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Sounds of Minorities in National Contexts: Ten Research Models*
Zvoki manjšin v nacionalnih okoljih: deset raziskovalnih modelov**

IZVLEČEK
Članek opredeljuje pojem manjšin v političnem in znanstvenem diskurzu, s posebnim poudarkom na kontekst Mednarodnega združenja za tradicijsko glasbo (ICTM). Prispeva metodološki vidik, ki sloni tako na dosedanjih raziskavah kot tudi na potrebah študijskega polja v prihodnosti, in predstavlja deset tematsko profiliranih raziskovalnih modelov.

ABSTRACT
The article defines minorities in political and scholarly realms, with special emphasis to the context of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM). It contributes a methodological view, rooted partly in the past research and partly in the envisioned needs of the study field, and features ten thematically profiled research models.

Keywords: music, minorities, ICTM Study Group, methodology, research models

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1. Minorities in Politics and Scholarship

Minority: Construct or Reality? and Four Reasons Why We Have No Musical Minorities in the United States are two thought-provoking titles (and readings) that nicely announce the thematic focus on minorities in this issue of Musicological Annual.\(^1\) Two decades of active existence of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities suggest that minorities are not only a part of our lives as a political status category, but also as a scholarly category linked to theoretical and methodological dynamics of our discipline.\(^2\) In various political contexts, minorities are defined differently and refer to African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics (USA); to persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (the so-called visible minorities in Canada); to diverse ethnic groups in countries like China, Russia, and many European countries, each considering specific ethnolinguistic communities. While American ethnomusicologists tend to use the term “minorities” in their studies about musics in other countries (other than the United States),\(^3\) ethnomusicologists in Europe and in many other parts of the world widely adopted this term, aware of the complex interplay between its political and scholarly connotations and implications. As a result, research on minorities is often related to activism and applied ethnomusicology.\(^4\) This relation was convincingly demonstrated by the joint symposia of the ICTM Study Groups on Music and Minorities and Applied Ethnomusicology in Hanoi, Vietnam, in 2010.

What does it mean to be a part of population with the official minority status in a nationally defined political environment? The answer to this question is context-dependent, and relies on the stability of the circumstances and on the resulting sense of personal and collective safety and security. A series of mutually related wars that marked the end of Yugoslavia in the 1990s reinstated the issue of minorities as an important factor for understanding the complex web of interethnic relations. Namely, political and later also armed resistances were at several levels justified by vulnerability and fear associated with the minority status under the unstable circumstances, so the parties involved in these wars fought to avoid it. Music was there to support their agendas. In the subsequent, peaceful decades, to the opposite, communities tend to see the minority status as a

\(^1\) Zuzana Jurkó, Blanka Soukupová, Hedvika Novotná, and Peter Salner, eds. Minority: Construct or Reality? On Reflection and Self-realization of Minorities in History (Bratislava: Zingprint, 2007) and Mark Slobin, “Four Reasons Why We Have No Musical Minorities in the United States,” in Music in the Year 2002: Aspects on Music and Multiculturalism, eds. Max Peter Baumann, Krister Malm, Mark Slobin, and Kristof Tamas (Stockholm: The Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1995), 31–9. Slobin’s four reasons are: the dominance of black-white music, multiculturalism, demographics, and commercial music. In March 2019, more than two decades after he published the “four reasons,” I asked Slobin to re-visit them and to comment their accuracy today. He pointed to continued dominance of black-white music, decline of multiculturalism in official rhetoric and actual practice, acceleration of demographic changes, and to consequent acceptance of greater eclecticism in commercial music, not any more labeled “world music.”


positive means of their political protection and cultural affirmation. Music again plays an important role in this process.

The previous paragraph pointed to the general political understanding of minorities as primarily “national” or “ethnic” categories, each of them with distinctive cultural representation.\(^5\) According to Naila Ceribašić, the states often feature them as “clearly delimited groups, each with ‘its culture,’” distinctiveness of which should be protected and promoted.\(^6\) Scholarly understanding of minorities is obviously much more complex and nuanced, based on the awareness of polyvocality within each minority over the issues such as heritage production, ownership negotiation, cultural fossilisation vs. hybridization, and “cultural defense of borders.”\(^7\) It makes sense here to remind on Max Peter Baumann’s model pointing to the processes such as reculturation, deculturation and transculturation, which derive from the selection of different options and contribute to diversification of a multicultural setting.\(^8\)

How to define a minority? Ethnomusicology itself is often portrayed as an interdisciplinary field, so the definition of one of its subjects, the minorities, should also rely on the awareness about the definitions in other disciplines. The simplest and most obvious numerical ratio i.e. “less than half of the whole” is not essential, though it may have impact in certain contexts. An old yet influential anthropological definition suggests that “a minority group is distinguished by five characteristics: (1) unequal treatment and less power over their lives, (2) distinguishing physical or cultural traits like skin color or language, (3) involuntary membership in the group, (4) awareness of subordination, and (5) high rate of in-group marriage.”\(^9\) At several occasions, ethnomusicologist Adelaida Reyes emphasized power as the key-factor that determines the majority – minority relation, where one concept cannot and does not exist without the other.\(^10\) This kind of argumentation is not explicit in the late 1990s definition adopted by the then newly formed ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities: “Minority is a group of people distinguishable from the dominant group for cultural, ethnic, social, religious, or economic reasons,” but it is central to the current definition of the same Study Group adopted at its tenth symposium in Vienna in 2018. It states: “For the purpose of this Study Group, the term minority encompasses communities, groups and/or individuals, including indigenous, migrant and other vulnerable groups that are at higher risk of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political opinion, social or economic deprivation.”\(^11\)

\(^5\) Although technically different, the terms ‘national’ and ‘ethnic’ are sometimes used interchangeably. Otherwise, people can share nationality while belonging to different ethnic groups and people who share an ethnic identity can have different nationalities.


\(^7\) Philip V. Bohlman, The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004).

\(^8\) Please see Figure 1 on page 44.


Figure 1: Situative Context of Multi-Culturalism (after Baumann)\textsuperscript{12} The Issue of Definition

The Study Group’s current definition is based on Naila Ceribašić’s draft, which benefited from the discussion among the participants of the mentioned symposium. Ceribašić applied the categories “communities”, “groups” and “individuals,” often used in the UNESCO documents related to the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Indigenous people and migrants are specified among those “at higher risk of discrimination” on the listed grounds, which I discuss in the following paragraphs:

**Ethnicity.** In both political and scholarly contexts, people tend to perceive the term “minority” primarily or even exclusively in ethnic terms. Ethnic identity is a widely explored subject in ethnomusicological literature and is often closely related to national, racial, lingual, religious or/and other identities. Ethnic studies make one of the fields that continue to benefit ethnomusicological thought about ethnicity. Most articles published in the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities’ edited volumes focus on ethnic minorities.

**Race,** in its both political and scholarly contexts, seems more present and theorized in the United States than in the other parts of the world. Due to the history of racism, which marked the centuries of colonialism and culminated in systematic exterminations in the World War Two period, European Union does not use the concept of race in official documents and at the same time actively combats racism. Scholarly view on race as a social construct does not overshadow much needed research on racialization, a process of ascribing racial identities to relationships, social practices, or groups regardless of self-identification. Catherine Baker questions the absence of this concept in southeast-European scholarship in her recent book. Ronald Radano and Philip V. Bohlman provided a firm base for the consideration of race in ethnomusicology, while Ursula Hemetek and Carol Silverman portray Roms as the most common target of racism in Europe. Critical race theory and ethnic studies in general contribute to the scholarly understanding of this concept and its implications.

**Religion** continues to be one of the pillars of identity, ranging from a spiritual worldview and inspiration for ritualistic uses and artistic creations all the way to various cases of past and present violence committed in the name of a religion. Religious interpretations in certain cases mark boundaries not only between music and non-music, good and bad music, or acceptable and unacceptable practices involving sound and movement, but also between Us and the Others. Religious studies and since 2015 also the Yale Journal of music and Religion contribute to the advancement of this study field. Philip V. Bohlman, Anna Czekanowska, and Mojca Kovačič are just some of the authors, who contributed to the diversity of religious topics, and who are also active within the

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13 Personal communication with Naila Ceribašić on 17 April 2019. She serves as ICTM’s representative in UNESCO.
15 The outdated terms such as “racial minorities,” “people of colour,” or “non-Whites” are increasingly being replaced by “racialized” categories.
ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities.\textsuperscript{18} The Study Group's symposium in Lublin in 2002 featured the theme Minority Music and Religious Identity.\textsuperscript{19} 

Language is yet another key identity feature, closely related to ethnicity; together they contribute to the formation of ethnolinguistic identities, relevant in the research on music and minorities. Connections between language and music were strongly emphasized in the context of folk song collecting, while nowadays both language and music conform to the same scale of vitality and endangerment.\textsuperscript{20} Linguistic concepts such as codeswitching and Sprachschatz/Sprachbund have clear parallels in music research. The ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities featured a theme Local Languages and Music at its symposium in Rennes in 2016.\textsuperscript{21}

Gender and sexuality. Gender identity and gendered representations are for decades a commonplace in ethnomusicological studies. The Society for Ethnomusicology's Section on Gender and Sexualities Taskforce provides three useful bibliographies containing topics such as: Women on stage, feminist performance, performance studies; Cross dressing; Women's studies and Gender studies; Transsexual and Intersexual studies; Queer theory, Gay and lesbian history; Sexology, psychology and sex history.\textsuperscript{22}

Gender is the only of the concepts discussed here around which an ICTM Study Group has been formed.\textsuperscript{23} ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities featured a theme Gender and Sexual Minorities at its symposium in Osaka in 2014 and held a joint meeting with the Study Group on Music and Gender in Vienna in 2018. In 2019, the Study Group on Music and Gender officially changed its name to Music, Gender, and Sexuality.

Disability counts to the least researched concepts in relation to music and minorities in the ICTM context. The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology assisted valuable later research involving AIDS, autism, and more.\textsuperscript{24} One could add here the early and recent studies of elderly people in relation to music from a minority perspective.\textsuperscript{25} Ageing studies is a growing field to be consulted in future ethnomusicological research within this topical realm.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
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\item \textsuperscript{19} Selected articles are published in Ursula Hemetek, Gerda Lechleitner, Inna Naroditskaya, and Anna Czekanowska eds., \textit{Manifold Identities: Studies on Music and Minorities} (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004).
\item \textsuperscript{21} See the proceedings: Yves Defrance, ed., \textit{Voicing the Unheard: Music as Windows for Minorities} (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2019).
\item \textsuperscript{23} By Barbara L. Hampton and others in the 1980s.
\end{thebibliography}
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*Political opinion* is a notion that could hardly be overestimated here. A number of spatial and temporal contexts worldwide provide us with the examples of denigration of individuals, groups and communities due to differences in political views. Denigration sometimes leads to violence and even persecution of political opponents including musicians such as Victor Jara, tortured and killed in Chile in 1973. Study of music and minorities, defined according to power relations, could considerably benefit from research in this direction.

*Social and economic deprivation* creates subalternity in a variety of contexts ranging from indigenous people to refugees to homeless people in modern urban settings. Ethnomusicological studies include a thematic section on music and poverty, South Asian Dalits, Japanese Buraku, and - in this volume - Sri Lankan Veddas.

2. Ten Research Models

The proposed ten models are envisioned not as a typology composed of mutually exclusive categories. They are rather focused possibilities, which either evolved in the course of two decades of active existence of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities or did not evolve but have, in the author's opinion, a potential to benefit this study field. A respective name suggests the main emphasis in each of the models, which sometimes can overlap to some extent. Use of one research model could be a basis for using one or more others afterwards. Each model is supplemented by a modest selection of references and the author's own research experience within the presented frame.

RESEARCH MODEL 1:
Various minorities in a territory (country, region, settlement)

This model is complex, extensive, and expensive, and thus relatively rarely used. It has potential to both serve “state multiculturality,” i.e. display of a variety of minority cultures within the given national framework and to provide mapping of the selected geocultural framework for research purposes. Governmental research agencies have interest in supporting projects based on this model in order to demonstrate their internationally and nationally expected care for cultural rights of the minorities, to receive empirically based evidence on inter-ethnic cultural relations, and to profit from scholarly recommendations on how to improve them. Such type of research provides an opportunity

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26 Advocacy for and defense of freedom of artistic expression and systematic documentation of cases comparable to Jara’s nowadays count to the activities of Freemuse, an independent, human rights-based international organisation, founded in Copenhagen in 1998, (https://freemuse.org).
for the creation of a broad database that can assist further study of various more specific aspects of music and minority issues. Depending on the circumstances, it can include all or any combination of the activities associated with the ICTM: study, practice, documentation, preservation, and dissemination of music created, performed and consumed by the given communities, groups and individuals.

Four inspiring references should be mentioned here. In a comprehensive book of more than 500 pages, Ursula Hemetek presented the results of her long-term research on musical lives of Austria’s ethnic and religious minorities.29 Naila Ceribašić focussed on the annual International Folklore Festival, which in 2003 featured Croatia’s minorities as the central theme.30 In addition to the event, she managed to produce a CD with a selection of recorded performances of 14 minority groups. Katarina Juvančič compiled a CD that emerged from her study of lullabies in Slovenia. Rather than focusing on lullabies of exclusively ethnic Slovenes, she provided examples performed by women of different ethnic backgrounds.31 Alma Bejtullahu presented a critical overview of music and dance activities of six selected ethnic minorities in Slovenia.32

Nevertheless, this article is a part of an ongoing research project titled Ethnic Minorities in Slovenia: (Trans)cultural Dynamics After the Year 1991, which is expected to provide the first systematic mapping of musical activities of four types of minorities in the country: (a) “traditional minorities” in the border regions (Hungarians, Italians), (b) Roms whose diverse population has a distinctive legal position, (c) “new minorities” (the most numerous category, composed mostly of the people from the former Yugoslav territories), and (d) Refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers.

RESEARCH MODEL 2:
A selected minority in a territory (country, region, settlement)

This research model is quite common and mostly unrelated to the multi-minority mapping featured in Research model 1. It is often used either (a) by a foreign researcher coming from a country in which the selected minority enjoys the majority status (often equaling the ethnicity of the researcher) or (b) by a domestic researcher in the country in which the selected minority resides. There are also (c) cases of cooperation between these two kinds of researchers, resulting in balanced emic and etic perspectives, and also (d) the cases of researchers from “the third countries,” unrelated to the selected minority by nationality, ethnicity or other criteria.

Representative references are numerous. For instance, (a) Polish researchers Božena Muszkalska and Tomasz Polak studied Polish minority in Brazil, while Slovenian

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researcher Maša Marty studied Slovenian minority in Switzerland.\textsuperscript{33} As for (b), Croatian researcher Naila Ceribašić studied Macedonian music in Croatia, while German researcher Dorit Klebe studied Turkish music in Germany.\textsuperscript{34} Examples of cooperation (c) include Austrian ethnomusicologist Ursula Hemetek and Bosnian ethnomusicologist Sofija Bajrektarević researching Bosnian music in Austria and Australian ethnomusicologist Linda Barwick and Italian/Swiss ethnomusicologist Marcello Sorce Keller researching Italian music in Australia.\textsuperscript{35} Unrelated in the earlier explained sense are (d) Bulgarian


researcher Rosemary Statelova studying Lusatian Sorbs in Germany and American/Norwegian researcher Thomas Solomon studying Laz minority in Turkey.\textsuperscript{36}

I used this model while studying interactions and creativity of Romani musicians in the multiethnic city of Prizren in Kosovo (Serbia and Yugoslavia in the research period 1989-91). Figure 2 presents my positioning of the Roms at the center of this study. Back then, ethnic Serbs were the dominant ethnic group in terms of political power, ethnic Albanians were dominant in numerical terms, ethnic Turks were considered dominant in the domain of historical urban cultural capital, while Roms were in a variety of ways seen as superior musicians.

RESEARCH MODEL 3:
A selected minority in various territories (countries, regions, settlements)

This research model enables studying a selected minority in different geopolitical frameworks, where its status is likely to be defined differently and where the interactions with different Others, both majorities and minorities, affect its musical life. Several kinds of multi-sited ethnographic approaches appear as possibilities, pointing to members of the given ethnic communities or to the very same musicians in different contexts, benefiting from the fields such as migration studies and diaspora studies and from theoretical frames such as imagined communities and the invention of tradition.\textsuperscript{37}

Representative examples were provided by Ardian Ahmedaja and Carol Silverman respectively. Ahmedaja researched music of ethnic Albanians in several national contexts, pointing to cultural and other boundaries and specifics within the same “ethnic community.”\textsuperscript{38} Silverman combined a variety of approaches, even organizing concerts for/with various Romani musicians and touring with them, which provided her with a uniquely broad and at the same time in-depth knowledge and understanding of diversity among the transnational people with no shared home country.\textsuperscript{39}

I used this model while doing research with ethnic Croats in a number of locations, such as Kosovo, Australia, and USA.\textsuperscript{40}


\textsuperscript{38} Even within a single country, for instance, “The Arvanites and Alvanoi are two Albanian-speaking minorities in Greece, different in their history and their traditions, including musical ones,” see Ardian Ahmedaja, “On the Question of Methods for Studying Ethnic Minorities’ Music in the Case of Greece’s Arvanites and Alvanoi,” in Manifold Identities, eds. Ursula Hemetek, Gerda Lechleitner, Inna Naroditskaya and Anna Czekanowska (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004), 54; also Ardian Ahmedaja, “Music and Identity of the Arbëreshë in Southern Italy,” in Glasba in manjšine/Music and Minorities, eds. Svanibor Pettan, Adelaida Reyes and Maša Komavec (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC SAZU, 2001), 265–76.


\textsuperscript{40} For a comparison of the involvement of ethnic Croats in processes and musical practices in Kosovo and Australia see Svanibor Pettan, ‘The Croats and the Question of Their Mediterranean Musical Identity,’ Ethnomusicology OnLine 3 (1997), https://www.umbc.edu/eol/3/pettan/. This article contains audio, photo and video documentation of the discussed specifics.
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RESEARCH MODEL 4:
Borderlands

Borderlands are “expressive contact zones,” “simultaneously barriers and bridges permitting both enactments and denials of transitionality,” marked by interplay of autonomous, inter-dependent and fused artistic forms. Following Gupta and Ferguson's proposal “to move away from cultural-territorial entities, to the ongoing historical and political processes, on which cultural, ethnic, and national territorializations are contingent,” Benjamin Brinner positioned his “ethnography of micropractices” of Israeli – Palestinian encounters in such “across a divide” zone. Border areas bear considerable potential for long-term studies of intercultural communication. Istrian peninsula, divided among three states (Croatia, Slovenia, Italy) is a good example, with ethnomusicologist Dario Marušić calling for integrative study of its musical culture and opposing the approaches marked by earlier research dominated by partial national interests. Studies by Engelbert Logar across the Slovenian – Austrian borderland provides valuable evidence about the mutual influences of Slovene- and German-speaking neighbors, as can be seen in shared repertoires in respective languages. Previously often neglected, bilingual songs are in focus of an ongoing research project in Slovenia. The idea of “borderland” within Yugoslavia is in various ways present in important studies by Ankica Petrović, Nice Fracile and Dimitrije O. Golemović.

“Interethnic Problems of Borderlands” was one of the themes of the ICTM Study Group Music and Minorities' symposium in Lublin in 2002 and five related articles are available in the proceedings. They reveal on the one hand the importance of territorial identity and on the other fluid and dynamic senses of identity among the “internally varied” (Kalinowska) ethnic minorities and their capacity to “situationally adopt and display various ethnonational and ethnolinguistic identities” (Metil).

I used this model back in the 1980s while studying and recording village music of ethnic Croats and ethnic Serbs in Croatia’s and at that time also Yugoslavia’s region called Banija (present-day Banovina) for radio broadcasts and a series of LP records. One of the outcomes was that besides the shared musical style which exemplified regional culture, ethnic Serbs had yet another musical style that could be traced to the region from which their ancestors migrated to Banija centuries ago.

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43 Dario Marušić, Piskaj, sona, sopi (Pula: Castropola, 1996).
Nice Fracile, Vokalni muzički folklor Srba i Rumuna u Vojvodini (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1987); Dimitrije O. Golemović, Narodna muzika Podrinja (Sarajevo: Drugari, 1987).
46 Hemetek, Lechleitner, Naroditskaya, and Czekanowska, eds., Manifold Identities.
47 Svanibor Pettan, Narodne pjesme i plesovi iz Banije 2 / Folk Songs and Dances from Banija 2, LP-record (Zagreb: Jugoton, 1988).
RESEARCH MODEL 5: Intersectionalities

There are two basic aims of this model. The first aim points to various kinds of minority identities, some of which are clearly underresearched in comparison to ethnically defined minorities. Race, religion, language, gender, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, political opinion, and social or economic status are the criteria named (next to ethnicity) in the current definition created by and for the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities. Each of them is expected to receive more scholarly attention in the future. The second aim is to encourage research with focus on mutual interactions and combined impacts of these different identities on musical practices and their carriers. Systematic consideration of their interconnectedness has clear potential to contribute to better understanding of disadvantages often associated with the minority status. A wide range of disciplinary references from race studies, religious studies, linguistics, feminist, gender, sexuality and queer studies, critical disability studies, human dignity and humiliation studies, and human rights studies provide additional potential for research in this context.

Five themes relevant for this model attracted presentations at four ICTM Study Group symposia so far: (1) Minority Music and Religious Identity (in Lublin in 2002), (2) Multiple Identities and Identity Management in Music of Minorities (in Roč in 2004), (3) Minority - Minority Relations in Music and Dance, and (4) Race, Class, Gender: Factors in the Creation of Minorities (in Varna in 2006), and (5) Other Minorities – Challenges and Discourses (in Hanoi in 2010). Nevertheless, seven articles in a special section titled Music and Poverty in the Yearbook for Traditional Music provide a firm basis for the inclusion of economic aspects to the future studies within the model.

I used this model twice in my own work: firstly in the study of some “third gender” cases in Kosovo and secondly in an unpublished paper on a minority musician associated with the Evangelical Church in Slovenia.

RESEARCH MODEL 6: Indigenous People

Encompassing more than 370 million people in 70 countries worldwide, indigenous people are – in absence of a universally applied definition – defined by the following conditions: self-identification as such, historical continuity in present homelands

48 Hemetek, Lechleitner, Naroditskaya, and Cackanowska, eds., Manifold Identities.
52 Harrison, guest ed., “Special Section on Music and Poverty.”
predating the ingress of colonial or settler peoples, dominance by such populations, and desire to maintain distinct identity by drawing on resources of language, culture and beliefs that predate occupation or conquest.⁵¹ “Over time, the concepts of indigenous and aboriginal have become increasingly synonymous with powerlessness, marginality, and social distress – approaches which are Eurocentric in origin and crisis-based.”⁵⁵ “Self-representation, Indigenous sovereignty, and rights to land and lifeways are intricately linked, and many Indigenous artists including Sámi musicians are turning to music videos that they can showcase through global media channels to assert self-representation.”⁵⁶ The notion of self-representation is in focus of many deeply-respectful long-term collaborations of indigenous people and ethnomusicologists in various worldwide environments.⁵⁷ “As the Sámi continue to wage political, social, and environmental activism, popular music will likely continue to give voice to these battles.”⁵⁸ And this is true not only for the Scandinavian indigenous Sámi people and their artists like Mari Boine or Sofia Jannok; creative expressions of performers in a range from Canada (Tanya Tagaq, A Tribe Called Red) to Australia (Yothu Yindi) contribute to the wider picture. ICTM definition of minorities mentions Indigenous People by name and traces what appears to be a new direction in its activities.

This model is useful for sensitive collaborative research and teaching, inclusive of the holistic worldviews, of the point that some indigenous communities do not have equivalents of “music” in their vocabularies and of various audiovisual self-representations.⁵⁹ In my teaching, the cases of Indigenous “strategic traditionalism”⁶⁰ and of performers such as Coloured Stone, Redbone, Link Wray, or Sunne contribute to the more inclusive and respectful presentation of the world.

RESEARCH MODEL 7:
Involuntary Migrants

Involuntary migrations, forced by conflicts and/or economic reasons, are perhaps as old as the human history. In Adelaida Reyes’ words, the term “involuntary migrants” refers to refugees, escapees, asylees, and displaced persons, living in a transitional period of danger and uncertainty, knowing that going back is not possible and not knowing whether and when they will be allowed to stay and settle in a new place.⁶¹ As we are

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⁵⁷ The examples ranging from Beverley Diamond and Anthony Seeger in the Americas all the way to the Australian ethnomusicologists and institutions such as the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. In addition, Indigenous researchers are increasingly present in academia.
reaching the end of the 21st century's second decade, involuntary migrant conditions directly affect the lives of more than fifty million individuals worldwide.

This model benefits from migration studies, refugee studies, and diaspora studies. Society for Ethnomusicology's Resource list on music and diaspora, compiled by Sarah V. Rosemann and David Rosenberg, documents the respectable extent of ethnomusicological thought about music and migration. Just like the Indigenous people, the migrants are mentioned by name in the ICTM Study Group's definition of minorities.

My own use of this model goes back to mid 1990s, when Kjell Slyllstad and I worked with the Bosnian refugees in Norway within the project Azra, bringing together research, education, and music-making and envisioning a new applied ethnomusicology. Besides Adelaida Reyes, who gave the strong imprint to this direction, Fulvia Caruso, Michael Frishkopf, and Oliver Shao count to the prominent authors of current ethnomusicological work with focus on involuntary migrants.

RESEARCH MODEL 8: Returnees

The term “returnees” in this context refers to people who return to a place seen as their ancestral homeland after a prolonged absence. In the present world, there are countries rooted in this kind of discourse, such as Liberia in West Africa and Israel in the Middle East. Roms, widely seen as transnational people, provide a different case: most of them are aware and proud of their South Asian ancestry, as can be seen e.g. in their flag and affinity for Indian film music, but one could hardly imagine conditions that would ever make them “return” to India.

The wars that marked the end of Yugoslavia caused several moves to “ancestral homelands”. For instance, ethnic Croats moved from Kosovo to Croatia, ethnic Serbs...
moved from Croatia to Serbia,\(^69\) and ethnic Circassians (Adigs) moved from Kosovo to the Republic of Adigea in the Russian Federation.\(^70\) All of them traded their minority position under unstable circumstances for a position in a country where their ethnic kinsmen make a majority population. The idea of shared ethnicity is in such situations commonly challenged by the perception of cultural differences of the hosting population towards the newcomers, proving Benedict Anderson’s argumentation on “imagined communities.”\(^71\)

This model provides a unique frame for critical research on national and ethnic issues. I have not used it so far, but can clearly see its advantages for ethnomusicological research.\(^72\)

**RESEARCH MODEL 9:**

**Microminorities**

The term “microminority” refers to a subcategory within the majority-minority framework, whose members share sense of a specific local or regional identity, and usually identify with one or more ethnic communities. Microminorities could be and often are overlooked in those research situations, in which attention is paid to the “major” ethnic communities; thus this research model calls for a focus on them.\(^73\) Political status of a microminority may differ from one country to another and sometimes even its members have different opinions about the essential identity issues. The lack of microminorities’ own nation-state frameworks makes this dynamic category more susceptible to the political interests of the neighboring dominant communities. The diverse examples in the Slavic world include Bunjevci,\(^74\) Gorale,\(^75\) Rusyns,\(^76\) Kashubs,

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\(^69\) Vesna Ivkov, “Tradicionale instrumentalne melodije u godišnjem ciklusu običaja domicilnih i doseljenih Srba u Bačkoj u XX veku” [Traditional instrumental melodies in the customary life cycle of domicile and recently migrated Serbs in the Bačka region in the Twentieth Century], in Muzička i igračka tradicija multietničke i multikulturalne Srbije, eds. Sanja Radinović and Dimitrije O. Golemović (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, Katedra za etnomuzikologiju, 2016), 103–26.

\(^70\) Alla N. Sokolova, ”Танцы и инструментальная музыка косовских адыгов” [Dances and instrumental music of the Circassians from Kosovo], Вестник Адыгейского государственного университета (Серия филология и искусствоведение) 4 (2008).

\(^71\) Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism

\(^72\) A good example is the work of Piotr Dahlig on the Poles who settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late 19th century and their descendants who “returned” to Poland after World War II (he used the term “re-emigrants”). See Piotr Dahlig, “Migrations in Austria-Hungary after 1878 and Poland after 1945. Music as a Therapy for Cultural Minorities”, in Shared Musics and Minority Identities, in Shared Musics and Minority Identities, eds. Nata Cerbušić and Erica Haskell (Zagreb and Roč: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research and Cultural-artisan society “Istarski željezničar,” 2006), 201-12.


Public attention to microminorities is sometimes caused by the moments of their extreme suffering, like the Rohingyas in Myanmar or the Yazidis in Syria, sometimes by different opinions concerning their essence, like the Assyrians in Sweden, the Laz in Turkey or the Egyptians in Kosovo and Macedonia. The aim of this research model is to maintain awareness about their existence and to promote systematic research attention to their cultural and other expressions and in some cases also needs.

My own research encompassed, though briefly and with different foci, several groups that can be named microminorities (for instance, Ababda and Bisharin in Egypt, Gorani in Kosovo), while my pedagogical work demonstrates increased sensitivity and inclusiveness in this regard.

RESEARCH MODEL 10:
Minority individuals

A common sense of whether an individual is “a minority” or not is largely based on external features such as ethnicity, nationality, or race. The individual is rarely asked whether he or she approves such a label, feels indifferent about it, or rejects it. In real life, some individuals are ready to give their lives for any of the earlier mentioned features, while on the other side of the spectrum are those with claims like “I have not selected my parents” or “I had to be born somewhere”.

Approaching a culture through the perspective of an insider individual is a common practice in ethnomusicology, augmented by a thematic issue of the journal The World of Music, which the editor Jonathan Stock titled Ethnomusicology of the Individual. There are several representative examples of this approach on the Slovenian and worldwide scale. The third symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Minorities in Croatia in 2004 featured two presentations based on individual musicians, even though none of the themes called for such contributions. Hopefully, these two early examples will encourage systematic thematic coverage of the individuals in one of the upcoming symposia.

Writing about my own father was such a strong experience that I still practice and continue to encourage biographical writing. Several of my students followed this path. My fieldwork and teaching activities clearly benefitted from joining forces with the

77 Personal communications at various times and places.
minority individuals and my upcoming publications within the scope of the ongoing minority project will feature several individual perspectives.

3. Conclusions

A common, sometimes idealized and simplified perception of a minority as a bridge between the country of origin and the country of current residence can be documented by real-life examples from ethnomusicological research. Here I bring three contrasting cases:

Example 1 (folk music): Minority vocal group within the Sedef Association of Bosnian women, based in Malmö, Sweden, has a history of joint performances with the Swedish female choir Röster utan gränser. This collaboration enriched their repertoires with several Bosnian folk songs translated into Swedish. 82

Example 2 (art music): Young Indian immigrant to Norway, the tabla player Jai Shankar, placed on his first CD a track titled Griegraga, in which he and his family musicians created an interplay of Indian and Norwegian art music elements, improvising on the motifs from The Morning Mood from the Peer Gynt suite by the Norwegian composer Edward Grieg. 83

Example 3 (popular music): In her song Es ist Zeit [The time has come], a Berlin-born hip-hop performer of Turkish immigrant ancestry Aziza A combined Turkish pop music and American rap to express in the German language her experience of life between two cultures and to address a large audience, including German majority and Turkish minority. 84

These examples, comparable to many other bridge-building collaborations worldwide, are reflected in the activities of the Cultural and Ethnomusicological Society Folk Slovenia, which started in 1996 as a Slovenian folk music revival association and gradually became a creative meeting point of musicians and scholars of Slovenian and various other (minority) ethnic backgrounds. The Society got additional inspiration to manage a number of thematic concerts, workshops, lectures, symposia, and CDs from the International Council for Traditional Music that held the first symposium of the Study group on Music and Minorities in Ljubljana (2000), and after several other events had its headquarters at the University of Ljubljana for six years (2011-2017). 85

The ten research models make a methodological contribution, which partly documents and frames the ongoing practices and partly attempts to trace the path to the future activities of the Music and Minorities studies. As suggested, our research should expand from the still dominant ethnic criterium and take into account the other observable

84 Aziza A, Es ist Zeit (CD) (Berlin: Orient Express, 1997).
criteria including race, religion, language, gender and sexuality, disability, political opinion, and social and economic deprivation. There is a need for more research focused on the modalities and consequences of the interconnectedness of these criteria, as well as on their impact on people with different senses of identity sharing the same territorial units. Indigenous people, involuntary migrants, returnees, and microminorities make particularly important cases, partly due to the specific consequences in regard to the nation state concept and its functioning. Some of the models point to the importance of collaboration in approaching the sensitive issue of self-representation on all three levels: community, group, and individual.

The models also serve as a reminder that studying minorities often implies engagement beyond research for the sake of broadening and deepening scholarly knowledge, and that ethnomusicological involvement in both theory and praxis enables action that can and should bring improvements to the minority-majority power continuum. The lessons learned from the wars in the territories of what was Yugoslavia suggest that times of peace and stability are the right times for sensitizing and improving mutually respectful and beneficial relations involving majority and minority populations. As demonstrated in this article, music has considerable potential in such a process. Music and minority studies could thus be understood as an open call to researchers to contribute to peacebuilding here and now, by advocating for more sensitive interhuman relations based on knowledge and mutual respect, for research collaborations across political and other boundaries, and nevertheless for passionate and argument-based passing of positive values to future generations.

Bibliography


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POVZETEK

Definicija manjšine v članku temelji na novi različici le-te, ki jo je Študijska skupina Glasba in manjšine pri Mednarodnem združenju za tradicijsko glasbo (ICTM) sprejela leta 2018. Zajema »skupnosti, skupine in/ali posameznike, med katere sodijo staroselci, migranti in drugi ranljivi ljudje, ki so v večji meri podvrženi diskriminaciji zaradi njihove etnične, rasne, verske, jezikovne ali spolne pripadnosti, seksualne usmerjenosti, zdravstvenega stanja, političnih pogledov ter družbenih ali ekonomskih razlogov«. Članek ponuja pregled teh razlogov v sklopu etnomuzikološke stroke in študija manjšinskih glasb. V osrednjem delu članka so predstavljeni raziskovalni modeli, ki po eni strani odsevajo delo Študijske skupine v preteklosti, po drugi pa temeljijo na avtorjevi viziji potreb raziskovalnega polja v prihodnosti. Ne gre za tipologijo medsebojno se izključujočih kategorij temveč za predstavitev tematsko profiliranih metodoloških celot, ki so samostojne, lahko pa se tudi medsebojno dopolnjujejo. Imena desetih raziskovalnih delov so: Manjšine na določenem ozemlju (država, območje, naselje), Izbrana manjšina na določenem ozemlju, Izbrana manjšina na različnih ozemljih, Obmejne krajine, Manjšinska stičišča, Staroselci, Neprostovoljni migranti, Povratniki, Mikromanjšine in Posamezniki. Študij glasbe, ki namenja pozornost različnim manjšinskim kontekstom lahko prispeva k bolj ponotranjenem doživetju in razumevanju medčloveških odnosov. Aplikacijo etnomuzikološke teorije in praktičnih izkušenj z namenom izboljšanja kontinuuma moči na relationi večina - manjšine je tukaj mogoče razumeti kot mirovniško naložbo v bolj ozaveščeno prihodnost.


