Music and Minorities from Around the World

Music and Minorities from Around the World: Research, Documentation and Interdisciplinary Study

Edited by

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and Adelaida Reyes

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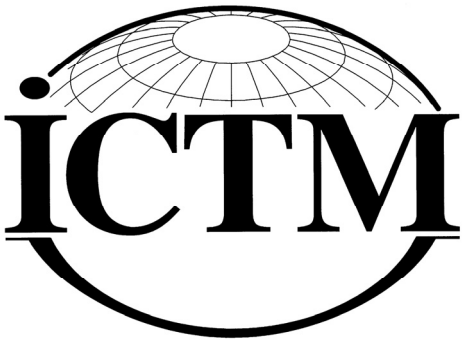

INTRODUCTION

The ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities has held international symposia regularly every two years since 2000. Papers from these symposia have been published in different formats. Some have appeared as proceedings, others as edited online publications (see www.ictmusic.org) and still others as a collection of articles developed from selected papers originally presented at the conference and peer-reviewed in accordance with standard practice for scholarly publications. All have been made possible through the generosity and guidance of the local organizers of the meetings.

Inevitably, the symposia and the publications that come out of them bear the marks of their setting. Zefat Academic College is situated in the Galilee in the Northern area of Israel. Historically this area has been inhabited from antiquity until the present. Numerous archaeological sites provide abundant evidence of the countless generations of peoples with different religions and cultures who have lived there. Augmenting the Jewish groups that had been residents of the Galilee for generations are the Jewish communities from Romania, Hungary, Morocco, Iraq, Kurdistan, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen and India, as well as immigrants who arrived in recent decades from the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia and Argentina. Other groups living in the region are Druze, Circassians, Christian Arabs and Muslims (including Bedouins). Today, the Galilee's population is richly diverse, its communities and cultures creating a socio-cultural mosaic that is complex and challenging. Zefat, therefore, proved a highly suitable setting for a symposium on topics that are central to the work of the Music and Minorities Study Group. In that setting, Zefat Academic College provided an excellent venue for presenting and exploring the scholarly work of the Study Group.

In Zefat Academic College—in its student body, its faculty and its personnel—most if not all of the region's minority populations are represented. Students from all departments were invited to participate as listeners and observers at the international conference. Students from the Music and Arts Department came to the lectures and their reactions were very positive. The College, therefore, became a site for the mutual enrichment of the local and the global—of Zefat Academic College and an

international symposium with participants from three continents: Asia, Europe and the United States.

The contemporary city of Zefat is steeped in the heritage of the sacred literature and poetry of its great Jewish philosophers and mystics of past centuries. At the same time, a new generation is seeking to build on that legacy through the pursuit of higher education. In that endeavor, Zefat Academic College plays a central role. And in the enactment of that role, the College's hosting of the Seventh International Symposium of the Music and Minorities Study Group promises to have an important and long-lasting impact.

The contents of this book are organized according to the themes of the symposium: Methodology in the study of music and minorities, Music education and cultural identity in minority groups, Music and minority nationalisms, Representation of minority musics in film and video.

The theme "Methodology in the study of music and minorities" reflects developments in the work of the Study Group. Since the Group's inception, many important case studies have been presented, each rich in ethnographic detail and analytical insight. Where do they lead us collectively? A sustained effort is needed to go beyond individual cases toward a generalized and theoretical understanding of the relationship between music and minorities. Gerda Lechleitner tries to add to these discussions by theorizing fieldwork in a particular minority context—Bukharian Jews in Vienna. She suggests that one aspect of fieldwork—cultural understanding—ranks high in studying music and minorities.

The theme of education is a very important one in the history of the Study Group. It appeared for the first time in 2006 at the Varna meeting in Bulgaria and re-entered the list of conference themes in 2010 in Hanoi. In this book we find a broad range of approaches to the topic: from the use of choir books to skyped lessons to competitions as forms of transmission.

The article about the Sorbian minority in Germany by Tereza Nowak looks at a certain feature of transmission within a minority group that has a very typically European, maybe especially German, history: choir singing and songbooks as an important means of identity construction. Essica Marks writes about teaching Arab music in Israel. In this and Tereza Novak's case studies, we find very different pedagogic approaches that both seem to work. Yoshitaka Terada introduces what he calls "circular flow"—a phenomenon involving the movement of musical traditions from country of origin to other parts of the world and back—using South Indian music as illustration. That recordings and competitions are an important means of transmission of the genre *Shima-uta* in the Amami islands in Japan is strongly suggested by Yves Defrance's paper.

The theme "Music and minority nationalisms" seeks to address an issue of particular significance: the multi-faceted role that music can and does play in the creation and maintenance of minority nationalisms. The two articles that address the theme deal with Jewish traditions, one in Switzerland, the other in France. Sarah Ross, in her article, focuses on "original" as well as "newly invented" songs written in Surbtal-Yiddish, in order to demonstrate how Swiss Jews—in their attachment to their past and present culture—are trying to create not only a Swiss-Jewish national essence in their music, but even more, a Swiss-Jewish minority nationalism. Jessica Roda analyzes the situation of Judeo-Spanish music in France by applying the concept of patrimonization. At the beginning of the 20th century during the Ottoman Empire crisis, the Jews of the region, mainly Judeo-Spanish, began to construct an identity for the purpose of distinguishing themselves from any future national majority. In this process, what Roda calls heritization was the principal tool.

Three articles in this volume take highly divergent approaches to the theme "Representation of minority musics in film and video" as they address the question of how minority cultures and their musics are reflected in and are affected by motion pictures, be theyictional movies, documentaries, ethnographic films, music videos, shared Internet video files or interactive videos. Thomas Solomon's article explores sonic racial stereotyping in American animated films from the 1930s through the 1950s. Using Nicholas Cook's (1998) theory of musical multimedia as a starting point, Solomon analyzes some specific examples of cartoons in order to explore how music, language, and the moving image work together to create racialized characterizations. In her article, Inna Naroditskaya carries out a comparative analysis of two film productions: The first American "talkie", *The Jazz Singer* (1927), and the first Soviet film musical, *Jolly Fellows* (initially *Jazz Comedy*, 1934), both take jazz and Jews as subject matter. The article explores how these two cinematographic hits each signify their respective national agendas and the quite-contrasting social aspirations of the time while simultaneously conveying the Jewish story. Finally, Kai Aberg's article deals with the influence of film and music production on "The Construction of Roma Identity in Finland", using techniques and formats from both past as well as contemporary productions.

We thank the authors for their wonderful contributions, the anonymous peer reviewers whose work was very helpful for the editing process, the language editor Rachel-Shelli Mansfeld, Mike Delaney for the copy-editing and Martina Krammer for formatting the text. May this volume

contribute to the ongoing international dialogue on minorities in ethnomusicology.

Ursula Hemetek, Essica Marks, Adelaida Reyes (eds.)
Vienna, Zefat, New York in July 2014

PART 1:

METHODOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF MUSIC AND MINORITIES

FIELDWORK ON "MUSIC AND MINORITIES": METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

GERDA LECHLEITNER

Introduction—Coming to Terms

Taking into consideration the various problems when defining a "minority" or "minorities", the following article will use a methodical approach intertwined with an example dedicated to "music and minorities". The questions will revolve around methods and theories which are appropriate for minority studies: have approaches changed or have they evolved according to various themes? Such considerations will be illustrated by an example encountered in my own field research.

The example encountered in my field research concerns the study of the Bukharian Jews, a community in Vienna. Dealing with a "non-European culture" could be addressed as a topic of social anthropology or, more specifically (if focused on music), ethnomusicology. This topic is also in line with urban ethnomusicology, a subtopic closely related to minority studies, which forms the centre of this paper. Therefore, generally speaking, a methodical and theoretical approach is significant for any research of or discussion about (other) cultures in the fields of social anthropology, ethnology, ethnomusicology or sociology. "Minority studies" are a special case in the field of the disciplines just mentioned: the term "minority" is related to any kind of difference or relationship, such as many and few, powerful and weak etc. It is the interest in music and minorities which will be specifically addressed here—"their" music and musical environment.

Discussion about methodologies, methods, theories and epistemological approaches currently seems to be a mainstream phenomenon. Many scholars, not only ethnomusicologists, mention the rather "free" use of these terms; resulting in a desideratum of rethinking the methodologies in order to strive for a generalized and theoretical understanding of the subject. This paper is an attempt to reassess the methodology (meant as approach), various methods (methodical and systematic working processes) and theories in the study of music and minorities.

Bukharian Jews in Vienna represent a minority group in the Diaspora, since they were newcomers who entered an already existing system, namely the Jewish community—*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*. The project under discussion (cf. Lechleitner 2007) had a simple documentation purpose (the "typical" approach of an archive): recording samples of the cultural diversity in Vienna at official, semi-official and private events, thus attempting to build up a stock of examples for comparing minorities. The main questions to become apparent during the project work were: How does this community live here? How do they deal with their culture so closely related to religion and also to the region where they come from? And how do they experience their integration into the new Diaspora? From a cultural diversity perspective, the project closely corresponds to the relationship between minority and majority on two levels: between Bukharian Jews and the host society (the city level), and within the groups of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* and the Bukharians, who, as newcomers were acknowledged as Sephardim (Jews) and were therefore a minority compared to the (settled) Ashkenazim (Jews).

Minorities are characterized as "groups of people distinguishable from the dominant group due to cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons" (a current definition of the *Study Group Music and Minorities*, see www.ictmusic.org). In the case of the Bukharian community—a small (and only recently established) community in Vienna—one can define them as distinguishable from the dominant Viennese inhabitants for cultural and ethnic reasons. The Bukharians are emigrants from Central Asia and are Jewish; socially there are differences due to their status as immigrants; without relevance to their prior status in their home country, which was that of merchants, lawyers, physicians and also craftsmen. Their minority situation is due to their status and education not being approved of in their new habitat. Initially they were also distinguishable by their economic standing, but over the years that difference has decreased.

As also noted by Beer (2008), the terms methodology and methods are often used rather unclearly and interchangeably. Methodology might generally be understood as a guideline system for solving a problem; therefore, methodology includes the analysis of the methods, rules and postulates employed by a discipline (or by the field of inquiry); the systematic study of methods which are, can be or have been applied within a discipline; and the study or description of methods with specific components such as workflows, tasks, techniques and tools. Evidently, methodology will be used as a starting point closely connected to methods and theories. Secondly, a (scientific) method is a body of techniques used for investigating phenomena, acquiring new knowledge, or correcting and

integrating previous knowledge. Theory, finally, might be roughly defined as a contemplative and rational type of abstract or generalizing thinking, or the results of such thinking.

Theoretical considerations can also be illustrated in the field of ethnomusicology: 1) an interest in a special music culture, in a particular problem based on various items of information comes to mind; 2) fieldwork, as a bundle of techniques related to the respective approach and based on experiences and the respective context, is conducted in order to collect data and to find (first) answers to the proposed research question; various “methods” in technical/practical (in the widest sense) respects are used depending on the context or necessary enhancements; 3) an appropriate method might at first offer results derived from the systematic and analytical checking of the acquired “data”; and 4) a closer examination and reflection of the first results might then give rise to theories, even though theories might be the starting point for research as well. In other words: research might follow a generalized concept either to verify or to discard it, or a theory might be built on the abstraction, reflection and generalization of findings and experience based on the collected data.

A personal and subjective approach should elucidate the theoretical descriptions of the above-mentioned terms and sequence: empirical research, e.g. ethnomusicology in general and the study of music and minorities in particular, is mostly based on the collection of data, therefore “collecting” data and information in the field could be seen as a starting point. Field work is very often regarded as method; although field work consists of a lot of different “actions”. Wonneberger (2008: 4) refers to a “tool box” which can use various methods such as participant or systematic observation, interview techniques etc. within state-of-the-art empirical methods and their analysis. The methods already established and used are multifaceted depending on the research purpose and the changing social environment. The terms methodology and methods are often amalgamated; they can both be traced back to the etymological meaning of “path”, comparable with the manner of investigation or the direction of research (cf. Beer 2008: 9).

Fieldwork

Helen Myers (1992: 22) is not the only one to speak about fieldwork as “a hallmark of many social sciences, including anthropology and ethnomusicology”; Timothy Rice (2010: 107) also explains that “ethnomusicology today is, at its core, a discipline based on field research

in one or more local environments." Ruth Stone (2008: xxii) notes that "the outcomes (or theories) result from fieldwork," and Jeff Todd Titon (2008: 25) writes that "today it is not transcription but fieldwork that constitutes ethnomusicology." Therefore, fieldwork has to be seen as the core of both this discipline and the special topic of music and minorities. Thus, in this respect, fieldwork is addressed as "the" method for the study of music and minorities and thus the collective starting point for this research. Fieldwork is a wide field, discussed as the main issue in Rice's *Ethnomusicological Theory* (2010) or in the anthology *Shadows in the Field* by Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley (2008), who also included in their second edition topics linked to minorities. They state that "for some, fieldwork is a process through which observation becomes inseparable from representation and interpretation" (Cooley & Barz 2008: 4). These statements show that fieldwork is multifaceted in order to work out new perspectives, explanations and results in ethnomusicology. The changes in fieldwork derive from various questions and problems—one of them is the issue of dealing with music and minorities— and further developing it.

Additional Perspectives

Minorities are defined in relation to majorities, and their relationship can be studied from different points of view. In order to deal with these research topics, fieldwork covers the observational and experimental parts of engaging in understanding or learning (in the widest sense) about a musical-cultural practice influenced by the relationship between majority and minority. Fieldwork has to be understood as a process which distinguishes ethnographically-based disciplines from others in the field of the humanities and social sciences. Although ethnomusicologists gain their main knowledge from fieldwork, ethnographic fieldwork has been criticized with reference to colonial, imperial and other repressive power structures. Such criticism has to be taken seriously in any case, and the "problem" could be solved by actively joining in with a society's music-cultural practices ("the truly participatory participant-observation", as Shelemay called it, cf. Cooley and Barz 2008: 4). On the other hand, researchers should focus on performative aspects of culture to increase both the value and the necessity of ethnomusicological fieldwork for cultural understanding. According to Cooley and Barz, "an acceptance of multiple truths and multiple epistemologies … would lead to the 'creative diversification' of ethnographic writing" (2008: 22). In that sense, studies could become an integral part of transforming the respective experience and could lead to some kind of performative writing (corresponding to

performative culture). In this context, John Morgan O'Connell (2004: 5) uses Derrida's conception of speech and writing for his theoretical discourse to separate "non-verbal presentation (speech) from verbal representation (writing)". He concludes that this performative moment can be read differently, either by practitioners or by interpreters. Such a finding leads to the dichotomy of representation and interpretation, which requires an ethnomusicologal rejection of the science paradigm of the modern era, which says that we ethnomusicologists should be able to conceive culture, that is, music practice, as something completely objective. Especially in the study of music and minorities we should attempt to understand individuals' position in their respective culture and environment, and their relationship to cultural practices in general or their relationship to their own cultural practices. Such action mirrors the self-reflection of one's field research achieved by (the traditional) "participant observation", sometimes resulting in "observant participation". Moreover, Rice (2010: 120, 124) challenges us to ponder on beyond-the-local perspectives and community-based inter-local conversations: we should engage in conversation with the members of the community and engage them in conversation with each other to obtain new results. Within the Bukharian project this kind of conversation was possible because of the formation of the group of researchers (insiders and outsiders) which was in contact with the representatives of the community, and therefore different perspectives and relationships between themselves and between others were discussed from various perspectives. Above all, the research on the Bukharian community mirrors the situation whereby modern cities undergo transformation into multicultural centers; hence cities are the perfect places for research on the relationship between minorities and majorities, and for theoretical considerations arising from that scenario (cf. Reyes 2007). Migration to cities and elsewhere generates a situation of minorities. Such groups will interact with their host society and seek their place in that society, thus fieldwork alongside the use of methods and theories corresponding to such specific multilayered situations calls for far-sighted new perspectives and conversations.

Fieldwork techniques and Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Topic

To return to the example previously mentioned—that of studying the Bukharian community in Vienna, I again pose the following questions: How can the first contact be arranged? How can access to the community be gained? And how to start work on the project? As the project had been

planned as a documentary from the outset, field work had always been the original intent. We met the community's rabbi and told him about our ideas. The rabbi provided permission to attend community events and concerts in order to gain experience, to collect "samples" (namely audio and video recordings) and to receive information about the music presented and the audience's perception. Our field tools—audio and video recording techniques—demanded a working knowledge of the equipment; it is most important to know how to use and position the equipment with regard to technical standards in recording. Working techniques are co-related to the respective research questions, either to document a complete action or to get an insight into a playing or singing practice. They are linked to the decision to operate either in a documentary or explorative-documentary way in terms of "pure" participant observation, preferably without any intervention on the part of the researchers, or in an explorative way with the objective of collecting samples such as a repertoire of songs or instrumental music generated mostly by questionnaires.

When analyzing one's own material it eventuated that the video recordings represented a closer account of the event than sound recordings. The camera lens followed the selected actions leaving the rest of the picture in the background; the sound recordings, on the other hand, comprised a broader and thus more objective picture of the event. Moreover, working as a sound or video engineer has a big impact on how one remembers a recorded event. When using audiovisual material as a source we need to exercise due care.

With the above-mentioned definition of minorities in mind, a variety of approaches are possible. Ursula Hemetek (2004: 43 ff) emphasizes a multidisciplinary approach coinciding with Rice's observation that ethnomusicologists often reference theory from outside the discipline—from social sciences and humanities such as social theory, cultural studies, critical, literary, linguistic, psychological, postcolonial theories and others, or philosophy (Rice 2010: 101). Field research in an urban environment, as in the case of the Bukharian community, with an initial focus on documentation, led to the decision to initially just follow events and then to find answers for what had been seen, heard and sensed while making the audio and video recordings. Some time later I had the chance to have an informal talk with the organisers. I suggested that I would inform them about my—outsider's—impressions and expected response from them. During this exchange of ideas I was guided by the "reflections on intercultural communication" formulated by Andre Gingrich (2004). Gingrich stated that in most cases intercultural communication is about distinctions and differences. Commonly, "markers" are searched for in

order to distinguish one from the other. But he pointed out that we should not only be concerned about the differences and distinguishing markers, but should also be aware of parallels, similarities and so on (Gingrich 2004: 3). The conversation with the organisers in the above-mentioned project proceeded in that way and touched upon similarities which had been observed as well as differences. Concerning the situation in urban settlements with multicultural diversity and therefore also minority and majority groups, the researcher might ask, amongst others, for an approach like "talking to each other", taken from another discipline, namely cultural and social anthropology (cf. Lechleitner 2007). Interdisciplinary work seems to improve music and minority studies, mostly with regard to the search for music phenomena in general.

Dichotomies and More: New Ways of Thinking about Identity

Identity plays a key role in the study of music and minorities. In my opinion, identity is a form of representation—presented by members of a community in their self-perception, and observed and consequently interpreted by the researcher. The researcher can be a member of the majority (outsider's view) or of the minority (insider's view). Today, tendencies do not differentiate too much between the *etic* or outsider's analysis, and the *emic* or insider's understandings, but aim to find a new ethnomusicological space between those poles, a space neither completely inside nor completely outside, as Rice (2010: 117) puts it. Leaving aside the idea of using two complementary views, that is, a dichotomous approach, a third perspective was also included in another epistemic approach. Bakka and Karoblis (2010: 179 ff.) speak about the first-person (subjective), the sub-personal (objective), and the other person (inter-subjective reaction) approach to reach differentiated results in their studies. I suppose that abandoning a two-fold point of view is very important in music and minority studies, which are based on cooperation and exchange between the protagonists to achieve (more) knowledge.

The idea of blurring the definition of self and the other in field research follows a similar direction which leads to the negotiation of individual and communal experience and the processes of forming relationships. Initially, field work was undertaken to collect samples and information (in a more or less top-down process). Fieldwork has since become a challenging undertaking in many respects, calling for new approaches such as "to listen, to feel, to question, to understand and to represent in ways true to one's own experiences" (Cooley and Barz 2008: 22 f.). A new (collective) methodology in respect of music and minorities might be attempted by

understanding the researcher's positions in the culture studied and underlining these positions in their explanation, including their epistemological approach, their relations to the cultural practices and individuals, and their relationship to their own cultural practice. It is a shift away from music as an object, for example, just collecting data for analysis, towards music as a culture, such as watching a cultural practice with an emphasis on reflexive scholarship and accepting incomplete objectivity (cf. Cooley and Barz 2008:19 f.). Such considerations—that music is an important practice in the argument over boundaries between ethnic groups, that music provides an ethnic identity with its feel, and that musical performance offers the possibility to construct a self-identity—seem to be essential in ethnomusicology in general and in the study of music and minorities in particular.

In order to contrast theoretical considerations with practical experience, one observation relating to the activities of the Bukharian children should be mentioned. There are various ways to "learn" and "experience" identity. From the observer's perspective, role models for children have a special meaning. The project team (an insider and an outsider) had the chance to take part in one secular and in one religious event: the *Jehuda Halevi* music school organizes concerts every year to provide the children with an opportunity to present their musical abilities to their families—a typical practice. The program usually ends with a chorus performance comprising typical and well-known Jewish songs which linked everyone and everything in a special way. The children were highly acclaimed and felt they were an important component in their community, and (probably) acknowledged in their identity. The other event was organized on the occasion of Pesach (Passover) which celebrates the deliverance of the Jewish people from slavery in Egypt. Children from a primary school were invited to listen, to sing and to act—they were an active part of the "story" and the "act" of remembering the exodus from Egypt. They entered a dark room with a large dinner table in the middle. Everything was beautifully arranged for celebrating the last dinner, and the children were involved as actors and sang *Manish-Ta-Na*, a well-known Jewish song. Parts of the story were recited by the rabbi, intermitted by songs, and finally the children participated in preparing the *matzah* (the unleavened bread). The event was full of emotion; at first the children were shy and overwhelmed by the sight and atmosphere, however, they finally became self-confident and embodied their identity. In both cases, although different in their "action" (one was a performance for an audience and the other a performance for themselves), a feeling of identity was created by the musical activity assisted by their "guides", the

elders. Even if these activities are part of a tradition, these events started again in their new *Galut* (diaspora or exile) and thus have a different meaning in negotiating ethnic borders. Besides the subjective and objective perspective (personal feeling and description from a distance), some more information "in between" could be gained by talking to the children, the organizers or the audience. Both activities have an "agenda" and a goal; nevertheless they fluctuate corresponding to the respective "feeling" and condition of the community.

In summary, one could discover that specifically in the field of minority research, approaches based on the dichotomies "facts versus process" and "static versus in-flux" have turned out to be practical, socially relevant, and mutually appreciated when they also include a "space" in between like an "inter-subjective" perspective.

Aspects of fieldwork with the Bukharian Jewish community in Vienna

The research project on the Bukharian community was applied for by the *Phonogrammarchiv* and conducted by a young colleague, an immigrant from Sarajevo with Sephardic roots on one parent's side. Unfortunately, my colleague resigned from her position and the project was handed over to me, a person at first unfamiliar with the culture and history of the Bukharians. Whilst accompanying the Bukharian community over time, our contact and familiarity with each other changed. At first, I felt ignored to a certain extent and was only allowed to take part in some festivities and events. However, slowly a kinder and closer communication developed. I learned step-by-step about the community and their cultural activities, culminating in participation and gaining a deeper knowledge of their history, their feelings (inside) as a minority and (outside) towards the majority, and their musical practices through informal meetings and talks. Gradually a deeper knowledge emerged; the forthcoming meetings gave the impression of more participation instead of "pure" observation. In the course of time I was able to observe changes within the community; I had the opportunity to take part in informal conversations, and it was possible not only to ask questions to gain more knowledge, but also, after some time, to have discussions about the community's observations on the scholar's "role", about the interest in their community—which they appreciated; and about my own, of course subjective, observations on their activities and relations with others as a reflection process. Moreover, I count myself extremely lucky in having

cooperated with colleagues who were insiders, providing a wonderful chance to exchange and discuss the "findings" very openly.

Based on the specific "process" in fieldwork of using and adapting the methods of video recordings and conducting informal talks, the outcome—the audiovisual recordings—needed to be analyzed. Being trained in the field of the documentation of recording sessions from an archival point of view necessitated a consequential re-think as to what had been captured by the audiovisual techniques and what had been left out of the real event. It was the process of generating sources usable for further research—that is, the Dublin core metadata—but also of including descriptions of the research goal as well as observations not captured by the recordings themselves. At that stage a source-critical approach had already become apparent. As a result of that work, some personal observations combined with questions of interpretation emerged. These questions included the role of music, for example in education (cf. Lechleitner 2008), in festivities and the like, in order to distinguish one from the other, and to negotiate "differences" or to strengthen identity.

The aspect, or even importance, of identity in connection with power relations became clear when observing the following: an ambivalent picture emerged, as it had become obvious that inside the community some rivalry was going on between two associations, namely the *Verein* and the *Congress* concerning which is the "better" way to preserve the Bukharian heritage.

In 1999, the *Verein*, which has been in existence since the very beginnings of the Bukharian community in Vienna, were the founders of *Jehuda Halevi*, a centre for art and culture; one of its activities was to run the music school which sees its main responsibility as the continuation of the Bukharian-Jewish tradition, but not in a ghetto. Cultural contacts are favored for the purpose of living in two cultures, of being observed by the host community with one's own (other) culture and at the same time learning about the culture of the host community. The *Jehuda Halevi* music school is open to everybody, offering different subjects from classical to traditional instrumental music, singing, dance or handicraft techniques. The object is to encourage creativity, which is shown in concerts and events.

The *Congress of the Bukharian Jews*, the more recent of the two associations based in Vienna, feels responsible for cultural activities in general but is strongly dedicated to the youngsters, and pursuing the following duties: its concern is to introduce children and young people to Jewish religious life, and to make them aware of tradition in a modern and appealing manner. Various activities are organized to reach that goal,

namely events in connection with holidays which start with a delicious meal and some serious speeches (as an "educational" activity) before the "light entertainment program" begins. All in all it cannot be ignored that there is a didactic idea behind such get-togethers. These festivities are open only to the Bukharian community (cf. Lechleitner 2008).

The *Verein* tries to keep the Bukharians together by stressing the fact that they are now living in a different, new cultural environment which should be acknowledged by both the Bukharians and the inhabitants of Vienna. In contrast, the activities of the *Congress*, the newer organization, focus on Jewish religious life and point out the specific Bukharian tradition. All in all, it seems that the Bukharians now mainly consider themselves a Jewish community of Bukharian origin, and their identity is becoming more and more important the longer they live in Vienna. Today, Bukharians are part of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*, where they play an important role within this organization, and know it (cf. Lechleitner 2008).

Identity (vis-à-vis the host society) and power relations (outside and inside) are driving factors in the life of this minority group. Following the cultural paradigm shift in the social sciences, the perception of cultures as self-contained and isolated in space and time is not valid anymore (cf. Riegler 2003: 12). The question of "how" to obtain knowledge and the emphasis on a reflexive and dialogical approach for knowledge production seem to be more relevant in socially-oriented research, such as dealing with music and minorities.

Conclusion

What seems to be evident is the fact that empirical methods (like field work) have not been static but have advanced due to experiences and necessary adaptations concerning the respective cultural contexts. It is an opportunity to invent new approaches and techniques, to discuss flaws and strengths, and what is generally possible or not in special cases. Therefore, fieldwork is "an inherently valuable and extraordinarily human activity with the capacity of integrating scholar, scholarship and life"; moreover "the focus on performative aspects of culture [… as well as] our ability to engage music and individuals through substantive participation, increases both the value and necessity of ethnomusicological fieldwork for cultural understanding" (Cooley and Barz 2008: 5). And that cultural understanding probably has outstanding significance in dealing with music and minorities.

Rice (2010: 113) distinguishes three forms in ethnomusicological description—particular, normative and interpretative—which are applicable with regard to music and minorities. Taking the Bukharian study as an example, the particular description could be matched with the catalogue entries in the archive's database: these are the "facts" collected from the field recordings such as time, place, performers, and contents. Normative descriptions would include, beyond the facts, observations and insider information about such things as general rules or processes in a social organization, or lifestyle in comparison with other groups within the *Israelische Kultusgemeinde* in Vienna or within the worldwide Sephardic community. The interpretative description is ultimately based on theoretical considerations deriving from the particular and normative descriptions. The "own" feeling of tradition or identity, the changeful history of such feelings of a minority group, interpreted in the case of the example of the Bukharian Jews in Vienna (cf. Lechleitner 2008: 196f.) represents an attempt to discuss the results of the study by pursuing an interpretation of cultural processes, various relationships and different perspectives.

It has to be noted that neither a paradigm nor a convention of theoretical discussions has yet been established; that is, discussions about the opinion of what (minority) music actually is, how it started and varied over time, and came to occupy a significant position for the communities. "Music is an important practice for negotiating boundaries between ethnic groups" (Rice 2010: 124) and a sphere for creating an identity, which is important for everybody and also for minority groups. Dealing with music and minorities already has some tradition, as the respective study group in the ICTM has existed since 2000; therefore this research topic cannot really be called new anymore but "is implicitly covered by several research traditions" (Hemetek 2004: 42).

The considerations at hand (to some extent theorized and exemplified) have to be read as an effort to present common as well as personal thoughts on approaches, workflows and possible results—according to a chain of structural but also associative actions. Stone's statement that "theory should ultimately make ideas transparent and strengthen the quality of the intellectual conversation" (Stone 2008: xii) will no doubt serve to open further discussions.

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PART 2:

MUSIC EDUCATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN MINORITY GROUPS

THE ROLE OF THE CHOIRS AND SONGBOOKS OF THE SORBIAN MINORITY: A STRONGER AWARENESS OF IDENTITY THROUGH MUSIC EDUCATION

TEREZA NOWAK

The Sorbs are currently the smallest Slavic nation in the world. Living in East Germany, Saxony, and Brandenburg during the last 1,300 years, they speak two languages—Upper and Lower Sorbian. After a period of autonomous rule, from the 7th until the end of the 8th century, they were defeated by their German neighbors in the 10th century.[1] This marked the beginning of a process of "Germanization" which is ongoing today.

Present-day Sorbs are exposed in various ways to their ethnic music: traditional Sorbian instrumental music and songs, hymns and music composed by Sorbs, and songs in the Sorbian language. Very few families uphold the tradition of Sorbian songs; in fact apart from singing hymns in church most are first acquainted with Sorbian music either at school or in the playground. Other sources of promoting Sorbian music are either through the Sorbian radio station or by a professional Sorb ensemble—*Serbski ludowy ansambl*. The possibility of active participation in Sorbian music is limited: there are brass bands, song and dance ensembles and choirs; however, the brass bands are limited in their capacity to take on active members, and due to their marked similarity to German and Czech brass bands do not really represent a unique feature of Sorbian culture. The very few song and dance ensembles, which have been a part of Sorbian culture for the last half century, are only open to young people. Against this background, Sorbian choirs are not only the most numerous; they also embody the highest level of unique features which represent the long tradition of Sorbian music. The choirs have a special repertory which has often been especially composed by Sorbs for special Sorbian events.