyright is that traditional music that has previously been in the public domain, via arrangement and “confiscation” becomes registered as protected music. The extent of copyright and associated rights often affects the cost of using the music in the media. An increase in scope of these rights most probably increases the total costs. This, in turn, can result in a reduction in the amount of music in the media and perhaps thereby a reduction in diversity.

It is relatively easy to identify who uses the music publicly. Identifying the music played by hard-formatted radio stations with computer-programmed playlists is the simplest. It is, on the other hand, difficult to know what is played at pubs and dance clubs, for example. The remuneration collected by STIM should in principle be divided in proportion to the use of the music. Even if STIM and other rights associations do their best to achieve the correct division of collected revenue, the above mentioned difficulties mean that a disproportionately large share of the money is apportioned to those in possession of the rights to chart-topping music.

This slant amplifies effects caused by the fact that chart-topping music is played more than other music and that those who own the rights to this music in any case enjoy a larger slice of the cake. Those who own the rights to other music, which includes the mass majority, each receive (with a few exceptions) relatively little money. Furthermore, it is often difficult to find the originators of works that are seldom performed, particularly if they come from the third world. This, of course, points young talented composers and, not least, the music publishers, in the direction of chart-topping music and contributes to a decreased diversity of innovation and range of mediated music.

The increased trade in rights and the major companies’ purchase of publishers, among other things, has led to an interesting shift in the phonogram

groups' income structure during the last ten years. The phonogram companies have traditionally built their activities on profit from the sale of phonograms. Increasingly large proportions of profits come from rights. In the beginning of the 1990s, income from rights exceeded profits from the sale of phonograms. Today, approximately 70% of the phonogram companies' profits come from the trade in rights.

This shift in the composition of income affects the phonogram companies' attitude to the range of music in the broadcasting media. The income from rights is the same whether a radio station plays an old or a newly released phonogram. Even stations only playing "golden oldies" provide income from rights. When profits from the sale of phonograms no longer have the same significance for the major companies, selling new phonograms becomes less important than before. The companies are not as keen to expose new phonograms in the broadcasting media. This means that the old relationship between decisions made by gatekeepers in phonogram companies on the repertoire to be released and decisions made at broadcasting media companies on the range of music to be played is replaced by relationships between economists/lawyers on both sides. These check that fees are paid and that information is given about what is played in the broadcasting media. This becomes easier and cheaper the narrower the repertoire of the broadcasting media becomes. This economic process contrives with other processes described here to reduce diversity in the range of music in the mass media.

The US is among the nations that have not signed the Rome Convention, which gives performers and phonogram producers the right to equitable remuneration when a phonogram is played in the broadcasting media. This means that it is cheaper for a broadcasting company in Sweden to play a phonogram from the US than a phonogram from Sweden. This fact directs the choice of phonograms on radio stations toward those from the US, which is yet another factor contributing to reduced diversity of range.

The Range of Music in the Broadcasting Media

Compared with the range of phonograms, the range of music in the broadcasting media is significantly narrower. The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's stations have special programmes for different musical genres, but if one looks to the total number of music hours on Swedish radio stations, the range is concentrated to a handful of formats. There is even a tendency for the reduction of the number of special programmes in the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's P3 channel. Both Ethno, that played music from different parts of the world, and Smokerings, that played older jazz, have been discontinued. The pro-

gramme Rytm has replaced Ethno, with a significantly narrower and charts-orientated musical content.

The developments since the introduction of private radio in Sweden are a very good example of how streamlining works. There are only a few formats for musical supply in private and local radio financed by advertising. In the year 2000, the number of formats is even lower than in 1996. Among other things, private radio stations playing Western art music have completely disappeared.

The different radio stations' playlists are published successively in the trade journal *Musikindustrin*. An examination of the playlists for 42 stations financed by advertising during the first half of 1996 showed that the number of phonograms on the playlists of the majority of stations was 15–20, usually only singles. No stations had more than 25 phonograms on their playlist for any particular week. By comparison it should be mentioned that the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's Radio Stockholm with a "broad" format label had 20–30 singles and 1–2 albums on their playlists during the same period.

A comparison of the playlists for Radio Rix, Megapol and Radio Stockholm (P4 and P5) and the most played singles and albums on P3 during a typical week shows that all four stations, both in the survey of 1996 and in May 2000, kept within the same sphere of artists and tracks, namely established artists on current charts. The proportion of Swedish repertoires however, is greater among P3's most played phonograms. The range on music video channels also coincides to a large degree with the charts.

The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's channel P2 and to a certain extent Radio Stockholm (P4) have musical profiles that clearly deviate from the other radio stations in Sweden. Today it is these stations that provide the range of music in the broadcasting media with some diversity in the sense of distribution over different musical genres.

The development of the range of music in the broadcasting media shows clearly that increased numbers of media channels in Sweden have not led to the increased diversity in supply that was promised by the proponents of commercial broadcasting media during the 1980s. Providing more channels without placing demands on the content does not alone contribute to increased diversity in the range of music. It rather contributes to uniformity because all stations then fight for the same audience segment with the "lowest common denominator-music" as a weapon.

Swedish World Music

At the end of the 1980s, a new music term was launched—world music. This was due to commercial reasons; the record industry needed a label that could cover as much as possible within the field of “ethnic” music, since these music genres tended to be sorted “somewhere in between” the racks in music stores. Some small British record companies tried out the label “world music” as a new concept, and the term proved to be a success. It was diffuse enough to cover almost every kind of music outside the genres of classic, pop and jazz while, at the same time, striking enough to gain the attention of both consumers and the media. In other words, the term was purposefully vague and has consequently been used in many different disguises to describe everything from local forms of folk music from different music cultures all over the world to different non-Western forms of art music.

When the term “world music” is used in Swedish, it mostly refers to different forms of musical mixtures. The mixtures are usually based on traditional folk music fused with ingredients from different forms of popular music such as rock, jazz and techno.

With the term world music, a world-wide media-based music arena has been created in which folk music from different cultures can be used and sorted into what can be called a “global structure”. Within the rock-influenced style of this new mixed music, the form or structure comprises a pop/rock-affected sound, a prominent heavy “beat” and a tangible presence in the mixing. The style also comprises a combining of the accompaniment with local, preferably exotic, instruments and styles of song. Let us summarise this music type as “global structure—local contents”.

The term world music catered to the need of categorising already existing music. Due to its rapid spread in the media, the term has contributed to homogenising and strengthening the characteristics of its own genre, which in Sweden takes on the form of something of “folk fusion”.

As in other parts of the world, world music in Sweden was played both in both live and mediated form long before the term was coined. Already in the 1970s, Swedish groups such as Contact and Kebnekajse experimented with fusing folk music and pop, whereas others, such as Mynta and Orientexpressen, mixed dif-

ferent types of ethnic music.⁷⁸ From the 1980s and onward, the music groups Filarfolket and Groupa tried out new sets of folk music instrumentation in which they used bouzouki, wind instruments and percussion for Swedish polskas.⁷⁹

Apart from the musical changes, there was a new and strong support for the global form in the media and on the music scenes of the 1980s. In January 1982, the programme *Trender & Traditioner* (trends and traditions) was launched in the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's channel P3, a programme featuring "modern folk music". In 1986, Steven Rooney opened his music shop *Multi-Kulti* on Södermalm in Stockholm. The shop is still going strong selling its particular blend of records, books, instruments and videos covering music from all over the world, as well as exotic spices and Indian cigarettes. Also in 1986, in the summer, the folk music festival in the city of Falun was started up, and from the very beginning it focused on both old traditions and modern and on more innovative forms of folk music. Apart from featuring Nordic folk music, the first festival presented such things as Indian raga, Tex-Mex accordion and Bulgarian bagpipes. Clearly, by the time some small-scale British record companies managed to agree on the label "world music" at a London pub in 1987, the issue was really that of finding a name for an already established genre.⁸⁰

At the time, West Africa was the hottest factor in world music. This gave rise to a shifting search for new trends: Bulgarian polyphony was traded in for Malagasy valiha, Tuvian throat-singing, Colombian cumbia, Australian didgeridoo, Celtic harps, Cuban son... (Gustafsson 1998a). [trans.]

Today, world music is an extensive and still expanding genre for the record industry. According to Karin Högrström, who is responsible for the world music section at Åhléns City, one of the major department stores in Stockholm, there were about 1,500 and 2,000 titles categorised as world music in the Swedish GLF search register *Grammotex* in 1997.⁸¹

In recent years, the search for new trends has opened the eyes of world music producers to Nordic music, and many Swedish artists and culture institutions have jumped on the train in order to utilise and contribute to the publicity. The Swedish Concert Institute has taken on a new role as a conveyor and marketing organisation of Swedish jazz and folk music. Among other things, in October 1998 it hosted *WOMEX*, the World Wide Music Expo, a combination of conference, fair and artists' forum to which about 700 delegates travelled from all over the world. Festivals, agencies, record companies, the media and

⁷⁸ C.f. Lundberg & Ternhag 1996.

⁷⁹ "Polska" is a common Swedish folk dance. It's a couple dance in tripple meter.

⁸⁰ Gustafsson, Klas in the article *Farväl till världsmusiken* (farewell to world music).

⁸¹ *Grammotex* is accessible on the Internet (www.grammotex.se).

artists were all represented, from small idealists to international giants such as Microsoft and Disney.

In the beginning of 1999, the Swedish Concert Institute participated in the music fair Folk Alliance in Albuquerque in New Mexico, USA. World music groups Frifot, Väsen and the folk fiddlers Kalle Almlöf and Björn Ståbi represented Sweden. The Swedish Concert Institute's venture to launch Swedish folk music outside Sweden is extensive. "During the next two years, we will launch Swedish folk music in the USA and Canada", the producer Sten Sandahl said in an interview in the publication *Metro*.⁵

Musical Changes

Since 1969, the Swedish branch of IFPI has awarded "Grammisar" (Swedish Grammy award), i.e. the industry's special awards, to Swedish "artists, musicians and creators who have accomplished interesting phonogram productions within different fields of music".⁸² A clear trend within the category "ballad/folk of the year" is the preference for music forms and groups that experiment with mixed music comprising folk music pop and jazz.

Sparve lilla—as Swedish as it gets

The Swedish group Groupa was awarded a Grammis in 1995 for the CD *Imeland*, which showcased the group's "energy and sensitivity and innovative folk music". The instrumentation on the first track *Sparve lilla* is characteristic of the whole record—willow flute⁸³, berimbau⁸⁴, double bass and synth. The tune opens with an improvisatory introduction on the willow flute—a Swedish soundscape floats on a dense background of timbres played on the synth. As would an Arabian ney-player, Jonas Simonsson guides the listener by way of his willow flute, step by step, into the melody and its musical build-up. The first impression is one of a modern, world-music composition—the distinctive local/exotic sound of the willow flute mixed with global musical means of expression. Gradually, the rhythm is built up by a berimbau and the willow flute transcends into the theme of a Swedish polska. Interestingly enough, despite the Arabian influences in the composition and the Brazilian rhythm instruments, *Sparve lilla* sounds very Swedish, in many ways even more Swedish

⁸² <http://www.ifpi.se/sidor/grammis1969.html>

⁸³ Willow flute is an overtone flute without finger holes that is played in western Sweden and Norway.

⁸⁴ Berimbau is a Brazilian rhythm instrument—a single stringed musical bow.



Mats Edén in the Swedish world music band “Groupa”. Concert at the Malmö Academy of Music. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

than most of the music that is usually labelled “authentic” or “original” folk music. As far as we know, it has never been the praxis of Swedish ensembles to improvise against background timbres or drones. The reason why the opening of *Sparve lilla* sounds so Swedish is of course because several of the “Swedish” characteristics of the music have been emphasised. A drone that strengthens the modal build-up has been added to the traditional tune. With the free-metric introduction, the modal characteristics appear even stronger. Although the style has more in common with an Arabian taqsim than with a Swedish polska, one still experiences the tune as Swedish since the tone language stems from the Swedish tradition. In addition, the berimbau amplifies the regional features of western Sweden in the music. By tradition, rhythm instruments are not used in folk music from the region of Värmland but in this case the berimbau emphasises the typical uneven rhythm of the polska, a characteristic which makes the music sound as if it were from western Sweden.

University Studies and Higher Education

Sparve lilla establishes that the musicians in Groupa have acquired skills within several music traditions, not least within Swedish folk tonality and rhythm. This is an important difference compared to earlier generations of musicians. During the last 20 years, folk music has gained more ground within music education and training programmes at universities and academies of music in the Nordic countries. One result of this is the development of “new” folk music theory. To be able to discuss and teach the rhythm, interval structure and modal principles of folk music, it has also been necessary to develop a subject terminology. Sven Ahlbäck, who is responsible for the folk music programme at the Royal College of Music in Stockholm, is one of those who have put a lot of effort into developing the subject. The theory of music outlined in the textbook *Folkmusik i Sverige* (folk music in Sweden), published by Lundberg & Ternhag in 1996, and which is used at most folk music programmes in Sweden, is based on Ahlbäck’s work. During the last ten-year period, Ahlbäck has published two textbooks on rhythm and pitch relation in Swedish folk music (Ahlbäck 1995a, b). Ahlbäck also discusses four Swedish modes apart from the “major and minor” ones, i.e. willow pipe mode, shepherd song mode, magdalene mode and carol mode (M.DL980701). The terms are constructed based on the type of environment, instruments and tunes of the music, and have evolved in answer to the need for a joint language for education and discussion of musical structures.

Has the increase in insight regarding folk music theory had any direct bearing on how instruments and songs are played? The issue is perhaps more complex than one initially thinks. Knowledge of modal structures naturally enables musicians to emphasise typical characteristics, such as in *Sparve lilla*. Knowledge has also created scope for “compositions” such as Ahlbäck’s own *Vallåtar från Gammelboning* in which he combines herding calls and a traditional shepherd song into a polyphonic web, i.e. a new way of composing building on old musical principles.

I have cut apart the herding call and placed the parts in contrast with each other. I have fused two monophonics into a three-part. But I have also added some newly written parts. It is strictly arranged but should sound free-floating. It is intended to sound like a taqsim. Shepherd songs are taqsim. They have the same basic feeling.

For the shepherd song, I have thought in terms of key notes. When the herding call is in D, the shepherd song is in G. What is first pitch position 1 becomes -4 in the next one. In other words, two shepherd song modes that are related to each other. In the last section, the ostinato, you change back to -4, D, and you place the herding call in D against that. It is thanks to the theoretic knowledge than I can arrange things this way. (M.DL980701)

Another influence can be seen in the fact that the use of quartertones in Swedish folk music appears to have increased in the last 10–20 years. This, together with more popular use of drone parts, results in many young Swedish musicians sounding more old-time than their older colleagues. The singer Emma Härdelin's ballad *Den bortsålda* is based on a 1957 recording by the Finnish-Swedish singer Helmi Brenner (born 1891). Interestingly, Härdelin's version from the 1990s sounds older than the original regarding tone language (c.f. Lundberg & Ternhag 1996:72p). Whether such musical features have to do with an increase in knowledge regarding folk music theory, or whether they “just” form a part of a “blend of new and old” folk music fashion, is, of course, impossible to determine.

Folk Chamber Music and Drone Rock

Apart from a continued strong tradition of folk musicians, two main lines of development can be seen within the branch of Swedish folk music that is commonly known as world music. Both lines strive to arrange and play songs in ensembles. Previous studies have labelled the two styles “drone rock” and “folk chamber music” (Lundberg & Ternhag 1996:166pp, Lundberg 1997:48pp). As its name indicates, drone rock is influenced by rock music, not least in the instrumentation where drums and electric instruments have a central role. Well-known groups within drone rock include Hedningarna, Garmarna and Hoven Droven. Folk chamber music, on the other hand, is characterised by attempts to achieve acoustic sounds and a delicate musical “fine-playing” comprising intricate voices and rhythms. Groups such as Väsen, Rosenbergs sjuå and Frifot are prominent representatives of this style. Many of the groups who are linked to the Stockholm Academy of Music and have been formed in recent years, can be included in this category.

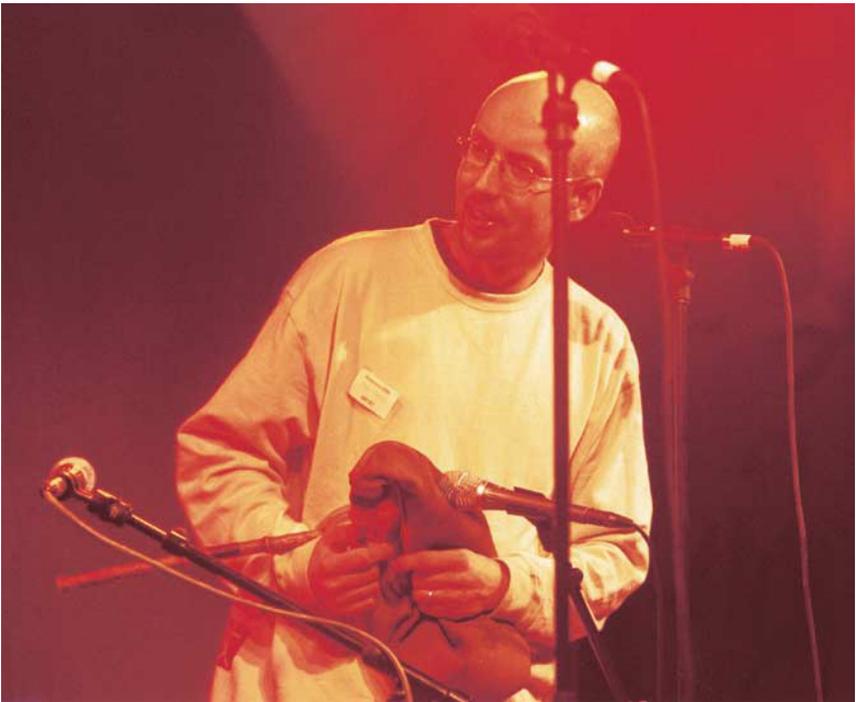
From time to time folk chamber musicians are criticised for turning their folk music into art music. Drone rocker and guitar player Gotte Ringqvist in the group Garmarna discusses the question of whether folk chamber music will become the folk music of the future:

Is drone rock losing ground?

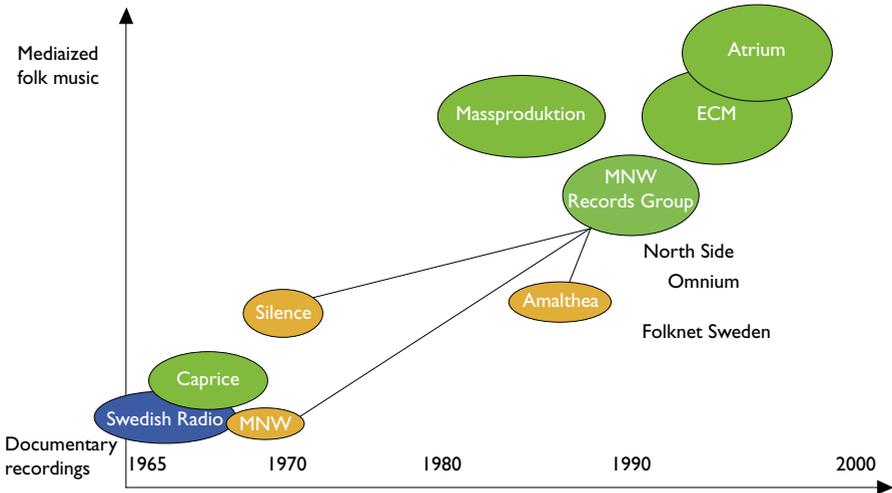
It has its limitations. I don't know. I consider most of the things produced today boring. Especially all that Atrium stuff. It's too nice. There are loads of records produced in the 1970s recorded in people's kitchens that are better. Even the way they played the tunes, sometimes on only two fiddles, they still had more of a rock'n'roll sound. More passion, you know, or fervour, or whatever you want to call it. Nothing like that gets made today because everything has to be so damn beautiful. Väsen have managed to maintain some of the original feeling but they are incredibly good musicians. And so have Frifot, their stuff is strong. But they are just about the only groups who have vibe.



The singers Ulrika Bodén and Sofia Sandén in the group Ranarim, February 2000. Photo: Dan Lundberg.



Bagpiper Anders Norudde in the group Hedningarna (The Heathens). Photo: Dan Lundberg.



During the 1980s and 1990s Swedish folk music has started to transform into Swedish “world music”. These changes concern both the actual music in it self and the way in which is treated and regarded. Some of the changes are easy to spot. Many groups have started to experiment with mixtures of rock/pop and folk music. A commercial infra structure similar to that of rock music—and many other branches of music—has been developed in short time.

I believe that this has to do with education. They all studied at the College of Music in Stockholm—the school is often behind the phenomenon. That gang is talented as hell, but they tend to play folk music in a kind of classical way. I prefer a more unschooled and raw sound. (M.DL98II04)

Hedningarna has been appointed by many as the group that paved the way for drone rock. Anders Norudde, Hållbus Totte Matsson and Björn Tollin formed the group in 1986–1987 and became successful when they helped cement the popularity of a stage play through their composing in the summer of 1989. In 1992, the group achieved its commercial breakthrough when the members worked with the Finnish singers Sanna Kurki-Suonio and Tellu Palulasto on the CD *Kaksi*. At present (summer 2000), *Kaksi* has sold 40,000 copies, as has the follow-up 1994 with the CD *Trä (Wood)*. These are very high figures for folk music in Sweden.

Hedningarna also had predecessors in groups who had undertaken similar experiments already during the 1970s. Hedningarna, however, emphasises the drone and uses recreated instruments such as bagpipes, hurdy-gurdy and moraharpa (a 3-string keyed fiddle). The same year that Hedningarna released *Kaksi*,

the importance of folk music was substantiated when the group Garmarna played at the Hultsfred festival—the most important rock festival in Sweden. Garmarna, which comprised four members at the time, signed a record deal with Swedish Massproduktion, a record company who had up till then only produced punk music.

Mediaized Folk Music

Naturally, the development of Swedish world music has gone hand-in-hand with technological developments. As folk music has drawn closer to pop music, it has also made use of new technology and new media channels. Today, there are several styles of mediated Swedish folk music, i.e. styles based on or dependent on a media. Drone rock groups such as Garmarna find it difficult to perform parts of their repertoire live in cases where they cannot use computers, multi-channel equipment and large separated monitor systems. Since not all folk music organisers have kept up with developments this sometimes creates problems for performances, as Gotte Ringqvist of Garmarna points out.

We use samples and drum loops that Jens (the drummer) plays against to keep on track. So we are dependent on good monitoring, and we need 20 channels because otherwise not all... well, we just need them. It's not that we are flashing the need for major equipment, just that we need it. When we toured Germany we discovered that they are still into folk music performed by way of one mike. Or we performed in places that only had eight channels and no monitors, and we tried to explain that we wouldn't be able to play. We really can't play. They managed to cough up one monitor system. We couldn't play everything so we had to leave stuff out and we couldn't put a mike on the drums. We just had to cut things out. We couldn't play all the instruments, and that happened a lot in Germany. (M.DL981104)

By tradition, folk music has lived on by oral transmittance. This has even been a prerequisite and a fundamental part of the concept of folk music. Recordings made up until the last 20 years have, as a consequence, been documentary, i.e. performances were recorded live often without overdubs and with the use of a limited amount of channels. The growth of “world music” as mixed music incorporating pop and folk ingredients has to a large extent been linked with an increase in the mediaization and mediation of the music. The documentary recording tradition is still with us, mainly represented by record companies such as Giga, who still make two-channel recordings without add-ons. But several other companies who are usually equated with world music productions basically undertake documentary recordings.

The Role of the Producer

Although Olle Paulsson at Drone calls himself a producer, he actually has very little to do with the production of “music” during the process of recording.

So you are more of a publicist?

Yes, and that’s the role I want to have. I don’t feel that I... First, I haven’t the skills needed for recordings, i.e. to be a music producer, since I haven’t the experience that is needed. Second, I would probably be preoccupied by estimating what each minute costs so that I would put pressure on the whole situation. And third, I’m more of a doer and I believe it’s best not to get involved in that other stuff. ... I was involved in the recording of Nyckelharpsorkestern’s *Till Eric*. I was occupied in a much nicer capacity as the one who ensured that meatballs, sandwiches and good food were in constant supply. That was a very nice role to play and the best I could do in that situation. And carry loudspeakers, cords and other items of course. But that’s as far as I am prepared to go in terms of being a producer. (M.DL980930)

The opposite occurs at Atrium, where the producer Manne von Ahn prefers not to record finished material. Ahn says that he wants to build up a CD world that differs markedly from the world of live music.

You create an environment on the CD—an environment of sound. So it is very important what you choose to fill out the space between tracks with, i.e. in which form the songs, that is the sequence of the songs, are laid out. I see the CD as an environment and the studio as the tool whereby I can achieve my goals. (M.DL991203)

We Want to Embrace the Listener in a Nordic Atrium World

“According to Greek mythology, the atrium, which was probably pronounced in a different way, was the part of the main building which was used for eating, meditating, having sex and relaxing—The four cornerstones” says Manne von Ahn in an interview. “The Romans redid the atrium somewhat in terms of design and architecture”, he continues, “and atriums began to be built where toga parties were held.”

In other words, with its label Atrium, Warner Music Sweden hopes to create a virtual CD room furnished with Swedish folk music sounds and rhythms.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ C.f. “atrium” in the Swedish National Encyclopaedia: atrium (lat. a word of uncertain origins, perhaps related to lat. áter ‘black’, dark, and in that case possibly originally referring to the part of the house which became blackened by smoke from the hearth; a number of etymologies assume however an Etruscan origin for the word). [trans.] The central room of the Roman dwelling house of antiquity, surrounded by smaller rooms and with a roof opening in the centre (compluvium) and a sunken basin beneath (impluvium).

Today, the record label Atrium is one of the most debated phenomena in the arena of Swedish world music. Many are the critical voices that have objected to the commercial profile a Warner Music label undoubtedly entails, but there have also been objections to the world of sound created by Atrium.

Manne von Ahn is happy to describe Atrium as a concept—a whole in which the Nordic scenery is coloured by music. Atrium is meant to reach beyond the music, and each production involves as much work on acoustics as on visual design; of form and homogeneity in music, sound, photography and lyrics.

I have certainly tried to build a philosophy around Atrium. You may feel it is feigned, but I want the name to conjure up images, poetry and music from the Nordic region. And in the long run, we plan to build further on the company to incorporate book publishing and image publishing too. (M.DL99I203)

The inspiration comes from the German record company ECM (Edition of Contemporary Music).⁸⁶ In 1994, ECM issued Willemark & Möller's CD *Nordan*. *Nordan* gave ECM access to the genre of world music. The company had previously focused on jazz and art music. For ECM it was also a question of creating a "concept", a series of records that had a particular profile in both layout and sound. *Nordan* has been followed by the CD *Agram* in 1996.

In the beginning of the 1990s, Ahn freelanced at ECM as a technician. He learned that Manfred Eicher had plans for a Nordic world music venture and decided to "steal back" Nordic music.

...he has lined his pockets at the expense of our Nordic history, our image of the Nordic region and our Nordic atmosphere. Look at his CD covers for groups such as *Nordan*, *Agram* and *Frifot* and all the Norwegian jazz and folk musicians that he has launched abroad. We have a lot to thank him for. He has certainly gained international attention for what we do but he has nicked our concept. When I was freelancing for ECM, I couldn't let go of the idea that I would one day return and steal back all that he has taken. (M.DL99I203)

In 1995, the guidelines of a venture involving the Atrium label were drawn up by a team comprising Klas Lunding, Manne von Ahn (producer), Lars Nylin (promotions manager, Warner Sweden) och Kent Nyberg (designer).

The marketing plan was based on the idea that "we wouldn't give a damn about the Nordic countries since this kind of music sells nil there". The label would have an exclusive profile, a "state of the art label" in terms of both design

⁸⁶ ECM was founded by Manfred Eicher and initially had a jazz focus. One of the most important artists was the Norwegian saxophonist Jan Garbarek.



Producer Manne von Ahn Öberg together with the fiddler Ola Bäckström in Warner Music Sweden's studio. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

and sound. With financial backing from Warner, the label would be able to afford the major resources needed in order to catch on abroad.

And what did they say? What did the Head of Warner Music International say?

The Head of Warner International thought it was a brilliant idea since Warner wanted a more cultural feather in its hat. We need to focus on things other than Madonna and Bruce Springsteen so that it seems as if we have something cultural to contribute with. (M.DL991203)

Sanji Tandam, who is Head of Warner in Scandinavia, fully endorsed Atrium, and the consensus is that if the label keeps strictly to its niche—the Atrium concept—and maintains high quality, sooner or later the efforts will pay off, as long as those involved can stay on course long enough. That Manne von Ahn had made a name for himself in the record industry was probably a decisive factor for Warner's goodwill. In advertisements and interviews, Ahn's skills as a producer and technician are often emphasised. Warner likes to call attention to his training and his Tonmeister Diploma from the Decca school in Germany, that he has worked at GRP (Grusin Rosen Production), that he has worked with Brian Eno and so on.

For a new label to establish itself a number of titles are needed to build up a catalogue, and Atrium has achieved this very quickly. In May 1997, four albums were released, and in the beginning of 2000, the label had already produced 15 releases that are sold in 28 countries. Sales are between 5,000 to 20,000 copies per CD, according to Manne von Ahn, and most of these are sold outside Sweden. Atrium recordings sell best in Japan and Canada. The label also produces special editions of the CDs in order to better access local markets.

As an example, one can ask Swedish traditional fiddler Ola Bäckström to write more focused songs. And then one can invite guest musicians from Taiwan to perform Swedish folk music with him, which makes it easier for the Warner office to sell Ola's stuff in Taiwan.

What?!... You add local colour and so on. Are you doing that now?

With Ola?

Yes.

No, not with Ola.

But you have done it with others?!

Yes.

(M.DL99I203)

So, to achieve better sales figures, local musicians can be included to form a link with a certain public, thereby implying that the record is the result of a collaboration between domestic and international musicians. Although it hasn't yet been done, it is perfectly feasible to release the same CD in, for example, Canada and Japan, whereby in the first instance one adds a North American Indian song and, in the second instance, perhaps some taiko drums.

Yes, but it is also a way of shamelessly utilising commercial channels.

Judging by your reaction it seems that you yourself do not all together endorse this!

Well, yes I do.

But why use the word "shamelessly"?

But...

You are fully expecting to be hanged for this!

Well yes, I suppose I am.

So what can you do about it?

Just carry on. What else can I do?

But what I mean to say is that when you yourself describe it as shameless, perhaps you feel that you have gone too far, that you are too commercial.

But I don't feel that. As long as the artist doesn't have to renounce his or her integrity or material.

(M.DL99I203)

So Ahn is worried of being criticised for using “shameless” sales tricks. But the artist should not have to renounce his or her integrity, he says. At the same time, the artist builds up his or her material in the studio together with Ahn, who, as we have seen, prefers musicians to present unfinished material. On the other hand, Ahn does offer his artists full freedom in terms of working with other record companies while under contract to Warner, and this is hardly a choice open to pop musicians.

I want to give the artists as much opportunities as possible. Take an artist such as the saxophonist Jonas Knutsson, for example, who plays in 23 different constellations and releases 18 records at the same time. I ensure that he has the possibility of playing what he likes apart from what he does for us. If Knutsson were a pop musician he would not be given the option of playing for anyone but Warner. He would have to stick to that. But I have explained the situation to Warner, that this is how musicians of this kind need to solve things, and that we have to draw up a different kind of contract. When I sign an artist, I explain that this is the prerequisite for joining us. That I understand if the artist prefers not to play for others but that the opportunity is there if he so wishes. And that he is allowed to do what he wants outside of Warner. Knutsson plays classic jazz and that weird oriental saxofon, as well as playing for Atrium.

Bad Dancing

An interesting tension exists between world music’s local and global means of expression as between world music as a genre and the older traditions on which it is built.

During the 1980s, Swedish folk music “borrowed” many instruments from other styles of music. With the groups Groupa and Filarfolket as models, increasing numbers of folk music ensembles began to use wind instruments, synthesisers and percussion. Guitar and bouzouki have become accepted as folk music instruments and many older drone instruments have come back into use. In addition an international ethnic instrument depot has been created during the last 20 years. It includes instruments that originally had a local use and that have, through distribution on courses and via media, extended beyond their original domains. The Brazilian berimbau, which has been mentioned earlier and also percussion instruments such as the djembe and darbu-ka, belong to this group. In an article (*didgeridoo—from Arnhem country to the Internet*), Ronström (1999) tells us how music at a wedding in Tofta church on Gotland was played on the didgeridoo. It is clear that the Swedish nyckelharpa is currently undergoing the same type of internationalisation as, for example, the African kora and mbira did before it.

The question of which instruments are included in the “ethnic instrument depot” depends on many different factors. First and foremost they must have a particular ethnic distinctiveness and be associated with local traditions. But also factors such as social and cultural acceptance and status, accessibility, ease of play, distribution and communication possibilities etc. have great significance. Then there are the more solid musical circumstances such as, for example, scales and systems of harmonics. Rhythm instruments are often more easily adapted than other instruments. The didgeridoo’s double function as drone and rhythm instrument fits into many modal musical traditions perfectly. The chromatic nyckelharpa fits into the majority of Western folk music traditions but still gives a distinctive “exotic” touch.

The incorporation of instruments or idioms from other cultures is seldom painless. Changes can be seen as a threat to the “real” tradition. Many Swedish world music groups are criticised for spoiling “Swedish folk music”. No doubt many raise their eyebrows when they hear djembe players at folk fiddle player assemblies or didgeridoo in folk music ensembles. The conflict between innovators and traditionalists has several times been expressed during Swedish world music groups’ tours of the US. The tension between folk music and world music seems to be especially strong in the American public. The folk music following seems to mainly be of Swedish decent while the world music following belongs to a category of omnivores in a folk music context.⁸⁷ The nyckelharpa player Bart Brashers in Seattle talks about the American public’s preferences:

Which music works in these circles then? Is it contemporary Swedish folk music or is it old folk music? Do people listen to Väsen, Garmarna and Hedningarna or to Per Hans?

In the US it is predominantly Per Hans [Olsson], Johnny [Soling], Kalle [Almlöf] and the older more traditional folk music. There are many here in Seattle especially, like when Väsen have been here, I’ve fixed it for them to come here twice now, that have come up to me and said that this is... Many don’t like Väsen. Many do like Väsen of course, but especially no when they added the drummer [André] Ferarri, there were very many who thought it wasn’t folk music any more. Roger [Tallroth] they can put up with but André, it was too much. They want it to be more traditional. When Garmarna were here and played in Seattle I don’t think anyone from the Swedish folk dance or Swedish folk music movement came down. It was young rock enthusiasts or folk rock followers who came to their concert. They made a big loss I think. I personally listen to both and I like both, but I can also keep them apart.

(M.DK980416:1)

The reactions to Väsen’s drum kit and to Garmarna or not unexpected. Swedish folk music fans are more tolerant, perhaps because they most often do not re-

⁸⁷ Compare North Side Records’ market survey p. 233.



"Ethnic percussion". Norwegian musician Terje Isungset in Groupa. Photo: Dan Lundberg.



"Ethnic percussion". The Norwegian group "Føyk" February 2000. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

gard the two lines of development as threats to each other. At the same time, the same tendency exists here, even among the musicians themselves. Gotte Ringqvist in Garmarna explains that when they included the percussionist Jens Höglin in the group, they did not at first want him to play the drums. Höglin had no folk music background at all and was instead a hard rock drummer in Sundsvall. In Garmarna his fellow musicians required him to stand up and play. He would only use the kettledrum and cymbals and snare drum was absolutely ruled out. He successively built up his drum kit, almost surreptitiously, with a bass pedal drum, hi-hat and finally even a snare (M.DL98II04).

Olov Johansson in Väsen bears witness to how the group's modern arrangement and style of play has contributed to the polarisation of American audiences and how they have been accused of encouraging "bad dancing" by playing too far from "tradition".

It was also interesting when we were at a "folk music camp" in Maryland; it was called Ramblewood. And it was going to be "Scandinavian week" there as it was called then, one of these folk music camps. And it was organised by Bruce Sagan and his wife, they organised it for many, many years. But this was the first time they invited a folk music group. It had previously been very focused on dance. Dance pedagogues had been there, ever since the late 1960s I should think, and taught dance. And people who had their roots in the Youth Ring went there. They've had music too and they've asked these dance teachers, who have brought along their dance folk fiddle players. They're not always the most innovative fiddlers, and perhaps not the most motivated either in many cases, more like functional fiddle players. So its that scene that has become a bit predominant there, so when we arrived with Väsen then, then... The camp was divided into two camps. Half of them thought "at last something that swings and lets loose, you feel like dancing and sort of letting loose". They loved it. And the other half thought it was terrible. "You can't do this to Swedish folk music." The course organisers received an e-mail afterwards telling them that "Väsen encourages bad dancing". And it gets sick when you come from Sweden and live in an environment where it works. You can go out and dance, like now on Saturday you can go up to Vendel and dance to music from this district, a public dance you know, that the fiddle team there puts on. There's so much here now, the music has developed. The old stuff also still exists. There's a whole spectrum. But in the US, there was a particular section. And when you did something else they were completely confused. At first, when we realised what it was, it was frustrating. Then it became a bit comical. (M.MB980II6)

Bart Brashers reported an opinion he had heard on Väsen's dancing audience in the US: "They look like a bunch of dolphins you flicked up out of the water" (M.DL9804I6:I).

The same fear that modern music will cause the extinction of the tradi-

tional is to be found in the Assyrian case study where the musician and composer Joseph Malki expresses similar fears regarding satellite TV channels with Turkish and Arabic music. Swedish-Assyrians and American-Swedes seem in other words to be wrestling with the same dilemma in their fear of the dilution of traditions. It may be that it is a sign that the situation in exile makes tradition particularly vulnerable.

Actors

At the Falun folk music festival's music fair Norrskén 2000 a public debate was arranged with the title "With qualified folk musicians and pedagogues—what is happening to the music?" The invited panel was comprised of music school-teachers, music researchers, musicians and people from record companies. The following was in the programme sheet:

Nowadays there are professional qualifications in the area of folk music in all Nordic countries. The oldest is more than 15 years old, which means the effects of the qualifications can be listened to. Because what happens to the music when the folk music scene is increasingly populated by well-educated musicians and singers—and when teaching in music-play and ballad is undertaken by trained folk music pedagogues? The music changes, this much is certain, but how? (Information sheet for Norrskén 2000) [trans.]

Behind this wondering a fear can be glimpsed that folk music will lose its "magic" if the musicians become over schooled. Since the 19th century compilations the image of folk music and its practitioners has been characterised by the absence of education. The fiddle player as a child of nature and music that has sprung from the collective folk soul was how the romantics saw the context of folk music. With folk music as an object of study at the colleges of music, that image changes as the folk music pedagogue replaces the mysteries of music yore as mentor.

But the programme text above also reflects something else; the shift in folk music from practice to science. During the 1980s and 1990s, many of folk music's *doers* changed position and now work as experts/*knowers* in various fields. One of the authors of the most recent handbook *Folkmusik i Sverige* (folk music in Sweden) is an active folk musician. The majority of currently active Swedish music ethnologists have backgrounds as musicians. Several of folk music's/world music's active debaters have similar backgrounds. Two of the researchers on this project, Dan Lundberg and Owe Ronström, are active musicians in the folk music field. A not uncommon "career move" for folk musicians is taking the step, via the pedagogue role, from doer to knower.

In previous works the change of terms from “fiddle player” to “folk musician” has been discussed by Lundberg (Lundberg and Ternhag 1996:153p.). The fact that increasing numbers of young musicians in the domains of folk music choose to call themselves “folk musician” reflects a new perspective on both their own role as a musician and the music. Through education and increased competency certain actors in the folk music field have undergone a process of professionalisation and formalisation. This has led to a more tenuous link between the musicians and their own tradition. Many folk musicians are individually active in different styles and genres. At the same time folk music increasingly resembles other art forms in its forms of expression and contexts. Against this backdrop it is natural that this category sees themselves as musicians rather than fiddle players.

The category *maker* has also changed significantly during the last 20 years. Festival arrangers and folk music agencies are new actors in world music’s arenas. An increasing professionalisation is ongoing among the makers too. The more commercial direction among agencies, certain record companies and music producers involved in folk music is also a new phenomenon that has created a more distinct boundary between enthusiasts and professionals.

An important part of Garmarna since *Guds spelemän* is “Sankan”, i.e. our producer, Ulf Sandqvist. He has produced Thåström (well-known Swedish rock musician) and the like, played with Thåström. He’s never been into folk music but he is damned good at music. Unbelievably good at tuning in sound. It’s crucial because if you’re a band, regardless of whether you want to or not, you get stuck in way of thinking when it comes to arrangement and it’s so difficult to move beyond it. Because you don’t see the obvious. So when we began working with Sankan, he just said—this song, it’s too long. We can’t make it interesting on CD. He thinks commercially of course in a completely different way from us. The CD has to sell as well.

He taught us to change key, changing key when you’re playing drone music, we’d never thought of that. (Interview with Gotte Ringqvist in Garmarna M.DL98II904)

“Sankan” and other mediaization experts have come to mean more and more not least for groups with international ambitions. Robert Simonds at North Side Records in Minneapolis, USA pointed out that they are sometimes dissatisfied with the mixing on the master tapes they get from Swedish recording companies. Even less satisfactory is the “non-commercial” sequence of tracks in Simmond’s opinion. Many Swedish bands are out to create a whole out of the tracks and do not concern themselves with trying to attract buyers with the help of the track sequence.



Actors in Swedish World Music.

We can create a different sequence for the American market. We've done that a few times on records here. You know it's really critical for us for the first track to be probably the strongest track on the record because we spend a lot of money putting these CD:s in listening stations in these stores. The consumer will put the head phones on and they'll scan through the disc, and if they don't like what they hear in the first 20 seconds you've lost them. So, we're doing the record by Swåp, and we've put a different lead track on and switched the order, because... I don't know if you are familiar with that record, but it opens with just Ola [Bäckström] doing a solo fiddle thing for the first minute and a half. Very quiet kind of echoey solo fiddle thing and then finally the rest of the quartet comes in and plays a higher energy part but we wouldn't get past the first minute and a half to the usual American listener so we put a track that is kind of a more immediate quartet interplay. That's the type of things that we feel our role is as the US record company. (M.DL980420)

Many new ways of using the technology and adapting to new media have, as previously mentioned followed pop/rock influences. There is a lot of truth in the humorous epithet that Klas Gustafson gave the Falun folk music festival: "the arranger who taught Swedish fiddle players to do a sound check" (Gustafson 1998b).

In the increasing mediaization and commercialisation there is a tendency to increased homogenisation and reduced diversity. At the same time musicians like Hadrian Prett in Rosenbergs 7a, Tractorpullerz and Urga would like to see more groups in the same styles. A clearer genre formation would contribute



Fiddler Hadrian Prett on stage with his group Tractorpullerz in Falun, Sweden February 2000.

to an increase in the number of arenas for world music and thereby in concert opportunities.

Imagine there were 15 groups that sounded like Hedningarna and Garmarna, then maybe we would get a stage. I'm probably thinking of the way it is in the pop world now with 14 Oasis bands. That diversity means that a need is created. (M.DL980923)

Prett is of the opinion that many bands in the same genre are necessary in order for permanent stages for Swedish world music to be created. Music dis-

tributors and retailers think in the same way. Better defined genres create a broader audience and thereby greater demand. But this type of genre breadth is not, from the commercial recording companies' perspective, a goal in itself. At a hearing on Swedish folk music called "The Next Big Thing", which was arranged by Swedish National Concerts and the National Association of Folk Music and Dance in Stockholm in March 1998, the advice from foreign guests (Andrew Cronshaw, Phillip Page and Robert Simonds) was unanimous: that more should be invested in individual groups and projects to attain commercial success. Previously, Swedish institutions like the Swedish National Council for Cultural Affairs and Swedish National Concerts set out to safeguard diversity but this idea must be abandoned if success is to be achieved on the world music market. If Swedish world music is to be marketed abroad, all resources should be invested in one or two groups. In an interview Robert Simonds says it would be possible to sell music on the Swedish hurdy-gurdy in the US. That there are only a few hurdy-gurdy players in Sweden does not matter. It only took one Jimmy Hendrix he says, half-joking.

But there aren't very many good vevlira-players.

Well, it doesn't take many. It only took Jimi Hendrix. Only one Jimi Hendrix. How many do you need? — Just give me one good one!

(M.DL980420)

In the *doers* category there have never before been so many young, skilled musicians in the folk music genre. Swedish folk music has never previously had so many women practitioners as today either. At the international youth camp for folk musicians, Ethno, the number of women participants has been higher than the number of men during recent years. The young people at Ethno are between 15 and 25 years old and are invited from throughout the world to a week-long folk music workshop where they teach each other under the supervision of experienced Swedish musicians. During recent years the gender division has been the following.⁸⁸

- 1996: 46 Swedish participants, of which 35 girls
- 1997: 49 Swedish participants, of which 32 girls
- 1998: 54 Swedish participants, of which 34 girls
- 1999: 52 Swedish participants, of which 36 girls

The girls in other words significantly outnumber the boys. This can be taken as a sign that the production of folk music, as with instrumental music in gen-

⁸⁸ Information from Peter Ahlbom, the Swedish Concert Institute.

eral, has become less tied to gender. Against this background it is remarkable that there are so few women musicians in Swedish world music. It seems as if women musicians stop sometime in their twenties. One need only look at the groups named in this case study to realise that the number of women instrumentalists is negligible. On the other hand, song is very much on the rise. The situation at the colleges of music perhaps provides an explanation. Very few women apply to study to become musicians, instead they choose the courses in pedagogy to a greater extent than male students do. On a question about the division of gender among folk music students at the College of Music in Stockholm, Sven Ahlbäck the Head and a folk musician, replies by e-mail:

The short answer is that the majority of female instrumentalists attending courses at colleges of music choose teacher training after which they often settle down locally (working at schools of music and/or having children) and strikingly seldom take up the path of performing again until (sometimes) much later. Because this does not at all apply to singers to the same extent. I am of the opinion it is a question of culture. One might possibly object that maintaining a high instrumental standard of play places greater demands on time compared with song, which one quite simply cannot practice to the same extent. But it is insufficient as an explanation... There are stubborn structures here, which (...) I believe relate to the image of ones own significance for the world and as art being conditioned by gender roles. For the guys on our courses a large ego is more acceptable, as it is for the singers—a profession where it is okay for a girl to be a great artist (role models exist).⁸⁹

Tendencies

It is conceivable that the next trend on the world music scene will be female instrumentalists. Tendencies in this direction have despite everything been present during the 1990s. At the same time, the rapid development on the vocal side of things has not taken root at all among male practitioners. Female vocalists seem almost more dominant within world music than in other areas of popular culture. What is more, this seems to be an international tendency.

What is required for a hit on the world music scene? What does the ideal Swedish world music group look like? When this question has been put to interview subjects, both musicians and record company representatives, they have often been able to provide quick answer.

Olle Paulsson (Drone Records AB):

Väsen with André Ferarri and a female vocalist.

⁸⁹ From an e-mail from Sven Ahlbäck 1 February 2000.

Hadrian Prett (folk musician):

Live:

A festival band. Either incredibly broad or incredibly narrow. Base, drum kit, electric guitar. And out of that you have a sound; it should be pretty strong. I'd have a music group with sound pressure. That's probably the main part. Its not primarily attentive listening that counts... I would probably have a singer that had some ethnic style, maybe select a few ethnic instruments.

CD (for the US):

It'd be unbelievably commercial, but I'd have a nyckelharpa, which is a symbol for us Swedes too, so there'd be no doubt among the musicians that this was going to be Swedish. I'd probably have a repertoire that was mixed with the drone so you get a mystical air. But there's quite a lot there that's well established; schottische, pentatonic, the Irish. To get this... It's exotic but not strange.

Ellika Frisell (folk musician, pedagogue):

This choir-thinking is going to be a style-builder... And Väsen, I think that this genre is going to grow steadily in every possible direction. That you can just as well meet a musician from some other land and turn on to that music. The contacts mean that it isn't always fully worked out ideas but that it just happens to be so.

Per Moberg (folk musician, music college student):

Drum and base, drone instruments like the hurdy-gurdy and a female singer.

Robert Simonds (North Side Records):

Well that Väsen record was pretty damn close. I can't tell you that because it's a magic that happens when musicians get together that can't be preconceived.

Global Pop in Some Countries in the Caribbean and East Africa

Orientation and Questions at Issue

In earlier work, Krister Malm has studied the interplay between global and local areas of music in a number of countries, including Trinidad and Jamaica in the Caribbean and Kenya and Tanzania in Eastern Africa (Malm 1981, Wallis & Malm 1984, Malm & Wallis 1992). In these studies patterns of change have been described up to the beginning of the 1990s concerning the growth and change of local and national forms of popular music, changes in the media structure and the role of the media, important actors and arenas, etc. To gain perspective on some of the changes on the Swedish music scene mapped out in *Music · Media · Multiculture*, the earlier studies have been followed up with studies of changes in some relevant areas during the 1990s in Trinidad, Jamaica, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia.

The focus of this case study is on the mediation of music and the globalisation and re-localisation phenomenon as well as mediaization and localisation. The most important starting point for the study is to find out if, in a broad sense, the processes of global-local interplay that we have found in Sweden have counterparts in countries with completely different premises. Which similarities and differences exist? How global is in fact so-called “global music”? In many areas one can quite quickly establish that the development is similar. One such example is that primary mediaization of new, in particular folk music genres, is constantly ongoing in the countries studied just as in Sweden. However, the closer examination of details of these and other processes lies outside the range of this case study. The aim has primarily been to establish whether any of the phenomena and processes observed in Sweden exist in musical life in the subject countries and to detail possible causes of similarity and difference.

The material has been collected principally to illuminate four questions:

- What global forms of music have been actively taken up in the different countries' music scene? Which have not?

- Are there forms of music that have spread local-local via processes that resemble those described in the case studies about The Nyckelharpa People and the Swedish Caribbeans?
- How are global musics spread to and within these countries? Which are the important actors and arenas?
- What happens to global forms of music in new environments? Are they copied, are they localised, are they de-mediaized or are they the subject of re-mediaization?

To get an idea of how some global forms of music that have become popular in Sweden have been received in the countries in question, information has been collected in particular relating to the megastars of the 1990s (Madonna, Michael Jackson, etc.), nineties rock and rap/ragga/ reggae. This is particularly true of the last two questions at issue.

Some Background Facts⁹⁰

All five countries included in the study have as a common denominator that they were British colonies and became independent states in the beginning of the 1960s. In Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia, data has been collected in and around the capital cities; Nairobi (approx. 1.7 million inhabitants), Dar es Salaam (often just called Dar, approx. 1.6 inhabitants) and Lusaka (approx. 1.3 million inhabitants). The results reflect conditions in these urban areas. All three countries are republics. They have a number of ethnic groups with different languages and traditional forms of music. In Nairobi and Dar, Swahili works as well as English as the main medium of communication. In Lusaka English is the primary communication language. The languages and music of the different sub-groups have, however, a strong position even in the cities. Already in the 1940s local forms of popular music sprang up in the three cities. From about 1970 these popular music forms rapidly increased in number and electric instruments became common. Over and above the domestic forms of popular music, music from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) has been very popular in all three countries, as have certain forms of Western pop-music. The listeners and practitioners of popular music were once principally young students, but after the 1990s there is a large following in all strata of society.

⁹⁰ Detailed descriptions of music and media in Kenya, Tanzania, Jamaica and Trinidad are to be found in Wallis & Malm 1984 and Malm & Wallis 1992. See also the introductory texts on Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam and Lusaka in "Rap, Ragga and Reggae in Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam and Lusaka" on the website.

The three countries have a traditionally strong state-owned radio and television, which until the 1990s was the only domestic medium on the air. Private broadcasting companies have appeared during the 1990s. In this area, the media situation is similar to that in Sweden, even if the African broadcasting-media have significantly fewer resources than the Swedish. In Dar regular television transmissions began as late as 1994. In Nairobi there has been a phonogram industry with a handful of studios and publication companies since the 1960s. In Dar and Lusaka there have only been the rudiments of a phonogram industry. The CD format however, has not yet been established in any of the countries; publication is in the form of cassettes.

Jamaica and Trinidad are two Caribbean islands with approximately 2.5 and 1 million inhabitants respectively. Jamaica is an independent state in the British Commonwealth, while Trinidad is the larger of two islands comprising the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The language is local dialects of English (Creole English). The majority of Jamaica's inhabitants are of African or mixed origin. There are also smaller population groups with European, Indian, Syrian, Chinese and other origins. Trinidad has a composite population of African, Indian, French, British, Portuguese, Spanish, Chinese, Lebanese and Syrian origins and every kind of blend between. Many local forms of popular music have arisen in both countries. Several have become recognised internationally, including Trinidad's calypso, which goes back to the turn of the 1900s, and Jamaica's reggae and ragga/dance hall from the 1970s and 1980s. Calypso influenced early East African popular music in the 1950s. Ragga/dance hall has heavily influenced rap.

Both countries formerly had state-owned broadcasting companies alongside a few private radio stations. Since the 1940s reception of radio transmissions from Florida has been possible. When satellite transmissions became common in the 1980s, both Jamaica and Trinidad fell within the area covered by satellites transmitting to the US. In other words, with satellite dishes and private decoders, wealthy people have access to all American TV channels. In Trinidad cable TV has also become common since the mid-1990s. During the 1990s increasing numbers of private radio and TV companies have been established and also a number of production companies. At the same time the state-owned companies have been sold off. Today the broadcasting situation is similar to that in the US.

In Jamaica a fairly strong domestic phonogram industry has existed since the 1950s. In Trinidad the rudiments of a phonogram industry existed in the 1960s and 1970s, but in recent decades publication has mainly been by the artists themselves on their own labels. The trans-national phonogram companies have not established themselves in either Jamaica or Trinidad. Vinyl records



DJ Dermot Hussey, Jamaica, on his way to a gig. Photo: Monika Sarstad.

and cassettes have been the most common formats, but CDs have become more common during the closing years of the 1990s.

What Global Forms of Music have Taken Root?

Practically every global form of music has reached the three African capital cities and the two Caribbean islands. But only a few have taken root and become more permanent features in local musical life.

In Jamaica and sometimes even in Trinidad, global music that has established itself is called “alternative music”. The most common is music by female singer/songwriters in soft-pop genres with folk characteristics of the type that began to be distributed globally by Joni Mitchell, Carol King and others. The genres have been given more airtime and a number of phonograms have been published. In Jamaica these genres are represented by among others Della Manley, Jana Bent and NePaul and in Trinidad by Karissa Lewes. All of these artists have travelled and even lived abroad at some point during their lives.

Soul and black soft-pop from the US have been given a lot of airtime by the domestic broadcasting media. There are some local practitioners of this music, though not many. Mainstream rock and music by the megastars of the

1990s is not played much by the local broadcasting media and has virtually no practitioners. There are, however, some interesting exceptions. In Trinidad the radio station FM 95.1 gradually changed format during 1997 to mainstream rock/pop and a club-owner has actively tried to persuade young musicians to play pop covers by organising an annual pop group competition. In Jamaica there are several artists in mainstream rock such as singer/songwriter/guitarist Paul Passion and the guitarist/songwriter/singer Gibby. Paul Passion lived in Belgium for five years and has been influenced by that period in his life. He names Rod Stewart and Bruce Springsteen as models. Gibby mostly plays Jamaican music, but in reality wants to play more rock:

I was really comfortable in backing up artists and paying the bills, but then it goes past where you want to do something you are feeling. Reggae or Jamaican music is very simple music. You don't get to express yourself a lot. The rhythms are very simple; you can go to sleep playing it. It doesn't encourage you to practice for ten hours. The music that I am playing now is that kind of music that makes you want to practice for ten hours a day, which is a good way to excel. (M.KM981206)

So Gibby tries to put together rock groups with among others Jimi Hendrix and Yngwie Malmsteen as models. He has played at the International Popular Music Fair in Cannes.

Two years ago I went to Cannes in France, MIDEM. I played there and this lady from the *Billboard* magazine Elena Omana, she said to me: 'What do you call your music?' So just off the top of my head I said: 'I like to call it reggae rock alternative music'. And I didn't know she was going to write anything about it. She wrote this article and it came out on the *Billboard* magazine cover. After that article came out our media here in Jamaica started writing about it. Before they wouldn't write about it. *Did the fact that you got on the front page of Billboard change the attitude in Jamaica?* Not solely for the better. Well, it worked out for the better, but some of the journalists were saying we didn't deserve to be on the *Billboard* magazine cover. Our music hadn't done anything yet. We were just starting—making noise. (M.KM981206)

There is in other words a fairly powerful resistance to rock in Jamaica because of the strong position of domestic music. Among the handful of rock aficionados there is also an opinion that their music is not played on the radio because they lack the money to bribe the radio station's gatekeepers.

In both Jamaica and Trinidad there are bands with quite young members playing hard rock, thrash metal, speed metal and similar styles. In Trinidad it is principally the younger East Indians who play and listen to hard rock. In total there are over thirty rock bands on the island. The style is often mixed. Members of the band Babylon Pig describe their music as follows:

Our style is very blues influenced. It's like blues in the 90s style. With an edge. We are not really a speed band or a thrash band, but we are a heavy rock band. We prefer to play slow and heavy to fast and heavy. We always think if it's melodic enough it can draw you in mentally and you will actually hear what the band has to say. A slow groove. And you can't help that where we come from you get a little Caribbean flavour. We try to fuse our soca brand of music into the rock music. It basically comes out in the drums and bass. (M.KM981211)

In Jamaica the band Downstairs experiments with a blend of hard rock and reggae that they call "reggae metal".

Rap and hip hop have not really taken root in Jamaica and Trinidad. This is principally because one of the stylistic origins of rap is music styles that DJ Kool Herc and other immigrants from Jamaica took with them to the Bronx in the late 1960s. Ragga/dance hall in Jamaica has developed in parallel with the growth of rap in the US. The interplay between the two forms of music has been constant in which ragga/dance hall has to a greater extent influenced rap than vice versa. In Trinidad in 1971 Lancelot Kebu pioneered a style in which spoken song was combined with calypso rhythms. A couple of years later the Riddim Band from Lavantille in Port of Spain began to call the music rapso, which it is generally called today. Rapso artists, with the veteran Brother Resistance at the head, together with radical calypso and soca artists are attached to the little music company Rituals. Rap is regarded as a development of their music, not just in Jamaica but also in Trinidad. Brother Resistance develops this:

Lancelot took the spoken word and explored that with the music and the rhythm of the land. The African experience: the word, the music, the dance, the drama is like one and that's what Lancelot brought to the land at that time.

So therefore when the music industry talks about the invention of rap music we have a contention in Trinidad that rap developed out of the Trinidad experience. But we don't argue that because the African experience would have manifested in different ways in different places. But Lancelot's recording "Blow 'way" preceded anything that could be called rap in America by at least 10 years.

Again I would say it is to me the same experience that developed in a different way in Jamaica. Not that the Jamaican experience influenced what we was doing in Trinidad. What we was doing in Trinidad came directly from the lineage of The Midnight Robber, and we consider The Robber to be the first "rapper" in the world. When you talk about the speed rap style and the double tongue and these things that is directly from The Midnight Robber, who was a central figure in carnival. Rapso would come directly from that and Pierrot Grenade. These characters predate the Jamaican sound systems and toasters.⁹¹ (M.KM980911)

A very particular phenomenon comprises the repertoire played by Trinidad's steelbands on instruments made of oil drums. These bands primarily play calypso and soca during the carnival season. Since the 1950s they have however, also freely incorporated parts of symphonies, opera arias and overtures, evergreens, pop, rock and soul tracks, boss nova, etc. into their repertoires. Sometimes the imported pieces are performed in calypso rhythm; sometimes they try to copy the original's style of performance. These phenomena are limited to the steelbands. It can be compared to the incorporation of melodies from other styles of music in the repertoires of local types of ensembles that has taken place in so many folk music cultures throughout the world.

Two other global forms of music have established themselves in Jamaica and Trinidad as well as in the three African countries. They are gospel and Indian film music (*filmi git*). Gospel arrived with missionaries from evangelical denominations in the US. Indian film music has of course been spread through the popular Indian films. In every country in this study there are groups of citizens of Indian origin. Indian film music is however, also popular among other population strata.

There is very little rock music or music by megastars in the three African countries. One reason is probably that the East African listener perceives rock music with its fairly rigid rhythm as very alien. The music is perceived as something for whites. The same attitude previously existed in Trinidad:

Ten years ago you couldn't play rock in Trinidad if you weren't white. Then it was cover music. Now the whole movement is on.⁹² (M.KM98I2I1)

Another reason is the cost of equipment in the form of the electrical and electronic instruments required for rock. Very few young people in Nairobi, Dar or Lusaka can afford to buy this equipment. There are a few exceptions, e.g. the band Hot Rod from Nairobi. The bands that play domestic popular music at dance clubs do not usually own their instruments. These often belong to their employers. This means that the musicians cannot play anything else than the club-owner tells them to. Many musicians in Kenya and Tanzania are as good as serfs (Malm 1999). One of reggae's pioneers in Dar, Jah Kimbute says:

To be employed or work for a club owner in Tanzania for a composer or one who wants to make his own music is a problem because the owner of the tools will want you to play a certain type of music. He won't give you a chance to do research or just

⁹¹ The Midnight Robber and Pierrot Grenade are traditional figures/roles/masks that appear in Trinidad's carnival.

⁹² Interview with the musician and sound-technician Sean Bartolomew in Trinidad. Many of the rock musicians in Trinidad are white or Indian. Few have African origins.

find yourself. He wants you to play what is on the market. That what is happening with a lot of bands here. The musicians just become like slaves. They have to wait for what is happening in Zaire and becomes popular in Tanzania and then they have to play that. (M.KM971026)

Because rock is not popular with the African public it is not played. At the tourist resorts along the Kenyan coast there are bands that play pop music, mainly “golden oldies”.

Of the global forms of music, apart from gospel and to a certain extent Indian film music, it is actually only rap, reggae and ragga/dance hall that have seriously established themselves in the three African countries.⁹³ Bob Marley is the megastar who is by far best known and admired. The reggae musician St Michael Zulu in Lusaka pointed out that among street children Bob Marley is probably better known than Jesus. Lusaka has the largest reggae presence of the three cities. Memorial concerts with local reggae bands have been held in both in Dar and Lusaka on the anniversary of Bob Marley’s death, in Lusaka practically every year since 1983. Other reggae festivals have been arranged. In Nairobi there are halls that resemble dance halls in Jamaica and various “toasters” (the Jamaican equivalent of rappers) perform exactly as in Jamaica. The number of active reggae and ragga artists is not high in any of the three cities, only approximately 50–100 people.

Rap is to be found in all three cities, but has most practitioners in Dar. Rhyming speak set to a rhythm has to the present day been a method for memorising and passing on knowledge from generation to generation in illiterate African cultures. It was not only rhyme and rhythm that was employed by the traditional African school. Different movements, dances, drama and various sorts of mask and disguise were used. Many African languages make no distinction between music, dance and drama. They form a unit. There is for example no word for music in many East African languages. Instead there is the word ngoma, which means music, dance, drama. Ngoma also means drum, which demonstrates how important the drum is. If one wants to say music, then “muziki”, a loan word from Arabic colonialists is used. One could say that ngoma is the same sort of concept as hip hop. It encompasses all expressions; music, images, clothes, movements. It is here we find some of rap’s most important roots. When young Africans take up rap, it is a style of music that is not particularly foreign.

⁹³ For a thorough account of how this manifests itself in the three African cities, see “Rap, Ragga and Reggae in Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam and Lusaka” on the website. There are illustrations and a range of examples of how the local globally influenced music sounds with the groups named in the text below. Rap’s significance for young people in Tanzania is thoroughly described in Remes 1999.

Rap as a musical style and clothes fashion is the genre that has established itself most. Other components of hip hop such as graffiti and breakdance are not much in evidence. Dolasoul in the group Tha De-Plow-Matz in Dar says:

Tanzanians don't go out there and do crazy stuff. They are really respectful people. If you do that everybody would say 'Hey what's wrong with him. He's a Tanzanian, why is he doing that?' It's a matter of different values. (M.KM971024)

It is mainly young people from the small middle-class, "college kids", who have taken on rap. The Group Tha De-Plow-Matz chose their name because most of the member's parents are diplomats.

It is this part of society that has the required international contacts and resources in order to dedicate themselves to rap. There is a clear difference here compared with the situation in rap's homeland, the US, where the performers at least usually come from the poorer parts of the black population. In Sweden there are practitioners from both the middle-class and immigrant groups with fewer resources.

A contributory factor to rap's acceptance among young people in the African cities is that practising the music does not require expensive equipment. In principle rap can be performed without any special equipment at all. A radio-cassette player and a pre-recorded cassette with a so-called backing track is enough to rap to when and wherever.⁹³

Many more forms of global music are established in Sweden than in the Caribbean and Africa; rock in all its forms, megastar music, rap and soft "girl-pop", soul, funk, gospel etc. In Sweden there is a range of practitioners in all of these genres. They dominate in the media and in many ways they form a common musical inheritance for young and middle-aged Swedes.

One global form of music that has not really established itself in any of the countries is American country music. One can speculate as to the reasons why. In Sweden, Swedish dance band music has assimilated important features of country music and perhaps filled the niche in which country might have established itself. In Nairobi and Lusaka American programmes featuring country music are shown on TV. Some artists, like Joseph Kamaru in Nairobi, have adopted country music's outer accoutrements such as the cowboy hat and boots. But domestic artists have not taken up the music.

Indian film music has not been generally distributed in Sweden because Indian films are not distributed. Indian film music is, however, popular with certain immigrant groups in Sweden.

⁹³ Many examples of these simple technical solutions are mentioned in the section "Rap, Regga, Reggae in Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam and Lusaka" on the website.



Hip hoppers in the heat of Dar es Salaam. Photo: Monika Sarstad.

Contacts with other Local Music Cultures

In Sweden there are groupings centred on both African and Caribbean music.⁹⁴ These groupings have their contacts to a large extent with actors and arenas in the homelands of African and Caribbean music. Equivalent groupings centred on local music from distant places do not appear to exist in Jamaica and Trinidad, apart from the odd exception. There are as yet no nyckelharpa players in these countries. There are, however, close contacts with music from neighbouring countries.

In Nairobi, Dar and Lusaka, popular music from the Democratic Republic of the Congo is very popular with a broad public. It is frequently played over the airwaves and at dance clubs. In Lusaka there is also a noticeable South African musical influence. West African forms of popular music are however practically unknown. In Jamaica and Trinidad Spanish-Caribbean music (merengue, cumbia, son etc.) exerts a certain amount of influence, as does music from Brazil. There are, however, no groupings centred on these forms of music, they scarcely appear in the media and are not especially well known to the

⁹⁴ See the chapter "The Swedish Caribbeans", page 264–288. There are also several ensembles in Sweden playing East African popular music, e.g. *Black Rhino* and *Mama Malumma*.

general public. There are, on the other hand, a sizeable number of enthusiasts who like Brazilian music and the hint of a grouping exists.

There is a lively exchange of music between Jamaica and Trinidad. It is a consequence of historical circumstances and the close contacts between these countries and other former British colonies in many parts of the region. Soca artists from Trinidad appear regularly in Jamaica and Jamaican ragga/dance hall artists appear in Trinidad. In the beginning of the 1990s a carnival was started in Jamaica based on the one in Trinidad. Jamaica's carnival was scheduled for Easter and not for the customary time immediately prior to the beginning of Lent. The idea was to attract tourists in the form of Easter holidaymakers from North America. The Jamaican carnival's origin was, in other words, the initiative of politicians and the tourist trade and not that of a local grouping centred on carnival music and carnival culture from Trinidad. It should be mentioned here that the first carnival in Nairobi with a carnival procession through the city's streets was arranged 11 October 1997 and went by the name of African Heritage Festival. There seems then to be some form of global trend whose consequence is that the carnival as a festival form is being spread to more parts of the world.

It appears that groupings built on inter-local contacts are primarily to be found in the industrialised nations and larger countries in the third world. The Trinidad Indian population's variant of soca, so-called chutney soca, with song in various Hindi dialects is popular in some parts of the Indian province Uttar Pradesh and is played in the media there. Chutney soca-artists such as Sundar Popo go on tour in India, just as steelbands from Trinidad tour Europe. Satnarayan Maharaj, Secretary General of the Hindu organisation Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha (SDMS) is quoted in the *Trinidad Express*.

Maharaj said he was in India last February and all over the place people were singing Popo's songs. People from South Africa to Mauritius knew his song 'Phulowrie Bina Chutney', but they did not know it was his song, because it was remixed by Indian artists Kanchan and Babla. (*Trinidad Express* 5 May 2000)

Just as certain types of music from the music of smaller countries with fewer resources have become a raw material that has been exploited by the global music industry and sold to larger countries and/or those with more resources, other local types of music form the raw material for activities within music-centred groupings in larger countries. Sweden seems to occupy the middle ground. Swedish local music, such as nyckelharpa music, is used as the starting point for groupings in other countries, while at the same time there are many groupings in Sweden centred on local/regional music forms from the third world.

There is an exception to this pattern in this case study. It concerns the group-

ings centred in Jamaican reggae and ragga/dance hall in the three African cities. This music has of course been spread to these cities via global channels. But there are also some direct connections with music life in Jamaica via touring Jamaican artists. Bob Marley and The Wailers appeared in Harare in connection with Zimbabwe's independence in 1979. This appearance laid the foundations of Marley's popularity in Eastern Africa and paved the way for visits from other Jamaican artists. Music videos with artists from Jamaica were copied and spread through groupings formed around the Jamaican music. In this way, these groupings get an idea of how the music is performed and what its Jamaican environment is like. Then it can be recreated locally as has happened in certain clubs in Nairobi and at festivals with the Jamaican Reggae Sunsplash as a model.

The interest in Africa is extensive in Jamaica, not least through the Rastafarian movement's focus on African inheritance. Many Jamaicans talk a lot about Africa and want to go there. A number have also emigrated, primarily to Ethiopia, such as Ras T, who lives in Dar. He has been active arranging reggae festivals of the Sunsplash type. The 1996 Sunsplash in Dar took place at a drive-in cinema. Attendance was estimated at 20,000 people. Ten Tanzanian bands played but not all of them were reggae bands. Ras T comments:

They played from 8 in the night to 8 in the morning. I think it was too much for Tanzania. They were never used to something like that. It was new. And people were there for the whole night until morning. (M.KM971025)

Despite great interest in Africa no groupings centred on African music have ever arisen in Jamaica. In both Jamaica and Trinidad there are groups of so-called "African drummers" and different syncretistic Afro-Caribbean religions with African forms of music, but these are living traditions of African music passed down since the days of the slave trade and not the result of contact with Africa in modern times. The fact that the djembe drums have begun to be used in these contexts in recent years is rather a sign of the influence of global music culture than of contacts with Africa.

How Has the Music Spread?

In which ways have the global forms of music come to the countries in the case study? Which arenas and actors have contributed to the spread of music? The global music industry and its activities are naturally the common denominator in the process of distribution for all of these countries. But the details of the process differ depending on differences in the media situation, communications and the existing local music life. As is apparent in the section on back-

ground information above, the prerequisites for the mediation of music are quite different in the three African cities and the Caribbean countries and also differ greatly from those in Sweden.

In the African cities there are plenty of cassettes, predominantly pirated, with the most common types of global popular music. Rappers and followers of reggae and ragga/dance hall often receive videos and cassettes with copies of current CDs from relatives and friends who have moved to or visited the UK or the US. Many others then make new copies of these imported videos and cassettes. The local actors must have some form of direct or indirect international contacts of this kind in order to gain access to new videos and records.

There are a number of local radio and TV stations. There is, however, no general access to satellite TV with music-video channels such as MTV. A South African channel, M-net, that transmits a large quantity of music videos, can be seen in Lusaka. The range of global music forms in the domestic broadcasting companies is still limited. Domestic music forms are prioritised as has been shown in earlier studies (Malm & Wallis 1992). Many gatekeepers in the media are negatively disposed to newer forms of global popular music. This attitude often bears undertones of "moral panic". The threat posed by global music is felt to be imminent. The Tanzanian journalist and TV presenter Masoud Masoud says:

From an academic perspective the impact of foreign music in Tanzania is that it's killing home music. Eroding away what we can call local music. From the 80s to the 90s the emergence of big megastars like Michael Jackson, Madonna and Roxette made local musicians succumb to popularity. People tend to equate modernism with the stars we're talking about. Thus the local scene has to crumble. People are not interested in listening to mawiti, sindimba or msewe, some trends of music that are indigenous and were very popular back in the 60s. As a matter of fact these forms have become anti-social. People want to identify themselves with pop. (M.KM971028)

Some of the new private radio stations do play a large amount of global popular music. Chela Katwishi is a DJ for one of these stations, Radio Phoenix in Lusaka. He describes the choice of music for different times of the day as follows:

In the morning you are not expected to play rumba or hip hop. You got to play a bit of soul, jazz and blues, just to keep them rising up. When they have their breakfast you maybe tune into jazz. As they are driving to work you turn into hip hop, drive time, you know. People drive and shake their heads. Then as the mid morning goes you turn down the tempo a little bit and go to R&B. When lunchtime comes jazz music, soul, blues comes on. They are about to rest and then you switch over

to R&B. Some raggamuffin around 15.00. Then rumba as the sun is setting. Now you know, if they are not knocked out, they are having a beer—you tune into that tempo.⁹⁵ (M.KM971105)

The local broadcasting media transmit very little of the local forms of global music. This is partly because they are almost impossible to get hold of in recorded form, but also because music forms like rap, reggae, ragga/dance hall have very low status. Another reason is that those in power are suspicious or quite simply afraid of the lyrical content, which often comments on current affairs. Tanzania's perhaps best-known rap artist, II Proud, says:

I know a lot of men listen to my music. Old people listen to my music, women, girls, boys, even small children listen to my music and they like it. Big shots, politicians, I mean high class people, they are not down with rap music because of the words in there. The truth that is spoken by me and other rappers. They don't want to listen to it. But I'm sure even those ones listen. But they don't want to support it. But I'm sure they listen inside their rooms to rap music. They have their people from the street, from where we stay, and these people must be telling them that something is happening. A new musician has talked about this shit and this shit. To them it's shit. They will ask: 'Can you bring this so I could listen to what shit he has talked about.' They listen I'm sure.

I even shook hands with a lot of these ministers. Sometimes I get introduced to a minister, maybe I'm with a friend who knows the minister or is a relative, whatever. And I meet the minister and the friend makes introduction: 'This is II Proud.'—'Oh, are you II Proud. Are you the one talking about police, hardships in life and all this?' So, they listen. (M.KM971022)

The local forms of global music are primarily spread via events that are organised by the practitioners themselves or their fans at discotheques, hotels, beach parties, etc. and at festivals such as the reggae festivals mentioned above. One exception is the local forms of gospel (often called "kwaya", a localised form of the English word "choir"). The mission churches have the resources to record music and the opportunity of buying programme time in local media. Services and mission meetings of different kinds are the most important arenas for live performance.

In Trinidad and Jamaica satellite channels, such as MTV, are accessible and, just as in the African countries, a rich variety of pirated cassettes of global pop-

⁹⁵ By "rumba" we mean popular music from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. "Raggamuffin" is the term for the original rhythm, which gave its name to the entire ragga genre.

ular music. Since the middle of the 1990s CDs have also become increasingly common and, not least, private CD-burners. When it comes to the domestic broadcasting media, profiling (formatting) of the range of music on the different channels has come significantly further than in the African cities. The range is aimed at very specific groups. The station FM 95.1 changed music format during 1998 from “adult contemporary” to “rock/pop”. One of the station’s DJs, Richard Graham, says:

The rock movement in Trinidad was always perceived to be underground, just a small niche in the overall market. The powers here at 95.1 realized that this niche was not so small as was previously thought. So they decided to offer a station that will cater for that ‘small niche’. Within the past few years the rock movement in Trinidad has grown by leaps and bounds in the number of bands. But audience interest has grown too. We have seen a popularity explosion regarding pop/rock. This station has heightened this ground swell of interest. (M.KM981213)

Another of the station’s DJs, Emmet Hennessy, who is also a partner, presents the whole thing as more of an experiment:

We have observed a growth in the audience for pop/rock music. We have also observed a younger demographic. We actually have second thoughts now how deeply we will go into that. In the six months or so when we have swung to rock/pop we’ve seen in the last survey that the age of the listeners went much lower and we don’t want that. We want to maintain our adult contemporary over forty crowds who the advertisers value more greatly. So we are taking a step back to some degree. We want to maintain a pop/rock format but not as hard. We do know that the audience is definitely growing. Concerts are well attended. Local rock bands multiply and are doing quite well. There is definitely a market. Whether it is one we’ll nurture when the advertisers requirements are others is another matter. (M.KM981215)

In May 2000, FM 95.1 still had its pop/rock format. The station had also begun to use recognised local artists as DJs e.g. singer and guitarist Karissa Lewes. These DJs want to play more of the local groups’ music. There are a number of modern studios in Trinidad, so there are good recordings of local bands. There is, however, resistance to this from Emmet Hennessy and the other partners:

Do these new local bands produce anything that you can broadcast?

Yes they do. But we have not sat down and said that we are going to extend our playlist to domestically produced music. Guidelines are to play the really big hits so the office workers could always tap their feet to a hit that they know. If we start now to delve into album tracks for local bands when we are not even doing it for big bands from abroad it would be a departure from our established format. So even if some announcers who have a personal agenda and know the bands personally are playing

a track from one of their albums that's not going to establish any policy and officially that's not what we do. (M.KM981215)

There are also a number of clubs where local rock bands regularly play, e.g. Carlos' Café, Peppers, Extremes in Jamaica, and The Pelican Inn, Anchorage Club, The Lime Hut, The Tunnel and others in Trinidad. Sometimes, if a sponsor pays for the whole thing, FM 95.1 transmits live from such performances. Alexander Smith, the owner of one these clubs, has actively tried to affect the local bands' repertoires and style of play by means of a Pop/Rock Awards competition. He says:

All that came about four years ago. Most of the bands in Trinidad played original music. The music they played only a small crowd listened to it. We felt that the bigger market in Trinidad wanted to hear more conventional music. They wanted to hear the music that they knew. The bands were not playing that kind of music. I spoke to about eight of these bands four years ago and they told me they did not want to play covers. My market didn't want to hear originals. They wanted to hear covers. So we came up with the idea of doing this competition. And when we did that first year about ten bands took part in the competition. They were allowed to play five or six covers and two of their choice. So they could also do their original music as well. That's how the competition came about. What I have seen so far since it started there has been an improvement in the quality of the music. (M.KM981211)

In 1998, 23 bands participated in the competition, which exists to furnish the clubs with pop/rock that appeals to a broad public. One reason for the club's need for bands playing pop/rock is that the soca bands leave the island when the carnival season is over to play in the UK, the US and Canada. Many of the rock musicians in Trinidad complained about the pressure that they were under to play covers. They would rather play their own original music.

As in the African countries gospel has its own arenas in Jamaica and Trinidad. The Evangelical churches also buy air time from the TV stations during which they transmit programmes largely produced in the US.

The global music industry is more established in Sweden. Its governance of the range of music available in media channels, via such things as so-called pluggers (agents whose purpose is to place music industry products in the range on offer in the media), seems significantly stronger than in the Caribbean and African countries. Sweden is visited by many of the industry's promotional tours that include live performances by megastars, while the three African cities and the Caribbean countries never receive such visits.

What Happens to Global Music Locally?

Both of the forms of rock that have taken root in Jamaica and Trinidad and rap, reggae and ragga/dance hall in Nairobi, Dar and Lusaka have primarily arrived in mediated or mediaized form. It is difficult for musicians in the Caribbean and African countries to copy that which they hear on CD and see on music videos. The technological prerequisites of equipment and knowledge exist in the Caribbean countries, but local enthusiasts often do not have access to these resources. It is, however, quite easy to rent the necessary equipment and therefore musicians like Gibby in Jamaica and Karissa Lewes in Trinidad are at least able to copy their sources of inspiration with reasonable success if they choose to. Gibby's success at MIDEM in Cannes shows that he has succeeded in producing something that could be called an internationally acceptable sound. Even the bands that play thrash and speed metal are able to sound exactly like those on which they model themselves with the help of rented equipment. When it comes to soft "girl pop" the degree of mediaization is often quite low in the originals and it is often relatively easy to copy them in live situations.

Rap artists and reggae musicians in the three African cities have a far more difficult time. The necessary technological prerequisites exist in only a few studios such as Sync Sound Studios in Nairobi as well as MUVI Studios and Digital Networks International in Lusaka. In Dar there are no such studios.

The reggae artist St Michael Zulu in Lusaka has, despite the difficulties, succeeded in making a music video for his song "The President's Daughter", which furthermore has an audacious, provocative and critically political message. He sings that the president's daughter is his girlfriend and that she reveals state secrets to him. He refers to cases of corruption and such like, which he has come to know about by these fictional means. The video has been shown on both Zambian TV and on South African M-Net and has caused some commotion.

It is just fortunate that I am contracted to MUVI Studios. It is also fortunate that it involves fairly young people in the business. We are trying to look at what our friends are doing all over the world and try to do it here. The owner of MUVI Studios is giving us, the young people, responsibility and freedom to work. (M.KM971104)

The video "The President's Daughter" is formed like a copy of international music videos with rapid clips in which the artist is shifted between different situations and a certain amount of redundancy. But the music in the track "The President's Daughter" is not a direct copy of any Jamaican reggae style and neither are the lyrics. De-mediaization has taken place here, i.e. the mediaized prototypes have been transferred to live performance. What is more, localisation has taken place, i.e. music and lyrics have been adapted to local conditions. St

Michael Zulu's lyrics have reggae's social commitment and elements of double meanings that are also common in other forms of Caribbean popular music. But it's about local phenomena in Zambia. Similarly, the music has influences from kalindula, the older Zambian style of popular music. St Michael Zulu describes this as follows:

It is a kind of music that encompasses mainly the Zambian guitar kalindula, a heavy influence on the guitars. I am trying to push this into my roots reggae. It's going to be strictly roots but with a very central African touch, Zambian touch. Most of the songs are like one drop, one drop, one drop. But there is a running guitar for example in the song 'The President's Daughter'.⁹⁶ (M.KM971104)

Rap artists in the three African cities also de-mediaize and localise their musical models. The musical background to rap cannot become as complicated as rap from the US, with lots of sampling. In Dar these backgrounds are called "instrumentals". Many are completely homemade on simple synthesizers, but the more established artists often turn to one of the small studios. Master J is an important actor in this context. He is a sound technician, trained as an electronic engineer in London, and has a simple studio built into a freight-container. He also plays the part of a sort of producer for many of the local rap-artists. He describes the process as follows:

As I said they haven't got money. What I basically do is I already have instrumentals that I've done. So they come into the studio and they go through these instrumentals and select. 'Oh Master J, I think this one will be good for us.' So I record it onto tape and they go home and practice and practice and practice. Then they come back again and I tell them: 'OK, can you just freestyle over the track generally?' If I see that it's not still tight I send them home again and tell them to practice and practice. Until they are ready. Then I record them. Then they pay me a little. I do the master for them. From there on it's up to them. They have their own plans. I just send them the master. That's all. It consists of the song itself and the instrumental, which they use for concerts. (M.KM971027)

There are groups who very consciously and effectively localise rap by completely avoiding electronic means and Western instruments. One such group is MLUSTO in Bagamoyo north of Dar. They use traditional African instruments and African "call and response" style in their rap music.

The rap artists' lyrics usually have local content. They are more about African poverty than gangsters and acts of violence. In Nairobi and Dar the rap artist's lyrics are often in Swahili and not English. This means, among other things,

⁹⁶ The expression "one drop" imitates the heavy back-beat in roots reggae.

that certain standardised poetic turns in traditional Swahili poetry have been incorporated into the rap lyrics. The rap artist Abbas Maunda from the group High Class in Dar complained that he tried to explain to his Muslim parents how tradition and rap could be combined. He says:

You can represent hip hop culture in a Tanzanian way. Most of the hip hoppers in America they talk about violence. Me personally, violence, I don't take it. So I talk the way we live in Tanzania. Hip hop the way we live in Tanzania. This hip hop can change by the way you're living. In America they live in violence. But we live in an African way, hip hop in an African way. (M.KM971023)

In Jamaica and Trinidad, de-mediaization is also in many cases necessary to enable the music to be performed locally. In the Pop/Rock Awards in Trinidad, the participating bands are given a list of 500 tracks of chart-toppers from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and have to choose tracks from this list. They have at best only heard the recorded versions of these hits and must transfer what they have heard to a live performance.

On our fieldtrip we did not succeed in meeting any female rap artists in the three African cities even though it was claimed that they existed. Female musicians have problems in the Caribbean countries too because of the roles ascribed to the sexes. Karissa Lewes in Trinidad relates:

There aren't many women who play guitar and sing in Trinidad. But since I joined Maxibitu and the band became very popular there are more women now playing in bands. At the time I started I was the only female playing in a band. Once a guy came up to me and said: 'How does your husband handle you playing in the limelight?' And I said: 'I guess that's why I'm not married to you!' A lot of men in Trinidad are so old-fashioned in their thought. (M.KM981212)

There is also a clear localisation of rock in Jamaica and Trinidad. Caribbean rhythms slip into the music constantly. The lyrics take on the character of calypso's biting satire. Gary Hector, songwriter and leader of the group Jointpop, says:

I grew up listening to a lot of Trinidadian music. A lot of reggae was going on too. Then I got into some rock music through some friends. That inspired me to play an instrument and to mix rock into the Caribbean styles. We do a sort of calypso rock. We never put a word down to call it. I guess Jointpop will be it. It's really joint styles. (M.KM981211)

In Jamaica there are bands like Downstairs that try to mix reggae and hard rock to make reggae metal. They say that they watch the satellite channels on TV and then buy recordings of music that interests them. But then they try to make

their own music. A precondition for this is, however, that one of the member's fathers is a musician in one of Jamaica's legendary bands, Fab Five, and also has a well-equipped studio. It is the same in all countries. Actors in environments with good resources and with access to music technology are also the most active in the process of localisation, which is combined with re-mediaization, i.e. the transfer of the de-mediaized and localised music to electronic media.

Far-sighted actors in the local music industry see localisation as something positive that offers commercial opportunities for them when it comes to the re-mediaization of the de-mediaized and localised music. One such actor is the owner of Sync Sounds Studios in Nairobi, Mahmoud Omari. He says:

When we are going through in this period of debating of what kind of music we want to put out, we listen to a lot of things from West Africa, South Africa, East Africa as well as Zaire, listen to America, listen to Europe, and realize that it is very possible with modern technology to be able to make the music they make in America. You get good singers, you get good equipment. With good technology it is very possible. But that does not give us an identity... If you don't know the title and you don't know the artist and you switch on the radio half way through a tune, you listen to the song, you can always assume that it's somebody from Europe. For you to be able to stick out you have to put in some sort of identity in there. So that people cannot confuse it and at the same time internationally you are not compared to the bigger musicians. (M.KM971013)

Mahmoud Omari has successfully recorded and promoted some young Kenyan rap/ragga artists. The music is played with the same technology as in the US or Sweden, but the localised style has been kept and emphasised with the help of studio technology. One of their artists is Hardstone, who produces ragga and rap in the local language Kikuyo. At the beginning of 2000 he enjoyed a certain amount of recognition in the US. Hardstone says:

It wasn't like my own idea. It was a team work idea. I came with my idea and then teamed up with my producer and then we just came up with something we thought could fit both the local and international market. (M.KM971013)

However, often the local music industry's conventions and the local musician's ambitions find themselves on a collision course during attempts at re-mediaization:

Soca and calypso is very bottom ended music, very bass and drum-oriented. Actually that's a problem we have in Trinidad with recording. The recording engineers are not too well versed with rock music. They don't realize what is supposed to be on the top end. They usually put the bottom end on the top. So the bass and drums usually drowns out the guitars. The guitar is not a very big instrument in soca. But we want



This page: MLUTSO makes rap into African music. Photo: Monika Sarstad.





Master J on the stairs outside his studio, built in a container. Photo: Monika Sarstad.

Hard rockers in Trinidad. Michael “Raddy” Ross and Nigel “Nasty” Joseph in the band Babylon Pig. Photo: Monika Sarstad.



to have that soca edge in the back and focus on the guitars. (Interview with members of the band Babylon Pig, Trinidad, M.KM981211)

In those studios in the three African cities that try to record local forms of global music there are often shortcomings in equipment and expertise, which make it difficult to mediaize the music. Recordings often become the documentation of live performances without much studio-based technical processing. There are not sufficient prerequisites for either the primary mediaization of local forms of music or for the re-mediaization of localised global music. Attempts are made, however, to gradually improve the equipment. St Michael Zulu in Lusaka told us that at live performances he uses African drums but at recordings he uses a drum-machine and sampled African drums, which gives the music more “push” to the recordings.

In Jamaica the local music industry is active. Successful mediaizations of domestic music have resulted in, among other things, reggae and ragga/dance hall becoming global forms of music. In other words, the resources necessary for mediaization exist in Jamaica and it is here that Gibby, Della Manley, the band Downstairs and others have enjoyed success with re-mediaization of localised global music. In Trinidad though, the attitude is somewhat different despite the fact that the technical prerequisites exist. Gary Hector in Jointpop explains:

Trinidad has always been about make the music and have fun, not about make the music and sell it. Because of that there is no industry. The singers just want to be village heroes. They don't want to sell a million records. (M.KM981211)

In the absence of an active domestic music industry, one way of trying to re-mediaize the music and thereby perhaps reach a larger audience/market is for the individual artist/group to find their own way. Karissa Lewes in Trinidad tells us of her attempts to gain international contacts:

I'm a member of a company in California named Taxi. What they do, they take songs from artists and try to sell them to major labels. You send your songs to them and they have a panel that listens to it. If they like your songs they send it to a record company and if the company likes it they get in touch with you. I've sent many of my songs, but none of them has been forwarded. I've got critique from the A&R people, very, very constructive comments. I also went to L.A. in November this year for a convention where I met loads of other song-writers and producers. They gave seminars on how to promote yourself. Also one of my songs by the name of 'I Remember' got critique in front of 750 people. (M.KM981212)

There are also entrepreneurs who have highlighted the need for re-mediaization of music in musical environments where resources are limited. The following e-mail arrived on 26 April 1999 directed to the artists who are presented on the Music · Media · Multiculture project website.

Would any of the artists on your website be interested in joining Broken Beatz (free). It's a global collective of musicians, songwriters and producers. We've just started and are looking for members.

You can contribute any of your songs and vocals, and we can then remix them, and work them into different styles of song—particularly at the moment we are looking for a UK Garage mix, a cross between hip hop, dance and jungle. You retain full ownership of your song, and you might just be pleased with the results!

In Sweden all of the prerequisites exist for copying global music styles. De-mediaization is unusual. Instead de-mediaization, localisation and re-mediaization are melded together into a single process, which takes place entirely within the framework of the music industry. This high-tech process of re-mediaization and localisation has given rise to, for example, the Swedish rap that Latin Kings, Just D and Petter make.

Global Music = Well-known Music?

Only a few of the so-called global forms of music of recent decades have been integrated into the local music life of Nairobi, Dar, Lusaka, Jamaica and Trinidad. This is despite the fact that these music forms are accessible in principle at least the local media. In reality it is only reggae, ragga/dance hall, gospel and Indian film music in the three African cities as well as some forms of rock, gospel and Indian film music in the Caribbean countries that have taken root. Of these forms of music it is only reggae, ragga/dance hall, rock and to a certain extent gospel that have also taken root in Sweden. The “globality” of the global forms is achieved through the trans-national music industry's powerful marketing network, extended by the activities of the cassette pirates, in more or less every part of the world. However, this does not mean that they are adopted by the local music life. An important cause for the failure of global music forms to establish themselves is a lack of music technology resources. The existence of strong domestic forms of popular music also seems to have a blocking effect. It is remarkable that the music of megastars such as Madonna and Michael Jackson, despite the enormous marketing apparatus, have not enjoyed greater penetration in the five third-world countries investigated.

Accordion and Old-time dance in Sweden

Introduction

Like Siamese twins, accordion and old-time dance have travelled together through the Swedish 20th century. It was from accordion bellows that Swedish old-time dance was born, and it was on open-air dance floors and in barns that the accordion won its great popularity and dissemination. By the middle of the 20th century, old-time dance on accordion was Sweden's most popular music genre without compare. Accordion playing was so common that it was more or less taken for granted. That is a possible explanation for the very few traces today of all the bellows squeezing practised for over a hundred years in this country.

Today, accordion players live a life behind the stages. Nobody knows for certain how many there are. The National Association of Swedish Accordionists, SDR, reports 3,152 members at the start of the new millennium.⁹⁷ Lennart Wärmell, professional accordion player for many decades and selected as SDR's first chairman in 1968, believes that even if they only have about 3,000 members, there are perhaps 20,000 who could join. "In Sweden there are certainly about one and half million who have an accordion and play a little now and then."⁹⁸

How do accordion players themselves view the situation today in the accordion world? Ove Hahn, a promoter of the accordion for many years, previously artistic director at the amusement park Gröna Lund in Stockholm and vice chairman of SDR, sketches the outlines of a bright future in a leader in *Dragspelsnytt* (Accordion news), the accordion players' own association newsletter:

Another reason to be pleased is the many young people turning up in accordion playing contexts. The municipal music schools have certainly played a part, as has SDR hopefully. The fact in any case is that today our country is teeming with ability that is new, young and unbelievably talented. Not so many years ago we were

⁹⁷ Dagens Nyheter 17 March 2000, "More than whoopee-making" [trans.].

⁹⁸ Telephone interview with Lennart Wärmell, M.0R980205.

worried about growth in the world of the accordion, we no longer need to be. It is in fact only a matter of time before these young people play the shirts off all of the venerable old gaffers and gammers.⁹⁹ [trans.]

In a debate article in the same number of *Dragspelsnytt* (accordion news), Rolf Olofsson, one of the members in SDR, gives a completely different picture:

If by the future of accordion music one means that the instrument will encounter increased interest among young people and become more established in both the traditional music forms and in the more modern forms that have moved with the times, then my answer is NO! The accordion and accordion music have steadily lost popularity during the past 15 years. This might perhaps be regarded as a generation problem. Those of us who are going to be or want to be accordion music's representatives have not kept up with developments and are probably regarded by many as conservative old fogies with limited musical possibilities to assert the accordion's rights in musical developments. Unfortunately this is largely true! [trans.]

Olofsson believes that new recruitment has decreased because of the lack of training courses for accordionists. Accordions can nowadays only be purchased from a few specialists and accordion sheet music cannot be bought at all. There are still accordion clubs, but the average age is 55+ and steadily increasing. The repertoire comprises simple old time dance music with excerpts of "modern", which is only played by ear, writes Olofsson. In many clubs the social community is more important than the musical quality.

We cannot expect the accordion clubs to contribute significantly to accordion music's development with their current prerequisites and focus other than perhaps to continue the interest in the traditional repertoire and form. [trans.]

According to Rolf Olofsson, accordion has become a "picturesque aspect of old-time dance music for older pensioners or as a background to pictures of the Stockholm Archipelago and May Pole Dancing." The situation is precarious—accordionists have to become modern, they have to accept MIDI and sequencer backgrounds, they must broaden the repertoire, he believes.⁶⁴ How will things otherwise turn out?

One scenario for the year 2010 would perhaps look like this: the majority of current accordion clubs have been disbanded or have very few members who meet for social reasons with the aim of maintaining traditions, to keep simpler accordion music alive, mainly kultis. (...) Accordion music is regarded as a strange feature of music culture, most often associated with folk dancers, May Pole and Christmas tree

⁹⁹ *Dragspelsnytt* no. 1 1997:4.

dancing and in connection with dances organised by old-time dance associations. The accordion is regarded as a sort of rustic style instrument, like the nyckelharpa and diatonic accordions historically popular with older generation communities and dance for entertainment.¹⁰⁰ [trans.]

A positive and a negative image of the Swedish world of the accordion today: on the one hand a well-organised musical society with growth in the younger ranks and a growing belief in the future and on the other an ageing corps of enthusiasts who lead a marginalized existence in an isolated corner of the musical garden and who nostalgically look back on days of former glory. One possibility for an outside observer, who does not know which version to believe, is to see both as results of the highly polarised fields of tension that have long run right through the Swedish world of accordion. In this case study we will be examining some of these tensions.

Accordionists

Squeeze box, bandoneon, concertina, button-box, reed organ—accordions go by many names, as does the old-time dance that it accompanies. But for the musicians there does not seem to be any other name than accordionist—so that is what they will be called here, regardless of what kind of music they play and what type of accordion they play.

Who are the accordionists? There are no detailed surveys, but from interviews and written material a number of conclusions can be drawn. Instrumental music is traditionally a predominantly male occupation, even if the numbers of women who play instruments have increased greatly during the 20th century. The world of the accordion is no different. Membership lists from accordion clubs, playing lists at accordion meets, lists of accordionist websites all show the same thing: the occasional woman among long lists of men.¹⁰¹

The average age is high. An examination of the accordion clubs' membership lists shows a clear disproportion of people born between 1920 and 1940. In Vessigebro accordion club in Halland the mean average age of the 21 members is 70. The average age of the 15 members in Fjärås accordion club in Halland is 58 because two of them, including the celebrated diatonic accordion player Lars Karlsson, were born in the 1970s. Several people knowledgeable about

¹⁰⁰ Dragspelsnytt no. 1 1997:44p.

¹⁰¹ One example is the accordion club Jämtbälgen from Östersund, which in 1997 had 18 active members, of which four were women. Among the best-known women accordion players are Signe Gustafsson and Majken Carlsson, who many think of as the accordion's "grand old lady".

Traditionally accordions have been most popular among workers and peasants. Kalle Jacobsson from Gothem on Gotland plays the accordion as a six-year-old, 1944.



the world of accordion, among them Ove Hahn and Stig Nahlbom, are of the opinion that the numbers of accordion playing young people are now on the increase. But if it is really a question of increase, then judging by the fact it is from a low level. There are few signs of a more extensive wave of accordion playing among young people.

Old-time dance music on the accordion has belonged to the working classes and rustic population. A bourgeois elite purchased the first accordions during the 1820s and 1830s as trendy toys. But very quickly the accordion came to be hefted primarily by the growing working population in the cities. As a result the educated population in cities distanced themselves from accordions and accordion music. By the turn of the 20th century the accordion had quite simply become a collective symbol for the working classes' low level of culture in the eyes of the bourgeois elite, an attitude we still see signs of today.⁶⁷ In the surveys of musical practice that have been carried out in Sweden since the 1960s, to which we will return later, there is a clear connection between levels of education and taste in music: the lower the level of education the more positive the attitude to accordion music. In the 1970s, the music sociologist Göran Nylöf found that the majority of the rapidly declining group who preferred accordion music were people over 50, often men living in the country (Nylöf 1977:51). What his investigation did not show was the new recruitment to the ranks of accordion playing that took place during the 1970s in the wake of the green wave and the old-time dance boom that swept the country. An educated guess is that growth on this occasion also came from the cities' working and artisan strata.

Many accordionists are organised into accordion clubs. The vast majority of those began in the 1970s when Sweden experienced a mass boom in accordion, a previously unknown phenomenon. In Gotland in 1974 the Gutebålgarna club was formed by two well-known names in the Swedish accordion world;

Dolle Muthas and Kalle Jacobsson. The 24 members enjoyed immediate and great success including TV and radio appearances, recordings, collaborations with regional music, etc. The decline began at the beginning of the 1980s, and by the close of that decade the period of popularity was definitely over. Since Dolle and Kalle left, the club has languished, more or less out of the public eye.¹⁰² Many accordion clubs have undergone similar developments. This is how Södertörn's accordion club, south of Stockholm, describes itself on a home page on the Internet:

History: the first meeting was held on 19/01/1971 at Nibblegården in Ösmo. Over 35 individuals who had seen announcements in the local press that an accordion club would be formed in the municipality attended. (...) A board was elected and the name Södertörn's Accordion Club, (SDK), was adopted. (...) The club was most active during the 1970s. Melodies with up to four voices were played and a division into groups based on interest and skill applied. Enthusiasm was high without the fear of trying something new.

The present: Every other Thursday, approximately 10–15 members practise in the rehearsals premises, nowadays in Birka-huset in Ösmo. The club performs principally at nursing homes and old people's homes both in the municipality of Nynäshamn and outside. Material that has been part of the repertoire for some time is played exclusively and in unison. The average age among members is high and the interest in improvement and renewal is no longer great. The repertoire does not appeal to the younger generation, something that limits growth in the club. If nothing is done about this then the club will probably no longer exist in 10 to 15 year's time. However, we are happy to bring joy to others at residential hospitals and homes for the elderly through our music and that they want to listen to us for many years to come.¹⁰³ [trans.]

According to Eric Forsström, an accordion teacher in Norrköping who has worked on creating a database of accordion clubs, there are today about 200 such clubs in Sweden.¹⁰⁴ Martin Kullberg in Västergötland has come up with the same figure.¹⁰⁵ In some they are content to play the well-known waltz *Drömmen om Elin* once a week, while others, such as Sundbyberg's accordion club for example, "have a symphonic character with a genuine conductor", as Eric Forsström puts it. The clubs' distribution across the country gives a further pointer to the geography of accordion playing.¹⁰⁶ In April 2000, Forsström's da-

¹⁰² Interview with Dolle and Ull-Britt Muthas 23 January 1996, article in *Gotlands Tidningar* 7 October 1997, and in *Dragspelsnytt* no. 2 1999:28 and no. 4 1999:38, 63.

¹⁰³ http://user.tninet.se/~ant894/sodertorns_dragspelsklubb/.

¹⁰⁴ Telephone conversation with Eric Forsström 7 April 2000.

¹⁰⁵ <http://home3.swipnet.se/~w-35736/>.

¹⁰⁶ Alfa accordion club, one of the oldest in the country, formed 1967, had 58 members at the



Record cover—Gutebälgarna

tabase contained the following organised by region: 7 clubs in Norrbotten; 6 in Västerbotten; 7 in Jämtland and Västernorrland; 21 in the region of Dalecarlia and Gävleborg; 51 in Uppsala, Stockholm, Södermanland, Västmanland and Örebro; 17 in Värmland; 40 in Västergötland; 28 in Östergötland, Jönköping and Gotland; 18 in Skåne, Kronoberg and Blekinge.¹⁰⁷

Practically all accordionists are amateurs. There is also a group, of unknown size but estimated to run into the hundreds, that combines accordion playing on a professional level with other occupations, e.g. music teacher. Professional musicians are few. Lennart Wärmell estimates there to be no more than 10–15 who only play accordion including, apart from him, names such as Bengan Jansson, Sone Banger, Jörgen Sundeqvist, Sören Rydgren and Roland Cedermark. They are entertainers and concert musicians with a broad repertoire and active in many sorts of arenas.

turn of the millennium, of which 27 were active practitioners. See <http://www.torget.se/users/r/rj35/index.htm>, Kjellström 1976:64pp.

¹⁰⁷ It has to be remembered, however, that there may be areas with many accordion players but few clubs, just as there may be areas with few players but many clubs.

Lennart Wärmell's home is the world of professional musicians. He is a pensioner now, but previously he might play at "theme evenings such as Italian or Finnish evenings, background music at parties, ceremonial music, recordings, etc." One permanent feature since the 1950s has been Stockholm Accordion Club, an accordion orchestra with 25–30 members and a mixed repertoire. They perform perhaps once a month at company events, congresses and the like.

Which categories can you identify in the accordion world?

Old-time dance music, Jularbo-music as it is called. And then of course the pioneers Ragnar Sundqvist and Sven Hylén. They were incredibly skilled musicians. They played art music, the big names. A duo who played throughout Sweden early on. And then Andrew Walter, Olle Johny, Kalle Grönstedt, the ones who appeared at competitions in the 1930s. They played among other things transcriptions of serious music. Olle Johny became European Champion in 1938. Then we have those who dig jazz. And those who play serious music, the most famous of whom is Mogens Ellegaard in Denmark who decided that accordions with a melody base should be called accordions. Then there are the old masters and those who are active in their wake, virtuosos like Frosini and Deiro. The American accordion elite too. And then people like me who think you should master a little bit of everything. (...)

But you don't mention two-row accordions?

That has come during the last five years, from Norway I think, because there are many two-row players there. Two-row is a new wave.

You mean there are partially opposing camps?

Yes, that's how it is, but they all play accordion.

Lennart Wärmell voices a common perception among accordionists: regardless of what music one plays, which category one belongs to, everyone belongs to the same large family community—"they all play accordion". Many want to view the playing of accordion as a unitary factor, even as the grounds for identity. A well-developed rhetoric and basic ideological attitude can be summed up as "Accordionists of the world—unite!"

The reality is of course more fragmented. For the outside observer it is not difficult to discern a range of different categories. The mass majority are amateur musicians, playing in their spare time and mostly during the summer. Old-time dance music is the basic repertoire, together with mainstream pop hits and perhaps one or two jazz standards. Many of them belong to accordion clubs. At the other end of the scale there is a small circle of professional musicians, all-rounders of Lennart Wärmell's and Bengan Jansson's ilk, with music of all types on the repertoire. A third category is professional musicians who play accordion as one among many instruments and who often do not count themselves as part of the accordion world. An example is keyboard players



Lennart Wärmell, CD cover.



Actors of the accordion grouping.

in Swedish dance bands who heft an accordion to hammer out the evening's schottische or hambo (folk dance in triple meter). Another example is Lasse Hollmer, who from his hen house in Uppsala has become famous for headstrong music on the accordion both in Sweden and abroad.¹⁰⁸ A fourth category is musicians who play concert music on the accordion and whose habitat are the concert halls and colleges of music rather than the lodges. Accordionists such as Lars Holm and Mogens Ellegaard belong to this group. A fifth category is a small circle of musicians who play tango, klezmer, reggae, oriental or music from the Balkans. They often have close contact with the "musical world" to which they count themselves a part, but seldom if ever seem to have any contact with accordionists who play other types of music.

There are also a number of important actors of other kinds in the accordion world: radio producers, journalists, writers and entertainment producers.

Accordions, Accordionists and Accordion Tunes

In the world of the accordion the most important key symbol is without question the accordion itself. Large, expensive, gleaming accordions are given pride of place on CD covers, in accordion magazines, advertisements on home pages, etc. in a fashion reminiscent of the car industry's advertising campaigns. Sometimes even curvy young women are employed as attention-grabbers and sales arguments, as if a Bugari was an exclusive make of sports car.

It is around the actual instrument that community rhetoric takes its most concrete shape. If we are to believe the accordion's many enthusiastic spokespeople around the world, it knows no class or national boundaries, in fact hardly any boundaries at all. And to a certain extent this seems to be the case—with the accordion as their starting point people from around the globe interact, both in reality and virtually, people who do not have much more in common than their interest in the accordion.¹⁰⁹

If we look behind the instrument and the rhetorical statements about a global community, however, we find a far more complex world. In reality it is a question of a large number of different groupings throughout the world that have nothing, or very little, to do with each other, from Astor Piazzolla's modern Argentinean tango on the bandoneon and tex-mex two-rows surrounding Flaco Jimenez, to the Russian bayan virtuosos with their repertoires of classi-

¹⁰⁸ On the double CD of accordion music from the entire world, *Squeezebox*, he is the only Swedish accordionist with his *Boeves psalm*.

¹⁰⁹ The German-based server <http://www.akkordion.com> gives a quick and good insight into the global accordion community.



Advertisement for Bugari accordions, manufactured in Castelfidaro in Italy, the Mecca of the accordion world. From Dragspelsnytt (Accordion news).

cal music.¹¹⁰ These worlds each have their own range of key symbols, among which the most important is a common repertoire of “community tunes” that the members “simply must know” and mutual cult figures whose memory must be preserved.

Which tunes do Swedish accordionists have to know? Is there a key repertoire? This was Lennart Wärmell’s answer:

Well, it’s a bit different for different people. But *Drömmen om Elin* and *Livet i Finnskogarna* by Jularbo, *Afton på Solvik* by Andrew Walter and *Novelty Accordeon* by Erik Frank. Then you might need a bit of tango, like *La Cumpasita* and *Tango Jalousie*. And Taube of course, *Calle Schewen...* There’s probably the same sort of basic repertoire among the majority of accordionists. Then there’s another typical repertoire, like for example Finnish tunes with *Säkkijärven polkka*, German, French, Italian, etc.

It is no doubt as Lennart Wärmell points out, “a bit different for different people”. Among the mass majority of accordionists in Sweden there is at the same time a fairly short and well-defined list of tunes that work as a common currency in their interplay. At the top we find without doubt Calle Jularbo’s *Drömmen om Elin*, often the only accordion tune that people outside the world of accordion know at all.¹¹¹

There are also a number of cult figures, role models to look up to and talk about. Anecdotes about them form a common repertoire that is just as important as the tunes and works in a similar way. Undoubtedly the brightest star in the Swedish accordion heaven is Carl Jularbo. Like all idols, he has a large body of admirers and dedicated successors. “There are those who copy him exactly, even playing the same wrong notes,” Lennart Wärmell tells us. Next to Jularbo there are two more distant fixed celestial bodies, the Italian accordion virtuosos Pietro Frosini and Pietro Deiro. Among national stars there are a number of accordionists from the older generations, including Andrew Walter, Olle Johny, Ragnar Sundqvist, Nisse Lind. In the 1970s, the Lindqvist brothers were a national standard among accordionists, not least on account of their regular TV performances.

¹¹⁰ The bandoneon type of accordion was developed in Germany during the 19th century and is the most popular accordion in Argentinean tango circles. The Russian concert accordion is called the bayan.

¹¹¹ *Livet i Finnskogarna* and *Wiggen* belong to the all-play tunes at the accordion meet in Ransäter. The accordion world’s largest annual manifestation in Sweden. The play list for the meet held on the 6th July 1996 is in the Internet (http://www.accordion.simplenet.com/p96_4.jpg).



Carl Jularbo is among the most well-known and most recorded musicians in Sweden. During his almost 50 years long career he made 1.576 recordings.

Sheet Music, Recordings

How is the accordion world supplied with instruments, recordings and sheet music? For many years the accordion was a staple product at the country's music shops. Music shops are today significantly fewer and because new accordions are expensive and difficult to sell, it is necessary to immerse oneself in the newspaper classifieds where cheap second-hand accordions can often be found, or to visit one of the specialist accordion shops and repairers scattered throughout Sweden, frequently in smaller communities.

It is significantly more difficult to find accordion music recordings. Despite the fact that the range of accordion recordings is large, there are few music stores that stock them. As with the instruments, this has paved the way for special niche markets with a handful of actors active over large areas to a dispersed but particularly interested audience. Practically all accordion recordings that exist are sold by Norilds Musik (Norild's Music) in Sjöholt in Norway, partly by mail order through their newspaper *Norildsavis* and Internet, partly also by direct sales at Ransäterstämman and other larger events. Norilds musik describes itself as "Scandinavia's largest record association and distributor of CDs and cassettes of accordion, old-time dance, folk music, ballads. We have a constantly increasing range of sheet music, instruments and accessories." According to Reidar Opsal *Norildsavis* is distributed to approximately 14,000 "old-time dance addresses" in Norway, Sweden and Denmark as well as to customers on Iceland, in the US, Germany and Japan. Of these about 4,000 are Swedish addresses. There are about 2,000 titles (MC/CD) in their catalogue. "The most popular is of course Sweden's Carl Jularbo!" Opsal says and continues: "The interest in accordion music is in no way disappearing. We see an increasing interest every day and its especially interesting to see the younger generation coming up, which we see mainly at the summer events."¹¹²

If accordion recordings can be difficult to find for the uninitiated, sheet music is even more difficult. These days there are only a handful of larger music publishers in Sweden and few of those publish accordion music. Those who do have problems with distribution because there are even fewer, if any, specialised sheet music shops left in Sweden. In the ordinary music shops, collections of the best-known accordion tunes can be found, but not much else. Instead a completely new kind of sheet music shop has arisen with many small publishers, often run as a hobby by enthusiasts. Distribution is via mail order or directly over the Internet.

The current markets for accordions, old-time dance on record and sheet

¹¹² E-mail from Reidar Opsal 17 April 2000.

music clearly illustrates something that many have pointed out in other areas: the Gordian knot of today's society is not production or consumption but distribution. The rapid growth of different types of niche markets with distribution over the Internet has led to the drastic reduction of some of the problems of accessibility for those who cultivate special interests and who are spread out over large areas.¹¹³ A look at the accordion world on the Internet shows that there is in fact a great deal for anyone who knows where and how to look. The Swedish search engine Evreka lists 1,293 hits on "accordion" in Sweden, and over a thousand more in "the rest of the world". When the pages that only contain the word accordion or that are selling a specific accordion are discounted there remain 74 Swedish websites of some substance. They are sites by individuals, accordion clubs, organisations, companies and others.¹¹⁴

For accordionists as for other low-density groupings the Internet has opened up completely new possibilities. However, because the average age of accordionists is high, it is doubtful that many of them in reality have much access to Internet-based markets for instruments, recordings and sheet music. An important part of the new possibilities offered by the Internet is the maintenance of close contacts with like-minded across large areas, nationally and transnationally. This does not seem to have had much significance in reality either. In its entirety the Swedish accordion world is primarily local and secondarily Swedish. For the majority of accordionists the horizon of activities is above all their hometown and neighbouring regions. Where contact with other countries exists then it is primarily with Norway, where old-time dance has strong position and where Swedish artists can enjoy larger audiences than in Sweden. There are also traces of interaction with Danish and Finnish accordionists. Only those who participate in the well-developed international competition for the European and World Championships have close contacts further afield.

¹¹³ Instead of selling many copies of a few products to many people with mixed interests ("broadcasting" in radio terminology) the trick is to sell fewer copies of many products to a few people with specially selected interests ("narrowcasting").

¹¹⁴ Entrances to the Swedish virtual world of accordion include, for example, SDR's website (<http://www.algonet.se/~sdr/>), Håkan Widar's @accordionscandinavia, with a web-ring of thirteen members (<http://w1.340.telia.com/~u34004684/>), and Hans Palm's accordion site (<http://www.accordion.simplenet.com/dragspel.html>). Probably the largest collection of accordion sites in the world is at Akkordeons Weltweit (<http://www.akkordeon.com>). Squeezebox is an English-speaking news group and e-mail list for accordion fans that are connected to the net.

Arenas

During the post-war years up until the end of the 1970s old-time dance on the accordion seems to have enjoyed a solid foothold in both public and private spheres. A move away from the public stage began during the 1960s, but was halted by the growth of the accordion clubs, which were very popular initially. To the chagrin of many in the older generations, the majority of accordion playing is today conducted within the family circle, among relatives and friends, at association meetings, accordion club rehearsals and the like.¹¹⁵ Over and above these, there are a number of more public arenas, most of which are directed at the converted: festivals and meets, courses, museums, etc. TV and radio are also public arenas where accordion play occurs, and we shall return to them later on.

An important quality of the accordion world, which it shares with certain other musical worlds, is the strong concentration during the summer months. During the autumn, winter and spring accordion playing in Sweden runs at low power before exploding in the three summer months. The accordion may have become less popular during recent decades but it still enjoys an unquestioned place in The Swedish Summer. Sun, boats, jetties and squeeze boxes are a powerful combination of Swedish summer sensuality, an image of the anticipated happy holiday that is so strong, that it manages to summon positive, even voluptuous associations in those who otherwise do not like pickled herring and vodka, who avoid boats and don't usually listen to accordion music.

Accordion meets are a variation on a rather unique Scandinavian form of a performance and gathering around music that rests on three equally important foundational elements. The first is summer temperatures, they are held outdoors, preferably in areas of natural beauty. The second is the official appearances by artists who get the crowds in. The third is "bushplay", the informal gathering around music that arises, if not around bushes then at least between caravans, cars and tents at nearby campsites. Festivals are the meets' younger relations and differ from the meets in their greater focus on formal stage appearances.¹¹⁶

There is a variety to choose from. SDR's guide lists 40 accordion events from April to September of which 24 take place in June and July.¹¹⁷ Martin Kullberg's *Dragspelskällaren* lists 68 events of which 44 are in June and July, in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and a few other countries.¹¹⁸ The Norwegian Norilds festival guide, known as *Treffpunkt Skandinavia 2000*, lists 76 ac-

¹¹⁵ Accordion playing is located in those zones that are neither the most private or the most public, "the living room zone" and "the near world outside" (Ronström 1992).

¹¹⁶ A number of meets are now called festivals, though their form has not been altered.

¹¹⁷ <http://www.algonet.se/~sdr/>.

¹¹⁸ <http://home.swipnet.se/~w-35736/>.

cordion events in Norway and Sweden between February and October, 34 of them in June and July.¹¹⁹ The majority of these are often relatively large annual events: Mellstadråget (The Mellsta Squeeze), Kongaträffen (The Kings Meeting)—the happy accordion meet, Dragspel på Logen (Accordion in the Barn), Vid Dragspelsälven (At the Accordion River), Glä Musikfestivalen (The Merry Music Festival) and many others. Over and above these there are of course a number of smaller events that are advertised locally.

The largest accordion event in the Nordic region is probably Bälgaspel vid landsvägskanten (squeeze box at the side of the country lane), which is arranged in Värmland at Ransäter every year in July, with, in recent years, over 200 ensembles taking part each year.¹²⁰ Bälgiaden is another larger annual event, which is held in different places in Sweden. Ove Hahn started a large annual accordion festival in 1969 at Gröna Lund. Accordionists from throughout the Nordic Region were invited and attracted a large audience. The festival was abandoned in the mid-1990s.

Another sort of arena is made up of courses in accordion playing. It was through connecting courses and accordion sales that the musical instrument manufacturer Hagströms in Älvdalen achieved its huge successes from the 1940s and onwards. The demand for teachers and accordions was at times greater than supply. Sven Magnusson, who was actively involved in course activities at Hagströms, estimates that over 40 years they taught roughly 70,000 people to play the accordion.¹²¹ Today, courses in the accordion are few and interest low and those that do exist are often arranged by study associations. The reason for the courses today is hardly to sell accordions, more, for example, to keep “traditions” alive, as when the Adult Educational Study Association’s department on northern Gotland advertised a course in the spring of 1998 in “Accordion, old-time dance and choir song—Swedish traditions at their best.”¹²²

One type of arena that few other musical worlds have access to are accordion museums. Apart from the Music Museum in Stockholm there are at least five private accordion museums in Sweden: the Carl Jularbo Museum in Gamla byn, Avesta¹²³; the Jularbo Museum in Alunda, Uppland; Karlsson’s Music Accordion Museum, Eskebacka, Fjärås, Halland; Stig Svensson’s Accordion Museum, Håghult, Lönsboda, Småland; Traste’s Mechanical Music Museum

¹¹⁹ <http://www.norilds.no/>.

¹²⁰ http://www.accordion.simplenet.com/s_ransater.html.

¹²¹ Dragspesllytt no. 3 1999:26–27. The idea of connecting courses to sales has been successfully exported to other countries such as the US and Germany.

¹²² Programme pamphlet issued in January 1988 by the Adult Schools’ Educational Association on Gotland.

¹²³ <http://www.mic.stim.se/svensk/9/samlingar/cjm.html>.

in Norra Ryd, Småland. These museums are monuments to the keen and life-long interest that accordions and accordionists can inspire in certain people.

Changes in Music Habits

In 1965, the sociologist Göran Nylöf investigated the attitude of Swedes to different sorts of music.¹²⁴ A large number of people throughout the country answered questions on their preferred choices for listening. The result was probably a surprise for those who were behind the survey, but confirmed what “ordinary people” already knew: the most popular genre in Sweden in the mid-1960s was old-time dance—“Accordion music of the Carl Jularbo type”. Almost half of Sweden’s population in the age group 16–70 were “followers of old dance music”, while 80% had a predominantly positive attitude toward “Jularbo music”. Less than 5% were predominantly negative and only 2% called themselves direct opponents. (Nylöf 1967:25–30)

Nylöf discovered close connections between levels of education and taste in music—the better the education the less popular old-time dance music was. It was most popular among farmers and workers. It is, however, worth noting that it also came in third in the white-collar worker’s top ten. Nylöf also discovered that it was the most popular genre in the entire country, barring Stockholm where it came second. The largest percentage of followers was to be found in towns of up to 100,000 inhabitants. The most enthusiastic fans were 31–70 years old. In the lower age groups “modern dance music” was more popular, but old-time dance came in fourth of eleven surveyed categories.

A decade later, by the middle of the 1970s, a further study was carried out on listening habits in Sweden.¹²⁵ Then only 10% of those interested in music preferred old-time dance music. Among young people (12–24) the figure was as low as 2%. The most popular music in all age groups was now modern mainstream pop/dance music/pop music. “Uncomplicated danceable rhythms and singable mainstream pop melodies with Swedish lyrics are the most appreciated. The American pop industry provides the prototypes, but Swedes prefer to listen to Swedish forms of this music or at least with Swedish lyrics.” (Nylöf 1977:49) When Nylöf in summary compared the different studies he wrote:

¹²⁴ The material was comprised of a postal survey answered by 2,082 people, telephone interviews with 324 people and face to face interviews with 220 people.

¹²⁵ By PUB 1975 and Sifo 1976. Reviewed in Nylöf, Göran 1977: “How our listening habits have changed during the 1970s” [trans.]. In *Vem bestämmer din musik? En debattbok om musiken i Sverige i samarbete med ABF-arbetet*. Compiled by Sixten Nordström, ABF, p. 48–64.



Singer Gösta "Snoddas" Nordgren in front of a huge crowd in the 1950s.

In 1965, Swedes preferred old-time dance music and associated popular music, above all accordion music, to other kinds of music. (...) Since then tastes in music have changed extensively. Only 7% of those interested in music made the same choices in 1976. The majority of these were poorly educated people and over 50, often men living in the countryside. (Nylöf 1977:51)¹²⁶ [trans.]

What is the situation today? The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation carried out a survey of musical habits in the spring of 2000 in western Sweden in which they played 300 melodies to 500 people between the ages of 30 and 60 and asked them to place the tunes in order of preference. ABBA's music was the most appreciated followed by songs from musicals (Elaine Page) and melodies by, for example, Celine Dion and Jerry Williams:

All of this music is in English. The best melody in Swedish took fourteenth place. Melodies with Swedish lyrics found it surprisingly difficult to get into this group. The group is the most negative toward ballads and other Swedish folk music (accordion), but also new music with Swedish lyrics (artists from the 1990s) found it difficult to attract this group.¹²⁷ [trans.]

What these studies show is that accordion and old-time dance had a strong position with the majority of Swedes until the mid-1960s and that a dramatic change of tastes in music occurred during the years immediately afterwards. However, a lot of evidence suggests that the change had already been underway for some time when Nylöf carried out his first study. Dolle Muthas, accordionist and music dealer in Visby, recalls the great and rapid changes of the 1950s and 1960s. He began selling accordions in 1955. At that time accordion fever was at large on Gotland, he could sell 10–12 accordions a week, but 1961–62 it suddenly ended. “Accordion almost became a dirty word”, he says. Now it was guitars and amplifiers that were popular instead. In 1967–68, the trend reversed and accordion began to become popular again. In the 1990s it took more or less a year to sell what during the 1950s sold in a week.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The patterns relating to virtuoso folk fiddle music were even more altered. In 1965 the interest in fiddle player music was mainly rooted among the old, poorly educated and inhabitants of sparsely populated areas. These patterns have vanished. If anyone appreciates this music more than the average, he or she is likely to be a well-educated young person in the city. Active efforts from this group can contribute to the conception of a widespread interest in folk music.

¹²⁷ <http://www.sr.se/sjuharad/fakta/musik.htm>.

¹²⁸ Interview with Dolle Muthas 23 January 1996. Interview in the publication *Gotlands Allehanda* (local newspaper) 7 October 1997. If the accordion “ran out” 1961–62, it must have meant that old-time dance music “of the Carl Jularbo model” was even more popular at the end of the 1950s than when Nylöf conducted his survey in the mid-1960s. If so, that would mean that old-time dance on the accordion practically dominated the musical taste

In his overview of popular music of the 1950s, the musicologist Jan Ling writes that the 1950s was “the decade when US mass culture made its definitive breakthrough in Europe and transformed separate European cultures to the very marrow” (Ling 1980:113). However, the “confrontation of cultures” which came about in the 1950s could already be portended during the war years, for example in Povel Ramel’s debut hit from 1944, *Johansson’s boogie-woogie waltz*. Ling writes; “The meeting between honky tonk and Swedish rural waltz is a brilliant musical symbol for culture crash”.

Ling’s explanation for this process are the social and political developments, with rapid urbanisation, industrialisation and the hard rationalisation of agriculture, which led to a new schism dividing Swedish culture into two parts. One part was represented by the newly arrived city youth that wanted as soon as possible to be rid of the countryside’s cultural legacy and instead devote itself to everything the new city had to offer.

As is usual in Swedish history, musical education was neglected: a musical foundation against which new impressions could be reflected was lacking, at least in homes outside the upper class and the non-conformist churches’ intensive musical sphere. Rock became the musical language and identity of youth. (Ling 1980:122) [trans.]

The other part, also a result of urbanisation, harks instead back to the old and the countryside, though now seen through strongly rose-tinted spectacles. *Där som sädesfälten böja sig för vinden*, one of the 1950s popular songs, Harry Brandelius and the Snoddas phenomenon are examples of what Ling describes as “home-district nostalgia,” which “thrives as never before and becomes a hot-bed of both folk music interest and sentimental ballads” (Ling 1980:122).

If Ling is right then the accordion’s great popularity was an outbreak of home-district nostalgia that grew precisely because the home district was no longer as obvious for large parts of the Swedish people. But the changes also have to be put into relation to a number of completely different styles of music and their parallel appearance and disappearance during the same period. In the chapter on the boys of the 1950s it is clear that their period of greatness occurred in the 1950s and that young people in the beginning of the 1960s suddenly abandoned classic jazz for the new rock music. In his book *Musik till middag* (music for dinner), music researcher Bengt Nyqvist writes that “parlour music” was well established from the end of the 19th century and up until

of “ordinary” Swedes, a remarkable conclusion with reference to the few traces such dominance has left in the annals of the time. (On the other hand, the accordion was most popular in the social strata whose cultural forms have routinely been neglected and excluded in public national histories.) It would also mean that the decline in popularity was extensive and particularly rapid and dramatic.

the 1960s when parlour circles were suddenly disbanded and vanished. The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's large entertainment orchestras under the baton of the legendary William Lind were discontinued in 1965. As early as the 1950s, the once so popular wind orchestras vanished from the public eye. "Radio's programme management of the time did not think that wind music was "nice"—one often referred to it as "bompa-bompa" and the attitude has not changed to any significant degree since" writes Nyqvist (1983:138–140) and finishes:

As is apparent, entertainment music during the 1950s and 1960s enjoyed very extensive scope in the range of programmes, at the same time as it successively left restaurant stages and music pavilions. When the entertainment orchestra was disbanded in 1965, we have also seen how this led to all sorts of entertainment music quite simply vanishing. (Nyqvist 1983:156) [trans.]

It is quite clear that all of this is linked just as the changes were related to the rapid spread of American mass culture. What we see are the signs of a revolutionary change of Swedes' tastes and aesthetic preferences, which coincided with an equally revolutionary reshaping of Swedish society. In only a decade, old-time dance and accordion were transformed from centre to periphery, from the most popular type of music in most camps to music for a small group of poorly educated older people in the country.

Organisation and Formalisation

Oblivion is the mother of memory—the prerequisites of revival movements are disappearance and death. Like a phoenix a completely new accordion world arose in just a few years from the ashes of the old. That the accordion's fall during the 1960s seems to have been so rapid and dramatic might perhaps explain why the conscious recreation came about so quickly with such power and vitality.

It began with the accordion clubs. Alfta Accordion Club, one of the oldest in Sweden, was formed in 1967 with the aim of "gathering interested accordianists from the district and promoting the practice of accordion music".¹²⁹ At the meeting to appoint the executive committee, Wilhelm Järnberg gave a fiery speech in which he laid forth a complete political and aesthetic programme in condensed form.

In our efforts to gain a more deserving place for the accordion in the world of music, we should seek to produce music that is as harmonious, finely shaded and sweet

¹²⁹ <http://www.torget.se/users/r/rj35/index.htm>.

sounding as possible. Our lives ought to be dedicated to making accordion music appreciated and exploited in a more just way.¹³⁰

Only a year later, in 1968, the Swedish National Accordionist's Association, SDR, was formed.¹³¹ The board comprised Ebbe Jularbo, Sone Banger, Lars Anner, Elis Brandt, Karl-Erik Sandberg and Kalle Grönstedt. Lennart Wärmell became chairman: "SDR was formed by a number professional accordionists. The background was dissatisfaction with the fact that the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation played little accordion music, though there was more then than now. Rock's breakthrough caused the accordion to decline and we wanted to do something about it."¹³² Approximately 500 accordionists joined immediately and the association grew quickly to include a couple of thousand members.¹³³

A new era commenced for friends of the accordion in the country. Ove Hahn started the annual accordion festival at the amusement park Gröna Lund in Stockholm in 1969. Old-time dance courses and courses in the accordion were arranged across the country. In 1971, Stig Nahlbom began the sovereign nation of the accordion, Bälgien, with its own king and queen. In Ransäter a large accordion meet was initiated in 1972. In 1974, the World Accordion Championships, "Coupe Mondiale", were held in Stockholm. On the radio, heavyweights such as Gnesta-Kalle, Stig Nahlbom and Bengt Polo Johansson hosted beloved radio shows featuring accordion and old-time dance. Bosse Larsson, one of Swedish television's brightest stars, hosted an entire TV series called *Nygammalt* (new-old), a programme that turned out to be hugely popular and influential and that focused on traditions of yore. *Nygammalt* began in 1971 and was transmitted 200 times during a period of 18 years and, on one occasion, attracted no less than 5.4 million Swedish viewers! In addition, Hasse Tellemar, another of Sweden's legendary TV hosts, hosted accordion features.¹³⁴

The accordion movement from the end of the 1960s and through the entire 1970s was a revival movement, closely related to others of the same period, e.g. "the Green Wave" and folk music movement. It also had a lot in common with older revival movements. The key words are organisation and formalisation. From general and everyday behaviour formal organisations are created with

¹³⁰ Quoted in Kjellström 1976:65.

¹³¹ <http://www.algonet.se/-sdr/>.

¹³² Telephone interview with Lennart Wärmell 5 February 1998.

¹³³ Today, SDR has over 3,000 members. Since 1997, *Dragspelsnytt* (accordion news) has been published four times a year with Stig Nahlbom as editor. The circulation is approximately 3,000 copies (<http://www.algonet.se/-sdr/>).

¹³⁴ According to *Dragspelsnytt* no. 4 1999:18, 72.

new meeting forms and arenas, their own media and channels of distribution, which promote old forms of expression in new packaging. Playing by individuals is grouped into mass works in large orchestras. The fiddle-player movement during the first half of the 20th century gave rise to fiddle-player associations, fiddle-player teams and fiddle-player meets, which caused a boom for fiddle music during the 1930s and 1940s. In a similar way, though much more quickly, the organisation of accordion playing led to accordion associations, clubs, meets and a boom for the accordion that lasted over a decade.

The strength of all revival movements is that they give birth to something new, if only through the reformulation of the old in new terms. Their weakness is that they themselves soon become part of the old, which the next generation must accept or reject. Formalisation and organisation was a part of the new, which in the 1960s and 1970s gave the accordion movement strength, but which today is part of the old that generates a boundary to younger generations—even if they play the accordion.

Marginalisation and Acceptance

From the beginning, accordion and old-time dance have been loved by the mass but disdained by a small articulate and influential elite.¹³⁵ The embrace of the masses has fuelled the distancing of the elite, both in the 19th century and during the golden years of the 1950s and revival period of the 1970s. A powerful polarisation has therefore been part of accordion and old-time dance through the years and given rise to a clear ambivalence in large sections of the Swedish people. Many like accordion and “kultis”—even though it’s not really acceptable to do so.

A pronounced effect of polarisation is a prominent defensive or belligerent attitude in many of those who love accordion. The Gla’MusikAlliansen (Merry Music Alliance) in Jämtland describes itself as an association that “safeguards glad and popular music as well as amateurism”. The aim is to “fetch back a little of what we have lost during the cultural development of this country. In other words: we want to safeguard the genuine popular fiddle-player traditions, old-time dance culture, amateurism and correct the imbalance which at present exists in the media.” (<http://wl.631.telia.com/~u63103862/vad.htm>)¹³⁶ [trans.]

¹³⁵ Sten Broman, music expert from Lund, became a symbol for the mass distancing of academics from the accordion and accordion music during the 1960s after making a series of negative comments on the accordion. See Kjellström 1976:76pp. for comprehensive examples.

¹³⁶ Lennart Wärmell has during his entire career tussled with a widespread negative predisposition to the accordion. “The accordion case is so obvious. One was embarrassed to go

A clear sign of the marginalisation of the accordion is that it has not been able to be easily used in those arenas where taste, education and cultural heritage are displayed. Just as 19th century clerics could preach in opposition to the sinful violin their latter-day colleagues preach opposition to the accordion. Lennart Wärmell recalls in particular three cases he at first was not permitted to play at funerals in church, despite the express wishes of the deceased. “But you can convert people”, he says, “a vicar who was a total opponent of the accordion at funerals regretted the fact afterwards and came up to me with thanks”.¹³⁷

In the 1970s, the accordionists’ strivings for organisation and formalisation caused a shift in accordion music to a higher level of visibility. As Mark Slobin pointed out, shifts in visibility bring about new content, new meaning. And so it happened. Bandannas, waistcoats, slouch-hats and snuff, Swedish flags and folk-dance teams in traditional dress and a brisk normality were all connected with the accordion. The glad music movement was born, its battle cry became Bosse Larsson’s acclamation in *Nygammalt*: “Hi all you merry people!” However, it was also connected with a completely new kind of conscious struggle for certain cultural values and against others. Stig Nahlbom gives a clear expression of this new spirit of struggle in a reflection on accordion playing on the radio and TV of the 1970s:

And so *Nygammalt* arrived at just the right moment. Glad music, the accordion and old-time dance were once more in fashion. A suppressed majority re-emerged as a glad folk movement. The nail-polishers had for too long been sitting on culture’s high barstools, spitting olive stones on ordinary people with ordinary tastes and with ordinary entertainment needs. *Nygammalt* showed that being ordinary wasn’t ugly and was supported by massive viewing ratings.¹³⁸

What remained unchanged, however, was the polarised attitude—the new visibility did not grant access to the hallowed halls. That 5.4 million Swedes (approximately 65% of the population) simultaneously watch *Nygammalt* does not mean that it is a “nice” thing to do, it might mean precisely the opposite! Since the revival movement rang out the accordionists have been moved further and further into the dusty corner of cultural life. Visibility is nowadays very slight. Many of those who took part in the 1970s are still active and no rejuvenation has taken place. What was once the most popular music in Sweden has been transformed into special interest music.

out with it. (...) With an accordion I am placed directly in social group three or five. But when I play they might say: “Well,well, what is this!” (Telephone interview with Lennart Wärmell M.0R980205)

¹³⁷ Telephone interview with Lennart Wärmell 5 February 1998.

¹³⁸ *Dragspelsnytt* no. 4 1999:72.

There are signs, however, that the old fields of tension surrounding the accordion are now being redefined. Because the accordion disappeared from the public eye during the 1980s and 90s, younger generations today have not been able to gain experiences of the accordion and old-time dance of their own. This might on the one hand lead to the accordion having even fewer practitioners and thereby becoming even further marginalized and invisible. On the other hand, it might lead to young people drawing closer to accordion music out of curiosity and rediscovering it, though with completely different ideas than earlier revival movements.

Perhaps this is precisely what we now see traces of? We have already encountered a number of people who point to a new stream of accordionist youth with new ideas, collaborative forms and styles. Others, such as Bengan Jansson, believe that the accordion has been accepted today as never before. In any case it has now begun to be admitted to the hallowed halls.

Some examples that can be interpreted in this way:

- On the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's channel P1 II June 1998, 22.45, the presenter announces *Bingsjövalsen* played by Benny Andersson and the folk musician group Orsa spelmanslag: "This evening's cultural radio was a bit short, so we are going to listen to some music, Swedish accordion music, Swedish culture."
- Channel P2 aired a series of programmes in June 1998 on "the accordion, its music and social and cultural habitats".
- When Ray Charles and Ravi Shankar received the Polar Music Prize in 1998 from the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, the founder of the Polar record company, Stikkan Andersson, was honoured with a pot-pourri of his own tunes played by Bengan Jansson on the accordion.
- During UNESCO's meeting of cultural ministers in Stockholm, Monday 30th March 1998, Swedish folk music was played in different costumes on the request of UNESCO. In one room "Swedish accordion music" was presented by, amongst others, Bengan Jansson and Lars Karlsson as representatives of Swedish cultural life.¹³⁹
- In 1997, for the first time four scholarships, each comprising SEK 25,000, were announced from the Albin Hagström memorial fund for accordionists and guitarists in the area of popular music. The scholarships are administered and awarded by the Royal Swedish Academy of Music.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Conversation with Bengan Jansson on 2 April 1998, e-mail from Lars Farago 2 April 1998.

¹⁴⁰ From *Dragspelsnytt* no. 1 1997.

- In the Swedish daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* of 4 July 1998 an obituary notice was published where an accordion had replaced the customary cross. In the same paper there was also a guitar, beside the more common birds, flowers and sailing boats.
- When Swedish Concert Institute and the Swedish Royal Academy of Music's new concert hall Nybrokajen was opened in March 1998, a series of concerts were held to celebrate the fact. On Saturday 14 March, the heading was "folk music". During the lunch concert, Erik Frank, Bengan Jansson, Sören Rydgren and other famous accordionists appeared.¹⁴¹ Writing about this event in a letter, the producer Sten Sandahl said: "The accordion is for me an important ingredient in Swedish—and incidentally not just Swedish—folk culture. Often perhaps viewed askance in Sweden, particularly until a few years ago, it has made an indelible mark on folk music in practically the entire world. And not just on folk music... So when we decided that a day would be devoted to Swedish folk music, I thought it might be fun to make this lunch concert (free admission) into something of a small accordion manifestation. Just because it is an instrument beloved by the people and is seldom given room by the "establishment". (...) And it worked, we had about five hundred in the audience, with an unsurprising proportion of older people—such as would never otherwise set foot in this concert hall."¹⁴² [trans.]

Accordion on the Radio

Without a doubt the most widely discussed subject in the accordion world is the lack of accordion music on the radio and TV. It has been so for some time. As we have seen, SDR was in part formed as an attempt to affect the range of music on the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's programmes. Already then there was cause for complaint. In his 1965 study, Göran Nylöf discovered a significant discrepancy between the popularity of certain styles of music and their exposure time in the media. Classical as well as pop music enjoyed a lot of time on the air, despite not being as popular. The opposite was true of old-time dance music.

Since then the discrepancy has probably increased. Even if the accordion's popularity has declined, its presence on the radio has declined even more.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ *Dagens Nyheter* 13–19 February 1988.

¹⁴² E-mail from Sten Sandahl 2 April 1998.

¹⁴³ I e-mailed a question to all of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's local radio stations on which programmes are transmitted for older listeners. Of the 15 answers it became apparent that only the local channel P4 transmits music for older listeners. We are not aware

In the context of radio, accordion is counted as “music for the elderly” and belongs therefore to the profiled area of channel P4. Old-time dance on the accordion turns up from time to time but very few of the local radio stations have special programmes for accordion music. Amongst the exceptions are Radio Sörmland, on which Gnesta-Kalle presented accordion music, and Radio Västernorrland, where Jörgen Sundeqvist has had accordion programmes. If there is some accordion on the local stations, there is practically nothing on the national stations. P2’s accordion effort of 1998 is an exception that proves the rule.

To remedy the shortcomings on the radio, Alf Dahlgren from Bergshem outside Borås has started his own opposition movement, Aktionsgruppen P4 (P4 action group). The decisive factor was the changes that followed the appointment of Kjerstin Oscarsson, the new Head of P4 Riks, in the middle of the 1990s. Dahlgren’s arguments are few and simple. One is that more accordions on the radio could attract increased numbers of young people to accordion playing, which could have consequences for society:

The youth of today no longer get to hear cultural music on the radio. If there were, for example, accordion music then more could become interested and then society would become gentler and not be so hard... I think music should be gentle, light and glad, not hard like the stuff young people listen to. It’s no wonder they become hard.

Another argument is about democracy. The musical wishes of a large group of people in Sweden go unfulfilled with the current output of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. They have a right to what they want because they pay for it:

It is we listeners who pay, and we should be involved in deciding the content. It’s a question of democracy. (...) Those who are never included are put to one side. For those over 55 there isn’t much on the radio. (...) It’s music and democracy we’re working on. Pensioners, the blind, there are 3 million who don’t have anything to listen to. (...) One route is via the radio licence and regulatory body in Haninge. Radio management should be sacked! We had demonstrations outside of Radio Kronoberg in Växjö when Karlavagnen was transmitted. TV4 turned up and newspapers, the head of radio was furious. We’re going to report Radio Kristianstad because they infringe the licence. They don’t play jazz, accordion and Ulla Billquist. I don’t know if the regulatory body has been paid off or not. But we are going to report them. A

of competing stations with the same focus. One exception is the community radio station Radio Viking which transmits from the Mälars islands in Stockholm. (E-mail sent 14 January 1998.)

ban on accordion, jazz and Ulla Billquist can't be tolerated in Sweden. (...) I'm for taking a hard line, nothing else works. The previous chairman of SDR didn't want a demonstration. Kjerstin Oscarsson should be our servant, so to speak, but she just follows her own tastes.¹⁴⁴

With his action group, Dahlgren appoints himself spokesman for a large silent group, "those who have no radio to listen to". He includes primarily the pensioners in this group. The response has not been what he hoped for, however. Many sympathise with his aims, but not everyone thinks his methods are the best.¹⁴⁵

SDR has for some time tried to persuade radio to air more accordion, as mentioned before. In *Dragspelsnytt* 1/97, the then chairman of SDR, Lennart Carlsson, wrote: "1996 was the year when many dissatisfied friends of accordion, jazz, folk music et al have begun to protest more than previously about the low quantities of this kind of music on the radio." A letter was sent to radio management. In her reply, Kjerstin Oscarsson wrote that the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's local radio is a sports channel, that the target is everyone over about 35 and not just pensioners, that a large part of the programmes are primarily aimed at the oldest part of Sweden's population, that there are few genre programmes left, and that accordion exists as an accepted genre in the total output.¹⁴⁶ Ove Hahn, then the editor of the paper, comments:

In the first paragraph Kjerstin Oscarsson wrote that the idea of P4 has never been to "only appeal to pensioners or people over 60". The statement is peculiar given that no such thing was claimed in the chairman's letter to P4 either. The letter only requested more accordion music, without any reference to any particular age group.

Ove Hahn raises an important question here to which we will have cause to return: should accordion music be regarded as a special interest for all ages, or particular the elderly? Reformulated in more theoretical terms, should the grouping that has formed around accordion be seen as based on interest or origin? In the exchange of words summarised above there are two lines. One, most closely represented by Kjerstin Oscarsson and the radio management, regards accordion music as music for pensioners, which in our terms are the "origins grouping", formed via separation and/or segregation. The other, here

¹⁴⁴ Telephone interview with Alf Dahlgren 21 December 1998.

¹⁴⁵ See *Dragspelsnytt* no. 1-4 1999, 1/100.

¹⁴⁶ *Skivor från Vetlanda* (records from Vetlanda), a programme that presented older music, particularly on 78rpm, was stopped after the death of the presenter at the end of the 1990s.

represented by Ove Hahn, sees accordion players as an interest grouping open to all kinds of people.

A Social Movement?

Let us now return to the theoretical arguments we put forward at the beginning and discuss accordion and old-time dance in terms of representation, aesthetic struggle and visibility. A way of understanding the demands for more accordion music on the radio is as the start of a social movement.¹⁴⁷ “Social movements in complex societies are prophets”, writes the Italian sociologist Alberto Melucci. “They are signs of a deep transformation of the complex societies’ logic and processes. Like prophets, ‘they foretell’” (Melucci 1989:23). What then is the accordion movement a sign of, and what does it foretell? Melucci continues to say that many of today’s conflicts “can be explained by the political market’s function, where they are expressions of excluded social groups or categories that demand representation.” In his opinion, these conflicts are not fundamentally antagonistic they are not about attacking the system but are rather “just demands for connection to a system of rewards and rules from which one has been excluded.” (Melucci 1989:27) [trans.]

Alf Dahlgren and others demands for their music on the radio can be seen as an example of precisely what Melucci is discussing. Many elderly feel excluded from the radio community to which they once belonged. Radio functions as an image of what is public and accepted in society. Hearing their music on the radio therefore becomes a confirmation of existence and acceptance.

A New Generation of Pensioners

We have seen that a particularly extensive change of Sweden’s cultural and aesthetic landscape took place in the years around 1970. With the breakthrough of pop in Sweden, many of the old music forms vanished from the public, such as old-time dance. In their place there came a long list of new musical forms, the majority Afro-American. Old-time dance lost its position as the Swedish people’s favourite music. Young people abandoned the accordion in favour of the guitar. The result became an electrified aesthetic boundary, “thump, thump instead of melodies one can sing”.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ A social movement that STIM and SKMM have now contributed to.

¹⁴⁸ One of Göran Nylöf’s observations in the study from 1965 was that there was already a relation of opposites between the attitude to “traditional music”, i.e. old-time dance, fiddle playing and spiritual songs, and “American-influenced music”, i.e. jazz, pop and modern dance music. (Nylöf 1967:76)

At the time of this great change today's pensioners were young or just entering middle age. Their collective experience is characterised by the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, the central epoch of Swedish modernity, "the time of the welfare state" and "the record years". During recent years, pensioners have steadily increased in numbers and are furthermore healthier and possessed of greater resources than any generation of pensioners before them. When, in connection with being pensioned off, they are forced to replace something familiar they are used to with something new and unfamiliar, they have no clear models to follow, no "that's the way it's always been done" to hold onto.

That is why the meaning of "pensioner" is in the midst of rapid and strong change. While "growing old" previously meant that one retired from paid work and "drew a pension" it means today for many the start of an entirely new way of life. A growing range of organisations with meetings, courses and activities on the programme help the newly pensioned with their transfer into a new way of life. When pensioner organisations emerged, their purpose was to exert social-political pressure and fight for justice. With the significant increase of women members during the 1980s and 1990s the situation changed. The struggle for better living conditions is still the most important goal—at least on the surface. Within the ranks another side is apparent: dance, music, travel, gymnastics, favours and much else. Today's pensioners have in short time appropriated a range of new spaces, which they themselves are able to shape. In these spaces and around all of their newfound activities they have created new ways of living and associating, new habits, ceremonies and rituals—a *pensioner's culture* if you will.

Aesthetic Marginalisation

An important part of the new pensioner culture centres on aesthetics, sensuality and expressive forms, not least dance and music. Many old people perceive "their music" to have been unjustly shoved aside out of today's media output (Hyltén-Cavallius 1998, Ronström 1997b). The musical styles that today's elderly have listened to for large parts of their lives and long were transmitted from the centre of the nation throughout Sweden on the only radio station can now, at best, be heard on the "mature station" P4, transmitted from over twenty local stations spread across the land. Many of the elderly therefore have increasing difficulties orientating themselves in the sonic general public. Their tastes, habits and values have been banished from the general public's centre to its fringes, in the same way as the music that has accompanied their lives has been exiled from national radio to local radio. What Alf Dahlgren and others

have brought to light is that during recent years this music has also been given decreasing amounts of airtime on P4.

Even if many pensioners feel that their aesthetic values have been marginalized, they do not necessarily feel that they regard their tastes as special or distinctive. It is rather the range of music in the media that is regarded as narrow and special. The relationship with today's media is generally ambivalent. Many are angry and upset at being pushed into media periphery, such as when one's music is relegated to special programmes a half-hour a month. Yet these programmes are at the same time highly appreciated because they transmit what many elderly prefer to watch and listen to.

Extensive age stratification has arisen. While many old people feel alienated from new expressive forms, children, young people and the middle-aged feel lost before the aesthetic that prevailed fifty years ago. They find it difficult to orient themselves in the music habits of the elderly and the majority lack any relation of their own to the big names from the 1930s and 1940s. It is this important cultural difference that is dramatised by the "thump, thump music" so disliked by many old people. For all those who have grown up with "thump, thump music" older Swedish music can on the other hand appear as a single mass of hopelessly old-fashioned, nerdish and boring sounds.

Nevertheless, the powers of association in this old music can also be great for the young. Even those who dislike older popular songs and accordion tunes can easily identify them as both old and Swedish. Also, in today's Sweden, there are increasing numbers of people with "roots", memories and aesthetic frames of reference from other parts of the world. The majority of them naturally lack a relationship to older Swedish popular music. A boundary in time with younger people can then come to be combined with a boundary in space with people who have moved into Sweden. Together they can form an effective line of demarcation with a "Sweden from before" that is perceived as something it was not: homogenous, "typically Swedish".

The call for more accordion music, in other words, can be seen as a demand for visibility and representation. But it is also a demand for recognition. That is why more accordion music on the radio is such an important symbolic matter for Alf Dahlgren and many others. Part of the demand is about what one wants to hear more of, i.e. accordion, ballads, melodious pop songs, etc. Another part is about what one wants to hear less of, i.e. "thump, thump". Accordion is not just a collective term for old Swedish music. Thump, thump is not just a collective term for Afro-American music in various forms. Through their many and strong links with the great societal changes of recent decades, both accordion and "thump, thump" also become collective symbols for the polarisation in today's Swedish society; temporal (then–now, i.e. before and after the

end of the 1960s), spatial (Europe–America, rural–urban forms) social and cultural (old–young, country people–city dwellers, old-fashioned–modern, Swedish–immigrant, etc.).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ In a similar way, the accordion was pitted against the violin in the beginning of the 20th century (Ronnström 1990b).

The Nyckelharpa People

Jan Ling's dissertation *nyckelharpan* (1967) was a study of a unique Swedish folk instrument on the verge of extinction. There were only a handful of practitioners left and many of them were old. There were furthermore very few knowledgeable manufacturers still alive. In general, Ling's work appeared like another in the list of Swedish folk music and instruments from a lost era. Eleven years later, Gunnar Ahlbäck estimated that there were more than 3,000 nyckelharpas in the country (Ahlbäck 1980:114). There was an explosive increase in nyckelharpas during the 1970s. Large numbers of Swedes learnt to make and play the instrument. Textbooks were written and new music. The interest was massive, not least from adult education associations, which made the playing and making of nyckelharpas to something of a folk movement. Ahlbäck's book, *Nyckelharpsfolket* (The Nyckelharpa People), is a documentation of the fantastic change in the nyckelharpa's position in Swedish folk music.

The number of practitioners is today estimated to approximately 10, 000. At the same time it is thought that the numbers of nyckelharpa players peaked in the mid-1980s.¹⁵⁰ Associations report today on a decline in the numbers of members. The story of the nyckelharpa guild in the town of Örebro in central Sweden is quite typical:

The Örebro nyckelharpa guild was formed in January 1980 by a few enthusiasts who wanted to make and play the Nyckelharpa in an organised way. We made it our aim to raise awareness of the nyckelharpa, primarily in Närke where we live. We took care of all of the beginners and directed them to our construction courses and thereafter to our courses in playing the instrument. We administered the courses via the Adult Education Study Association, which ran similar courses elsewhere. After a couple of years we had 150 members and we had a core troop of about 30–40 members who took part in the majority of performances we held. We received a lot of work performing for home district associations, folk music associations and other that the nyckelharpa was exciting when it was new in Örebro. All income was put back into the association's activities. We organised, among other things, weekend courses for our members. We invited the cream of Sweden's nyckelharpa players to teach. Everyone

¹⁵⁰ Estimates made by the fiddle players and teachers Olov Johansson and Peter Hedlund in correspondence with MMM 8 October 1999.

has been here, from Eric Sahlström, Ceylon Wallin, Sture Sahlström, Hasse Gille, Leif Alpsjö, to today's young virtuosos such as Marcus Svensson and Johan Hedin.

The membership has decline somewhat today. (<http://w1.191.telia.com/~u19104497/nyckel/historia.htm>) [trans.]

The grouping called “The Nyckelharpa People” in this study is primarily composed of practising musicians, mainly amateurs, but also a small number of professionals. Other people on the nyckelharpa scene who are in the sphere “doers-makers-knowers” are also included in the n Nyckelharpa People. It is in no way a homogenous grouping. As has been shown by Mathias Boström (1999) it is unclear whether nyckelharpa players can be described as a grouping or network at all. Sub-groupings such as for example local organisations and associations, as well as global networks like the American Nyckelharpa Association (ANA), or Föreningen Nyckelharpan (the nyckelharpa association) form more pronounced units due to common activities and contacts. On the other hand the total grouping of nyckelharpa players (and others with connection to the nyckelharpa in general) is more heterogeneous and thereby more difficult to define. The “Nyckelharpa People” in the study are then partly the product of a research or outsider perspective, even if many nyckelharpa players point out in interviews that there is a feeling of affinity of sorts at meets and on courses even when the participants have not met before.

Specialisation

Two trends can be discerned in the structure of the grouping. The group of practitioners and makers declined during the 1990s (c.f. Boström 1999:13). At the same time the proportion of specialists increased, e.g. nyckelharpa players trained at a college of music, professional makers, record producers, etc.

Nyckelharpa players with a college of music qualification are naturally something completely new. Applications for courses in nyckelharpa in fact make up quite a large proportion of the total applications to the Stockholm College of Music. In the autumn of 1995 Marcus Svensson was accepted as the first on the musician course to focus on Swedish folk music and with the nyckelharpa as his main subject. Since then the number of nyckelharpa players applying has swung between four and nine. Autumn 1999 saw most applications with a total of nine applying. The figure can be compared with the 32 people who applied to study to be (folk) fiddle musicians. In other words, nyckelharpa players have rapidly approached violinists in number. The majority of nyckelharpa players

apply to study to become musicians. The majority who apply are quite young, born in 1979–1980.¹⁵¹

The Eric Sahlström Institute

The Eric Sahlström Institute was founded in 1997 as a trust with activities focusing on “promoting folk music, folk song and folk dance in Swedish society.”¹⁵² Particular emphasis shall, however, be placed on “the nyckelharpa’s continued existence and development”. The institute’s most important activity today is the one year residential course in nyckelharpa, which is run in collaboration with Vaddö residential college for adult education.¹⁵³ During the academic year 1999/2000, the institute had 17 students from different parts of Sweden (and an American citizen). The name has been taken from the legendary Upplands fiddle player Eric Sahlström (1912–1986). Sahlström was active as a fiddle player, fiddle maker and teacher. As a fiddle maker he took part in the development of the modern chromatic nyckelharpa. Many of his compositions are today included in the majority of nyckelharpa player’s repertoires.

Even if the courses at the Eric Sahlström Institute are to include Swedish folk music and song from a broader perspective, it is clear that the nyckelharpa comprises the core of activities. One of the founders, Gunnar Ahlbäck, writes the following in a brochure:

The nyckelharpa is not just an interesting and fully adequate instrument. It is also a remarkable cultural object, which we in Sweden have a special responsibility for. It is met with increasing interest and is gaining representatives around the world. There now exists, among other things, the American Nyckelharpa Association in the US, nyckelharpa associations in France, Switzerland and nyckelharpa meets in Holland. (...) Today it’s played from north to south and really deserves to be declared the national instrument. (Ahlbäck 1998) [trans.]

At the Eric Sahlström institute, the nyckelharpa has gained its own institution and centre. The argument for making the nyckelharpa the Swedish “national instrument”, like the institute’s localisation to Tobo in Uppland, Eric

¹⁵¹ Information from Sven Ahlbäck at the Royal College of Music in Stockholm via e-mail 15 October 1999.

¹⁵² Annual report from the foundation behind the Eric Sahlström institute.

¹⁵³ The first course lasted one term and was held in the autumn of 1998.

¹⁵⁴ The board of directors for the Eric Sahlström institute for 1999 had the following members: Chairman *Jan Ling*—professor of musicology, *Gunnar Ahlbäck*—chairman of Eric Sahlström’s memorial fund; *Lars Farago*—chairman of Riksförbundet För folkmusik och dans (the national association for folk music and dance); *Göte Herlousson*—board



Individual lecturing at the Eric Sahlström Institute. Olov Johansson and the student Kristoffer Pettersson. Photo: Jonas Thorell.

Sahlström's home town, are important symbolic attitudes. The institute has rapidly become a national actor in folk music Sweden, not least because its directors are particularly well established in the music scene's organisations.¹²³ It has also enjoyed staunch support from a number of members of the Swedish parliament who have worked towards gaining the Eric Sahlström Institute official status as "national centre for folk music". The institute is modelled on the folk music centres created in Norway and Finland, e.g. Ole Bull-akademien in Trondheim and the Folkmusikinstitutet in Kaustinen. Further centres are now being established in various places around the country. In 1999, Folkmusikens

member of Eric Sahlström's memorial fund; *Lars Jobs*—chairman of Sveriges Spelmans Riksförbund (Sweden's national association of fiddle-players); *Kari Sylwan*—Principal of Danshögskolan i Stockholm (the college of dance in Stockholm); *Sven Ahlbäck*—prefect Royal College of Music in Stockholm; *Gunilla Grindsäter*—former chairwoman of Svenska Ungdomsringen för Bygdekultur (Swedish youth ring for rural culture); *Esbjörn Hogmark*—board member of Eric Sahlström's memorial fund; *Olov Johansson*—Riksspelman (laureate folk fiddle virtuoso); *Börje Wennberg*—municipal councillor, the municipality of Tierp.

hus was founded in Rättvik and yet another institute is soon to be opened in Östersund. A folk music centre is planned on Gotland too.

Just Exotic Enough

The nyckelharpa is also making advances with listeners. The sales of phonograms containing nyckelharpa music have increased significantly during the 1990s. Over 70 phonograms have been produced featuring the nyckelharpa (ALB 1999 <http://www.alb.se>). The folk music group Väsen's popularity has played a large part in this, with the sale of around 10,000 CDs in Sweden and the US. Olov Johansson's *Storsvarten* has sold 1,511 copies in Sweden and the nyckelharpa album, *Till Eric* has sold 2,050 copies, which are quite high figures when it comes to sales of folk music.¹⁵⁵ This is of course nowhere near the sales enjoyed by the folk pop group Nordman. The group was formed in 1993 by nyckelharpa player and songwriter Mats Wester and singer Håkan Hemlin. Py Bäckman as lyricist and the folk music group Väsen were attached to the group.¹⁵⁶ From April 1994 until December 1997, Nordman sold approximately 1 million CDs (<http://www.samlade-toner.se/nordman/nordman.htm>). The media promotion of Nordman was quite comprehensive on both the radio and TV. Nearly all adult Swedes have at some point heard Nordman, either live or via media, and thereby also heard the nyckelharpa.

Nyckelharpa music is a commercial market with great potential and not only in Sweden. When the National Association for Folk Music and Dance, Rfod, organised a debate on Swedish folk music exports on 14 March 1998, foreign experts asserted unanimously that Swedish folk music was "the next big thing" on the world music market. Nyckelharpa music seems to be especially interesting in this context. Robert Simonds, who is an important producer and distributor of Swedish world music (compare pages 164–166), as well as owner of North Side Records in Minneapolis, expressed himself on the nyckelharpa as follows:

I think the nyckelharpa is an important instrument because it has cultural significance. And it can kind of be identified specifically with Sweden.

Also inside Sweden it has become kind of a symbol for Swedish music.

Yes, but it's also very easy, especially the modern, the chromatic nyckelharpa is very easy for Americans to listen to. It sounds close enough to a fiddle and it doesn't sound foreign and it doesn't have strange tunings, it actually has a rich beautiful sound. I think it also... You know, I've seen this happen at Väsen concerts. It's such

¹⁵⁵ Information via e-mail from Drone Records AB, 12 October 1999.

¹⁵⁶ *Väsen* then comprised Olof Johansson on nyckelharpa, Roger Tallroth on guitar and mandola and Mikael Marin on viola.

an odd looking instrument, or different instrument to Americans that they are fascinated by it. The typical Väsen concert has a line of people afterwards in America, just staring at it on the stage, or asking questions about, you know – how does that thing work? So, I think it carries with it a certain fascination. It also has a good story. The fact that it was almost completely lost. So it's a good instrument to have as part of the repertoire. Again, we passed on the Trio Patrekat-record, just because I didn't think it was that strong of a musical effort. Somebody else is putting it out in America actually. So, just because it had two nyckelharpas did not automatically, to me, mean that it was something that we wanted to sell.

(M.DL980420)

The nyckelharpa is then, “just exotic enough” and has “a good story”. Simonds is speaking of course about the instrument's or rather music's promotion in the US, but the argument applies quite well to the Swedish situation. The nyckelharpa is just exotic enough for the Swedish public too. After all the instrument had as good as vanished 35 years ago and with its harsh drone tone belongs to an older world of sound. The nyckelharpa fits very well into the world music genre. It is an instrument that can bestow local “colour” into a pop-based music mix. Åsa Jinder has enjoyed great commercial success with precisely this combination. Her CD *Att en hjärta kan längta så* (Mariann Grammofon 1997) has sold in great numbers and two compilation albums are currently planned, *The Best of 1* and *2*, on the Scandinavian Songs label Hawk Records where high sales are expected.

The Doer's Nyckelharpa Revival

When the nyckelharpa had its revival during the 1970s it was partly because it satisfied a need for an old and very Swedish musical tool. It also suited the ideal of the times (not least via the Green Wave) that “everyone is able to play”. In the case of the nyckelharpa “everyone could make” too.

...and the Maker's—The World Music Producer's Revival in the 1990s

What has happened during the 1990s is that the small and increasingly skilled group of professional nyckelharpa players has received an increased media distribution. The consumers have also changed. From being mainly comprised of their own circles of nyckelharpa people and other folk music enthusiasts the nyckelharpa now has a broader audience; consumers of world music. North Side Record's 1998 market survey shows that the typical purchaser of Väsen CDs in the US is a man of around 40 with an income of approximately USD 50,000. Customers are then largely well-off middle-aged men typically with



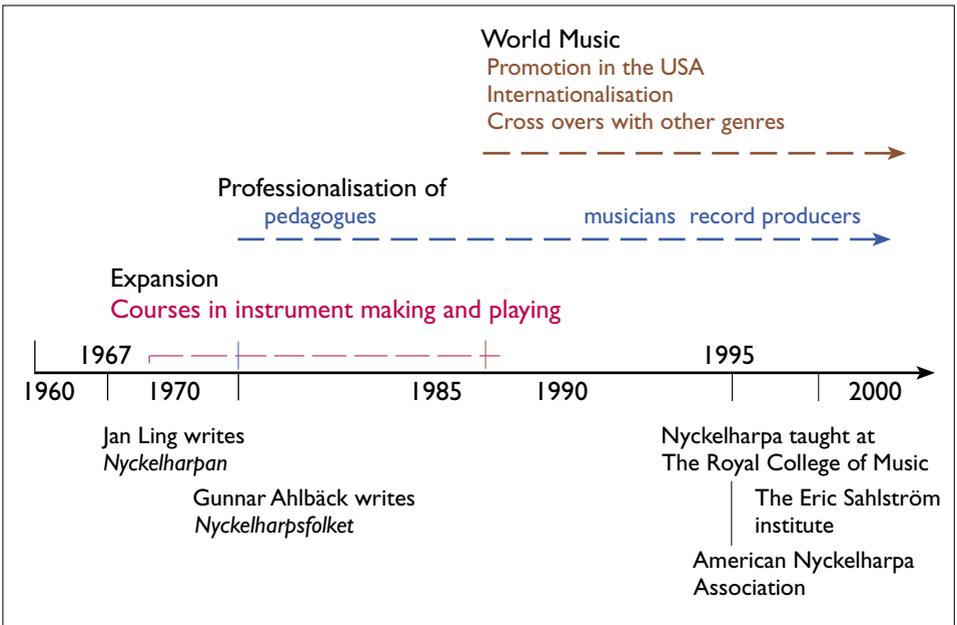
Eric Sahlström is still playing outside the church in Tegelmora, Uppland County, north of Stockholm. Photo: Dan Lundberg.



Bart Brashers and Sue Thompson in Seattle, USA. Photo: Anders Sjöberg.



Eric Sahlström Institute.



Important events in the modern history of the nyckelharpa.

roots in northwest Europe who also consume other world music (interview with Robert Simonds M.DL980420). There is no equivalent Swedish market survey. Magnus Sjögren, one of the partners in the music store Multi-Kulti in Stockholm, comments on the American figures by saying that typical Swedish consumers of world music are, in his experience, somewhat younger, the proportion of female consumers in fact predominating when it comes to Swedish world music in Sweden (M.DL961104).¹⁵⁷

I'll tell you what, your prejudices are in fact confirmed in as much as it's often very shorthaired youngsters with big boots who come in and ask: Er, you got Nordman?

On the other hand there is no reason for Nordman to be hypocritical about their appeal. They appeal to people that have that, sort of, ancient Nordic romanticism you know. And it sometimes expresses itself in bloody funny ways. But it doesn't always have to. (M.DL961127)

The lyrics and the band's Nordic bleakness, rather than the nyckelharpa as an instrument, probably primarily attract the people Tjärnberg refers to.

The Nyckelharpa People on The Net

On 18 October 1999, the search word "nyckelharpa" gave 830 results with the AltaVista search engine. Developments have been very rapid. In January 1998, the same search word only resulted in 200 hits. It is interesting to note that a search where the language is Swedish results in 349 hits compared to 379 in English. This is partly because there are many home pages in North America, but also because nyckelharpa players have international ambitions. The most cohesive networks among nyckelharpa players are in North America via the American Nyckelharpa Association. ANA was formed in 1995 by Bart Brashers on the initiative of the Swedish nyckelharpa player and teacher Leif Alpsjö, who had run a number of courses in the US and begun to build up a network.

The advantage of an association like ANA is that it is easier to arrange tours and courses. Information, for example, about a visiting teacher from Sweden can quickly be spread. Alpsjö had a client register of 135 American customers who had bought cow horns, sheet music, etc.

They hadn't bought nyckelharpas, there were maybe one or two. I also noticed then, I've been going there since 1989, that there were nyckelharpa players, and I

¹⁵⁷ According to Simonds, the normal distribution of gender among music-buyers in the US is 10% women to 90% men. When it comes to North Side Records' range of Swedish folk music the ratio is 30% women to 70% men. In other words, there is a relatively large proportion of female consumers of Swedish world music in the US.

ran the first nyckelharpa course in the US in 1990. The one that was advertised as a nyckelharpa course and was run in Buffalo Gap in West Virginia. And then I had two groups. I was back the next summer. They wrote that we didn't know what we started. Can you come back next summer? And I did. Since then they've had nyckelharpa courses every year.

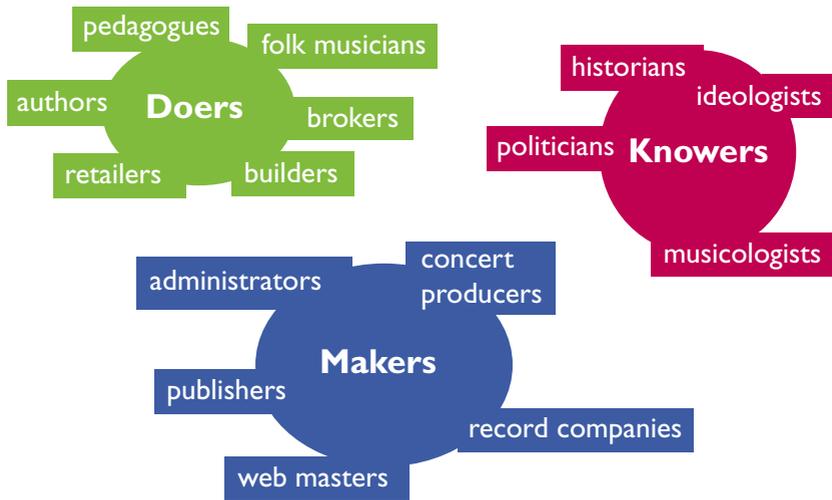
Then there's a man called Bart Brashers from Arboga and who lives in Seattle, he's half-Swedish. He's taken hold of this and took care of the membership newsletter straight away and the address register and everything, he looks after it very well. That's how it got going. So I have a free lifetime membership. And now, when I was there at Folklore Village Farm in Wisconsin in October running a course, I met the guys who had bought the hundredth and hundred and first nyckelharpas in the US. So now there are over a hundred. (M.MB971204)

By 18 October 1999, ANA's membership list had increased to 127 people in the US and Canada.

Group Dynamics—Actors

It is clear that today's nyckelharpa has passed through the eyes of several needles during the 20th century on its path to becoming widespread and widely recognised in folk music Sweden. The first of these was perhaps actually managing to survive in the Uppland region, despite dying out as an instrument in other parts of northern Europe. The fact that there happened to be creative fiddle playing geniuses such as August Bohlin and most of all Eric Sahlström among the handful of practitioners in the mid-20th century, was of crucial importance. In their enthusiasm to modernise the instrument and adapt it to modern demands for ease of play and chromatics these musicians experimented with the nyckelharpa's construction. "Those striving for the nyckelharpa's renewal, such as Eric Sahlström (1912–1986), ran the risk of being seen as destroyers of the remaining remnants of "living Uppland tradition" (Ling, Ahlbäck & Fredelius 1991). Changes made by Sahlström were, however, legitimised by his great skills as a musician and composer. Otherwise his modern nyckelharpas would probably never have caught on. The next fortuitous circumstance affecting the nyckelharpa's continued existence was the attention the instrument received thanks to Jan Ling's doctoral dissertation (Ling 1967). The book *Nyckelharpan* came at the right time, a couple of years before the folk music wave broke over Sweden and provided what was needed to fuel enthusiasts and give a scientific basis and legitimacy to the Adult Education Associations' course in construction, etc. In the next phase, the nyckelharpa was "lucky enough" to be "just exotic enough" for the ideals of world music during the 1990s.

What type of actors do we find among the Nyckelharpa People? If we look

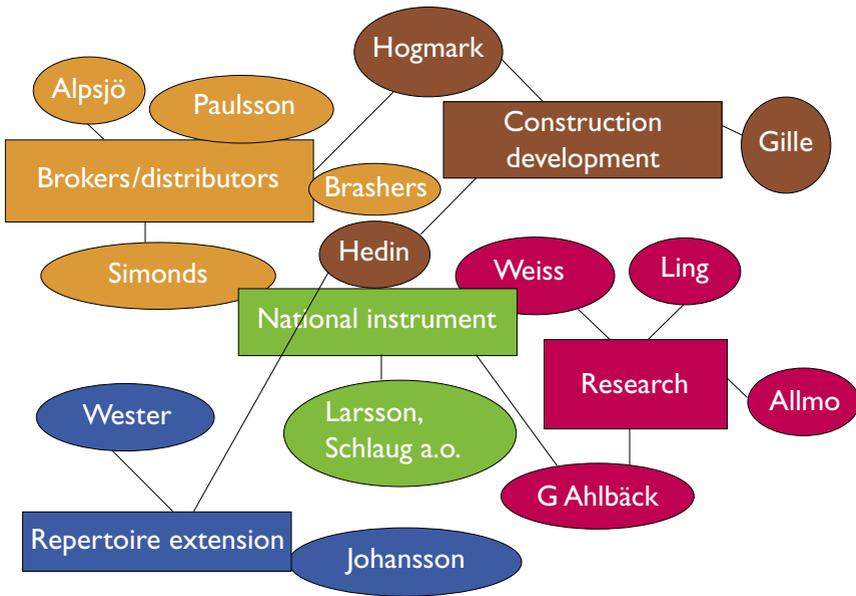


Actors of the the Nyckelharpa People.

at the illustration on page 234 it is clear that the Nyckelharpa People fit very well into the model with Doers–Maker–Knowers. There is a very large overlap between the categories. It is common for actors to have several roles at the same time. One example is the nyckelharpa player Elisabeth Weiss from Minneapolis in the US. She is currently working on a dissertation on the nyckelharpa in today's Sweden. In the *doer* category she has roles as a fiddle player and teacher and author of informational pamphlets for performances. At the same time she is a *maker* in that when she administers and organises courses in play in Minneapolis. In her capacity of music expert and researcher she is also an important *knower*, not least in the context of the American nyckelharpa. In the same way, many Swedes overstep the boundaries separating different nyckelharpa positions. Leif Alpsjö is primarily a fiddle player and teacher, but also produces pedagogical material for players. He has his own publishing business selling sheet music, music and literature as well as selling and repairing violins and nyckelharpas.¹⁵⁸

In the study, *Nyckelharpan och nätet* (the nyckelharpa and the net) we read about the different degrees of centrality among actors in the network surround-

¹⁵⁸ Emma Publishers. Leif Alpsjö musik AB.



Enthusiasts and ideas.

ing the nyckelharpa (Boström 1999). The actors are divided into *global central*, *local central* and *peripheral*. Central actors on the local or global planes, such as Alpsjö and Weiss for example, have large contact networks and are often visible both within and outside the network. Peripheral actors are, for example, individual fiddle players in associations or people interested in the nyckelharpa without contact with other people.

Enthusiasts and Ideas

It is clear that much of the nyckelharpa network is dependent on a few highly motivated enthusiasts. In the case of the nyckelharpa it is also clear that the number of enthusiasts has declined since the mid-1980s. On the other hand, new media, such as the Internet, have made it possible for these to work in an international context.

In the first phase, during the 1970s and 1980s, nyckelharpa enthusiasts were primarily to be found among the *doers*—teachers, intermediaries and fiddle players. During the late 1980s and 1990s, a shift has taken place. There are still many enthusiasts among doers but now we find them more often in the category of *makers*, as record producers, publishers, arrangers and webmasters (who

are also intermediaries). The publishers AllWin was founded in 1984 by Per Ulf Allmo and Jan Winter with the aim of publishing a book on the hurdy-gurdy, Lirans Hemligheter (the secrets of the hurdy-gurdy). Activities were later extended with the music label Tongång, which has released over 30 CDs.

In 1989, Olle Paulsson started the record company Drone and has since released 16 CDs, three of which with Väsen and two other Nyckelharpa records with Olof Johansson. Olle Paulsson's rationale for his activities is typical for enthusiasts in the record industry:

You have quite different orientation on your CDs even if it's all folk music. You had that historical CD, Höök, then Väsen and Eter. That's very diverse. Is it conscious or don't you agree that you do it?

I see... No... It's probably a very egotistical focus. If I think something is very good I release it, full stop. People might think its very diverse but no, it's something I like. *So to you they are the same?*

Yes, then I think it's affected by the people you work with. I've done a lot of work with Olov Johansson, who is in fact one of the reasons I started the company once upon a time. So the album with him and Curt, it might not be part of my normal profile, because I want to work with younger musicians, but he wanted Curt to get the chance to make an album, because Curt's old, so we made it. Since then I've worked with Magnus Gustavsson at Småland's music archive in Växjö a lot. He is an old personal acquaintance and friend of mine, so I'm happy to release the projects he gets going.

(M.DL980930)

North Side Records in Minneapolis is run with a clearer commercial focus. But even here production is largely directed by the personal references of the owner, Robert Simonds. He became interested in Swedish world music through his wife, who studied in Sweden.

What kind of music was that?

Well, it was Den Fule and Hedningarna, you know, Hoven Droven. All the Xource initial releases and it was really interesting to us. It was exiting, it had a lot of creative energy in it, and the tunes were very memorable. You could wake up in the middle of the night wondering where this tune was coming from. Which made us listen to it more. So I started playing them in my car. I started playing them in my office. And I found that when I played them in my office somebody would stick their head in and say: hey, what is this? So this gave me the idea that this was maybe more interesting to more people than just my wife and I. (M.DL980420)

National Instrument

Another category of enthusiast has developed around the nyckelharpa in recent years; those who are striving to make the nyckelharpa Sweden's national instrument.

"The Swedish 'National Instrument' the nyckelharpa is a very singular instrument. It has existed in Sweden and only Sweden in an unbroken folk tradition dating from the 14th century." [trans.] So begins the text in one of the information pamphlets from the Eric Sahlström Institute. There is, however, also an interest in making the nyckelharpa the national instrument among politicians. During recent years, members of parliament from all political parties (except the Christian Democrats) proposed motions to secure and strengthen the activities of the Eric Sahlström Institute.¹⁵⁹ As has already been mentioned, efforts have been made amongst other things to have the institute declared the "national centre for folk music". Esbjörn Hogmark, one of those behind the Eric Sahlström Institute, explained at a seminar that a great deal of effort had been put into "lobbying" and pointed out that the general agreement among politicians was largely due to their having been sent pre-prepared motions.¹⁶⁰

A number of motions have also been put forward during the 1990s in which it is proposed that the nyckelharpa is given the status of Swedish national instrument. Three principle arguments can be distinguished for this. The first is the importance of preserving traditions for future generations. Being named national instrument would strengthen the nyckelharpa's position and vitality. The second is that Norwegians and Finns have declared national instruments:

In order to give further encouragement and create positive interest, the Swedish Environmental Party proposes that the nyckelharpa family of instruments be elevated to National Instrument. In Finland the kantelen has been declared national instrument and in Norway the hardingfelen has a similar status. The nyckelharpa's position as both a historically interesting instrument and an instrument that is becoming increasingly popular more than motivates such a declaration. (Motion to the Swedish Parliament 1998/99:Kr274, Birger Schlaug (mp) et al) [trans.]

A third argument for making the nyckelharpa national instrument is that we need such a symbol to secure our individuality as Swedes in multicultural contexts.

¹⁵⁹ Among other things, motion 1996/97:Kr2, Barbro Andersson (s) et al. In the proposal they write: "With reference to the quoted, it is proposed that the Swedish Riksdag (parliament) makes the government aware of what in the proposal is cited as the need for a national folk music centre in Sweden." [trans.]

¹⁶⁰ The information comes from the Swedish seminar Folkmusikinstitutet—En del i pusslet. Hearing om folkmusikinstitutens uppgift, held at Norrskan, the world and folk music fair in Falun 4 February 2000.

Swedish folk music and the nyckelharpa are something unique and distinctive of which we should be proud and should preserve. It forms part of our cultural heritage and contributes to the identity needed in meetings with other cultures. (Motion to the Swedish Parliament 1996/97:Kr223, Carina Hägg (s))

With the great political breadth and persistence of those putting forward the proposals in mind, it is not unlikely that Parliament will decide to name the nyckelharpa as national instrument. At the same time it ought to be remembered that many of those putting forward proposals are politicians from Uppsala. The same enthusiasm for making the nyckelharpa national instrument may not exist in other parts of the country.

Repertoire

Since the beginning in 1995, one of ANA's goals has been to create common repertoires for nyckelharpa players.

ANA: Revised Allspel List

This is an effort to help American nyckelharpa players have some common repertoire. When we meet, it would be nice if we had some tunes in common, so we could play them together. At events, it's very common to have an Allspel, literally translated as All Play, where everyone is invited up on stage (or to the center of the hall) to play some tunes together. The tunes are taken from the common repertoire.

We published a proposed list of allspel tunes on the web and in the May 1999 issue of Nyckel Notes. Based on the 10 responses Sheila received, here is the revised allspel tune list. To find out which tunes each of those who responded plays, see the full list. (<http://www.nyckelharpa.org>)

The idea of a general play list comes from the same ideological ground as the Swedish fiddle player movement from the 1940s and onward (c.f. Lundberg & Ternhag 1996:81pp.). By creating common repertoires, the prerequisites for a feeling of community are created along with the possibility of making music together without having to learn new tunes. The list of tunes forms a common denominator which works when nyckelharpa players from different places meet. In the case of the American Nyckelharpa Association above, the list is the result of ten nyckelharpa players sending in suggestions, but in practice, teaching materials and phonograms also function as a sort of repertoire.

The tunes that are on ANA's list were suggested in at least three of the twelve replies. Four have been suggested by eight or more of the nyckelharpa players: *Polska efter Båtsman Däck* (11), *Josefins dopvals* (8), *Tierpolskan* (8) and *Äppelbo gånglåt* (8).

Marcus Svensson as a new winner of the World Championships of nyckelharpa. Taken from a brochure/presentation of the Eric Sahlström Institute.



Spelar ånglar det svenska folkinstrumentet **nyckelharpa**? Ja tydligen, om man skall tro gamla kyrkmålningar i Sverige och Danmark. Dåtidens konstnärer kopierade de religiösa motiven, men bytte ofta ut smådetaljer som instrument mot sådana som var kända i socknen. Den första nyckelharpan skapades troligen på 1200-talet.

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föds ur

Form

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A STAR ALLIANCE MEMBER

The nyckelharpa used as a symbol of Swedish uniqueness and quality. Advertisement from the back-pockets of the SAS airlines, spring 2000.

Two of the tunes, *Båtsman Däck* and *Tierspolskan*, definitely belong to the traditional repertoire of the Nyckelharpa. *Äppelbo gänglåt* on the other hand, is a very well-known tune for the violin.¹⁶¹ That *Josefins dopvals* is among these suggestions is perhaps the most interesting. The tune is a composition from 1993 by Roger Tallroth in Väsen which has been widely disseminated.¹⁶² Olov Johansson mentions it as an example of new repertoires.

Are there tunes that you or Väsen have done that are beginning to become standard? Vrålåkåda by Roger Tallroth. *Bisonpolska* by me can be heard now and then. But the tune that has become most widespread is *Josefins dopvals* by Roger. It's played all over Sweden and has almost become a nuisance at sessions in Scotland and Ireland and you even hear it at sessions in the US.¹⁶³

If Swedish nyckelharpa players are asked about standard tunes for the instrument the majority reply with tunes from the traditional Uppland repertoire, preferably tunes by Eric Sahlström. Olov Johansson's reply is quite typical:

Is it possible to list five tunes that all nyckelharpa players know?
The standard repertoire changes all of the time, of course, but here's a suggestion: *Spelmansglädje* by Eric Sahlström, *Andakten* by Eric Sahlström, *Polska efter Båtsman Däck*, *Byss-Calles slängpolska* and *Hellstedts Brudmarsch*.¹⁶⁴

An Expansive World of Nyckelharpa

At the same time as there is a distinct core of traditional tunes in the central repertoire, Olov Johanson is right when he says that it changes all the time. That *Josefins dopvals* has become a standard tune is actually quite typical of nyckelharpa music. There seems to be a definite desire for inventiveness and to expand the instrument's possibilities. The development of chromatic nyckelharpas during the 20th century and Eric Sahlström's many compositions indicate as much. On the CD, *Till Eric* six of Sweden's most accomplished nyckelharpa players play 19 compositions by Eric Sahlström. In comparison with other celebrated fiddle playing heroes we find a very large share of compositions in Sahlström's repertoire.

¹⁶¹ Both *Tierspolskan* and *Båtsman Däck* are included in Mats Kouppalas teaching material *Att spela nyckelharpa* (playing the nyckelharpa) from 1976, which may be the reason why they are included in the American standard repertoire.

¹⁶² Was released on *Väsen's* album *Essence*, Ethnic B6787.

¹⁶³ E-mail from Olov Johansson 7 October 1999.

¹⁶⁴ E-mail correspondence with Olov Johansson 7 October 1999.

When Olov Johansson plays *Brudmarsch från Östa* together with Kronoskvartetten¹⁶⁵ it is, in line with previous expansions of the nyckelharpa repertoire, leaning towards concert music, e.g. Sven Erik Johansson's *Nyckelharpkonsert* from 1971. In the same way, the world of the nyckelharpa seems constantly to strive for expansion. Until the 1970s, the nyckelharpa led a declining existence in the local folk music of Uppland. A very rapid development took place in the course of a decade that led to the instrument being made and played throughout the country. In the 1990s, the next phase arrives, the nyckelharpa steps out into the world. Nyckelharpa music becomes a part of international world music, the instrument and its playing are spread and today the nyckelharpa is played in many European countries and North America.

There is a new direction in the will to expand. From primarily being about the recruitment of more fiddlers and makers it is now about spreading knowledge of the instrument, raising its status by instigating higher education for the nyckelharpa and making it a “national instrument”, etc.

¹⁶⁵ Traditional-Sweden (arr. Mikael Marin): *Brudmarsch från Östa*. From the CD *Kronos Quartet—Early Music*, Nonessuch 79457.

The Boys—Classic Jazz¹⁶⁶

“Dixieboy” or just “boy” became a recognised concept in the Sweden of the 1950s. It referred to a young man who attended secondary grammar school, dressed in a duffelcoat and liked so-called Dixieland music, New Orleans jazz or, as it would later be known, trad (classic jazz). The boy’s diametric opposites were “the bikers” and “the rockers”, working young men with motorbikes or cars who liked rock music. These groupings still exist in today’s Sweden, although in somewhat altered form. In the 1950s they were parts of the new “teenage culture”. Today, the boys are a collection of gentlemen who still like the music of their youth. The majority of them were born in the 1940s. There are of course also women in the grouping, but men predominate among the most active.

Before the nine year primary schooling was introduced in the 1950s, the grammar school was a spring board to further education, which is also reflected in the grouping’s composition today:

In Sweden, this jazz music spread through what we once called secondary grammar schools, secondary modern schools and upper secondary schools. It was those young people who were interested. Other young people were interested in Tommy Steele and Elvis and all that. In this way traditional jazz received quite a narrow point from which to proceed. It was largely aspirant academics who were interested in it and who played the music. You can see that those who play in bands today are teachers, doctors and engineers. It was the same with the audience. (Interview with Ulf Albrektsson M.KM970110)

The grouping’s similar age and social background contributes to its great stability. The music is sometimes jokingly referred to as “dentist jazz”. There is, however, a rather involved terminology to describe the various sub-styles. In answer to the question “What do you call the music you are involved with?” the trumpeter Eddie Bruhner in Sveriges Jazzband replied like this:

Firstly I think that all of us who are involved with this have slightly different concepts when it comes to the question of names. I divide traditional jazz into classic New Orleans jazz, which was executed by Jelly Roll Morton, King Oliver, Louis

¹⁶⁶ In Swedish there is a special term, in plural *dixiesnubbar* or only *snubbar*, which designates the classic jazz fans. Here this term has been translated with (*dixie*) *boy(s)* since there is no term in English that carries all the connotations of *snubbar*.

Armstrong early on. That is the true, pedigree New Orleans jazz. Then there's a New Orleans variation that was played by the remaining musicians. That which is typical for the early pedigree New Orleans jazz is that it was musicians who became big names, so they had the entire US as their field of work. Then there were those who, not musically, but perhaps out of love for their home district, preferred to stay in New Orleans. Out of that group the music that George Lewis played developed, for example. A neo-New Orleans jazz in the 1940s and 1950s. I think George Lewis is the best exponent, but we have other gangs, like Paul Barbarin's and others.

Then comes the white jazz via the Original Dixieland Jazz Band and New Orleans Rhythm Kings, which then point towards Muggsy Spanier, Bob Crosby, Eddie Condon. That is what is known as Dixieland. And here even Louis Armstrong stumbles in because he didn't play any New Orleans jazz in the 1950s, but rather falls under the category Dixieland for me. When they get going in "Indiana" or "Tiger Rag" it doesn't sound at all like it did in King Oliver's time, it's the modern Dixieland music of the time that Armstrong is playing.

Then there is yet another style: revival, via Orson Welles who was a great instigator and benefactor in these contexts. He dusted off the old boys Bunk Johnson and Kid Ory, which had consequences among young musicians. This coincides quite heavily with French existentialism. You have Juliette Greco and the Amercian musicians who went to France like Mezz Mezzrow and Sidney Bechet. This then forms the revival school in Europe with Humphrey Littleton, Chris Barber, Acker Bilk and, in Denmark, Papa Bue. That's what I call trad jazz, European trad. (M.KM970113)

Paul Strandberg, musician and teacher in Malmö, answered the same question like this:

I usually call it twenties jazz. I can accept a few other names as well. People say classic jazz. It's a question of direction. This music that I have been captivated by and that I think is interesting to revive, rework and reform, which suits just me and those with whom I play, is from jazz's first epoch. In this way new music also arises, but I think proceeding from the original jazz is the best. It's twenties jazz then, it bloomed in the 1920s. (M.KM970115)

There are in other words different ways of viewing the music that is central for the grouping. In this study, the nomenclature "classic jazz" is used to denote all of the styles, including so-called European trad.

Today, there are largely four types of actors in the grouping: public, musicians, organisers and entrepreneurs. When it comes to the public, there are large variations in the intensity of interest, from people who like "happy jazz" in general to those who actively and regularly seek out events. New followers have come up over the years. Estimating the size of the total public is difficult, but it is a question of over half a million people. The more active among the public are organised into jazz clubs focused on classic jazz, which exist all over the country.



East End Jazzmen, later Sveriges Jazzband (Sweden's Jazz band) at a quay in Stockholm in the 1950s. Eddie Bruhner sitting with his trumpet.



Sveriges Jazzband at the same quay in Stockholm in the middle of the 1990s. Eddie Bruhner in front, to the right. CD-cover.

The numbers of active musicians are quite high and reflect the relatively large public interest.

There are many hundred just in Stockholm. There are over 50 bands and 400 to 500 musicians in Stockholm. In the country there must be 1,000 or more that are active and play in various orchestras. (Interview with Bent Persson M.KM970115)

The majority of these musicians are musicians in their spare time, though a couple of hundred earn all or large proportions of their income from playing.

School Dances, Nalen and Stampen

The grouping surrounding classic jazz started to grow around 1947, when the first bands were formed at the secondary grammar schools in Stockholm. The stylistic models came from recordings, primarily made by Bunk Johnson, Kid Ory and other musicians from New Orleans within the frame for the revival movement for older jazz in the US. That which happened in Sweden was an offshoot of the US revival movement. From 1950, the music spread to other towns in Sweden and school bands became increasingly common. In the school bands, musicians were largely self-taught.

I got my great interest in jazz from secondary school but also through the influence of older brothers. I listened to this music and found it captivating. It suited my disposition and personality very well. In 1955 I got my first trumpet. I had previously in secret surreptitiously practised on a neighbour's trumpet, so to my parent's great surprise learning to play progressed rapidly. I am completely auto-didactic on the instrument. I surrounded myself with musician friends and already by early December 1955, we had a little orchestra. A typical school band that sounded terrible I can tell you. It was called East End Jazz Men and developed up until 1969 when the name was changed to Sveriges Jazzband. (Interview with Eddie Bruhner M.KM970113)

I was born in Stockholm. Dad was a journalist, mum was an artist. They played piano. Dad played *Vildkatten* and mum strummed *Clair de lune* and the like. I started out playing basic melodies on the piano and got interested in jazz music when I was 14 or 15. Some friends had a jazz band and at first I began to play the banjo. When we formed an orchestra it turned out we had two banjos. Someone had to step down and as we lacked a trombonist there was a guy who lifted a trombone down from the wall. So I started playing trombone.

I taught myself. We played roughly the same music we had on records at home. It was this uncomplicated Dixieland and New Orleans music. My first record was Bunk Johnson: *Ice Cream* and *At the Darktown Strutter's Ball*, etc. You could make that sound quite good after only a few rehearsals. It sounded like music because everyone had quite simple parts. (Interview with Jens Lindgren M.KM970109)

This method of learning to play existed even in the 1990s. Jacob Ullberger, 22 years old at the time of the interview, had played guitar for a couple of years at school:

I was in the same class as a couple of guys who played in Bomullstussarna, Bent Persson's apprentices, and then their banjo player quit, he didn't have the time any more and I was asked. I played with a lot of them. I thought it fun to try out. I didn't even have a banjo. Bent had two so I was able to borrow one. Then I was given a pack of cassettes he had recorded and went home to listen to them. The band had been around for two years when I joined. I have played in several bands revolving round Bent since. Playing banjo and guitar is two very different things. Banjo is primarily a rhythm instrument. If you've played guitar, like I did earlier, you wouldn't realise the importance of rhythm.¹⁶⁷ (M.KM970127)

The school bands played at school dances. During the 1950s, Nalen and the Gazell Club in Stockholm became centres of traditional jazz. The more established bands like the Hep Cats, who were and still are, led by trumpeter Jack Lidström toured amusement parks and other dance venues. Traditional jazz's first flowering came to a sudden end in 1964. Jens Lindgren, among other things trombonist in Kustbandet, relates:

The Beatles arrived in 1964. The scene for this kind of music changed. Until then it had been youth music that you could dance to, but in the summer of '64 it was like a change of scenes. When we arrived at the old jazz clubs with our instrument cases it was suddenly a completely different type of music that was wanted, the kids had a different jargon and style. We didn't really realise until a few years later that in just that era it ended. But subsequently, thanks to the fact it was the actual music we liked, we have continued anyway, though we haven't had very great commercial success. We went a bit underground you might say. Kustbandet was lucky because during the years when jazz vanished we were able to play at festivals and the like. We teamed up with Södra Bergens Balalaikor and Hoola Bandoola Band and did a couple of concert tours. It was unique for a traditional jazz band to make it through these years.

Then at the end of the 1960s, Stampen opened. Those who went to school dances around 1960 began to go out again about 1970. They were divorced and all that.

We got a public that was as old as we were. When we played at Engelen at the end of the 1960s, the audience was about our age. But after a while we were older than the crowd, so after ten years, when we were old men of 35–40, the crowd were 20–25. That was just Engelen because they had a young profile. At other places, at Stampen and the like, we could continue to play thanks to them having that public. (M.KM970109)

¹⁶⁷ Bent Persson is a trumpet player and municipal music teacher in Upplands Väsby, a suburb north of Stockholm.

The second epoch for traditional jazz began then in 1970. Those who attended secondary grammar school in the 1950s now had adult children. Many were divorced and sought new partners. People returned to the music and dance of their youth. Stampen in Stockholm became one of classic jazz's headquarters.

Enthusiasts with Music at the Heart

Jazz clubs focusing on classic jazz were formed from 1970 in various parts of the country. In 1999 there were a little over 50 jazz clubs with classic jazz on the programme. Some of these also organise classic jazz festivals.¹⁶⁸ The most important festivals are the Trad Jazz Festival in Askersund and Gothenburg's Trad Jazz Festival. There are also large festivals in Årjäng, Ljungby and Linköping.

The musicians have formed their own interest organisations in some parts of the country. In Stockholm there is Föreningen för Ädel Jazzmusik, FÄJM (the association for pedigree jazz music), with approximately 130 members and in Gothenburg there is Tradjazz Göteborg with over a hundred playing members. The associations finance their activities with membership fees, entrance fees and municipal and state benefits. The latter is administered by the Swedish Jazz Federation.

Voluntary work is crucial to the associations. All activities are run by enthusiasts who are in turn driven by their interest in the music. Jens Lindgren gives a typical reply to the question of why he is involved in this music:

When it comes to me personally it's the music that eggs me on. I find answers to all of my question in this music. It is the equivalent of all of the needs I have relating to feelings in music. It encompasses the deepest sorrow and the most light-hearted euphoria. There is depth and glibness. You have an intensity in the music which I have not found elsewhere. Everything I need is there. Then there's the people who are involved in the music. They have precisely they same sense of humour as I, the same jargon. I find socialising with them very easy. Often sympathetic and pleasant. This music has taken me all over the world and I have it to thank for a network of contacts. I can travel somewhere and phone up the local jazz club and say: "Hi, I'm Jesse Lindgren from Stockholm" — "Right, you're in Kustbandet..." and so on. "You can stay at my place!" I am somebody in this music. It has given me an identity which has given my life a lot of content. (M.KM970109)

It is then the music and the network of like-minded that forms the core of the group. Classic jazz has followers throughout the world. The majority of

¹⁶⁸ The majority of clubs are organised in Svenska Jazzriksförbundet (SJR) (Swedish Jazz Federation). Information on the clubs and festivals is on SJR's website (<http://www.swedejazz.se>).

contacts with others in the grouping are direct contacts. On the Internet or in other media, the boys are scarcely to be seen.

It is a very homogenous group, very much a club for older gentlemen, even if women and a number of younger people are also included. The music is highly standardised. Everyone had learnt from the same recordings and has the same models.

This traditional classic jazz is an international language. If I go to Leningrad or Calcutta and find a trad band I can play *Royal Garden Blues* in practically the same arrangement. It encompasses the entire planet. Where Dixieland or traditional jazz is played, the tunes are played in the same key and for the most part with the same ideas behind it, the same arrangement, etc.

You don't need to be able to speak the same language to play together. In Switzerland I met a band where the leader spoke Rumanian and there was I without a clue. I couldn't say "good morning" in Rumanian, but we could jam¹⁶⁹ together just the same. The tunes have the same names, the names of the key varies from country to country, so even something like that can be problematic. (Interview with Eddie Bruhner М.МК970113)

The bands also go on tour, playing at festivals mainly in Europe, but also sometimes in the US, Japan, Australia and other far-off lands. The festival at Breda in Holland is an important meeting place. Many Swedish bands have played there. The fees paid at festivals are not high, so musicians who to a large extent live off playing classic jazz do not often play at festivals. One motivation for playing at festivals, despite the low fees, is the opportunity to meet old acquaintances and make new ones, thereby extending one's network of contacts. One of the younger musicians, the trumpet player Karin Kristenson, who played in the band *Stora Vilunda Bomullsplockare* during her school years, tells us:

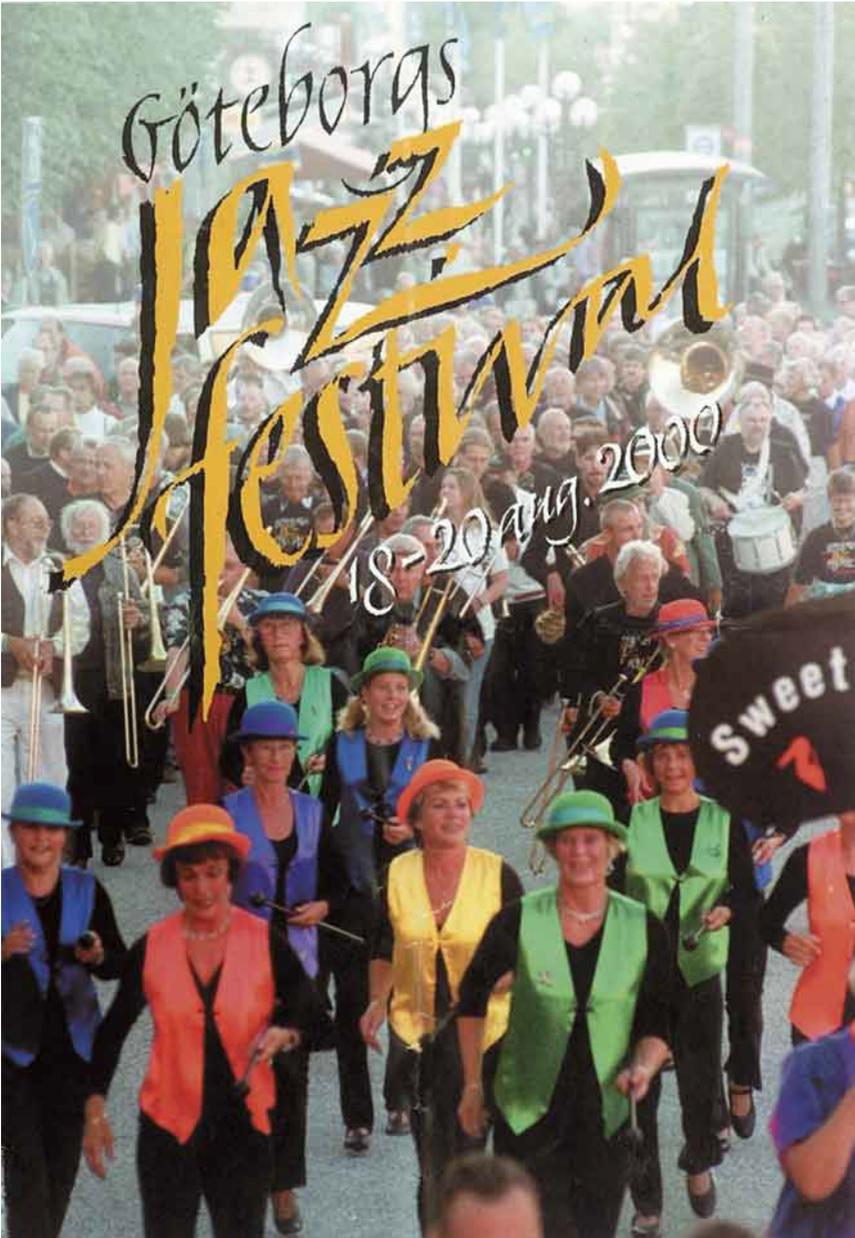
I think that the most fascinating thing with my band was that you gained access to another world, for example at these festivals. You got to meet other bands when you were 12 or 13 and come across jams. We'd never met that before. It was very special the first time you heard it. You maybe didn't have the nerve to join in, but you got to hear that sort of jazz too.

When I was 15–16, I started to join in the jams, though not very often. There was the Carling family who grew up at the same time as we did and it wasn't easy to get up beside them. We met at least once a year for several years.

The festivals meant a lot because it was an environment that you could never reach here in Stockholm as a teenager unless you knew exactly where to go. You maybe didn't always think it was great fun, but the feeling at these festivals meant that you found it very exciting.¹⁷⁰ (М.МК970129)

¹⁶⁹ Jam or jam session denotes informal improvised playing together.

¹⁷⁰ The trumpeter Hans Carling taught his children to play classic jazz. They were skilled musicians by the age of seven or eight.



Program Gothenburg's Jazz Festival 2000.

Karin Kristenson belongs to the younger musicians whose parents and few enthusiastic teachers with Bent Persson at the lead have attracted to the grouping. There are not many youngsters. Among practitioners there are around 40+ musicians who were born after 1970. It is the deep feeling for the music that seems to be conveyed to the children.

I have lived on jazz music in various ways in the course of my life and it isn't easy. But it's a music that exists inside me. I can't explain it any other way. It always will, even if it disappears from dance venues and all that, I'll still have the music anyway. I have an emotional need for it.

It is not the economic factor?

No. It's emotional. I have a son who plays in a band called Second Line. They play New Orleans, a bit of Dixie, a bit of swing. That's traditional jazz music. There are three the children of musicians, all wind instrumentalists. The percussion and rhythm in the band are provided by somewhat older guys.

(Interview with Ulf Albrektsson M.KM970110)

It is important for the boys to be able to get hold of records. They do not exist in ordinary music stores, so even here they have created their own resources. Leif "Smokerings" Andersson, the well-known radio personality, imported records, selling them from his sitting room and by C.O.D. for many years. In Stockholm there is Bo Scherman, who imports to order. The company Nalles Tradjazz and its proprietor Nalle Svahn in Strömstad supplied the boys with phonograms during the 1990s. As it is often a question of older recordings on which mechanical rights have ceased to apply, classic jazz is released on small record labels by enthusiasts in various parts of the world. These small companies often lack an international distributor, so it takes a good knowledge of the business to find the records. Nalle Svahn has built up just such a knowledge.

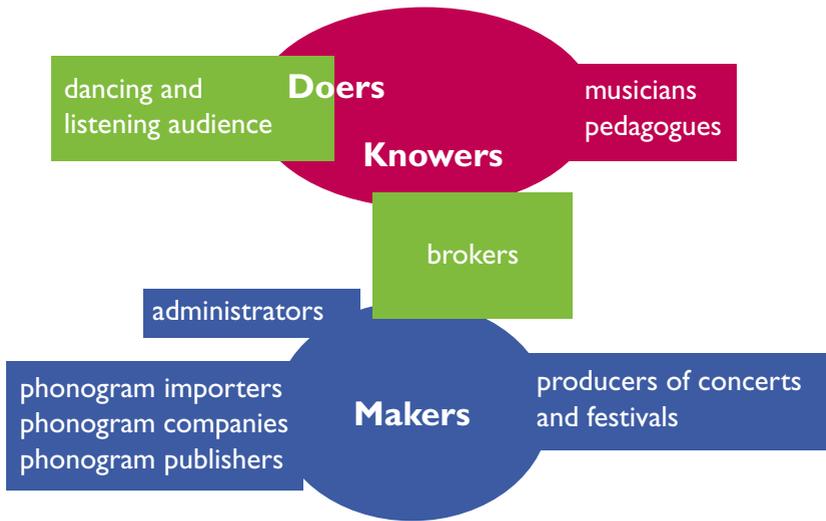
There are a lot of enthusiasts in every country who are perhaps not as well-known by the general public, but they do a very good job, amongst other things producing stuff that hasn't been released and making sure there's good sound quality on it.

...

I started in the 1980s on a small scale with 50 records. After that I was lucky. I am old-fashioned so I've never wanted to borrow money but instead just tried to manage. The money I made I ploughed back into new records and that's how it's been. Now ten years later I've got as far as a CD catalogue, which includes just over 1,500 titles. There are new titles all the time and one or two disappear. But the increase is constant.

(M.KM97307)

Nalle Svahn sells by post. He makes no sales via the Internet, but those who want it can have his catalogue on diskette. He also attends the festivals.



Actors in classic jazz.

I'm at the trad jazz festivals that take place here in Sweden. I meet a lot of musicians there, because there are a lot of musicians who come to me to buy records they want for inspiration. I'm at all of the larger festivals selling. I've also made contact with a lot of foreign musicians there and others who come along to listen. I sell a bit to Denmark, Norway and Finland. My goal is to reach everyone who likes this music. I have a large range, I believe its the largest in the world and its just a matter of getting it out to everyone. It's not that easy to find people. The easiest place is in fact these festivals. (M.KM970307)

Actors

As is apparent above there are only a few types of actors in classic jazz. They do not fit into the model doers–knower–makers either. There are very few pure doers in the grouping. Both the musicians as well as a large part of the audience are to a greater degree knowers. They know their classic jazz and know how it should sound. There is great sensitivity even to rather minor stylistic differences. On the other hand there are a number of makers who import and distribute records, organise events, act as functionaries in the associations etc. The relatively few intermediaries conveying classic jazz in the broadcasting media or writing in newsletters and periodicals, etc. play a key role. They are both knowers, sometimes with an education in musicology, and makers. Those working

in the jazz department at the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research where a large body of material has been collected relating to classic jazz belong to the intermediaries.

Live Music

In Sweden classic jazz is a music that is most performed live on the bandstand before an audience that is often dancing, sometimes just listening and drinking beer. The number of performances has declined somewhat during the 1990s.

It's more difficult now. It's gone in waves since I began to play and we've been going through a trough for a while. If you look at the notes on where we've played it's been jazz clubs. There is a network of jazz clubs across Sweden where traditional and modern jazz is played to varying degrees. Traditional jazz forms less than a quarter of the quota. But that is what attracts the majority to the clubs.

Then there are the festivals that have come up in recent years. They are spread out over the year, but the majority are in the summer.

The most common venues are private parties. That's because those who can afford to pay are in their 50s and 60s. They're the ones who find themselves in the position of arranging parties. They want the music from their youth at the party or conference. I would imagine that the majority of them active here are old jazz types, they play privately and aren't visible in the entertainment press. They play quite a lot, once or twice a week in private contexts. Then of course there's Stampen and these jazz pubs in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö that are run by enthusiasts. (Interview with Jens Lindgren M.KM970109)

Many of the boys are today decision-makers in the business world and public sector. The most common arenas for classical jazz are events organised by companies and organisations: office parties, shopping-centre openings, fairs, etc. When the Swedish business world is to be presented at trade fairs in other countries it is often Kustbandet, Sveriges Jazzband or another band playing classic jazz that provide the music. Private parties can also be a birthday party, wedding or similar. In such cases the music is a part of the ceremony. It comes in at an arranged point in the proceedings, e.g. when it's time to begin dancing after dinner.

Performances at private parties do not show up in public musical life. They are, however, unanimously proclaimed as being of decisive significance for the majority of orchestra's ability to earn an income. Jazz clubs and pubs have a lesser economic significance but a higher status among musicians. Here the music is in the centre of attention and they are among their peers.

In Sweden we play principally in the Stockholm region. It's a bit of a shame. We've stumbled into this thing with office parties and 50th birthdays. We are the suppliers by appointment to the large blue-chip companies. It isn't reflected in the media at

all. We've sometimes had a hard time with these company parties. You can play everyday, sometimes twice a day; cocktail parties during the day and another job in the evening. Our friends in the ordinary audience don't think we exist anymore. People have actually come up to me and asked: "Does Sveriges Jazzband actually exist?" Then you have to tell them that unfortunately it's Mammon that decides a little bit. The big company jobs is where the money is. A jazz club can pay a little and maybe share the travelling expenses with a couple of other clubs. It is economically most rewarding to carry on with companies and private parties. Unfortunately. (Interview with Eddie Bruhner, M.KM970113)

The festivals are a relatively new arena for classic jazz, which has principally grown up during the 1990s. Ulf Albrektsson describes the Trad Jazz Festival in Gothenburg:

We started in 1989. We do it in the summer. It has varied a little, but now we run it in August. We have eight to ten stages in central Gothenburg. We have a public stage that is free. The others cost money. You can buy a day pass and go from place to place listening to music for three days. We have over thirty jazz bands every time, mainly traditional jazz. We also have slightly more modern features each year. A lot of New Orleans jazz. We have had a lot of musicians from the us, New Orleans Rascals from Japan, several British bands, many Danish, Norwegian and also those bands playing New Orleans jazz in Sweden. (M.KM970110)

While the Swedish jazz clubs are well organised in the Swedish Jazz Federation, there is no formal collaboration between the festivals.

There is no international network for festivals that you can look up in a catalogue or the like. Often, however, an individual arranger will collaborate with another. In Britain, for example, they go to the Edinburgh Festival, if the festival is in Beckon a week later then the arrangers usually work together. The difficulty with this is that you have to build up a network of contacts where one thing leads to another, because there is no well established order in this, no network, not to my knowledge in any case. (Interview with Frans Sjöström, Malmö, M.KM970116)

The festivals have gained great significance, not just for the performance of music, but also for the social life of the grouping. Both the festival as arena and the jazz club/pub are international:

We were just in Finland three days and the next performance is not until February. It comes up in clumps. There are quite a few performances during the spring, summer and up until September. Then it gets worse in the autumn and worst at Christmas and in January and February. There are very few performances then. There are about 60 performances a year, sometimes only 35–40.

There's a lot of jazz festivals. We do a couple of tours a year in England, one or two jazz festivals every time. In Denmark we play a lot at clubs that are still lively. Also a number of jazz festivals in Denmark. We travel several times to Denmark and play at clubs too, maybe 15 performances a year. There are a lot of festivals in Holland. There is a large range at the jazz festivals there. We've played a lot of festivals. In Holland there is a big output. But I don't know how interested the Dutch actually are in this music. It's mainly about going out and drinking beer. But for as long as they make room for the music it's good. We've been to Askersund of course. We've only been to Norway for a single weekend many years ago. We've been to Germany a bit too, but not that much. (Interview with Ulf Albrektsson M.KM970110)

Many of the boys confirm the low levels of activity in January and February.

In all, roughly estimated there are between 130 and 150 performances a year. My dream at the moment is to be able to find a way to earn an income in January-February, because now I'm twiddling my thumbs. Nothing is happening. (Interview with Eddie Bruhner M.KM970113)

None of the musicians or others in the grouping were able to supply a clear explanation for this, but there is in general a decline in cultural activities after New Year. Many theatres are closed in January, for example.

Classic Jazz in Sweden has then principally three types of arena: companies/private parties, clubs/pubs and festivals. At all three the music is performed live. Swedish classical jazz is mediated to a small extent. Many orchestras release CDs that are sold in connection with performances. Some even market them internationally via the informal network that exists, i.e. peers around the world are faxed or e-mailed when a new CD has been released and in this way a number of copies can be sold. Mediaization of the music via the influence of media technology does not occur. On the other hand the fact that the music is played in the same way throughout the world with classic norm-providing recordings as common prototypes can be seen as a sort of mediaization.

Classic jazz is scarcely present in the broadcasting media. One of the few radio producers who transmit classic jazz, Frans Sjöström in Malmö, replied as follows to a question on what he regards as the media's role:

That is very easy to summarise. If we are just talking about early jazz, it is more or less shrouded in total silence, which makes the situation rather difficult. There's practically nobody in the media world that is interested in older jazz, if you look at the big picture. Very much because they don't know it, or because there are a lot of prejudices about the way it sounds, it's that Dixie or happy jazz. What I mean is that unfortunately the media are not much help. The only programme in Sweden on which you can hear older jazz is Leif Andersson's Smokerings. But it's not just older jazz that Leif plays, I know because I am the programme producer.

The media aim the programmes directly at certain age groups or cliques in society. They are very loud about it. Young people have their programmes and jazz records are never played on those. The radio media are today in general very obtuse in respect of the music they play. There are no stations playing everything, instead each show has its own focus. There is naturally the fear of not getting enough listeners, and therefore they keep to a sort of middle-of-the-road principle. I think it's a nail in the coffin, quite apart from thinking it unbelievably petty and ignorant to do things this way. It is a radio situation in which I don't believe. People I talk to give me support for the criticism. People in general are furious about the output being so standardised. (M.KM970116)

The anger about the way classic jazz has been treated in the broadcasting media is very widespread. Eddie Bruhner here represents the many critical boys:

The big problem is—I think it's ignorance rather than infernal planning that leads them to treat as unfairly as they do. It actually starts already at school. Despite being 54 I have a boy of 6 and one of 8. School kids never get to hear about the music we do. It doesn't exist. Swedish television and radio have in agreement with the government decided to supply a broad output of all forms of music, but it seems as if jazz is something you play at 3:30 a.m. on an obscure channel. On television and radio producers today are very young, guys with ponytails who've listened to a few mysterious rock bands. That's where their musical understanding begins. If you are lucky then maybe they have heard of the Beatles. That which went before is a black hole. It's more or less like you and I discussing dinosaurs or fossils. They have no feeling for this and it isn't their fault. There's a whole unfortunate chain of circumstances. I don't want to say that any individual is evil because they exclude traditional jazz, but there is an abyss of ignorance and lack of education in the ranks of producers in the media.

I saw a programme on Dixieland. They had imported a completely repulsive gang from Hungary who played fast, 100 meters deafening Dixieland in 9.2 seconds. Instead of engaging people who try to live on this music they put together gangs who sound like air raid sirens call it Dixieland music. The greater public don't hear the difference between Louis Armstrong or Jöns Jönsson. It creates prejudices. (M.KM970113)

A Swedish Variant of a World Grouping

Jazz was one of the first types of music to become global. Thanks to jazz being played at entertainment establishments in Chicago and New York in the 1920s when these cities became centres for the rapidly expanding music industry, it was recorded and distributed on record. In this way jazz became the first orally transmitted music that was not just conveyed directly from teacher to pupil,

but also via recordings to the majority of the world's nations. In many places local forms of jazz arose as they did also in Sweden (Edström 1999). The classic jazz revival movement that spread to Sweden from the US at the end of the 1940s meant the end of the "Swedification" of jazz. It was now the original genuine jazz that mattered. Musical originals should be copied as faithfully as possible. At the same time, life as a "genuine" jazz musician was romanticised. The importance of legitimacy was established in books like Mezz Mezzrow's *Really the Blues*, which in Swedish translation became a bible for many Dixie boys. The black musicians were oppressed and the music became symbolic of a rebellious attitude.

The Dixieboys were middle-class youths who rebelled in a rather careful way. At the same time a passionate relationship to the music was born in many which is still flowering. It is reflected in statements such as the following:

It is difficult to speak verbally of passions. For my own part I recall the first gramophone record I got when we could afford a gramophone, *West End Blues* with Louis Armstrong. That was it. There is such an incredible power in this music that's hard to put your finger on. There's an honesty and collaboration when you play this kind of music that is without compare. It practically does not exist elsewhere. Of course, the more you're involved in it the more you learn the music's code, what is good and what is less so and how it should be done. It is positive to life. It can strike chords in me that make me forget everything else. There is an ardent artistry in this music that is urgent. You can't defend yourself from it. This is not true for everyone of course, but I have never in all my life met anyone who became angry when listening to 1920s jazz. I have practically never noticed anyone who become irritated by it. That's more than I can say about any other form of music. (Interview with Frans Sjöström M.KM970116)

Today, jazz is thought of as difficult music because the term is associated with contemporary advanced jazz music. This can lead to bizarre situations for trad musicians:

Many people become happy when we are playing in a shopping centre or outside Sverigehuset in Kungsträdgården. A lot of people come up to us with a smile on their faces and ask "Where can we listen to you?" and "Why do you never hear this kind of music?", "What's this music called? It's fun!" Every time people get a chance to hear the music they become curious and like it. Children like it too.

We were playing and one of the audience came up wondering if we had an album. "Wow that was great! I want to buy the album!" "You can buy an album in the intermission," said Fredrik. Then when the intermission arrived he produced one of the orchestra's albums. Then the guy who wanted to buy it stood there looking at it and said: "This is jazz. I don't want that!" The actual word jazz has become so



Karin Kristenson in a street parade.

corroded that people keep their distance. It's tragic. (Interview with Jens Lindgren M.KM970109)

The difference between practitioners of classic jazz and modern jazz is not just in the style but also to a greater extent in the attitude to making music. The young trumpet player Karin Kristenson studied jazz at university for a while in the US.

There are many differences. I've never studied in the way you do at, say, the College of Music in Stockholm, my education has been Bent Persson and the orchestras I've played in. Then I arrived in the US and attended what they say is one of the more difficult universities there. It was a chock. People sit in their practice rooms and practice technique, scales, everything eight hours a day. They are of course very skilled, but I missed something quite fundamental there like a deeper soul. I missed the joy of playing there. Perhaps it was because the style of play was more modern and brutal. Harder I thought. More technical. Many who attended the school were very skilled on their instrument, they were 17–18 years old and wanted to be jazz musicians, but they had no background in jazz. They thought that jazz started with Miles Davis, if that. There's nothing wrong in that, of course, but sometimes they didn't even know what a blues was. No feeling, the point was to be fast, play a lot and play loud. It was a lot of modal stuff. Some of them hardly knew what harmonies were. (M.KM970129)

Classic jazz as a music style can be said to be independent of local differences. Musicians from different parts of the world can without ado play together. It is the musical competency, knowledge of styles and important musicians and recordings that decide whether you are an insider or outsider. There are, however, differences between the Swedish variant of the grouping and the classic jazz groupings of other countries. Ulf Albrektsson makes the following analysis of the situation in some other countries against the background of it being the secondary grammar schools that formed the core of Sweden's grouping:

In other countries the music had a completely different social basis. You can see how it was in Denmark and Britain. This music was everyman's there. It was played in pubs and smaller venues and not much in schools. It spread through all social groups and thereby gained a completely different range in the mass media. The BBC had loads of TV and radio programmes with jazz bands up until a few years ago. It is the same in Denmark today. If you tune into Denmark's radio channel P3, you can listen to Papa Bues Viking Jazz Band. That would be impossible in Sweden. Any radio presenter who did it would be sacked.

That means that traditional jazz music will find it significantly more difficult to survive here in Sweden than in Denmark or Britain. I am in general very pessimistic

about the future of traditional jazz. There is no new growth among either the listeners or musicians. With very few exceptions that's how it is. (M.KM970110)

While the style of music is generally liked it seems as if the strong connection to a certain age and social group is an obstacle to new recruitment to the grouping in Sweden that does not exist in other countries. The boys, it could be said, are now nearing pensionable age. They are going to become a group of pensioners with large resources, plenty of time and good health. They are sure to act in different ways to assert their music. A sign of this was the resurrection of Nalen in Stockholm as a music and dance venue in 1988 after the premises had belonged to the Pentecostal Movement for thirty years.

On the 30 January 2000, a gathering was held at Nalen in memory of Leif Andersson who died in November 1999. About 500 people attended. Leif Andersson's series of radio programmes, *Smokerings*, with its 1,786 programmes of classic jazz and swing since the start in 1960, is the longest series in the history of Swedish radio. At the gathering at Nalen the resentment was great that, according to what had been heard, no further programmes would be transmitted featuring classic jazz as a replacement for *Smokerings*. This type of displeasure felt by pensioners with high resources will certainly lead to consequences for the Swedish music scene in the next few years. The broadcasting media might be re-conquered through the purchase of private radio stations for example, resulting in a wave of new recruitment. Many "grandchildren" in their twenties are already in evidence at Nalen.

The Swedish Caribbeans

Music from the Lesser Antilles and Jamaica

The Lesser Antilles is the name for the chain of Caribbean islands that stretches from the Virgin Islands in the north to Trinidad in the south. Many of these islands have been British colonies and have therefore strong historical connections to Jamaica, which was colonial Britain's base in the Caribbean. The forms of music that originate in the Lesser Antilles and Jamaica have a large number of active practitioners and followers in Sweden. They might be termed the "Swedish Caribbeans". For many it all began with a yearning for the exotic:

It all began with the 1960s TV series *Ville Valle i Söderhavet*. I had a sort of yearning to the South Seas, but I made a mistake in my associations and managed to associate it to the Caribbean and my interest in rhythm. So we ended up there instead of the South Seas. (Interview with Ulf Kronman M.KM970316)

For others their interest is linked to reggae music's 1970s breakthrough as a global form of popular music with Bob Marley as its foremost representative.

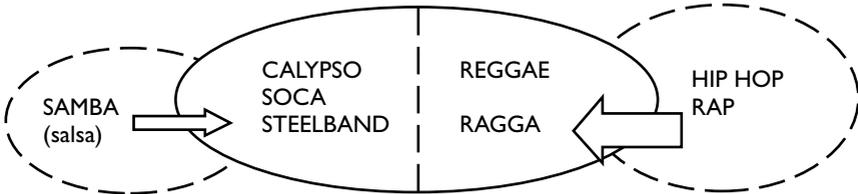
These different points of departure give the grouping two musical cores. One is the carnival music from Trinidad: calypso, soca and steelband, i.e. orchestras with instruments called steel pans or just pans made from oil drums. The other is reggae and ragga (dub, dance hall music) from Jamaica. At clubs and parties where disc jockeys provide the music, these two types of music are often mixed, whereas individuals are in most cases mainly orientated toward one of these cores. Those oriented toward carnival music are often also interested in various types of carnival music from Brazil (samba and other forms).

How broad is your interest? Does it also encompass reggae or samba?

It's fascinating because I have probably undergone something of the same cultural development as the Swedish people in general, though somewhat more quickly. First of all I discovered samba. It's fairly common for people to know of and like samba. It may have been Thomas Gylling who was the pioneer and opened my eyes to Caribbean music. I didn't like reggae from the start. I just thought it was slow and strange. My visits to Trinidad have helped me better understand the laid-back

music culture they have down there and I have begun to like reggae more and more as time passes. (Interview with Ulf Kronman M.KM970316)

Jamaican music also has a large following among those who mainly belong to the grouping hip hop/rap.



The above figures show how these interacting groupings in principle relate to one another. Those members who are exclusively orientated toward Jamaican music (reggae/ragga) have as a rule no interest in samba. Similarly, those who are orientated towards carnival music are seldom interested in hip hop and rap. Instead, they have contacts with followers of salsa and Cuban music, primarily since the breakthrough for this music in 1988. In recent years, a large number of rap artists have discovered Jamaican ragga, which is one of the precursors to rap but has also continued its development in Jamaica in parallel with rap in the US.

The grouping has a rather diffuse boundary with those who are more generally interested in world music and Latin American music. A large number of people come into contact with Jamaican music via the media thanks to the backing of the international music industry, though not with the music of the Lesser Antilles. On the other hand, tens of thousands of people participate each year in a local carnival or festival where they can hear and dance to calypso/soca and steelband music.

It is then difficult to establish the size of the grouping. It varies depending on how tightly the boundaries are drawn. If everyone who is interested in the music is included, the grouping encompasses several hundred thousand. When Bob Marley appeared at Gröna Lund in Stockholm in 1979, an attendance record was set that still stands (over 32,000 people). A performance by a not particularly well known reggae pioneer, Lee "Scratch" Perry at Kulturfabriken in Stockholm on the 20th November 1999 drew an audience of over 2,000 people despite a ticket price of SEK 220. The number of people who regularly attend events and active practitioners is estimated to be in the region of 20,000,

primarily resident in large towns. The following presentation mainly refers to this particularly interested group.

There are many orchestras in Sweden who have a few reggae or calypso tunes in their repertoire but those who specialise in this music are relatively few. There are approximately 20 orchestras that play reggae and five orchestras that play calypso/soca. The latter often also play reggae, while the reggae bands, as a rule, play reggae exclusively. These orchestras are comprised of five to ten musicians. There are seven or eight steelbands. These are larger, with 15–20 members each. The reggae and soca orchestras are mainly comprised of men, while at least half of the steelbands' members are women. More than 30 disc jockeys have specialised in this music. Furthermore there are between ten and 20 carnival associations around the country that are not only focused on the music but rather on carnivals or parties of the Caribbean and/or Latin American model. In total there are around 400 active practitioners and organisers in the range of 15–60 years of age.

Against the background of the above the question can be posed of whether the “Swedish Caribbeans” are a defined grouping or if it is really a matter of two groupings. Those orientated toward carnival music from Trinidad are quite well organised with associations, electronic e-mailing lists etc. and therefore relatively visible. They have, however, few contacts with other carnival activists orientated toward Brazilian or other carnival music. The part of the grouping orientated toward reggae/ragga is more diffuse. There is a relatively small but important group of people whose lifestyle is related to the ideas of the Rastafarian movement, a loosely organised religious movement that began in Jamaica in the 1930s. These so-called Rastas often have long matted hair. Part of the ideology involves eating “ital food”, which is a type of a vegetarian diet, abstaining from alcohol and smoking “ganja”, the Jamaican type of cannabis. A lot of reggae music, primarily so-called roots reggae, has been associated with Rastas but modern ragga/dance hall is not so strongly associated with them. In recent years, a sub-genre of Trinidad's music called rapsa has developed in association with Rastas in Trinidad. The activities they have in common and other connections between the two sub-groupings are so many and intensive that the Swedish Caribbeans regard themselves and can be regarded as a distinct grouping in relation to the rest of Swedish society.

However, the groupings who during the 1990s had ska (a precursor to reggae) as their music lie completely outside of this grouping. Here we find in part older skinheads, in part board-boys (skate-boarders) in their teens. These two groupings have nothing to do with one another apart from the music. Hardcore, partly with its roots in ska, is part of the music of the vegan movement. There is a probably a background link to Rasta ideology here.

How Did It Begin?

Caribbean music began to get noticed in Sweden in connection the international launch of calypso in the 1950s, with Harry Belafonte as figurehead. Several Swedish music-makers visited the Caribbean and made direct contact with calypso. They adopted the style in one-off pieces of music. At the time, no groupings arose that were particularly orientated toward this music and calypso was just one of many styles of popular music.

It was reggae's international launch in the 1970s that precipitated a more specialised body of followers. Peps Persson and his *Blodsband* began to sing reggae in a Skåne accent. Reggae and other Caribbean music inspired groups like *Dag Vag* and *Aston Reimers Rivaler*. Towards the end of the 1970s, the music attained an established place on the radio thanks to the programme Radio Västindien, presented by Thomas Gylling. Gylling also played drums at the time in *Reggae Team*, one of the first Swedish reggae bands. For several years Gylling has hosted a number of radio and TV series featuring reggae, calypso and soca as the main music content. He has also been extensively hired as a DJ at the grouping's various events. The band, *Sumpens Swingsters*, who played New Orleans Jazz, discovered and began playing beguine and other Creole music that was played on the French islands in the Lesser Antilles (Martinique, Guadeloupe et al). This music is played by the same type of ensemble as New Orleans Jazz and has a similar background (New Orleans was part of the French Empire until 1803).

Reggae from Jamaica has been accessible on phonograms and other mass media. Its spread in Sweden has been tied to media output. The music from Trinidad and other Lesser Antilles has, however, not been accessible on phonogram in Sweden until recent years. The same is true of carnival music such as samba. How then has such music gained such a strong foothold in Sweden?

At the end of the 1970s, a number of cultural projects were conducted aimed at creating cultural activities in the larger housing schemes that were the result of the so-called million programme. Krister Malm, who had previously worked in the Caribbean and was then producer for the R & D group at the Swedish Concert Institute, undertook such a project in 1979/80. Its central idea was to test a Caribbean style carnival as a cultural activity in Sweden. The reasoning behind this was that everyone in all age groups could, without knowing one another, participate in a carnival in different ways, from detailed preparation such as learning music and dance, making masks, etc. to just putting on an old hat and joining the procession on the day.

Furthermore, there were relatively high numbers of immigrants from Latin America at the end of the 1970s, who often had experience of carnivals and

could assume leading roles in such an activity. Those places/housing schemes that were interested in having one were offered help with planning and execution by the Swedish Concert Institute, and a steelband from Trinidad was contracted to appear at the carnival. In the spring of 1980, carnivals were organised in 12 locations from Luleå in the north to Ronneby in the south. Amongst other things, mask-making workshops were organised. Five musicians/instrument manufacturers from Trinidad gave information on steelband music, showed how steel pans are made from oil drums and demonstrated how they are played. Two of these, Rudy Smith and Trevor Kydd, lived in Sweden and later became key personalities in the developments that followed. The Double LP *Musik från Små Antillerna* released on the Swedish Concert Institute's recording label Caprice¹⁷¹ was also used in the preparations. The 12 carnivals took place at the end of May and beginning of June. Both the carnival as an activity and the steelband *The Trinidad Merry-makers* were a success. The results of the project were presented and published (Malm & Heyden 1980).

The Caribbean/Latin American carnival took root in Sweden. The following year carnivals were organised in 25 places and the year after in even more. In many places, immigrant Latin Americans started samba orchestras. The Swedish Concert Institute continued to support these carnivals. In 1982, the calypso singer The Mighty Chalkdust from Trinidad went on tour under the Swedish Concert Institute's direction. Eventually the demand for advice became so great that the Institute published a carnival handbook containing tips on activities, information on applying for police permits, how to arrange water and electricity supplies, existing pamphlets on the construction of masks, rhythm instruments, etc. (Heyden 1984). Many of the carnivals that were founded in Sweden at this time have lived on even if they have in many places gradually changed during the 1990s to general festivals without a particular Caribbean character.

The first carnivals and the visit by the steelband *Merry-makers* contributed considerably to founding a more active grouping centred on carnival music from Trinidad. Already in connection with the carnivals in 1980 an EP record of calypso music was released on which Trevor Kydd sang. He began in 1983 in Lund with the first steelband in Sweden called *The Sweet Pans*. At about the same time two of the members of the trad band *Sumpens Swingsters* had begun playing the steel pan. One of these, Bob McAllister, took the initiative in 1984 to form the steelband *Hot Pans* in Stockholm. They used, among other things, some of the instruments *The Trinidad Merry-makers* had left behind in Sweden in 1980 along with new instruments made by Rudy Smith, who at this time lived in Stockholm. Ulf Kronman, one of those involved from the start tell us:

¹⁷¹ *Musik från Små Antillerna*, (Music from the Lesser Antilles), Caprice CAP 2004:1–2.

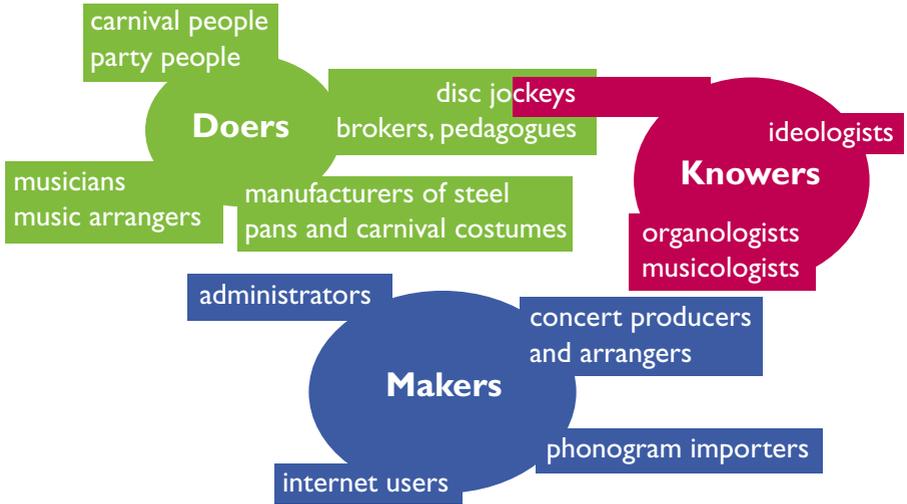
I was at Stampen a great deal [a jazz club in Stockholm] at the time, especially on Tuesdays when there was a sort of jam. I was there with my conga drum and jammed a bit with the jazz musicians. Then I sat down in the musician's room and heard Cacka (Christer Ekhé) saying that he had been playing steel pans all day, practising, though he was actually a clarinet player. I approached him directly and interrogated him about whether there were any others who played steel pans and it was him who told me about Bob. So I phoned Bob. He said: "Hang on, I'm collecting names for a list here. When there are enough of us we're going to do something." A couple of months later he called and said: "I've collected enough now so it's time to get started." We met at his home and discussed how we'd go about it. He had a number of steelband instruments that the band *Sumpens Swingsters* had access to that we could borrow. So we started rehearsing in his cellar. The process was slow because there were a lot who were interested but nobody had any background knowledge so to speak, so rehearsing the first tunes took a long time. There were many who noticed that the business of learning to play an instrument from scratch takes a lot longer than they had anticipated. (M.KM970316)

Actors

Those who play in steelbands belong to the most active in the grouping today. A steelband must have at least seven members in order to function. If it is to sound good, 12–15 members are preferable. *Hot Pans'* size has been 15–25 musicians during the 1990s, of which the majority are Swedes men, as well as a few immigrants from the Caribbean. *Hot Pans* introduces itself and steelband on its website in the following way:

A steelband is an orchestra in which all of the instruments are made of tuned and ringing oil drums. With great precision and skill, dents with various pitches have been hammered into the metal to create the instrument that in Trinidad is known as the Steel Pan. Ten to twenty different models of steel pan are made with varying pitch and scope, from the melody-bearing soprano that comprises no more than a sawn-off oil-drum to the base, which is made up of six to nine complete drums. Apart from steel pans a steelband contains both common and uncommon percussion instruments, among others the break drums from cars, which provide the motor in the orchestra.

The steel pan was invented around 1940 on the little island of Trinidad in the Caribbean and has since been constantly developed. In Trinidad steel pans are played in steelbands with up to a hundred members in connection with the annual carnival. Steelband music is to the carnival in Trinidad what samba is to Rio de Janeiro. In the Trinidad carnival, traditional calypso music is combined with hot soca rhythms to an irresistible music that gets everyone to join in and dance.



Actors in the grouping of Swedish West Indies.



A small version of Hot Pans. Photo: Åsa Malm.

The Swedish steelband *Hot Pans* continues the Caribbean carnival tradition and plays steelband music at various kinds of carnivals and festivals around Sweden. *Hot Pans* appears on stage or the flatbed of a lorry in the most diverse of contexts, as a strong rhythm and colourful entertainment and dance band but most of all where there is joy and a party and where people like to dance. The music is appreciated by everyone, young and old who like upbeat music, exciting tones and irresistible rhythms—*Hot Pans* has made acclaimed appearances at preschools and for Nobel Prize winners. (<http://stockholm.music.museum/pan/hp>)

A steelband plays arranged music and learns its tunes by ear. A music arranger is required who can also teach the different parts. *Hot Pans* found in Rudy Smith both a steel pan-maker and someone who could tune them, a difficult task, as well as a music arranger. He also kept regular contact with his, and steelband's, homeland Trinidad and knew the latest tunes.

Rudy Smith, who now lives in Copenhagen, is best known to a broader public as a jazz musician playing steel pan as his main instrument. But for the steelbands of Scandinavia, he is an instrument-maker and arranger/rehearser. Rudy Smith gives his views on his role:

Well, as far as I know 90–95% of the pans in Scandinavia is through me. But I don't think they depend on me. Maybe for the tuning, you know, but the arranging... I like to encourage the band after a while to get somebody who could do their own thing. It would be much easier. Then they could develop their own way of playing. I don't believe that since you're playing a certain instrument you have to play it like where it come from. You play how you feel it should be played. That's the only way I believe things will develop in different ways. In Copenhagen my favourite band is Copenhagen Steelband. I used to show them one or two things a couple of years ago and now they do their own thing, which is nice.

When you rehearse with a band and make an arrangement you are not actually making a score and put up some staff notation in front of the players and start to wave your hands...

I'm not working like that. In Scandinavia or any part of the world some are good players, some are alright. I try to understand what a player could play or not play. It makes no sense writing down something and give to somebody that they can't play. The instrument is new to most of them. Some of them are not really musical. They love the instrument, they love to play. So you've got to be tricky enough to say that, aha they are capable of playing this and you improvise to suit. Arranging for a band is like playing jazz. You never know who you're going to meet so you've got to improvise all the time. You have to make the arrangement to suit what they can do and that's what I do all the time. That is a mistake some of the arrangers in Scandinavia make. They write certain arrangements which their players can't play. It will take them a whole month to learn a tune. I will come now and take one day. Because I

assess my players and know what they can do and what they can't. If I see they are doing alright I try to give them a little more so they could extend themselves. I don't have a set pattern that they have to do. It takes so much time. (M.KM970528)

The musicians in Hot Pans are also members in the association Stockholms Steelband that takes care of the band's business and instruments. During the 1990s, the members of *Hot Pans* have via study circles taught the art of playing steel pans to a whole range of new people. A couple of new bands have been formed in Stockholm, *Cool Pans* and *Panorama*. Sometimes these bands appear together in a large band called *Stockholm All Stars*. One of the members has also introduced courses in steel pan at Kulturskolan in Södertälje. In 1999, there were three steelbands there with members of various ages. Trevor Kydd has a similar operation at a couple of primary schools in Malmö. Since the spring term 2000, Kydd has also taught steel pan at the Malmö College of Music. There is also a steelband at the Örebro College of Music.

Like the steelbands, calypso orchestras belong to the carnival-focused Swedish Caribbeans. The first pure calypso band in Sweden was *Mr Okey from the Banana Republic*. It was formed in Gothenburg in the mid-1980s. One of the founders had been involved in the first carnivals in Luleå at the beginning of the 1980s. One of the first bands to begin playing soca in Sweden was Soca Rebels, who also hail from Gothenburg. Soca Rebels appeared for the first time at the Gothenburg carnival in 1991. They introduce themselves as follows on their website:

We play SOCA, the music for carnival and fête, the street beat from Trinidad and Tobago. We are the Trinidad and Tobago musical connection in Sweden. Classic soca, steel pan, ragga soca and calypso. The hits of the season and original material.

Soca Rebels is the first and only Swedish band focusing solely to bring the push and the energy of soca to the dance floors and the streets of this remote part of the world. No fraternizing with laid back styles such as salsa or reggae, which have so far been synonymous with caribbean music up here. Only the pure street sound of soca – the music that PUMPS YOU UP. (http://www.geocities.com/~soca_rebels/bio.htm)

In the last two sentences a certain distancing is expressed from the reggae phalanx in the grouping. "Fête" is the French Creole word for party/festival, a highly central concept both in the Lesser Antilles and for Swedish Caribbeans. Lars Hansson, *Soca Rebel's* band leader, had previously played jazz-rock and fusion, among other things. He is a programmer/systems analyst and plays Caribbean music in his spare time, as do the majority of musicians among Swedish Caribbeans. *Governor Andy* and *Serious Version* from Stockholm belonged to

the most active Reggae bands during 1999, also as part-time musicians.

The various types of actors among Swedish Caribbeans fit into the categories, doers, knowers and makers very well (see fig p. 270). The majority of actors are in the doer's group, while there are rather few knowers and makers. Among the doers, those involved in parties and carnivals are the largest category, while the more specialised doers who face more in the direction of knowers are fewer. Few among the doers are professional in their area. The majority practise their "Caribbeaness" in their spare time. The ideologists are mainly to be found among Jamaican music's Rastas. The most common arrangers are those who organise parties and various events. A couple of arrangers who organise events in Sweden with artists and bands from the Caribbean enjoy a special position. There are no companies producing commercial phonograms of Caribbean music in Sweden. Those records that are released are produced by doers (musicians and intermediaries) or knowers. Among those active on the Internet there are both webmasters and organisers of e-mail lists and electronic discussion forums. Among the administrators there are those who manage the various associations' and orchestras' bookings and accounts.

DJs occupy an important place among actors. It is they who convey news from the Caribbean to the public and set the musical trends in the grouping. DJs do not only know a lot about the repertoire but also often have extensive knowledge of the music's best-known practitioners, its original environment and history. For this reason the majority of DJs can be regarded as knowers.

Contacts with Trinidad and Jamaica

Soca Rebel's leader, Lars Hansson, was first in Trinidad in 1985 but he did not attend the carnival until 1989:

I really came into contact with the music during my visit to the carnival in Trinidad in 1989. I was struck by the infectious rhythm and that practically an entire nation took part in the music and total event. I've also found the humour and satire that exists in calypso and soca amusing. Perhaps you have to know Trinidad to understand it. When I began playing soca it was a cool experience to see that even Swedes like the music and get with it. It also gave more and more enjoyable sessions than those I had with the jazz-rock group. (E-mail from Lars Hansson 970402)

The direct contact with Trinidad referred to by Lars Hansson was quite unusual among activists in the 1980s, but has become more common in the 1990s. *Soca Rebels* recorded a version of the soca *Nanny Wine* in Swedish as their first record. Originally made by Crazy, a very popular calypsonian (a Trinidadian term for a calypso singer who makes his own songs), the record was played on

Swedish radio, becoming famous even in Trinidad where people were surprised by the interest in soca in a distant country.

Crazy thought it was fun that we played his music with Swedish lyrics, so when I met him 1991 he thought it would be fun to do something together. So in 1992 we invited Crazy here and went on tour with him to four different locations in Sweden. The Swedish Institute funded Crazy's travel expenses. We held concerts in Karlstad, Norrköping, Stockholm and Gothenburg. The finale in Gothenburg was best with a lot of people. The venue was full. There were a lot of people outside who wanted to come in but there wasn't room. (Interview with Lars Hansson M.KM970325)

The collaboration between *Soca Rebels* and Crazy has continued. In recent years Lars Hansson has run Crazy's official website on the Internet (<http://home.swipnet.se/crazy>).

Trinidad's music culture is strong locally. The lyrics of most calypso tunes are packed with references to local phenomena that a foreigner can scarcely understand, which is also suggested by Lars Hansson above when he says "perhaps you have to know Trinidad to understand it." That is why many Trinidadians are surprised that there is an interest in their music in a country like Sweden. It is seen as unusual. The mass media have partly played a part in informing the people of Trinidad of what happens to their music in Sweden. When Derek Walcott from St. Lucia in the Lesser Antilles received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1992, *Hot Pans* played at the Nobel reception. People in Trinidad could see it on TV. This Swedish steelband caused great consternation and became a general topic of conversation.

Lars Hansson relates how *Soca Rebels* awoke interest in Trinidad:

We've now been invited to play in Trinidad in a newly opened calypso tent that's called Chutney Soca Review, specially for chutney. A guy from San Fernando runs it. We were invited by him to play there in 1998. He discovered us through our website on the Internet! We've wanted a chance to play down there for a long time, but it has been difficult because there are so many in the group.¹⁷¹ (M.KM970325)

One problem for carnival-orientated bands in Sweden has been renewing their repertoire. Every year new carnival tunes are created and in Trinidad nobody plays a tune from last year's carnival. When asked "Where do you get your repertoire from?" Lars Hansson answers:

¹⁷¹ Chutney is a special form of soca with strong elements of Indian music. Nearly 40% of the population in Trinidad has its origins in India. San Fernando is Trinidad's second largest city.

We select tracks from records. We do different stuff, like Crazy, Baron and Kitchener, and also a little from Barbados, Crossfire, so it's a bit mixed.

How do you get hold of the records?

It varies. I've sometimes picked up some when I've been down there. Sometimes we've contacted Crosby who has sent records to us. Crosby is a record dealer in Trinidad. Most recently we've ordered over the Internet. Crosby has a website and the person who runs it sent the records from the US. (M.KM970325)

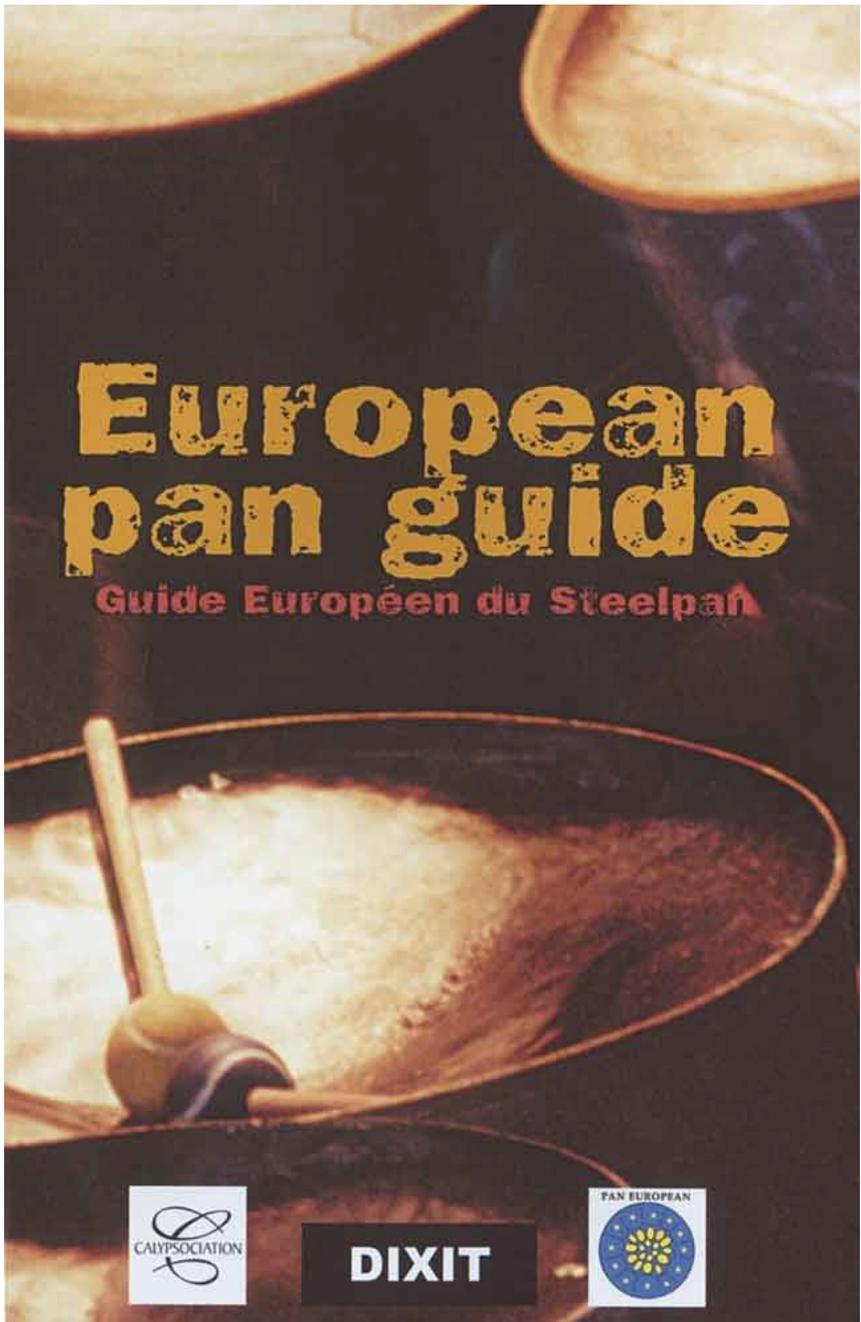
Artists and bands visit Sweden from Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados several times a year. They play at special events or at festivals. These visits are important for Swedish contact with new repertoires and developments in the music style.

Another example of direct contact with Trinidad is that members in *Hot Pans* and *Cool Pans* have been to Trinidad and played with domestic steelbands during the carnival season in, among other things, the national steelband competition Panorama, which is one of the carnival's most important features. These Swedish steel pan-players must be competent musicians otherwise they would never be accepted as members of a steelband in Trinidad in such an important competition. The members of *Stockholm Carnival Club* regularly visit Trinidad and participate in the carnival. In Stockholm they also make large complex carnival costumes in the Trinidad style in which they have appeared at the Water Festival and on other occasions.

A special but important form of direct contact has arisen through the research that has taken place in Sweden around music and instruments from Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles. Krister Malm worked between 1969 and 1972 at Trinidad's folklore archive and has published articles, books, teaching materials, phonograms and radio and TV programmes on music from Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles. One member of *Hot Pans*, Ulf Kronman, began to study the construction and acoustic properties of steel pans at the end of the 1980s. The result was the book *Steel Pan Tuning* from 1992, which is an important standard work on the manufacture of steel pans.

When the book was completed, it was published in Trinidad. Kronman relates:

A whole gang of us went down to Trinidad and released the book down there. We were a bit worried about the cultural... what might happen down there when they saw that a white guy suddenly documented all this so that Americans and Japanese could get their hands on the entire technique. But it was well received. Some mumbled: "Why haven't we done this?" The answer is probably that because you haven't done it, we have done it and you're welcome to do it yourselves. They were kind of inspired to do something themselves. As it is, researching the steel pan is not something that exactly pays. The problem for Trinidadians is that they need to do stuff that is directly profitable. They don't have the same opportunities to do non-profitable research as we have in Sweden. (M.KM970316)



European Pan Guide.

The book became the core of an extensive website on the steel pan and steelband that Kronman established in 1993 on the Stockholm Music Museum's web server (<http://stockholm.music.museum/pan>). This has since resulted in interaction not only with Trinidad but also with interested parties all over the world:

Via computer networks you can establish relations between people via mutual interests, despite the fact that they have never met and are far apart. I can sympathise with people who write to me. They make steel pans. There was someone who was going to do an examination in the US, a girl, who began sending e-mail. She wondered if she could make steel pans from coffee tins and suchlike. It was a bit touching you know and we established contact. It becomes a virtual village when you never meet. I think we are going to see more and more of this; communities of interest over the net. (M.KM970316)

Despite there being an interest in the music of Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles and steelband in other European countries and North America, the Swedish Caribbeans have had little contact with their equivalents in these countries. This might partly be because the music in the UK, US and Canada is strongly associated with the large Caribbean ethnic groups in these countries, which gives it a completely different role than in Sweden. In the autumn of 1999, a French initiative was taken to form a European network for steelbands called Pan European. On the 20th and 21st of May 2000, Pan European arranged a European festival and competition for steelbands in Paris. Fourteen steelbands from Denmark, England, Finland, France, Holland and Sweden (*Hot Pans*), Switzerland and Germany participated. As part of the festival, the European Pan Guide was published in which 196 steelbands in Europe are listed, and of which over 100 are in Switzerland. The steelband environments in Europe, rather isolated to date, have begun communicating in the spring of 2000.

Finances

The orchestras' activities are financed primarily with revenue from performances. Many parts of the grouping are organised in the form of associations. They also co-operate with each other. *Hot Pans*, *Cool Pans* and *Stockholm Carnival Club* have, for example, shared premises.

It is seldom that musicians have received state or other grants for their activities. The pedagogical activities that take place in the schools of music and culture receive of course municipal support. The activists who organise carnivals/festivals similarly often collaborate with and receive financial support from municipalities and associations for adult education. Stockholm's Steelband

Association also received financial support from a private trust in 1997 in order to develop teaching in steel pan in Sweden with the help of specialists from Trinidad. Workshops were run with teachers and steelbands at Södertälje kulturskola together with a range of other activities that were advertised on *Hot Pans*' website as follows:

Hot Pans steelband and parts of Merry Tones steelband from Trinidad
Activities in the Stockholm region in connection with the cultural exchange project "Steelband", May 1997

"MAS"¹⁷² in Kungsträdgården

Pentecost Monday 19 May 15:00

Hot Pans steelband joined by members of Merry Tones steelband from Trinidad together with the "Blue Devils" carnival dancers from Stockholm Carnival Club.

"Steelband School"

On Kungsträdgården's children's and family-day Sunday 25 May between 12:00 and 18:00

Members of Hot Pans steelband and Merrytones steelband from Trinidad let you try out the oil drum instruments.

Caribbean heat at Katalin, Uppsala.

Friday 30 May from 21:00

Members of Hot Pans steelband and Merrytones steelband from Trinidad "Small Merry Tones" play relaxed, swinging music with Rudy Smith, the steel pan virtuoso from Copenhagen.

Carnival festival and Sweden's first steelband festival

Saturday 31 May 20:00. Boo Folkets hus, Orminge centre. Busses from Slussen.

Participating steelbands: **Flash in the Pan** from Södertälje, **Cool Pans** from Stockholm, **Hot Pans** from Stockholm and "**Small Merry Tones**" from Trinidad.

Furthermore, steel pan virtuoso **Rudy Smith** from Copenhagen and Tropicopop disco with **Uncle Eric** and **Thomas Gylling**.

In every activity a fee was paid that covered transport and all other expenses. Some members of the band who had been particularly active receive small fees, but the majority were not remunerated. It is in other words a hobby-like activity.

Within reggae and ragga, activities are more commercial. DJs and bands are paid at clubs and other performances as a rule, but it is not a question of much money for the Swedish players. There are probably no DJs or musicians who support themselves solely on performing music from Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles.

¹⁷² "Mas" means "to be dressed in a carnival costume and take part in the carnival" in Creole English from Trinidad.

Recruitment

New members are recruited to the grouping primarily by the music being played at parties, festivals and clubs. This recruitment is not especially active. Those who like the music and dance continue to attend the events. The young people who in recent years have been recruited among hip hop fans today make up the core troops at the clubs. Many in this group have an immigrant background. In other words, the arrangers who organise various events are an important element in recruitment. Sometimes it is the same person who is the DJ and/or musician.

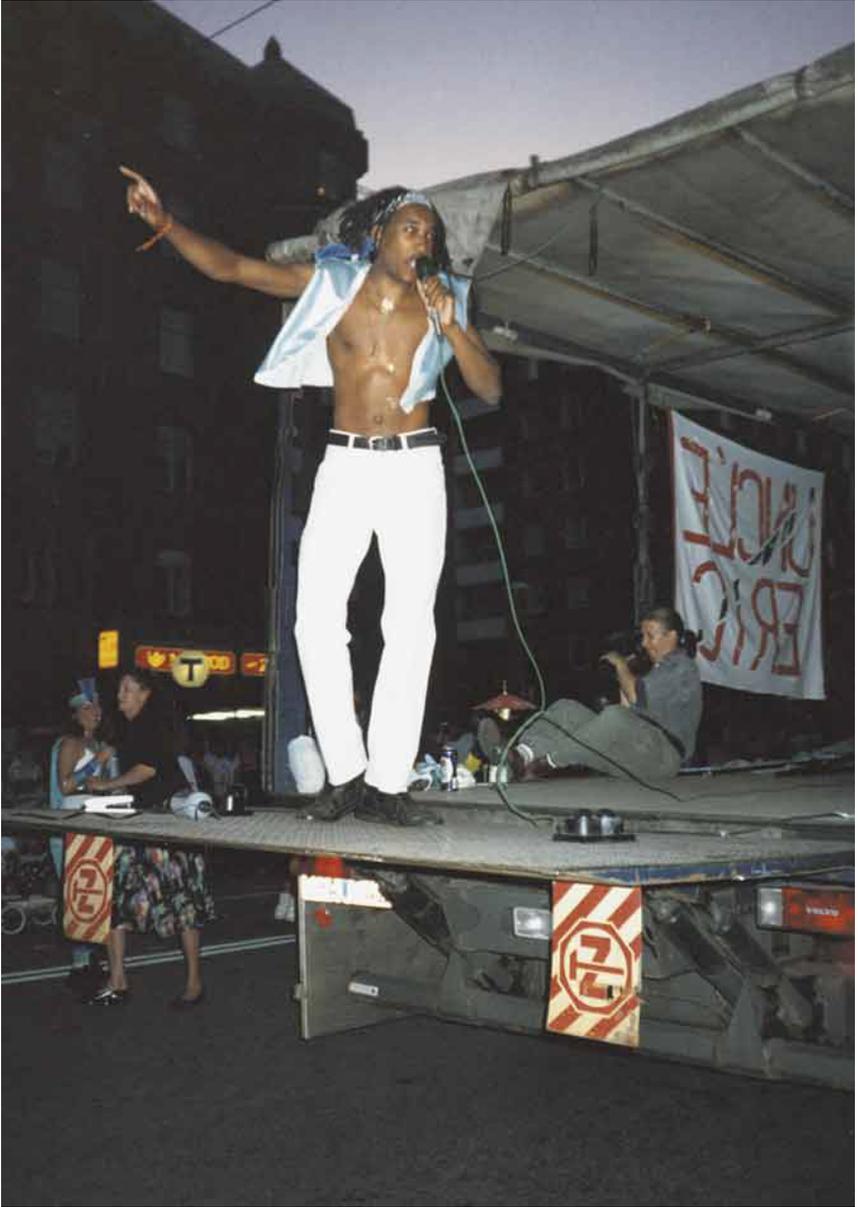
DJs are also an important group for recruitment. They often both speak rhythmically over the recorded music (called toasting or dub) and play rhythm instruments. These DJs are more musicians than people who just play records. Several also often work together. Many of the regular club and parties-goers have been recruited by the colourful performances of the DJ trio Thomas Gylling, Papa Dee and Uncle Eric or by the Swingaling and Slingshot teams.

The steelband's pedagogical activities are a more active form of recruitment, primarily because the bands need new musicians. Reggae and Soca bands can recruit musicians among the many who play electric guitar, electric bass, keyboard, drums, etc. in other genres. Steel pan is, however, an instrument with a completely different playing technique than those instruments that are generally taught at municipal schools of music. It is also the unique aspects of steel pan that attracts many. Just the fact that the instrument is made of recycled junk (used oil drums) is exciting. Teachers at those schools who have introduced training in steel pan also say that the instrument is good for beginners. On the same instrument the pupil can train melody, background, percussive technique, in orchestras et al at the same time as the teaching can take place in large groups i.e. in a steelband.

Many Arenas

The Swedish Caribbeans are active in many arenas. The programme for the steelbands' activities in Stockholm in May 1997 reproduced above demonstrates this. There are events aimed at a very broad public in Kungsträdgården in Stockholm as well as parties at the carnival in Orminge with a steelband festival that is more aimed at the grouping's inner circles.

Parties in the streets, squares and other public places are common in both Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles. In Jamaica the music often comes from mobile discos, so-called sound systems, which are set up on street corners. These also exist in Trinidad, where they are called DJ Trucks, because the discos are placed on the flatbeds of trucks. Live music is also common in Trinidad. The



Uncle Eric on a DJ truck.



Carnival with steelband in Orminge outside Stockholm. Photo: Åsa Malm.

Swedish Caribbeans have transported this method of partying to Sweden. The way this is achieved is described in the following notes from a Caribbean disco party with Thomas Gylling & Crew in Kungsträdgården held in Stockholm on 11 June 1997:

Prior: Information via posters in the city and newspapers' event calendars. It was entirely an open event at the main stage in Kungsträdgården in connection with the break-up of school. Arranger: Sam Carlkvist, Kungsträdgården. Advertised times 20:00–23:00. No entrance fee.

During: Disco equipment was set up on the statue plinth opposite the stage. The benches in front of the stage were removed so that the area between the speaker wall at the statue and the stage created a room-like space. It was all set up like a copy of a Jamaican dance hall with a sound system. On the stage there was laser equipment that was started at 22:00. The laser beams formed a roof over the imaginary disco room. In practice the party continued until 23:30.

The music was ragga, soca, souk, a little Latino rap. A laser show accompanied by techno music of around 5 minutes was also included in the programme. Two DJs (Gylling and Uncle Eric) with a few guests who came up from the crowd, particularly girls who danced on the statue plinth, which was transformed into a stage. The DJs also play percussion instruments, sing and keep everything going.

The public, around a thousand young people 13–20 years of age, approximately half immigrants (primarily Latinos, Africans, Asians and Afro-Americans), and over a hundred older people, mostly immigrants and people from *Stockholm Carnival Club*. The younger girls were in many cases very provocatively dressed in dance hall fashion. Unforced mixing between Swedes and immigrants. There was some intensive dancing in places, more the later it got. It was all very informal, completely open to anyone who happened by. People came and went, bought hotdogs and ice cream from the stalls in the aisle. During the course of the evening a large fight broke out just below the plinth and an ambulance was called to take a couple of injured people away.

A high point was when the DJs conducted collective dance in for example last year's carnival hit from Trinidad *Movin*.

The model (horizon) was clearly the Jamaican sound system party. The aim (background) to prevent trouble in the city in connection with the end of school. It all seemed to have an integrating effect with music and dance in the centre.

After: No publicity in the media.

Between 27 May and 3 June 1999, an event of the outdoor party type was put on around Hötorget in Stockholm called *Sinnenas Övärld*¹⁷³ (the island world

¹⁷³ The party was arranged by an association of businesses in central Stockholm that conducted a campaign for products and food from Jamaica and Trinidad.

of the senses) with music from Jamaica and Trinidad. *The Wailers* from Jamaica played, *Hot Pans*, Robert Munro and *Friends* from Trinidad, Uncle Eric drove round with a DJ Truck, etc. The 27 December 1999, the millennium celebrations began in Stockholm with a Caribbean party at Hötorget with carnival costumes and a sound system on the stairs to Stockholms main concert venue, Konserthuset. It is, however, unusual that such events take place during the winter.

The most common outdoor parties are of course the carnivals, organised by enthusiasts and carnival associations in different parts of Sweden. The carnivals generally take place in the early summer or in August. They can be arranged in different ways but generally contain some sort of carnival procession in which differently dressed groups parade through the town accompanied by music and some sort of festival with music and dance, e.g. at a square or some other place of congregation. DJs, steelbands and other orchestras appear playing Caribbean music as do samba groups and other types of carnival groups, often from Latin American immigrant associations.

Another common arena is parties with DJs in a club environment. These have increased in number and during 1999 there were five to six clubs in Stockholm that regularly organised Caribbean parties. The increased activity in this arena is primarily caused by the influx to the grouping from the hip hop camp. While there are those of all ages among the crowds at outdoor parties, participants at the club parties are mainly young people.

The steelbands often play at private parties such as corporate/office parties and birthdays. Here it is a question more of representing a happy exoticism to an audience who do not belong to the grouping. Members in the steelbands use the term "Ambience Negroes" to denote their role in these contexts. The bands also play at internal parties for Stockholm Carnival Club and friends.

Recorded Music Performed Live

The majority of the grouping's music is recorded in the Caribbeans or among Caribbean immigrants in the US or UK. The recordings of ragga/dance hall are in particular pure studio products comprised of a number of separately made recordings including sampling from older phonograms. This music can hardly be performed live. However, the manner this recorded music is played by DJs with their own track mixes, toasting (rhythmic speaking), percussion and dance means it is experienced as live music by the participants in the event. The recorded music is part of a live performance where there is one or more executors, i.e. the DJs and dancers. It can be called "recorded music that is performed live".

Orchestras that play music in Sweden generally get their repertoire from phonograms. It happens that they also make their own tunes, sometimes with lyrics in Swedish. The practitioners in Sweden do not have a common repertoire, even though Bob Marley's best-known songs are played by many. Particular prerequisites apply for the carnival-focused part of the grouping. Music from the carnival in Trinidad and sometimes even other islands (Barbados, Saint Vincent, Antigua) serves as the model. New music is created at each carnival, which is released on small local labels. There is in other words no standard repertoire on the Lesser Antilles. It is perpetually renewed.

When it comes to the steelbands, not even the steel pan instrument is standardised. Various manufacturers have their own systems for placing the tones on oil drums. This means that a musician cannot simply play an instrument in another band. In Sweden, however, Rudy Smith's method of making steel pans has become standard, even if there are exceptions. Among phonogram releases from the Caribbean there are almost never steelband recordings. They play very polished arrangements of a few current calypso and soca tunes, which are often released in song form on phonogram. In Trinidad and many other islands playing in steelband is a kind of folk movement and is extremely orientated toward live performance. It is furthermore extremely difficult to make a recording of a steelband with 100 musicians, which in a genuine way reproduces the distinctive sound. The steelbands active in Sweden are then dependent on direct contacts with Trinidad when it comes to their repertoire, which they have, among other things, from their travels and the Internet, as well as from Trevor Kydd and first and foremost Rudy Smith, who is regularly enlisted as an arranger for various steelbands in Trinidad.

Some of the orchestras active in Sweden have recorded and released phonograms themselves, among others *Hot Pans* and *Soca Rebels*. But the release of phonograms is rare within this grouping. The few phonograms that are released are almost never played on the radio or TV. In general it is increasingly rare that Caribbean music is played. During the 1980s, there were long-running series of programmes featuring this music hosted by Thomas Gylling (Radio Västindien, Rytmdoktorn, Tropicopop et al). In 1999, there was no forum at all in the broadcasting media for Caribbean music. During the 1990s, at the same time as live performance activities have increased substantially and won an expanding audience, the music has vanished from the broadcasting media.

The Yard and the Road

Social factors are an important driving force for many of the Swedish Caribbeans. Festivals/parties are an important feature. Another motive is to be

able to play without expectations that are too high. Even if quite high musical skills are required to play in a reggae band or steelband, the atmosphere is often quite relaxed. Taking it easy is part of the Caribbean lifestyle.

A very important thing in *Hot Pans* is the social community and it means a lot for me. These days I only play for two reasons; to meet my friends in the band, whom I like a lot, and to get out and play at parties and feel I'm making people happy, that we're having fun. We also party when we play so it becomes a special social community. You go to a party though you still entertain people. That's my view of my playing nowadays. Then I play a bit of steel pan on the side in different constellations. Because I have a history as a musician I know people who play various instruments, like guitar and piano at quite a high level, capable people. Sometimes I get performances and stand before these musicians at parties and do some pretty good stuff in all simplicity. That's also a lot of fun.

So for you motivation is primarily social. You could in fact be quite satisfied with rehearsals?

Yes, sometimes I think so, but it's more fun at performances. But I don't have any musical ambitions anymore. I've put those aside. It feels good. Once upon a time I had musical ambitions but not being able to live up to them was frustrating.

(Interview with Ulf Kronman M.KM970326)

In Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles there is a distinct difference between what takes place among the initiated and what includes everyone. These spheres are called "the yard" and "the road", the emergence and significance of which has been analysed persons such as Donald R Hill (Hill 1993:2pp). A steelband in Trinidad rehearses in a "panyard", but when it plays during the carnival it does so "on the road". These two spheres can also be found among the Swedish Caribbeans. The model for the inner circle is in the Caribbean. They are initiated in what is happening there in music and dance. New tunes and dance styles can be heard and seen at the grouping's internal parties on their own premises very shortly after they have been launched in the land of origin. At parties aimed at a broader public, those who belong to the grouping can be distinguished by their way of dancing. The dance style becomes a signal that says, "I am a Swedish Caribbean".

There is nothing goal-orientated about the recruitment of new Swedish Caribbeans. There is, on the other hand, a clear ambition to win areas of public space: streets, squares, business centres, etc. If the Swedish version of "the yard" focuses on the Caribbean, then the Swedish version of "the road" is clearly directed towards Sweden. Activities are aimed at large audience groups who do not know much about the activities' Caribbean background. Sometimes "the yard" and "the road" come into conflict in these situations. On 27 May 1999, in connection with the campaign *Sinnenas Övärld*, a football match was



The dance style signals: "I'm a Swedish Caribbean".

played between Jamaica's national team the Reggae Boys and the Swedish national team at Råsunda in Solna. During the match *Cool Pans* played on one of the stands commissioned by a company that had treated its employees to tickets. This caused great irritation among the Swedish Caribbeans in the crowd and among the Jamaican footballers. Steelband music is from Trinidad and not Jamaica. It was in the wrong yard from a Caribbean perspective but in the right road from a Swedish point of view. In general, however, it has been possible to successfully transform activities in the Caribbean yard into activities on the Swedish road.

More general modern parties/festivals such as the Water Festival in Stockholm have also been inspired by the activities of the Swedish Caribbeans. Carnival festivities were for a long time an important feature of the Water Festival but such festivities had completely disappeared from the festival in 1999. As recently as 1998, however, the stage at Gustav Adolfs Square was completely dedicated to steelband and sound systems. Authority measures in recent years aimed at limiting the spread of rave culture have, however, also affected the Swedish Caribbeans' sound systems. Karolina Ramqvist, a journalist at *Dagens Nyheter*, wrote on 8 January 2000:

In December I heard that the police in Stockholm had decided to categorically refuse to issue permits for hip hop and reggae sound systems wishing to play outdoors on New Year's Eve. I became angry of course. When, a few weeks ago, it came out that they were going to close Gamla stan to anyone not in possession of a ticket for the millennium hysteria, Stockholmers fumed...

Nothing is going to happen now, I thought. There will be no storm from the readers against DN Stockholm and no cries of "you gotta fight for your right to party", because this affects other people, people who are used to being harassed because of their taste in music, having their telephones tapped and their private parties interrupted.

The Swedish Caribbeans have, however, despite some setbacks, been successful in their conquest of the road, as the many carnivals and outdoor parties show. There are several reasons for this. One is that the majority of Swedish Caribbeans are native Swedes. Even if a few of the key people are Caribbean, there are not many in Sweden. The Swedish Caribbeans have mastered the Swedish environment and have been able to handle contacts with the authorities, police and others that regulate what is permitted in public spaces. In this way the Swedish Caribbeans have cleared the way for immigrant groups from Africa and Latin America that are used to being able to use public places for cultural activities. These have joined and been included in the carnivals and outdoor parties that the Swedish Caribbeans have arranged. It is significant

that several of the Swedish Caribbeans' activities in Stockholm in 1999 took place on Hötorget in Stockholm, with its many immigrant market-stall holders.

Another reason for their success is probably that the Creole Caribbean culture can easily be adapted to new conditions. It has arisen through the melding of characteristics from many of the world's cultures. The situation we have in Sweden today with immigrants from a large number of countries has existed for a long time in Trinidad, for example. Africans, Indians, Arabs, Europeans and Chinese have lived together there for over 100 years on an island slightly larger than Gotland. This has created a flexible Creole culture with the carnival and other festivals as an engine and primary form of expression. Its practitioners are often open and extrovert. Rudy Smith shows this openness in the interview quote above (p. 266):

I don't believe that since you're playing a certain instrument you have to play it like where it come from. You play how you feel it should be played. That's the only way I believe things will develop in different ways.

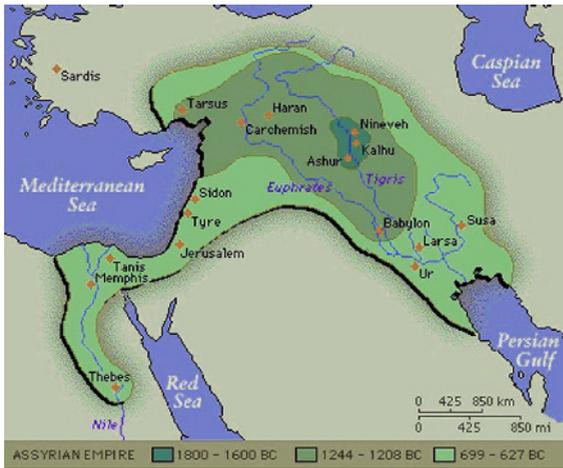
This culture probably fits in well with the populational conditions in many parts of today's Sweden, and with many Swedes' positive memories of journeys to tropical lands.

Assyria—a land in Cyberspace

Where is Assyria? Nations generally have a geographical extent. But the land of Assyria cannot be found in any of today's atlases, unless it is a historical atlas of the Middle East's great cultures. The history books state that the Assyrian nation existed between 2000–612 BC. Assyria vanished in other words more than 2,600 years ago. Assyria comprised one of the mightiest nations of its day, which stretched from the Nile in the west to the area between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea in the east.

According to Assyrian history, the Assyrian nation was created in 4749 BC by a Semitic people that conquered the area between the Tigris and Euphrates. The majority of Assyrians/Syriani living in Northern Europe who speak the Aramaic dialect *turoyo* use the name Beth Nahrain, “The Two River Land”, for the Assyrian nation. The Greeks used the name Mesopotamia for the Assyrian land, which means “The land between the rivers”. Some Assyrians today want to employ an alternative calendar, which proceeds from the founding of the first Assyrian nation. The year 2000 would then be 6749. New Year's Day falls on 1 April, a day celebrated by Assyrians across the world. With its origins in the town of Ashur on the Tigris in modern day Iraq, the Assyrian culture expanded, with well-developed trade, architecture and literature. The Assyrians used cuneiform script written on clay tablets and other resistant material. There is therefore plenty of written sources documenting trade, dating from the old Assyrian period (2000–1750 BC). The Assyrian language along with Babylonian belonged to the Akkadian group of languages. The written language was Babylonian and Sumerian. In 612 BC, the capital city of the time, Nineveh, was conquered by Babylonians and Medes and the former great power Assyria came to be part of the Neo-Babylonian empire. The Akkadian languages had for two centuries begun to be successively replaced by another Semitic language, Aramaic, which is still spoken in this area today. Assyria as a political power was dissolved, the language vanished and was replaced by another, the old religion that had Ashur as its highest god was eventually replaced by Christian and Moslem doctrines—Assyria seemed to have been irretrievably obliterated.

During the 20th century and perhaps in particular the last 20 years a new Assyria has, however, arisen. The new land is not a geographically defined na-



Historical map over the Assyrian Kingdom (Assyrian Picture Archive, <http://www.toptown.com/hp/xshadow/p.htm>).

tion, Assyrians never been so dispersed across the world as now, but rather a virtual reality—a cyberland—a community existing through associations and networks across the world, primarily in the US and Europe. Assyrians lack a geographically fixed centre for their cultural activities. The Assyrian culture lives, like a large number of the people, in exile. Via the Internet the Assyrians have gained a unique opportunity to create a virtual “homeland”, a centre for cultural activity and information.

The term “diaspora” has been used to describe this type of dispersed religious grouping’s situation. The clearest example is of the Jews forced to live in the “diaspora” outside of Palestine until the formation of the state of Israel. But an important difference between the lives of the Jews and the Assyrians in the diaspora is that for the Assyrians no symbolic and actual centre exists of the same dignity as the Jew’s “home”, Jerusalem. The old ruined cities in Mesopotamia have long been abandoned and crumbled and for the majority of Assyrians it is clear that life in the diaspora is permanent.

The Assyrian grouping is interesting from several perspectives:

- The Assyrians have no homeland to return to. The dream of Beth Nahrain is utopian for the majority. Many voice their conviction that life in the diaspora is permanent. It is therefore also necessary to adapt national efforts to the situation and build up networks.
- During the last 25 years Sweden has, together with the US, come to be very important for Assyrian cultural activity and not least phonogram produc-

tion. Assyria's cultural centre has moved from the Middle East to the diaspora. Damascus and Aleppo have been replaced by Chicago and Turlock (CA) in the USA and Gothenburg and Södertälje in Sweden.

- Assyrian national music has been developed during the 20th century. Secular music was banned by the Syrian Orthodox Church and national music has only existed since the 1930s.

This case study sheds light on, among other things, what it means for the construction of a nation to lack a state structure with institutions such as museums, archives, schools, libraries and radio/TV.

Assyrians/Syriani in Sweden

The emigration of Christians from the Middle East to the West has been ongoing for approximately a century. Around the turn of the 20th century, groups of eastern Assyrians emigrated to the US. At the same time, some of the west Assyrians (Syrian Orthodox Christians) also emigrated, if on a significantly smaller scale. During the 1950s, the massive immigration of manpower from Turkey to West Germany commenced. Apart from ethnic Turks, a number of Kurdish and Christians were included in these groups.

The first Assyrians/Syriani that came to Sweden were part of a group of approximately 200 Christians from Lebanon who were received after a request from The World Council of Churches and the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) in 1967. The group was spread eventually to over 50 places in Sweden. However, Södertälje, 30km south of Stockholm, quite soon became a sort of centre for the Assyrian/Syriani immigrants. Between 1972 and 1976, a further four groups of refugees were received from Lebanon. A certain number of families were also reunited during this period. In 1970, the first Syrian Orthodox congregation was formed in Södertälje. Between 1974 and 1978, the immigration of Christians from Turkey increased dramatically. One of the reasons was the conflict in Cyprus in 1974, which increased the tensions between Moslems and Christians in Turkey. The increased immigration to Sweden was also caused by West Germany stopping immigration from the Middle East and Turkey and also returning guest workers to their homelands. Many Assyrians/Syriani chose then to move from Germany to Sweden. In 1978, it was estimated that approximately 7,000 Assyrians/Syriani lived in Sweden. During the 1980s and early 1990s, immigration was dominated by Assyrians/Syriani from Syria and Lebanon.

In the Migration Board's statistics, these Christian immigrants mainly from Lebanon are described as being stateless. In the years 1989–90, this grouping

amounted to almost 5,000 people.¹⁷⁴ It is currently very difficult to calculate the numbers of Assyrians/Syriani in Sweden. The only estimates there are to work on are those given by representatives for Assyrian and Syriani organisations and estimates that have been made by various Swedish experts. The estimates vary greatly, from 26,000 to 55,000 Assyrians/Syriani but the real figure is probably somewhere between the two. These figures include both first and second-generation immigrants. Statistics Sweden's (SCB) figures for population numbers that are primarily based on nationality are difficult to apply to Assyrians/Syriani. Assyrian/Syriani immigrants make up an unidentifiable part of the total grouping of immigrants from Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran in SCB's statistics.

Organisations

The Assyrian/Syriani grouping is represented in Sweden by two national associations: The Assyrian Federation in Sweden (AFS), which was formed in 1977, and Syriska Riksförbundet (the Syriani federation in Sweden) from 1978. Both organisations have local associations throughout Sweden. In 1996, AFS organised approximately 8,300 Assyrians and Syriska Riksförbundet 12,000 Syriani in Sweden. Both organisations publish monthly periodicals; AFS's *Hujâdâ* (<http://www.algonet.se/~hujada>) with a circulation of 2,000 copies and *Bahro Suryoyo* (<http://www.arosnet.se/users/mike/tez/aprilansl.html>) from Syriska Riksförbundet with a circulation of 1,300 copies. Via national radio's immigrant editorial office, news and cultural features are broadcast in Turoyo in the programme *Qolo*.

Calculations on the Grouping's Size

As is apparent, Assyrians are not an easy grouping to pin down. By way of introduction it can be pointed out that a distinction between Assyrians and Syriani does not easily allow itself to be made. The following is from the Swedish National Encyclopaedia under the reference word "Syrianer":

They are mainly speakers of Aramaic, Syrian Orthodox Christians. The designation Syriani was introduced in opposition to Assyrian. It emphasises ecclesiastical denomination while Assyrians stresses nationality as a basis of community.

It is possible it is more accurate to say that "Assyrians" was introduced in connection with the early move to Sweden as an alternative to the Swedish word

¹⁷⁴ Verbal information from the Assyrian association in Sweden.

“syrier”, which in Swedish denotes Syria’s Moslem population. “Syriani” came later as an alternative in which the religious identity as a Syrian Orthodox Christian was stressed. The term has been loaned from the Turkish *süryani*. From the Swedish Assyrians’ perspective on identity the most important questions are often what they are *not*. It is important to show that one is not a Turk, Swede, Arab, etc. On the other hand, the national identity does not imply a distancing from the religious, which gives rise to the opinion of many Assyrians in Sweden that Syriani can be included in their grouping.

The number of Assyrians varies then depending on who is counting. It is clearly in the interest of many Assyrians that the grouping is as large as possible. According to the electronic magazine Zenda ¹⁷⁵ there were 3,432,000 Assyrians spread across the world in 1996. Other calculations give accounts of completely different figures. In an article in Hujadâ in 1997, Denho Özmen wrote that there were approximately 11 million people of Assyrian-Aramaic descent. These then comprise a sort of *potential* Assyrians. In the Swedish grouping we also find varying figures, proceeding from the member organisations’ membership figures and newspaper subscriptions. However, we can count *active* Assyrians in Sweden as being between 4,000–8,000 people.

The name Assyrian then stresses national belonging as opposed to the religious, Christian identity. At the same time, Assyrians would hardly claim that they are irreligious or atheists. Among the peoples of the Middle East the term “Christian” means rather more than in Swedish. To be Christian is part of a collective identity going back to the division of inhabitants based on belief and not on basic choices of language or ethnicity as practised in the Ottoman Empire and the Arabic state. For a Swede, Christianity is an individual matter based on a more or less active religious practice. In the Ottoman Empire, the categorisation of people against the background of their religious denomination was comparable with how we divide people based on nationality. To be Christian meant to be part of a collective based grouping in which the implications did not need to be further questioned. A Christian might speak Arabic, Turkish or Kurdish and live in the same way as their Moslem neighbours but nevertheless be regarded as something completely different to a Moslem.

The Place of Music in Assyria

In general, when it comes to Assyrians, it is clear that the role of music as a symbol of identity is even more important than for many other groupings. The “Assyrian thought” which was born during the end of the 19th century

¹⁷⁵ Zenda Magazine is a weekly periodical on the Internet (<http://atour.com/zenda/index.html>).



Gabriel Assad, left, on stage together with the present chairman of the Swedish Assyrian Association Ablahad Lahdo; right. In his office in the Cultural Centre of Qamishli, Lebanon. Source: the Hujâdâ magazine.

and made real in earnest during the period after the First World War, had its basis in the work of authors, poets and singers to a great extent. For freedom fighters like Naum Faik, Juhanon Salman and Gabriel Assad, poetry and music were the means that could unite a disparate people. One obstacle was that the Syrian Orthodox Church did not accept secular music and its practice. An initial struggle was directed against the church, primarily by Gabriel Assad (1908–1998) when he composed the national songs that are now distributed among Assyrians the world over. Today, when national efforts have been assumed by new generations of Assyrians, the old poems and songs have an increasing symbolic meaning. The lyrical content refers often to the people's suffering throughout history, separation in the diaspora. In addition, the poems, like the phenomenon, symbolise the early national struggle.

In the diaspora, today's expressive specialists in the Assyrian grouping (singers, authors and musicians, etc.) have a very important role as interpreters and conveyers of the cultural identity. The fact that the Swedish chairman of AFS, Ablahad Lahdo, is an internationally acclaimed singer should be seen in the light of the role of the singer being more than just an "entertainer". Awareness of the function of music and song as creators of identity and upholders of tradition is very high among Assyrians. The musicians and in particular singers become important links who can convey the songs' direct and symbolic content to the audience. The expressive specialists function as creators and conveyers of cultural identity. The Assyrian journalist and debater Augin Kurt writes:

Voluntary work was the prerequisite for activities in our newly started associations in the mid-1970s. The driving force for the active foreground figures was a burning sentiment for nation, which we regard as the finest prestige word. (...) During the late 1970s, Assyrian associations sprang up all over the place because the need for a rallying point was so enormous in the alien environment. (1996:75p.)

But what was it they rallied around? When Joseph Malki talks about the formation of AFS, he is careful to point out the significance of music:

It was around music that I began to think. Why don't we form associations? And then the Assyrian associations were born. Thanks to music, people came together and then people stepped up to the microphones. And via the microphones they have become leaders. In a way it is music that has created this. And in the same way, the formation of AFS was my initiative. I said, why should we regard ourselves as backward, of less worth. The Swedes say that we can form a federation, we live in Sweden and they give us this fashion, the Swedish people and the Swedish authorities. Many said, no, we are not ready. But I was insistent and so AFS was formed.

So you mean that it is thanks to the music?

Yes, it is thanks to the music. What shall we do, they asked. Well, music solves that problem, I said. Let it do so here. So we started having parties where Assyrians lived. And everything began quite simply with the help of the music.

So you could say that by arranging parties people were brought together?

Yes, that's how people were attracted. And people began to like one another. And began to form strong ties, and love and relationships and people began to feel less isolated. The isolation was broken and one felt that there was someone who cared. And the music—I think that it is the greatest element you can use to show that people care about each other and have feelings for each other.

(M.DL970303)

Music could “solve the problem”. The voluntary work that Kurt speaks of was mainly a question of cultural manifestations, culture days, the start of children's dance groups, etc. Briefly put, activities in which music often comprised a natural centre. A large problem was and is, however, the lack of competent musicians. The folk dance music on zurna and davul has traditionally been played by non-Assyrians (Lundberg 1998a). This was also the case in Sweden. The Turkish zurna player, Ziya Aytekin, has during the last 20 years been the musician engaged most by ethnic Turks, Kurds and Assyrians/Syriani in Sweden.

According to Aytekin, the number of weddings rose noticeably among migrants from Turkey in Sweden and Denmark during the second half of the 1980s. The main part of the increase took place in the Kurdish and Assyrian/Syriani groupings. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that the largest immigration also took place within these groupings starting with the great wave of

Assyrians/Syriani during the late 1970s. Another important factor is that within these groupings there has also been a significantly higher immigration for political reasons. The political refugees have not had the same opportunity to return without risk of reprisals from the Turkish authorities (c.f. Lundberg 1994).

A music scene of their own was formed around the early Assyrian associations. Many new music groups were formed to satisfy the need for music at culture days and parties. These groups played dance music of a more modern kind, with the blend of modern and traditional instruments that is common in today's Middle Eastern popular music. Modern Assyrian music grew around the handful of musical specialists such as Joseph Malki and the singer Habib Moussa from Beirut.

Developments in the media world have meant that the exchange of music principally between Assyrians in Sweden and the US is very extensive. Internet stores and banks of MIDI and MP3 files have made it easier for Assyrians around the world to participate in listening to the same music.

Music History: from Church Music to Pop

What differentiates Assyrian music from other styles of music from the same area? When Gabriel Assad composed Assyrian music in the 30s and 40s, he tried to make it different to the Arabic and Turkish music that existed in the Middle East. He tried to avoid musical elements that were associated with the Ottoman and Arabic art music or the popular music that was played in the city's restaurants and nightclubs. He has described how he wrote melodies proceeding from Syrian Orthodox church music. He used Western harmonics in the arrangements and his national Assyrian music therefore sounds like a remarkable blend of east and west. Assad's songs are still played today, but one can hardly claim they have had any stylistic adherents. Within popular music, modern Assyrian musicians and composers most often use styles and orchestrations more reminiscent of Middle Eastern popular music. It can be stated furthermore that the modes that are used in Syrian Orthodox liturgy is closely related with the Arabic-Turkish maqam systems. In musical practice it is revealed that each of the eight modes of the church music has its equivalent in Arabic music. This is of course a problem from a nationalistic perspective. If tunes that are based on Qadmoyo, the church music mode, sound the same as melodies in maqam Bayati, it means a problem for anyone wanting to claim that Assyrian music is specifically Assyrian and nothing else. Music ideologists such as Joseph Malki go to great pains to show that there are decisive differences between Assyrian and Arabic music. For Malki, the question of whether Bayati is the same as Qadmoyo is, in the first place, a political question despite



Music group Qenneshrin at Mix musikcafé autumn 1997. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

it being about musical structures. What is more, it is a very important question in relation to Assyrian identity on the whole. Joseph Malki's work as a cultural adviser at AFS includes among other things running courses for young people. He teaches Assyrian music. An important background to this cultural upbringing is that the musical legacy is seen as part of the Assyrian identity. From Joseph Malki's perspective, Qadmoyo is something completely different to Bayati. Though, they might sound the same, which he is of course aware of as a musician.

When Joseph Malki is asked if one can and must prove that the musical legacy is Assyrian he replies:

But it isn't me who says it, it's Swedes, Americans and English researchers who say it. A people who lived there for 4,000 years and had three great empires. And there have been instruments; the harp has existed for 6,700 years—kithara. There is evidence in history and cuneiform scripts that they practised music with male and female singers, temple criers and all that. These maqams have existed for 2,000 years and 2,000 years ago only Assyrians lived in the area. Nobody outside the empire was involved. The Arabs arrived with 20,000 horsemen but the people were Assyrian until the Ottomans came and began to butcher them a little at a time. If you draw conclusions from this then you realise that our music is one of the oldest. Against that background it must have been our music that was practised. But a lot of the music's

development arises from meetings. If you look at it like this: there was an Assyrian culture with Assyrian music, there were Persians, Arabs, different tribes of Turks... all of them bring something with them when they arrive. All of them meet each other... then it becomes incredibly difficult today to say what the core really was.

But the structure is these main maqams, because they have survived. The books from the 4th century talk of Qadmoyo, Trayono... and the people were isolated from year zero until modern times. That's the proof. We haven't mixed with anyone, you know, only poor folk, farmers, illiterates. That is the great proof. I hope I am right. (M.DL970303)

Malki and a handful of other Assyrians put in a great deal of work to legitimise and create unity in the unruly Assyrian musical flora. But apart from showing that Assyrian music is something other than the Arabic-Turkish traditions, they must also conduct a struggle to co-ordinate their own music theory. The point of departure in Syrian church music reveals itself to be anything other than unitary.

On the website Beth Gazo Dne'motho (<http://www.netadventure.com/>), seven different traditions or schools are presented for Syrian church song, from the Indian tradition in the east via the Tarkit school at Mosul abbey in Iraq, to the west Assyrian schools from Mardin and Tur'abdin.¹⁷⁶ The music ethnologist Anders Hammarlund has discussed the store of tones in Assyrian church music in an article (1990). A comparison of Hammarlund and Malki's terminology reveals that there is great divergence even though both are talking about Syrian Orthodox church music in Sweden.

Rbihoyo in Hammarlund is called Hmishoyo by Malki. Malki's Rbihoyo (which is the equivalent of maqam Rast) does not appear at all in Hammarlund's material. If the music and terminology of other Syrian Orthodox congregations in the Middle East are compared, the divergence is considerable. The background is not primarily that there are divergent opinions on the nomenclature but rather that it is a question of separate traditions and that there is no unitary musical theory.

The question of the specific Assyrian roots in the music seems today partly to be a question of generations. The situation has changed during the years the Assyrians have been in Sweden. The changes are not just in the music itself but also in the musicians' attitudes. We can follow three generations of musicians in Sweden. Gabriel Assad had express political aims with his music—to render the music useful outside of the church in order to unite the Assyrian people.

¹⁷⁶ Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a website with a musical focus for the Syrian Orthodox church. Syrian Orthodox Resources (<http://www.netadventure.com/-soc/index.html>).

He wanted to create an Assyrian community through music. Among Assyrians born in the 1940s there are many strong cultural personalities such as Joseph Malki and the singer Habib Moussa. They were born in Syria in the 1940s and came to Sweden during the 1970s. They continued Assad's work in exile, for them the music became a means to organise Assyrians in Sweden. Today the situation is different. One of the most popular Assyrian "pop groups" among Assyrians in Sweden is *Qenneshrin* (the eagle's nest). The band members are young, between 20 and 24, and with one exception they are second generation immigrants. For *Qenneshrin*, music is a more natural means of expression than for previous generations. The political content of the music is not as clear. Assad would not allow himself to use Turkish or Arabic elements in his music—instead he approached Western art music. Malki on the other hand often uses Arabic tones and melodies but argues and motivates this by saying that all Middle Eastern music has its roots in the music of the Syrian Orthodox Church. It is not as complicated for *Qenneshrin*. They can borrow freely from different sources and allow themselves to be influenced by both Assyrian "exile bands" primarily from the US and also by Turkish and Arabic pop.

Malki does not see Western culture as a threat to his own culture. The greatest danger lies in the young listening to too much Turkish and Arabic popular music:

Are you of the opinion that there is a greater threat from Arabic and Turkish music than from Western music?

It is very easy for them to be to be sucked in. There are loads of Arabic and Turkish satellites for example, at least 15 on each side. And we have no channels, no radio or TV to distribute this. (...) You shouldn't go year after year believing you have no culture or anything. You become a lost spirit on the earth then, without identity. You might develop a complex and wounds to the soul. (M.DL970303)

Building a Nation

As has been stated above, much of the efforts of Joseph Malki and other enthusiasts are aimed at creating unity. Many young Assyrians refer to the Internet as an important source or medium for national cultural expressions, such as music, art, literature, etc. The Internet has given Assyrians an opportunity to create unity despite the geographical spread.

What is then required for the creation and maintenance of an organised community such as a nation? Well, a lot of the work is about creating unity. "One language, one people, one culture" was European nationalism's recipe. The nation was seen as a collective unit. Every nation should have its own lan-

guage and way of being—its own “national character”. But, of course, reality never correlates completely with the image of the ideal nation.

The Assyrians are not a unitary people after having lived separately for long periods of time. When asked “Who are the Assyrians?”, Albert Gabriel, web master of Nineveh On-line, replies:

Anyone who shares the same land, language, folklore, traditions, values, religion, and claim to be Assyrian.¹⁷⁷

But differences in nearly all of these areas have developed over the years and in the new nation building, it is precisely the work on recreating uniformity that becomes central. It is for example representative that the Swedish/Assyrian periodical *Hujådå* is published in five languages (Süryoyo, Swedish, Turkish, Arabic and English) in order to reach as many Assyrians as possible.

The manufacture and distribution of common tools for the creation of uniformity also becomes important aside from the culture itself. The tools are schools, mass media, archives, museums, research, etc. The national idea is rooted in an institutional structure through which the national identity is homogenised and distributed.

For a Swede or any other citizen in a Western “nation” a great deal of the above are now institutionalised and self-explanatory phenomena. We speak of a common Swedish language and scarcely reflect on how it came about. We speak of Swedish traditions and of a Swedish cultural life, even if on reflection it is perhaps difficult to be precise about what such a thing is comprised of. We root our Swedishness in historical heroes, the work of national bards, composers and artists. We need not prove that we have a historically founded right to call ourselves Swedes and to live in Sweden. Much of this established identity is built on having schools, libraries, archives, etc. proceeding from a national idea, where Swedish language and Swedish cultural legacy is preserved and guarded.

Because Assyrians lack this type of national, harmonising institutions, due to their not living in a state of their own, the building of international networks is of very great significance. Via the Internet they now have the opportunity of building up “national” information banks. A great deal of work is put in by Assyrian idealists around the world; writing articles and link pages, publishing music, literature and images just as it is by enthusiasts in many other similar groupings.¹⁷⁸ The “national anthem” composed by Nebu Juel Issabey with lyr-

¹⁷⁷ E-mail from Albert Gabriel 11 December 1998.

¹⁷⁸ In the article “Indigenous identities online” in *The Irish Times* 9 August 1999, a list is presented covering similar “Internet nations” and networks: *Nativenet* (<http://niikaan.fdl.cc.mn.us>), *CASKE 2000* (<http://www.voicenet.co.jp/jeanphi/ngor.htm>), *Cultural Survival*, *Research*

ics by Yosip Bet Yosip is of course of particular interest to the Assyrian nation. It is naturally also on the Internet (<http://www.nineveh.com/ana.htm>).

A Virtual Assyria

A search on “Assyria” via the search engine AltaVista gave 18,684 hits the on 4 November 1999. During the last three years the number of hits has doubled each year. Many websites are, however, indexed several times and thus an AltaVista search does not provide a reliable figure.

Atour (<http://www.atour.com>), Beth Nahrain (<http://www.bethnahrain.com>) and Nineveh On-Line (<http://www.nineveh.com>), are among the most frequented sites, all of which provide TV and radio programmes (“on demand”), discussion groups and large link pages. A Swedish site that is often reviewed is Assyriskä Föreningen (Assyrian association) (<http://cgi.assyria.se>). Assyriskä Föreningen provides current articles, news and not least links to Assyrian music sites. Its own music site, International MP3 server, distributes the latest Assyrian music from the world but also advertises for Iraqi Oasis (with Assyrian and Arabic music) and Nahira’s Assyrian music:

Today, Assyrians are one of the most widely scattered indigenous peoples. Most Assyrian families in the U.S. generally have relatives in Australia, Sweden, Lebanon, Iraq, or Canada. For such a small nation scattered throughout the world, the Internet is a dream come true. (Gabriel 1999)

Nineveh On-Line is perhaps the most comprehensive of all Assyrian websites. It made its entrance as one of the first ethnic groupings on the net as early as 1995. The initiator was Albert Gabriel. In 1992 he fled Iraq for the US. He eventually arrived in Turlock in California where many other Assyrians had also taken up residence.

Thanks to the Internet, today for the first time, average Assyrians are free to write about themselves, their history and their dreams. This is an opportunity, which they could not imagine enjoying in their homeland. It is no small wonder that our people endorse the maxim “God Bless America!” (ibid.)

Nineveh On-Line is named after the Assyrian Empire’s last capital. On the index page there are news transmissions, periodicals, historical articles, debate articles and children’s pages. The radio channel, “Voice of Nineveh”, offers po-

and Publications (<http://www.cs.org>), Centre for World Indigenous Political Activists (www.hookele.com/netwarriors), Free Burma (<http://metalab.unc.edu/freeburma>), Oneida Indian Nation (<http://www.oneida-nation.org>), Nineveh On-Line (<http://www.nineveh.com>), Nunavut.Com (<http://www.nunavut.com>).

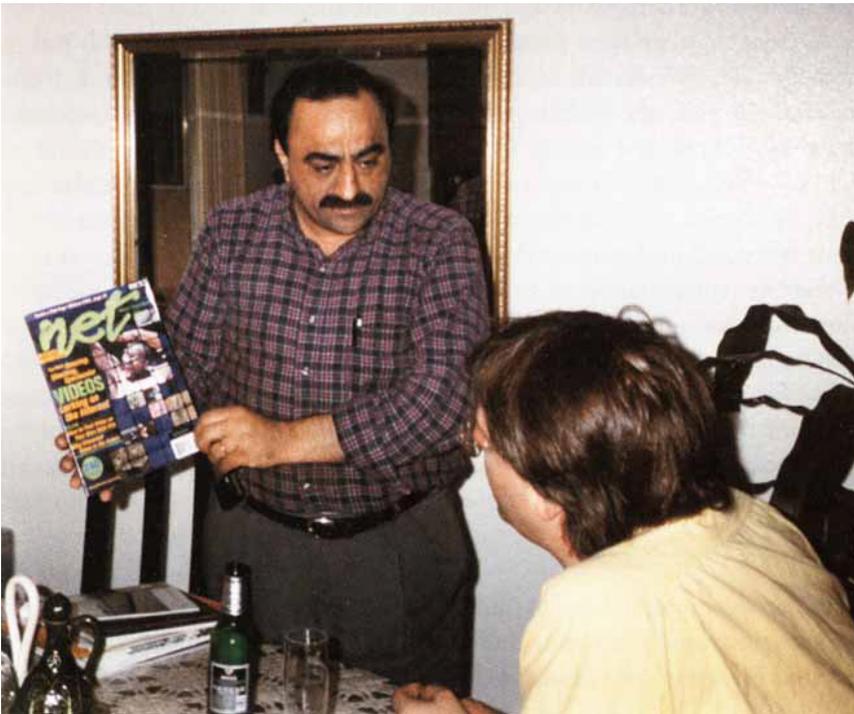
etry, folk-songs, speeches and appeals, interviews and sermons. The TV channel “Nineveh Cyber TV” transmits news and cultural programmes. Via link pages one can find the way to supermarkets, recipe books, language courses, music stores, virtual libraries, etc. Nineveh On-Line also offers a special page for composers of Assyrian music, “MIDI Composer Exchange”, where composers, primarily amateurs, can put up their most recent works. But you can also download the work of others and reuse it in your own work. It is easy to see the advantages of the Internet. Assyrians across the world have gained the opportunity to communicate and to create and distribute common cultural expressions. For a people without a geographically situated “homeland” the Internet seems to comprise a possibility to function as a substitute for institutions and create the networks needed for a “nation”. At the same time it is important not to put too much faith in the net. The requirements of good finances, computers and other technical equipment also exclude people, not only those who live in the Middle East. “The new technology is not spreading harmoniously through society but has rather become a question of class and resources. Everyone interested in democracy ought to be interested in these figures.” So says Lars Ilshamar of the government’s IT commission in an interview in a daily newspaper.¹⁷⁹ The figures he is referring to come from a report from FSI, a Swedish research group for social and information studies, which shows that over half of the immigrants in the county of Stockholm never use the Internet.

It is also relevant to question whether such an anarchic, rapidly expanding and uncontrolled medium as the Internet is particularly suited to the creation of unity. There is currently nobody who is either able to or tries to control the Assyrian output on the net. This means that for the moment there are several different competing versions of Assyria. Another problem is related to visibility. It is very easy for individual websites to drown in the flood of information, which results in the producers of established link pages gaining increasing power. The first Assyrian search engine “Assyrian Search Engine”, is on the website Atour, which in a matter of seconds can give an answer to where, for example, Assyrian music can be downloaded. This of course puts pressure on both music producers, web masters and distributors. They must with different means ensure that their products receive the attention of the “Assyrian Search Engine”. The Internet has contributed to the birth of a new Assyria. The new opportunities for organisation and communication also bring about a greater homogenisation of cultural expressions and forms. The actual flow of culture is furthermore changed. That which most Assyrians think of as the centre, the heart of the Assyrian movement, i.e. “The Two River Land” between the Tigris

¹⁷⁹ Dagens Nyheter 9 November, p. C1.



Assyrian Television Centre south of Turlock in California, USA. One of the TV-channels that has got global distribution thanks to the Internet. Photo: Anders Sjöberg.



Albert Gabriel and Dan Lundberg. Photo: Anders Sjöberg.

and Euphrates, has been transformed into the periphery, a severed part of Assyria that participates less and less in the cultural development. The Assyrian nation has step by step become a concern of a well-off academic middle class in Europe, the US and Australia.

The Aims

The Assyrian grouping is too heterogeneous for us to be able to point out generally applicable goals. They become too vague and empty. As mentioned previously (p. 290), many in the Swedish-Assyrian grouping are convinced that life in the diaspora is permanent. Despite this, the lyrics of many songs reveal that the dream of a land of their own still persists. During a conversation with the musician Nabu Poli and his father Aziz from Tumba outside Stockholm, the two men talk about the significance of the lyrics:

NABU: Many [songs] are about us going back to Beth Nahrain.

AZIZ: Yes, it's yearning. There is a longing for home in almost ninety percent of all songs.

Like the Turkish "gurbet" in other words? Is there a name for it in Assyrian?

AZIZ: Golutho, yes, "exile". We usually speak of that. Goluhto is exile.

Are there songs you call Goluth songs?

AZIZ: In the music group in Gothenburg [*Nineveh*] they have written very many such songs. I know that there is one called *Without a Land*. Yes Golutho exists, it exists. (M.D1970226:1)

The lyrics contain a lot of nature poetry referring to the Middle Eastern environment. Metaphorical paraphrases are often used, such as when the Assyrian people are symbolised by a wounded or banished bird. One day the bird will fly again and return to its old country.¹⁸⁰ In the lyrics of *An Appeal to the United Nations*, Evin Aghassi sings:

The eagle lives in the mountains. He can not show himself all at once. Don't break its flying wings. When shall it be safe to fly? We shall cultivate with our own hands and earn our daily bread. Just give us our freedom and we shall all live as neighbors.¹⁸¹

The implication is that they will live as good neighbours with the other peoples in the Middle East. More immediate goals can be seen in the ambitions to create linguistic uniformity. The various language courses found on the Internet

¹⁸⁰ A further example of this is Gabriel Assad's *For tho with—I was a wing-clipped bird*.

¹⁸¹ Lyrics by Givergis Aghassi. Translation: Robert Oshana (<http://members.gnn.com/assyrianme/songs2/evin5>).

bear witness to this.¹⁸² Augin Kurt relates for example how in Assyrian associations languages other than Assyrian have been forbidden during meetings and parties, despite Assyrian not being the first language for many Assyrians.

If my brother lives in Germany and I live in Sweden, for example, and our children then grow up and are unable to communicate in a common language they will have no feeling of mutual connection. Then they will have lost touch with their roots, which we want them to keep. We don't know how this struggle will go but you have to try to do something. (Augin Kurt M.D1970601)

When the music group *Qennesbrin* plays at Assyrian parties they are sometimes told not to play Arabic or Turkish songs. Most often it is meant that they should then sing in Assyrian. It is clear to the majority that without a common language, holding together in the diaspora will be very difficult. A very important tool for upholding a common language is access to media. Assyrian TV channels, apart from those on the Internet, are according to many Assyrians one of the most important goals for the next few years.

Visibility

In an interview, Albert Gabriel expressed himself as follows:

”If somebody gets interested in Assyrians and starts searching the Internet, I want to make sure he finds us”, uttryckte sig Albert Gabriel i en intervju (M.D1970414)

And that is the way it has turned out. Nineveh On-Line has, according to their own testimony, approximately 100,000 visitors per month and has served as a model for dozens of other Assyrian websites. The importance of visibility in multicultural contexts has already been discussed in this work and many others.

Without doubt the most potent symbol for Assyrians in Sweden is currently the football team Assyriska FF. After qualifying for the Swedish Allsvenskan league (division 1) autumn 1999, Assyriska FF is the most successful immigrant team in the history of Swedish soccer. By not limiting the players only to Assyrians, they have created a powerful team with many profiles. Assyrians have, however, also aimed at reaching beyond their own ranks in the area of music. In the Musikmuseet's (Swedish museum of music) documentation of immigrant music a clear over-representation of Assyrian music can be seen (Hellberg 1999). There are 47 recordings of Assyrian music archived, a number exceeded only by Turkish with 68 recordings and African (an entire continent) with 55. Probable reasons for the high numbers of Assyrian recordings are active

¹⁸² E.g. Learn Assyrian OnLine (<http://members.aol.com/assyrianme/aramaic/aramaic.html>).

work on externally aimed operations in the 1980s and the fact that in a number of cases they have had personal contacts with producers within the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation.

“Kennedy for President”

During the Swedish parliamentary elections of 1998, the social democrat politician Yilmaz Kerimo received 3,164 votes in the county of Stockholm¹⁸³, which was sufficient for him to be elected as Sweden’s first Assyrian Member of Parliament. Using the Assyrian network, it was not difficult for Kerimo to obtain the required number of votes. For many Assyrians, Kerimo’s membership of the Social Democratic Party was a matter of secondary importance. Emil Barhebréus’s candidature to the EU parliament in 1998 is comparable. Barhebréus was one of the Swedish Liberal Party’s candidates but in his election campaign on the Internet he pursued such matters as “the recognition of the Assyrian/Syriani people’s right to freedom, as well as their right to preserve their ancient language and cultural heritage”.¹⁸⁴ In the run-up to the election he was portrayed as first and foremost the representative of the Assyrians and secondly as a member of the Liberal Party.

Yilmaz Kerimo is known among Assyrians in his capacity as chairman of the Assyrian association in Södertälje. For others in Sweden he has, in 1999, become famous as the chairman of the football team Assyrisk FF. Those who are active in sport, music and other outwardly aimed activities become visible and thereby central in the Assyrian network. There are great opportunities, not just for Assyrians but for actors in other groupings, to establish themselves in their own networks in order to gain a better position in other parts of society. The grouping can at the same time exploit the democratic strengths of numbers and organisation to ensure that their representative is elected, e.g. to parliament. Musicians such as Abdulahad Lahdo can become important symbols in the struggle for visibility, why not footballers and in the next phase politicians? Albert Gabriel at Nineveh On-Line expressed his disappointment that neither the tennis star André Agassi nor Iraq’s foreign secretary Tarik Aziz have made their Assyrian origins public. When, after a goal in the First league (football) in 1999, the team Hammarby’s claue of supporters called out “Kennedy for president” in honour of the Assyrian star Kennedy Bakircioglu, there may have been more than the most obvious double meaning to the exhortation.

¹⁸³ According to the Swedish National Tax Board election results (http://www.rsv.se/val/val_98/slutres/).

¹⁸⁴ From the web page “Din röst i parlamentet” (your voice in the parliament) (http://www.assyriskamf.a.se/din_rost.htm).



Actors in the Assyrian grouping.

The Role of the Actors

When the first groups of Assyrian immigrants arrived in Sweden during the late 1960s and early 1970s, they did not form a unitary grouping. They were not organised and came from different areas, principally in southeastern Turkey and Lebanon. On the contrary, there were in many areas clear divisions between individuals and sub-groups. This manifested itself not least in the problems that arose around the “name question”. Syriani and Assyrians might come from the same villages or even be related to one another. The difference lies instead in whether they have chosen to stress a religious or national identity.

It can quite definitely be said that the majority of those who have today chosen to identify themselves as Assyrians have come to that decision in Sweden. Organisation into associations began within the grouping during the latter half of the 1970s. The initiative came from a handful of enthusiasts. Different types of activity were conducted in the associations with a focus on culture, sport and politics. The associations’ premises also became natural meeting places.

Activities were dominated by *doers* during this phase, primarily enthusiasts and activists in various political and cultural areas. At the same time, it is important to remember that many have chosen not to participate in Assyrian organisational life. The reasons are many, such as for example identifying oneself as Syriani or the conscious desire to be assimilated into Swedish society. On

the one hand there are *potential* Assyrians who choose not to live as Assyrians, while on the other there are non-Assyrians who, because of the lack of specialists in the grouping, act as Assyrians in certain contexts. This is particularly clear within music and sport. Musicians such as the ethnic Turks Ziya Aytakin and Ahmet Tekbilek have for 20 years appeared as musicians in many Assyrian contexts. During the autumn of 1999, the football team Assyriska FF was the subject of several racist actions. Fires were started at Bårsta IP (the club grounds) and threatening letters were sent to players and leaders. This is strange not least because the number of “Swedes” in the team is at least as high in Assyriska FF as any other football club in the city regions.¹⁸⁵ Before the last round of division I, the following was written in the guest book on Assyriska’s website: “With your fancy footwear, curved swords and false moustaches you belong with the clowns. Yours, a “Giffare” (GIF Sundsvall supporter)”.

During recent years a shift in the activities of many actors can be noted. Many who previously could be regarded as typical *doers* have gone over to activities, which rather place them in the categories of *makers* or *knowers*. It has become easier to publish texts, sounds and images, among other things via the Internet. Another clear example of the shift from doers to makers is the music group *Nineveh* from Gothenburg. During the 1980s, it was one of the leading music groups with many internal appearances at Assyrian parties and the like and also many appearances before Swedish audiences through, among other things, the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. In order to be able to release records of their own, the production and distribution company Nineveh Musikförening (NMF) was formed. During the 1990s, musical activities have declined and NMF now devotes itself almost exclusively to recording and distributing cassettes and CDs. The musician Joseph Malki has in the same way taken the step from *doer* to *knower* through his work on an Assyrian music theory. Knowers have, on the whole, been very important in the Assyrian grouping. The knower’s task has largely been to motivate the group’s existence. Historians, archaeologists and linguists are important in justifying the grouping by illustrating historical differences with other peoples from the same area. At the same time, knowers are in short supply in the Assyrian grouping. During the course of the case study, those studied have been able to gain benefit from the attention they have received from external “knowers” through, for example, regularly publishing the research results of this project in Assyrian periodicals.

¹⁸⁵ Among the players in 1998, 12 of 22 had typical Swedish names. The other ten players are of four different nationalities (<http://www.assyriskamf.a.se/aff/spelst98.htm>).

Medievalists and Early Musicists

In this case study, the spotlight is on European music from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The people surrounding the music can be regarded as a loosely connected grouping in which the actors fall into two distinct sub-groups that we have chosen to name *medievalists* and *early musicists*. These sub-groups could very well be regarded as separate groupings. What is interesting is that the music that forms an important part of the activities is largely the same. Certain central actors are also shared and to some extent expressive specialists, independently of whether one belongs to the medievalists or early musicists.

Medievalists are largely young people and younger adults who are interested in playing, experiencing and giving form to the Middle Ages in an organised way. Within the grouping there are role-players, historical re-enactors or so-called live role-players—“livers”, members of various medieval associations, people who visit and participate in medieval festivals, etc. On its home page, the Styringheim association in Visby describes its activities: “We sew clothes, prepare food, make armour and devote ourselves to other crafts, play music and dance—in short everything that made and makes the Middle Ages worth living.” (<http://wl.498.telia.com/~u49803000/index.html>).

Styringheim is one of many local associations in the worldwide organisation, the Society for Creative Anachronism. SCA was formed in the 1960s in the US and today has approximately 60,000 members, primarily in Europe and the US. The Swedish organisation, Sällskapet för Kreativ Anakronism (SKA), began in the mid-1980s and organises approximately 600 members. Together the associations in Sweden make up the “principality” Nordmark in the kingdom of Drachenwald (Europe). Even if SCA’s operations are not primarily directed at setting up live role-plays, it is often a question of recreating and “playing” the Middle Ages at different gatherings.

The SCA is the Society for Creative Anachronism, which is a group dedicated to researching and recreating the Middle Ages in the present. Many groups meet weekly, and at these meetings we dance, talk, study, learn, revel, and make plans. (<http://www.sca.org/sca-intro.html>)

Early music is a term that most often refers to Western music up to 1750 (J.S. Bach died 28 July 1750). The musical epochs are the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Baroque era.

Medievalists and early musicists have a common interest in older music. In the early music movement, music is the hub, the central activity for the grouping. The movement's aim is to accurately recreate older playing practice. For the medievalists music is instead one of many expressive forms whose purpose is to establish a credible and functional medieval environment. With the help of music, ambience can be created that can make the enacted Middle Ages more realistic.

Each of the two sub-groupings form a number of loose networks of different sizes, with different aims, breadth and scope. They also have different relationships to "the medieval", some more central, others more peripheral. Several of them are tangibly transnational. The classic example is of course the members of SCA, "Scadians" who, via their Internet-based network, have constructed an entire world covering the globe, with fictitious nations, kings, queens and nobles. However, none of these networks is strong or central enough to single-handedly control the shape and meaning of "the medieval".

Early Music

Måns Tegnér, who is a teacher at the Royal College of Music in Stockholm and active in the early music movement, talks about the Swedish Early Music Society as part of the alternative movement of the 1970s.

It's a sort of loose concept for those who focus on the earlier epochs, principally in Western music, but also that which relates to questions of performance practice. Even Bruckner is considered early music these days.

Actually, it was something of an aspiration to introduce the concept of early music when we started the association, instead of old music, to neutralise it and remove the fuddy-duddy stigma. So from the beginning it was a sort of relation to the established art musical repertoire dictated by time. Of course, there are sort of tacitly understood values that aren't just related to time but which also stand for a sort of alternative, both when it comes to direction of the repertoire and questions of performance and so on. A child of the seventies and its alternative movements, you might say. ...then there are roots that in many ways go back further during the 20th century. (M.SHC980617)

What was the music that brought them together? Broadening the time frame, so that early music can include Anton Bruckner who died as late as 1896, is of course remarkable but shows that "early music" refers both to a repertoire

bound to time and a way of relating to the practice of musical performance. The latter means that in both vocal and instrumental technique there are strong aspirations to achieve a historically authentic style. Demands are furthermore placed for historically authentic instruments.¹⁸⁶

The music researcher Gunno Klingfors for example is of the opinion that early music in that respect could refer to all music that is older than the practising generation. Anna Frisk, editor of the periodical *Tidig Musik* (Early Music) reasons in the same way:

I would probably say that it is more a way of relating to music than a particular time limit, either backwards or forwards in time. It is rather the interest in performing the music as it was then—one looks back to the sources and wants to know how was the music performed? What did it sound like? (M.SHC980617)

Despite the experts' opinions, the most common meaning of early music is "pre-classical music", i.e. music from before 1800. In everyday terms, the emphasis is on music from before the 18th century, e.g. it does not always go without saying that Bach is included. Baroque and in particular the early 1700s also make up a period of transition with the development of major/minor tonality.

To turn a convoluted phrase, early music is etymologically the music which is earlier than the earliest music which was typically being performed in concerts at the time when performers decided to perform early music (McComb 1999).

Apart from a few initial efforts particularly during the 19th century, the organised work on early music, chiefly Renaissance music, commenced in England around 1900. By the middle of the 20th century, early music was a more or less established "genre" in Europe.¹⁸⁷

The 1970s were a heyday for an organised early music movement in the Western world. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, associations and networks were established in many countries. The National Early Music Association—England 1977, Swedish Early Music Society—Sweden 1979, Early Music America—USA 1985 are a few examples.

The Swedish association today has approximately 1,000 members but the general opinion seems to be that they are currently in decline. There are an estimated 200 active members currently. Gunno Klingfors sees a decline and a shift in activities from amateur ensembles to the established professional.

¹⁸⁶ The English acronym HIP—Historically Informed Performance—is a rather established term for this type of historically rooted faithful reproduction of style. Faithful reproduction of style or authenticity in early music is thoroughly discussed in Kenyon 1988.

¹⁸⁷ The growth of the early music movement in Europe is described in Haskell 1988. In the US, the Cambridge Society for Early Music was formed by Erwin Bodky in the 1940s.

The movement has been relatively strong but I believe that it has stagnated. This is very much due to qualified concert activities nowadays being run by professional classical musicians. It is very seldom that amateurs are included in such contexts but it was common 20 years ago when there were fewer professionals devoting themselves to it.¹⁸⁸

A look at the Swedish Early Music Society's concert schedule strengthens that impression:

JANUARY

Saturday 1 January

UPPSALA

University Hall 4:00 p.m.

New Year Concert

*Concert with the Uppsala Academic Chamber Choir
Mark Tucker, Lynton Atkinson and Rufus Müller—tenor
Drottningholm's Baroque Ensemble
Conductor: Stefan Parkman*

Sunday 2 January

UPPSALA

University Hall

New Year Concert

*Concert with the Uppsala Academic Chamber Choir
Mark Tucker, Lynton Atkinson and Rufus Müller—tenor
Drottningholm's Baroque Ensemble
Conductor: Stefan Parkman*

Thursday 6 January

STOCKHOLM

Adelsö Church 4:00 p.m.

*Early Twelfth Night Music with Ann Hallenberg, song and Bernt Malmros, harpsichord
Hjorthagen Church 6:00 p.m.*

*Christmas Concert with music by Handel, Muffat, Gruber, Mozart & Linek.
Hjorthagens Church Chamber Orchestra,
song soloists, Lars-Olof Kyndel, organ*

VÄSTERÅS

Minster 6:00 p.m.

*Christmas Oratorio part 4–6 by
J.S. Bach performed by Ing-Britt Andersson, soprano, Lena Susanne Norin, alto, Fredrik Strid,
tenor, Thomas Lander, bass
The Maria Choir and Västerås Sinfonietta
Conductor: Staffan Larsson*

¹⁸⁸ E-mail from Klingfors 17 February 2000.

TIDIG MUSIK

Magasinet för musik från medeltid, renässans och barock



En fullmatad tidning om tidig musik med reportage, artiklar, skivrecensioner, kalendarium, debatt...
Börja prenumerera nu! Vänd för mer information.

"Early Music is a magazine for active musicians and active listeners. For You who have become tired of the classical continual mainstream. A magazine where music is in focus, where You can be inspired and learn new things about old music."

The text to the magazine Tidig musik's (Early Music) advertisement folder shows that the magazine regards itself as part of the classical tradition. But also that it looks upon the Early Music grouping as a more accurate and, most of all, more knowledgeable audience than the average listener.

Performances presented in the Swedish Early Music Society's schedule confirms early music as an art music genre.

The arenas are, with very few exceptions, churches and larger concert stages. In the section, festivals, which are an important arena for early music, are absent. This is because they are tied to the summer. In conversations with active practitioners of early music, the festivals in Skara and Malmö together with the Hildegard of Bingen festival in Gothenburg are pointed out as important arenas.

In the above concert programme, Drottningholm's Baroque Ensemble dominate among the artists. The Ensemble is largely composed of musicians from the Swedish ensembles Radioorkesteren (The Radio Orchestra) and Hovkapellet (The Royal Opera Ensemble) and actually functions more as a pool for Baroque musicians than as a regular orchestra.¹⁸⁹ The dominance by musicians from, for example, Drottningholm's Baroque Ensemble is typical of the "professionalisation" of the public performances that has taken place during the past twenty years. Public concert activities have largely been handed over to professional musicians outside of the early music grouping. The tendency is the same the world over. Gunno Klingfors is of the opinion that today "the a-team is an established part of classical music culture, so it is not primarily local associations, etc. who arrange concerts any more but public cultural institutions in collaboration with record companies".¹⁹⁰

The demands for quality from the recording industry have resulted in a professionalisation of early music's corps of practitioners. Recordings of early music can be found on practically all of the "important" classical music labels. Apart from 108(!) independent small companies, early music is released by among others BMG Classics, EMI Classics, Virgin Classics, Universal Classics, Deutsche Grammophon, Decca, Sony Classical, ECM New Series and Warner Classics' sub-labels Teldec, Erato and Nonesuch (<http://www.medieval.org/emfaq/misc/labels.htm>). Klingfors points out that the increasing commercialisation of early music in recent years is an important change that is closely related to an increase in media interest. Today, a musician's authoritative status is primarily decided by sales figures.¹⁹¹

The professionalisation has led to the movement at "grass-roots level" being eclipsed. The musicians and teachers Torsten and Gunnar Englund speak on the declining numbers at grass-roots level:

GUNNAR: It comes and goes but just now I'm afraid that this is the case, which is regrettable since the specialists lack fertile ground on which to develop.

¹⁸⁹ Conversation with Klingfors 24 February 2000.

¹⁹⁰ E-mail from Klingfors 17 February 2000.

¹⁹¹ E-mail from Klingfors 17 February 2000.

TORSTEN: And you can see that the attitude to music, it's going further and further forward in time, so that symphony orchestras no longer play Baroque, they stopped a long time ago. They were able to do it previously even if we think it strange to play Bach with a large orchestra, albeit somewhat slimmed down. I'm of the opinion that now it's a good bit into the 1800s, isn't it? Those who represent early music and where they want the instruments to be numerically correct and then there's the tuning too—on the A. [laughs] Right?

GUNNAR: Yes, it's true that a sort of competitive thinking has come in between representatives of early music and representatives for a more classical schooling, which is naturally not at all good. And that is... at the moment it's come into a phase where, if we talk about Baroque music and the like—there are a great many very good ensembles too, but what they have in common is that they have a sound ideal, which is very uniform. There is a great levelling out there, the imaginativeness that you think should exist in all music, it has become very bound by rules. So that one has moved away from one form to another form that risks stagnation. (M.SHC980624)

Influences and Currents

Awareness of musical sources is high among early musicists. A large part of the activities are directed toward recreating in an almost scientific fashion lost ways of playing and singing. Medievalists on the other hand often have poorer knowledge of the sources of their music. But many of the medievalists' musical models are active in the early music movement. Groups like *Joculatores Upsalienses* and *Westra Aros Pijpare* serve as repertoire banks for music groups among medievalists. On the other hand, inspiration is also found in both Swedish and international folk music.

Among early musicists, the connection to art music is clear however. Even if the crossing of boundaries does occur on the fringes of the early music movement, they most often tend to be in the art music arena. The collaboration between the Norwegian jazz tenor Jan Garbarek and the British singing quartet *The Hilliard Ensemble* has led to two CD productions on which older song techniques and repertoires have been mixed with improvisations on the saxophone.¹⁹² Even if *The Hilliard Ensemble* sometimes loan repertoires from other genres for their choral arrangements, there is an unmistakable whiff of art music in the sound. The art music connection is also amplified by the fact that the ensemble appears at art music' and early music's established platforms: churches and concert halls.

Medievalists often experiment, using and mixing instruments of different origins in the ensembles. The group *Sorkar och stränger* (Rats and strings) uses a selection of instruments including, among other things, a Chinese moon lute,

¹⁹² *Officium* from 1994 and the sequel *Mnemosyne* 1999. Both on ECM.

Cretan lyre, Galician gaita, and Dalecarlian bagpipes. This type of boundary crossing is hardly to be found in early music. Neither are they occupied with new composition, which is quite common among medievalists. According to Klingfors, the early music movement is doomed, precisely because they strive for historical authenticity to too high a degree. He summarises the situation in three points:

- The early music movement is an amateur movement that is dying out. The same applies internationally. Constant decline, no rejuvenation, no renewal.
- Ordinary orchestra musicians that change instrument take care of the professional performance of the music. There is nothing especially authentic about that, it is rather a classical sub-style. Orchestra musicians keep their distance, the last thing a professional musician wants to be associated with is the Swedish Early Music Society.
- Purism characterises the movement. It is not about being historically adequate but about a general yearning for something that has never existed. That might sound cynical but it is true.

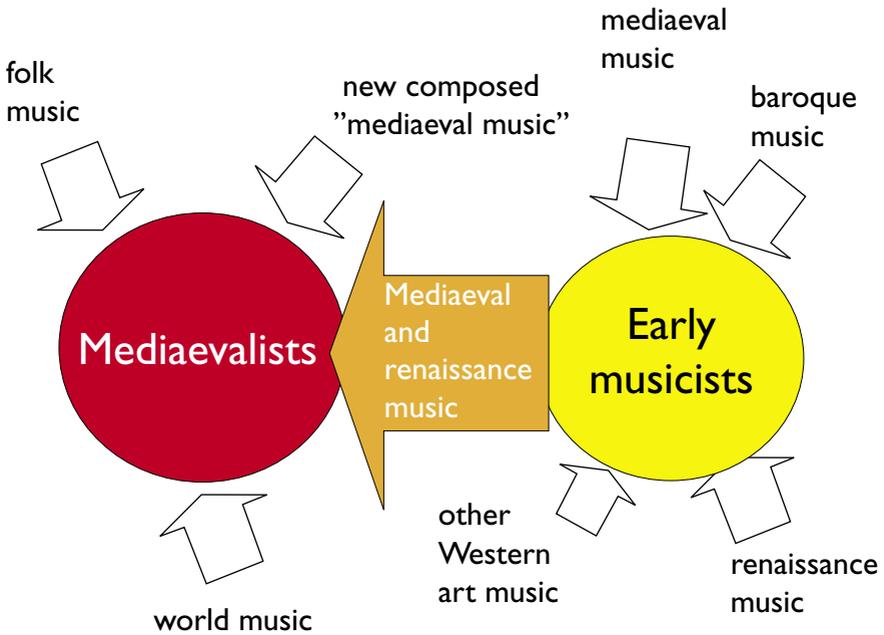
Klingfors meets with opposition in the form of musicologist and early musician Karin Lagergren. She is of the opinion that even if historical authenticity reduces playfulness, it favours instead musical quality, which is also a necessity for development.

I wouldn't say that the early music movement is passing away, it has however changed character since the 1970s, which is due to a number of things. For example, the folk music scene is not the same as it was 25–30 years ago, which was very important for the interest in early music. Furthermore increasing numbers have begun to educate themselves and seek out the original sources, etc., and that leads among other things, to a reduced desire to play, while at the same time we get more high-class music.¹⁹³

Karin Lagergren believes that we will have early music courses at conservatories in Sweden with focus on music before 1600 within five years. That professional musicians do not want to be associated with the Swedish Early Music Society has nothing to do with early music as such according to Lagergren. "The Society has a rather amateurish profile, which partly comes from its weak financial situation and partly from the fact that the early music climate of the 1970s is still part of the Society's ideology."¹⁹⁴ Talented musicians are more interested in playing than in discussing music, she thinks.

¹⁹³ E-mail from Karin Lagergren 27 March 2000.

¹⁹⁴ E-mail from Karin Lagergren 22 August 2000.

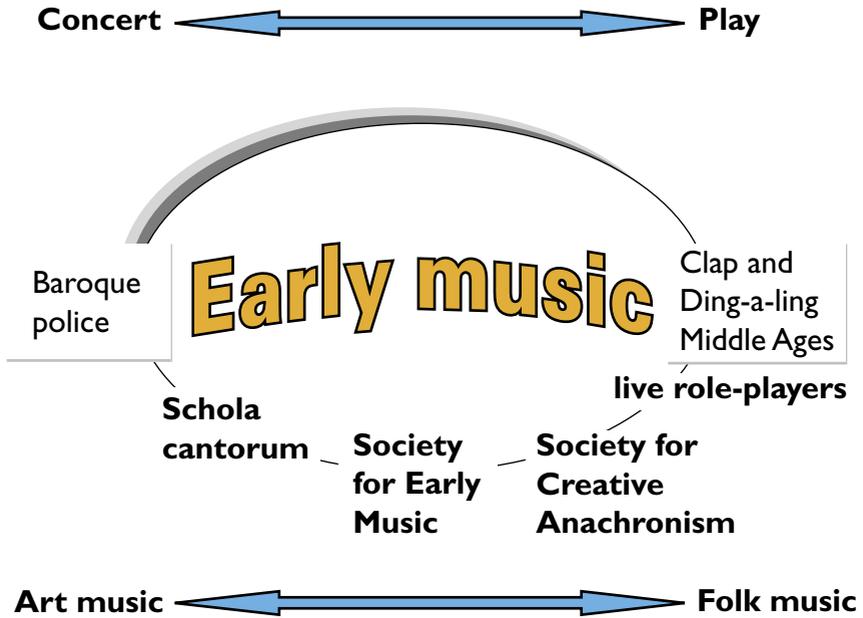


INFLUENCES. Authentic or eclectic. While Early Musicians primarily turn to the historic sources, contemporary folk music influences the mediaevalists.

The Baroque Police and the Playful

Under the heading the Baroque Police the signature Constable Crumhorn wrote for the periodical *Tidig Musik* in 1977. The early music movement's purist attitude was taken up in Krumhorn's ironic, chatty articles.¹⁹⁵ The Baroque police investigates the declining output of early music in Sweden and is suitably horrified when early music is not performed on historically authentic instruments. Many of the early musicians regard their movement as being divided between the purists and the playful. They identify themselves willingly with the playful and creative element. The purists or the Baroque Police are a cliché image of "the others"—the bores, with an uncompromising conception of what is right or wrong in practice and interpretation. However, even if they see themselves as playful and tolerant they are a long way from the free interpretation of medieval means of expression practised by the members of SCA and medieval role-players. Several sources speak of the "Clap and Ding-a-ling Middle Ages". Måns Tegnér is of the opinion that the musical quality suffers from arrangers with the wrong attitude.

¹⁹⁵ Article in *Tidig Musik* (Early Music) no. 1 1997:23.



FIELDS OF TENSION. The interpretation of mediaeval music can be described as a tension between orthodox ideals (the baroque police) and heretical playfulness (clap and sing Middle ages).

Every self-respecting town has a town festival with rowing races and beer-tents and also medieval dragons and the same markets peddlers and sponsors who pay as much as you like for knights to wave their lances about. And then there's to be free music, well sort of music. For a couple of thousand krona you get small groups who do their thing and then there's a bit of Gregorian with lighted candles and then you've somehow got your cultural alibi. (M.SHC980617)

In Bourdieu's terms, medieval music can be described as a "field" constituted by a struggle for the values to be applied. The "Clap and Ding-a-ling Middle Ages" are the heretics at one polar extremity and "The Baroque Police" are the orthodox at the other (cf Bourdieu, 1986).

Among early musicists, playfulness is expressed through "play" on stage, e.g. that they wear clothes from the period and with stylised patterns of movement perform a sort of medieval or renaissance theatre from the concert stage. The medievalists' playfulness shows itself in a completely different way. Among the medievalists who are involved in re-enactment, the game itself is central and they act out a partly improvised plot. An important difference to the early mu-

sicists' "play" is that there is no stage or audience, i.e. markers that point out that what is happening is theatre and not "for real".

You have players who each interpret their role, there is a scenario that you follow to a certain extent and there are play-leaders. The number of players is, however, usually significantly greater than in ordinary role-play, 20–200 participants is not uncommon. The greatest difference though is that everything in a live role-play is concrete and tangible. Everyone wears a costume and equipment, and environments and artefacts can be seen and experienced by everyone. The play-leader does not have to describe what the "Great Enchanted Forest" looks like, all you have to do is go into it and have a look! In the same way you don't have to imagine how a battle takes form, you're in the middle of it and can feel the blows raining down in a fairly realistic way. (<http://www.etek.chalmers.se/~e8marcin/tmu/infol.htm>)

There are of course situations when, for example, the medievalists in Visby perform in front of people, such as during Medieval Week, when they find themselves halfway between role-play and theatre because they "perform". When people who do not actively "participate in the Middle Ages" come to watch various events, they assume the role of an audience—for a moment they become "tourists in the Middle Ages".

Actors

When the early music movement took off during the 1970s, it was partly an alternative music movement in many ways related to "the folk music wave" and other similar movements. In common with many other movements in music there was an interest in "learning to play". At the same time there was a desire to create an alternative way of approaching the older repertoire of concert music. Klingfors emphasises the popular movement aspect: "that it turned out to be old music is often probably more chance than anything else. But what else can you do if you play the recorder or viola da gamba? There is hardly any other repertoire. (...) In terms of values it is close to the choral movement". The desire is to uphold and preserve rather than develop. Many probably still feel they are making an important contribution to the maintenance of an alternative ideal in performance practice. "I have a feeling that in the movement what is done is often perceived as more different and special than it is by their surroundings."

The musical habitat for the majority is classical music and many are active choral singers in other contexts.

My feeling is that the movement's core is comprised of music teachers, white-collar



Actors of Early Music.

workers and choral singers. Students at the colleges of music can be included because they end up as teachers.¹⁹⁶

With the decline in membership during recent years, increasingly active attempts are made to recruit members. The majority of associations at both local and national level are run as non-profit organisations and are dependent on high membership to qualify for state and municipal grants.

Today, the early music movement lacks an obvious centre. During the 1920s and 1930s, the centre of the early music movement was in Germany, moving to England after the Second World War. The educational institution Schola Cantorum in Basel was a centre for learning and science during the movement's revival up until the 1960s. Holland was significant during the 1970s and London became a sort of centre for early music during the 1980s.

As the movement has become more professional the proportion of doers has declined among early musicians. The musicians who play on phonograms and at larger concerts are increasingly from outside, often from abroad. In this, developments are similar to those in other music genres. A reduced number of very skilled musicians appear on an increasing number of phonogram releases. The movement has also become less visible at a local level because local associations arrange concerts to a lesser extent than previously. Professionalisation in which

¹⁹⁶ E-mail from Klingfors 17 February 2000.

public cultural institutions and commercial record companies play an increasingly important role is noticeable even here. Within the categories doer and maker, clear decline is apparent. It is possible that this is compensated to some extent by the fast-growing bands of doers among the medievalists. Knowers in the early music movement seem to be a more constant category, possibly because they have the same function among medievalists. However, there is an understandably fine line between knowers and doers in the early music movement.

It is also interesting to observe that several authorities in the field of early music are critical of the movement's efforts for historical authenticity. Gunno Klingfors is one example of this, as is the movement's most prominent figure of recent years, Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Both stand on the borderline between doer and knower and often emphasise that artistic aspects must be prioritised over historical authenticity.

'When I perform music I have to forget all my knowledge', says the father of the early-music revival, conductor Nikolaus Harnoncourt. There is convenient truth in this, but not the whole truth. Just as most authenticists hate the term 'authentic', they recognise their vulnerability in claiming special authority. (Hunt 1999)

When Harnoncourt was awarded the Polar Prize in 1994 it was precisely this tightrope walk between authenticity and creativity that was commented on in the panel's motivation.

Nikolaus Harnoncourt is prominent as a major figure in the new interest in early music performed on authentic instruments of recent decades. But he is also the independent pioneer who constantly finds new dimensions in an increasingly young repertoire.

The Growing Middle Ages

It is impossible to say how many people today "inhabit" the Middle Ages. It is, however, beyond doubt that the numbers have increased dramatically during the past five to ten years. Around 100,000 visitors attend Medieval Week in Visby every year, which is probably the largest and best-known Middle Ages event in northern Europe. Ten years ago there were a couple of larger medieval events in Sweden—today there are more than 25. As one of the first and largest, Medieval Week in Visby has come to serve as a model for the smaller and newer events. (Neuman 2000).¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ The first medieval music festival in the Nordic countries was held in Skara in south-western Sweden 8–15 June 1985. It was organised by Musik i Väst and the Swedish Concert Institute in collaboration with Skåne-based heavy-weights such as the editorial office for music at Riksradiön in Gothenburg, Skara's regional museum,

The majority of active medievalists in northern Europe are young, from those in their early teens to those in their thirties. The numbers of men and women seem to be roughly equal. There are many reasons for becoming a medievalist, play is one of the most important (L. Gustafsson 1995, 1998a, b), compensation is another. Among the most devoted there are many well-educated academics and technicians in computer-based professions. Typically, they feel that their medieval interest works as a counter-balance to the “hi-tech” world they normally live in. Various crafts also appear to exert a powerful attraction: calligraphy, sewing clothes and tents, manufacturing armour, chain-mail and weapons, etc. Martial arts are also an important component. Both men and women don armour in order to fight one another, playfully but realistically. There are also many searching for alternative lifestyles, not unusually with shades of anti-modernism. Still others become medievalists mostly because they already have friends who are. For the vast majority the important factor is the access they gain through their medieval interest to a world of play in which it is possible to discover and explore other ways of living and being.

How Information is Distributed

Information on the when, where and how of the Middle Ages is distributed to new arrivals via two paths. One is personal and informal, by word of mouth or from hand to hand, at meetings or at medieval events.¹⁹⁸ The other is via the Internet. Hundreds of thousands of pages contain information on every conceivable aspect of becoming and being a medievalist. A search on AltaVista on the word “medieval” in June 1999 gave 762,727 results. It is estimated that the best search engines find between 15% and 20% of the sites on the Internet. If that is so, there were at least 6 million sites containing the word “medieval” in the summer of 1999.¹⁹⁹

A few examples from the areas of music and dance give clues to what can be found: tips for those who wish to hold a competition for bards; how you get your music to sound authentically “period”; how to put your own words

Axevall's folk high school, Gothenburg University, the municipalities of Skara, Falköping, Tidaholm and Götene, and Föreningen för Tidig Musik (the association for early music), (Huldt 1985). This impressive list clearly shows the foundation early musicians enjoyed and the resources at they could levy during the 1980s.

¹⁹⁸ During 1998, the publication *Medeltidsnytt* (middle age-news) was published. The intention was to publish twelve issues a year and contain articles about every conceivable aspect of the Middle Ages. However, publication ceased after only a couple of issues. A German equivalent is *Karfunkel*, which since 1994 has published four issues a year.

¹⁹⁹ One of the most extensive is SCA's pages (<http://www.sca.org>).

to medieval melodies; how to make and play a Saxon lyre; how to play the old Celtic harp—Locksley's Harp Method. A page contains answers to FAQs on "Early Music", another a digitised version of John Playford's famous *The English Dancing Master*, which was first released in England in 1651, together with some of the music. Another useful site for medievalists with Internet connections interested in music is A Singers Guide to Bibliographic Recourses for Medieval and Renaissance Music, Compiled especially for

the singer who (...) does not have an extensive background in music history or theory.

By being Internet-based to such a large extent, an important change has occurred in the medieval world. The "knowers" that previously controlled the knowledge of the Middle Ages have increasingly been replaced by "doers" for whom knowledge is subordinate to what can be done with it. To be a medievalist is first and foremost *to do*. The result is not always what is important, the doing itself is to a high degree its own reward. The shift from knower to doer has led to the establishment of new attitudes towards the views on and the use of medieval sources, towards the meaning of "authenticity" and, not least, to new attitudes about what the aim of an interest in the Middle ages really is.

An important feature in medievalists' use of music can be understood in this light: playing tends to be as important or more so than what is played. The important thing about the music is that it "sounds medieval", with the right symbolic connotations. It is therefore not always important if the music really is medieval. Music that is like or "sounds like" medieval music is used as "keys" (Goffman 1975), i.e. means of establishing and maintaining the medieval frame as an alternative play-world. A little wooden flute, a jew's-harp or a tambourine are more a part of the medievalist's standard equipment than instruments to be used by knowledgeable musicians. Many who in their everyday world would have been difficult to attract to music-making, within the frame of the medieval pull forth their flute or jew's-harp and without hesitation make their first fumbling efforts to sound medieval before a crowd. Most of the music that can be heard, for example, during Medieval Week in Visby is of precisely this sort, frame-strengthening features, rather than music for its own sake.

The Music

The music of the medievalists is an eclectic mix of pieces from hither and thither, then and now. There does not yet appear to be a "national anthem", a special melody that everyone must know. There are, however, several clear candidates. On the streets and at more formal appearances a limited selection of tunes are

played over and over again and are thereby established as standard repertoires, necessary knowledge for the presumptive medieval musician. One of the most popular at Medieval Week in Visby is *Schirazula Marazula*, a melody from a 16th century French manuscript. Another is the well-known *Tourdion* from France. A third is the ballad *Räven, rotto och grisen*, and the fourth is the theme of the TV series *Salve*, which was about the Middle Ages. A study of music among live role-players shows that these tunes belong to their standard repertoire too (Lagergren 1998).



Schirazula Marazula, or "The Joker Dance".

“Early musicists” and “medievales” exploit to some extent the same expressive forms, if in different ways. Interviews with musicists during Medieval Week in Visby indicate that there is very little direct transfer of music and knowledge of music from the older early music movement to the younger medievalists. The majority of those we have interviewed had not heard of well-established early music groups such as the Swedish Jocularores Upsalienses or the English Early Music Consort, even though a large part of the repertoire used comes from these groups records. Most have learnt lyrics and melodies and how to play and perform them by listening to other musicians during medieval events. But there are of course a small number of experienced highly competent musicians, who have listened to and sometimes also learnt from members in early music groups.

Entrepreneurs and Expressive Specialists

The majority of medievalists are mainly doers. Academics primarily comprise the few knowers, mainly historians and archaeologists, but also occasional musicologists and professional musicians from the early music scene. Even fewer are makers, although if they have increased greatly during recent years. The most important category is without doubt the festival arrangers, who are frequently associated with the culture and tourism industry. However, in connection with the rapid growth in the number of medievalists, an increasing number of sales people have found the growing medieval market. From within their own ranks, a corps of specialised makers is growing, caterers with medi-

eval food on the menu, pub-owners serving food and drink in medieval pavilions, bards and jesters who perform at medieval events in return for pay, etc. Others sell rings for chain-mail, complete with “knitting instructions”, cloth and patterns for costumes, jewellery, etc. There is also a small but expanding market for good quality musical instruments: bagpipes, hurdy-gurdies, harps et al. Within a few years, this will probably lead to a rise in the general level of competence and an increase in the number of expressive specialists.

As has already been made apparent, there are few expressive specialists among the medievalists. This is almost certainly because the interest in the Middle Ages is so new and that much expertise therefore remains to be developed. There are exceptions in certain areas. The art of juggling has, for example, quickly spread in many circles both among children and adults. The number of specialists seems to be increasing rapidly. Many of them unite roles as doers and makers. During Medieval Week 1999, several professional tailors and cobblers specialising in medieval clothes set up their stands beside weapons smiths and armourers and potters who fired their wares in ovens of medieval design. They gave demonstrations of their crafts and sold the results, while at the same time particularly actively taking part in the presentation of a highly improvised and very dramatic version of a medieval market, to which the public paid an entrance fee.

The small numbers of expressive specialists and the as yet generally rather low levels of expertise means that the medieval frame is highly dependent on those expressive specialists who are available. On the other hand, the lack of expressive specialists creates a large open surface and an unleashing of music, which makes it possible for almost anyone to use it for almost any purpose. A large part of the attraction and an explanation for the Middle Ages’ growing popularity, might lie in the potential space that arises during playing and role-playing, e.g. during an intensive summer week in Visby.

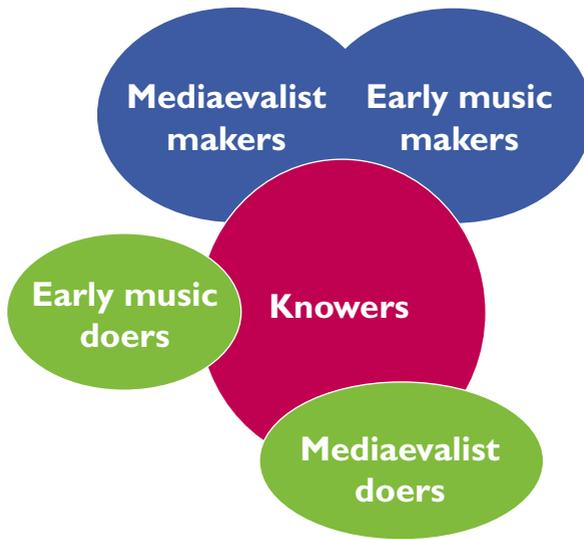
Boundaries and Gatekeepers

Medievalists form a diffuse grouping. In some areas it is inclusive and inviting. It has not yet established gatekeepers to control who is admitted and what can be performed on the stages and arenas that arise. The majority of the music and dance among medievalists belongs in these areas, which is a cause of both the low

Next page:
Minstrels and market trade
during the mediaeval week in Visby.
Photo, left: Britt Ronström,
Photo, right: Owe Ronström







An image of the relation between knowers-doers-makers in this grouping could contain a mutual category of knowers and a partly mutual category of makers, surrounded by different groups of doers.

levels of expertise and the open and playful atmosphere.

Other domains are on the other hand rigorously controlled. Special “time police” watch the perimeters of the camps set up every year outside Visby during Medieval Week by the SCA-affiliated association Styringheim. At the large medieval market on Strandgatan in Visby, special guards check that nobody dishes out plastic items or other things that are not counted as medieval.

A striking feature among medievalists interviewed for this case study is that they are not missionaries for their interest. What they say instead is, “We don’t need you, but you might need us!” It is the Middle Ages and the surrounding play that is in focus, not how many that participate. However, among makers in the culture and tourist industry who live in a sort of tension-filled symbiosis with the doers, numbers and growth are of course particularly important. Conflicts of interest arise.

Music is not the central interest for the majority of medievalists but rather one among many other frame-upholding activities. As with many other play-worlds, it is the Sunday version of life that is staged in which music enjoys a central place. Music also works as a medium or “interface”, which makes it possible for devotees to share at least a small part of their interests with the growing audience that visits Middle Ages events to see what “the medieval” is all about.

Among medievalists, time is of course the most important organisational dimension. Time is focused so strongly that other important dimensions and

aspects, such as space, class and gender, can easily be subordinated. The result is a strongly homogenised and pasteurised “once upon a time”, which can easily be made to house all kinds of interest. This, in turn, gives rise to conflicts, e.g. between doers and makers or between doers with different degrees of distance to the Middle Ages. An example is when during the staging of Valdemar Atterdag’s march into Visby 1361, a group of re-enactors got into their roles to the extent that they began throwing tomatoes at the rider playing Valdemar. They were strongly criticised by the arrangers and audience for overstepping the boundaries of decent behaviour, but they were also criticised for throwing tomatoes—which did not exist in Visby in the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

Early musicists and medievalists have a common interest in music from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Early musicists’ primary goal is to recreate music from different older epochs. For their part, medievalists use music as one of many means to make a temporary whole—a medieval life—credible.

	<i>Position of music</i>	<i>Demands on completeness</i>	<i>Demands on authenticity</i>
<i>Early musicists</i>	Central	Small	Yes, when it comes to musical performance practice
<i>Mediaevalists</i>	Periphery/ complementary	Great	Yes, from a functional perspective

The key phrase for the early music movement is “characteristic for the time” or “authentic”. In the context of the medievalists the keyword is “eclectic”. In both cases they strive to attain a performance that is characteristic for the time but take their models from different places.

In addition, interesting similarities and differences can be found between the groupings in terms of arenas and schedules.

	<i>Media</i>	<i>Arenas</i>	<i>Peak Season</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	<i>Gate Keepers</i>
<i>Early musicists</i>	CD, letters, journals	Churches, concert stages	Summer, Christmas	Historical instruments as recorder and gamba	“Baroque police”
<i>Mediaevalists</i>	Internet	Festivals, live role-plays	Summer	Historical instruments and loans from folk and world music	“It should not get too much ding-a-ling” ²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Lagergren 1998.

The Analytical Methods

In the section “Aims, Themes and Terms” a range of points of departure founded on principle were presented, and in the section “Case Studies” a range of facts surrounding a number of concrete musicscapes. In this section the aims, themes and terms are brought together with data from the case studies, and also with data from other studies. The information on music and its contexts that has been collected is used as indicators of change, not only in musicscapes but in society in general (compare the image of music as a keyhole p.17). The context of causes and structures are mapped out. New knowledge of contemporary processes of change in musical life and society are presented, as are probable future scenarios. The depiction is a combination of texts in the book and presentations of analytical models on the website.

The analysis has in particular focused on processes with links to the project’s fundamental assumptions and specific related questions at issue.

The project’s basic assumptions are:

- There exists a strong connection between live and mediated music and the construction of multicultural societies.
- A re-stratification is underway in Swedish society from groupings based on *social affinity* (family, hometown, occupation, place of work, etc.) to groupings based on *cultural affinity* (music, sport, opinion, taste, etc.).
- These assumptions are intimately related. Giving form to individual difference and similarity via expression is a prerequisite for the transition *from a social to a cultural understanding* of differences in society.

These assumptions give rise to a number of questions that are central to the project:

- In which way do different groups in a multicultural society use music (both live and mediated)?
- Where and in which contexts does this take place?
- Who are the major proponents of these activities?

- What is the significance of live and recorded music respectively?
- How does the media affect music and what does this consequently mean for live music?

A large number of answers to these questions have already been given in the presentations of the various case studies. There are also analyses and conclusions in the individual case studies. In the following the project's data is joined to make larger units. These have been grouped into a number of analytical methods or perspectives linked to assumptions and questions at issue. These methods complement each other. They illuminate the changes from different directions and also give answers to a number of questions other than those posed at the beginning of the project.

The first analytical method is built on the arena model (see fig. p. 58) where questions on where, when and how are central. In the section "New and Old Arenas" important changes in arenas for both live and mediated music are dealt with. The section "The Media Form The Music" is about how the interplay between music's mediaization and different arenas affect the shaping of music and musical life. In the section "Then, Now and The Future" the Arena Game method of description and analysis is presented. The Arena Game can be found in its entirety on the website.

The second analytical method proceeds from the players and their roles. In the section "Players and Their Roles" the central question is who. The connection between players' activities and changes in musicscapes and society in general are described.

The third analytical method proceeds from the ways of thinking, courses of events and structures that go hand in hand with the concepts of diversity and multicultural. The section "Individuals and Collectives—Diversity and Multiculture" deals particularly with the premises for diversity and multicultural and the interplay between the individual and group.

The fourth analytical method proceeds from a number of fields of tension that affect musical phenomena. An energy sphere that has been built up from these fields of tension as a model on the website is presented along with the ways of using them for analysis and forecasting.

The final analytical method describes in short sections a range of especially interesting processes of change with significance for the society of the future.

The different processes fit together to an extent but there are also gaps between them that future research will have to try to fill.

New and Old Arenas

Music is performed at live arenas and media arenas. Concert halls, music restaurants, festivals and private parties are different kinds of live music arenas. Media arenas are, for example, CDs, the Internet, video and TV. A clear and accelerating tendency throughout the 20th century has been for increasing numbers of musical forms to be mediated and mediaized. Media arenas have not only become more numerous but also more significant.

All groupings that have been examined in the project have access to arenas for both live and mediated music. The passageway into an arena is associated with different kinds of requirements for the adaptation of sound and form of performance. When live music is adapted to media arenas, mediaization takes place. Adaptation to live arenas means similar processes. The church, concert hall stage, fiddlers meeting, festival, party, as with many multicultural scenes, mean that different types of demands are placed on actors by the arenas themselves and by their gatekeepers. The most obvious processes of adaptation in this study, apart from mediaization, are festivalisation and (multi) culturalisation of music forms.

Up until the invention of the phonogram at the end of the 19th century, only live music was accessible, if we do not include written music. Since then music has to different extents been reworked and adapted to media, i.e. has been mediaized. Today the process can be reversed; music is created directly in mediated form to subsequently be demediaized and performed live in new contexts. Increasing numbers of intermediary forms have furthermore arisen, in which live performance has been combined with mediated performance (compare fig. p. 57)

The Music Arena's Role

Music's role and position for different groupings can be differentiated. By music's position we mean music's scope and significance in the grouping's activities. In groupings based on music choice the music, and its arenas have a central position, while it is often more peripheral in, for example, groupings based on origin. The classification in the table below is based on an outside perspec-

<i>Grouping / subgrouping</i>	<i>Position of music</i>	
	Central	Periphery
Assyrians		X
Greek society (Stockholm)		X
Accordion clubs	X	
Latin American society in Visby		X
Mediaevalists		X
The Nyckelharpa People	X	
Panipirotic society		X
Societies of pensioners		X
The boys	X	
Swedish caribbeans	X	
Early musicists	X	

tive—our observations as researchers—and it is possible that individual actors within the groupings have divergent conceptions of the music’s importance and scope.

That music has a central position in activities means in reality that the grouping cannot exist without music. The Dixie boys, accordion clubs, early musicists and nyckelharpa guilds are examples of such music-based groupings. Among Swedish Caribbeans the music is also almost completely dominant and it is difficult to see how the grouping could exist without music. Music is often important even in groupings where it has a peripheral position, not least if the grouping strives to create a “complete” world in which to live. The Assyrians are an example of such a grouping. The aim of many among the driving forces is that “the Assyrian” should encompass practically their whole lives. In the associations you can meet other Assyrians, speak the same language, dance the same dances and eat the same food. You can read Assyrian papers, watch Assyrian television and quite simply live an Assyrian life. The “Assyrian” is not limited to a spare-time activity or a certain season. Expressive forms such as music and dance are important for the creation of overall credibility. A grouping without ambitions to be all-inclusive is the Dixie boys, whose operations only take up a limited part of the majority of participant’s lives.

The roles of music and arenas are partly related to their position in the grouping. In a music-centred operation the focus might be on activities directed outwardly, often concerts. However, it can also be internal get-togethers, rehearsals and meetings that are the centre of activities. Music’s role in this significance

is what it is used for.²⁰¹ The Swedish ethnomusicologist Anders Hammarlund uses the terms *catalytic* and *emblematic* to describe both of these functions in music (Hammarlund 1990). Catalytic music used at internal parties is distinct from emblematic music chosen for representation in public contexts. The catalytic and emblematic functions are connected to different types of arena.

Calendar Variations

Within the majority of groupings and genres, musical events follow a given annual cycle. Early musicians are most visible during the summer festivals and courses and the time around Christmas when many concerts are associated with the celebration of Christmas and New Year. Seasons, however, can also be associated with arenas. Outdoor arenas, like festivals, are typical “summer arenas” and can alter a grouping’s activities if they become the dominant type of arena.

That festivals have become an increasingly important arena has meant a summer adaptation of many genres. The majority of immigrant groups have their low season in the summer and it is therefore difficult to integrate immigrant Sweden with festival Sweden. A special “summer multicultural scene” arises with groups and music that can differ greatly from what is played within the immigrant groupings’ own ranks.

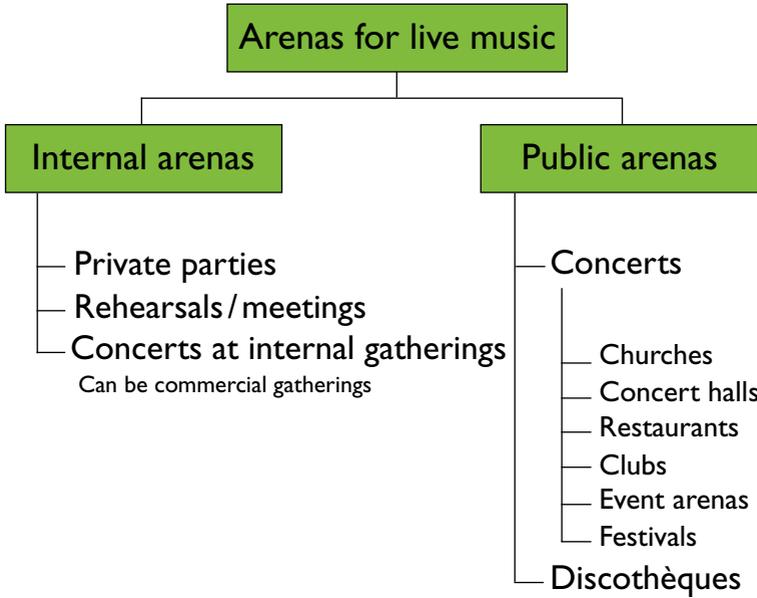
The media arenas often mean an unleashing from links to time and place. A grouping, in which the most important arenas are mediated, often has no direct peak season.

Live Arenas

One of live music’s most important arenas are parties, i.e. internal, informal and non-focused events (compare fig. p. 60). Access to internal arenas is a basic prerequisite for music-based groupings. All groups studied in the project had access to internal arenas.

Internal arenas are important for the groupings’ unity. It is through rehearsals, meetings and parties that an internal “we-feeling” is created. The greatest awareness of this, music’s power to unite, seems to be in groups where music has a peripheral position. That music becomes something “around which to

²⁰¹ Alan P. Merriam’s classic division between music’s use and function is an applicable way of looking at music’s different roles. The direct use of music in everyday situations—dance music, lullabies, etc.—and the overarching function in music as a vehicle for transferring traditions (Merriam 1964:209pp.). Merriam’s distinction is difficult to use in Swedish because it often comes into conflict with ordinary language usage.



gather” is testified to in several interviews with Assyrians, Greeks and Latin-Americans in our studies. Joseph Malki, who was a founding member of the Assyrian association in Sweden, even claims that this would have been impossible without music (M.DL970303). In diffuse and heterogeneous groupings it becomes extra important to find activities and symbols that are embraced by as many as possible. In music, dance and sport, the majority of ethnic-based groupings find such “lowest common denominators”. The same principle also applies to other types of diffuse groupings such as pensioners and medievalists. Even a grouping that is heterogeneous politically, socially and in its values can often come together around music and dance. Our studies strengthen the impression of music’s double function as both *goal* and *means* in the social activities of the groupings. (see p. 15).

For active musicians in accordion associations and nyckelharpa guilds, among Swedish Caribbeans and early musicians, internal arenas form the centre of activities. The core of community activities is comprised of rehearsals and gatherings run on their own premises. Public operations at concerts and festivals make up something “out of the ordinary”, e.g. the reward for assiduous rehearsals. Increased professionalisation leads to greater focus on the public arenas. Early musicians are an example of a grouping where concert activity is increasingly in the hands of professional classical musicians. On the other

hand, amateur musicians within the grouping run the majority of operations in internal contexts.

Access to internal arenas is significant for the feeling of belonging in the group. Access to public arenas means visibility and thereby possible attention. Visibility and attention mean a shift from the periphery to the centre (see p. 27–32) and is a goal in several of the groupings. Visibility means increased status in society—that which can be seen has a proven cultural or economic value. Public arenas can also be a direct source of income, an opportunity for music groups and arrangers to bring in extra means to the activity.

If the grouping's goal is a *mission*, to spread a message or recruit new members, access to public arenas is often completely decisive. This is particularly obvious for groupings with political ambitions. That society devotes a lot of time and resources to stopping the spread of “white-power music” is a clear sign that music's missionary potential is taken seriously. Pupils are forbidden to play white-power music in schools, police monitor nazi organisations and disrupt the planning of public music events with various measures. Sometimes concerts have quite simply been stopped:

During the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, the music movement had difficulties, not just in manufacturing and selling records but even in putting on concerts because of police activities. An example is one of the first Screwdriver concerts in Sweden, which was held in Stockholm. The police quite simply went in and pulled out the plugs of the musical equipment and ended the concert. The police strategy during the 1980s seems, with reference to the general peace and trouble and rioting in connection with previous concerts, to have been to stop everything. (Löw 1999:43)

Limited Access and Strategies

At the same time as the use of music has increased, music's arenas have changed. New venues for music are constantly created via the Internet, radio, TV, CD, computers et al. Yet it seems as if the number of arenas cannot keep pace with the increasing numbers of musicians. The struggle for space on the stages is great and seems to be increasing. Musicians have in several interviews complained of the lack of “medium-sized” stages. The larger events arenas—Globen in Stockholm, Scandinavium in Gothenburg, the concert halls of larger towns, etc.—do not pose a problem for them. The shortage has instead arisen in the middle strata, between private music-making and large concert arenas, where the stages are small places like music pubs and clubs.

The same development is taking place in the record industry. There are today a great many music groups but few record companies. The large compa-

nies merge into global mega-groups and the middle-sized companies become increasingly scarce. Sony, BMG, Universal and Warner today control 80% of the Swedish market in relation to record sales and publishing rights. The majority of musicians lack the opportunity of recording a record through the big companies and instead have to rely on their own energies and finances, thus the rapid growth of single-record and small companies. The increasing globalisation and monopolisation, in combination with cheaper technology, has then meant that small actors have gained increased space. Limited access to distribution networks means, however, that they often have difficulties reaching a market with their products. But the situation is in constant change because of the arising of new channels of distribution as for instance the Internet.

It is not just an increased music making that has caused the shortage of small and medium-sized public arenas. Cutbacks in the public cultural sector have also meant a reduction of smaller-scale concert activities. The closure of amusement parks and community halls and cutbacks on a municipal level of musical events at libraries and schools, are all part of a change in society that affects the access to small and medium-sized public arenas. Access to premises for private parties is furthermore also limited in many places for the same reasons. It forms a serious threat to the existence of many groupings because the need for internal arenas also seems to be increasing. Some groupings with large resources, e.g. the Assyrians in the Stockholm region, have solved the problem by building their own premises.

Access to public music arenas means increased visibility and thereby the possibility to move toward society's cultural centre. But those who have access to these arenas are primarily those groupings that are already in the centre. The way of getting there is by proving one way or the other that you already belong to majority culture. Another possibility is, of course, that you receive economic promotional support from elsewhere.

What is in Swedish society's cultural centre? Historically, "the grand tradition" in Sweden has been comprised of Western art music, precisely as in other parts of the Western world. However, in recent years, folk music and certain forms of popular music, in particular different branches of jazz, have moved closer to the centre. Examples of this change is the appearance of jazz and folk music in higher musical education (see p 152p and 260) and a change in attitude toward popular music in general. Nowadays, music by the pop group ABBA is in many contexts almost treated as "high culture", which would have been unthinkable a couple of decades ago.

The significance of the public arenas is increasing then but the lack of medium-sized public arenas in combination with increased competition means that activities that are actually intended for public contexts are reoriented towards

internal arenas. The lack of public arenas is one cause for the exclusion of certain groupings, or that they are driven to more “arena-adapted” performances, e.g. to increase visibility through stronger signals and increased emphasis on distinctiveness and specific nature.

New strategies constantly arise for gaining access to public arenas. We have already described hip hop’s adaptation through artists like Markoolio. His “safe” music can without problem be played at the large concert halls and on the radio/TV. Markoolio enjoys a lot of media attention and the record company SDS is careful that he maintains his image. When he collaborated on the production of two tracks for the carnival in Orminge 2000, which could have been perceived as social criticism, the record company tried to stop them.²⁰²

Multiculturalisation

One strategy for achieving publicity for certain ethnic groupings is adaptation to the special arenas that society has created to shape multicultural. The adaptation involves the emphasis of ethnic markers. Appearing as an *immigrant* group and playing typical music in typical folk costumes can give a grouping access to special immigrant arenas and “multicultural” arenas. Assyrian music groups have few opportunities of appearing at the Stockholm Concert Hall, unless this occurs in their capacity as “immigrants” or as representatives of the “multicultural Sweden”.

During the year we followed the Assyrian music group *Qenneshrin*, they performed 36 times. Two of these had “Swedish” arrangers and audiences, the others were arranged by Assyrians and directed to an internal audience. Typically the Swedish arenas were Mix musikcafé at Musikmuseet (the Music Museum) in Stockholm and the Re:Orient festival, i.e. arenas that are marketed as “multicultural”. Adaptation to the “immigrant role” is necessary for Assyrians and many other ethnic groupings in order to grant access to public arenas but also for them to be able to enjoy other forms of support from society.²⁰³ That the multicultural arenas function as an alternative way for groupings that cannot be included in “the grand tradition” is a clear tendency. A consequence of this is that increasing numbers of groupings are defined as ethnically or culturally

²⁰² Rap’s adaptation goes hand in hand with changes in society’s values. Today there are a number of Swedish rap artists that are regarded as sufficiently “acceptable” to fit into general public contexts. To be chosen as the “summer talk” radio presenter on the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation as the Swedish rap artist Petter was in the summer of 2000, is evidence that one is exciting—but not dangerous.

²⁰³ Compare Hammarlund 1990, who describes several forms of such adaptation among Assyrians.

based and are given room in multicultural arenas. An example is the ongoing culturalisation of pensioners (see p. 428–433).

However, not all ethnic groups are interested in appearing in multicultural arenas. Cattis Eriksson, who is responsible for booking artists at Mix musikcafé, relates that it is difficult to attract musicians from certain ethnic groupings. “We naturally receive more proposals than before but I cannot see that where they are coming from has changed. The majority are from eastern Europe, Latin-America, southern Europe and the North. Very few tips about African or Asian music.”²⁰⁴ With reference to the immigrant structure of Sweden and that there are many active music groups from these areas, one might have expected more proposals with groups from Africa and the Middle East. One reason for this not taking place is that information about the activity is spread by word of mouth between musicians and therefore is confined to the same groupings. Another perhaps more important reason is that the African musicians also have access to jazz arenas.

The multicultural arenas can then, as for the Assyrians, comprise the only opportunity for the public performance of live music. They can also be an option for the Nyckelharpa People, for example, who can choose whether they want to be included in a multicultural context or a Swedish folk music context. Other “ethnic” groups that have access to alternative arenas can make similar choices.

Another opportunity for certain groups with large resources is quite simply to rent large, prestigious arenas for their own events. Many immigrant associations like to use Stockholm City Hall for internal and public events, while Iranian associations in Stockholm in several instances have rented Berwaldhallen, the official concert hall of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, for concerts with artists from their homeland. With the help of economic resources they take over important public arenas that they would not otherwise have access to.

Festivals

A pronounced trend during the last decades of the 20th century is that festivals have increased in number. In part, old recurring events have been reformed and in part a whole range of new events have arisen. Festivals are important arenas in all of our case studies. There are several clearly distinguishable types. One that is common in the world of pop music has many “acts” on a few stages in a limited time and area. Another that occurs in the world of classical music is comprised of a larger number of individual concerts, spread out over, for ex-

²⁰⁴ E-mail from Cattis Eriksson 9 August 2000.

ample, a week in a smaller town and associated through a common theme, PR and administration. Carnivals are yet another type characterised by a large portion of the performances taking place on streets and squares, in close interaction with the audience, sometimes so close that the boundary between them disappears. Festivals of all three types have increased in number. The growth is, however, not evenly distributed. In certain genres and certain parts of the country, the incidence of festivals is greater than others.

Up until the end of the 1960s, festivals in Sweden were mainly aimed at spreading art music to new audience groups, often in the form of musical festivals and local "music weeks". Woodstock became an important model for a new type of folk festival centred on music that had many successors e.g. *Gärdesfesterna* in Stockholm from the end of the 1960s. Jazz festivals also became more common during the same period. During the next two decades, festivals became steadily more numerous, in increasing numbers of places and genres. During the 1980s and even more so during the 1990s, festival content was broadened at the same time as they became of interest to commercial actors. Festivals are now claimed increasingly by municipal policy-makers and large companies as marketing and image-strengthening tools. Carnivals spread from the 1980s, and during the most recent decade the old concert festivals and the newer carnival type have melded into huge municipal "happenings" and pop festivals. From being arenas for selected forms of music and specific audience groups, the festivals developed during the 1980s into arenas for a broader public (fans of folk music in Falun, rock music fans in Hultsfred, early musicians in Skara, etc.) and, during the last decade, to popular festivals for everyone, with every possible kind of music and also completely different themes (e.g. water, homosexuality, food, the Middle Ages, cities and housing estates).

Festivals can be seen as an expression of a range of important changes in society. An explanation for the increase in festivals is that they are very cost-effective events for audiences, arrangers and musicians. For small investments of time, money and energy the audience gains access to many different artists. For the arrangers, all musical events are a tightrope walk and so, too, are festivals. However, with many different kinds of artists and groups the risks can be spread effectively at the same time as the total costs per artist are reduced. Co-ordination between different festivals and shared costs for artists and advertising also contributes to increased efficiency. Festivals are for many musicians a way of reaching with a limited investment a large audience, which they perhaps otherwise would not reach.

The increase in the number of festivals can be seen as an expression for the market's growing demands for maximising profit and constant increases in efficiency in the area of music.

The increased number and importance of festivals has given rise to a range of changes in musical life that can be summarised as *festivalisation*. An effect of festivalisation is increased concentration to certain times and places. Because the point of festivals is to gather a lot of people, the majority take place outdoors during a couple of hectic summer months. The result is that musical life is divided into two parts, a long period of production at low intensity, with low resources and low visibility and a short period of high intensity consumption, with high resources, large audience and high visibility.

In the same way as music has been mediaized, music is also adapted to festivals. Festivals relate to other ordinary types of music events (e.g. concerts, parties) in important ways like television to the cinema. While concert and cinema visits are usually highly focused and formalised events, the festival crowd devote themselves not only to the music presented but also to the surrounding social interaction, eating, small-talk, meeting others, etc. That is why festivals, just like television, find it difficult to capture and hold the audience's attention for longer periods, which demands increasing numbers of powerful effects. In order to break through the flood of impressions that characterise festivals, the music is often charged up by increasing and strengthening the forms of expression (higher volumes and stronger lights, flashier and more spectacular clothes, dance, speech, decor) and through an increased emphasis on new and powerful effects that can arouse interest. The audience at festivals respond to the increased levels of expression and effect precisely as they do to television, by "zapping", constant changes between different stages and programmes, which leads to a spiral of ever higher levels of expression and effects.

One example is Falun Folk Musik Festival (FFF), which has been arranged since 1986. In the beginning designed as a "classic" festival with a large number of concerts in different places over three and a half days. FFF developed during the 1990s in the direction of the pop music type, where many different artists succeed one another on outdoor stages. This led to the levels of effects and expression being noticeably raised and, in turn, to a crisis for the festival at the end of the 1990s, when the original folk music audience vanished without any large, new audience groups to replace them. Furthermore, the new groups devoted themselves to "zapping" between different activities to a greater extent than the folk music audience, which led to the levels of effects and expression being raised even more.

In the words of Zygmunt Bauman, festivalisation's primary effect can be described as "the greatest possible impression in the shortest possible time" (see p. 30), or as the Russian semiotics expert Boris Uspenskij expressed it, "the greatest possible number of signs on the smallest possible surface".²⁰⁵ Festivals are effective arenas for the communication of symbols and signs and can in

that light be seen as expressions for the sort of changes in the late 20th century that are usually summarised as “post-modern”. They create much visibility for relatively low investments, which can lead to high levels of attention, which in turn can give opportunities of higher status and recognition. It is not unusual for individual artists to appear at festivals as representatives of a collective of some sort. The visibility and attention that such an artist gains, can easily be transferred to the collective grouping, which makes festivals important potential resources for raised status and increased recognition in society.

The effectivisation and maximisation of the factors that produce visibility and attention make festivals an important part of what, using Michael Goldhaber’s term, is known as “the economy of attention”, which is one reason that festivals are so often taken over by individuals, groupings and institutions that want increased visibility and attention capital. It might be a question of institutions like state and municipalities, policy-makers like radio/TV and the Swedish Concert Institute, groupings like jazz fans, blues fans and single individuals.

The visibility a festival creates can be sold. Both social institutions and private sponsors are interested buyers. The festival organised in the week before schools started in August 2000, known as the Summer 2000 Festival, is an example of using festivals as instruments for social control. Under the headline “Five million for peace and quiet in the centre” the newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* reported on the festival (R. Malm 2000). When the Water Festival was discontinued, politicians and their advisors were reminded of the trouble caused by young people in central Stockholm in August 1987. The municipality of Stockholm closed the majority of the city’s youth venues during the 1990s. Activities for young people have been cut back by 40% in total. For this reason, the municipality arranged the Summer 2000 Festival with activities in the inner city for over 15s and in the suburbs for under 15s. A large proportion of the activities contained music in accordance with the principle: “it’s better to beat the kids with disco than with truncheons.”²⁰⁶ The municipality had young people’s attention and financed the event by selling visibility at the festival arena to commercial companies (sponsors). Only one sponsor, the soft-drinks manufacturer Festis, belonged to the usual sort found at youth festivals. All of the others were media companies: the Sony-owned radio network NRJ, Stenbeck’s ZTV and Metro and the Internet portal Spray, companies which in turn sell the attention on to advertisers. As one of the municipality’s organisers stated, it would have been impossible without sponsors:

²⁰⁵ Lecture at Gotland University College, Visby autumn 1999.

²⁰⁶ After the trouble in Kungsträdgården in 1987, Non Fighting Generation arranged an outdoor disco, against police advice. Everything went well and the publication *Expressen* wrote, “It’s better to beat the kids with disco than with truncheons”.

We have not said no to any demands for exposure. There is an ethical limit but we know where it lies. Previously people spoke about companies demanding to be too visible on cultural stages, now we work in a more businesslike manner. We are not working with patrons of the arts. (R. Malm 2000)

The philosophy behind Summer 2000 Festival is to combat negative consequences of reduced social investment for children and young people via a strategic localised effort in the form of a festival and to finance this by selling the children's and young people's attention to sponsors.

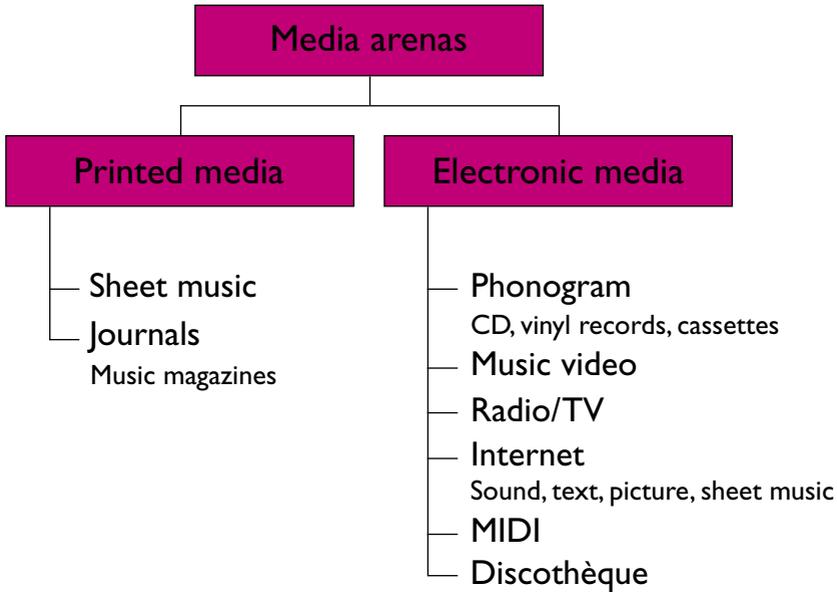
This is something quite new in Sweden. Abroad, however, it has existed for many years. Brewers are behind many music festivals, e.g. Roskilde in Denmark and Rudolstadt in Germany. We can expect more of this kind of thing in the future in Sweden, though not through companies selling alcoholic drinks.

Festivals can then in summary be described as a type of arena which both express and produce a range of the tendencies that are investigated in this study: for example increased emphasis on the production of difference, distinctiveness and frames for cultural interpretation. Festivals are a strongly globalised type of arena but that which is presented is to a high degree local types of music that can effectively be tied to specific cultural identities. Festivals can produce desirable visibility and attention capital at the same time as they can contribute to rapidly devaluing and even consuming the capital for those who have partaken of it. Festivals are also increasingly important as exchanges, where economic capital can be changed to cultural and vice versa. All of this makes festivals into tools for both social control and cultural change, which is another explanation for their increase in numbers during recent decades and that so many different actors have used them for so many different purposes.

Media Arenas

According to the Swedish GLF (Phonogram Distributors Association), 25.8 million CD albums were sold in Sweden in 1999. That means that Swedes bought 2.7 CDs per capita during the year, which places them among the world's largest consumers of phonograms. Even other media show spectacular figures. In annual report 1999 of the Swedish Copyright Bureau, 10,908,263 musical performances on private radio stations are reported.²⁰⁷ In general it is clear that Sweden occupies a forward position among the world's producers and consumers of music.

²⁰⁷ Interesting enough, only 10,187 works were played which means that each work was played an average of more than 1,000 times. A probable explanation for this enormous figure is that advertising jingles and programme signature tunes are included.



Figures of this type do not exist for developments in live music. STIM's reports only deal with public performances. However, we can still state that the number of musicians in different genres is very high and that Swedish pop meets with great success internationally. Peter Ahlbom at the Swedish Concert Institute related that when he compared young pop artists from Sweden and other parts of Western Europe, it is clear that Swedish teenage bands are far ahead of those abroad.²⁰⁸ In the Ministry of Finance's report on Swedish music exports (Forss 1999), it is stated that with population figures taken into consideration, Sweden is "in a class of its own, i.e. the world's most successful music export country" (p. 17–18). Exports are dominated by product sales, principally mediaized music—CDs and master tapes. The export of services, of which live performance is only a part, is less than 13% (p. 107). Forss identifies the municipal schools of music and culture as one of the most important background factors. These create a breadth in musical education for young people that is only to be found in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. In 1997, over 30% of all Swedish children in primary school took part in voluntary music training (Forss 1999:129). This is also one of the background factors for expanding musical life at local and regional levels (c.f. the Visby study).

²⁰⁸ Ahlbom talks about "Musik direkt", a music competition for young people between 13 and 20 years of age, in which the Swedish Concert Institute has exchanged information with other countries where similar competitions exist.

New types of music have arisen that only exist in mediated form. Proceeding from the studies we have conducted, we can observe three functions in media arenas in a musical context: *conveyance*, *storage* and *performance form*. The CD conveys a live music performance from one point in time to another. The performance, which perhaps took place in a studio, is conveyed via the CD to completely different places and times. The CD is also a storage space where music is preserved for the future. However, it can also be a form of performance, an arena for a new type of music, which through adaptation to the medium is developed into a special “CD music”.

The reasons for music being mediated and mediaized to ever greater extents vary of course from case to case. The interest is mainly in exploiting the conveyance function. A larger audience can be reached by mediation, and from a commercial perspective this means that more money can be made. However, the production of, for example, a phonogram might also be a goal in itself. To “have made a record” carries a certain measure of status—it implies professionalism. Musicians who are active in Swedish folk music in the US speak of “vanity records”, records that are made by music groups who do not have a market for their products (interview with the American nyckelharpa player Becky Weiss, M.DL980201). The same type of “vanity” spurs music groups in many different genres to the production of CDs in home studios without necessarily aiming to make money. At the same time it cannot be ignored that a record gives a *chance* for achieving visibility, attention and recognition that many are prepared to take, despite the odds for success being very poor. You might have a hit...

The media that convey style and repertoire are chiefly sheet music, phonograms and video and, to some extent, MIDI files. The majority of groupings use media for conveyance. In the case studies it is primarily true of the Dixie boys, early musicists and Swedish folk musicians. An example of this function is the increased use of video in dance instruction. In the Visby study attention is given to how practitioners in a local context, the dance school in Visby, immediately gain access to new dance styles via MTV (p.108p). Direct contact with the sources is made via the media. This is a decisive change to which we shall return.

The most important media for the conveyance of live performances are phonogram, music video, radio/TV, newspapers and, increasingly often, the Internet. In groupings that live widely dispersed, the media have often the role of “extenders” of live music. The media disconnect the performance from time, space and practitioner. In interviews in connection with the Stockholm study (p.128p), many music store assistants stressed television’s significance.

It's on cable TV. You watch TV, e.g. satellite. It's everywhere now: Germany, RTL. Those who come down know exactly. There are papers, Turkish papers. You watch the charts and know what there is and what's coming out. (M.DL961139:3)

Sheet music is the classic storage form of music. Ever since the early collective works on the phonograph during the latter part of the 19th century, it has been possible to complement sheet music with recordings. Private individuals within all of the groupings studied preserve repertoires and musical memories in their record collections. As new formats and methods of compression are released, the record shelves are replaced successively by computer storage. The importance of these private collections has grown in keeping with music's increasingly central role as an emblem of cultural identity.

Music types that are primarily presented in media arenas have come to comprise an increasingly large part of the musical output. It includes the majority of newer pop styles, hip hop, new age and much newer world music. When Warner Music producer Manne von Ahn Öberg says he wants to “furnish a virtual CD room” with tones and rhythms from Swedish folk music he aims to create a mediaized music that is not intended to be played live (compare p. 157pp). However, in the summer of 2000, two years after Johan Hedin's CD *Angel Archipelago*²⁰⁹ was released, the track *Kusten* has been demediaized and is played by nyckelharpa players at fiddlers meetings.

Music types that *only* exist in mediated form are a special case in this media function. They are completely without live music as a model. Among the groupings studied in the project, we find this in the Assyrians, who via the Internet connect up to MIDI Composer Exchange²¹⁰ where the MIDI compositions of others can be downloaded reused and returned. To a certain extent it could be said that sheet music could have the same function, provided the notes are not played! This is an individual type of music usage that is becoming increasingly important.

In some case we have stumbled on groupings that have separate music forms—live and mediated—for different purposes. This separation exists between the Caribbeans' live steelband music and mediated ragga. Among the Assyrians there are many who make do with mediated music in the majority of contexts, partly to do with the lack of musicians, but who are at the same time prepared to sacrifice large sums of money to get live music for special occasions, chiefly weddings.

²⁰⁹ Atrium/Warner Music 3984-22107-2 (1998).

²¹⁰ Maintained by Albert Gabriel via the website Nineveh On-Line (<http://www.nineveh.com>).

Broadcasting—Narrowcasting

The idea of *broadcasting* is to reach as large a public as possible. For commercial media such as the record industry and private radio and TV companies, broadcasting is an opportunity to maximise profit by the *large circulation of a few productions*. Warner Music's deliberation over whether to close Atrium down in 2000 should be seen against the background of the fact that the majority of the label's titles sell between ten and twenty thousand copies (M.DL991203). Most Swedish record companies in the folk and world music genres would be more than happy if they achieved half of Atrium's sales figures but for a multinational company like Warner, 10,000 copies is on the small side. Larger media producers such as TV companies work according to the same principle. That is why the majority of the groupings we have studied lack access to TV arenas. For the TV-companies accordionists, Dixie boys, nyckelharpa people, etc. are not profitable. The audience is altogether too small, the investment costs too high. The risks involved in attracting financiers and advertising become thereby too great.

The economic thresholds have, however, become lower in certain media arenas. When Nineveh On-Line transmits Assyrian TV on the Internet, only a minimal studio is required with one camera, a mixer, a computer for editing and access to a server. Record production in home studios and marketing via the Internet and e-mail lists has even made profitability possible for the production of small series. The principal of *narrowcasting* is to effectively reach a particular defined audience. E-mail lists and other types of electronic network are examples of this. All groupings we have studied have access to the techniques for narrowcasting. The commercial advantage of narrowcasting is that by directed mail-outs, for example, the costs of creating visibility and attention can be kept down.

By keeping costs for marketing, manufacture and storage low through "production on demand", for example, a sales strategy that can be described as *many productions in small numbers* is made possible. For most of the smaller groupings the Internet has meant the ability to establish networks for spreading information on specific products and services that are aimed at the grouping's members. A considerable advantage of narrowcasting is that both transmitters and receivers often know each other and that resources do not need to be used to create attention as they do in broadcasting, e.g. TV advertising.

Profitability, like the production of records—even if they are "vanity records"—and attention in public media can mean an amplification of the organisation's standing. There is a self-amplifying mechanism at work here. Swedish world music is enjoying such an upward spiral: CD sales increase—vis-

ONSDAG 2 AUGUSTI 2000

metro

Dansband med "Loket" på webben dygnet runt

"Vikingarna" till morgonkaffet, "Lokets favoriter" efter jobbet och topplistor på kvällskvisten. Nu går det att lyssna på dansbandsmusik dygnet runt. På Internet.

60 procent av Sveriges befolkning använder Internet. Leif "Loket" Olsson tillhör inte en av dem.

– Nej, men jag får väl lära mig nu, säger han och skrattar.

Varje fredag sänds program-

met "Lokets favoriter" på webbplatsen www.dansbandsradion.com.

– Jag tänker bland annat prata om artisterna och låtarna, säger Leif "Loket" Olsson som tackade ja direkt när han blev tillfrågad om han ville leda ett entimmesprogram varje fredag eftermiddag.

Dansbandsradion spelar dansbandsmusik dygnet runt, allt från "Dans i afton" till topplistor. Stationschefen Royne Nilsson

står bakom idén med att sända topplistor med dansbandsmusik från Sverige, Norge, Danmark och Finland.

Faran för att äldre ovana internetanvändare inte kommer att lyssna på webbplatsen tror han inte är så stor. Leif "Loket" Olsson är mer tveksam.

– Jag har svårt att tro att min mamma som är 85 år nu sätter sig in i vad bredband är, säger han. JENNY BJÖRNLUFSSON/FLT

Narrowcasting of Swedish Dance Band Music.

ibility on the radio, TV and in the press increases—sales figures increase even more, which is seen as a sign of quality—more record companies become interested in releasing CDs—the interest of the press increases, etc., etc.

Arena Dynamics

The division of live arenas into internal and public mirrors the arenas' main roles. Internally, arenas and music function as a hub or centre for the organisation's activities. Publicly, arenas function as forums where groupings can create visibility. Media arenas can in a similar way be divided into those that distribute information to a delimited audience in a network (narrowcasting) and those that aim at reaching the largest possible audience (broadcasting). The latter type of media arena is also public, and because CD, radio/TV and music videos comprise the largest portion of today's musical output in terms of quantity, they are incredibly important for the visibility of single individuals and groupings.

Access to public arenas is limited. Groupings struggle constantly for space in them. The need to be visible varies, however. Assyrians and medievalists are two groupings with little access to public arenas. But their ambitions for creating visibility also differ. Assyrians put great energy into moving from the periphery of society into the centre. They invest in a potent football team, work actively

to create an Assyrian TV channel in Europe, etc. In the case of the medievalists on the other hand, the aim is not establishment in society's public arenas. They are content to move in the periphery and instead invest a great deal of time on internal activities.

In summary it can be said that internal arenas are necessary for all types of music-based groupings. The public arenas are required to the same extent that the grouping is in need of visibility. The development of the media, chiefly the Internet, and new technology for the production of phonograms has given groupings with slight economic resources and low cultural status access to new public media arenas, which has fundamentally changed their conditions.

We can distinguish several tendencies in arena dynamics that can have great significance in the immediate future.

- Production is no longer a hinder for small actors. Greater access to recording technology has instead made distribution a key issue (c.f. Garnham 1986, quote Morley & Robins 1995:33). Changes are, however, coming rapidly even in this area. New formats and techniques will make traditional record distributors unnecessary.
- Broadcasting will be made more efficient. New superstars will become famous more quickly and in more places.
- Narrowcasting will also become more efficient. With the Internet via broadband connections for mobile phones nyckelharpa lovers around the globe are advised the same day a new CD is released: "New record release by *Väsen* this morning. If you would like to order it by surface mail, dial one. If you would prefer e-mail MP3 format delivery, dial two. Your VISA account will be charged with USD 10.00 for surface mail and USD 5.00 for e-mail delivery."
- The Dixie boys have sufficient resources to remedy the lack of interest in classic jazz from the broadcasting media. By buying their own private radio station, a grouping with high resources like the Dixie boys will be able to create their own media.
- When it comes to prestigious live arenas, increasing numbers of alliances will probably do as the Iranians and quite simply rent major arenas to show for themselves—their own grouping—that their music is also played on the at the "big venues".
- Another strategy is to exploit the grouping's network for political action to monitor the grouping's interests. The Assyrian Yılmaz Kerimo's place in the Swedish parliament is the result of the Assyrian's ability to co-operate and that is just the beginning. The increasing average age in Sweden is leading to pensioners being a stronger potential grouping. Via democratic decisions,

the pensioners of tomorrow will be able to put through changes in the range offered by both public service media and private radio and tv channels.

- Trade in attention that is aimed at music arenas of the type that took place in connection with the Summer 2000 Festival will become more commonplace. Media companies will purchase attention from live arenas and transfer it to their media arenas and then sell it on to other buyers (advertisers).
- Festivals, carnivals and other similar events will be used as strategic measures to handle tension in society in accordance with the principle “bread and games for the people”.

The Media Shapes Music

In the section *Mediation and Mediaization* (p. 68–73) some of the processes that take place when a music form is changed by adaptation to a certain medium are described. In the case studies such processes have been described in specific cases. It has been shown above that increasing numbers of musical types are mediated and increasing media arenas are arising, not least on the Internet. This also means a number of new special cases of mediaization. The project data indicates, however, that these new special cases are as a rule variations or combinations of the four main types of mediaizational process, *primary mediaization*, *mediaizational reworking*, *demiaization* and *remediaization*, and can be organised into these. Combinations of the four types give rise in individual special cases to very complicated processes with a range of switches between different sorts of mediaization. From the data collected in the project it is often difficult to bring out overriding patterns through analysis, especially as an explosion of mediaization has taken place during the period covered by the project (breakthrough for music video, narrowcasting on the Internet, etc.). Some such patterns can, however, be distinguished.

We have stated that mediated/mediaized music is increasingly distributed through narrowcasting instead of broadcasting as previously. Certain techniques for narrowcasting have developed greatly during the course of the project. In 1995 to 1996, the quality of sound files on the Internet was quite poor as a rule. There were admittedly file formats that gave high sound quality but these files were too large to download with a modem. It looked as if network mediaization of music through narrowcasting on the Internet would mean adapting to the low sound quality on the net. During the last few years, however, new formats and methods of compression for sound files have been developed and new ones come up all the time. This development means that sound quality on the Internet will soon be the same as in broadcasting via radio, for example. Small differences in the course of the processes of mediaization, which today can be assigned to whether the music is mediated via narrowcasting or broadcasting, will probably eventually disappear when transmission speeds and quality in narrowcasting has become the same as in broadcasting. The Internet has rapidly changed the opportunities for the spread of music.

This change is still ongoing and the eventual effects it will have on musical style and form is today very difficult to predict.

A special type of mediaization is the transferral of music to MIDI code, a technique that is increasingly used not least on the Internet. We have not studied in depth the effects of transferral to MIDI code in different contexts but in the presentation below there are a number of specific examples of the use of MIDI.

Change by Conveyance

One of the media's roles for many types of music is conveying repertoires. In musical pedagogy, mediation of the music to be taught has meant a very great change. Before there was recorded music, learning music was entirely dependant on the student having a living model in the form of a master/teacher. Even if the music was written down, the teacher had to convey a prerequisite understanding of the musical style to the student in order for him to be able to play the notes in the right way. When music is mediated, a recording can convey this prerequisite understanding just as well. Dependence on a teacher who has mastered the music style is reduced or quite simply disappears. This has been a very important premise for the introduction of new music styles in different parts of the world. As is apparent in the case study about the Dixie boys, classic jazz would not have been played in Sweden if Swedish musicians had not learnt from recordings. In the same way, the knowledge of how to play an instrument that students have learnt in municipal schools of music, would not have been used in rock music if the students did not have rock music records. Few municipal music teachers have mastered rock music.

The use of mediated music in pedagogical contexts has, however, a number of effects. When students transfer recorded originals to live music a demediaization takes place. This means, as a rule, that the more strongly mediaized the music is, the more features of this mediaization are transferred to the live music. A blues singer in the American south who sang and played acoustic guitar is transferred to European students in recorded form, where, already, the use of microphones during recording and playback via a specific sound system (with amplifiers of a particular frequency range, large/small speakers, etc.) has changed the sound of both voice and guitar. A little echo has perhaps been added during editing of the master tapes for the record, etc. When the European student copies the recording, elements the mediation process has given the music will be included. The result is a new lightly mediaized form of blues.

Another example can be taken from classic jazz. The acoustic recording technique of the 1920s could not manage contrabass and full drum kit. The consequence was that the jazz band in the studio had to use tuba instead of contra-

bass, remove parts of the drum kit and renounce the drum solo. Furthermore, playing time on a 25cm 78 rpm record was approximately three minutes and the bands had to adapt with shorter solos, etc. At live sessions, the solos were much longer. When the Swedish Dixie boys learnt the music from records the mediaized features were included. Purist Swedish classic jazz bands play short solos, have small drum kits and often tubas. The length of the tunes is kept to around the 78's three minutes. The latter is also true of many other forms of music that were originally spread by and learnt from 78 rpm records, e.g. Greek rebetika.

The pedagogical use of recorded music has also given rise to special forms of "pedagogical mediaization", such as recordings of the type "music minus one" and in recent years the electronic variation "band in a box", where one or more musicians are not included on the recording. The parts excluded are to be played live by the students. Karaoke is a variation of "music minus one" that has had great success during the 20th century completely outside pedagogical contexts. Only the accompaniment to the vocals is recorded and the song is performed live.

Primary mediaization of a music form, combined with the use of the recordings in pedagogical contexts, leads as a rule to regimentation and standardisation. In the study of groupings around early music there are pronounced examples of this. Certain high-status mediated models are imitated by everyone. Because the models on the recordings are skilled musicians, high levels of skill are also required to imitate them. This leads to an increased professionalism among practitioners of the music form, as is pointed out by a number of early musicists. A similar process has taken place in many other types of music. The accordionists have had Carl Jularbo as a model, in classical jazz there are a number of models, both ensembles (*King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band*, *George Lewis Band*, etc.) and individual musicians (Bunk Johnson, Kid Ory, Louis Armstrong, etc.)

The process is also pronounced in Swedish folk music. Individual folk musicians who happened to be recorded have sometimes quite randomly formed schools and their personal styles have been generalised into "folk music dialects". These folk musicians were often recorded when they were at the peak of their careers with many years of making music behind them. When they become models for the young, the demands for playing skill increase. A comparison of how those who became National Folk Musicians thirty years ago played and how those who become National Folk Musicians play today shows that the demands for skilled play have increased significantly over the years.²¹¹ One could say that interplay between mediated/mediaized folk music, young folk

²¹¹ Krister Malm has since 1988 been a member of the Zorn jury and has in this way as an "insider" been able to observe the gradual change of the jury's demands for playing skill in performers. Recordings of the performances for Zornmärket have since the beginning of the 1970s been archived by the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research.

musicians and the jury awarding the Zornmärke (the famous insignia awarded to folk musicians of distinction in Sweden) takes place. This collaboration seems to increase playing skill in an upward spiral. Young fiddle players imitate the best of the older fiddle players, average playing skills are greater, the jury's demands are increased, the new National Folk Musicians make recordings, which in turn become normative for new young fiddle players, etc.

One type of change that is related to the above process is exemplified in the case study on nyckelharps. It shows that a type of music can be broken into two versions that are practised side by side; the traditional live performances and the new mediaized music. This in turn gives rise to great tension between representatives of these two camps, something that can be observed in many music genres today. For some practitioners the mediaized version can seem like second-rate music, stiff and formal versions of what is fundamentally a live musical tradition. For others in the same genre, the non-mediaized versions can appear as more or less uninspired copies, or quite simply inaccurate versions of the mediaized music, which is seen as the real music.

The most widespread effect of electronic mediation is that the music, to an ever-greater degree, is played through amplifiers and speakers. Sound from speakers is today regarded in the majority of music forms as the "normal" sound of music. Live music not relayed through speakers is increasingly uncommon. Artists presuppose and demand that there are PA systems in the places they are to appear, even if this is not necessary. Musikmuseet in Stockholm has a concert hall with excellent acoustics. A single guitar on the podium can be heard in the entire hall without amplification. Most sorts of music with smaller ensembles can be performed without amplification. Despite that fact, musicians have on several occasions requested speaker systems. For some musicians, speaker systems seem to raise the value of the music. Indian raga musicians who were guests of Musikmuseet became very offended when there were no microphones and amplifiers.

Live Arenas Replaced by Media Arenas

In general, primary mediaization of a music form previously only resulted in lesser alterations in the music. Today, rather major changes can already be made during primary mediaization. In 1988, the musicians Ale Möller and Jonas Knutsson brought musicians from, among other places, Greece, Senegal, Gambia, Brazil, Lapland, Japan and Cuba together in something they dubbed *Stockholm Folk Big Band*. The majority of musicians lived in Sweden but had played within their own groupings and never together. The band's music grew from the musicians' respective traditions. They played for each other and Möller and Knutsson then attempted "to see what fitted together in a logical

and organised way”.²¹² This process resulted in a unique repertoire of musical pieces with stylistic features and styles of play from different traditions, which *Stockholm Folk Big Band* performed at concerts in various places. The decision was made that the Atrium label would release a CD with the band. Jonas Knutsson relates:

From the beginning we had wanted to record live but our producer, Manne von Ahn Öberg at Atrium, was dubious. As producer he wanted to have more control over what ended up on the tape and technically, live recordings can be difficult with the sound leakage that occurs.

Von Ahn Öberg confirmed that his goal was to make a CD production that fit into Atrium’s concept (compare 157pp):

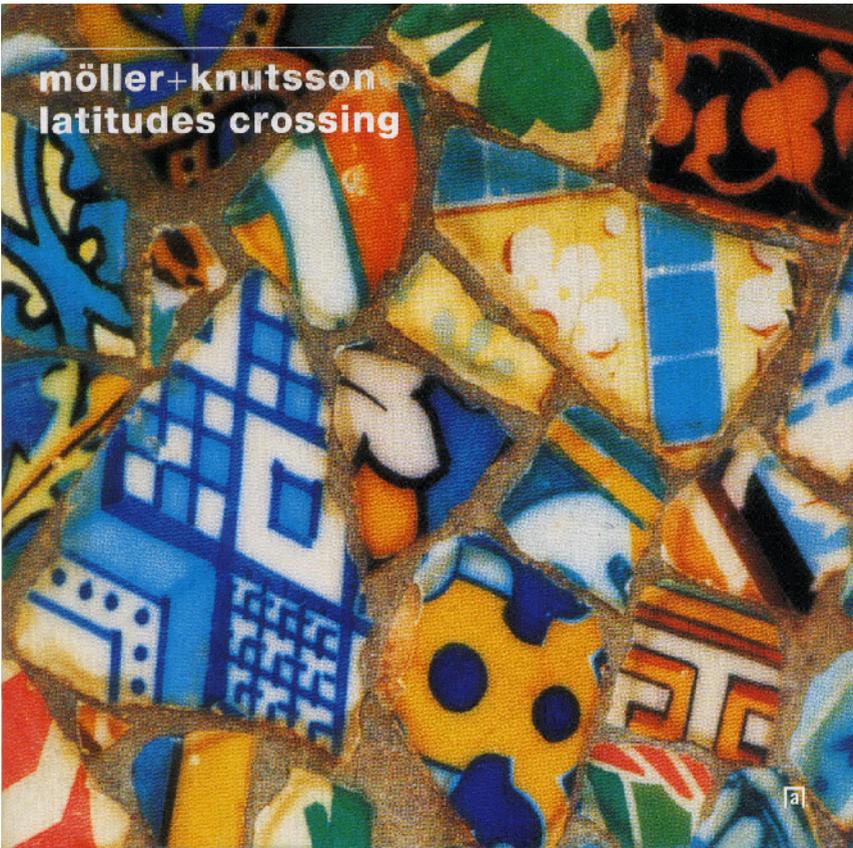
We went into the studio with all 16 musicians who were recorded. Thereafter the music was taken down in its component parts and edited pretty hard to get it in line with my vision of how we would make a record of it.

Furthermore, the record company demanded that the band should be called “Möller + Knutsson” on the record and not *Stockholm Folk Big Band*. This was because marketing one or two “stars” is easier than an anonymous collective, even if the collective is comprised as uniquely as in this case.

The result of this type of process is that the music on record is different to the live music. The next stage in this process is usually that the audience who discovers the music via the record is disappointed when they attend a live concert. The musicians must then either adapt their live performances to the mediaized variant of the music or put different labels on the live and mediaized variants. This process often leads the musicians to abandon appearances with live music such as happened with the Beatles and ABBA. The live music becomes pure media music. In other cases, all of the musicians in the band disappear apart from the stars, who appear with pre-recorded background music. At the Eurovision Song Contest in Stockholm 2000, the arrangers had anticipated this process. Previous practice in the competition, that artists appeared accompanied by an orchestra, had been replaced by performances with pre-recorded backgrounds, which in practice transformed the event into a karaoke competition.

There are many examples of music’s mediaization resulting in live musicians gradually being replaced by pre-recorded music. The modern accordionist once again plays alone, as did the accordionist at the beginning of the 20th century.

²¹² This and the quotes about *Stockholm Folk Big Band* that follow have been taken from interviews with Jonas Knutsson and Manne von Ahn Öberg by Anders Lundquist and reproduced in an article in the publication *Musikindustrin* 14 October 1999.



Mosaic on a record. The CD *Latitudes Crossing* with Möller + Knutsson alias Stockholm Folk Big Band (Atrium 3984.29704.2).

By connecting the accordion to a synth module with pre-programmed sound and rhythms with the aid of MIDI, the lone musician can sound like an entire orchestra.

In the case study on Swedish world music it was stated that world music as a genre is characterised by having *global structure* and *local content*. The global structure is achieved by mediaization of the type that *Stockholm Folk Big Band's* music underwent when it was transferred to CD.

A nyckelharapist folk musician at a fiddle-player meet plays Swedish folk music, while the same nyckelharapist playing the same tune in Atrium's studio plays Swedish world music and Swedish world music is created using mediaization. This gives rise to problems when the world music is to be played live.

When *Garmarna* toured in Germany at the end of the 1990s, the arrangers thought they were going to play Swedish folk music when they in fact played world music. The technical equipment required for them to perform was most often not present. (see more p. 53p).

Erasing the Live/Mediated Boundary

The creation of world music, like other forms of media music, presupposes access to advanced technology. That is why music from Africa has been transformed to world music in London and Paris and not in Dar Es Salaam or Bamako. Some of the most frequently employed techniques in the newer media music have, however, been created with quite simple equipment in the third world. When the tape recorder came into use at the end of the 1940s, it became possible to reuse recorded music and via tape splicing combined with copying join them together to form new sound constellations. These ways of doing things have later been given the names sampling and mixing. Pierre Schaeffer, Karlheinz Stockhausen and others in Europe exploited these new possibilities to create so-called concrete music. The extensive use of sampling and mixing in today's media music does not, however, have its origins in the experiments of Schaeffer and Stockhausen but began in Jamaica. In the 1950s, so-called sound systems emerged there. They were simple playing systems that were used to play records at dance parties. Some of the DJ's who ran these sound systems began to sing, speak rhythmically and make other sounds into a microphone to the recorded music. This was named "toasting" from the toast made by a toastmaster. In the beginning of the 1960s, the DJs had developed toasting to fairly long rhyming harangues.

Sometime between 1964 and 1965 an innovation took place. At this time tape-reels and LP records had become the normal sound-bearers in the US. Older lacquer record engravers could be obtained cheaply. Private recording studios in Jamaica bought some of these. Clement Dodd, usually called "Coxone", owned one of these and also owned some sound systems. According to the testimony of a number of witnesses it was in his studio that they began making "dubs". The word dub means quite simply copying. In this case it was a matter of a special sort of copying. Two years later, several record players playing different records were connected to the lacquer record engraver. Using switches, the sound from first one then the other record player could be connected to the engraver. In this way short extracts could be copied and mixed together from the records played on the different players to make a new "composition" on lacquer record. These specially mixed lacquer records were named "dubs" (later, in the 1970s, the name "version" also became common.)

It all probably began as a game with equipment in the studio but very quickly DJs began making more advanced mixes by reversing the record turn tables and rhythmically repeating short phrases, adding echo and making other additions. They took the resulting dub records with them to dance events and used them as backgrounds for their toasts. Ordinary dance records were then replaced during certain parts of the dance evenings by what soon came to be called “toasting over dubs”.

In the middle of the 1950s, sound system DJs only played records with a little chat between, then they began to make rhythmical sounds with their mouths to the records. By the middle of the 1960s, at the same time as Stockhausen was working in Cologne, Jamaica’s DJs had begun making their own electro-acoustic compositions with collage technique.

This technique contained two important components:

- The record player, played as a musical instrument.
- The technique of picking out extracts from pre-recorded material and putting them together as something new, i.e. sampling and mixing.

During the late 1960s, the technique was further developed to use the record player as a musical instrument and make dubs. Increasing numbers of record players were connected together and simple switches were replaced by potentiometers, which were given the name cross-faders, because you could “fade out one record player and fade in another” with them. DJs also began using the record player, as a musical instrument at sound system dances. While one record was played on a record player you could connect another and play sections from that together with your rhythmic rhyming. At the end of the 1960s, DJs seem to have used one or two record players as musical instruments with two different types of playing technique.

One technique is known as “scratching”. It means that the turntable is moved back and forth so that a “scraping” sound effect arises as the needle reads the record track’s sounds back and forth at different speeds. This is done in a rhythmic way. The record player is then used as a pure rhythm instrument. The other technique is called “backspin”. In this, first one then the other of the turntables is reversed (if there are two) and an excerpt of the music is repeated in rhythmic way. During reversal, the sound that comes up is removed from the speakers with a cross-fader. When the record player is used in this way it works as a manual sampler.

It was this Jamaican way of making music, which, among others, DJ Kool Herc and other Jamaicans brought to the Bronx, New York and which became

the starting point for rap, techno and other similar forms of music. Repeating short sections of music over a basic rhythm from a record on a different record player give effects that are similar to what is usually called riff in jazz. The rhythm can become very intense.

In the Bronx, these brief, repeated phrases were named breaks. The acrobatic dance that was developed to these breaks was, of course, named break dance. With contributions from electronic instruments, the technique of making rhythmic backgrounds to song and speech or completely electronic music has been refined in many ways.

An important feature in the mediaization described here is that live performance and recorded music have throughout mutually affected each other through their combination, particularly in the arena discotheque/club. In this process there is a constant alternation between mediaizational reworking, demediaization and remediaization that results in a flow of new variants and music forms. This occurs today at rave and hip hop venues where constant new combinations of the musical building bricks are presented by the evening's DJs. This way of making music has now also been introduced to the Internet, where there are sites with musical building bricks in MIDI code that are downloaded by people in different parts of the world. They make their personal mixes of the material and often add them to the site so that others can use them as the raw material for new pieces of music. An example of this from the case study on the Assyrians is the MIDI Composer Exchange (<http://www.nineveh.com/midi>).

This way of making music has great similarities with the way musical material is handled in traditional forms of popular music, where, for example, in Swedish fiddle playing, new polskas are constantly created from the same building blocks.²¹³ The similarity of the processes in sampling/mixing music and traditional music results for example, in similar conflicts with the copyright system, which presupposes unique works with one or a few originators. The similarity has perhaps contributed to the establishment of hip hop in so many countries in the third world.

The Mediaization-Localisation Connection

A range of conclusions can be made about the interplay between globalisation and mediaization from the case study "Global Pop in Some Countries in the Caribbean and Eastern Africa". Mediation and a certain degree of mediaization

²¹³ The melodic building bricks and the way they are joined together in European folk music have been the object of much so-called variant research. Among others, Peter Burke has pointed out that similar sounding melodies in folk tradition can still be regarded as completely different (Burke 1983:144pp.).

is a prerequisite for the arisal of global music. But even if the global music is famous everywhere, it does not establish itself and gain local practitioners everywhere. In countries with low resources, new music styles primarily come to the country from the nearest neighbouring countries and then often in live arenas. It is only secondarily that they come from the transnational music industry and last of all through direct contact with music cultures further afield.

The global music that establishes itself is spread in its original form primarily via phonograms, videos and the broadcasting media. The most important actors have, for example, artists who travel to metropolises like London, New York and Paris, as well as gatekeepers in local broadcasting media. The local demediaized variants of global music forms are mainly spread via live performances at clubs, festivals and similar contexts. Here it is artists/musicians and their fans that are the most important actors, even if commercially interested parties like club owners also play a certain part.

A prerequisite for a global music form to be established in a low resource country seems to be that it can be successfully demediaized. Even if the structure in Madonna's and Michael Jackson's music is not especially foreign for Africans, it has no successors because it is difficult to demediaize. That is probably one of the reasons that this type of music has not established itself in any of the five countries in the case study. In each country the demediaization has been followed by a localisation, i.e. local stylistic variations of the music type in question have been created. The use of local musical instruments and local language plays a large part in this.

Of the five countries it is only Jamaica that has successfully managed to mediaize domestic forms of music with their own resources (the mediaization of Trinidad's calypso and soca has mainly taken place in the US). It is also primarily in Jamaica that a certain remediaization of local and localised forms of music has taken place. In Trinidad and in Nairobi and Lusaka there are hints of remediaization. In Dar Es Salaam, which has the least resources of all of the places, there is only a single example of efforts at remediaization, primarily on the cassettes recorded by the rap artist II Proud.

Some important general conclusions about the prerequisites that contribute to successful localisation of global music can be drawn from the studies of conditions in Sweden and the five countries in the Caribbean and Africa:

- Localisation is made easier if there are common horizons in the background that make global forms meaningful in a new local context. Reggae's spread in Eastern Africa is made easier by the fact that Africa and Ethiopia in particular are important horizons for many Jamaicans too, especially Rastafarians. So important in fact that some have also moved there.

- The first local practitioners of a global music form must have sufficient knowledge of local structures of different sorts (about how music life is organised, how grants, sponsorship and media systems function, etc.) to be able to gain interest in their activities. They must also be sufficiently open and extrovert to be able to reach a larger circle.
- The global music types cannot deviate too much from local fundamental musical structures, e.g. in matters of tone system or rhythm.
- The global music types must themselves be sufficiently adaptable and flexible so that they can be adapted to local conditions without collapsing. They must not, for example, be so highly mediaized that they cannot be demediaized.
- There cannot be local music traditions that are strong enough to block new global form's access to local music life. Such has been the case in Jamaica and Trinidad.

When it comes to the effects of global media music forms on local musical culture, the patterns in the five countries studied show differences between the countries. A comparison between these lands and Sweden (= major Swedish towns) shows even greater differences.²¹⁴ It seems as if a country's degree of industrialisation and modernisation dictates the opportunities for global music to establish itself. Many global music forms are clearly so highly mediaized that they cannot be demediaized. A decisive prerequisite for their integration into a country's music life seems to be that the land in question possesses a music-industrial environment in which mediaizational reworking combined with localisation can take place. In this process, the music is given, among other things, a local "identity" in the form of, for example, lyrics in the local language, local styles of play on global instruments, etc. and a local "sound", e.g. the Sweden specific vocal sound that has made "Swedish choral sound" famous, etc. Sweden possesses such a music-industrial environment, which since the 1970s has gradually adapted itself to the efficient mediaizational reworking of global music forms. This seems to be the most important reason for Swedish musical export successes during the 1990s. The state support given to record companies has probably been of great significance for the creation of the structural prerequisites of this process.

²¹⁴ Some interviews that have been conducted with rap artists in Tornedalen in Northern Sweden indicate that the similarities become greater if a comparison is instead made between the different rap artists' situation in Dar Es Salaam and Swedish Tornedalen. The situation in Tornedalen is more similar in some respects to that in Tanzania than in Stockholm.

Mediaization and The Future

In the future, the amount of mediated and mediaized music will continue to increase. Below are some of the components that will play an important part in the process of change.

- The role of the media as conveyers of repertoires will continue to be important and lead to the mediaization of increasing numbers of music forms.
- The number of groupings surrounding mediated/mediaized music will increase. This does not mean, however, that the number of groupings surrounding live music will decrease. Through the process of demediaization, new forms of live music will be created.
- Mediated and mediaized forms of music will increasingly become central objects in the construction of groupings' cultural frameworks. Demands will be made that these objects are preserved and protected in archives and museums.
- Groupings that refuse to mediaize their music will find it difficult to survive (symphony orchestras that do not want to replace musicians in certain parts, such as piccolo flute or fifth horn at concerts with a single synth-player, steelbands that cannot adapt to the demands of recording technique, etc.)
- Acoustic music that is not conveyed via speakers will become increasingly uncommon. Such music might only exist in museums and purely private arenas, e.g. in the form of children's singing games and the drinking songs at private parties.
- There will be increasing numbers of mediaized music forms in which live music and mediated music is mixed, partly in the form of the replacement of certain parts of a live performance with mediated performance, partly in the form of new combinations of live and electronic performance such as in hip hop and techno.
- The boundaries between live arenas and media arenas will be erased more and more. Hybrid arenas like interactive sites on the Internet, live interplay between musicians in different parts of the world connected via the Internet, e.g. global fiddle player meets will develop.

Past, Present and Future

Arena model process analysis

To show development patterns in music arenas and music forms, we have created an analysis tool we call The Arena Game. Facts about music forms are placed in the project's arena model, creating a generalised description of the music form within a certain arena at a given point in time. With the use of several such descriptions applying to different arenas and points of time, it is possible to illustrate changes over time. The knowledge obtained about patterns of change within music forms and arenas provide a description of a probable future situation within a given music/arena system. This analytical and descriptive method has here been applied to twelve forms of music and nine types of arenas at three points of time. The descriptions comprise drawings of the different music/arena systems and written commentaries. In other words, known data about the different music/arena systems have been reduced into typical situations through transfer to animated actors and scopes of action within the arena model of the project. The result of this data reduction is thus primarily reproduced with the help of icons instead of, as is more common, with the help of words, figures or diagrams, and is presented in the section titled The Arena Game on the website. Below follows an outline of how the presentation is structured.

The nine arena types have been chosen from both live and mediated music. Three points of time are described: 1) the present—which refers to the time around the year 2000, 2) the past—10–15 years ago (the 1980s), and 3) the future—about 10–15 years from now (the 2010s). These have been selected in order to clarify developments in a given music genre and a given type of arena within a relatively restricted time span. A scope of max 30 years between the three points of time means that events and possible changes remain topical and fall within the period that is studied in the project. The starting point, i.e. the present, is based on fieldwork carried out within the project and on other experiences of music and music-making. The past is based in part on the same fieldwork, but also on results from previous research. The future is based on predictions established with the help of collective knowledge concerning patterns of change within music and the field of music that have been produced within the project and in previous studies.

Nine types of arenas, twelve music forms

The following nine arena types have been chosen for The Arena Game:

- Party—an internal event of an informal character.
- Concert—a formal, focused and often public event.
- Festival—an organised event usually comprising several scenes and several participating artists. Festivals often have a lower degree of focus and formalisation than concerts.
- Competition—focused concert event in which the primary goal is to choose the best musician or dancer.
- Ceremony or ritual—a celebration when individuals or groups start a new way of life or a new phase of the year. Typical ceremonies are national holidays, birthdays, weddings, christenings and inaugurations.
- Pedagogic situation—music or dance instruction.
- Rehearsal—informal training, either separately or in a group.
- Studio—different types of recording sessions.
- Internet site—arenas formed within electronic networks.

Typical cases are taken from the different music forms and placed within the arenas. By looking at the different points of time, it is possible to track changes within each music form. The music forms that are studied and compared are taken from four different categories that have been crystallised from the data of the project:

Global music forms such as Western art music, evergreens, golden oldies, jazz, rock, europop, hip hop and techno.

Local Swedish forms such as traditional folk music, old-time dance music, “schlager” (a popular hit song of European origin), ballads, dance band music and other strongly localised forms of global music.

Local “immigrant” music forms. These forms have emerged from the original contexts and evolved/dissolved over time, yet they have retained their local character. They can be divided into local music played by immigrant groups in Sweden and local music styles from other countries played by Swedish musicians. The first type includes Greek and Chilean music played by immigrant musicians. The second group includes musicians in Sweden or musicians of Swedish or other origin playing styles such as samba, steelband music, Indian art music and Irish folk music.

Trans-national pseudo-local music forms. In recent years, “new” music forms that resemble older local forms have emerged, often by combining stylistic elements from older local music forms in new ways within international networks, such as new forms of “medieval music” or the national Assyrian music created in the Diaspora, often with more or less blurred roots in Syrian-

Orthodox church music and the Middle East. These forms are spread all over the globe and the actors comprise a somewhat restricted group who are in close contact with one another despite living far apart.

Differentiating between the various forms can be difficult and changes are constantly taking place. Local music becomes global, and is then adapted to new local conditions.

As it is, the localisation allows for popular songs and dance band music to be considered Swedish forms of music despite being based on global styles (evergreens, modern dance music, country and so on). This is how local Swedish hip hop has developed during the 1990s. Medieval music has been extracted from its origins and recreated into modern local music forms. Swedish world music is moving in the opposite direction from local to global. The art of “kula” (herding calls) or playing *nyckelharpa* (keyed fiddle) no longer takes place in mountain shacks or in the villages of Uppland in Sweden but is nowadays practised by new musicians in completely different contexts.

The music forms chosen for The Arena Game can be arranged into the categories mentioned above. The twelve music forms are:

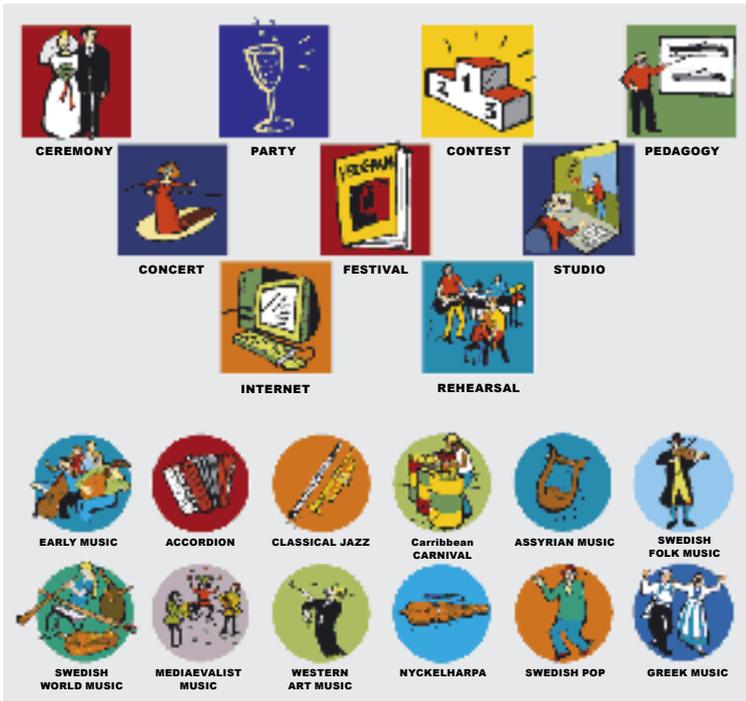
- *Western art music, Swedish pop, classical jazz and Swedish world music*, which are global music forms.
- *Swedish folk music* and its specialised forms *nyckelharpa music* and *old-time dance music*, which are local music forms.
- *Greek music* (“immigrant music”) and *steelband* and *other types of carnival music from the West Indies* (“immigrated music”), which are local immigrated music forms.
- *Early music, medieval music* (music used by role-players in live settings) and *Assyrian music*, which are pseudo-local music forms.

How The Arena Game works

The Arena Game on the website is meant to be “played” on a computer screen. Below follows a short demonstration of how the game works. The example chosen is that of *nyckelharpa* music and the arenas are Internet, Competition and Studio.

The nine different types of arena correspond to the square symbols that you can see at the top of the introduction page. At the bottom of the same page are twelve icons/symbols that represent music forms cases or genres.

The genre icons can be dragged-and-dropped onto the images and combined with the different arena symbols. When a musical genre is dragged-and-dropped onto an arena, a new page emerges.



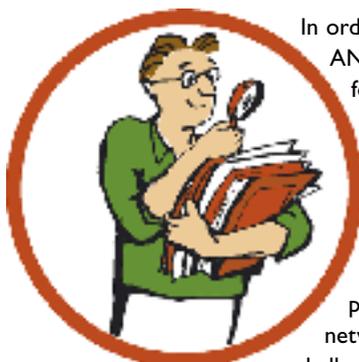
Since we have decided to use nyckelharpa music as an example, we will start by drag-and-dropping its icon onto the symbol for Internet. A representation of the genre's present situation will emerge on the screen.



The annual cycle for each combination of music form/arena/point of time will be indicated through two symbols depicting the degree of activity during the summer season (leaves) and the winter season (snowflakes). The absence of either leaves or snowflakes means that there is no activity, one or two leaves or snowflakes indicate some activity, whereas three leaves or snowflakes illustrates high activity.



If you click on the symbol of “the knower”, the following comment to the image will emerge in the form of a PRATBUBBLA vad det nu heter:



In order to unite nyckelharpa players in North America, ANA—the American Nyckelharpa Association—was formed in 1995. That same year the association produced its own website on the Internet. The aim was to spread information and to become more visible, the Chairman of ANA informs. By 1998, participants from the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Belgium, France, Germany and Sweden had joined. Thanks to the Internet, nyckelharpa players all over the world can communicate. Via the network it is possible to access information about nyckelharpa-makers, teachers, courses and, not least, repertoires. ANA’s home page sports a shop for books and CDs but also an MP3 bank and a database for notated music. At the moment, nyckelharpa enthusiasts use the Internet as an individual arena since there is almost no direct interaction on the net. Nyckelharpists use their computers to download and share notes, music and other information.

The Internet arena of the nyckelharpa players receives no attention at all from other media and the activities have no seasonal variations.

The knower acts as a guide and gives an example of how the American Nyckelharpa Association’s website functions as a focus point in the electronic network of nyckelharpa supporters.

If you want to find out what the situation looked like 10 to 15 years ago, you find that the past button is dimmed which indicates that there was no nyckelharpa-related activity on the Internet in those days.

Perhaps you then are curious to find out what the Internet activities of the nyckelharpa world are headed for in the future, in which case just click on the FUTURE button to obtain the following result:



The knower comments:

Nyckelharpa enthusiasts in Japan and North America formed WHH, World Harp WEB, in 2010. Throughout the years the organisation has been active. It has mainly focused on arranging and managing the media distribution of concerts and competitions. WHW is primarily committed to arranging an annual global folk music festival held simultaneously at four locations around the world. Via network cameras and large screens, nyckelharpa players perform together with each other all over the globe for the concluding synchronised concerts. “It is a great feeling to be part of 8,000 nyckelharpas that in one go start up with the song *Spelmansglädje*—it feels as if the whole of the earth is trembling”, says Keiko Mori, 24, Japan. Since most nyckelharpists live in the northern hemisphere, the festivals have been located to Seattle, Österbybruk, Kyoto and Brussels.

The media has shown a lot of interest in the events. And individual fans of the nyckelharpa can take part in the festivals via their home PCs.

If you go back to the opening page of the game and drag the icon for nyckelharpa music onto the icon for Competition, a presentation of the present situation of nyckelharpa music within this arena will pop up:



The knower comments:

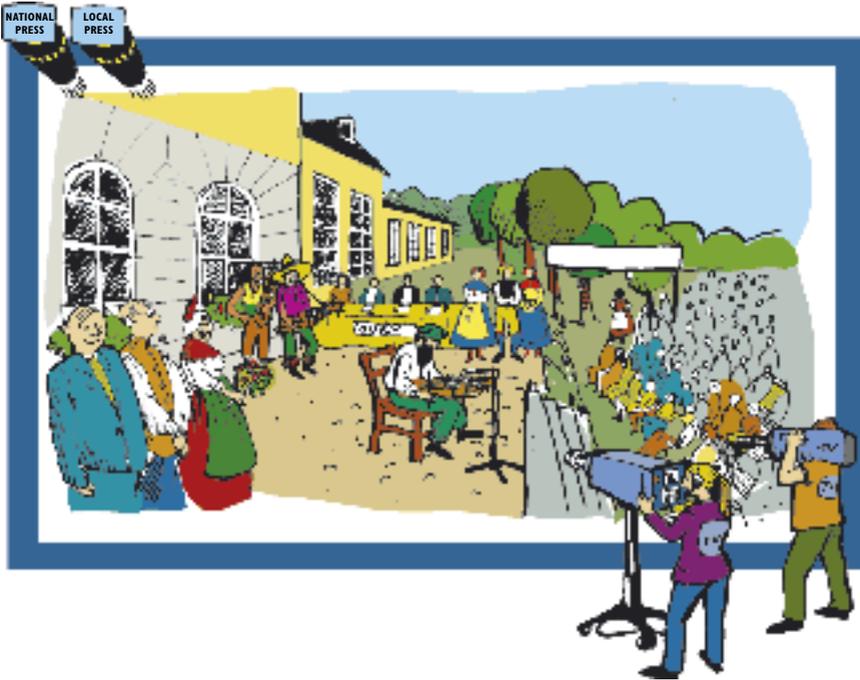
The world championship in nyckelharpa has been arranged since 1990 by the Eric Sahlström memorial fund. Competitions take place within two classes: gammelharpa, which comprises all the older types of nyckelharpa, and modern nyckelharpa. The competition takes place every second year and has incorporated a specially designed event for juniors since 1999. The nyckelharpa world championship and the junior championship are organised during the summer season.

The aim of the arrangement is to increase interest in the nyckelharpa and its musicians. The Speaker of the Swedish Parliament gave away the prizes in 2000 and this increased the interest in the competition. Although media with nation-wide coverage have expressed little interest thus far, a thriving tradition with great attraction for musicians and the public has been established.

When Peter “Puma” Hedlund became the world champion in modern nyckelharpa in 2000 (for the second time), the jury stated that he was given the award “due to his excellent interpretation of and his extraordinary technical ability to play newer nyckelharpa tunes”.

The past button is dimmed thus there have been no previous activities within this arena and that no competitions were arranged for nyckelharpa musicians until 1990. The only form of activity was performances in the hopes of winning Zornmärket. (Zornmärket is an insignia that has been awarded to folk musicians of distinction since 1933 and which allows winners to label themselves National Master of Folk Music. It is named after its designer, the Swedish painter Anders Zorn, who was a great fan of Swedish folk music.)

Click on the FUTURE button and the following image pops up:



The knower comments.

This year's world champion within gammelharpa in the world championship in nyckelharpa is the Indian musician Ranjit Singh. The jury motivated its choice in the following way: "for a balanced and artistic innovative performance with drone variations on a reconstructed moraharpa (an old type of 3-stringed nyckelharpa). The Asian trials were tough and the final battle stood between Singh and the Korean musician Kim Taek Soo, who was armed with a double-bass harp with "dubbellek". Most experts agreed that this was in fact the true final. "It will take years to break the dominance of Asia within gammelharpa and one has to keep in mind that, unlike us, they have a vast population from which to choose", says one of the members of this year's jury.

The internationalisation of the nyckelharpa and other ethnic instruments has been a speedy affair and today there are nyckelharpa associations in 40 countries. The world championship in Österbybruk is sent live over the globe via narrowcasting in co-operation with the nyckelharpa organisation World Harp Web.

We have now looked at the three opportunities for nyckelharpa within the arena Competition. Go back to the opening image of The Arena Game and drag-and-drop the icon for nyckelharpa onto the arena Studio and the following image will emerge:



The knower comments:

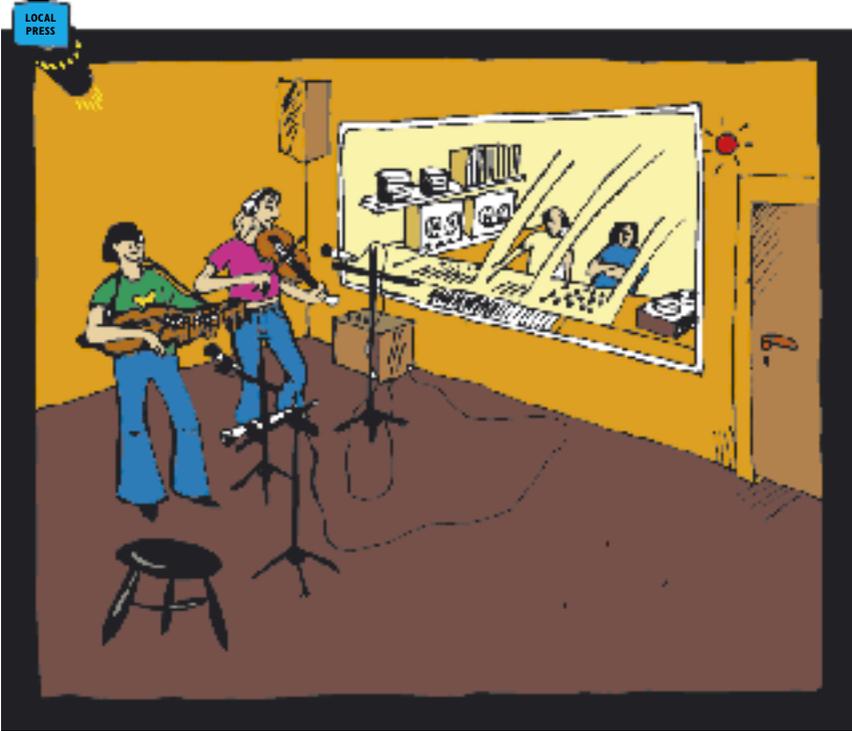
The record industry displays a great interest in nyckelharpa music. Swedish nyckelharpa musicians are recorded by all kinds of companies, from small and local ones to the giants such as Warner Music.

Nyckelharpa forms part of the exciting regeneration taking place within music arenas in which more and more music genres are mediated and medialisised. Nyckelharpa is used in recordings of pop records and string quartets as well as at folk musician events. Recording techniques vary from two-channel documentations to multi-channel hardware recordings. A typical ensemble may consist of nyckelharpa, fiddle, guitar and even drums.

Together with instruments such as kora, djembe, sitar and other culturally distinctive instruments, the nyckelharpa belongs to an ethnical depot of instruments that is typical of mediated world music.

Media arenas are not dependent on season and can thus be used all the year round.

Click on the PAST button and look at the following image.



The knower comments:

A documentation of an individual musician or a team of nyckelharpa players comprises the classic nyckelharpa recording. Although the musicians increased in numbers in the 1970s and 1980s, record studios displayed a moderate interest in the music. Multi-national companies were not interested at all and only a few Swedish companies undertook recordings. The recording technique was the same as for all folk music documentation—two-channel recording on reel-to-reel tape without overdubs.

The high costs of technology and distribution made it impossible for individual enthusiasts to issue their own records.

The records that did reach consumers did so on restricted markets and sold in small amounts. Interest from media with nation-wide coverage was low.

A click on the FUTURE button presents a totally different picture.



The knower comments:

During the final years of the Eurovision Song Contest, ethnic performances grew in numbers. Recall how we Swedes borrowed musical symbols from other people, such as in the 2000 contribution, which had Sami, Inuit and Indian features. The winning Norwegian song of 1995 (*Nocturne* performed by Secret Garden) featured a Swedish nyckelharpa played by the equally Swedish musician Åsa Jinder. This formed the initial phases of the medial entertainment genre that came to be known as *ethnotainment* during the 2010s.

On the stage of the Swedish Globe Arena, in front of an enthusiastic home audience, the Swedish contribution for the year's Sony World Music Prize is performed. In order to further the differences between the contributions, the arranger, Sony Music, has decided that participating countries may use only domestic ethnic instruments. Waiting to enter the stage are the Scots with their highland bagpipes, the Norwegians with their hardanger fiddles, a Finnish kantele ensemble, a didjeridu orchestra, an mbira band...

Media attention is major. The event is sent live on TV and radio around the world.

In this way, The Arena Game continues to go through the connections between genres and arenas.

Actors and Their Roles

Let us now examine Sweden's music-scape from the actor's perspective. Which conditions, tendencies and changes become apparent? The first and greatest change is unquestionably that the number of practitioners of music has increased, an aspect of the incredible broadening of music in our times. A few decades ago there were still perceptions that the increasing amounts of recorded music would reduce the need for live music. This has not occurred. Quite the opposite, it is probably that the growth of mediated music is closely related to the increase in the number of musicians. Mediated music has only pushed live music aside in some areas.

The growth is, however, unevenly distributed. From our case studies it is apparent, for example, that early musicians have declined in numbers and medievalists have at the same time increased. The number of hip hop artists and steelband musicians has increased, while growth among classic jazz devotees has been very slight. The number of accordionists has gone down since the golden years of the 1950s and 1970s but is now beginning to increase again as more young people join their ranks.

In all significant respects, growth seems to follow old, well-defined northern European patterns of age, genus and class, even if they have been loosened up during recent decades. The practice of music still belongs to the younger part of the population, even if the number of older musicians has probably increased in recent years. Instrumental music is still in principle a male domain, while song is a female domain. Certain instruments continue to be more "female" than others, such as the harp, the flute and piano, while electric bass and drums, for example, are as good as exclusively "male".

The practice of music has for a long time had its strongest foundations in the urban, well-educated middle-class. We have seen that over 30% of young people attending school in Sweden now take part in municipal music education, a very high figure both historically and internationally, which is due to the rapid growth of the middle-class since the 1950s.²¹⁵ A new pattern is, however, that

²¹⁵ The ideal of adult education, to make available education and art for everyone regardless of class, has its strongest bastion in the urban middle-class. The spread of the adult educational ideal in Sweden is therefore closely related to the spread of the urban middle-class. (Compare Bohman 1985)

the practice of music also follows pronounced ethnic patterns. At the schools of music there are, for example, few or no students with origins in Africa, the Middle East and Latin-America.²¹⁶ On the other hand, music school studies are common among immigrants from countries such as Poland, Germany and Hungary, which probably has to do with their also belonging to an urban middle-class. Among hip hop artists there are many young people with foreign origins and it is not uncommon that coloured musicians devote themselves to jazz. Similar patterns are found in other countries, which is another example of how music is linked to identities on many levels simultaneously.

Another aspect of music's expansion is that the expertise of the practitioners has generally increased. An explanation is that investments in increased music education in the 1970s have now borne fruit. Another is that access to concerts, workshops, instruction videos, MTV, records, etc. featuring highly skilled musicians with whom musicians can compare themselves and be influenced by has increased in all areas. A general effect of increased competency is increased professionalisation in the majority of musical fields. Expressive specialists have thereby increased. Their significance has also increased in keeping with music's generally greater importance and, in particular, through music's greater importance as a bearer of cultural identities.

A third aspect of the expansion of music is that other types of actor have also increased, or in any case have increased in importance. This is particularly true of actors connected to the music industry.²¹⁷ Visby shows that at least in some places there is also a strong local growth in individual actors as mediators and enthusiasts and of groupings and institutions. With the increase in the numbers of actors on the music scene, the numbers of types of music and styles practised have also grown. Diversity in the area of music has thereby grown in total, which has had decisive significance for the growth of the new "multicultural" arenas with their special forms of expression and styles.

Individual Actors

In the section on arenas, we saw that their number has not increased at the same rate as the number of musicians. An effect of the increased competition for public arenas for live and mediated music is that gatekeepers have an increasingly important role. It has been especially pronounced on private radio stations where gatekeeper's increased influence has led to an ever narrower out-

²¹⁶ Something that has also been observed in Denmark. Fock 1996/797.

²¹⁷ In some cases they have become fewer, e.g. the number of directors in large record companies has declined but their significance has still increased.

put of mainly commercial music that has been adapted to the stations' format (see p. 139–147).

The primary task of the gatekeepers is to maintain the arenas' focus and boundaries by controlling the range of expressive forms and styles offered. More groupings formed around music or based on cultural origin mean that we can expect gatekeepers to gain greater importance in internal arenas too. Because internal arenas are important tools for the creation of uniformity and a "we feeling", it is important that what is performed in the arenas is in line with a grouping's expressed or unexpressed goals. Gatekeepers such as the early musicians' "Constable Krumhorn" (p. 317) and the medievalists' "time police" (p. 328p.) see to it that activities and performances occur in accordance with a common aesthetic and are played against common horizons. Other examples of this type of gate-keeping are when Swedish world music bands are accused of destroying traditions (compare "bad dancing p. 161–165) and when Assyrian orchestras are encouraged not to play Arabic music, which often means that they ought not to sing in Arabic (compare p. 305).

Enthusiasts play a decisive role in the majority of groupings. Enthusiasts, however, are unable to fan the flames of their enthusiasm forever. Declines can often be explained by the dampening of an enthusiast's ardour, just as growth and revival can be explained by the arrival of new flames. Enthusiasts are strong individuals, groundbreakers and creators of new orders. For that reason it is also difficult to generalise about them.

A category of individual actors of great importance is a type of broker, which we refer to as "openers". Certain migrant groupings' visibility in public music arenas can be explained by their having had access to special individuals, the majority of them Swedish, who by means of their professions, education or status are able to open doors and convey contacts. An example is Mix musikcafé at Musikmuseet, one of Stockholm's multi-cultural stages that via the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation's broadcasts has achieved a nation-wide range. Over the years, many Assyrian, Turkish, Iranian and Latin American musicians have been introduced there directly reflecting the preferences and networks of certain producers (Hellberg 1999). That musicians in these groupings are accessible on publicly distributed CDs in Sweden is almost entirely thanks to the activities of certain brokers. Producers and other specialists that help musicians to adapt their music to a given medium are yet another type of actor we can call a "mediaizator". They have become all the more important with increased mediaization. People like Manne von Ahn Öberg and Ulf "Sankan" Sandqvist (see p. 166) have been very important in shaping Swedish world music.

Groupings

From a perspective spanning several decades, it is clear that the number of groupings based on choice of music has increased because the number of accessible genres, styles, forms/types have increased. At the same time, groupings that have arisen through *migration* have increased manifold because people from many lands have moved to Sweden. Groupings that have arisen through *separation* have increased, among other things because large national congregations with the aim of encompassing all or large parts of society (parties and national associations) are declining in size and significance. Instead, the number of groupings that include only a few selected parts are on the increase.

Groupings that have arisen because of external pressure seem to have increased. One reason is the growing gap between rich and poor, which has led to increased segregation in areas such as housing, education, the labour market, etc. The segregation follows clear lines of ethnicity, religion and class. The result is succinctly described by Milton Gordon's concept from the 1960s—"ethclass". Gordon proceeded from an observation that many after him have also made, namely that for some people in American society, ethnicity can appear as an individually positive choice: a person can be Irish on St Patrick's Day, Scandinavian on Christmas Eve and Italian in the pasta store. However, Gordon points out, if you study the living conditions of society's lowliest members, for example African and Native Americans, you cannot in practice distinguish between class and ethnicity. They are aspects of the same thing, absolutely forced subordination, impoverishment and repression, which ought not to be described with two different, but with one single composite concept—"ethclass" (Gordon 1964). In today's Swedish city suburbs there a number of such "ethclass" groupings, often united by music styles such as hip hop and punk, styles that more clearly than others stand for resistance against external constraint and repression.

Unequal Access to Actors

Access to different types of actor is unequal. In our case studies we have described the different groupings' access to *doers*, *knowers* and *makers*. When these observations are compared interesting patterns arise. Naturally, all of the groupings have access to doers, since without them there is no grouping. Over and above that it is necessary for the majority of groupings to have access to makers that can produce economic capital and to knowers that can produce cultural capital. Groupings with few makers and knowers find access to arenas and capital difficult, which leads to low status and visibility. Devotees of classic jazz, Caribbean music and old-time dance music on the accordion are exam-



Housing estates near the front line between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast. In Northern Ireland the express line of partition runs between Catholics and Protestants but under the surface there are social, economic and political antagonisms. Photo: Dan Lundberg.

ples of this. The accordionists' struggle for increased space in the output of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, itself a symptom of the lack of makers and knowers, is a struggle for increased visibility in a national public media, which in turn is a demand for increased attention and recognition.

Conversely, groups with many makers and knowers can enjoy easy access to both arenas and economic and cultural capital. An example is the early musicists. Another are the nyckelharpa devotees, who have succeeded in getting the Swedish Riksdag (parliament) to found a national institute for the instrument and are now propagating to have the nyckelharpa declared the national instrument, though they are not many. Swedish world music devotees have plenty of access to makers, which gives them access to public arenas and economic capital. They have, on the other hand, less access to knowers, which makes cultural capital less accessible. The establishment of Caribbean music in Sweden is also thanks to the accessibility of makers, in particular those with knowledge of local structures.

Changes in the accessibility of knowers and makers can rapidly alter a group's conditions. Among medievalists the number of makers is growing quickly. It creates increased access to the necessary "medieval wares", which allows in-



Research creates attention. Dan Lundberg is interviewed by Albert Gabriel on Assyrian net TV, Turlock California. Photo: Anders Sjöberg.

creasing numbers to participate in medieval events. Increased sales generates sufficient economic capital to support expressive specialists, e.g. tailors, cobblers, weapons smiths and musicians. The professionalisation gives them the opportunity of increasing their competency, which in turn opens the way for increased visibility for the grouping as a whole. Increased opportunities for recognition follow in the train of increased visibility.

Among Assyrians, the supply of makers is good. They give the grouping access to many types of arena and to forms of distribution that can lead to greater cohesion. On the other hand, knowers are few, which acts as an obstacle for increased status and recognition.

Through publication on the Internet, our studies became a resource for the Assyrian grouping. MMM's researchers became supplementary knowers that leading Assyrians can use in different ways to advance their positions.

Unequal Access to Capital

The access to capital also affects a grouping's conditions. The greater the access to capital, the greater the access to arenas in which visibility, status, legitimacy and recognition can be produced (public and internal, live and mediated).

Conversely, greater access to arenas gives increased supplies of capital. There are several different contexts or economies in which capital can be generated. One of these is the “ordinary” economy, in which the currency is money. Another is the symbolic economy where the currency is cultural status or value, so-called cultural capital. A third is the increasingly important economy of attention, where the currency is such visibility as can lead to attention.

In a money economy, visibility is a means of making money. In an economy of attention, money is a means of creating visibility. Money and visibility do not always grant access to cultural capital. Quite the opposite, too much money or visibility can lead to the devaluation of cultural capital.²¹⁸ In a money economy, profitability is the production of long series that can be widely distributed (compare “broadcasting”). In an economy of attention profitability arises through the production of difference. The distinctive can be effectively seen even in small editions.

These different economies are closely related to one another. An example is sponsoring, where money can be changed into visibility. The sponsoring of institutions with large cultural capital such as the energy company Sydkraft’s sponsoring of the Swedish Concert Institute creates attention that can be exchanged for cultural capital for the sponsor. Another example is the award of prizes and scholarships in which the money is not only guided by, but also to instances of high cultural capital. A successful exchange of currencies of this sort is Stikkan Andersson’s ABBA millions, which became the Polar Prize to be awarded to world famous stars by the Royal Academy of Music. All parties involved receive increased access to both money, cultural capital and attention/recognition.

There is reason to believe that new forms of production and distribution will quickly change these basic conditions for the majority of groupings in society. Via CD, MP3, DVD, web TV, home pages on the Internet, etc., musical groupings with little economic, cultural and attention capital such as fans of steelbands and classic jazz can reach far beyond their local/regional bases. Their total resources and capital can thereby increase, giving them both greater vitality and independence.

Institutions

A pronounced trend in Sweden since the 1980s is for state and municipality to reduce their long-term cultural undertakings. As we have seen, the result has been that access to small and medium-sized public arenas for live music has

²¹⁸ It is possible the demarcation line between cultural and economic capital has become less pronounced. It appears that, for example, millionaires in property speculation, pornographic magazines, violent films and pulp fiction are more accepted than they would have been a few decades ago.

declined. “The public sector” has at the same time moved into the world of projects, where music and other expressive forms have long been used as instruments for launching images, social change (e.g. combating racism) and to draw attention to certain questions (e.g. equality). This sort of instrumentalisation of music has many consequences for musical life, not least problems of stability and continuity.²¹⁹

In keeping with Swedish society’s change of direction toward increased influence from the private sector and groupings/collectives of various kinds, the tasks and significance of policy-makers in the area of music have changed. An important category of policy-makers in the public sector has until recently been charged with distributing music as good culture and education. These have today largely been replaced by another category whose task it is to produce visibility. An example is the Swedish Concert Institute, which came about in the 1960s to distribute what was regarded as good music to “neglected audience groups” in “neglected areas”, in particular children in small communities across the country. The educational ideals are today played down. Instead the Institute devotes itself to such activities as actively promoting Swedish music, Swedish groups and the Swedish image abroad.²²⁰

A type of actor that has declined in significance is the policy-maker with an evaluational, review function (critics, reviewers, etc.). They have functioned as national filters and been able to control content and access to large national arenas with high visibility and also direct grants and support to the “right” types/forms of music, in other words even control cultural capital. Their importance has waned and there are many examples in our studies. In many areas there are no evaluational strata at all, which is why everything is on the same level and it is difficult to create and convey clear values that can create cultural capital. Where there is an evaluational strata of, for example, critics and reviewers, they tend to represent private views rather than “generally accepted truths”. They aspire less to saying how something *should* be, as many once did, than to what they themselves think. A “privatisation” of the evaluational strata of this kind makes more difficult the conveyance of clear values, which on the one hand can promote a diversity of expression on many levels, but on the other can also mean that high and low quality are made equal.

²¹⁹ The instrumentalisation of expressive forms is a prominent feature in today’s Sweden.

²²⁰ The Swedish musician union, Svenska Musikerförbund, is also heading in that direction. By collaborating in Export Music Sweden they are contributing to the launch of Swedish music abroad.

Individual and Collective—Diversity and Multiculture

Diversity is certainly a more original category than unity, because diversity is a real factor in the world of experience, whereas unity is an abstraction (Vannérus 1905, quote. SAOB).

In this book we have distinguished between diversity and multiculture. While diversity is connected to a liberal tradition in which people are seen as free to choose from an exuberant botanical garden of forms and colours, multiculture is tied to an ethnic discourse that presents people as group members. Diversity stands for a “rich variety of species”, quantities of phenomena that are perceived as different in some significant way.²²¹ Multiculture stands for a special system of the categorisation and organisation of diversity, which by introducing cultural frames of interpretation makes perceptions of origin relevant in certain contexts, in certain arenas and around certain expressive forms. It is a question then of two very different concepts. Diversity is larger and more general and can be found on individual, group and societal levels. In diversity, interest and competence are in focus. Multiculture expresses itself on a particular order of abstract units (“cultures”) on a collective, structural or societal level where origin and heritage are in focus.

A supporting hypothesis of our work is that cultural frames of interpretation that emphasise groups, in increasing numbers of contexts have come to compete with social frames of interpretation that emphasise individuals/citizens.²²² The result is increased emphasis on the production of difference of the distinctiveness type, which in turn leads to increased stress on such symbols and expressive forms as effectively can make visible and represent the link between the individuals and groupings.

In reality as described, such links are often taken as read, that music and other expressive forms and behaviours are connecting links between individual

²²¹ Diversity does not imply any particular order. It is a fundamental conceptual category that can be described but in principle does not need to be explained: “It is the trend to some partial order that needs to be explained, by particular efficient causes, whereas the absence of order needs no explanation” (Barth 1989:133).

²²² An example of such a shift is discussed thoroughly in Ristilammi 1994.

and collective. The rationale is formed as an unassailable circular argument: “There are Swedes. Sven Svensson is Swedish. Sven Svensson does things in a Swedish way. That is what makes him Swedish.” Reality as lived is, as usual more complicated. Those who have mastered the right forms, with the right expertise and who have access to the right kinds of arenas in relevant contexts can appear as representatives for a certain “origin”, whether or not this is the case and whether the person wants to or not.

Multiculture is a way of organising social and cultural diversity. The particular thing about it is that it tends to make claims on the entire world it expresses itself about and therefore becomes hegemonic. Those who are encircled by cultural frames of interpretation are “culturalised” and appear as bearers of “their culture”. Those who oppose can then be seen as not yet enlightened on their “correct identity” or as “traitors” who consciously deny this identity. It also often has a “compulsive” character. If a grouping has obtained space and visibility on a socio-politically important arena by presenting itself as cultural distinctive, others can be forced to follow suit in order not to become isolated.

Structural Prerequisites for Diversity and Multiculture

It is possible to identify a number of structural conditions for the arising of multiculture. A basic condition is without question numbers. There must be a certain minimum number of people that in some relevant respect see themselves as equals for the grouping to arise. The more members the more probable it is that the grouping can find the necessary resources in its own ranks.

An important factor is also the members’ composition, the group’s relative homogeneity or heterogeneity. Yet another basic condition is access to resources: economic, political, social, cultural, etc. The degree of integration and assimilation is also important, which is closely related to which resources can be mobilised. Another condition is the degree of cultural distance. The greater the distance, the more likely it is that a grouping will want to establish their own alternatives to the usual institutions.

A bank of comprehensible and relevant differences on which claims of individuality or distinctiveness can be founded belongs to the most important resources. The differences cannot be of just any sort. Meaningful difference arises against a background of meaningful similarity. Access to “a difference that makes a difference”²²³ is therefore important. The important word here is “make”: differences of this sort arise as a result of form giving practices, staged

²²³ “A difference which makes a difference” is Gregory Bateson’s definition of “bit”, the smallest unit of information (Ølgaard 1983:28).

in particular contexts for particular reasons. A key resource is access to specialists with sufficient and relevant expertise. Expressive specialists play an especially important role in interpreting and making visible perceived differences, both on an individual and group level. Another factor of great importance is access to arenas where such differences can be staged and dramatised. There must also be a “structure of relevance”, i.e. theoretical ideas and well-defined practice that makes it not only possible but also relevant to present cultural difference of various kinds (c.f. Berger & Luckman 1979).

One type of difference with great relevance for multiculturalism is related to the ambitions a grouping has in relation to the majority society. While some strive to establish complete miniature societies, others strive to create their own institutions in areas that are for them particularly symbolically or expressively charged and in particular those which lack equivalents in the majority society (c.f. Ronström 1992a, Slobin & Ronström 1989). The scope of their ambitions, the number of members, access to specialists within their own ranks and how competent they are, are decisive factors for success.

Cultural frames of interpretation that establish multiculturalism obviously cannot be brought into all parts of life. Ronström (1992a) has described how the “Yugoslavian” in Stockholm was localised to a defined social zone. The situations that Yugoslavians themselves viewed as “Yugoslavian” were all located in “the near world outside”, a zone between the more intimate zones (“bedroom zone” and “living room zone”) and the public “citizen zone”. In the intimate zones one is a woman, man, friend, relative, etc., in the public citizen zone, one is a more or less anonymous citizen. One is a “Yugoslav” in consciously presented arenas, centred on certain “typical” expressive forms, primarily food, dance and music.²²⁴

The Increase and Uneven Spread of Diversity

With our studies on diversity and multiculturalism as a background, and from a quantitative and distributive perspective, certain fundamental conditions become clear:

- Diversity in society is increasing generally. Multiculturalism is also becoming more common as a result of increased culturisation and increased number of cultural frames of interpretation.

²²⁴ The point of departure here is emic (the subject’s own definition of “Yugoslavian”), and deviates from cultural concepts that postulate that everything Yugoslavs do is per definition Yugoslavian.

- Diversity is unevenly distributed in Swedish society. Certain places (e.g. cities) have in general greater access to most things. In certain areas (e.g. radio) it is even declining. Multiculture in the sense of a system for organising diversity is even more unevenly distributed. Multiculture seems to have the greatest incidence and relevance in intellectual and political strata, with its strongest bastions in the country's cultural and economic centres, i.e. in the inner cities. In the peripheries, such as Visby and Botkyrka, multiculture can lack relevance, even if the diversity of people, styles, forms and expertise is great. What is most lacking are structures, actors and arenas that make multiculture relevant and real.

All of the tendencies that appear in our material can be related to these conditions, whose results are principally decided in the energy field individual-collective. In this section, perspectives that relate to diversity and individual perspective shall be discussed first and thereafter tendencies that affect multiculture and groupings. After that we will in overview point out movements and shifts in this energy field and finally discuss some types of conflict that are generated by the introduction of several parallel ways of organising social and cultural diversity in Sweden.

Diversity and Individual Perspective

The aesthetic means of expression have increased many times over during the 20th century. The number of styles and forms is constantly increasing. Many local types of music have been uncoupled from their former contexts and gained global distribution, to then be re-localised in completely new local landscapes. Such types of music that have been spread in Sweden in recent decades are for example samba, Caribbean steelband music, klezmer, hip hop, music from the Balkans, nyckelharpa music and Irish folk music.

With increased diversity of styles and forms comes increased possibilities to choose. Music has strong links with behaviour and lifestyles. For some individuals a type of music is the basis of an entire lifestyle, e.g. among some fans of hip hop. Choices can then in reality be limited. But for others that type of link has been eroded, which makes it possible for them to devote themselves to, for example, old-time dance, rock and classical music at the same time, something which would have been difficult to imagine only a couple of decades ago. A general tendency, strongly supported in our material, is that opportunities for and willingness among individuals to simultaneously devote themselves to many different types of music have increased.

Increased diversity and competency also increases the musicians' and other

expressive specialists' opportunities to successfully participate in many different contexts. Another pronounced tendency in our material is increased overlap—greater possibilities and willingness to simultaneously identify oneself with several different groupings. The result is that people to a greater extent than previously appear to be able to choose which grouping they want to belong to and conversely that increasing numbers of groupings seem to arise through individual choice. These tendencies are closely related. They are related to expressive forms, with which difference is given form, being more numerous and accessible than ever before; the increase in the number of arenas, situations and contexts in which it is possible and relevant to produce difference and that the cultural mobility of the individual seems to be increasing.

An effect of this development is then that it appears as if individuals can increasingly choose their cultural belongings. In one sense it is of course weird: you cannot choose to be Swedish, Irish or Caribbean, you are born to it. Even if every sort of social and cultural boundary is vague, origin often appears as written in stone. In a study of Corsican nationalism Sofi Jeannin writes of the flow of “unofficial information”, which is a sort of tacit communal knowledge. “People ‘know’ who sympathises with FLNC (the resistance), when there is fraud and string-pulling and who might be behind it. People ‘know’ too who is Corsican despite the fact that no actual rule exists” (Jeannin 2000). In the same way the Gotlanders “know” who is a Gotlander and who is from the mainland, even if the boundaries between them can be hard to pin down.

Through increased diversity and global distribution it has become more common for people to appropriate expressive forms with close links to specific cultural identities. Anyone who knows their classic jazz can become a Dixie boy, just as a competent nyckelharpa player can choose to be one of the Nyckelharpa People. In the same way, those who choose to play Irish or Caribbean music will be included in a grouping and a social context where they appear *as* Irish or Caribbean. “I’m a Swede of the first generation of my family,” explained the American nyckelharp player Becky Weiss jokingly during an interview (M.DL989201). Measured in musical and cultural expertise, in the matter of folk traditions, Becky is more Swedish than the majority of Swedes, despite being American, living in Minneapolis and despite the fact her family has its roots in Germany.

It is common to regard such an interest-based identification as more superficial and less important than those based on origin. A widespread popular perception is that identity based on origin is authentic and deeply rooted, while identity based on interest is a shallow thing that can be donned and doffed like an item of clothing. Music’s enormous expansion during the second half of the 20th century is in itself a powerful indication that such ideas are highly simplified.

Cultural overlap and mobility belong with questions of compatibility. In several of the case studies we have seen how actors take part in several different groupings at the same time. In particular knowers, makers (such as radio, tv and record producers and researchers) and particularly competent expressive specialists, are able to successfully “serve” different groupings because they are often professionals in areas that extend beyond the grouping’s edges. Doers are of course usually the groupings’ active and most devoted members, but when it comes to interest groupings they are at the same time the most mobile. Mobility and overlapping follow certain patterns, however. Even if it is possible to be both a biker and fiddle player, it is not the most likely combination of interests and memberships. Whether or not group memberships are compatible is partly related to the demands and expectations of the surrounding world and partly to how heavily guarded the grouping’s boundaries are. It is possible for Assyrians to be members of both the Assyrian association in Sweden and the Nyckelharp Guild but hardly of the national association of Turks.

Multiculture and Collective Perspective

At the same time as there are increased choices for the individual, there is a pronounced tendency to increased segmentation based on interest and different sorts of origin. All-inclusive ideologies, parties and organisations, which span an entire society, are declining in importance. Instead, groupings with activities and ambitions that span a larger or smaller segment of society are on the increase. A related tendency is for these groups to an ever greater extent to demand that society accepts them as groups, collectives, with their point of departure in the interests or “origins” that are central to them.

Another tendency is for groupings to reinforce their claims on what they represent. Even companies, organisations, institutions, regions and countries are at work today to profile themselves, shape and make visible an image or a “company spirit”, a “culture” with certain outer features (e.g. colours and logos), behaviours and values which those who are included in the collective are expected to share and stand for. Elected or self-appointed representatives for aboriginal peoples, immigrants, women, homosexuals, handicapped, elderly, as well as for fans of hip hop, rave, synth and many others increasingly employ a rhetoric of culturalisation that presents individuals first and last as members of homogenous collectives with specific “cultures”.²²⁵ This kind of homological re-interpretation in which

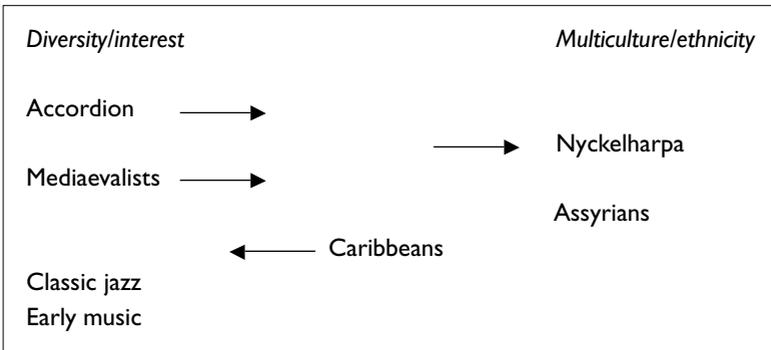
²²⁵ Ozan Sunar, a Swedish debater, has succinctly termed such representatives for migrant groupings “immigrant screamers” but there are also company screamers, organisation screamers, etc.

parts stand for the whole, is a principle element in the discourse of distinctiveness that has gained greater relevancy through increased numbers of cultural frames of interpretation.

Another tendency is for forms of music to be seen/ handled as representations of the practitioner’s cultural identity to a greater extent, that they are “that sort” or “belong to that group”. Expressed differently: the relation between outward signs, like style and expressive forms, and inner attributes and qualities like identity and culture, have been strengthened on both an individual and collective level. This results in the representative music forms being seen as belonging to the collective and as the grouping’s property. All of these tendencies are related to the growth of a global economy of attention with the world as a market in which it is important to be visible. Increased uniformity and more pronounced “cultural brand naming” provides opportunities for greater visibility, which places higher demands on individuals to stand for and represent the various collectives. Cultural frames of interpretation gives this way of organising the world relevance and legitimacy.

Groupings in Motion

If we place the groupings we have followed in our case studies in relation to these tendencies and general lines of development, it becomes apparent that while some are on the move in certain directions, others do not appear to be affected much or at all.



Accordionists are an interest grouping. The accordion and old-time dance’s strong symbolic connection to the 1940s and 1950s and to those who were young then and who have recently become pensioners is transforming the instrument and music to symbols for pensioners’ cultural origins, which makes it possible for them to take their place in multi-cultural society. Nyckelharpa was a highly local phenomenon at the beginning of the 1970s. Thereafter interest



The nyckelharpa—in every man’s wallet! The picture of the nyckelharpa on the Swedish fifty kronor note has meant that the majority of Swedes know what the instrument looks like.

in the nyckelharpa spread rapidly across the country, not least among the many that enjoyed actually making them. During the first phase of the folk music wave in the 1970s, the nyckelharpa also became a cultural symbol of origin for eastern Uppland, thereafter for all of Uppland, to then, during the 1990s, become a symbol for all of Sweden according to the principle “what we have that others don’t, even if few of us have it.” The shift from interest to symbol for local, regional and finally national origin has moved the nyckelharpa into new representative contexts, from the Eurovision Song Contest to bank notes. Medievalists represent a new type of interest group that already from the start was built up as if it were a people with its own distinctive culture. Assyrians are a grouping that with the Internet have tangibly succeeded in strengthening and making visible its claims of a common origin in an ancient and vanished Assyria. The Caribbeans are an interesting case, whose centre is comprised of ethnically defined original music that in Sweden has been shifted to form the basis of an interest grouping. Nevertheless, many of their performances are dedicated to symbolically representing Caribbean culture. Classic jazz is an African American music, which when it first turned up in Sweden in the 1920s was regarded as “Negro music”. The majority of connotations to blacks from the southern states vanished, however, long before multicultural and cultural

frames of interpretation became relevant. In Sweden, as in the majority of European countries, classic jazz is today more white than black. Coloured musicians in Europe often devote themselves to various kinds of jazz other than classic jazz. Early musicians are an interest-based grouping that has stagnated and lost many members through the professionalisation of performance practice.

Relevancy and Competency: Irish Music in Stockholm

The Irish music scene in Stockholm is largely comprised of pubs. The repertoire and instruments that are played in pub sessions are the same as can be heard in a pub in Dublin—modern Irish folk music played on the violin, tin-whistle, guitar, concertina and bodhrán. But the musicians are distinct from their colleagues in Dublin in one important respect: in Swedish pubs they are mainly Swedes. For Swedish customers one problem can be that the music and therefore the pub is not sufficiently genuine or authentic. True Irish music is played by “real” Irishmen, true Guinness is not brewed under licence by a Swedish brewer. But for the Irish in Stockholm, it makes no difference. If the musicians have sufficient musical skill and the beer tastes as it should then origins are of lesser importance.

Irish folk music in Stockholm is an important part of the Irish identity of Irishmen in exile via its many and strong symbolic connections to Ireland and Irish culture. At the same time, however, the genre has been uncoupled from its earlier context. Irish music is successfully played today across Europe and North America by musicians who are not of Irish origin. The bartender Tom Sommers had the following to say about the Swedish musicians in the pub The Loft in Stockholm²²⁶

I was amazed when I heard them for the first time. I couldn't believe they weren't Irish. They are fantastic musicians. But playing music is one thing. Actually anyone can become an Irish musician, if they are talented enough and interested. But it's not as easy to become, for example, an Irish bartender. You see, you can't learn to get an Irish personality. You can't pretend to be Irish (M.D1960II4).

The closer we examine individual musicians and their music, the clearer it becomes that the problem is rather *the perceptions* of the relationship between music and musicians than the relationship itself. When Tom Sommers says that

²²⁶ During the survey of multicultural stages in Stockholm, interviews and recordings were conducted on two occasions during January 1996 at The Loft. Part of the material was published by the Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company's series Musik i rörelse (music in motion) during the spring of the same year.

it is one thing to play Irish music but another entirely to be Irish, he is touching on a central point in the relationship between music and identity: relevant expertise for musicians is the mastery of musical means of expression. Certain sides of cultural identity can be recruited while others are “inherited”. Anyone can be an Irish musician but “you can’t learn to get an Irish personality”.

Much that surrounds cultural identity has been about inheritance and origins. But what does Irishman, Swede, Turk or Kurd really mean? The Swedish musicians at The Loft would naturally never claim to be Irish. But they might just as easily appear to be Irish to others, if they have sufficient competency and the context makes it relevant. If they are not Irish, they just as easily become Irish for a moment by representing Ireland and Irish culture. When Swedish Caribbeans play in steelbands at company parties and birthdays it is also about representation. The steelband is there to create an exotic atmosphere at the party. In our case study the band members use the term “Ambience Negroes” to signify their role in these contexts (c.f. p. 283). In the same way, the Swedish Irishmen become “Ambience Celts”—just as important as the beer and the songs. Together with certain “typical” objects the music forms an emblematic environment that makes the illusion of Ireland or Trinidad believable. With the extensive expansion of music during recent decades it is now possible to be Irish for a moment in pubs in Stockholm, or Caribbean at a company party. At the same time the music’s role as the bearer of just such symbolic links to cultural identities is strengthened, which in different ways has changed the relationships individual-collective, interest-origin and competency-inheritance. A large and perhaps growing proportion of that which is exploited to present cultural identity are expressive forms, i.e. expressions and skills that can be taught and learned. For this reason, identity is not just a question of inheritance but also of competence. This is particularly true of music, of course: “the most important lesson music has to teach us is that its inner secrets and its ethnic rules can be taught and learned” (Gilroy 1990).

Multiculture’s Spread

If “multicultural Sweden” is to have any reasonable meaning then it ought to be accessible to study not only in its centre but also in its peripheries. Guided by Foucault’s methodology and by Ulf Hannerz’s ideas on the distributive aspect of culture (Hannerz 1992 a, b), we wanted to compare some selected aspects of music, media and multiculturalism in Visby and Stockholm.²²⁷ The results point

²²⁷ Even if culture is perceived as something shared, not everyone shares everything with everyone: “In a complex culture, that is to say, some common sense is for everybody, but much much is definitely not that common” (Hannerz 1992:128).

out several important relationships. In Stockholm musical diversity is very great and increasing, which is due to a large composite population. Diversity in the media is on the other hand lower and in certain media even declining. On Gotland musical diversity is also great, despite the small and, compared to Stockholm, homogenous population. In Stockholm there is a pronounced multiculturalism, in the shape of situations, arenas, distinctive expressive forms and cultural frames of interpretation that makes them meaningful. On Gotland there is virtually no multiculturalism at all, which is because there are few situations and arenas that are intended for this. During 2000 they have, however, increased. Typically enough the majority have been linked to initiatives “from above/from without”, such as when employers by law are required to consider equality between the sexes and ethnic diversity and therefore begin to categorise labour in terms of gender and origins. But on Gotland there is a prominent amount of polymaths, which gives rise to a significant overlap in social relationships, making the establishment of cultural frames of interpretation and multiculturalism difficult. The introduction of a discourse that points out and celebrates blending as a value in itself is thereby made more difficult because it presupposes a prior clarification of boundaries between distinct groupings.

In summary it can be said that even if diversity is great in both Stockholm and Visby, it has different scope, extent and content. Multiculturalism is an established system in Stockholm but not in Visby, even if the structures that establish such a system have recently been strengthened. A conclusion can then be that Gotland is unique and deviant, while Stockholm represents more of a normal case. But it is also possible that every other place would have given the same results, i.e. that conditions everywhere are not only different but also different in different ways. Multicultural society, which is written in the singular, is conversely more unitary, precisely because it is a system that establishes particular forms of order. Paradoxically enough, this order does not seem able to easily contain the existing cultural diversity in Sweden.

Individuals and Groupings

For the individual, membership in a grouping based on free choice often means great advantages. Active membership in an interest grouping means that the individual gains access to a network of like-minded individuals. This is often the prime reason for people to turn to different sorts of association with musical activity. At the same time members gain some of the grouping's status and visibility and thereby opportunities for attention. On the other hand, those who join a grouping with low status and low visibility gain reduced attention and would perhaps be better off alone or in another grouping.

Groupings that have high status and visibility, access to resources and arenas, are attractive to individuals who have the possibility of switching between groupings. The Romany musician Hans Caldaras is an example of this. Despite not being an immigrant he is often treated as such by, for example, the authorities. There is often a lack of categories in which to place Swedish Romanies when grants are applied for in a cultural context. Caldaras is not completely negative about the classification as immigrant even if he is frustrated by it. It shows namely that he stands to gain by the classification through greater access to support and resources than if he was classified as Swedish.

The sociologist Göran Ahrne describes the advantages of organisations:

Organization is about constructing certainty and control. To do this organizations recruit and select affiliates and collect resources. Organizations are enclosed, which does not imply that they do not care about their outsides. There are all sorts of ways for organizations to try to manage and influence what is going on outside their gates. (Ahrne 1994:84)

For Ahrne an organisation is a more harmonious unit than the groupings we are discussing. Organisation is primarily an actively created alliance of people. The smallest organisations include marriage and the largest are alliances between nations such as the UN. However, organisations have in a way, the same pros and cons for individuals as groupings. Security and control and access to greater resources are important factors from an organisational perspective. In the activities of music groupings, access to a network of like-minded people and visibility are perhaps even more important.

Groupings and Individuals

The status, visibility and resources of groupings are dependent on the individuals in them. Knowers and makers create visibility and access to cultural and economic capital. Groupings can exploit members with high visibility to draw attention to themselves. The nyckelharp folk are an example of a grouping that has been skilled enough to exploit politicians and knowers for this purpose. At the seminar "Hearing on the purpose of The Folk Music Institute" at the world and folk music fair Norrskan in Falun on 4 February 2000, Esbjörn Hogmark related how the creation of a board for the Eric Sahlström Institute including people who are well-known and influential in the Swedish music world was a conscious effort. Another measure aimed at creating attention was using the Swedish Parliamentary Speaker to award the prizes at the Nyckelharp World Championships.

Other groupings also seek exposure in the mass media. As the most success-



The “Assyrian” André Agassi holds a press conference in connection with Davis Cup 1995. Photo: Denise Kimble (<http://www.andreagassi.co.uk>).



The nyckelharpa in advertising contexts stands for secure tradition and Swedish distinctiveness. Eric Sahlström in his workshop (compare advertisements for “Swedish design” p.239).

ful “immigrant team” in Swedish football, Assyriska, attracts a lot of attention to the grouping. Few know that the majority of actors are not of Assyrian origin. In several interviews, Assyrians in the US have expressed their displeasure that the number one seed in tennis, André Agassi, does not promote his Assyrian origins. Agassi would make Assyrian grouping visible in an exceptional way and further more “should” from solidarity finance parts of the activities with his tennis millions. Even people who are unpopular, for example Iraq’s foreign minister Tarik Aziz, are presented by American Assyrians as one of them. Despite Aziz being regarded as an enemy on the world political stage by many Americans, celebrity is sufficient in his case for him to be regarded as an asset. The attention that is focused on him contributes to making Assyrians visible.

On a group level different types of strategy or attitude can be observed vis-à-vis non-members. A dismissive stance is assumed towards individuals who have a negative effect on the grouping’s status, those one wants to exclude. One example is when political parties exclude members who express opinions that can damage the party’s reputation. Conversely, one can also strive to include individuals who would contribute to an increase in the grouping’s status and visibility, such as sportsmen and women, politicians and business people.

Mixed Systems

Our hypothesis has been that parallel systems for the organisation of social and cultural diversity on a society-wide level are in the process of being established. One system is organised around individual citizens and has social frames of interpretation in a prominent position. Another, newer system that competes in increasing numbers of situations is organised around groupings and has cultural frames of interpretation in a prominent position. The liberal society of citizens meets an idea in which society is comprised of groupings with separate “cultures”.

The groups of tendencies we have discussed in this section can be seen as consequences of such a development. The result is complicated and opposing patterns. A clear example is the introduction of legislation on equality in working life, which decrees positive discrimination of women in certain situations. The main principles in this legislation, the purpose of which is to improve conditions for women as a collective, are not easily reconciled with previous legislation on the rights of the individual in society (c.f. Lundström 1996). Two conflicting systems that are supported by law between which it is possible to switch become available, which is yet another aspect of increased diversity in society. In individual workplaces a special type of conflict can arise regarding which frame of interpretation and thereby which legislation should be referred to.

Increasing diversity and globalisation makes everything more available to the individual. Increased competency gives them greater opportunities to participate in ever more contexts, which means the aspects of interest and competence are put in focus. New identities arise out of this. At the same time the groupings' demands on the individual to represent them as members and furthermore their claims on rights to the symbols, which the groupings see as "theirs", are amplified. This results in cultural belonging, inheritance and origin becoming central, which gives precisely such identities as "I am a Swede of the first generation," a stronger meaning. Overlapping, mobility, diversification and blending on an individual level are pitted against homogenisation and cultivation in isolation on a collective level.

However, individuals need not share the collective's perceptions on what they should represent. That which occurs from a cultural frame of interpretation when a grouping is institutionalised by, for example, laws and rules (e.g. the new equality and diversity laws) is an increased fragmentation and segmentation into groups. This, in turn, gives rise to new individual strategies to continue to live in the way one always has. People can give up a job, change association, change music style, get divorced, move etc. The increase in this kind of "mobility" can be seen as a strategy for getting away from the increasing demands placed on their lives, which is an assumption of power from representatives of the collectives. When members of the groupings, for whom membership is seen as partial and situational, find it difficult to identify themselves with the reductionistic self-images that the groupings create, they have a choice between changing groupings or reformulating its cultural identity.

The cultural geographers Micheal Dear and Steven Flusty (1999) describe modern Western cities as *heteropolises*, multidimensional conglomerate of styles and forms. Modern man seems without roots, restless, constantly switching between available identities in an incoherent mass of disparate activities and affiliations. Such descriptions are not uncommon. Switching between different activities and affiliations and expressing oneself with different means in separate arenas are common and perhaps necessary ingredients in the life of a modern—or post-modern—person.

At the same time it is in many ways a deceptive picture. On Gotland there is a widespread polymathism which gives rise to an equally widespread overlapping. Polymathism has long been one of the most important survival strategies on Gotland, as in many other parts of Sweden. For individuals, polymathism of any composition can form a coherent whole, a life form with stability and continuity. But if polymathism is placed in a cultural frame of interpretation, which presents the world as if it was comprised of a mosaic of separate cultures, it is easy to picture individuals playing "hop-scotch" between the different tiles,

defying their given origins and affiliations. In other words, if people continue to live in accordance with old cultural orders, and if new ways of interpreting these orders are introduced, old totalities are recreated as new fragmented worlds in which people live.

Diversify Diversity

“One of the major dilemmas in dealing with ‘the organization of diversity’ is finding a language that does not predetermine what can and cannot be said” (c.f. Krishenblatt-Gimblett 1992:52). The very word *multiculture* says too much.

The main part of the discussion of Sweden as a multicultural society has been about immigrants, ethnic groups with separate cultures. The powerful delimitation of Sweden has made more difficult an understanding of how ideas of “the multicultural society” have grown up as a part of extensive transnational processes.²²⁸ Even if “multiculture” is used as a description of how society is, it functions simultaneously as a programmatic prescription on how society ought to be. The “multicultural Sweden” is not least a political project that is run by collective actors such as groupings, organisations and institutions in particular arenas that have been constructed specially for such projects (c.f. Ronström 1992d).

Particularly problematic are the consequences of the dichotomisation that underlies the entire idea of a fundamental transformation of Sweden. The point of departure is a “before” that is described as homogenous, unitary and coherent, a social system with *one* over-arching order. “Now” is understood as more mixed and heterogeneous. The old Sweden and the new are construed as a pair of opposites. The meaning of “the multicultural society” is thereby reduced in advance to a system that is just as unitary and coherent as the old, only different—multicultural (c.f. Morley & Robins 1995:28). But if diversity and cultural complexity become greater, then the system of concepts with which this diversity and complexity is described, studied and analysed ought to as well. It is therefore necessary to *diversify diversity* by working with concepts that make it possible to study the actual cultural diversity in itself and not immediately reduce it to previously given monolithic categories. In particular, it is necessary to work with concepts that permit several ways of organising diversity at the level of society.

²²⁸ Barbro Klein’s discussion of research on immigrant’s expressive forms in the US shows that there are large areas of correspondence between the US and Sweden, which suggests that to a large extent it is a question of a kind of “language of differences”, with a very internationally widespread vocabulary and grammar, that is commandeered to give shape to cultural differences (Klein 1988).

Steps in such a direction is to abandon concepts that presuppose over-arching orders that apply to the whole society in definite singular form and not presuppose the existence of clearly delimited groups, each with “its culture”.

In Sweden it appears to be particularly important to liberate multicultural and cultural diversity from immigrants, or conversely liberate immigrants from representing the multicultural. Seen from our perspective, there are no differences founded on principal between ethnic and other kinds of groups. Youth, pensioners, women, the blind, the deaf, the handicapped, homosexuals and a long list of other groups brought together by class, gender, age, race, ethnicity, interest or sexual orientation are also included in the cultural diversity of modern-day Sweden. During recent decades, many of them have worked on presenting “their own culture” and shaping it in expressive forms such as music.²²⁹

A way of escaping the problems with a concept of culture that proceeds from cultures as well-defined entities, is to speak of cultural overlap. The philosopher Wolfgang Welsch has used the term *transculture* in the same way:

However, the description of today’s cultures as islands or spheres is factually incorrect and normatively deceptive. Cultures *de facto* no longer have the insinuated form of homogeneity and separateness. They have instead assumed a new form, which is to be called *transcultural* in so far as it passes through classical cultural boundaries. Cultural conditions today are largely characterized by mixes and permeations. The concept of *transculturality* (...) seeks to articulate this altered cultural constitution. (Welsch 1999:197)

Ruth Finnegan’s “pathways” is also an applicable concept. “Local music is not just unrelated individual events, but structured in a series of differing musical worlds” (Finnegan 1989:180).

These worlds offer a sort of “home” for their followers and bind them together in a series of relations with significance far beyond music. The approximately 9,000 Irishmen in Milton Keynes, just to take one example, defined themselves to a large extent through music and dance:

In all these activities, the definition of ‘Irishness’ was almost always in terms of music (or music-with-dance), and it was this rather than any distinctive local community or shared political stance that linked an otherwise disparate population. Music experienced as ‘Irish’ led not only to enjoyment and conviviality but also to a shared image of the people involved as participants in a wider and valued tradition (Finnegan 1989:185).

²²⁹ Compare Sellerberg on organisation among handicapped, Ronström 1997a,b on pensioners, Roman 1990 and the publication *Pockettidningen R* no. 3–4 1994 on women, Eriksson 1994 on the deaf, Ottar’s theme issue no. 3 1993 on “*kärlekslivets rebeller*” (love-life’s rebels).

Finnegan borrows the concept “world” from Howard Becker’s *Art Worlds* (1982). It is a good concept, in Finnegan’s opinion, in the sense that it reminds us that music is more than just music. Music brings people together, gets them to interact, socialises them. The system they produce together can survive both them and the music and become the starting point for the striving of new generations. But, precisely as with “culture”, “world” implies far too much, according to Finnegan, primarily the thought of something concrete and delimited, coherent and consistent. Like the concept “culture”, “world” can refer to both a certain group of people and what they have in common, in this case a certain musical style. It is therefore tempting to switch between the two and draw the conclusion that they coincide. (Finnegan 1989:188pp).

In order to better describe the forms of modern urban life she has studied, Finnegan suggests “pathways”. Those who participate in various ways in a collective musical life follow a series of well-known and regular routes that they choose or are led to and that they hold open and broaden via their activities. Pathways remind us that this takes place part-time. You cannot live on a pathway but rather come and go as you want to. The paths are pre-beaten, and people share them with others in a predictable but personal way:

They were not all-encompassing or always clearly known to outsiders, but settings in which relationships could be forged, interests shared, and a continuity of meaning achieved in the context of urban living. (Finnegan 1989:306)

Pathways offer a way of symbolic depth and high value. They vanish, are re-established, expand and contract. But for individuals they are a part of existing cultural forms, rather than something they must learn to understand anew every time.

These pathways, then, are one of the ways in which people within an urban environment organise their lives so as to manage, on the one hand, the heterogeneity and multiplicity of relationships characteristic of many aspects of modern society, and, on the other, that sense of both predictable familiarity and personally controlled meaning that is also a part of human life. (Finnegan 1989:325)

The important aspect of these and similar theoretical attempts is that they are processual and positional, built as they are on flow metaphors, that culture like a river is constant, yet constantly changing. An advantage of this view is that the results of “the meeting of cultures” do not appear as abnormal, inauthentic anomalies (“hybrids”, “bastard”, etc., c.f. Kartomi 1981) that need to be explained with reference to abnormal conditions. “The meeting of cultures” becomes instead the consequence of normal conditions that can be explained by referring to continual cultural processes.

In line with this it can be said that “the multicultural Sweden” is comprised of groups in the process of producing and making visible their mutually different cultural identities. Even if many of these groups present themselves and are presented by others as delimited cultural units, they can be understood as a kind of “pathways”, which it is possible for people to traverse both individually and collectively. “Cultural identity” does not then become the answer to a question of “who are we?” but the answer to the questions “where, when and what are we?”, where “where” refers to the arenas and contexts in which difference can be made visible, “when” refers to the special situations and contexts in which it is relevant to present difference, and “what” refers to the forms and the types of competence through which difference is expressed.

Movements in the Sphere

Process Analysis with the help of the Cultural Energy Sphere

In the section “Energy Fields” (p. 62–67) six energy fields were presented within the area of culture with the following poles:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. HOMOGENOUS – DIVERSIFIED | 4. GRAND TRADITION – small tradition |
| 2. PURE – MIXED | 5. COLLECTIVE – INDIVIDUAL |
| 3. GLOBAL – LOCAL | 6. MEDIATED – LIVE |

Together, these fields form a *cultural energy sphere*. When the fields were presented we used a certain rationale on the development of the forces that operate at the different poles and how these can affect different musical phenomena. We emphasised too that these six fields are only some of several possible fields but that we have chosen them because we judged them to be the most significant for our studies of the interplay between music, media and multiculturalism.

When an analysis of patterns of change with the help of the energy sphere is constructed, different changes at the poles must first be mapped out. A certain mapping was done in the section on energy fields at the beginning of the book. There follows further examples of how we have reasoned during the construction of the models described below. A strengthening of the homogenous pole in the first energy field means that diversity of musical activities declines, such as has taken place in the broadcasting media in connection with the introduction of privatised radio. Other causes of homogenisation are increased concentrations of ownership in the music industry and media, cultural grants that are formed such that they cast the receiver’s activities in a particular mould, etc. A strengthening of the opposing pole, diversified, means an increase in the diversity of musical activities, for example by the increase in access to low-cost technology, through the localisation of global music, the spread of local music forms etc.

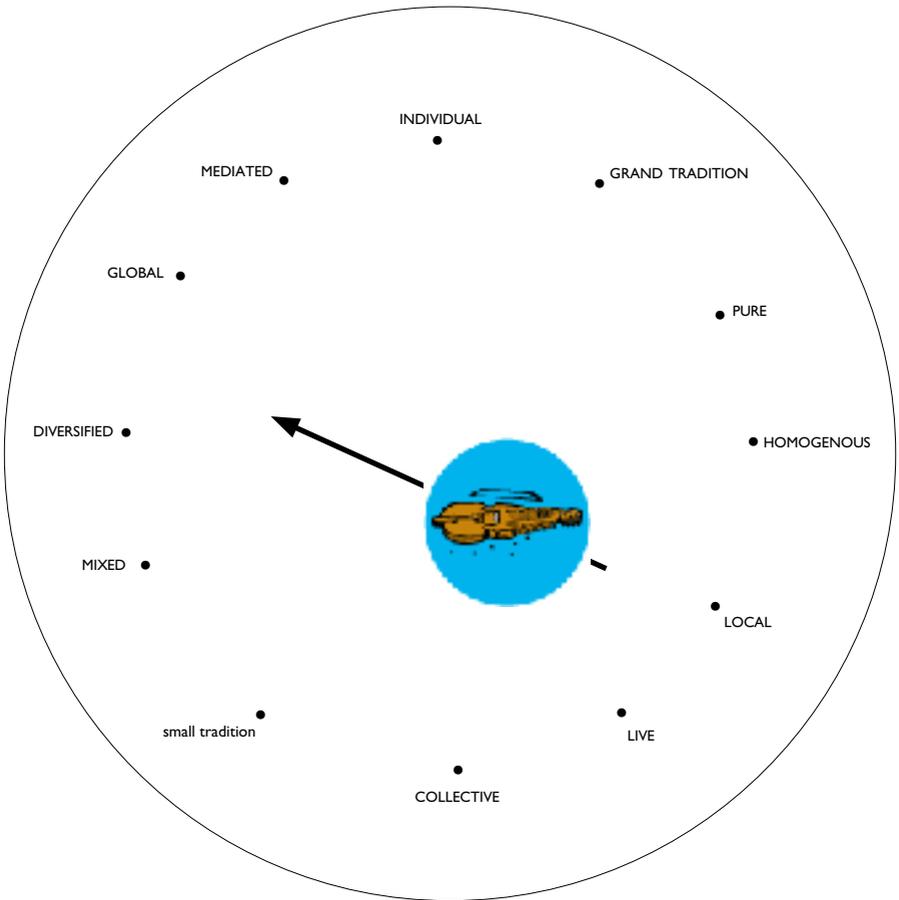
The number of variants of the changes in musicscapes has now become so many that there are seldom any simple rules of thumb for describing the patterns of change. Seen superficially, there appears to be a range of opposing tendencies. In our analysis a number of typical processes have been mapped out and described. The cultural energy sphere offers yet another opportunity to de-

scribe the processes. The energy sphere is a model of a musical phenomenon's environment. Each music phenomenon in the energy sphere is exposed to energy fields from the poles. The degree of influence from the energy field poles determines in which direction the currents in the energy sphere take the phenomenon. If effects on the phenomenon from the different poles are changed over time, it will follow a certain path in the energy sphere.

With data from our case studies and from other studies we have in earlier analytical arguments shown changes at the different poles. These changes give rise to alterations in the strength of the energy fields in relation to a given music phenomenon. Not all changes are relevant for all music. Increased concentration of the music industry to a handful of companies increases the charge at the poles homogenous (through reduced diversity in output), pure (through standardised, transcultural music that is created in studios), global (through more efficient distribution of a narrower output) and mediated (through the economic resources of mediated music increasing). But these increased charges do not affect all music. They have very great effects on musical life in the US but very little impact on musical life in Bhutan. Changes at the mediated pole have great consequences for world music, changes at the pole global and homogenous only some consequences, while changes at the pole pure have little or no effect.

On the website we show the opportunities for description and analysis that the cultural energy sphere offers with a number of concrete examples. It should be pointed out that our version of this instrument for analysis is a prototype idea and not a fully developed tool. The resources necessary for further refinement have not existed within the framework of the project. In our prototype, some symbols for musical phenomena are placed into a virtual representation of the energy sphere. With the help of data from our studies, the poles' effects on phenomena of the past 15–25 years can be shown. The symbol for the phenomena makes a movement that leaves a trail in the virtual energy field on the screen. This shows in which direction, i.e. toward which poles, the musical phenomenon has moved. Only those energy fields that have actually affected the particular music phenomena are included in the image and the poles rotate for each phenomenon to a relevant constellation.

If for example, the nyckelharpa is placed in the energy sphere, it is shown that it has been affected by changes in the charge at the poles during the period we have studied as the trail on the image shows. It has moved from a situation near the poles homogenous, local, live, pure, collective toward the poles, diversified (more nyckelharpists, more repertoires), global (it is found in more countries), individual (increased numbers of "stars" with their own styles) and also a little closer to the pole grand tradition (concerts for nyckelharpa and symphony orchestras).



The movement of the nyckelharpa in the cultural energy sphere 1975–2000. The space is for natural reasons only two dimensional here.

Our data shows that other instruments with local popular roots such as steel pan, djembe, mbira and didgeridoo have moved through the energy sphere in a similar way to the nyckelharpa. It can then be assumed that other local instruments that still remain in their original contexts will also be affected by the altered charges in the energy field and move in the nyckelharpa’s tracks, for example Eastern Africa’s zeze, Madagascar’s valiha et al.

The concrete examples we have chosen are forms of music, types of ensemble and instrument. It is easier to define the movements in the energy sphere for strongly delimited musical phenomenon. At the same time the information

gleaned becomes less interesting from a general perspective if it is about so very delimited phenomenon as individual examples, such as a certain melody or a particular orchestra. It might, however, be interesting for those parties who are affected by the individual case, e.g. the author of the melody or members of the orchestra.

The energy sphere's possibilities as an instrument of analysis become particularly interesting if it is used for forecasting. With the help of the effects had by previous changes at the poles on a particular musical phenomenon, assumptions can be made on how a planned future measure will affect it. If an actor plans a certain measure, the consequences of the measure for a certain musical phenomenon be made observable with the help of an analysis of how the measure might affect the charge at certain poles. On the website there are a number of examples of how the nyckelharpa's situation in the energy sphere will be affected by various planned measures, e.g. investment in nyckelharpa studies at college level, a parliamentary decision to make the nyckelharpa a national instrument, increased exposure on music video channels, etc. An analysis of the consequences with the help of the cultural energy sphere in the light of a planned measure is a valuable complement to other considerations.

The Play of Opposites

From our descriptions of Swedish musicscapes it is evident that they are drawn into energy fields between what on the surface seem like opposing forces. The result is a complex, often paradoxical process that can be described as *the play of opposites*. A way of further shedding light on some of the opposing tendencies we have found in our case studies and at the same time link them to ongoing discussions on world developments, is to proceed from the English sociologist Anthony Giddens's idea on the consequences of modernity (Giddens 1996).

“Post-modernity” is a word that came up during the 1980s from the French philosopher and author Jean-Francois Lyotard. For him and many other theoreticians of post-modernity, industrial society is in the process of being replaced by a radical new form of society through the IT revolution, the technological revolution and the media revolution (c.f. Rosenau 1992).²³¹ The main thread of history has been broken and therefore nobody can say anything for certain on what we have been, where we are or where we are going.

The arrival of contemporary society spells a revolution, a break with the old traditional social order. Today, the change is rather continuous, however: “Rather than going into a post-modern period we are moving toward a period in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radical and universal than previously” (Giddens 1996:14). Modernity's expansion, into “late-modernity” or “high-modernity”, is dependent on its extremely dynamic character and global range. The dynamism stems principally from three processes: the separation of time and space, the disembedding of social systems and the reflexive reorganisation of social relations.

What Giddens wants to discuss is how time, space and social relations, the entire social system, to increasing degrees is uncoupled and “lifted out of its local contexts of interaction and restructured across unlimited areas of space in time” (Giddens 1996:29). There are particular mechanisms behind cultural uncoupling. These “disembedding mechanisms”, such as money and the exten-

²³¹ Which means that these post-modern theories have a considerable ethnocentric list. Two thirds of the world's population have yet to ring their first telephone call. There are more telephones in Tokyo and Manhattan than in Africa (Our Creative Diversity, p.109).

sive system of expertise and technology, organise a large part of today's social and material world, separating social relationships from their concrete time and place-bound contexts and making it possible for people to interact across large distances in space and time. Much of what is usually described as post-modern "is in fact a matter of the experience of living in a world where absence and presence are mingled with each other in a historically new way" (Giddens 1996: 165). New communication technology creates new relations, which render problematic the boundaries between every kind of social and geographic magnitude, country, region, grouping, "us" and "them".

In our case studies there are many examples of how objects, expressive forms, styles and social relations have been uncoupled from their original concrete contexts and thereby become accessible for use by people in other places, in other times, e.g. medieval music, internationalised Irish folk music, classic jazz and many other styles. "Context" should here be understood in the broadest possible way. It may be a group of people in a certain place and time. The didgeridoo's path from Arnhem Land to the Internet is an example of a shift from such a context to another, as is the nyckelharpa's path from Österbybruk in the northern Upplands countryside to Seattle in the US. A context can also be a certain medium. Recording cassettes, just as today's MP3 format, makes it possible to disconnect music from the media to which they were originally tied so that they can be copied, demediaized and reused in new and unexpected ways.

Local Worlds and Global Motorways

The accelerating uncoupling is, at the same time, a cause and effect of increasing globalisation.²³² An aspect of globalisation is the arising of large-scale global structures, a sort of enormous motorway, which requires large organisations, investments, stability and continuity. Such are, for example, the telephone network and electricity grid and the system of pipelines for the world's oil supply but also the Internet, cable television, satellite transmissions, etc. On this level homogenisation, standardisation and even monopolisation are both created and presupposed. Yet at the same time, on another level, the rapidly growing motorways create extreme mobility. When objects, behaviours, styles and expressive forms are put up on them they are disconnected from their original contexts and become accessible to people in completely different places, for completely different purposes: there is more Irish folk music outside Ireland

²³² Giddens defines globalisation as "an intensification of world encompassing social relations that connect disparate localities with each other in such a way that local attractions are formed by events that occur many miles away and vice versa." (1996:66).

than inside; more jousting tournaments were held during the 1990s than during the entire Middle Ages; yodelling is as popular in Tokyo as it is in the Tyrol; classic jazz is more classic in Stockholm than in New Orleans.

Homogenisation on one level creates space for diversification on another. A mobile society requires a stable infrastructure.

The ability of both capital and labour power to move (...) from place to place depends upon the creation of fixed, secure, and largely immobile social and physical infrastructures. The ability to overcome space is predicted on the production of space (Harvey 1985, cit. i Morley & Robins 1995:28)

A clear example from our case studies of the close interaction between the global and the local is how the rapid concentration of the music industry to a few global conglomerates has created a growing space for small local companies that exploit the areas and niches that are too small for the big companies. Another example is the amplification of local identities during recent decades, in itself a global phenomenon. The ideas about local identity as something important and desirable are globalised, like so many of the forms that are used to shape such local identities.

All of the contexts we have studied—individuals, groupings, institutions, places—have in different quantities and to different extents access to technical systems, media, experts and other actors who can take them out onto the new global motorways, shift their horizons and make them accessible across large areas and over longer periods of time. Disconnected objects, forms, styles and behaviours play a decisive role in all of these contexts, which has brought fundamental changes to conditions in the Swedish musicscapes over a short period of time. It is highly likely that this will lead to rapid and great changes in the future.

But that which can be transferred from local to global can also be transferred in the opposite direction. Increased globalisation breeds increased localisation. A consequence of increased disconnection and globalisation is that objects, forms and styles are pushed back into a local context. Such localisation and relocalisation takes place, to a greater or lesser extent, in all of the contexts we have studied.

A further example of the intimate interplay between globalisation and localisation is classic jazz. In the case study about the Dixie boys, it is apparent how musicians see themselves as members of an international “brotherhood” who all listen to the same recordings and the same artists and copy them to the best of their ability. A standardised repertoire has arisen that is played more or less the same everywhere. The music is thereby uncoupled from specific practitioners and a global aesthetic form arises, relatively independent of local pre-

requisites and differences. Precisely this relationship means that musicians can successfully play together even if they have never previously met. The canonised repertoire forms a solid system of rules and a collection of examples. With sufficient interest and competence anybody, anywhere, anytime can acquire the repertoire, style and codes.

Standard repertoires of this kind disconnect music from their original contexts then, and make formal musical competency into a more important factor than local possession, origin. Formal musical competency is what makes successful relocation possible. And that is just what has happened to classic jazz. Some of classic jazz's most important actors, arenas and contexts are today in Sweden. Irish musicians can be Scandinavians and North America is a strong bastion for nyckelharpists.

Large and dispersed groupings of the sort we have studied are "perceived communities" (Anderson 1992). To become visible and "real" such communities must constantly be given form and dramatised. They must therefore get access to a set of key symbols around which to gather (Ortner 1964). Standard repertoires are one such necessary key symbol. Another can be especially famous or prominent people. Louis Armstrong is to the Dixie boys, what Carl Jularbo is to accordionists and Eric Sahlström is to the Nyckelharpa People. The potential such people represent as assets for a grouping becomes most apparent when they resist. As previously mentioned, Assyrian nationalists often express their disappointment that tennis star André Agassi and Iraq's foreign minister Tarik Aziz have not made their Assyrian origins public, which in their opinion would have given Assyrians as a collective increased attention capital. It is probable that conflicts over famous peoples' "real" origins will become more common as reality is increasingly interpreted from a cultural grouping perspective.

Even musical instruments can function as key symbols, which is the reason for large and expensive accordions being given such a prominent position in the accordion devotees' texts and pictures. In the same way, the nyckelharpa and steel pans are both instruments and key symbols in their respective groupings. It is generally the existence of such key symbols that enables a person to identify themselves with a perceived community at all. Key symbols function furthermore as an entrance ticket. Presumptive members must identify what the symbols are, acquire their meanings and how they should be handled and do so in a way that other members find acceptable. This presupposes such a large measure of interest, social contacts, competency, etc. that anyone who masters the key symbols and their use can easily be seen as already socialised into the community. The mastery of the key symbols thereby becomes simultaneously the goal of socialisation and the sign that a successful socialisation has

actually taken place.²³³ Global distribution disconnects a grouping's key symbols and means that competency and not common origin and direct interaction becomes decisive for their appropriation. It is precisely the mastery of key symbols that means, for example, that Swedish Dixie boys can recognise their peers wherever in the world they might encounter them.

Homogenisation and Objectification

A sequence that clearly emerges in several case studies is increased competency – professionalisation – homogenisation – formalisation – institutionalisation – objectification. The general expansion of music has led to increased numbers of practitioners and a higher competency in general. Expressive specialists are increasing in number and becoming increasingly specialised. For some of them it is becoming possible to live off their special expertise. In the wake of specialisation and professionalisation comes increased transparency and formalisation of repertoires and methods of play and performances, which leads to homogenisation. When a music type is formalised and homogenised to a certain level, writing textbooks, giving formal tuition in schools, etc. becomes meaningful. The book on the manufacture and tuning of steel pans that Ulf Kronman wrote has made it possible to make and tune steel pans without direct contact with specialists from Trinidad. The book means a formalisation and homogenisation of the knowledge that has partly led to a certain standardisation of the instrument's design (even in Trinidad) and partly could be the first step toward institutionalisation, e.g. in the form of steel pan courses at higher schools of music. Institutionalisation brings together, amplifies and completes the objectification of the music type that every stage in the sequence gives rise to.

When practitioners that pass through the sequence reach a certain point, a crisis can occur that makes them reformulate old terms and key symbols. An example is the transformation undergone by folk music, which has resulted in there now being a corps of well-educated full or part-time professional folk musicians in Sweden in tandem with the old folk musicians. An increased formalisation and homogenisation, not only of repertoires and key symbols, but also of performance and style has followed in the wake of their activities. It is nowadays possible to make music constructed in accordance with models from the Middle East sound Swedish, as is apparent in the section on Swedish world music.

²³³ Language-learning functions in the same way for migrants. The new country's language is seen as a means for integration but also as a sign that integration/socialisation has succeeded.

Objectification often means increased distinctiveness for groupings that strive for culturalisation. Leading Assyrians efforts to homogenise, formalise and institutionalise with the help of the Internet is a good example here. From Gabriel Assad, they inherited a music that was consciously created to be distinctively Assyrian. Today, when they attempt to take their place in different national and multicultural arenas with this music as a base, it is especially important for them that that which can be regarded as widely distributed musical structures, e.g. maqam-like modus, is presented as originally and exclusively Assyrian.

All stages in the sequence contribute to increased homogenisation, which is a prerequisite for effective uncoupling and global distribution. This in turn is a prerequisite for effective relocalisation and for conscious blending of the sort that occurs in, for example, world music. However, it is precisely by making expressive forms accessible in new times and spaces that homogenisation and institutionalisation can initiate a process in the opposite direction, as is also apparent in the case studies. There is among some Swedish folk musicians an express dissatisfaction with the “academic sound” that folk musicians educated at colleges of music have created. The result of the professionalisation of early music is, among other things, that many medievalists have consciously gone in the other direction and celebrated amateurism and disrespectful mixes.

Distribution—A Key Question

Uncoupling is one of the mechanisms that contribute to increased diversity. Despite the earth’s resources being very unevenly distributed, more is still available to more people than ever previously. For the creation and maintenance of cultural diversity and multiculturalism, accessibility is the decisive factor and accessibility depends not so much on production as on distribution. As so many cultural researchers have pointed out, the key to lasting cultural diversity is not so much the production of culture as access to distribution.²³⁴

Many groupings are dependent on access to certain products or expressive forms, which they regard as necessary for the maintenance of a real and credible life.²³⁵ As a consequence of music’s general expansion, the “right” music, live or recorded, belongs to these necessities. This also makes the groupings dependent on access to expressive specialists with the correct competency. A rapid and dramatic change, clear signs of which are seen in our case studies, is that access to products, expressive forms and specialists has increased because the groupings’

²³⁴ Garnham 1986:31p.

²³⁵ Specialists and objects contribute to erecting what Berger & Luckman (1966/1979) calls a “plausibility structure”.

access to channels of distribution has increased. This has given them great possibilities for giving shape to the groupings' centre and boundaries and making them visible, both to themselves and to others, which not only increases social and cultural diversity in general but has decisive significance for the arising of multiculturalism as a special type of organisation of social and cultural diversity.

Access to channels of distribution is, however, unevenly distributed. The groupings' possibilities to acquire what they need are as a rule greater in cities, which is one reason that small deviating groupings, from immigrants to sexual minorities, are drawn there. One of the many problems people in national margins have to cope with is claimed to be a lack of distribution. In certain areas new communications technology has improved conditions considerably, while the problems in other areas remain or are even exacerbated. The case studies on Assyrians and Visby/Gotland give several good examples.

The channels of distribution have not only increased in number but also become faster and more efficient. When the Greek chef at one of Visby's restaurants serves "Greek specialities", fresh fish, caught in Greece the same day, is included. The record retailer in a Stockholm suburb faxes his order for popular Turkish records to the distributor in Germany and a couple of days later he sells them in his shop. Access to records through Zorba's music store is greater and the distribution more rapid than in the Greek countryside. The pattern is similar for most types of grouping. This is a pronounced and dramatic change from the 1970s and 1980s. A common problem then was that fewer knew what was available and another was that even if you knew what to look for, it could not easily be acquired. Today, certain migrants with the necessary resources have increased the availability of products and expressive forms in demand by establishing new centres of production and distribution in their new homelands. Several Swedish towns are today centres for the production and distribution of Iranian and Assyrian records.

Developed channels of distribution and special "search engines" that are constantly searching for new channels have improved possibilities for ethnic and other kinds of grouping to gain access to the products and expressive forms they use as representative emblems. As mentioned, this is a cause of both diversity and multiculturalism becoming more visible. But at the same time the opportunities have increased for others to appropriate these emblems, which creates problems with rights (ownership, copyright) and with the maintenance of the groupings' identity and boundaries.

The amount of products and forms and the number of distribution channels make knowledge of where these products are located of value. In our case studies there are many examples of people who live on their specialist knowledge of distribution channels: a Norwegian distributor of Swedish old-time dance, a

vendor of Latin-American records, a western Swedish distributor of classic jazz, to name but a few. Via informal channels and their own resources, the proprietors of Solkristallen in Visby have gained direct channels throughout the world to producers of new age-related jewellery, books, CDs and much more, which has made them more or less independent of large national distributors. Their motivation is independence, to be their own, a bit different, not to follow the beaten track. The new communication technology and the knowledge of where they can access their products makes it possible for them to set up a shop with a highly globalised content in the small town of Visby and live on the proceeds.

A great deal has, then, become more accessible, which has radically changed the situation for every kind of grouping. As we have seen, the number of members belongs without question to the fundamental structural conditions for the grouping's existence, for greater resources generally comes with increased membership. However, the increased access to distribution has made the "critical mass" significantly lower than before. Very small groupings can today gain access to the products, forms and expertise they need in order to create sufficient credibility and status to survive.

Potential Spaces

Uncoupling makes boundaries problematic, which can give rise to new constellations of time, space and social relations. It is clear in a number of contexts that we investigated that it is not at all certain in advance what will, can or should happen. Instead visitors investigate conditions in the course of the actual interplay. Sometimes it is possible to see how those who interact strain to maintain the uncertainty for as long as possible, for the pleasure of exploration. What is lacking is a clearly expressed goal, a common "because", and it is that which makes it exciting.

With a term borrowed from Donald Woods Winnicott, such as yet vaguely defined surfaces for social interaction can be denoted as *potential spaces*.²³⁶ In Winnicott the term appears in connection with an argument on how children explore the surrounding world in ever wider circles through play, further and further from the mother. What he calls "the place for cultural experiences" belongs neither to the inner psychic reality nor to the outer reality but arises as a possibility between subject and object (Winnicott 1981:130). It is this possibility he names "potential space".

While the outer "objectively given" world and the inner subjective are relatively constant, the potential space between them is a highly variable factor.

²³⁶ This section is founded on Ronström (1997).

Where there is trust and reliability there is a potential space, according to Winnicott. “The special character of this place, where play and cultural experiences exist, is that its existence depends on living experiences, not on handed down tendencies” (Winnicott 1981:139). That which can happen in favourable circumstances is that the potential space can be filled with the results of the child’s own imagination (Winnicott 1981:131).

It is not difficult to transfer Winnicott’s arguments from individual to collective, from child to adult, from psychology to theories of culture. Accelerating technological developments, increased migration, increased mobility in the labour market and increased segregation between, for example, different ethnic groups have forced more people to replace well-known everyday realities with the new and unknown. The loss of that which they previously took for granted in life can make them set off to conquer new surfaces for interaction, which in favourable circumstances can be developed to potential spaces.²³⁷

A general tendency seems to be that potential spaces are increasing in number. They are also becoming more common, not least because it is precisely in vaguely defined spaces with low levels of formalisation and focus that new expressive forms, among them music, easily arise. An example from our case studies is “the Middle Ages”, which has been playfully exploited by the medievalists but which also is slowly but surely being filled with routines and order. The “Middle Ages” is already well on its way to being transformed from a surface for free play, a potential space, to a number of solid and well defined arenas where fixed versions of the Middle Ages are presented. Another example is when steelbands throughout Europe create a network and in Paris 2000 presented the first large-scale European steelband festival. This is made possible because they all proceed from the same type of instrument and repertoire and because the Caribbean forms a common horizon. The problem is to transform models from the Caribbean and all of the different European countries into a functioning event. This more or less forces the participants to put on the festival while they are still fully occupied with investigating how to make it work. A third example is the growing number of pensioners. Today’s pensioners largely lack models from which to proceed. The elderly in former times had completely different points of departure, resources and possibilities.²³⁸ When pensioners today start to meet in connection with activities to which they did not previ-

²³⁷ In a study of the social history of the youth era, Michael Mitterauer points out how modern youth culture’s development has connections with the young gaining access to new spaces that they themselves could shape, at the same time as their common resources increased substantially (Mitterauer 1988, compare with Wigerfelt 1996). Parallels with other types of groups in Swedish society are obvious.

²³⁸ Odén 1993 gives a good overview of the Swedish history of the elderly.

ously devote themselves, at least not to the extent that is now taking place, new potential spaces arise that in favourable circumstances can be filled with “the products of their imaginations”. A large and varied range of music and dance are included here (Ronström 1997). It is when this space is afterwards fixed and goes over to “pensioner culture” that the need for representative emblems arises. As we noted earlier, the accordion is well on its way to becoming such an emblem for Swedish senior citizens.

A Dilemma for the Music Industry

When objects and forms are moved onto global motorways and spread over large areas, problems arise with on the one hand boundaries and on the other the control and use of rights. A clear example is given by the transnational music industry. It is of great importance for the music industry to control production and distribution of packaged music. In order to guarantee control, the music industry attempts to establish technologies that demand great investments. Already from the start the industry was concentrated to a handful of groups because patents on inventions like the phonograph and gramophone prevented competition. There are, however, sectors of industry outside the control of the transnational music industry that develop low-price technology for the mediation of music. Sometimes these developers of low-price technology manage to catch up with the music industry and a *control crisis* is the result. The music industry has so far managed to resolve these crises by launching new, high-cost technology. When, around 1950, the tape recorder made possible the home recording of significantly longer pieces of music than the 78 rpm's three minutes, the music industry launched the LP record. When in the 1970s cassette technology made recording and mass-production cheap, the music industry launched CD technology and digital recording technique.

Today, the music industry is once again in such a crisis. Home computers, CD etchers, MP3 files and the Internet have made digital recording, the mass reproduction of recordings and their distribution cheap. To keep control the music industry must once again launch a change in the system. This time, however, it will probably be difficult to launch a new high-cost technology that is sufficiently superior to induce consumers to choose it instead of available low-price technology.

This time the industry seems instead to be focusing on attempts to manipulate the copyright system. This strategy was already launched to a limited extent during the last control crisis. Before the crisis was resolved by the introduction of the CD, the record companies strengthened their rights and protection against pirate copying made possible by cassette technology with the phono-

gram convention of 1971. At the same time, record companies began acquiring independent music publishers in order to also become the owners of the publishing rights and thereby gain great influence in national copyright organisations such as the Swedish Performing Rights Society (STIM).

During the last few years, the music industry has again taken up the offensive in the area of copyright and established a number of extensions for the periods of protection. A prerequisite for this has been that the industry has been able to put forward their demands via national copyright organisations and in this way hide behind composers and writers of lyrics. Over the past year the industry has been working hard to make the World Trade Organisation begin to regulate copyright, while at the same time a lot of energy has been devoted to getting courts across the world to interpret the law in the industry's favour.

This extension of rights has to date been able to take place practically without opposition. As a result of the measures that have been implemented, copyright has been shifted from protecting literary and artistic work (intellectual property) to protecting the music industry's investments. Now, however, both politicians and the guardians of the public interest are beginning to bring this corruption of copyright's original purpose to light. The question then is: will the transnational music industry be able to keep control over music's mediation through extended copyright and judicial measures that lead to precedents in national courts? If the industry is not successful it will probably lose control this time, which would mean that an entirely new structure would be able to emerge in the music business.

From Knowers to Doers

In our case studies we see pronounced traces of a general shift of control and power over the expressive forms around which groupings gather. An example is the shift of power over the Middle Ages that has taken place during the 1990s. The knowers had previously more or less a monopoly on the Middle Ages through being able to control access to first-hand sources e.g. unique and valuable incunabulum in special research libraries. The generally available knowledge of the Middle Ages was characterised therefore by the researchers' special interests and filtered through their perspective. Very little was produced of the sort of knowledge potential doers needed in order to stage their versions of the Middle ages, while there were huge amounts of, for them, uninteresting debates on interpretation and discussions of origins.

During the 1990s, the knowers' monopoly on knowledge has been broken, as many of these sources have been made available as transcripts or facsimiles on the Internet. In the hands of growing bands of doers, the sources have rap-

idly been transformed into practical handbooks by being furnished with simple and solid instructions of the “do-it-yourself” type. One example is Thoinot Arbeau’s *Orchesographie* from 1589, one of few substantial sources on dance fashions from the late Middle Ages to the Renaissance. For almost three centuries it was only accessible to a small number of researchers. Between the 1880s and the 1970s it was produced in a number of limited editions. During the 1990s the book was scanned in and put on the Internet by several people independent of one another who were associated with the growing group of people interested in the Middle Ages around the world. These people are generally little interested in critical discussions on interpretation but all the more interested in how they themselves are able to practise the dances that are described. Instructions with dance steps, music, tips on suitable clothing and shoes, etc. have therefore been produced—“do this and have fun in a medieval way”—that anyone can download.

As a result of this rapid development, it is now possible during Medieval Week in Visby to see young enthusiasts in medieval dress heartily staging their homemade versions of dances that have hardly been danced for several hundred years to newly written songs or the music they happen to have handy. A faithful reproduction of “the original” is not central but rather the sensual experience that doing gives them.

There are many similar examples in which the Internet makes accessible both original sources, recipes for what they can be used for and, not least, in-depth discussions on how the best results are achieved, i.e. the strongest experiences. On accordion home pages there are old original recordings with Calle Jularbo; Caribbean groupings across the world can follow the carnival in Trinidad via live images distributed on the Internet; Assyrians have in their homeland in cyberspace put up sources for Assyrian history, geography, language, music and folklore in writing, images and sounds. All of the groupings and contexts we have studied have to a greater or lesser degree, in similar ways, acquired increased direct access to the “sources” for their activities.

The knowers’ loss of the monopoly over sources has two aspects: the first is reduced control over the supply of primary sources, the second is reduced control over the definitions of content, meaning and significance, what is genuine, right and good. In the example of the music industry, we saw how the record companies’ strategy for regaining control has been to develop new technology but that it is now more directed to taking control of copyright. We have not seen any equivalent strategies for knowers to reassume interpretative pre-eminence and power in our material. The control crisis that is arising cannot lead to much other than marginalisation and loss of symbolic and economic capital. However, instead doers have gained completely new prerequisites and oppor-

tunities. When, for example, Assyrians acquire direct access and control via the Internet over the sources for Assyrian history, it also becomes possible for them to acquire alternative interpretations of this history that do not also agree with the ones the rest of Academia feel should apply.

The development of the concept of folk music in Sweden also allows itself to be described as a shift from knowers to doers and makers. The folk music concept was created at the close of the 18th century on the initiative of knowers and was negotiated forth over a long period of time in dialogues between knowers and doers. At the end of the 19th century, it had been cemented to national symbols. And so it remained until the 1970s, when a new generation of young enthusiasts focused on doing, shifted power over the concept's content from the exclusive national stages to large popular open-air festivals. Young fiddle players invaded museums and archives, not to conduct research and produce writings on tone, but to acquire material for their playing. They produced new interpretations of the records that not only gave rise to new ringing versions of "Swedish folk music" but also to new conceptions of this folk music, which would have been easily dismantled if they had been forced to pass through the filter of the research world. However, this did not occur. The practitioners took control not only of practice but also of what the practice should denote, represent and mean.

Swedish folk music thereby took a completely new path. With the popularisation of folk music during the 1970s and 1980s, there followed the growth of what was for folk music in practice a completely new corps of makers: record producers, festival arrangers, managers. In a short period of time they acquired control over central arenas and media. Their perspective soon came into conflict with those who were previously supreme and the result was that new folk music concepts arose that in conscious contrast to the old have been named, for example, "FUP" (short for folk music without police), "modern folk music" and "world music".

The growth among doers has generally led to increases in the numbers of makers, of which we have seen many examples, e.g. in the case study on mediavalists and early musicians. Many makers have begun as doers. In some groupings, such as surrounding the nyckelharpa, it is among the makers and not among the doers that we today find the most dedicated enthusiasts. What they wish to achieve with their enthusiasm is typically enough increased visibility, status and legitimacy, firstly for the nyckelharpa, secondly for the music type and lastly for themselves.

The general shift from knowers to doers and makers also corresponds to a movement from knowing to experiencing. This development is part of an extensive trend in many areas that can be summarised as "from informative to

performative” (c.f. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998). What many researchers have pointed out is how, for example, museums, schools, TV and radio programmes of recent years have increasingly been directed to the production of sensuality, experience and affect at the cost of the previously so central intellectual reconnaissance and learning. When experiences are placed in the foreground, the object is transformed to an instrument for the experiencing subject, the observer.

If beauty is in the eye of the beholder, that which is beheld is reduced to a tool for the individual’s experiences. The object, e.g. music, is of interest for as long as it continues to provide experiences, which spurs an increase in music’s levels of expression. As was emphasised in the introduction, aesthetic evaluation is one of the most common and well-liked post-modern strategies for living. Aesthetic and not morals and knowledge, then, becomes the leading principle for how life itself should be valued (Bauman 1994). These shifts, from knower to doer and maker and from knowing to the results and effects of doing and making (experiences, performances), mean a new order in the power structures surrounding the production and handling of knowledge that in all certainty will have many and extensive consequences in the future.

The content of the news media, museum exhibitions, courses and education of different sorts are decided increasingly by the public’s need of experiences and the sponsor’s need of attention and not by journalist’s, museum curator’s or teacher’s ambitions and professional values. The commercial handling of cultural forms of expression will increase as will those undertaken for non-commercial purposes (e.g. opinion-making). It will give significantly increased space to makers with expertise within the areas of marketing, benefits and grants systems and lobbying.

The Altered Significance of the Nation

Globalisation and localisation are intimately associated processes that mean a shift in people’s horizons, in part upwards in level toward transnational contexts, and in part “downwards”, toward local and regional contexts. The intermediate levels, such as national organisations and institutions, can through these processes be “emptied” of content and have become reduced in significance. Once again, the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation is a clear example. When, during recent decades, the radio channels and stations have increased in number and both “the nation” and “the Swedish people” have become more problematic, broadcasting has also become problematic. When commercial radio moves toward increased streamlining in its hunt for advertisers and selected groups of listeners, and when, at the same time, interest and origins groupings,

diaspora congregations and networks with their different areas of expansion, listener habits and needs demand a place on the airwaves, then narrowcasting becomes a more natural model. The old national public service radio thereby loses importance and the power to penetrate and is forced into radical changes of its goals and methods, which leads to protests form groupings, which thereby lose their visibility, such as has been the case for devotees of the accordion and classic jazz. Other national institutions have been “emptied” of content in recent decades in similar ways.

The reduced significance of the nation, its imminent death even, is a common theme in discussions of post-modernity. A more realistic image is probably that nations, as always, are in the midst of change. If some national sectors and functions decline in significance then others are made stronger. Many Swedes have expanded their fields of activity and horizons far beyond the nation's borders. The only grouping we have studied with a pronounced national horizon are the accordionists. Practically everyone who was interviewed in connection with the case study on Visby/Gotland had their own personal experiences of and referred to distant worlds, whether it was the guitarist with successes in China, medievalists who are in daily contact with SCA members in other parts of the world, or gospel singers with close contacts with the US southern states. Among practitioners of classic jazz, hip hop and Caribbean music, transnational horizons are built into the actual point of departure, but also among practitioners of domestic music types, such as nyckelharpa music, the horizons have been tangibly broadened. However, at the same time as this rapid expansion, the national horizon has in certain areas (e.g. sport) been noticeably strengthened through conscious Swedification.

The national systems of grants and benefits for associations are an example of national structures with a decisive role for groupings. The body of associations in Sweden has long been very strong. Despite many signals of increased difficulties in recruiting active members, much of Swedes' activities are still channelled through associations. Despite reduced provisions, the association, still enjoy societal support in the form of access to premises, benefits for labour, membership support, cheaper membership mail-outs via the post office, etc. That is why many activities are run in the form of associations when they might just as well have been conducted in other ways. Many immigrants groups in Sweden have quickly formed associations, while their countrymen and relatives who have emigrated to other lands have more often organised the same type of activities, e.g. music and dance, in other ways (Ronström 1992).

Institutionalisation and New Networks

Networks are a form of organisation that in recent years have also been established in Sweden and might eventually replace many associations. But associations and networks are also often intimately interwoven: many networks are networks of associations. Yilmaz Kerimos' more than 3,000 personal electoral votes in the parliamentary election of 1998 were enough to have him elected as Sweden's first Assyrian Member of Parliament. By using the Assyria network it was not difficult for Kerimo to reach the required number of votes. For many Assyrians, Kerimos' Social Democratic party membership was secondary. In this way, transnational groupings can exploit national structures to increase visibility and space.

In some areas the national level is on the verge of completely losing its significance. This applies in particular to authorities that have functioned as national gatekeepers that must be passed on the route from transnational to local contexts. The most pronounced example of the national level losing its significance is perhaps to be found in the area of the media, where it is now completely impossible for gatekeepers on a national level to govern or limit content.

Another example that has already been touched upon is reduced control of knowers over the sources of knowledge. The national universities, research libraries and other institutions that apportioned them their control functions are today increasingly competing with other centres of knowledge and can therefore no longer maintain their previously so important filtration function. Another example is dance teachers. The knowledge of dance has traditionally been transferred through copying. Dance teachers have previously been able to act as style police and control the spread of dance fashions. It was not just tones and steps that were imprinted through education but also the definition of what was good and bad, which styles and forms were socially acceptable and which were not. Dance schools have therefore long been given an important role in the fostering of new generations in the upper echelons of society. Via TV, video and increased travel, dance teachers have today more or less lost their ability to control what should be taught and how the result should be judged. The increased knowledge and experience of students means that teachers cannot offer anything other than what presumptive students already know and ask for.

The Reduced Role in Public Cultural Debate

A further example of how the national level can be emptied of content is given in the Swedish Royal Academy of Music. For two centuries the Academy has been an important actor in music. By being able to control the production and

distribution of cultural capital, which has generated a significant economic capital to, among other things, scholarship funds, the Academy has been able to point out musical life's centre and peripheries. At a presentation of the organisation before representatives of Gothenburg University in March 1995, the Academy's Permanent Secretary, Bengt Holmstrand, said that in the 1950s a development began that shifted the Academy "from being a state authority and centre in Swedish musical life to an increasingly obsolete position as a free institution in an increasingly pluralistic world."

Today, the Academy must struggle for space, proselytes and practitioners with increasing numbers of musical worlds. At the same time the musical unfaithful, who switch between groupings and music styles and who sometimes consciously try to blend them, have increased in number. The old centre still has access to cultural capital but the currency is accepted in ever fewer of the many music groupings and at increasingly unfavourable exchange rates. The Academy has also a considerable economic capital at its disposal but it is nothing to that generated by the music industry. That which previously was fundamental in the house of music, the "grand tradition", art music, is now but one of the pillars in a rapidly growing and increasingly less perspicuous hall of pillars. The agreement on an overarching order that meant one could without hinder talk of "musical life" and "cultural life" in the singular is disintegrating more and more.

It is increasingly difficult today to see how any musical authority could introduce a measure that would include all of musical life. That which instead emerges is a mass of more or less isolated islands, each with its "cultural life" that needs to be made visible. "Cultural politics" are thereby transformed from general measures across the entire societal arena to struggles for resources and space between different "cultures". Representatives of "the grand tradition" are also forced to present art music as one among many neglected forms of culture in need of particular attention and societal support.²³⁹

There are many factors at work behind this development. One is that, as music has become everyman's property it has simultaneously, in a certain respect, been trivialised. With the expansion of music and its shift from Sunday pleasure to workaday life, its position in intellectual public discussion has been increasingly marginalised.²⁴⁰ Composers and musicologists, who during the

²³⁹ The process is fundamentally the same as when "the Swedish" has been reformed from the foundation of the nation of Sweden to one of several "cultures" in a "multicultural Sweden".

²⁴⁰ Music and musical research are still seen as a peripheral thing in large parts of Academia, in the best case an aesthetic embellishment of themes that are already known. Exceptions are found in those circles that have devoted themselves to studies of multicultural socie-

growth of the middle-class general public in Sweden belonged to the centre of society, today belong to the periphery. At the same time, few have as much space in the general public as musicians but this space is not conditioned by cultural capital but by visibility, the main currency in a growing economy of attention.

This development can also in part be explained by a shift from knower to doer and maker. The doers' and makers' powerful expansion in the area of music has meant great growth in knowledge in areas such as music and computers, or how to promote music for special target groups.²⁴¹ The academic knowledge has not expanded to anywhere near the same extent, which has led to it being increasingly insignificant for the majority of actors in the area of music.

ties and cultural complexity, ethnologists, social anthropologists, youth researchers, researchers into genus, among others, whose studies are often to be found lumped together under the heading "cultural studies".

²⁴¹ What marketers call "target marketing".

Historisation, Culturalisation, the Society of Groupings

The processes that are discussed here—uncoupling, the increased homogenisation of forms and styles, global distribution, relocalisation, the knower's reduced control, the decline in significance of certain national structures—are closely bound up in complex patterns. Together they can give rise to control crises and different attempts to regain control. Two closely related and interacting strategies for the regain of control are historisation and culturalisation.

Historisation

A special type of control crisis arises when “history dies” and the thread back through time seems to break, or when too many competing histories confuse previously simple contexts. Many researchers have noticed how interest in history has increased substantially, whether it is a question of kings, genealogy or roots. “Heritage is everywhere”—we have become obsessed with the past, claims David Lowenthal in his influential book *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1997). History has accelerated in our time, in the opinion of the French historian Pierre Nora (1989). We have become preoccupied with producing memories because there is little left of them. When concrete, partial and subjective memories lose significance, they are replaced by consciously presented history, abstract, general and objectified. This development takes us to the archives, libraries and museums, as well as the arenas and events. They become particularly important when people feel that they no longer have spontaneous “natural” mutual memories and that they therefore must purposely create a history.

The less the experience of mutual memories, the greater the emphasis on the memories' outer signs. The responsibility for remembering is passed over to the archives: no previous society has produced so much archived material or so consciously.²⁴² The change from memory to history forces every sort of grouping to redefine its identity by breathing life into its own history. Every sort of

²⁴² Pierre Nora writes it has been estimated that the content in public archives during recent decades alone has been multiplied by a factor of a thousand.

group now follows the example of ethnic groups and minorities and searches for its roots, its origins and its identity. It is as if we have all been ordered to remember that we shall, should and can seek our identity by creating a common history.

A common explanation for the phenomenon is that when people experience that the links to the past are broken or threatened, e.g. through especially powerful or rapid social changes, they resurrect the links symbolically in the form of “cultural inheritance” or “old traditions”. These form new contexts like a sort of banisters on which to cling, so that the world, despite everything, appears to be continuous and holding together. The theory is grounded on an idea of people’s need for balance and compensation for losses: when the scales tip in the direction of change, people hurry to counterbalance it with continuity so that stability in the system can be maintained.²⁴³

Historisation is the use of the past to give shape to and assume control over the present and future. It is a modern phenomenon made possible by the uncoupling of knowing and because legitimised historians and their institutions can no longer control which versions of history should be regarded as valid. Their versions are subjected to competition by others that have been created from other points of departure and for other purposes.²⁴⁴ One common purpose is the creation of a new foundation for mutual action and a new mutual horizon that can give meaning and significance to the mutual action. Other common purposes are increased status and legitimacy, visibility and recognition, revenge and redress.²⁴⁵ Histories that are formed for these purposes are often characterised by strong emphasis on the unique and distinctive.

In all groupings and contexts we have studied, the production of history is underway in different forms. The Internet is for many groupings a potential space where alternative versions of history can be formulated and spread with-

²⁴³ “Banister theory” is reproduced for example in Hobshawn & Ranger 1983, Berman 1982, Alzens & Hedren 1998, Lowenthal 1985, 1988, Giddens 1996 and in practically every study of tradition, revival, revitalisation, folklorism and cultural inheritance. Very widespread popular versions of the same theory are that people in today’s society have become increasingly rootless and so history, identity and “roots” have become increasingly important; that anyone who does not know their roots becomes lost in life; that anyone who does not understand themselves cannot understand others.

²⁴⁴ The general movement from knower to doer and maker also shifts points of departure in the direction of doers’ and makers’ perspective. The movement from knowing to experience means a shift in direction from the object to the experiencing subject.

²⁴⁵ An unusually clear example of a vengeful “counter history” is Tore Gannholm’s *Gutarnas historia* (the history of the Gutar (Gotlanders)) (1990). The book presents a history “from the Gutar’s own perspective” as the author puts it. The argumentation is pitched to show that Gotland has been an independent nation since ancient times, and that Gutar have since “the final Swedish annexation of 1679” been refused the right to their own history.

out external control. Certain groupings' history writing takes places in collaboration with established institutions. The Jazz Department of the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research, part of the National Collections of Music, gives status and legitimacy to classic jazz. The county museum plays a decisive role for the Gotlander's production of local history. Other groupings create their own institutions, where the actual establishment can form a significant part of the history they want to create for themselves. The Eric Sahlström institute in Tobo is one example of this. For others, equivalent processes take place to one side, as in the case of accordion museums and the worlds that Assyrians and creative anachronists have constructed on the Internet. Historisation can take the form of closer custody of that which is counted as "theirs". The conscious Swedification of Sweden during the past decade was triggered by immigration, during the 1970s and 1980s, producing a crisis for the control of who Swedes are and what should be counted Swedish (Ehn, Fyrkman & Löfgren 1993). Historisation can also take the form of simple counting. The thorough cataloguing of all of Carl Jularbo's recordings has the same function for old-time dance fans as the establishment of the royal lineage in long vanished empires for the Assyrians.

Everywhere, attempts are underway to retake control of the present by referring to history, cultural inheritance, and traditions. Representatives for places, groupings, towns, regions and states are occupied with the production of abstract and controllable histories that can function as brands. Aborigines demand that home pages with information on the didgeridoo, which they regard as their property, are shut down (Ronström 1998). Leading representatives for the Tuvinians organise world championships in overtone singing, in part to make UNESCO award them national copyright on overtone song (Lundberg & Ronström 1995). That which arises from this type of historisation is a special type of account where certain distinctive expressive forms become emblems for a common cultural identity, rooted in an objectified abstract mutual history. With the emblem as a trademark, those who know what the account is about are able to move into an economy of attention in which visibility/attention are means for generating both money and cultural capital.²⁴⁶

Culturalisation

Another type of control crisis arises when people no longer feel comfortable with their own or others descriptions of them and therefore set about refor-

²⁴⁶ In UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage List, this type of history construction has gained its most globalised and abstract form.

mulating who they are and what should represent them as collectives. When Assyrians/Syrians came to Sweden, some of them began to see themselves in the light of other groups with which they regarded themselves as comparable. They built churches and formed congregations and associations arose around music and dance. In these congregations and associations the cultural identity was redefined in two directions, one religious and one secular. An intensive phase of historisation and culturalisation had its beginnings. The new Assyrian identity was filled with newly produced historical Assyrian culture with which they could take their place in the new multicultural arenas (c.f. Hammarlund 1990).

In this example, the culturalisation took place on the initiative of leading Assyrians. The process can also be started on initiatives from without, by people who do not belong to the grouping but begin to see the members in a certain light and ascribe them qualities and/or typical expressive forms.

The study on the accordion shows that pensioners have been tangibly “culturalised” during recent decades. If “pensioner” was previously defined by age and the end of working life, it is today more defined by its cultural content. The change can most simply be described as a shift from “having a pension” to “being a pensioner”.

But what are pensioners like? Which symbols or markers should represent pensioners as a group, which expressive forms should give shape to pensionerhood? The search for mutual identity-bearing symbols is far from over. The pensioners’ common surfaces can still be seen as potential spaces. The number of pensioners is undergoing rapid growth. In a few years, more than 40% of those entitled to vote will be pensioners. Even if the grouping is divided up into sub-groups with partially separate cultural preferences, e.g. accordion, old-time dance and classic jazz, the pensioners will need to acquire group markers.

In order to gain a hearing for their demands on society they must also take up space on the stages and in the arenas where visibility is created (of which radio is one) and where a wide range of groups already struggle for space. For this to be possible, it is necessary for them to acquire unique and distinctive expressions for their culture. The important thing is then not how many actually like these forms but rather how rapidly and certainly they can produce difference in the conditions that apply for these arenas and stages. One important condition is distinctiveness, i.e. that the forms are different at the same time as they in other respects are similar. Another is clarity, in order to make “the greatest possible impression in the shortest possible time”.

Old-time dance music has precisely the qualities needed. It is a unique Swedish musical form, strongly tied to an important epoch in Sweden’s modern history—and to the people who were young then. An aesthetically clearly

marked boundary, summarised in the term “thump, thump”, separates these people’s aesthetic preferences from those of subsequent generations. Old-time dance on the accordion is easily recognisable even in the loudest media cacophony. The music has strong connotations of summer Swedishness, jetties, snaps and herring, to old times, when the welfare state was on the march.

One objection is of course that not all pensioners like the accordion and old-time dance. Many want to listen to classical music and jazz. There is also a growing number of devoted Elvis fans, Beatles fans, folk music fans, etc. This need not matter greatly in this context, however. Swedish folk music has for over a century been representative of Swedes and Sweden, despite that fact that few have actively fostered fiddle playing and folk dance. In the same way, many immigrant groups in Sweden shape their origins with music they regard as their own but which they do not otherwise overly devote themselves to. The important thing is not what the various groups think but what can produce the necessary difference in the arenas and in the situations where it is relevant. Another objection is that increasing numbers of young people play the accordion, at least if we are to believe leading representatives for *Dragspelarans Riksförbund* (the national association of accordionists). Not even that need matter much. Calypso does not become less Caribbean because Swedes devote themselves to it. That Turks in Sweden play Kurdish music makes it no less Kurdish. Young accordionists do not make old-time dance young and modern in the eyes of the majority any more than young practitioners of classic jazz make it into modern jazz.

The important factor in this context is the strong symbolic connections the accordion has in Sweden in association with so-called ordinary people, summertime pleasures and old people. It is precisely this last connection that is so clearly manifest in the debate on accordion music on the radio. For some, such as Ove Hahn, the demand for more accordion on the radio is almost a demand for increased diversity in the liberal sense. But for others, such as for Kjerstin Oscarsson, Head of radio channel 4 at the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, it looks more like a demand for the representation of a certain group of people’s cultural identity (see p. 223). This way of looking at things makes the accordionists into a part of a grouping or multicultural society.

One possible development is then that old-time dance can become a sort of folk music for the rapidly expanding group of pensioners in Sweden. Old-time dance’s era of greatness was during the welfare state’s central epoch, before the oil crisis, immigration and IT revolution. Old-time dance on the accordion can therefore come to be the symbol for a more Swedish and less problematic Sweden than today—a “Sweden in the age of innocence” (Sima 1996). The aborigines in this land are today’s old people. By referring to this land as a common

symbolical homeland, old people can with the battle cry “We also have our own culture!” advance onto the stages where visibility is created and controlled.

It is therefore possible that old-time dance on the accordion will become the answer to the pensioners’ search for distinctive expressive forms that can represent Swedish pensioners in the cultural diversity of multicultural Sweden. We have already seen a number of signs that it is precisely this that is happening. One is the struggle for accordion on the radio. Another, which is perhaps a prerequisite, is the shift into the cultural hallowed halls that seems to have begun. A third is how old-time dance on the accordion has come to be ever more strongly associated with pensioners during recent decades.

In Västerbotten’s *Folkblad* (a Swedish regional newspaper) on 3 July 2000 there was an advert for “Burträsksvängen 25 år”, the 25th anniversary of a week-long summer festival of sorts. Monday is devoted to music from Burträsk, Tuesday is Children’s Day, on Thursday there is a folk rock and pop festival, and on Saturday a fiddle player meet. On Wednesday, a gigantic gathering for senior citizens in collaboration with heavy-weight pensioner associations from across the country is on the programme. The entertainment provided for the nation’s senior citizens on this day is the production called *Kvarnspelet* by Burträsk accordion club and Bursiljum’s senior dance team. It is in precisely such contexts as these the old truth “old people like the accordion” is now in the process of becoming a new kind of truth: senior citizens are given shape and represented both within and without by old-time dance and accordion.

The same type of argument can also be presented for other emerging groupings in the multicultural society. Many groupings with ethnic points of departure have already undergone the majority of phases in this process. Other groupings, chiefly founded on mutual interests, are at the beginning of the process, e.g. the *Nyckelharpa People* or the *Swedish Caribbeans*. Certain groupings will vanish in the course of the process because they are unable to build the requisite resources in the form of powerful symbols, strong networks, access to media, status-enhancing knowers and finances run by skilled makers. A decisive factor of success is also how well the groupings manage to transform potential spaces into arenas of their own and then keep them despite competition with others. In the case study on the *Swedish Caribbeans* it is apparent how they succeeded at least in part in transforming streets and squares into one of their arenas (see p. 284pp). The way in which this conquest has now begun to be questioned by the authorities is also mentioned, which is probably related to other groupings’ efforts under the banner “reclaim the streets” to attempt a conquest of the streets by significantly more militant methods than carnival processions.

The total effect is, however, more visible groupings in Swedish society that will come to demand different types of rights. Decision-makers must pay heed





3-9 juli hembygdsområdet

Måndag 3/7 kl. 19.00
BURTRÄSKMUSIKENS DAG
 med unga musiker från Burträsk. En kväll fylld med all tänkbar musik från Burträsk. Vill Du spela?
 Anmäl dig till 0914-951 40
Fri entré

Tisdag 4/7 kl. 12.00 och 15.00
BARNENS DAG
 Jätten Stallo och trollrumman med Greger Ottosson & Louise Sund
Fri entré



Onsdag 5/7 kl. 14.00 - 22.00 Entré 40:-
DEN JÄTTESTORA SENIORTRÄFFEN
 I samarbete med SPF och PRO-föreningar från hela landet
 Föreställningen Kvarnspelet, Burträsk dragpelssklubb, Bursljums seniordanslag.
Dansband på kvällen:
DON PEDRO **Nicke Sjödin**



Torsdag 6/7 kl. 19.00 - 00.00 Entré 30:-
FOLK- ROCK- OCH POPFEST
 Fjölårets succé! Nu ännu bättre med öttält, grilltält m m.
 Medverkande: **Wynja**
Laudamus
Steamboat blues band
The Wyatt Earp band



SPECIAL
ARRANGEMANG

tors-fre-lör kl. 19.00
Kulturkåken
Burträsk

Den rosade föreställningen med **TOMAS ANDERSSON** och **TORBJÖRN NÄSBOM** som du inte får missa
FINNFORS RÖVARNA

Obs! Begränsat antal platser! Biljetter säljes på Karanellen kioskbudik, Burträsk tel 0914-104 01 entré 100:- endast förköp!



Fredag 7/7 kl. 19.00 - 01.00 Entré 50:-
NANNE GRÖNVALL
 Känd från melodifestivalen, one more time m m.
 Hon gör succé precis överallt.
ELVIS PRESLEY show
 grilltält, öttält m m.
KL. 21.00:
DANS I SOMMARNATTEN



Lördag- söndag 8-9/7
 entré 50:-
SPELMANSSTÄMMA
 på hembygdsområdet med Tvärdrag, Korsholmspillet (Fin), Dunderklumpen, Hederspelman, Daniel Pettersson och Daniel Fredriksson, Tomas Andersson och Torbjörn Näsbom, Plommon, Burträskkursen, Skellefteå Nyckelharpor, Andreas Risan m fl.



Barnaktiviteter
båda dagarna

Lördag 21.00 - 01.00
DANS PÅ 3 BANOR
 i sommarnatten på hembygdsområdet till en blandning mellan dragspelsmusik & traditionell folkmusik.
 Grilltält, öttält m m.



FRI ENTRÉ FÖR DIG
MED VF-KORTET

gäller alla dagar, dock inte föreställningen Finlorsrövarna

Du som har VF-kortet får så många fina förmåner! Utnyttja dina förmåner, men kom ihåg att visa kortet! Det är din nyckel till förmånerna. Alla VF-prenumeranter får ett eget VF-kort!

to these demands, especially when the grouping forms a large share of the voters nationally (pensioners) or locally (Assyrians in Södertälje). This leads to such things as a reallocation of society's attention and resources from the individual level to group level, i.e. a transition from individual/diverse society to a society of groupings/multiculture.

In such a society the question of the right to and control of the central symbols and emblems that are produced by historisation and culturalisation becomes particularly important. Precisely in the way that commercial companies and organisations, groupings, regions and states need access to unique and distinctive forms that can function as "logos" to give them visibility and thereby superior economic, cultural or attention capital. However, when the demands for rights and control over central symbols increase at the same time as increased uncoupling and stronger global motorways make them accessible for ever greater numbers and, furthermore, all the more difficult to control, then the conflicts for such rights become more common and more difficult to resolve. There is therefore reason to believe that the question of rights to and control of important expressive forms and expressions can come to be one of the primary ideological battlefields (c.f. Wallerstein 1990).

Life-cycle and Degree of Activity

From the case studies surrounding the Dixie boys, classic jazz and the accordion folk, a connection between the members' life-cycle and their degree of activity within the grouping can be discerned. The degree of activity within classic jazz was high during the 1950s, i.e. during the time the grouping was established. During the 1960s the degree of activity declined, only to increase rapidly again around the 1970s. Then the degree of activity declines once again in the mid-1970s to once again increase from 1995 onwards. This pattern can be tied to patterns in the members' lives.

Most of the Dixie boys were born around 1940. In the beginning of the 1960s, the majority were starting families. Many got divorced around 1970, at which time they started going out to jazz clubs again and meeting new partners. Consequently, the degree of activity increased. Then followed a period in which they became absorbed by new family constellations. From around 1970 the children had become old enough for the parents to be able to attend music events again. From 1995, many Dixie boys were drawing close to pensionable age and started to gradually wind down their working lives, etc, at which point one can see an increase in activities again. Around 1980 many accordion clubs were founded in which the members were born around 1920. The degree of accordion-based activity increased further as more became pensioners and then,

during recent years, declined in pace with the members becoming increasingly elderly. The Dixie boys' activities will probably increase in the years to come as more and more become pensioners. Here it is a question of a grouping of well-educated people with high levels of resources, that all possess the prerequisites to organise and finance both live and mediated activities.

It is probable that the degree of activity in other groupings based on musical interest and formed during a given time period will change in accordance with the pattern sketched above. The punks emerged as a grouping around 1977 and had low levels of activity from the mid-1980s that increased again in the mid-1990s, i.e. in accordance with the same pattern as the Dixie boys. Over the last two years, the "proggs", who were at the forefront of the Swedish progressive musical movement in the early 1970s, have begun to organise annual music festivals again, which is probably the first sign of an increased activity that will culminate in approximately ten years when sufficient numbers of the group's members have become pensioners. It can be predicted that activities in hip hop will decline in the coming years to reach a new peak around 2012 and again around 2035, a year when rave and trance will probably be organised by those who have then reached pension age.

These observed patterns ought to be of interest for long term planning in society's organs for cultural output and in the culture industry and media. A group with the resources of the Dixie boys will almost certainly demand premises and space in the media with ever greater force in the next 20 years. The same applies to the "proggs", who will organise gatherings at Gärdet in Stockholm again, this time with the necessary permits from the police, etc. These will be followed by the punk-pensioners, the hip hop devotees and the rave fans.

Musicscapes and the Society of the Future

Above we have, in different ways, pointed out changes in society as a whole that changes in musicscapes indicate. The individual previously interpreted his belonging principally focused on home town, family, profession and social group. Groupings were formed from a social frame of interpretation. A gradual orientation toward a cultural frame of interpretation is now taking place. Groupings are founded on common cultural interests: music, sport, religion, clothes and food. It is this shift that forms the foundation of the emerging so-called multicultural society. The shift has, as we have shown, many causes, not least the new forms of media and communication that have rapidly grown during the last 25 years. Migration and the new ethnic groupings, about which public discussion has often been concerned, is in other words only one of several aspects of the concept multicultural.

What characterises the situation today is that both the political system and market are attempting to adapt themselves to a multicultural or grouping-based society. This process will accelerate during the coming years as increased numbers of groupings become visible and demand rights. The process will be characterised by the play of opposites: diversity-multiculture, individual rights-collective rights (human rights-cultural rights), traditional political parties-interest groups, oligopolies-niches, broadcasting-narrowcasting, etc. A range of individual and conflicting decisions will be made. The result will be a series of parallel systems in different areas, whose intrinsic inconsistencies will create crises.

Within cultural politics there has been tendencies to parallel, contradictory systems for several years. Cultural grants are apportioned on the basis of ensembles' and individuals' achievements and conditions but also to an increasing degree in accordance with another system in which grants are divided between different groupings in the cultural area in question. This is further complicated by institutions and free groups being treated separately.

Within the judiciary system, increasing numbers of collective rights are being established in parallel with the rights of the individual. Diversity plans have been prescribed for state-run places of employment. In practice it is a question of the addition of the ethnic multicultural dimension to the previously existing equality legislation, which is also group-oriented. Minority languages with special rights have also been introduced. Both of these measures are in conflict with earlier decisions and practice that have their points of departure in the individual. Furthermore, they create conflicts because the executive organs are highly uncertain when it comes to applying group-oriented rights. There are also practical problems. Existing resources are insufficient to carry out the measures that are required for, for example, all authorities to be able to communicate in the four official minority languages. It will not be long before even non-ethnic groups start to demand similar special rules.

As the voters to an increasing degree vote in accordance with the groupings to which they belong and through the individual election system vote their own representatives into parliament (as the Assyrians did in the election of 1988, see p. 306p), the existing political parties will try to adapt themselves to the demands of various groupings. Just as the liberal society of diversity led to the fall of the class-based parliament's fall in 1866, the emerging multicultural society will probably lead to a restructuring of the current party parliament in the direction of some form of grouping parliament. If we are correct in our position that music plays a central part for groupings in multicultural societies, such a parliament will of course provide music with great resources.

The adaptation to an emerging society characterised by media and multi-culture has to date largely been unsystematic and without reflection, in both

the private and state sectors, on both national and supra-national levels (EU, UN, WTO, etc.). The risk is great that this leads to the emergence of a society with inconsistent political and judicial structures in which groupings are pitted against each other on a local level. By studying changes in the musicscapes we have tried to make a contribution to increased knowledge of the patterns and dynamics in ongoing changes in society as a whole—knowledge that hopefully can contribute to decisions that result in a future society with fewer conflicts instead of more.

Sources and Colleagues

Sound and video recordings in the project have as a rule been made with a DAT recorder or Sony Video Hi 8. They have been registered in chronological order, with a code that indicates who did them and when. M.KM981206 relates that the recording was made for the project (M), by Krister Malm (KM) in the year, month, day. MB is Mathias Boström, SHC is Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius, DL is Dan Lundberg and OR is Owe Ronström. Recordings made the same day, entirely or in part by the same people have the addition of a, b etc. Interviews with various people the same day are indicated by the addition, for example, of names of people or orchestras.

The majority of recordings are interviews. A large number of people have been interviewed for the different case studies. These have been selected so that all types of actor are represented by relevant persons. The vernacular character of the interviews has been kept even if they have undergone a certain amount of linguistic editing. Other recordings are documentation of performances and typical environments/situations.

Some of the sub-studies have been conducted by external colleagues: Mathias Boström has done a study on the network surrounding the nyckelharpa. Jan Hellberg has conducted an analysis of Musikmuseet's recordings of immigrant music. Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius has collected material on early musicians and medievalists.

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1 *Konst eller invandramusik. Ett program om två musiker med invandrarbakgrund verksamma i två helt olika musikaliska sammanhang*. [Art or immigrant music. A program about two musicians with immigrant background. Working in two completely different musical contexts.]

2 *Lyckliga Rinkeby. Om musikens roll i den mångkulturella miljön på högstadieskolan i Rinkeby*. [Happy Rinkeby. On the role of music in the multicultural milieu at the high school in Rinkeby.]

3 *Estnisk kultur. Tur och retur. Om den förändrade situationen efter Sovjetunionens fall och den inverkan detta haft på det estniska kulturlivet i Sverige*. [Estonian culture—the travel and return. On the changed situation after the fall of the Soviet Union and the impact on Swedish cultural life.]

4 *Bli grek för en kväll. Om den dubbla roll som grekiska restauranger i Stockholm har; samlingsplats för greker i exil—exotiskt inslag i den Svenska vardagen för en trogen svensk publik*. [Be Greek for a night. On the double role of ethnic restaurants in Stockholm; gathering point for immigrants in exile—exotic feature in Swedish every day life with a faithful Swedish audience.]

5 *Reels och Guinness. Om människor och musik kring en irländsk pub i Stockholm*. [Reels and Guinness. About people and music in an Irish pub in Stockholm.]

6 *På jakt efter jugoslaverna. Musik och identitet för en bosnisk musiker i Sverige*. [Looking for the Yugoslavs. Music and identity for a Bosnian musician in Sweden.]

7 *Musik i rörelse. Sammanfattande resonemang kring musikens roll bland migranter i Sverige och i övriga världen*. [Music on the move. Concluding discussion about the role of music among migrants in Sweden and the rest of the world.]

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Multimedia Material on the Website

www.visarkiv.se/mmm

New location: old.visarkiv.se/online/online_mmm.html

Swedish world music

VIDEO 1: Concert with the Swedish folk music band “Groupa” at the Music Conservatory in Malmö. April 16, 1999. 1’46

VIDEO 2: Stockholm Folk Big Band plays at “Nybrokajen II” (The concert hall of the Swedish Concert Institute). The “jekere suite” is a journey from Africa to Sweden. 2’10

VIDEO 3: Ola Bäckström recording in Warner Music’s studio in Stockholm. Under supervision of the producer Manne von Ahn Öberg. 2’17

Global pop in some countries in the Caribbean and East Africa

VIDEO 1: Toasters without instruments, de-mediaized ragga. Kingston, Jamaica. 0’15

VIDEO 2: Reggae metal. “Lively up yourself” (Bob Marley). Downstairs, Kingston, Jamaica. 2’55

VIDEO 3: Thrash Metal. “Insert Coin”, Chaguanas, Trinidad. 3’00

VIDEO 4: De-mediaized rap. MLUTSO—Mtema Lugodi Traditional Sounds, Bagamoyo, Tanzania. 3’30

AUDIO 1: Girl pop. “My Island” (Lewes). Karissa Lewes & band, Trinidad. 2’45

AUDIO 2: Raggasoca. “Talk yuh talk” (Manwarren-Kewlwy). 3 Canal, Trinidad 1999. Rituals Co 5999. 2’00

See also Swedish Carribbeans below.

Accordions and old time dance music in Sweden

VIDEO 1: Gnesta Kalle & Giovanni Jacornelli (Two well-known Swedish musicians) about Calle Jularbo. From the TV movie about Calle Jularbo: “The Accordion king” [Dragspelskungen] by Jonas Sima. 0’44

VIDEO 2: Dance at Klockarnäs with the Calle Jularbo Orchestra. From the TV movie about Calle Jularbo: “The Accordion king” [Dragspelskungen] by Jonas Sima. 1’05

VIDEO 3: Old time dance music with accordion in the 50s. From the TV movie about Calle Jularbo: “The Accordion king” [Dragspelskungen] by Jonas Sima. 1’00

VIDEO 4: Bengan Jansson teaches at an accordion summer course, May 2000. 1’00

VIDEO 5: The orchestra “Gutebälgarne” [The Gotlandish bellows] at the mid summer festivities in Visby, 2000. 1’00

AUDIO 1: Carl Jularbo plays “Drömmen om Elin” (well-known Swedish waltz by Jularbo). From the CD “Dragspelskungarna” [The Kings of Accordion]. 1’00

AUDIO 2: The Lindqvist Brothers and Walter Eriksson play “Afton på Solvik” (Evening at Solvik). From the CD “Dragspelskungarna” [The Kings of Accordion]. 1’00

AUDIO 3: Bengan Jansson plays “Balkanschottis” [Balkan Scottish]. From the CD *The Power of Culture*. 1’00

Nyckelharpa People

VIDEO 1: Bart Brashers, nyckelharpa and Sue Thompson, guitar. Recorded in Seattle April 1998. 1’54

VIDEO 2: Nyckelharpa lesson in Minneapolis, April 1998. Becky Weiss teaches “Båtsman Däck” to the pupils Wes Petersen and Ron Mathisen. 3’20

VIDEO 3: Nyckelharpa lesson at the Eric Sahlström Institute. Teacher Sonia Sahlström with the student playing Swedish Scottish and Bulgarian racenica. 3’24

VIDEO 4: Teachers at the Eric Sahlström Institute play “Per Brahes Brudmarsch” [Wedding march of Per Brahe] on the stairs in front of the institute. Sonia Sahlström, Ditte Andersson and Olov Johansson. 1’00

Illustration of the mediaization of the nyckelharpa:

AUDIO 1: ”Hardrevet” [The Rabbit Battue] by Eric Sahlström played by himself. From the CD *Föregångare* [Precursors], Recorded 1956. Eric Sahlström & Gösta Sandström (MNWCD241). 1’07

AUDIO 2: "Hardrevet" [The Rabbit Battue] by Eric Sahlström played by Anders Mattsson, Niklas Roswall & Ola Hertzberg. From the CD *Till Eric* (To Eric), 1995 (DROCD006). 1'20

AUDIO 3: "Kusten" [The Coast] from Johan Hedin's CD *Angel Archipelago*, 1998. Atrium/Warner Music. 3984-22107-2. 1'25

The Dixie boys—classic jazz

AUDIO 1: "Sorry" (Klages-Quicksell). Jesses Jazzband, Scana 96027, 1999. 1'20

AUDIO 2: "Louisiana-ay" (Leigh-Coleman). Second Line, Västerås, Sweden. 980806. 1'30

AUDIO 3: "Panama Rag" (Tyers). Sveriges Jazzband (Sweden's Jazz Band), Swedejazz SJCD950001, 1995. 1'43

Swedish Carribbeans

VIDEO 1: "Orminges karnevalsåt" [The Orminge Carnival Tune] (Bergström). Orminge Carnival 1997, carnival participants and Hot Pans steelband. 2'00

VIDEO 2 a & b: Steelband festival, Orminge 970531

a) Soca, Flash in the Pan, student orchestra from Södertälje culture school. 2'00

b) "Mind yuh business". Soca (Sharpe-Daniell). Hot Pans with dancing audience. (c.f. audio 1 below) 2'35

VIDEO 3: Steel pan lesson in Södertälje culture school 970521. Guest teacher from Trinidad. 0'50

VIDEO 4: Mas/Carnival. Blue Devils, Carnival band. Stockholm Carnival Club, Stockholm 970523. 2'25

AUDIO 1: Soca. "Mind yuh business" (Sharpe-Daniell). Denyse Plummer & band, Trinidad 1955. M&M Productions JWMM001. (model for the performance in video 2b above) 2'10

AUDIO 2: Ragga. Internet. Governor Andy and Serious Version, Stockholm 1999. 1'15

AUDIO 3: "The Orminge Carnival Tune" (Bergström) (c.f. video 1). Eric Malm, DJ-Mix, Markoolio rap. Orminge Carnival 2000. 3'20

Assyria—a land in Cyber Space

- VIDEO 1: Rehearsal with the group Qenneshrin. Nabu Poli and Gabriel Masso synthesizers and Emanuel Demir saz. 2'30
- VIDEO 2: Concert with Qenneshrin at The Re:Orient festival in Stockholm, featuring the singer Habib Moussa. 2'20
- VIDEO 3: Albert Gabriel, web master on Nineveh On-Line, reports about the net radio. 1'00
- VIDEO 4: Syrian Orthodox church in Södertälje. Father Gabriel. From Swedish Television, 25 May 2000. 3'40

Mediaevalists and Early Musicists

- VIDEO 1: Musicians at the Mediaeval Week in Visby performing "Tourdion" on recorders, August 1997. 0'45
- VIDEO 2: "Voles and Strings" performs at the mediaeval market in Visby, August 1997. 0'45
- VIDEO 3: The group "Falsobordone" with harp and rebec. At the "Kapitelhusgården" in Visby, August 1997. 0'30
- VIDEO 4: Young musicians at Styringheim's mediaeval camp in Visby, August 1997 0'35
- VIDEO 5: Circle dance, Styringheim's mediaeval camp in Visby, August 1997 0'35
- VIDEO 6: The group "Visby vaganter" performs in The Botanic Garden, Visby. Mediaeval Week 1997 0'40
- VIDEO 7: Street musicians in the "Stora torget" (Town square) with flutes, nyckelharpa and drums. August 1997. 0'40
- VIDEO 8: The music group "Ars Ultima" plays "Medieval Fusion" in a concert at Mix Musik Café, Stockholm, April 12 2000. 2'34
- AUDIO 1 a, b & c: MIDI-files with mediaeval music from a page on the server at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona (www.supomona.edu). Instrumental dances (classification from McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances*)
- a) "Saltarello" (Anonymous) 1'53
- b) "Dous amis" (Guillaume de Machaut) 1'56
- c) "Le Jeu de Robin et Marion" (Adam de la Halle) 0'14

AUDIO 2: The Hilliard Ensemble & Jan Garbarek. "Agnus Dei" by Antoine Brumel. From *Mnemosyne* (ECM 465122-2). 1'30

HTML-presentations with text, music and photos

- 1) Rap, ragga, reggae in Nairobi, Dar es Salam and Lusaka.
- 2) A virtual Assyria.