# Making Music,
# Making Society

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Edited by

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# Introduction

# Making Music, Making Society

# Josep Martí, Sara Revilla Gútiez

Music generates sociability and at the same time is a product of sociability. Music arises, is made, is heard, is appreciated or criticised, it is bought and sold, used or it can also enter into oblivion, but this always *happens* within structures of relationships between individuals, structures which are formed by a few or millions of individuals. Music without society would be unthinkable, in the same way that we objectively do not know any society that manages without it. *Making Music, Making Society* is a book that departs from this reality.

The spheres of sociability that generate musical practices or that are generated from them are diverse (Born 2011). The musicians and other specialists who give life to a particular musical practice constitute one of these spheres, perhaps the most elementary. All those individuals, who can be understood as an audience, are also a part of another sphere of sociability with clearly differentiated internal dynamics from the former but are no less necessary. Additionally, we can detect other spheres. We can also speak about a sphere of sociability for the imagined communities (Anderson 1983) which we associate with certain musical practices: a country, a region, the "youth"—or a determined type of youth—, a particular social class, etc. Musical life usually also involves institutions of different kinds that contribute or enable the implementation of these different types of music. We can even count as a sociability sphere that which belongs to the academic field, those spheres constituted by musicologists, anthropologists, sociologists, etc. when they focus their interest on musical practices. Music, therefore cannot be understood without all these spheres of sociality that coexist in a complementary manner, intersect or even come into conflict amongst themselves.

In the different articles that make up this book, all these different spheres of sociability are represented in one way or another: Doerte Weig

speaks of the Baka in Gabon and how changing musical sources impact the performing sociability of their everyday life. Marta García Quiñones devotes a large part of her article to discuss another of these spheres, which has to do with the concept of "audience". The idea of the imagined community appears clearly in the articles of Linda Cimardi and Sara Revilla Gútiez; the first gives an account of how music is involved in the ethnic identity building in the Ugandan regions of Tooro and Bunyoro, while the second does the same in relation to Romania. The importance of the sphere of the institutional sociability is pointed out particularly in the contribution of Miguel A. García as this anthropologist writes about evangelism as an articulating force in the musical life of the Pilagá, in Argentina. This aspect is also present in Isabel Llano's article where, while focusing on the salsa practice in Barcelona, she contrasts "dance studio", i.e. salsa that is learned in academies, with "street dance". And concerning the last sphere of sociability mentioned, that of scholars, the articles of Susana Sardo and Bernhard Bleibinger precisely deal with the kind of relationship that we can establish between researchers, when they are carrying out field work, and the studied communities. The idea that musical practices and society are closely imbricated is a no-brainer, notwithstanding this does not mean, as Franco Fabbri, in his article written for this book, says, that the different disciplinary approaches to music take it equally into account.

The importance that music has in the process of making up a society is clearly brought to light in the role that it plays in the three basic parameters of social logics: identity, social order and the need for exchange. If music is so important to us, it is because apart from its assigned aesthetic values, it fits closely with the dynamics of each of these three different parameters. These parameters are consubstantial to the social nature of the human being. Identity—personal and collective—is what defines us within a community and delimits us from others. The fact that we are social beings involves organisation, and one of the aspects of this organisation is social order, which is understood as structuring forms of social relations, as a set of rules and regulations that govern the relations between different individuals and the layers of a given society. The social logics of the need for exchange has to do with the fact that individuals can only survive if they conveniently articulate relations of exchange with other members of the society. Musical practices have much to say about who we are, how we are perceived, how we build ourselves, the place we occupy in society, how we understand social order and how we interact in our constant exchange of affordances. Music is not merely

something about the social but rather a social life itself, something capable of structuring the social experience (DeNora 2002).

These three parameters, identity, social order and exchange as they manifest in musical practices constitute the core of the book. The editors thought, however, that it would also be of interest to start the publication with two introductory articles that make direct reference to theoretical and conceptual aspects of what constitutes the main focus of the book: the close relationship between music and society, and to conclude the book with a section dedicated to the social application of music studies.

Josep Martí already provides in his article some clues that justify the articulation of the book since he focuses the text on the above mentioned three parameters of the social logic: identity, social order and humans' need to exchange what they have. The author bases his text on the premise that if society is the result of interacting individuals and individuals are the result of such interaction, this interaction happens among many other things including music. A certain attention is devoted to the discussion of the notion of situationality deemed essential to understand musical practices, and which also leads us to the notion of "sonotope". For Josep Martí, "relationality" is a key word. The world is made of relations, "being is relating" (Puig de la Bellacasa 2009: 309) and this is also so for everything that has to do with music and society.

Franco Fabbri in his article titled "Music as a form of social interrelation" departs from the question of how musicologists can grasp music through the understanding of human relations. Fabbri rightly poses the question whether music can really be excluded from human relations. This approach leads the author to make a foray into the very idea of "music" and what is meant by "extramusical". We can better understand what different musicologists really understand as music by looking at what "extramusical" means to them, as this last notion actually delimits the semantic field of music.

In fact, according to Franco Fabbri, it makes little sense to speak of "absolute music", and so long as music is exclusively defined through its aesthetic dimension, it will be difficult for music to be studied as a form of human interaction and social phenomena. The fact of recognising the social in music obviously implies a criticism to certain musicology trends, specifically those, which Philip Tagg—Fabbri tells us—puts under the umbrella of "conventional musicology". Not because these trends deny the social in the music but because what they deny or neglect is the heuristic value of these aspects for the discipline and, among other things, they also imply that, as an object of study, more value is given to some types of music than to others. These same criticisms, from some time ago, give

strength to the argument that questions the prefix "ethno" for ethnomusicology[1], something which Fabbri also refers to in his article for this book: Why can't ethnomusicologists and music anthropologists be called musicologists *tout court*?. One of the main arguments of Fabbri is the need to avoid the identification of musicology with the exclusive task of discovering and showing the immanent values of musical works on their alleged autonomy.

In reference to music as a social practice, one of the most important and clearly demonstrable functions is its contribution to the construction and maintenance of the sense of collective identity, for example class, age, religion or ethnicity. What kind of relationship can be established between music and identity? What is the role of music in shaping identities? How do identities manifest themselves in musical practices? We are well aware that identities are not essences but structures resulting from the interaction of individuals, structures, which, by the way, have much to do with the spheres of sociability mentioned before. And one of the reasons why music is perfectly embedded in the dynamics of collective identities is because it generates intense emotional experiences, experiences that are much more powerful than those processed by other cultural artefacts (Vila 2014: 22).

"Representing people through music", the second section of this book deals with the issue of identities that musical practices not only express but also contribute to generate. Concretely there are two articles focusing on the register of ethnicity based on empirical data, which the authors, Sara Revilla Gútiez and Linda Cimardi, have collected in Romania and Uganda respectively. These texts manifest three basic aspects that characterise the relationship between ethnicity and the musical phenomenon: consciousness, process, and contrast. Consciousness, because a nexus of identity between sound production and ethnic group is established; process, because music is not ethnic-identifying in nature but becomes it; and contrast, because the idea of differentiation or the need for certain diacritical elements is fundamental to the ethnogenesis processes (Martí 2000: 119).

In the first of the articles, "Strengthening national ties: *muzică populară* in Moldova region, Romania", Sara Revilla Gútiez focuses on the *muzică populară,* a term that we can understand as "the music of the people", mainly consisting of music reworkings that take from the sources of tradition. One interesting aspect that stands out in the article is the great social relevance that this type of music has, something that we can more easily find in Eastern Europe than in the West. In Romania, the former Communist regime already gave music a great importance in order to articulate the national identity and today musical practices continue

fulfilling this function in this country. As the author of the article tells us, *muzică populară* is considered a reliable representation of Romanianness.

Although oriented in the tradition, or in an idealised vision of it, what is interesting about the *muzică populară* is that it avoids such models, which we could describe as a "museological" one, that is, extremely reified, in order to be able to adapt to the changing times. If on the one hand this fact facilitates greater social relevance, on the other hand it inevitably wakes up controversies about how authentic it is. We know that if the idea of "authenticity" is present in the controversies of many types of music, it is much more pronounced when the music in question is related to tradition.

Linda Cimardi's article also addresses the problem of ethnicity, but in this case in Uganda, more specifically in the Western regions of Tooro and Bunyoro. This African country, as happens in many sub-Saharan Africa countries, shows a great ethnic complexity, and as far as identity is concerned, according to the author, music, together with oral history and myth, constitutes its main means of expression.

It would be impossible to understand the processes of ethnogenesis without the specific moments that contribute to the construction and maintenance of the sense of group identity, and Cimardi offers us excellent examples of this. A good part of the article is focused on the *mpango*, a term that encompasses a set of drums, the type of music and dance that are associated with them as well as the ceremonial event in which they appear. The *mpango*, being a characteristic element of the traditional royal court of the Banyoro and Batooro, is an important symbol of ethnic identity. Linda Cimardi describes the changes that have occurred in recent decades in relation to the *mpango* which are a faithful testimony to the sense of identity in this Ugandan region.

It is particularly interesting the author's attention to the festival of traditional music and dance established in the year of national independence (1962) which periodically takes place in Ugandan schools. The article shows how the legacy of song and dance is adapted to fit the ideas that people have of different ethnicities. In these processes diacritical features are reinforced, something that is also characteristic of the folklorism dynamics.

If music is, among other things, a social fact, unavoidably it will affect the social order in one way or another. Jonathan Sterne was right stating that hearing is a sense that immerses us in the world (Sterne 2003: 15), but listening to music immerses us not in an amorphous world but in one that is already formatted in very specific social order structures and can be questioned and changed through musical practices. The third section of the

book includes two chapters that invite us to reflect on music and social order. The text of Miguel A. García dealing with the Pilagá music scene falls squarely in this issue: "How to organise the world with sounds and beliefs". The Pilagá are one of the original peoples of the Argentine Chaco and they adopted evangelism toward the end of the 1940s. The author uses concepts such as "music scene", "net" and "connector"—the last two from Bruno Latour—to provide us with a description of how musical practices of the Pilagá are articulated with their religious beliefs and how they affect social life as well as the relationships with their surrounding society. Considering the Pilagá music scene as a network and establishing the musical practices and evangelism as connectors, the author concludes that the music scene is a key cohesive device of the Pilagá society.

The next chapter of this section has been written by Isabel Llano. As the author tells us, music plays an important role in articulating collective identities and she shows this through salsa dancing in Barcelona. Isabel Llano gives us an account of how people live salsa in the city of Barcelona, paying special attention to the collective of Latin American origin. The article is based on research carried out for her doctoral thesis which included extensive field work between the years 2006 to 2015 (Llano 2015).

Until the end of the 1990s, a period that coincides with the opening of the first salsa clubs in Barcelona, Latin American immigrants and the autochthonous population shared these spaces. In subsequent years, however, it is possible to observe a division of the salsa scene in Barcelona, which implies not only different kinds of audiences—Latinos and non-Latinos—but also the practice of different styles of dancing. While for Latinos salsa dancing is closely related to feelings and emotions and at times to political or social demands, non-Latinos in recent years show a tendency to regard salsa dancing more as a studio dance. The existence of two different spheres—that of street dance and that which is learned in academies, the so-called "dance studio"—is a central point in the article. These two trends represent not only two different ways of practising and understanding salsa, but they take place in different atmospheres also involving different norms and values that have to do with the social order. According to the author, the Latino style of salsa dancing has become a form of resistance to the imposition of European aesthetic values, which have become legitimised through salsa congresses within the international scene.

Musical practices, like any other human activity, always involve relationships, and therefore the idea of exchange. Music can be understood as a technology for human interaction and this is what has moved Marta

García Quiñones to write her article "'Listen to this!' The Practice of 'Listening-With' to Recorded Music and the Affective Construction of Musical Taste". Today it is clear that listening is a performative, reflexive process in which the listener is indeed also a composer/performer (Bergh & DeNora 2009: 106), but what the author tells us is that there is a lack of academic attention to situations where people listen to records together. Her starting point is that "technologically mediated listening", such as listening to records or broadcasts, takes place not only in a solitary manner but also in collective listening practices. Marta Quiñones, after discussing works of some sociologists, especially Antoine Hennion and Tia DeNora, argues that it is necessary to go beyond their points of view and to elucidate how often musical meanings are built into social exchanges through listening to recorded music in groups at home, what Quiñones calls "listening-with". In the words of the author, this shared listening may provide occasions for sharing emotions, interacting physically, exchanging opinions, and shaping individual tastes in dialogue, thus contributing to the construction of musical taste.

This section of the book also includes Doerte Weig's article "Resonating with different worlds: how Baka music practices generate sociality, identities and connections to ritual spirits". The contribution of this anthropologist to the book is based on her field work among the Baka in Gabon for which musicking and polyphonic singing constitute central aspects of sociality. The core of the article is the idea that the polyphonic music of the Baka, rather than expecting that it represents them symbolically as the classical homological model would maintain, forms part of a positive feedback loop between ritual practices and society. The main interest of the author is to emphasise the co-creativeness of sociality, musicking and collective sensoriality which contributes to the generative dynamics of cultural practices. At the same time, it analyses how the newly generated electronic sounds influence the social sphere and also the collective identity of the Baka.

The editors believe that a book with the title *Making Music, Making Society* could not conclude without giving due attention to this *making society* precisely through the generated knowledge about musical practices, namely the social application of musical research.

The two articles that are published in the last section of the book, "Applying knowledge", both provide a critical and, at the same time, constructive insight into the field work that is carried out in ethnomusicology and uphold the idea that there is a need to focus on it in regards to its social application. Susana Sardo's contribution "Shared Research Practices on and about music: toward decolonising colonial

ethnomusicology", shows a critical approach to the canonical practices of research and raises the idea of shared research practices in music and ethnomusicology. Bernhard Bleibinger in his article also speaks of "decolonisation" within the concrete activity of ethnomusicological field work. The author understands this as—in his own words—not only rethinking and undoing old "superiorisms", but also acting, i.e. performing, accordingly.

Both contributions have to do with the issue of the social application of musicology, something of interest in the academic milieu[2], and that in *grosso modo* shows two different orientations. The first one concerns the type of research that it intends to produce and the second the attitudes of the researcher in his or her work. According to the first orientation, the subject and aims of the research can be conceived in terms of "social relevance" so that the purpose of the research goes beyond the merely academic interest although the researcher does not abandon his/her traditional role. The transfer of the attained knowledge with social interest can be made through a "trophic chain" made up of different individuals or specialists that can range from the researcher to the social activist through teachers, journalists, administration personnel, etc. The other position, without being incompatible with the first and which is what both Sardo and Bleibinger advocate in their respective texts, is the direct involvement of the researchers, for instance through their field work.

Both authors of this last section construct their reasoning from their direct experience in research work: migrant communities in Lisbon, Goans and Cape Verdeans, in the case of Susana Sardo, and different scenarios in Tanzania, South Africa and Germany in the case of Bernhard Bleibinger. Sardo describes new research practices, which she defines as "shared research practices". What is intended by this is to attain a de-hierarchisation of knowledge in more ecological relations between different subjects involved in research. In a context of decolonial epistemology, Sardo's article proposes an ethnomusicological practice of dialogical, participatory and collaborative kind, so that we can talk of an engaged ethnomusicology. Bleibinger is particularly interested in a methodological discussion on the impact of fieldwork research in the context of study. Going beyond a reflective ethnography which leads to questioning the neutrality of academics, the author defends the need for an applied ethnomusicology and Transcultural Music Studies by which researchers are actively socially involved.

In a nutshell, the publication of this book hopes to contribute to a better knowledge of the world of musical practices and at the same time to the individuals who in their quality of social beings produce them. As we said

at the beginning of this introduction, without society there would be no music, and without music there would be no society as we know it.

## Notes

[1] Let us remember that already Charles L. Seeger, at the beginning of the 1960s, advocated abandoning the term "Ethnomusicology" in favour of "Musicology" (1961, 1970). See also Martí 1997.
[2] See for instance: Pettan and Titon (eds).

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# PART I:

# SOME THEORETICAL INCURSIONS

# CHAPTER ONE

# NOT WITHOUT MY MUSIC:
# MUSIC AS A SOCIAL FACT[1]

# JOSEP MARTÍ

*Abstract*. *Society is not a mere sum of individuals but the result of interacting individuals, and individuals are also the result of such interaction. This article draws from the idea that this interaction, that constructs us as individuals, happens also through music. The importance that music has in the process of making up a society is clearly brought to light in the role that it plays in the three basic parameters of the social logics: identity, social order and the need for exchange. Given that all these aspects are implemented in situations, there is the need to give the appropriate heuristic value to the situation as a discrete unit of analysis. The epistemic value of situations lies in the fact that we can hardly understand social phenomena in general without taking into consideration the social behaviours in specific situations (Knorr-Cetina 1988). It is in concrete situations where practices develop, i.e., "actions", and "most cultural knowledge is stored in actions rather than in words" (Carlson 1996: 27).*

*We, as individuals, would be incomprehensible without the constant exchange with other people but we also can affirm that without many of the things that surround us, we ontologically could not be. And in this regard, music, as technology, can also be conceived as a real extension of our body. Our present society has created and developed powerful musical technologies and media, and these, as actants (Latour 2005), have made possible the emergence of a total musical availability and a new subject characterised by the all-embracing musical listening. With this new subject, the possibility of implementing itself in music is offered as never before. Today we have the possibility to live being constantly embedded in music, and this is what enables music to become a real extension of our body.*

# 1. Introduction: Society and the individual

We know that there are two key concepts in anthropology, culture and society: two concepts which, in fact, cannot be understood one without the other. And if anthropology is interested in music and this discipline can make important contributions to its study, it is precisely because music is culture and at the same time a social fact.

There is no individual without society, nor a society without individuals. The isolated individual is a mere abstraction, and the very idea of society presupposes that it is made up of individuals. This pair of concepts, society/individual, has been traditionally understood as a dichotomy. For Durkheim, for example, to take a very classic case, human beings first and foremost are social animals, and it is precisely the social aspects to which Durkheim gave primacy. Here an ontological distinction occurs between the individual and society. Society is not understood as a mere sum of individuals, but as something different, and as such it should be studied. For Durkheim, the whole (society) is more than the mere sum of its parts (individuals). Social facts can be explained only by another social fact (Durkheim 1938: 145), they are also *causally autonomous*. According to this view, society is a real—supraorganic—entity, just like a person's organism is in relation to its parts. Many anthropologists and the theoretical approaches they represent, as for instance Radcliffe-Brown or Lévi-Strauss, focused their interest on social systems and not on individuals.

This view contrasts sharply with the idea that, in fact, what actually constitutes a reality is the individual and, therefore, society is, above all, understood as a creation made by individuals. Sociologist Max Weber understood society as a more or less disorderly mass of actions carried out by separate, completely independent and self-reliant adult individuals (Elias 1978: 117). The importance given to the individual, perhaps, finds its maximum expression in so-called methodological individualism, according to which society is the result of all individual choices and decisions that people make: the total sum of all individuals living in it (Burr 1995: 65). But in fact, in all these views, as Norbert Elias criticised, we are still too attached to the *homo clausus* idea (Elias 1978: 119), the idea of the individual enclosed in itself.

Dealing with the issue "society versus individual" it is often very correctly said that it is really a false dichotomy (see, for instance, Ingold 1996: 47-80). Given that it is unthinkable to face these two realities as separate forms, it is much better to speak of a "duality". There is no individual without society, nor a society without individuals.

All this leads us to the following idea that will be underlying throughout this text: we are making a mistake if we think that we are individuals, or individual beings, considering all that these terms embody: in fact, we are "fragments", parts of a whole. We are in and with the others; that is what we are. Each of us is the result of countless intersections with a myriad of trajectories of many people. If we consider ourselves individuals, this is primarily because of ideology, of any type: social, political, religious, etc. But what we denominate "I" or "we" are in fact only fragments, or to put it another way, according to the arguments of posthumanism, the result of the "intra-action"[2] with everything that surrounds us.

We can, therefore, consider the individual and society not as a dichotomy but as two different aspects of reality; each of them without its own entity, a reality which is built through interconnected spaces by which individuals emerge. From the methodological point of view, therefore, our attention should not be focused on the individual psyche or on social structures, but on the interactive processes that routinely take place between people (Burr 1995: 5). Individuals and society constitute two inseparable components of the system, and neither of them is conceivable without the other. As Albert Bandura writes

> Although the self is socially constituted, by exercising self-influence human agents operate generatively and proactively, not just reactively, to shape the character of their social systems. In these agentic transactions people are producers, as well as products of social systems (Bandura 2001: 15).

The first idea that I wanted to highlight is that a society is not a mere sum of individuals (this would imply the reification of both the idea of "society" and of the "individual"). A society is the result of interacting individuals, and individuals are also the result of this interaction. And this interaction happens—among other factors—through music. Music provides one more source for symbolic interaction which—in the words of Mead (1934)—constitutes the medium and substance of culture.

The importance that music has in the process of making up a society is clearly brought to light in the role that it plays in the three basic parameters of social logics: identity, social order and the need for exchange. If music is so important to us, it is because apart from its assigned aesthetic values, it closely fits to the dynamics of each of these three different parameters.

These three parameters are consubstantial for the social nature of the human being. Identity—personal and collective—is what defines us within

a community and delimits us from others. The fact that we are social beings involves organization, and one of the aspects of this organization is social order, understood as structuring forms of social relations, as a set of rules and regulations that govern the relations between different individuals and layers of a given society. And the social logic of the need for exchange has to do with the reality where individuals can only survive if they conveniently articulate relations of exchange with other members of the society. Musical practices have much to say about who we are, how it is thought of what we are or how we build ourselves, about the place we occupy in the society, about how we understand the social order and how we interact in our constant exchange of affordances. Music is not merely something about the social but rather a social life itself, something capable of structuring the social experience (DeNora 2002: 19). In fact, all these issues appeared very clear in the introduction to *The Auditory Culture Reader* in which the authors, Michael Bull and Les Back (2003: 4), talking about sound in general, reminded us that:

> Sound makes us re-think the meaning, nature and significance of our social experience.
> Sound makes us re-think our relation to community.
> Sound makes us re-think our relational experiences, how we relate to others, ourselves and the spaces and places we inhabit.
> Sound makes us re-think our relationship to power.

This is valid for sound in general, and, therefore, also for musical practices in particular. After all, as Sterne said "hearing is a sense that immerses us in the world" (Sterne 2012: 9).

## 2. Identities

At the beginning of 2015, when I was working on this issue, Ibrahim, a young man in his twenties living in Barcelona told me the following story: On a Saturday night he was driving his car with three friends with the car radio on, as he usually did. It was the time when clubs close and suddenly a police control stops them. The driver opened the window and the officer, after having a look inside, let them leave without asking for documents or doing the usual blood alcohol test. Ibrahim and his friends' interpretation was that if the police let them go without doing any checks, it was simply because at that moment, by chance, the radio station was broadcasting classical music. With another type of music—he said—he would have been subjected to checks.

Whether or not this was the reason why the officer did not carry out checks on the driver, the fact is that the very idea of thinking about this possibility is already very indicative. Music—as a true actant (Latour 2005)—would have conditioned the police's behaviour. This anecdote is suggestive enough in order to stimulate some reflections worthy of interest and that can perfectly serve us to begin to think about music and the social.

The first of these reflections has to do with the potentiality that music holds for suggesting identities. Assuming that the suppositions of Ibrahim and his friends were correct, the police officer deduced by the type of music that was heard in the car that its occupants had nothing to do with those young people who after enjoying the night life carelessly take the wheel with an alcohol-soaked body[3]. They were not suspected of disorderly behaviour. The issue of "music and identity" is a recurring theme in musicological literature within recent decades[4]. The question of identity is relevant to the musicologist. All at once, we can think that if there is music that young people like, if there is music that we reject or even despise, if there are kinds of music which are expensive, or kinds of music that are considered authentic or not, there are issues that among other things have much to do with identity.

We listen to music because we like it. But we also listen to music because we reflect ourselves in it through the socially attached meanings. We identify ourselves with it and performing as "musical personae" (Auslander 2006) we build and/or reinforce our identities. Often, the idea of musical identity is understood quite vaguely or in a very generic manner, conflating it with musical tastes. One thing is that a determined music is pleasing, and another that people identify or are identified with it. Properly speaking, if we associate music with identity it is because we give representational value to this music, music which is socially understood as pertaining to an identity, whether collective or individual. This is what happened in the aforementioned example of those young people in the car. The police associated the music they were listening to with a type of personality that did not arise suspicion as to be so irresponsible to take the steering wheel with a higher blood alcohol level than that allowed.

Today we will all more or less agree on the fact that it is the theoretical process model that sheds more light on the issue of music and identity. Musical practices play an active role in the construction, negotiation and transformation of identities (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31), whether individual or collective. Identity simply means a defined self within a social reality.

At the individual level, therefore, music can be understood as a technology of self that contributes to the construction and maintenance of identity in everyday life (DeNora 2000: 47). But at the level of the social perception, that old homological model, once rightly discredited due to its mechanistic and deterministic nature (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31), is still somehow valid at least in order to explain such perceptions as that of the police who stopped Ibrahim's car.

Individuals develop a sense of identity from their interaction with others (Blumer 1969, in Schneider 2010: 7). The self, therefore, is at the same time individual and interactional, since it arises within the internal/external dialectical identification relationship (Jenkins 1996: 71). For this reason, far from conceiving identity as an essence, any identity of a person at a given time is the result of the contact maintained with many other personal trajectories: all those that have been interacting throughout their life. In fact, we perform our identities, and the very idea of "performance" implies a dialectical game between the performer and those for whom we are performing, so that these interactions contribute to configure identities. In the system where human beings are, as Hayles said, subjectivity is emergent rather than given, distributed rather than located solely in consciousness (Hayles 1999: 291). Moreover, as Hartmut Rosa wrote (2013: 145), our sense of *who we are* is also a function of our relation with space, time and objects of our environment, and music belongs to this environment as well. Music is a sonic flow, created and/or perceived with aesthetic purposes, which can perform functions that go well beyond these purposes, a sonic flow that affects us. Understanding music as an "actant" in Latour's terms, we can be sure that music cogenerates our identities and more now that, due to technological possibilities, we are continually immersed in sound flows of all kinds as never before.

In part, we perform our identities through the powerful music technology. And when we speak of "technology" this should not be understood as something that is simply added from the outside of the body. It is something that adds to it while it qualitatively alters that very body (Manning 2006: xxii). Let us not forget that, as Jenny Sundén wrote, "Far from being natural, pre-technological, or in any sense pure, bodies are on a fundamental level technologically produced" (Sundén 2015). This is what allows us to understand the human being as a "prosthetic" creature (Wolfe 2009: xxv).

# 3. Social order

The fact that we are social beings involves organisation, and one of the aspects of this organisation is social order, understood as structuring forms of social relations, as a set of rules and regulations that governs the relations between different individuals and layers of a given society and that confers a certain stability to this social system. That is, those socially shared cognitive assumptions about the reality of the social world, which are taken for granted (Garfinkel 1967; Mouzelis 2008: 15). This social order, among other things, governs the relations between the different layers of a given society and therefore, the established hierarchical relation as well. In the same way as it happens with identity, the role that music plays in this social order is not merely to reflect it but also to contribute to its creation and maintenance. In fact, music and social order are in a relationship of mutual co-production (DeNora 2003: 38).

The fact that here in the West we very often parcel up our musical universe in the general fields of "classical music", "popular music" and "folklore or traditional music" is a paradigmatic example of this close interlocking between music and social order (Martí 2000: 221 and ff.). The boundaries between these three different fields separate, not only because the concepts of "classical music", "popular music" and "traditional music" may correspond to some objective data of reality but also because we attach to each of these demarcation lines a concrete semantic quality in accordance with our social narratives and values.

This tripartition can hardly be understood without considering two of the most powerful driving forces that have moved Western society over the past three centuries: class struggle (music of the rich versus music of the poor) and nationalisms (our music versus the music of the other). Distinctions between "classical", "popular" and "traditional music" go far beyond the strictly sound world, and to listen to a kind of music which is explicitly understood under one of these labels, to attend a concert, to feel oneself as belonging to the corresponding semiotic community of this kind of music means in one word to put into practice the values and meanings that these kinds of music imply. The categories of "classical", "popular" and "traditional" are part of the social order in general, and they are in fact valid not only for the music scene.

The powerful symbolic universe that is linked to musical practices is an effective tool for building, maintaining or also, of course, modifying or destroying this social order. Through music people have contributed to the construction of national social orders, social orders of class—remember what Bourdieu said when referring to France: "Nothing more clearly

affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music" (Bourdieu 1984: 18)—social order of gender, etc. And through music this social order can also be subverted. During slavery, the fact that slaves in America "had music" was, for example, an argument used by abolitionists to advocate for the humanity that was denied them, subverting in this way the social order that justified the exploitation of Africans (Cruz 1999: 159). Bohlman explains that the members of the southern Hindu caste of drum builders, which receive the name of "pariah", use their specialised musical knowledge to subvert the caste hierarchy (Bohlman 1999: 21). Examples like these are inexhaustible, that is why Jacques Attali rightly said that "With music is born power and its opposite: subversion" (Attali 1985: 6).

Social order is a very broad concept. If in the macro level we can say that music helps to create and maintain social order, it is also easy to see its importance in concrete situations of social interaction. Music, because of all that it might connote, is able to implement determined regulations, norms and values in a given situation. This is what we refer to in one way or another when we say that music "creates" ambiances[5]. As Tia DeNora tells us, music is the kind of cultural material through which scenes that regulate and structure situations of social interaction are constructed (DeNora 2000: 110); scenes, that allow or facilitate certain types of agency, different types of fruition and ways of being (DeNora 2000: 123). In this sense, music is one of those elements that constitute "the toolkit" (Swidler 1986: 273) for giving meaning to daily life situations, something that is particularly evident in the use of background music.

I think that we can get closer to this functional dimension of music if we use analytical categories that give due weight to situationality. When speaking of music and social order it is especially relevant considering the fact that it is not only the sound flow which plays an important role in this but also the situation in which it is produced and the situationality that is created by the musical practices. Recalling now the anecdote of the young people who listened to music in the car, this image seems particularly powerful to me. We all know that the car is really a very suitable place for music listening. Modern technology produces a high quality of sound, and the insulation of the car interior also allows us to enjoy music at a high volume, which is not always possible at home[6]. And this image of the four boys in the car immersed in a sound stream leads us easily to the idea of the "sonotope", a concept that, adapted to the needs of the musicologist, may be of some help.

To speak of "sonotope" means to delve into the conceptual framework of the "soundscape", something that may be defined as the sonic energy

generated in a particular landscape, being the result of the overlapping of different sound sources (Payne et al. 2009). When we speak of "soundscape" we think especially of how the acoustic environment is perceived, understood and interpreted. A soundscape is, therefore, a perceptual construct and at the same time a physical phenomenon (Farina 2014: 4). It implies a subjective and objective reality as well. In the same way as ecology speaks of "ecotopes" or biology of "biotopes", understanding the latter as an area of uniform environmental conditions providing a living space, we can speak of "sonotopes". A sonotope can be defined as the totality of sounds that occur in a specified time and place, regardless of geophonies, biophonies or anthropophonies (Farina 2014: 1). A sonotope is conceivable as a system; as such it presupposes the interaction of diverse elements and emergent properties as well.

According to this, any musical event may be conceptualised as a sonotope in which, among other possible detectable sound flows, anthrophonies of a musical nature occur. In the case of the anecdote of the young people in the car, the music from the radio would share space with the noise of the engine, occasional conversations of passengers, the noise coming from the outside, etc.

A concert that takes place in a concert hall may be conceptualised as a sonotope. In addition to the musical interpretation of the orchestra, this sonotope is also made by many other sound elements: a cough from the public, applauses, the bravos, the noise produced by someone unwrapping a candy, the breathing of an aged person sitting next to us, the sudden ringing mobile, the people murmuring somewhere in the front row, etc. Sounds that reach their maximum prominence in John Cage's known piece *4'33''*.

The way these different sounds that share the situation with the main source of sound (music itself) are understood and valued is highly indicative of the significance and social use of the musical event in question. The balance of the different sound flows that occurs in a sonotope can be very different according to the concerned musical event. We only need to compare the symphony concert in a concert hall with a rock performance taking place in a big open place or with a pub in where meanwhile some are listening to live music, and other people are chatting and drinking at the bar. The control, tolerance or willfulness in producing those secondary sounds, i.e. not explicitly of musical nature, is not the same in the aforementioned examples, and it has to do with many of the different aspects that concern the musicologist: the listening model, the significance given to the event and the type of music that takes place in the scenario, the relation between musicians and audience, etc. A rock concert

would be unthinkable without the sounds generated by the audience and which are essential for the phatic communication between musicians and audience. In the former examples, music is the dominant sonic element in the sonotope. But the same piece of Albinoni which we listen to in a concert, in other types of sonotopes may lose its feature of sonic dominant element becoming secondary or complementary, as such is the case in background music. That is why in those sonotopes, in which music appears, it can have an absolute centrality (concert), a shared centrality (festival, pub with live music) or nonexistent centrality (background music) (Martí 2009: 165), different possibilities that play with the bi-dimensionality of the aural field of which Don Ihde talked about: surroundability and directionality (Ihde 2007: 98).

The application of the sonotope idea in our field of study, regarding thus the music beyond its intrinsic aesthetic values, helps us to conceptualise music as this magma, this force that floods a space, fills it up and creates relations of co-subjectivity among the people who occupy this space. In this regard, it may be interesting to reflect on a situation that many of us have experienced. We are on the train in the early morning hours reading or perhaps listening to our music with headphones. Suddenly, someone not far away from where we are sitting begins to play the guitar and to sing with an extremely high-pitched voice. It is possibly not the best time of the day to appreciate him. Since then the situation changes radically. We are literally absorbed in the situation, without wanting to. We cannot continue reading or listening to our music. We are forced to hear the unexpected singer although we try not to listen to him. Unwittingly we are inside, in a bubble of sound; there is some violence in it. The singer helps to generate co-subjectivity among the passengers who are within that sound bubble, a co-subjectivity, which easily becomes inter-subjectivity when the passengers exchange looks of distaste between them. The guitarist finishes his two songs, and after saying "thank you" passes the hat around. It forces me to position myself. Shall I give him a few coins? If I do not, something makes me feel bad. But if I do it I will still have that bad feeling because, after all, he has imposed on me a situation which I have not chosen and that hinders me to keep on with my music or reading. The musical performance of the guitarist on the train generated a situation.

The concept of "sonotope"—by definition—is related to space, something that we also have to take into account, not only for acoustic reasons, but especially for reasons of expressive nature. The space where a musical event takes place constitutes an important metamessage, important for understanding what happens there and to reinforce the structuring