Anja Brunner
Hannes Liechti (Hg.)

Pop – Power – Positions
Globale Beziehungen und populäre Musik

~Vibes – The IASPM D-A-CH Series 1

IASPM
D·A·CH

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All these texts in this volume are based on papers held at the third conference of IASPM D-A-CH, 18–20 October 2018, at the University of Bern and the Bern University of Arts (HKB) in Switzerland. The conference's title was «Pop – Power – Positions. Global Relations and Popular Music». It was organized by the editors of this volume, Anja Brunner and Hannes Liechti, in collaboration with the platform for music research Norient and the Swiss Society for Ethnomusicology CH-EM. Many people contributed to the success of the conference and the publication of this volume.

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Finally, many thanks go out to Claudia Schacher for developing the layout and the cover artwork of this series.

Christoph Jacke

Welcome to ~Vibes—The IASPM D-A-CH Series

The time has come: Our branch starts its own online publication series. For several years now, the executive committee and advisory board of IASPM D-A-CH have worked on creating a new platform for our discourses and discussions—a platform that guarantees high quality and many opportunities for publishing. This series will publish selected contributions from our conferences, edited by the respective local organizers. It all starts with the carefully designed and now completed first volume including articles based on presentations from the 3rd IASPM D-A-CH Conference in Bern. Congratulations!

According to the mission statement of IASPM D-A-CH, we consider ~Vibes as a platform for international, inter-institutional, intergenerational, interdisciplinary, and interprofessional research and considerations from popular music studies—applied as lived academic practices in research, teaching, and reflection, not in addition but integrally.

~Vibes represents a multi-perspectival consideration of popular music in all its texts and contexts—from theoretical, empirical, historical, and political perspectives.

~Vibes enables various publication formats, tries out and expressly opens up as a platform to not genuinely academic / scientific, e.g. especially journalistic and artistic texts. Suggestions are always welcome!

~Vibes is a scientific publication with no commercial interests. All contributions are freely accessible online (open access). A respective editorial team, as well as an up-to-date active editorial board, which can be constantly expanded, also ensures a meaningful and supportive assessment.

We express our thanks to the authors, reviewers, the editors, the editorial board, and especially the advisory board (Norma Coates, Derek B. Scott, Geoff Stahl) of the first volume of ~Vibes, entitled Pop–Power–Positions—and of course first and foremost to the editors and Bern conference organizers Anja Brunner and Hannes Liechti.

Christoph Jacke, Chair IASPM D-A-CH, February 2021

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Anja Brunner, Hannes Liechti

Pop–Power–Positions: Engaging with the (Post)Colonial in Popular Music Studies. An Introduction

Our world is full of connections spanning rivers, mountains, and oceans. Networks of people, things, and sounds exist across institutions, nations, and states; across interest groups, scenes, and ethnically defined groups. In short: We live—and have lived for a long time—in a globally connected world. This fact could not even be changed by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions in place while writing these lines. Of course, restrictions to contain the spread of the virus has limited travel and re-affirmed borders. But the global connections remain nonetheless.

Popular music has always been embedded in and connected to this globalized world. Popular music not only travels but has travelled around the world with people, instruments, and on recordings—now within seconds online—and is and has been an integral part of daily life (e.g. quoted in adverts, memes, or films). Popular music has habitually included influences from different parts of the world; it has consistently mixed and remixed genres, styles, noises, and sounds. In this volume, we want to highlight popular music's embeddedness in our globally connected world.

This world, however, is not an equal and fair one. On the contrary, issues of power and positionality play a fundamental role in all aspects of life. The context, world region, class, or ethnicity in which a person, institution, or music is situated matters. Historical developments have fostered the exploitation and unequal control over and distribution of (natural) resources, money, and land, and have created uneven power structures that provide uneven access to social, economic, political, and cultural participation. Consequently, issues of power, positionality, access, and representation have shaped the production, distribution, and reception of popular music around the world and continue to do so today.

At the same time, popular music has always initiated, debated, and represented questions of place(s), power, and positions, and still does. Popular music, in short, does not exist in a world free of power structures and inequalities. When looking at the popular music practices and performances—no matter if mainstream or niche, produced in a studio in Accra, in a bedroom in New York, or in an underground rehearsal room in Paderborn, Germany—we are inevitably confronted with the reality of colonial and postcolonial power structures and dependences. To mention only a few examples: In Nigeria, the high pressure to follow the copyright rules of the globalized pop music market restrains the use of samples in local hip hop culture. In Egypt, young musicians have no credit cards, leaving them without access to the online music market. In Europe, second and third generation migrants discuss their non-European backgrounds and European identities in songs and tracks. U.S.-produced Korean pop music (K-pop) increasingly rivals Korean-produced K-pop in its concern for authentic presentation. At the same time, Western "mainstream" pop music has for long been able to get to most corners of the world, but pop music from other regions hardly ever reached global popularity—happily, this seems to be slowly changing in the 21st century. The keywords pop, power, and positions connect these observations, and they immediately point to the theoretical thread of postcolonial studies.

The (post)colonial heritage of popular music and the related need to decolonize the field have not been considered widely in popular music studies. This lack of attention was our motivation to take up the topic *Pop–Power–Positions: Popular Music and Global Relations* (*Globale Beziehungen und populäre Musik*) for the third conference of IASPM D-A-CH, the German-speaking branch of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (iaspm-dach.net). We wanted to uncover and scrutinize the risks, challenges, and potentials of power structures, positioning, and (re)presentations in popular music, with a special focus on the analysis of the role of global, postcolonial structures in popular music around the world and the academic field of popular music studies. The conference successfully took place at the University of Bern and the Bern University of the Arts in Switzerland in October 2018.

During the time since the conference, a lot has happened in this world that illustrates the relevance of the questions we ask here: The #MeToo movement unmasked the dimensions of sexual harassment of women worldwide; the #MeTwo movement followed shortly after, especially in Germany, trying to raise awareness for the extent of racist harassment in the daily life of non-White[1] people. The Black Lives Matter movement, fighting against racist attacks and police brutality against Black people since 2013 in the U.S., created worldwide momentum in 2020 following the murder of George Floyd by a White police officer in Minneapolis. These protest movements clearly indicate that we are and have been far away from equality and fairness, and that the heritage of colonial times still affects the lives of all of us—only, that some have been on the privileged side of silencing these inequalities, whereas others have been experiencing them in their everyday lives without being heard.

With this volume, consisting of articles based on presentations from the conference, we want to put (global) power relations and representations of race, cultural difference, ethnicity, gender, class, and nation—including the changing dynamics and subversive strategies against differentiation these may involve—on the immediate agenda of popular music studies. In this introduction, we outline the field of research that we believe popular music studies needs to confront: the inclusion of postcolonial critique and questions of decolonizing academia. To do so, we briefly discuss the theoretical foundation of popular music and postcolonial studies in the next section, followed by a section full of issues and questions that open up on this basis—without raising the claim to answer them immediately, but as a possible starting point for future research.

To put postcolonial thought into theory and practice of popular music studies is a big demand, and we are aware that it comes with many challenges, as we ourselves are part of these (post) colonial entanglements and structures, particularly as academics, organizers of a conference, and editors of a peer-reviewed publication. We are thus people speaking from a privileged position. With this background, in the last section we critically discuss some of the postcolonial demands and barriers in our research field and academic practices, including reflection on our experiences in the organizing of the conference and the editing of this publication, calling for a conscious move toward decolonizing popular music studies.

1 We use Black, Indigenous, and People of Color to point effectively to the political positioning of humans within our postcolonial, racialized world, and not in terms of naturalizing. In the same way, the term White is used consciously to highlight the privileged position of White people within this system.

Postcolonialism and Popular Music—A Brief Overview

Popular music, in our understanding, has to be conceived of as a discourse rather than a fixed representation of a particular music (Wicke 2004, 119). We understand popular music to be a wide umbrella term that incorporates musical phenomena that are popular among their audiences, use popular channels of distribution on- and offline, connect to the rich heritage of Black music traditions, evolve and thrive in various niches and scenes, and are learned and appropriated in contexts far beyond any (traditional art music) institutions but also therein.

What does "postcolonialism" mean? Postcolonialism can be considered as a chronological term describing the era after colonialism; in the academic context, however, postcolonialism is widely synonymous with postcolonial studies and refers to critical engagement with the legacy of colonial and imperial practices, ideologies, and politics. Approaches and methods in postcolonialism are diverse and manifold, as postcolonial studies spans various disciplines. The foundation was made by theorists and thinkers in the 20th century, who revealed the mechanisms of colonial structures and how they live on even after colonial times formally ended. Often cited as a starting point are the thinkers Frantz Fanon and Aimé Cesaire. Out of their embodied experience, they vividly described the violence of White people on Black people's identities and bodies, denounced the exploitation within (post)colonial structures, and called for the process of decolonization (Fanon 2004 [1961]; Cesaire 2000 [1955]). These thoughts were increasingly taken up in academia in the 1970s and 1980s.

Edward Said's analysis of the binary of the "Orient" and the "Occident" showed the mutual but clearly hierarchical dependence between the "West" and the "East." Said introduced the concept of "Orientalism" to describe the construction of the "Orient" and thus the "Other" by colonizing empires (Said 2003 [1978]). Ten years later, Gayatri Spivak asked provokingly "Can the subaltern speak?" and demonstrated not only the silencing of people without power due to the continuation of postcolonial structures, but especially the muting of women therein (Spivak 1988). She was one of the main thinkers founding postcolonial feminism, arguing for a "strategic essentialism" for colonized and subordinated people in order to gain a voice and be heard. Another concept that was vividly discussed was Homi Bhabha's concept of hybridity, which he proposed as a challenge to existing binaries. He argued that there is always a "third space" "in between," and that binaries are never as fixed as they seem to be (Bhabha 1994). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o showed that colonial structures live on after the end of colonialism in former colonized countries, in the institutional structures, in the minds of elites in former colonies, and in language use (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1986). And Dipesh Chakrabarty called for a new historical thinking that writes Europe out of its acclaimed central role in the history of the world's different regions (2000).

A different, but complementary strand of critical theoretical thinking originated in the 20th century from scholars based in Latin America, for example Aníbal Quijano (2007), María Lugones (2003) and Rita Segato (2018). They contest and analyze the colonial world order and its heritage but in a much longer time frame that reaches back to the late 15th century, and focus on the colonial practices of Spain and Portugal and their effects and consequences in Latin America. Furthermore, they point towards the epistemic factor in coloniality, that is, the supposed superiority of the Western knowledge system, and highlight the activist dimension of decoloniality. They call for a decolonizing of knowledge, for the recognition of different epistemologies around the world.

These are only a few important works of postcolonial/decolonial criticism in academic thinking; an overall discussion goes beyond the aim of this introduction and has been done in well elsewhere (e.g. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2007, Young 2003, Moraña, Dussel, and Jáuregui 2008, Loomba 2015, Castro Varela and Dhawan 2015, Kerner 2012).

Postcolonial studies push—no matter in which field or discipline—awareness of global imbalance and power relations as an outcome of colonial exploitation, domination, and control by some regions of the world over others. The general aim in postcolonialism can be summarized as such: To make power relations, social positions, and representational strategies that have their roots in colonial thinking and doing visible, and to work towards empowerment and equality for marginalized (possibly, but not necessarily, colonized) people. Postcolonial studies work towards the decolonization of our highly colonialized world. There is a general understanding in postcolonial studies that the legacies and effects of colonialism and post-colonialist inequalities live on everywhere, often unnoticed, and have still to be uncovered, analyzed, and treated in appropriate ways—not only in former colonialized and colonizing countries and regions, but also in those which at first sight do not have a colonial heritage, for example Switzerland or Austria. As already mentioned, colonialism as well as postcolonialism refer to hierarchies that are enacted and produced through the construction of an inferior Other, thereby creating and enforcing highly contested concepts of representation along categories of, race, cultural difference, ethnicity, gender, class, and nation.

With (post)colonial legacies continuing to exist within structures, representations and epistemologies around the world, though in different ways, the contexts of production, distribution, and consumption of popular music are therefore always entangled within (post)colonial (power) structures. Postcolonial traces are, as Johannes Ismaiel-Wendt (2011) has demonstrated, inherent in any popular music. Popular music is always embedded in postcolonially inherited structures. Current productions of popular music in different countries indicate that (post) colonial conditions live on in popular music, and that musicians as well as audiences react in various ways to this situation.

Nevertheless, popular music studies have not yet widely taken up postcolonial critique and awareness (in contrast to postcolonial theories, in which popular music has often served as case study, see James 2005). Of course, there are books and articles that take up aspects of postcolonialism on the go, but rarely is it made explicit. The influential collection *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (2000), has been an early attempt to take up postcolonial theory in (popular) music studies. Further examples are the collection *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, edited by Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (2016), the collection *Postcolonial Piracy: Media Distribution and Cultural Production in the Global South*, edited by Lars Eckstein and Anja Schwarz (2014), and the special issue of *Popular Music and Society* in 2017 on "Popular Music and the Postcolonial", edited by Oliver Lovesey. Moreover, Daniel Hernandez and Kirsten Zemke are currently preparing a special issue for the IASPM Journal entitled "Popular Music, Decolonization, and Indigenous Studies". In German-speaking literature, the works of Ismaiel-Wendt (2011, 2016) have to be mentioned as important milestones. Contributions from ethnomusicology (e.g. Ramnarine 2007, Solomon 2012, Mackinlay 2015) also need to be taken into account when considering postcolonial critique in popular music studies.

While these works show important postcolonial perspectives on popular music, many questions still remain unasked and unexamined; below we present the questions that arose within our symposium and book project which we believe to be of immediate relevance. In short, we see in popular music studies an urgent need to increase our efforts to work towards revealing and laying bare postcolonial dependences, structures, and ideologies within and around popular music of any sort, no matter the genre, musician, or region, and to put our energy towards gaining more and more consciousness of the necessity and possibilities of decolonization.

Power, Place, and Positions: Issues to Tackle in Postcolonial Popular Music Studies

In the following, we present some questions about the keywords "power," "place," and "positions" that we believe important to ask. While also a welcomed alliteration for a catchy conference title, reflecting upon "power," "place," and "positions" when thinking about popular music is a useful first step toward including some of the main aspects of postcolonial thought in academic research. The questions may be read as suggestions for future research and debate, and are our proposal for possible further steps towards a research field of postcolonial popular music studies.

When thinking about "power" in popular music, questions arise around the issue of "who speaks," meaning whose voice is heard? On the sound file and beyond: Who is heard, who is silenced, and why? What kinds of (colonial) power structures shape the production, distribution, and reception of popular music? What is the impact of the Anglophone music business on other music markets? And who speaks—and is heard—about popular music in the areas of marketing, advertising, journalism, research, fan cultures, (global) politics, and educational institutions—and which vocabulary do these actors use? Further questions arise around sound processing: What kind of sounds and music(s) are processed in which contexts, by whom, how, and to what aim? How does the use of certain sounds/music(s) point to existing power relations, dependencies, and availabilities? And, of course, in terms of digitization, have digital networks, techniques, and tools led to a democratization of musical processes or not?

Second, "place" is highly relevant in postcolonial thinking and theory. It matters if someone is born and raised in a town or a village, in the Northern hemisphere or the Southern hemisphere, in Germany, in China or in Uganda. What role do geographies and geopolitics play in popular music-making, and how do geography, world order, and power structures relate? In what ways can popular music exist beyond cultural, ethnic, and national geographies? And what role does the relationship between the Global North and Global South have in popular music?

"Positions," finally, marks the third important approach for tackling postcolonial issues in and around popular music. Positions is meant here as an umbrella term for discussions about resources, regulations, and representations, where positioning becomes relevant. These discourses often make use of dichotomous terms for differentiating the West from the Rest. Questions that arise in this approach are, for example: How do structures of power and distribution limit the access to and control over the production and reception of popular music? What relevance, usability, and impact do technologies (like Digital Audio Workstations) or legal regulations (like copyright laws), developed in Western contexts, have for popular music? In what ways are (post) colonial structures and power relations (re)produced therein? Who has access to and control

over relevant technologies? Who has the power over representation, of the music and of music history? What kinds of representations do musicians use for their marketing? What traits are ascribed to music, and by whom? How are specific popular music genres marginalized within the history of popular music? Should and can we write a global history of popular music?

In general, and connected to all three sets of questions about "place," "power," and "positions," a very important endeavor is to highlight and analyze how musicians of different forms of popular music process a "(post)colonial experience of the world" ("(post)koloniales Welterleben", Ismaiel-Wendt 2011) in their music. This can sensitize us for the manifold ways in which popular music tells of this world and can unlock new and highly relevant fields and questions of research.

With this matrix of questions around the keywords power, place, and positions, we want to evoke new perspectives in popular music studies that may lead to further questions on a more general, disciplinary level. We have to ask ourselves how the concept of popular music (as a category developed in the West) is in itself (post)colonial. And we are urgently called to discuss openly what kind of hierarchies, asymmetries, or restraints can be found in the inter- and transdisciplinary field of popular music studies.

We are convinced that popular music provides highly rewarding objects for postcolonial analyses, and that there is enormous potential for detecting and changing (or enforcing) colonial and postcolonial power structures. For an up-to-date understanding of popular music, postcolonial theories must be made fruitful for analyses and studies around the issues raised above. The already rich oeuvre of postcolonial thinkers, scholars, and performers indicates at least one thing: adequate methods, strategies, and approaches exist. We have to continuously put them in our work, to apply, rethink, and adapt them in useful ways to the manifold topics and research questions in popular music studies.

Challenges to Decolonizing Academic Practice in Popular Music Studies

Yet, by adopting a postcolonial theoretical foundation and raising questions addressing postcolonial dependencies and legacies in our research, the need for postcolonial critique does not end. Academic practices themselves urgently need to be revised and altered towards more postcolonial awareness and decolonial efforts. This does not happen by itself. We, the authors and other, commonly White, privileged Western academics are called on to create possibilities that make positions and perspectives from beyond our privileged perspectives visible, and to work consciously towards changing our academic system. It is urgent that it becomes a matter of course that currently marginalized scholars actively perform within Western academia. Based on our experience during the symposium and book publishing process, we suggest three immediate types of action: First, when developing topics, research projects, and conference structures, do this together with non-Western scholars and musicians, scholars and musicians of Color, and/or Indigenous scholars and musicians. Second, find ways to include various epistemological perspectives and formats of knowledge production when considering whom to invite to contribute to academic publications. And third, when teaching and doing and presenting research, decolonize the canon of literature and music and open the Western academic world to further, not necessarily text-based epistemologies. The issues of place, power, and positions, as discussed above are also relevant here.

Let's start with the first aspect of consciously re-working topics, research projects and processes, and conferences structures together with marginalized scholars in order to confront the inherently racist modes in the structures of Western academia. We feel that this has not yet been the case in (German-speaking) popular music studies and we hope that such activities will increase greatly in the next years and will foster consciousness among popular music scholars. When organizing the third IASPM D-A-CH conference in Bern 2018, our own awareness was not yet in this direction. While we did put global relations and postcolonial implications in the focus for conference presentations, it did not occur to us to challenge and re-think the conference organization per se. Nonetheless, we actively worked to invite musicians from non-Western countries to participate. And already this small move showed what kind of obstacles we face due to the borders built by nations, states, and institutions, as we want to recount in detail here.

Together with our partner, the platform for music research Norient, we invited both the South African multidisciplinary artist Umlilo and the Pakistani rapper, comedian, and activist Ali Gul Pir to attend our conference. Both accepted our invitation. We wanted to offer an immediate starting point for a broader discussion on dependences and postcolonial structures to initiate further critical debates and research. While there was no problem with South Africa, the Swiss Embassy in Islamabad at first refused the visa for Gul Pir. The justification was that it was believed he would not return to his country after his visit in Switzerland. After making all possible efforts, including an appeal to the authorities, without much hope due to our tight schedule, only one and a half weeks before the conference we suddenly received a letter that the visa would be granted after all. Until today, we do not know why the authorities changed their minds. This incident vividly shows that there are borders and boundaries to overcome in order to enable personal and direct exchange that have nothing to do with music and academia, but are conditions within a world organized along inequalities. Issues of place, power, and positions become immediately relevant. These conditions affect our art and our research.[2]

Now, in 2021, matters of mobility and travel have changed and will have to be negotiated anew, especially when working towards decolonization of academic practices. We are living in times of the global COVID19-pandemic. Borders that were no longer policed have been re-established with border control, and airplanes are inactive because travelling has become nearly impossible. Meeting people from other countries or even continents in person is currently—and possibly still for some time in the future—nearly impossible. However, people and institutions around the world have gotten accustomed to using online communication tools during the last year. Online meetings have been included in daily academic routines to an extent that nobody imagined before, including conferences being organized entirely online. This change makes the collaboration with scholars and artists all over the world at the same time easier and even more urgent. There is no longer an excuse for not doing so. In the case of online conferences, the collaboration can even happen on the same level of representation (which would not be the case when someone is presenting online at an offline conference)—provided that all the collaborating scholars have the necessary infrastructure and a steady internet connection at their home or institution, which is not always the case in some countries.

And there is yet another important matter: the ongoing and alarming climate crisis. Offline conferences eliminate travel costs, and the heightened CO2 production of plane travel. Re-thinking conference structures in order to find a way to slowly but steadily decolonize the academic

2 Ali Gul Pir produced a video with footage from his visit to Switzerland and his own comments in Urdu. He shared the video on Facebook and YouTube after the conference (Gul Pir 2019).

world might thus go together with climate politics and the changes in online communication brought about by the COVID 19-pandemic. Of course, the electronic technology necessary for digital communication has its own CO2 issues, and is lacking postcolonial consciousness concerning exploitation of human and natural resources.

Of course, the issue of consciously re-working academic practices towards decolonized structures does not end at conferences. It goes without saying that beyond including people of non-Western background, of Color, and/or Indigenous background in the organizational structures and the programs of conferences, the most important part is to work towards structures that provide space for dialogical research as a matter of course. Again, the academic structure itself needs to be fundamentally changed, in this case in terms of the research design to acknowledge equal partnerships. The restraints mentioned may pop up again, but with some serious effort, such research projects in popular music studies are possible. They would definitely broaden the general perspective of popular music and popular music studies, and would be an important contribution towards decolonizing the field.

The second aspect of working towards the decolonization of popular music studies is to include diverse and decolonial perspectives in academic publications. Here, institutionalized epistemological barriers become visible and may put editors into a real dilemma. This also happened in the context of this publication. A non-Western scholar submitted an article, which fit perfectly in terms of its topic and the aim of this publication. However, looking at the text, we, the editors, immediately found that it diverged from the standardized academic demands that we are used to in terms of length, referencing, and "academic" style. We were sure that it would not pass the single-blind peer-review process[3] we had established for all articles. We had long discussions within the editorial board of this series about whether it were feasible to ask for a revision of the text before peer review. Finally, we did not think that the necessary changes, which required a lot of reading, were manageable by the latest possible deadline. Therefore, we rejected the article with a lot of discomfort.

This incident demonstrates that academic writing works with rules made by Western (and Westernized) academic institutions, and that following these rules is required for inclusion. Articles that do not meet these demands do not get published in the (Western) academic arena. Unfortunately, this is probably the case for many scholars with non-Western(ized) educations. Academic standards are thus an almost insurmountable barrier to including non-Western thought in academic discourses—a fact that needs an open debate. If we want to increase the visibility of and collaboration with currently marginalized scholars in popular music publications and to make their expert voices heard, we need to alter the criteria, the peer-review procedures, and possibly even the concept of scientific knowledge and epistemic fundamentals. This means to continuously and consciously re-think and re-work the often taken-for-granted basics about which knowledge counts as scientific, useful, and valuable, and which formats are required and accepted for/as knowledge production. Such reflection and reconsideration need to be done in collaboration with colleagues from various educational and regional backgrounds.

The third aspect, then, is the need to reconsider the eurocentric canon in popular music studies and to include more perspectives and content in our popular music research and teaching. We all know that popular music not only happens in the Western hemisphere. As briefly outlined

3 A double-blind peer-review process was not reasonable as the names of the conference speakers could be retraced online at any time.

above, popular music is almost always connected in some way to global networks. Material and information on popular music outside the eurocentric mainstream canon is easily available and can be integrated into courses. Even if these sources are often provided or even produced by Western-educated scholars, they do help to broaden the perspective of the students. Beyond academic texts, other formats of knowledge production such as interviews, videos, podcasts, and sounds can be used in lectures and seminars in order to show the diversity of popular music and discuss the inherent aforementioned inequalities. The materials provided by the online platform Norient, for example, can be used with the aim of discussing and presenting popular music from around the world and beyond mainstream categories. It is perfect for discussions of (non-)traditionalization, stereotypes, racialized, postcolonial practices, and counter-acts.

The Articles in this Volume: An Overview

The authors in this volume address the keywords "power," "place," and "positions" in various ways. The articles are all based on papers held at the aforementioned 2018 conference in Bern. They combine a wide variety of approaches from different disciplines, discussing education, economics, globalization and politics. Let us give you some short insights to the articles that we hope you enjoy reading in full-length.

Thade Buchborn and Verena Bons discuss the power relations in the educational system in Germany as structures that cause social injustice. They demonstrate that music teachers still tend to ignore the musical worlds their learners live in, focusing on Western classical music instead. Meanwhile, Beate Flath shifts the focus to the field of economics: In her paper, she shows that in today's music business, significant power lies within a new form of co-creation, that is the participation of users in creative processes, based on data generated by themselves.

Three authors then focus on phenomena of globalization in pop music cultures. Steffen Just analyzes the performance of Black performers in English, German, and American popular music theatre in the early 20th century, showing that while there were exoticizing mechanisms at place, performances could also contribute to the deconstruction of stereotypes (article in German). Dietmar Elflein discusses soul music in Germany in the 1960s. In his discourse analysis he illustrates that Germans actors at the time perceived soul as "Black music", without relying on extensive knowledge on the modes of soul music production in the U.S. (article in German). Christina Richter-Ibáñez analyzes multilingualism and translation in the work of the popular musician Shakira as a conscious and meaningful tool of addressing various audiences.

Finally, two contributions to this volume emphasize political aspects in popular music. Chelsea Oden analyzes two choreomusical responses to the Orlando shooting, when a man shot 49 people in a gay bar and nightclub in mid 2016. Oden presents the moving body as a political force and discusses the relationship between political message and music. Helena Simonett, César Jesús Burgos Dávila, and David Moreno Candil examine different power relations along censorship practices in Mexican narcocorrido, analyzing censorship as a social practice and not solely in its legal aspects. They show that censorship does not prevent young people from producing, performing, and enjoying narcocorrido.

Outlook: Towards Postcolonial Awareness in the Field of Popular Music Studies

With the past conference, the articles collected in this volume, and this introduction we aim at calling the attention of researchers in popular music studies for the need of re-thinking and re-considering global power relations, colonial legacies, and postcolonial dependences that affect popular music practices, no matter which, where, and performed by whom. We want to raise awareness of these issues so that perhaps one day any study on any popular music will include postcolonial reflection as a matter of course. We believe this to be a necessary and important way of thinking in order to broaden and equalize our understanding of popular music—on the way to decolonize academia, and popular music studies.

Furthermore, we wanted to highlight the global inequalities inherent in our Western academic system and put forward the need to consciously and actively work towards the theoretical and epistemological acknowledgement of currently marginalized and invisible perspectives and people—to make research, topics, and understanding in popular music studies more diverse and more equal, and to work towards a broader understanding of popular music, of knowledge and knowledge production, and of academic practices.

Please do join the discussion.

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Abstract (Deutsch)

Populäre Musik ist intrinsischer Teil unserer globalisierten Welt. Eine Welt, die längst keine gerechte ist. Machtverhältnisse («power»), Verortungen («place») und Positionen («positions») bestimmen alle Aspekte unseres Lebens fundamental: Es spielt eine Rolle, in welchem Kontext, welcher Region, Klasse, oder ethnischen Zugehörigkeit eine Person, eine Institution, oder eine Musik positioniert ist. Der erste Band der IASPM D-A-CH-Reihe *~Vibes* betrachtet (globale) Machtbeziehungen und Repräsentationen der Differenz in populärer Musik und den Popular Music Studies. In der Einleitung argumentieren die Autor*innen für den Einbezug von postkolonialem Denken und Fragen nach der Dekolonisierung der Wissenschaft in die Popular Music Studies. Basierend auf Vorträgen der IASPM D-A-CH Konferenz 2018 versammelt dieser Band Artikel aus verschiedenen Disziplinen mit Fokus auf die Bereiche Bildung, Wirtschaft, Globalisierung und Politik.

Abstract (English)

Popular music is embedded in and connected to our globalized world. A world that is, however, not an equal and fair one. Issues of power, place, and positions play a fundamental role in all aspects of life: It matters in which context, world region, class, or ethnic belonging a person, an institution, a music is situated. The first volume of the IASPM D-A-CH series *~Vibes* looks at (global) power relations and representations of differences in popular music (studies). In the introduction the editors argue for the inclusion of postcolonial thought and questions of decolonizing academia into popular music studies. Based on papers held at the IASPM D-A-CH conference in Bern 2018, this volume presents seven articles from various disciplines, discussing education, economics, globalization, and politics.

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Thade Buchborn, Verena Bons

"And It Turns Out that It only Has Two Chords": Secondary School Music Teachers' Orientations on Dealing with Learners' Music Cultures in the Classroom in Germany

Introduction

Pop or classical, established or new, own or foreign music? The privilege of choosing the repertoire for music lessons puts teachers in a powerful position: They decide which music makes its way into the classroom and how learners deal with it. Because of this, they have great impact on how music culture(s) are valued in lesson contexts. But how do music teachers intentionally and non-intentionally use this power? How do they value learners' music cultures and how do they take learners' interests into account when planning and conducting lessons? In this study we use the documentary method (Bohnsack 2010; 2014; Przyborski 2004) to reconstruct the orientations that guide German music teachers in dealing with the musical interests of learners in their professional practice.

Our results show that learners' interests and especially pop music is considered as less important in music lessons by the secondary school music teachers interviewed, independent of social factors such as age, experience, gender or the school context that they work in. The aim of the music teachers featured within this study is to analyze and understand Western classical music even though they recognize that learners in their classrooms are less interested in this music. We discuss our findings in regard to questions of power and processes of exclusion in the music education system.

Theoretical Background

Music, especially pop music, is deemed to be "one of the most meaningful interests of youth" (Heyer et al. 2013, 4, translated by the authors; see also Busch and Lehmann-Wermser 2018) and plays a central role in processes of self-socialization in the phase of adolescence (Müller 2004; Rhein and Müller 2006). In this context, music as a way to express "styles" serves also as a medium to demonstrate affiliation to (youth) "subcultures" (Hebdige 1979) as well as to position oneself in society:

> Style in subculture is, then, pregnant with significance. Its transformations go "against nature", interrupting the process of "normalization". As such, they are gestures, movements towards a speech which offends the "silent majority", which challenges the principle of unity and cohesion, which contradicts the myth of consensus. (Ibid., 18)

In the same phase of a person's development, school as the main "instance of socialization" (Heyer et al. 2013, 4, translated by the authors) has an important function, along with a child's peer group. However, research in this field indicates a considerable difference between music

in school and music in students' everyday life (Hargreaves and Marshall 2003; Lamont and Maton 2010, Schmidt 2015). Wolfgang Pfeiffer described the gap between learners' interests and content that is taught in school and argued that this gap is getting wider because of the focus on cognitive learning in music lessons (Pfeiffer 2013, 193). Pfeiffer's position is confirmed from the learners' perspective portrayed, in detail, in Adam J. Kruse's case study "'They Wasn't Makin' My Kinda Music': A Hip-Hop Musician's Perspective on School, Schooling, and School Music" (Kruse 2016). Kruse describes how his informant's interest in hip-hop was not considered in his school music education at a public school in a Midwestern city in the United States. Therefore, he did not engage in the school music program.

> Despite a keen interest in music as an adolescent and considerable musical activity as an adult, Terrence had precious little interest in the musical activities happening at his school. (Kruse 2016, 250)

It seems that school music education (still) neither meets the expectations of youth nor values learners' music cultures. As a consequence, learners cannot link their experiences from inside and outside of school together.

In 2004, Renate Müller argued that "teenagers do not need a music education that excludes musical youth cultures from educational institutions and ignores the cultural identities of youth" (Müller 2004, 14, translated by the authors). However, youth culture and especially pop music is still not a main focus of music education in German schools. Michael Ahlers and Dirk Zuther stated that pop music is underrepresented in music educational periodicals (Ahlers and Zuther 2015), school books and teaching materials, as well as in final examination tasks and in music teacher training (Ahlers 2016). Michael Pabst-Krüger (2015) points out that "[a] n analysis of the actual integration of popular music into teacher training in Germany shows a very fragmented picture: in terms of both quantity and quality" (ibid., 321, translated by the authors) and highlights the necessity of further improvements in music teacher training.

In the international discourse, Ruth Wright and Brian Davies (2010) identified the predominance of Western art music in British curricula, indentifying structural social injustice in the educational system as this thematic focus redounds to middle- and upper-class students' advantage:

> The National Curriculum for Music was influenced by the dying throes of the Thatcher era and an attempt to cling to the vestiges of an education system governed by twentieth-century, British, upper-middle-class values. Within this value system, the habitus of the dominant group was largely framed by public-school education and musically by the western art-music canon. (Wright and Davies 2010, 48)

In this context, recent German curricula can be seen as evidence for change. Daniel Mark Eberhard analyzed the curriculum for primary schools in Bavaria and concluded that pop music is represented in different contexts, especially in music making (Eberhard 2015, 88–89). The introductory chapter of the curricula for secondary schools in Baden-Württemberg published in 2016 states the following:

> In times of the unmanageable and omnipresent offer of music, music in school contributes to cultural identity-generating. Including learners' socio-cultural origin offers individual and authentic approaches to learning. In this way, music can contribute substantially to the integration of the individual in our varied society and to the intercultural dialogue. (Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport Baden-Württemberg 2016, 3, translated by the authors)

As learners' perspectives are (still) not well included in music education in school, it is questionable if and how these well-formulated claims from educational policy are heard and implemented by teachers in schools. Suggesting a way out of this dilemma, Sidsel Karlsen and Heidi Westerlund (2015) highlighted the importance of the teacher, illustrating how teachers' repertoire choices could lead to more social justice and democracy, when musical diversity is "*transferred* into the classroom" (ibid., 382, emphasis in original). In addition to lesson content and teachers' repertoire choices, Gary Spruce underlined the importance of the "student voice" (Spruce 2015, 287) in the classroom and criticized teacher-centered educational settings. Jacqueline Kelly-McHale's findings from a case study confirmed the isolating effects of a teacher-centered approach of direct instruction, suggesting that it led to "an isolated musical experience that did not support the integration of cultural, linguistic, and popular music experiences and largely ignored issues of cultural responsiveness" (Kelly-McHale 2013, 1).

In Germany, Christine Stöger and Heinz Geuen (2017) create a thought experiment (Gedankenexperiment) that reflects music-making in general music education from the perspective of cultural studies. They criticize the power relations in school regarding the meaning and the value attributed to music (ibid., 62). In their point of view, music education should take learners as cultural actors seriously and design school and school music education as a place that gives opportunities to articulate learners' perspectives on music and making music (ibid., 68–69). Their concept is in line with the meaning-oriented concept of culture (Barth 2008) that our study refers to and that allows us to describe culture(s) as dynamic, non-(ethnic)-holistic and non-normative. Therefore, we interpret dealing with and reflecting on different (youth) music cultures in school as processes of intercultural learning.

Research Questions

The short literature review illustrates, on the one hand, the central meaning of music in processes of socialization in the phase of youth and, on the other, the powerful position music teachers have in the complex system of power relations governing access to cultural capital in school music education. The question remains: How do teachers deal with learners' musical interests and culture(s)[1] in their everyday school work? At the very beginning of our research on migration, interculturality, and music education[2], we observed that the participating music teachers considered the topic of interculturality in everyday school life by reflecting on the musical cultures of the learners in comparison to the content of the music lessons' and their own musical interests. In this context, the musical cultures of the learners were discussed, evaluated, and considered according to whether or not they were found useful or meaningful (in educational contexts) by the participants. We analyzed this thematic aspect in our data guided by the following research questions:

- How do music teachers at different secondary schools deal with learners' (pop) music culture(s) in music lessons?

1 As a theoretical framework for this study we are using a meaning-oriented concept of culture (Barth 2008) that allows us to describe music cultures as dynamic, non-(ethnic)-holistic and non-normative. Nevertheless, our reconstructions show that our informants are implicitly and explicitly following other concepts of culture, that we use to contextualize our empirical findings.

2 Data for this investigation is taken from the ongoing study "Migration, interculturality and music education" by Thade Buchborn.

- Which shared implicit and common-sense knowledge orient music teachers in their everyday teaching, especially in dealing with learners' music cultures and musical interests in the classroom?

Methods

In our study, findings arise from data collected within group discussions (Bohnsack 2010) with the music teaching staff at three different secondary schools (type: "Gymnasium", that is a higher secondary institution) at different locations in Germany:

School #1 is a Catholic school for girls in a mid-sized German university town. 7% of the students do not have German as their native language and 2.45% of the students do not have German citizenship. Three female and two male music teachers took part in the group discussions.

School # 2 is a music-specialist high school in a German megacity. Through co-operation with conservatories, as well as their general education, student receive musical education (instrumental lessons, choir and orchestra, music theory, and ear training). 10% of the students do not have German as their first or home language and 17.14% of the students do not have German citizenship. Two female and two male music teachers took part in the group discussion.

School # 3 is a high school located in a district of a German megacity that is characterized by a high proportion of foreigners and migrants. Music education can be chosen as a main subject at school. Furthermore, the school offers an education program for talented students. As part of a specific pedagogical concept, self-determined learning as well as self-reliant action on the part of the students is promoted through free study time. 66,5% of the students do not have German as their first or home language and 14,87% of the students do not have German citizenship. Three female and one male music teacher took part in the group discussion.

In the context of an ongoing research project that serves as the data basis for the study presented in this paper, the participants were asked to discuss the topics migration, interculturality, and music education against the background of their everyday experiences as music teachers in school. The group discussions were transcribed and interpreted using the documentary method (Bohnsack 2014; Przyborski 2004). Aiming at reconstructing the "implicit knowledge that underlies everyday practice and gives an orientation to habitualized actions" (Bohnsack, Pfaff, and Weller 2010b, 20), the documentary method fits our research question asking for music teachers' common-sense and implicit knowledge in dealing with learners' personal musical interests and youth music cultures in everyday school life.

In a first stage of analysis we identified passages in the material that show thematic relevance to our research questions. Out of this sample we selected excerpts that show special features in the dramaturgy of the discourse: involvement of a high number of participants, self-dynamic in the discussion, and "culminating points in the dramaturgy of the discourse" (Bohnsack 2010, 105). These selected passages were analyzed regarding to thematic aspects and content ("immanent meaning", ibid., 102–3). This was followed by a reflective interpretation of the material to find the "documentary meaning" (ibid.). To get access to the implicit knowledge it is very important to distinguish between the content of the group discussion and the way how the participants talk to each other in the analysis of data:

> The documentary method offers – on the level of an observation of the second order – an access to the pre-reflexive or tacit knowledge, which is implied in the practice of action. Asking for the documentary meaning can [...] be understood as asking for how: how is practice produced or accomplished. That means, asking for the modus operandi of practical action. This question has to be distinguished from asking what (on the level of the observer of first order), for the immanent or literal meaning. (Bohnsack 2010, 103)

In the final step of the interpretation we compared the selected passages and identified homogenous features and differences within and between the three cases. This helped us to reconstruct the implicit and explicit knowledge that orientate the teachers in our sample when dealing with learners' music cultures and musical interests in the classroom independent from individual motives and beliefs.

Results

The data from the three group discussions enables us to reconstruct common-sense theories and implicit knowledge that orients secondary music teachers in their everyday practice. This data is currently too narrow to generate a socio-genetic typification that illustrates differences related to, for example, age, sex, and work experience. However, we can already identify shared common-sense knowledge and (implicit) orientation patterns of higher secondary school (Gymnasium) teachers that are homogenous in all three cases, as well as differences related to the school settings our participants work in. Later we will illustrate our findings by analyzing three connected excerpts of a passage of the group discussion in school #3. In the interpretation, we refer to homogenous features and differences to our other cases.

In all three group discussions, we found that learners' music cultures and musical interests are considered as "sub-topics" (#2, 122[3]) in lesson contexts by the teachers. This viewpoint is explicitly shared as common-sense by the participants and could also be considered an implicit orientation pattern on the basis of narrative passages within the group discussions, as can be shown by the first excerpt of the passage from group discussion #3. One participant (Af[4]) is talking about her 12th grade (17- to 18-year-old students) music course curriculum on "non-European / non-Western music" (Af, #3, 762). In this context, the teachers are discussing how foreign music from India is to their students compared to music by Schubert. The following transcript excerpt starts directly after this.

3 #2 indicates the case/group discussion, 122 the line number in the transcript.

4 We follow the following system for indicating our informants: A = first speaker in the discussion, B = second speaker and so on; f = female / m = male.

```
768  Bf: Aber des interessante is dass jetzt zwei aus mei=m Kurs
769      die mich schon eigentlich von Anfang an fragen die woll=n
770      unbedingt irgendwie Richtung asiatische Musik obwohl
771      die selber gar kein Kontext haben (.)
772      ich glaub irgendwie *Yasha and Sören die ham irgendwie
773  Af:   └ ja aber das reizt die; ne? ┘
774  Bf: ich glaube dass die auch teilweise irgendwie koreanischen
775      Pop und japanische irgendwas hörn und so, und die lernen
776      sogar beide grade japanisch und keine Ahnung
777  Af: ja oder hier Manga in der Filmmusik ham wir grade
778  Bf:     └ also die fragen mich schon jetzt (2)     └ genau die- aber
779      des is da ham die vielleicht dann auch=n bisschen falsch-
780      selbst wenn wir jetzt zu japanischer Musik gehen dann weiß
781      ich nicht ob ich jetzt @vorhatte
782      zu japanischem Pop zu gehen oder so@
783  Dm:               └ @3@ ┘
784  Af:    └ mhm ┘
```

Transcript 1a: Asian music (#3, 768–84)

```
768  Bf: But the interesting thing is that two of my course
769      who ask me actually right from the beginning, they
770      absolutely want towards Asian music somehow, although
771      they don't have a [migration] context themselves (.)
772      I think somehow *Yasha and Sören they have some kind of
773  Af:    └ yes but they are attracted by that, aren't they? ┘
774  Bf: I think that they, to some extent, listen to something like
775      Korean pop and japanese whatever and so on, and they both even
776      learn japanese at the moment and no idea
777  Af: yes or we do manga in film music right now
778  Bf:     └ I mean they already ask me now (2) └ right they- but
779      it is, they might have understood that
780      a little wrong-
781      even if we'll do japanese music then I don't know
782      if I @intended to do japanese pop or something like that@
783  Dm:                                  └ @3@ ┘
784  Af:                                 └ mhm ┘
```

Transcript 1b: English translation of Transcript 1a[5]

Bf talks about two students who are interested in dealing with "Asian music" (770) in her course. Her narration puts an emphasis on the high motivation of the students ("absolutely", 770). Af is validating the students' interest and high attraction to Asian music in 773 and again later by starting a narration of a comparable experience in her own class (777). Bf is interrupting her by telling her colleagues that the students "already ask [her] now" (778) to cover Asian pop music in class. However, she is evaluating this demand as a misunderstanding, in an amused way. Dealing with "Japanese pop or something like that" (782) in her course is not an appropriate option for Bf, "even if we'll do Japanese music" (781). As her colleagues are validating this remark by shared laughter, it is evident that this is a shared orientation pattern in the group: Asian pop music is not regarded as a relevant content for the music course on non-European music. On the basis of this passage and homologous passages in our data we can also reconstruct a discrepancy between learners' and teachers' (implicit) conceptions of

5 All transcripts are translated from German by the authors and are following the guidelines "Talk in Qualitative Research – TiQ" (Bohnsack, Pfaff, and Weller 2010a, 365; Transkriptwunder n.d.).

goals and the adequacy of the content of music lessons in school, especially in regard to different attributions of meaning to pop music.

A little later in the discussion another discrepancy between the learners' and teachers' conceptions of music lessons can be seen.

```
Cf: Ich hab auch damit immer angefangen in meinen siebten Klassen;
    um sie halt irgendwie zu kriegen und für dieses Fach zu
    begeistern mit der mus- mit der Musik die sie
    selber hören, und Rap Hiphop weil (.) die kam- ich hab
Af:          └ mhm ┘
Cf: dann danach hab ich Barock mit ihnen gemacht (.) und da kamen
    wirklich ich hab eine relativ Vorlaute in der Klasse warum
Af:    └ Zuckerbrot und Peitsche @(1)@ ┘
Cf: machen wir das denn jetzt eigentlich des is doch Geschichte.
Af:                                                  └ mhm ┘
Cf: und dann hats naja aber irgendwie hat sie hab ich gedacht naja
    des is num. (.) um den Hintergrund von der Musik zu verstehen
    und wie das aufgebaut ist und die Wurzeln
Af:                              └ mhm ┘
Cf: naja die Wurzel wovon. die Wurzeln von unserer westlichen
    Kunstmusik. aber wenn sie dazu überhaupt keinen Zugang haben und
Af:                                          └ mhm ┘
Cf: das ihnen gar nichts sagt (.) dann is halt wirklich die Frage
Dm:                          └ mhm ┘
Cf: warum machen wir denn jetzt eigentlich nicht (.) arabische Musik
    aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert is irgendwie auch so=ne Frage
```

Transcript 2a: Carrot and stick (#3, 810–30)

```
Cf: I also always started with that with my 7th graders [11-12-year-old
    students]; to get them somehow and to inspire them for the
    subject with the mus- with the music that they listen to
    themselves, and Rap HipHop because (.) they cam- I have
Af:      └ mhm┘
Cf: and then I did baroque with them (.) and there they came
    really I have a rather gobby one in the class
Af:     └ carrot and stick @(1)@ ┘
Cf: why are we doing this now actually this is history.
Af:                                          └ mhm┘
Cf: somehow she is I thought well this is umm. (.) to understand
    the background of the music
    and how it is constructed and the roots
Af:                                  └ mhm ┘
Cf: well the roots of what. the roots of our western art music. but
    if they do not have any access to that and it doesn't say
Af:                                └ mhm ┘
Cf: anything to them (.) then it is really the question
Dm:                 └ mhm ┘
Cf: why don't we actually do Arabic music from
    the 16th century that's somehow also such=a question
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Transcript 2b: English translation of Transcript 2a

Referring to a narration of her colleague Af about "little presentations" (#3, 787) by the students on pop music, Cf reports on a similar practice in her 7th grade. Cf starts her course with the "music that they listen to themselves" (812–13) to motivate the students toward music in school and then moves on to the time of baroque music (815). The first narrative part of this passage shows the orientation pattern of functionalizing pop music for further goals (motivation for music in school). Thereby, the teacher is contrasting the students' musical interests in pop music with baroque music as the real aim of her lesson. This reveals the implicit orientation toward teaching Western art music. That is validated by the ironic comment "carrot and stick" ["Zuckerbrot und Peitsche"] (817) and the laughter of her colleagues. We can find many other examples for the orientation toward teaching Western art music repertoire as the main goal of school music education in our data.

The teacher's reflection is interesting in the second part of her narration. She reports of a "gobby" ["eine relativ Vorlaute"] (816) student who questioned her decision to work on baroque music as irrelevant because "this is history" (818). The incident leads Cf to doubt her practice and to imagine alternatives (820–30). This shows a discrepancy between the implicit knowledge that is guiding the teacher's practice (focus on Western art music) and the explicit doubts about this that could be related to the social norm of tolerance and the educational common-sense theory of learner-centered teaching. This dilemma for the teacher illustrates a typical conflict between habitus and (social) norms (Bohnsack 2017, 54–56) that teachers face in their everyday practice and might be interpreted as an impetus for change in the long term.

A specific characteristic of school #3 compared to the others is the reflection on Arabic music from the 16th century (829) as an alternative, more student-oriented, content to baroque music. The staff of school #3 describes their school as a "hotspot" (#3, 113) for cultural diversity due to the high percentage of foreign or immigrant students and students that are 1st or 2nd generation German. In the reflections of their practice they often report on strategies to provide better access to the curriculum for their students. However, the basic orientation toward teaching Western art music regardless of the learners' interests and (music) cultural orientations is shared in all three cases.

Again, teachers' and learners' different conception of music in school is illustrated by the passage where the teacher reports on her students' opposition to dealing with baroque music. It becomes obvious that the teacher is reflecting on the differences between her students' interests and her own objectives in her role as a teacher. In comparable passages in other group interviews, the students' lack of interest in Western art music is described in metaphorical language: "It's all Greek to them" ["das sind für die böhmische Dörfer"] (#1, 872), "all of this is very far away for them" (#1, 873), "for some of them a very very different, really a different continent, sort of" (#3, 299–301).

However, a difference can be seen in school #2 which offers education to highly talented (mainly classically trained) young musicians. In the group discussion, Western art music is presented as common ground that connects teachers and learners regardless to their nationality or region of birth. This can be seen in the following excerpt from the group discussion #2 in which the focus is similar. The teacher is reflecting on a justification for dealing with Gregorian music from Central Europe (171) , that "no German students knows" (174–75):

831 Af: └ total aber ich glaub halt nicht dass die Schüler das lieber
832 Bf: └ mhm ┘
833 Af: machen würden; also ich finde das is genau das dass du denen im
834 Prinzip genauso wie du (.) wenn du anfängst mit denen Popsongs
835 zu analysieren oder sowas, das kommt echt überhaupt nicht gut an
836 Dm: └ ja:. (.) des mögen die nich ┘
837 Af: weil du nimmst denen ja damit ja irgendwie so=nen
838 Rückzugsbereich weg und ziehst ja
839 Dm: └ ja so=ne Identi::- Identität
840 ja ziehst den so
841 Bf: └ ja ┘
842 Af: in dieses grelle Licht der Analyse und ich glaub
843 @ehrlich gesagt@ nicht dass Schüler
844 Bf: └ und es kommt raus dass es nur aus zwei Akkorden @besteht@
845 Cf: └ @3@ ┘
846 Af: └ @3@ ┘
847 Bf: und dann alle denken wa:::s nein
848 Dm: └ naja. was auch immer das heißen mag aber ja.
849 Af: genau immer Tonika @Dominante Tonika Dominante@

Transcript 3a: The fundament (#2, 180–87)

831 Af: └ indeed, but I don't believe that the students would
832 Df: └ mhm ┘
833 Af: prefer to do that; well I guess that's exactly like, basically
834 like (.) starting to analyze pop songs or something like that
835 with them, they really don't appreciate that
836 Em: └ yeah:. (.) they don't like that ┘
837 Af: because, somehow, you take them away such a
838 protected space and you're pulling
839 Em: └ yes, such=an identi::-Identity yes you're
840 pulling that
841 Df: └ yes ┘
842 Af: in this bright light of analysis and
843 @to be honest@ I don't think that students
844 Df: └ And it turns out that it only @has two chords@
845 Cf: └ @3@ ┘
846 Af: └ @3@ ┘
847 Df: and everybody thinks wha:::t no
848 Em: └ well. whatever that means but yes.
849 Af: Exactly always tonic @dominant tonic dominant@

Transcript 3b: English translation of Transcript 3a

In addition to the focus on a selected repertoire in music lessons, in many passages of our material we see an emphasis on cognitive approaches to music in the teaching of the participants. The following passage is an example for that modus operandi:

495 Ef: dann schwören sie sich alle nur noch ein auf
496 irgendwie keine Ahnung
497 Af: └ Jugendkultur ┘
498 Ef: öh-öh-öh Ed Sheeran oder so ja und des äh war=s dann; gell.

Transcript 4a: Bright light of analysis (#3, 831–49)

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495  Ef: and then they all swear themselves
496      to like no idea
497  Af: └ youth culture ┘
498  Ef: uh-uh-uh Ed Sheeran or whatever and that's it; isn't it.
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Transcript 4b: English translation of Transcript 4a

Af validates ("indeed" ["total"], 831) the thought experiment of Cf on teaching Arabic music instead of baroque music, but immediately starts to say the opposite. She questions whether the students would "prefer to do that" ["lieber machen würden"] (833) and compares it with the students' aversion to analyzing pop songs. Dm validates her argument (836). His validation of the opposite viewpoint can be interpreted as a shared orientation pattern of the two participants. Both of them judge Cf's thought experiment as a non-realistic option for action, affirming their practice of focusing on Western art music (see above).

Af continues her elaboration in the mode of an argumentation by stating that analyzing pop songs in lessons means to take the students away a "protected space" ["Rückzugsbereich"] (838). This is validated by Dm and Bf. Af uses the metaphor "bright light of analysis" ["grelle Licht der Analyse"] (842) as an illustration of the music lesson practice. In the context of the discussion it is used as a negative counter image ("counter-horizon"[6] [Bohnsack 2010, 119]) to the private engagement with pop music that was characterized by words like "protected space" ["Rückzugsbereich"] and "identity" ["Identität"] by the participants. Even though Af starts laughing during her confirmation of her own argument (843), the negative connotation of this metaphor for their teaching practice is not questioned by the participants. Instead Bf continues her narration, adding that "it turns out that it only @has two chords@"[7] (844). Her mocking is validated by laughter and continued by Af (849). Dm doubts Af's position but changes his position by validating his colleagues' position (848).

This excerpt illustrates that the teachers share the orientation concerning analyzing music as a common modus operandi of the music lessons. Analyzing and understanding music can be viewed as an implicit goal of the music lessons in homologous passages even though the teachers, especially those in school #3, highlight that students "really like the practical approach" ["die [mögen] eigentlich diesen praktischen Zugang total"] (#3, 853) and identify strongly with music they know from playing it.

Another orientation that becomes apparent in this excerpt is the teachers' practice of distancing themselves from learners' pop music culture by devaluing the quality of the students' music. In this example, implicit criteria used to judge the pop song are drawn from the quality criteria of the Western art music canon (the complexity of the harmony). This shows that in their professional practice the teachers are guided by an implicit normative concept of culture (Barth 2008) that rates Western art music higher than pop music. In homologous passages students' musical taste is devalued and teachers clearly distance themselves from youth (music) culture:

6 The orientation framework of a social group is often elaborated by the use of negative or positive counter images ("counter-horizons"). They are used to distinguish their own norms, habits or orientations patterns from those of others. A group of teenagers for example describes the way of living of a young teacher to illustrate how they do not want to live in the future (Bohnsack 2014, 137–39).

7 @...@ = spoken while laughing.

180 Bm: natürlich hab [ich] ne starke Begründung in dem ich sage (.) das
181 is sozusagen die Grundlage aus der hat sich auch die Musik
182 die wir jetzt eh machen in sehr hohem Maße entwickelt.
183 ne? also das das starke Argument hab ich.
184 aber auf der andern Seite wiederum
185 die Koreaner die ich im Unterricht habe; (.) die machen ja keine
186 traditionelle koreanische Musik die machen ja
187 die spielen ja auch ihren Brahms.

Transcript 5a: Ed Sheeran or whatever (#2, 495–97)

180 Bm: of course I have a strong argument when I say that
181 this is the fundament from which also the music
182 we play today has developed to a great extent.
183 no? that is the strong argument I have.
184 on the other hand
185 the Koreans I have in class; (.) they don't make
186 traditional Korean music they make
187 they also play their Brahms.

Transcript 5b: English translation of Transcript 5a

In our data we find further evidence for this pattern. But the practice of illustrating the differences between the learners' musical practices and the common repertoire of the music lesson is not limited to pop music. In group discussion #1 (722–41), the teachers report on students who commute to school from surrounding villages and play brass instruments in local wind bands. The teachers perceive that these students are ashamed of talking about this practice in school; they seem to differentiate between their private social contexts in the rural setting, and the urban social world of their school. The teachers also devalue these musical practices.

However, distinguishing between musical practices outside school and those in a school context is not only a common practice for students. One female teacher in the group discussion #2 reported on an experience where she did not dare to tell people in school that she attended a Red Hot Chili Peppers concert, as she felt that this would be inappropriate in the context of an institution whose curriculum is mainly focusing on Western art music. This example shows that she is implicitly sharing her institution's music cultural orientation even though she reflects on the narrow canon of the school as problematic. This is another example of the typical conflict between the implicit knowledge and an explicit accessible social norm, both important parts of the framework of orientation that guides everyday practice (Bohnsack 2017, 54–56). The examples illustrate that drawing lines of demarcation between musical practices inside and those outside schools is a pattern of social practice that is constructed since teachers and students are all members of the "common space of experience" (Bohnsack 2010, 105), that is, school.

Discussion and Further Thoughts

The results of this study confirm the gap between students' musical interests and practices in everyday life and school music education which focuses on the Western art music canon as well as on cognitive learning in the music lessons, congruent with the findings of other studies (Hargreaves and Marshall 2003, Pfeiffer 2013, Kruse 2016). However, we provide new quali-

tative insights into the patterns of orientation that guide music teachers when dealing with students' personal musical interests and youth music cultures in school. Furthermore, our research has clarified the powerful position music teachers have in the educational system. Their choices of the repertoire for music lessons contribute to reproducing a structural social injustice in the educational system parallel to the thematic focus in schoolbooks and lesson material (Ahlers 2016, Ahlers and Zuther 2015). Our findings also parallel the unjust power relations caused by the thematic focus on Western art music in the National Curriculum in England illustrated by Wright and Davies (2010). In contrast to their findings, our research shows the strong discrepancies between music teachers' everyday teaching practice and goals formulated in recent German Curricula, and the demands for a more learner-centered repertoire and an orientation toward youth music cultures in educational institutes. These were noted, by researchers, years ago (Müller 2004) and have been repeated more recently (Kelly-MacHale 2013, Karlsen and Westerlund 2015, Spruce 2015, Stöger and Geuen 2017).

In regard to the German music education system our findings also should be discussed in a broader perspective, to avoid our research being misunderstood as some kind of "teacher bashing". However, the fact that we present music teachers' shared orientations independent of individual motives, and that our central findings are homologous for all three cases which represent very different secondary school contexts, indicate that the orientations are strongly framed by the institutional role of music teachers. This is confirmed by the differences between teachers' private musical practices and their repertoire focus in school, as well as the conflict between their actual practice and common-sense theories. Our findings are evidence of structural issues in the German music educational system. Wright (2010, 2015) described "school music as hegemonic practice" (Wright 2010, 263) and points out that the process of hegemony in schools "reproduces cultural and economic dominance in society" (ibid., 273) which leads to social injustice and social exclusion. Our results illustrated how music teachers' implicit knowledge that orients everyday teaching practice excludes learners' interests and leads to an affirmation of a musical repertoire selection that favors the members of the upper- and upper-middle class. Access to Western art music requires cultural capital and, as parents in Germany usually have to pay for private music lessons, economic capital.

But again, reasons for that cannot be ascribed solely to individual music teachers. How music teachers act on a day-to-day basis is, for instance, highly influenced by their music teacher training. Discussing whether higher music education has adapted to social change or not, Wright concludes:

> If higher music education were to have adapted to social change therefore, one might expect corresponding changes to appear in the form of broader repertoires and forms of pedagogy to reflect a general societal expansion of cultural taste. In compulsory education in many countries, other than the Nordic countries, however one sees a higher music education that still reflects an uncritical assumption of the superiority of western art music and reifies musics and musicians, languages and literatures, to reproduce an outdated cultural hegemony. (Wright 2018, 18)

Christopher Wallbaum (2010) observes a focus on Western art music, especially in German music teacher training programs. By developing a typology of music teachers in a European comparison, he characterized the typical music teacher in Germany as a "semiprofessional musician Classical" that "only plays notated music" but "is interested in all music" (ibid., 275). The Western art music focus of German music teachers becomes obvious in comparison

to the characterization of the typical music teacher from Norway who is a "professional musician [in] Jazz or Rock and amateurish classic" or from Sweden or The Netherlands who are characterized as "professional school-musician; amateurish pop and Folk; knowledge about classic" (ibid.). Wallbaum concludes that "an applicant for music teacher training at a German University of Music barely stands a chance of gaining entry if s/he has not taken classical private lessons for years" (ibid., 272, translated by the authors). Often trained in Music Universities, higher secondary music teachers need this focus to get access to music teacher training programs and then they often deepen this specialization during their studies. Even though the access to teacher training for pop musicians and the opportunities to specialize in different music styles has become easier in recent years, opening up the repertoire and the range of music cultural orientations in secondary music teacher training, especially in music universities, is still an important task for the future (Buchborn 2019, Buchborn and Völker 2019, Ahlers 2016, Pabst-Krüger 2015).

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Abstract (English)

In this study, we reconstruct German secondary music teachers' strategies for dealing with learners' (pop) music culture(s) in music lessons as well as shared implicit and explicit knowledge that underpins this practice and orientates teachers in their everyday teaching. Findings arise from data collected in group discussions analyzed with the help of the documentary method (Bohnsack 2014). Our study shows differences between learners' and teachers' (implicit) conceptions of the goals and the content of music lessons in school, especially with regard to the different notions of the value of pop music. It seems to be an everyday practice in school to functionalize pop music and positioning Western art music higher than other musical styles included in lessons. This is combined with an orientation toward the analysis of music as a common modus operandi. Our findings confirm the gap between students' musical

interests and practices in everyday life and school music education. This leads us to discuss the power relations in the educational system and the structures that cause social injustice, as well as new perspectives on music teacher training and music education in schools to face these issues in the future.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Im vorliegenden Beitrag rekonstruieren wir, wie Musiklehrer*innen an deutschen Gymnasien mit den Musikinteressen von Schüler*innen sowie mit Musikkulturen von Jugendlichen im Unterricht umgehen und welche impliziten und expliziten Wissensbestände dieses alltägliche Unterrichtshandeln leiten. Als Datenbasis dienen uns Gruppendiskussionen, die wir mit Hilfe der dokumentarischen Methode interpretieren (Bohnsack, 2014). Unsere Ergebnisse verweisen auf gegensätzliche (implizite) Vorstellungen von den Zielen und Inhalten des schulischen Musikunterrichts von Lehrer*innen und Schüler*innen – insbesondere in Hinblick auf den Umgang mit Popmusik. Es scheint alltägliche Praxis zu sein, Popmusik in der Schule zu funktionalisieren und klassischer Musik gegenüber anderen musikalischen Stilen eine höhere Wertigkeit zuzusprechen. Dies geht mit einem Schwerpunkt auf analytische und kognitive Zugänge zur Musik im Unterricht einher. Unsere Ergebnisse bestätigen damit die Distanz zwischen den musikalischen Interessen und Praxen von Jugendlichen außerhalb der Schule und den Angeboten des Musikunterrichts. Auf dieser Grundlange diskutieren wir einerseits die Machtposition von Lehrenden sowie Strukturen des musikalischen Bildungssystems, die einer gerechten Teilhabe entgegenwirken. Andererseits verweisen wir auf Veränderungen und Neuerungen in der Musiklehrer*innenbildung, durch die die dargestellten Problemen behandelt werden könnten.

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Steffen Just

Zur Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz der Differenz: Inszenierungen von Anderen im populären Musiktheater, 1890–1930

Andere in der populären Musik: Ein Intro

Prozesse der Identitätsbildung sind prekär, konflikthaft und stets politisch. Als kultureller Schauplatz der Artikulation von Identitäten spielt populäre Musik in diese Prozesse hinein, verfestigt und verflüssigt gesellschaftliche Machtverhältnisse, verhandelt Subjektformen und Verkörperungen und tariert damit fortwährend die Grenzen und Hierarchien kultureller Hegemonien aus. Diese Vorgänge haben geschichtliche Dimensionen.

Als Beitrag zu einer historisch geschärften Theorie zur Artikulation von Identitäten in der populären Musik setze ich mich in diesem Text mit den Konstruktionen des Fremden und Exotischen im populären Musiktheater des ausgehenden 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts auseinander. Im Mittelpunkt steht dabei die Beobachtung, dass sich in der populären Musik dieses Zeitraums eine ganze Reihe an Identitätszuschreibungen und -politiken rund um solche Konstruktionen des Fremden und Exotischen herausbildeten. Um darauf einen Zugriff zu erhalten, knüpfe ich an postkoloniale Theorie und die dort etablierten Denkfiguren *The Other/Othering* an. Da im Deutschen hierfür keine einfache Übersetzung existiert, habe ich folgende Lösung gewählt, die der englischsprachigen Verwendung dieser Ausdrücke – insbesondere bei Stuart Hall (1997) – am nächsten kommen soll: Mit Julia Reuters (2002, 20) Übersetzungsvorschlag werde ich im Folgenden von Prozessen der „VerAnderung" (*Othering*) sprechen, und wenn es sich um Fälle konkreter Bühnen-Personifikationen handelt, bezeichne ich diese als Inszenierungen von „Anderen" bzw. von „verAnderten" Subjekten (*Others* also im Plural, weil, wie ich zeigen werde, Personifikationen des Fremden oder Exotischen niemals in nur einer einzigen festgeschriebenen Ausprägung auf der Bühne performt werden bzw. wurden). Die in diesem Text verhandelten Inszenierungen von Anderen fußen auf höchst problematischen Zuschreibungen, mit denen Menschen auf einige wenige, scheinbar essenzielle Eigenschaften reduziert werden (Hall 1997, 257). Oder anders ausgedrückt: Solche „VerAnderungen" gründen auf rassistischen Stereotypen, die keine Entsprechung zu leibhaftigen Individuen oder ganzen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen haben und diese also nur vorgeblich (re)präsentieren. Musiktheatrale Inszenierungen von Anderen sind also fiktiv, aber mitnichten einfach nur als harmloses Spiel zu werten, da nicht zu bestreiten ist, dass rassistische Bühnen(re)präsentationen reale Machtwirkungen entfalten. Sie bereiten den Nährboden für gesellschaftliche Ausschlüsse und können zur Wurzel von Erniedrigung, Hass und Gewalt werden. Aus diesem Grund lokalisiere ich die Inszenierungen von Anderen hier im Spektrum von kolonialen Fantasien und gesellschaftlichen Abwertungshaltungen, argumentiere aber auch, dass damit gesellschaftskritische Körper- und Identitätspolitiken artikuliert werden konnten. Dies ist, wie ich ausführen werde, in der Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz der Differenz begründet.

Ich lege meinen Fokus auf das populäre Musiktheater des Zeitraums von 1890 bis 1930. In diesen Jahrzehnten stand das Musiktheater an der Spitze popmusikalischer Unterhaltungskultur, bevor es ab den späten 1920ern vom allgemeinen Siegeszug der technischen Medien

Radio, Tonfilm und Schallplatte zurückgedrängt wurde. Politisch waren diese Dekaden durch die Hochphase des westlichen Imperialismus geprägt. Ferner stand dieser Zeitraum im Zeichen globaler Migrationsbewegungen, die in den westlichen Gesellschaften mit Prozessen der Urbanisierung wechselwirkten. Auch wenn es zu allen Zeiten Inszenierungen von Anderen in musikalischen Kontexten gegeben hat – ein Befund, der sich diversen postkolonialen Arbeiten zur populären Musik und auch der Operngeschichte entnehmen lässt (McClary 1992; Radano und Bohlman 2000; Born und Hesmondhalgh 2000; Taylor 2007; Locke 2009; Ismaiel-Wendt 2011) –, möchte ich unterstreichen, dass die hier behandelten Inszenierungen von Anderen und die Konstruktionsmechanismen ihrer Differenz aus konkreten geschichtlichen Hintergründen heraus zu verstehen sind: Sie waren mit distinkten Kulturhegemonien und Gesellschaftsformationen der Jahrzehnte um 1900 verwoben. Um dies herauszuarbeiten, synthetisiere ich in diesem Beitrag diverse historische Forschungsbefunde zum populären Musiktheater der Jahrhundertwende und stelle dadurch einen größer angelegten Bezugsrahmen her. Dabei lege ich meinen Fokus auf England, Deutschland und die USA, da der Vergleich dieser drei geopolitischen Imperialmächte ähnliche Dynamiken zu erkennen gibt.

Die Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz der Differenz

Ich begreife Konstruktionen von Anderen im Anschluss an poststrukturalistische und insbesondere postkoloniale Kulturtheorie als Produkte gesellschaftlicher Machtverhältnisse (Bhabha 1994; Hall 1996, 1997; Ahmed 2006). Macht wird aus poststrukturalistischer und postkolonialer Perspektive nicht statisch oder deterministisch verstanden, sondern muss in ihrer Wirkung agonal und kontingent – als Effekt von stetigen Aus-/Neuverhandlungen und Interessenskonflikten – gedacht werden. Bestrebungen von privilegierten Interessensgruppen, eine soziale Ordnung zu errichten, münden fortwährend in Versuchen, Bedeutungen festzuschreiben, allerdings bleiben diese jederzeit potenziell wandel- und anfechtbar. Diese Unabschließbarkeit von Bedeutungen erzeugt auch die Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz, die ich in diesem Text herausarbeite.

Kulturelle Sinnstrukturen, so folge ich Stuart Hall, verhandeln und produzieren Bedeutungen grundsätzlich durch Klassifizierungen, die essenzielle Gegensätze zwischen Dingen, Eigenschaften und Menschen behaupten: „[C]ulture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions in a classificatory system. The making of ‚difference' is thus the making of that symbolic order which we call culture" (Hall 1997, 236). Diese symbolischen Ordnungen fördern Kartografien aus Unterschieden zutage, in die einzelne Menschen sowohl in Selbst- wie auch in Fremdzuschreibung eingelassen sind. Solche Unterscheidungen fußen auf einem Ausschlussprinzip: Was nicht männlich ist, ist weiblich, was nicht natürlich ist, ist künstlich, was nicht kultiviert ist, ist primitiv, und vice versa. Diese scheinbar unvereinbaren Gegensätze verhalten sich konstitutiv zueinander, da das Diesseitige nur über den Ausschluss eines Jenseitigen entstehen kann. Die postkoloniale Theorie spricht hier von Differenzrelationen: Der positive Pol einer Dichotomie kann immer nur in Bezug auf sein komplementäres Außen, dem negativen Pol, gebildet werden (Hall 1996, 4–5).

In westlichen Gesellschaften werden Subjekte durch solche diskursiv erzeugten Differenzen hervorgebracht, die ihnen kollektiv verbindliche Formen der Identität zuschreiben. Von komplexen Kartografien aus Differenzen ist deshalb zu sprechen, weil sich die Konstruktion von

Identität nicht nur auf eine einzige Dichotomie reduzieren lässt. Die Gegensatzpaare einer Dichotomie sind in eine ganze Matrix von binär strukturierten Bedeutungsmarkern eingelassen. So produzieren symbolische Ordnungen etwa Gegensatzpaare wie männlich–weiblich, jung–alt oder Schwarz–*weiß*. Diese Dichotomien werden miteinander verknüpft, so dass sich deren Pole kreuzen bzw. gegenseitig verstärken (Laclau und Mouffe 2001, 127–34). Im kolonialen Diskurs werden etwa die beiden Dichotomien Kolonisator/Kolonisierte*r und kultiviert/primitiv in gemeinsamer Verschränkung artikuliert, so dass der Kolonisator zum kultivierten Kolonisatoren und die*der Kolonisierte zum*zur primitiven Kolonisierte*n wird. Weiterhin wird diese Unterscheidung oft mit geschlechtlichen Attribuierungen versehen: Der Kolonisator ist dann nicht nur kultiviert, sondern auch männlich/aktiv, während die Kolonisierte als weiblich/passiv vorgestellt wird. Durch solche Verwebungen von Differenzen entstehen ganze Bedeutungsgeflechte aus voneinander abgrenzbaren Zonen. Auch kommt es auf diese Weise zu Interdependenzen von Differenzen, wie sie seit den Arbeiten von Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) unter dem Begriff Intersektionalität diskutiert werden: Im *weiß*-patriarchalen Herrschaftsdiskurs etwa kämpfen Frauen of Color, auf Grund ihres nicht-*weiß*en Status *und* ihres Geschlechts, also wegen ihrer zweifachen Differenz zur gesellschaftlich dominanten Subjektposition *weißer* Männlichkeit, gegen eine doppelte Diskriminierung. Differenzen sind hier als „ungleichheitsgenerierende Kategorien“ (Degele und Winkler 2009, 10) oder „Überkreuzungen verschiedener Formen von Diskriminierung“ (Ganz und Hausotter 2020, 10) miteinander verzahnt.

Für Prozesse der „VerAnderung“ bedeutet das nun: Erstens erzeugen diese Kartografien aus Differenzen überhaupt erst konkrete Subjektformen, denn sie machen diese innerhalb einer kulturellen Sinnstruktur intelligibel. Zweitens werden über Differenzrelationen gesellschaftliche Hierarchien errichtet und aufrechterhalten. Dichotomien sind, darauf hat Jacques Derrida (1972) hingewiesen, grundsätzlich machtbeladen und produzieren Privilegien und Ausschlüsse, da immer eine Seite des Pols für vollwertig, akzeptabel oder erstrebenswert erklärt wird, während die andere als mangelhaft, inakzeptabel oder vermeidungswürdig gilt. Damit folgen diese Kartografien der Logik von Hegemonien, d.h. dem Machtanspruch einer privilegierten Gruppe, eine Subjektvorstellung zur alternativlosen Norm zu erklären. Davon abweichende Subjektvorstellungen werden im gleichen Zuge delegitimiert. Wie Andreas Reckwitz (2006) in seiner umfassenden Studie *Das hybride Subjekt* zeigt, haben westliche Gesellschaften zu unterschiedlichen Zeitabschnitten der Moderne historisch spezifische Vorstellungen eines hegemonialen Subjekts artikuliert, während sie andere Vorstellungen eines Subjekts als minderwertig abgewertet haben. Die hegemoniale Subjektform vereint die positiv konnotierten Attribuierungen in sich, mit Reckwitz gesprochen handelt es sich hier um den Entwurf eines Selbst, während davon abweichende Subjektformen die negativ konnotierten Attribuierungen in sich vereinen und als Entwürfe von Anderen bezeichnet werden können (ebd., 43–50).

Diese Anderen nehmen also all jene Attribuierungen auf, die in diskursiv produzierten Dichotomien für mangelhaft erklärt werden. Sie dienen dem Selbst als Negativfolie, durch die es Vorstellungen erzeugt, welche Eigenschaften es nicht ausprägen sollte, welche Verhaltensweisen tunlichst gemieden werden sollten. Das ist die eine Seite der Medaille, der erste Aspekt der Doppelstruktur der Differenz.

Es gibt eine zweite Seite, denn das Bild der Anderen gleicht einem Vexierbild, das zwischen Aversion und Faszination hin und her kippen kann. Die den Anderen zugeschriebenen negativen Eigenschaften und Verhaltensweisen soll das Selbst nicht inkorporieren, da sie als verdor-

ben und Tabu gelten. Und genau hier liegt eine Faszination für die Anderen begründet, eine, wie Sara Ahmed schreibt: „fantasy of lack, of what is ‚not here,' shapes the desire for what is ‚there'" (Ahmed 2006, 114). Dies ist die Kippperspektive des Vexierbildes: Indem es sich gegen seine Negativfolie spiegelt und abgrenzt, wird das Selbst trotz der ihm zugesprochenen Privilegien von einem konstitutiven Mangel heimgesucht, da ihm bestimmte Verhaltensweisen untersagt werden. Es projiziert deshalb sein Begehren auf die Anderen, die diese unsittlichen Verhaltensweisen verkörpern dürfen bzw. in der hegemonialen Logik des dichotom verfassten Koordinatensystems sogar geradezu verkörpern müssen. Die Anderen „leben" gewissermaßen all diejenigen Eigenschaften, die das Selbst von sich abstreift. Blickt das Selbst auf die Anderen, so erblickt es darin immer sein verworfenes Spiegelbild, seine unterdrückten Lüste und nicht-lebbaren Fantasien. So entsteht ein Verhältnis zwischen Selbst und Anderen, das zwischen Attraktion und Bedrohung, Bewunderung und Ekel changiert, wie Homi Bhabha betont (1994, 72). Das Selbst bildet sich in der Doppelstruktur der Differenz, also im gleichzeitigen Abgestoßen- und Angezogen-sein in Bezug auf ein imaginiertes Gegenüber.

Bhabha weist zudem darauf hin, dass dieser grundsätzlich nicht fixierbare Status der Anderen auch dazu führen kann, dass Subjekt(re)präsentationen den eindeutigen Entweder-Oder-Zuordnungen entgleiten und in Zwischenräumen („third spaces") Platz nehmen, die aus Sicht gesellschaftlicher Herrschaftsstrukturen beunruhigend sind, weil sie nicht mehr von der Logik der Differenzen reguliert werden können (ebd., 111–22). Hier lagert das Potenzial von Widerständigkeit, da die Subjekte des Zwischenraums sich einer eindeutigen Bestimmbarkeit entziehen und somit die hegemonialen Essenzialisierungsbestrebungen grundlegend verwirren können. Wenn Menschen sich diesen Zwischenraum strategisch zu eigen machen, entziehen sie dem kolonialen Diskurs seine Autorität und fordern dessen „rules of recognition" (ebd., 114) heraus. Damit legen sie Bedeutungsstrukturen frei, die von hegemonialen Repräsentationsmustern nicht benannt werden.

Mit diesen theoretischen Grundgedanken fokussiere ich folgend die Musiktheaterbühne als Produktions- und Aushandlungsraum von Differenzen, da hier wirkmächtige Bilder und Klänge von „Rasse", Klasse, Geschlecht und anderen Identitätsmarkern erzeugt werden.

Struktur, Formate und Konventionen des populären Musiktheaters, 1890–1930

In den rapide wachsenden Städten des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts entstand in Europa und Nordamerika eine moderne Massenkultur mit boomenden Märkten für kommerzielle Live-Musikunterhaltung (Erenberg 1981, Maase 1997, Morat et al. 2016). Historiker*innen haben aufgearbeitet, wie sich in diesen Jahren eine komplex organisierte Musiktheaterindustrie formierte, die bis in die 1920er Jahre die Speerspitze des professionellen Musikentertainments bildete (Snyder 1989, 26–81; Erdman 2004, 43–81; Becker 2014, 293–394). Die neu entstehenden Angebote richteten sich verstärkt an ethnisch diverse, klassen- und geschlechterübergreifende Zielgruppen. Ein historisches Novum war etwa der gezielte Einbezug des weiblichen Publikums (Peiss 1986; Becker 2014, 225–228), das in den ersten beiden Dritteln des 19. Jahrhunderts noch von vielen populären Unterhaltungsformen ausgegrenzt wurde, wie z.B. in den amerikanischen Minstrel Shows, in denen Männer auf der Bühne exklusiv für Männer im Publikum performten (Lott 1993). Zur Jahrhundertwende lockten viele Theater nun mit erschwinglichen

Eintrittspreisen und brüsteten sich mit einer inklusiven Unterhaltungs-Agenda (Kibler 1999, 23–54). In Anbetracht dieser massenkulturellen Relevanz des Theaters, das hier noch vor dem Durchbruch der technischen Medienindustrie zu einem „Leitmedium" wurde, argumentiert die Theaterwissenschaftlerin Frederike Gerstner, dass sich die Theaterbühne im ausgehenden 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert zu einem zentralen Ort der kulturellen „Zirkulation, Reproduktion und Vervielfältigung von Bildern, Figuren, Szenen und Motiven" entwickelte (Gerstner 2017, 47). Das Musiktheater war somit fest in der Logik gesellschaftlicher Differenzproduktion verankert und entsprechend mit (Re)Präsentationsmustern von Subjekten verbunden.

Charakteristisch für das damalige populäre Musiktheater war seine Disruptivität. Studien betonen, dass die Unterhaltung hier – im krassen Gegensatz zu den bürgerlichen Opern- und Dramatheaterbühnen – im Modus des Karnevalesken und der Farce stattfand (Jenkins 1992, 28–54; Otte 2006, 258–59). Die damals wichtigsten Musiktheaterformate Vaudeville (USA), Music Hall (UK), Varieté und Posse (D), Burlesque und Musical Comedy (USA, UK) und Revue (USA, UK, D) setzten auf ein schnelllebiges Nummernformat. In Vaudeville, Music Hall und Varieté bestand das Programm ausschließlich aus der Aneinanderreihung von kurzen, meist ungefähr zehn- bis fünfzehnminütigen Einzel-Acts. Auch in den anderen Formaten gab es, wenn überhaupt, nur rudimentär größer angelegte Handlungen (Posse, Burlesque, Musical Comedy) oder Themen (Revue), so dass auch hier die eigentlichen Grundelemente aus Abfolgen von oft völlig zusammenhangslosen Song-, Tanz- und Sketcheinlagen bestanden. So durchlief eine Musiktheatershow typischerweise viele kontrastreiche Settings, was zu Inszenierungen von Exotismen und fremdartigen Orten einlud. Der US-amerikanische Musiktheaterstar William DeWolf Hopper beschrieb dies in seiner Autobiografie von 1927 folgendermaßen:

> In musical comedy the story and the score often were as friendly as the North and South of Ireland. Either they ignored each other, or the story was kept leaping madly from the cane fields of Louisiana to Greenland's icy mountains, to India's coral strands, and back to a Montana ranch by way of the Bowery, to keep up with the changing costumes of the chorus. The peasants and soldiers, having rollicked a Heidelberg drinking song gave way for a moment to the low comedy of a Cincinnati brewer and the English silly ass in love with the heroine, and were back as cotton pickers cakewalking to the strains of Georgia Camp Meeting. (Hopper und Stout 1927, 56)

In diesen schnelllebigen Nummernformaten dominierte wechselhaftes Maskenspiel: Performer*innen schlüpften in Kostüme und Masken und porträtierten stereotype, groteske und mehr als oft rassistisch überzeichnete Subjekte, die aufgrund dieser Überzeichnung binnen weniger Sekunden vom Publikum zu erkennen waren. Das funktionierte in der Kurzweiligkeit des Musiktheaters besonders gut, wie Henry Jenkins mit Bezug auf irische Stereotype im Vaudeville ausführt:

> [A] stock Irishman could be recognized by a collarless shirt, an oversized vest, a pair of loose workman's pants with a rope belt, a battered hat, all predominantly green; a red wig and a set of red (or sometimes, green) whiskers arranged as a fringe around the face; a propensity for epithets and slang, a sing-song vocal pattern, and a thick brogue. The redundancy with which these accumulated features marked a stage character as a stock Irishman allowed almost instant recognition; spectators could just as immediately draw assumptions about the character's propensity to drink, his fiery temper, his sentimental nature, and his love of tall tales and loud laughter. (Jenkins 1992, 70–71)

Der Rassismus und Klassismus hinter dieser Stereotypisierung kann gar nicht deutlich genug betont werden. Dennoch fielen derartige Überzeichnungen weitaus vielschichtiger aus, als sie auf den ersten Blick erscheinen. In den Inszenierungen von „verAnderten" Bühnenfiguren äußerte sich die oben beschriebene Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz der Differenz. Ich werde im Folgenden zeigen, inwiefern – erstens – diese Inszenierungen koloniale Machtstrukturen und die Kulturhegemonie der *weiß*-bürgerlichen und patriarchalen Gesellschaft des ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts reproduzierten. Zweitens diskutiere ich, inwiefern Performer*innen Formen der „VerAnderung" performativ einsetzten und umdeuteten, um die Normen ebenjener Gesellschaft herauszufordern.

Koloniale Fantasien

Eine erste Erklärung für die Omnipräsenz rassistischer Stereotype lässt sich mit Blick auf globalpolitische Verhältnisse geben. In den Dekaden um 1900 befand sich der westliche Imperialismus in seiner historischen Hochphase, die der Historiker Eric Hobsbawn als „The Age of Empire" bezeichnet hat: Weite Teile der Welt unterstanden der direkten Herrschaft oder dem informellen Protektorat einiger weniger Imperialmächte, zu denen neben Frankreich, den Niederlanden, Belgien, Italien, Japan, Portugal und Spanien auch Großbritannien, Deutschland und die USA gehörten (Hobsbawn 1987, 56–83). In europäischen und nordamerikanischen Diskursen verbreiteten sich (Re)Präsentationsmuster, die Herrschaftsansprüche über die kolonisierten Territorien legitimieren sollten. Die Dekaden rund um die Jahrhundertwende zeitigten eine enorme Anhäufung kolonialer Reiseberichte in anthropologischen Fachzeitschriften (Samson 2005, 68–90). „Entdeckungsfahrten" kartografierten den Globus gemäß westlicher Überlegenheitsvorstellungen, und auf Weltausstellungen und Jahrmärkten sowie in Zirkussen und Zoos fanden so genannte „Völkerschauen" statt, um dem „Wissen" über die Kolonisierten eine öffentlichkeitswirksame Sichtbarkeit zu verleihen (Blanchard et al. 2008).

Edward Saïd (1978) hat solche westlichen (Re)Präsentationsmuster mit dem prominent gewordenen Terminus „Orientalismus" bezeichnet. Die musiktheatralen Inszenierungen von Anderen sind Teil dieser zeitgenössischen Orientalismus-Diskurse, denn auch die Musiktheaterbühnen der Jahrzehnte um 1900 förderten einen, wie Frederike Gerstner schreibt, „‚Bilderatlas' ferner Regionen und Kulturen" zutage (Gerstner 2017, 46). Derart trug das Musiktheater zur Artikulation westlicher Herrschaftsansprüche und zeitgenössischer Rasseideologien bei und hielt koloniale Machtstrukturen aufrecht, die kulturellen Paternalismus, politische Unterdrückung und ökonomische Ausbeutung legitimierten.

Die kolonialen Verstrickungen des Musiktheaters werden beim genaueren Blick auf die Bühnen Englands, Deutschlands und der Vereinigten Staaten deutlich. Hinsichtlich der Stücke des Londoner West End Theaters stellt Tobias Becker (2017, 183–86) fest, dass hier „asiatische" Motive besonders populär waren. Das britische Empire hegte starke koloniale Interessen auf der arabischen Halbinsel, dem indischen Subkontinent sowie in Südostasien und China und sah im aufstrebenden Japan einen lokalen Kontrahenten seiner eigenen Herrschaftsansprüche. Bühnenfantasien von orientalisierten Anderen schlugen sich in zahlreichen englischen Operetten und Musical Comedies nieder, darunter die kommerziell überaus erfolgreichen Stücke „The Mikado" (1885, Musik: Arthur Sullivan, Text: William Schwenk Gilbert), „The Geisha" (1896, Musik: Sidney Jones, Text: Harry Greenbank), „San Toy, or The Emporer's Own" (1899,

Musik: Sidney Jones, Text: Harry Greenbank und Adrian Ross), „A Chinese Honeymoon“ (1901, Musik: Howard Talbot und Ivan Caryll, Text: Harry Greenbank), „The Cingalee“ (1905, Musik: Lionel Monckton, Text: Adrian Ross und Percy Greenbank) und „Chu Chin Chow“ (1916, Musik: Frederic Norton, Text: Oscar Asche).[1] „Arabische“, „indische“ und „ostasiatische“ Figuren wurden in diesen Stücken von *weißen* Performer*innen in klischeehaften Kostümen, mit geschminkten Gesichtern und Charaktereigenschaften in Szene gesetzt und etwa in „The Mikado“ (Knapp 2005, 250–60) oder „Chu Chin Chow“ (Everett 2007) als blutrünstige Krieger oder intrigante Schurken gezeichnet, die sich in politische Komplotte, Verschwörungen und kriminelle Machenschaften verwickeln und dabei nicht vor Mord und Totschlag zurückschrecken. Derartige Inszenierungen von orientalisierten Charakteren und Handlungsschauplätzen gehörten zum beständig wiederkehrenden Element im Londoner Musiktheater. Mit der ungewöhnlich langen Spielzeit von fünf Jahren (1916–1920) stellte „Chu Chin Chow“, gemessen an der Anzahl der Aufführungen (2238) und Zuschauer*innen, gar einen historischen Rekord in Großbritannien auf, der erst rund vierzig Jahre später vom Musical „Salad Days“ (1954, Musik: Julian Slade, Text: Dorothy Reynolds und Julian Slade) gebrochen wurde.

Abb. 1: Postkarte mit Hauptdarsteller Oscar Asche in „Chu Chin Chow“, 1916 (Foto: F. W. Burford). Quelle: Wikimedia Commons, commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Asche_in_Chu_Chin_Chow.jpg.

Adaptionen dieser englischen Produktionen tourten auch mit Erfolgen in Deutschland. Für das Musiktheater des Deutschen Kaiserreichs, das im Vergleich zum britischen Empire weniger stark als Kolonisator in Asien in Erscheinung trat, beobachtet Becker allerdings, dass das Thema „Asien“ weniger prominent auf den Bühnen vertreten war (Becker 2014, 186). Statt-

1 Bei Bühnenstücken beziehen sich die Jahreszahlen in Klammern immer auf das Jahr der Uraufführung, bei Songtiteln beziehen sie sich auf das Veröffentlichungsjahr.

dessen spielte das Kaiserreich seit den 1880er Jahren im so genannten „Wettlauf um Afrika“ eine bedeutende Rolle und tatsächlich konzentrierten sich Inszenierungen kolonialer Fantasien stärker auf diesen Kontext. Das Schema war jedoch zu den englischen Produktionen identisch, insofern dass auch hier die Inszenierungen koloniale Überlegenheitsvorstellungen untermauerten und die Brutalität und ökonomische Ausbeutung des deutschen Imperialismus beschönigten. Oft wurden darüber hinaus männliche Eroberungsfantasien und Sexismen bedient, indem die deutschen Kolonien als feminisiertes Territorium objektiviert wurden, wie beispielsweise in der Jahresrevue des Berliner Metropoltheaters „Das muß man seh'n!“ (Musik: Viktor Hollaender, Text: Julius Freund) von 1907. In einer Szene trat hier ein „Kolonialwarenhändler“ auf, der dem Publikum fünf Frauen namens „Fräulein Südwest-Afrika, Fräulein Ostafrika, Fräulein Kamerun, Fräulein Samoa und Fräulein Kiautschau“ als „biegsame Figuren“ mit „feurigen Augen“ und „tadellosestem Elfenbein“ präsentierte (ebd., 186–87).

In einigen Inszenierungen kam es durchaus zu konkreten Bezügen auf die deutsche Kolonialpolitik. Becker nennt etwa die Metropoltheater-Revue „Der Teufel lacht dazu“ (1906, Musik: Viktor Hollaender, Text: Julius Freund), in der der deutsche Performer Henry Bender in Blackface[2] als Prinz Akwa von Kamerun nach Berlin kommt, „um sich beim Kolonialamt über den deutschen Gouverneur zu beschweren“ (ebd., 188), was tatsächlich einen Bezug zu einer aktuellen politischen Debatte hatte. 1905 hatte eine Vereinigung von politischen Machthabern der Gesellschaften der Duala, darunter der König Akwa von Bonambela und dessen Sohn Mpundu Akwa (der für die Beschwerde mit einer Delegation nach Deutschland reiste), eine Petition gegen die brutale Kolonialpolitik des Gouverneurs Jesko von Puttkamer gestellt und eine Untersuchung durch die Kolonialregierung verlangt. Die Unterzeichner wurden dafür im Gegenzug von Puttkamer in Kamerun angeklagt und zu Zwangsarbeit und Prügelstrafe verurteilt (Kusser 2013, 239–240). Dieser Fall stieß in der deutschen Öffentlichkeit zwar auf Gehör, wurde aber weitgehend belächelt, so auch in „Der Teufel lacht dazu“. Bei seiner Suche nach dem Kolonialamt trifft Bender in Persona des Prinz Akwa in einer Szene auf den Teufel (gespielt vom österreichischen Schauspieler Josef Giampietro), der sich, gekleidet mit Tropenhut und Reitgerte unterm Arm, auch gerade in Berlin aufhält. In Gegenwart von Akwa singt der Teufel in einem Couplet: „Man bringt verwilderter Nation, Die ohne Zaum und Zügel, Am besten Civilisation, Durch Prügel! Ob andere Methoden man, Auch hier und da erwäge, Es reicht doch schliesslich nicht heran, An Schläge. Gut wirkt ein milder Missionar, Bei Männern, wie bei Frauen, Allein seit je probater war, Das Hauen.“ (zit. n. Becker 2014, 188). Somit kamen diese politischen Vorkommnisse durchaus zur Sprache, was in den Metropoltheater-Revuen nicht unüblich war, da diese regelmäßig leichte Satiren auf die preußische Obrigkeit und Politik einstreuten und politische Geschehnisse mit ironischen oder bissigen Untertönen kommentierten. Becker hebt an diesem Beispiel hervor, dass die textliche Aneinanderreihung von „Prügel“, „Schlägen“ und „Hauen“ die Brutalität der Kolonialherrschaft geradezu überbetonte und dass sich das Publikum damit nicht nur an den Fall Puttkamer, sondern etwa auch an die blutige Niederschlagung des Herero-Aufstandes in Deutsch-Südwestafrika des Jahres 1904 und die inzwischen als Völkermord eingestuften Folgeereignisse erinnern konnte (ebd., 189).

2 Blackface bezeichnet die rassistische Praxis *weißer* Performer*innen, ihr Gesicht durch Ruß oder Schminke dunkel zu färben, um so die Bühnenfigur eines Schwarzen Subjekts in grotesk überzeichneter Form aufzuführen und bloßzustellen. Meist ging dies mit der Entstellung anderer Körperteile einher: Vergrößerungen von Nasen, das Hervorquellen der Lippen- und Augenpartien, zerlumpte oder schlecht passende Kleidung, übergroße Schuhe etc. Blackface wurde mit dem Aufkommen der amerikanischen Minstrel Shows in den 1830er Jahren popularisiert und alsbald auf den Musiktheaterbühnen zur gängigen Konvention (Lott 1993). Durch transatlantischen Verkehr hatte Blackface bereits im 19. Jahrhundert die europäischen Bühnen erreicht und war in allen hier behandelten Musiktheaterformaten der Jahre 1890 bis 1930 weit verbreitet (siehe Lhamon 1998; Gerstner 2017).

Die Revue verschwieg das Thema also nicht und gab einen Kommentar darauf, allerdings in einer Konstellation, in der zwei *weiße* Schauspieler dies auf der Bühne maskenspielerisch zur Darstellung brachten und unter sich verhandelten. Mit Bender bemächtigte sich hier ein *weißer* Performer in Blackface der Position des Kameruner Prinzen, was das koloniale Schema eben nicht unterwanderte, sondern auf ein Neues reproduzierte. Auch wenn diese Inszenierung also einen Bezug zu einem aktuellen politischen Ereignis hatte und einen kolonialpolitischen Konflikt zum Gegenstand machte, wurde der deutsche Kolonialismus als solcher damit nicht in Frage gestellt. Stattdessen wurde, wie Astrid Kusser in ihrer Analyse dieser Revue schreibt, „Widerstand gegen kolonialen Rassismus in einen anzüglichen Witz [verwandelt], der sich im Publikum in lachendes Wohlgefallen auflösen sollte" (Kusser 2013, 242). Eine politische Fundamentalkritik wäre für das Musiktheater der Kaiserzeit auch undenkbar gewesen, da in Preußen eine rigide Zensurpraxis herrschte, die allenfalls leichte Persiflagen auf Politik durchgehen ließ und allzu kritische Stellen aus den Theaterskripten strich (Becker 2014, 60–73). Gerstner stellt heraus, dass die Berliner Theater es generell vermieden, „ernsthaft zu brüskieren oder zu verstimmen" und so dem streng autoritären Einfluss des „monarchischen Obrigkeitsstaats" oftmals durch eine Selbstzensur entgegenkamen (Gerstner 2017, 230).

Mit Blick auf die USA, die in den 1890ern durch die Annexion von Hawaii und Puerto Rico sowie die militärische Besetzung von Kuba und den Philippinen als imperialistische Weltmacht in Erscheinung traten, lässt sich beobachten, wie im Musiktheater Songnummern und Motive aufkamen, die ebenjene neuen Kolonien als naturbelassene Inselparadiese darstellten. Insbesondere Hawaii-Songs mit klischeehaften „hula girls" gehörten bis in die 1920er zum Grundstock des Bühnenrepertoires (Garrett 2008, 165–208). Damit wurde auch Hawaii in Personifikation des „girls" gemäß einer männlichen Eroberungsfantasie als koloniales Terrain feminisiert, sexualisiert und verniedlicht. Tatsächlich bestand ein Grundmotiv vieler dieser Hawaii-Songs in der Ankunft eines amerikanischen Touristen, der sich am Strand von Waikiki in eine Hula-Tänzerin verguckt. Manchmal, wie im Song „Oh! How She Could Yacki Hacki Wicki Wacki Woo (That's Love in Honolulu)" (1916, Musik: Albert Von Tilzer, Text: Stanley Murphy, Chas McCarron; siehe Library of Congress. o.D.), war dann sogar weitaus mehr als nur ein Verguckten angedeutet. Da die Geschichte des Kolonialismus nicht nur mit ökonomischer Ausbeutung, politischer und militärischer Unterjochung, sondern auch zutiefst mit sexueller Gewalt verwoben ist (McClintock 1995, 21–31), ist an diesem Songsujet höchst problematisch, dass die hier scheinbar völlig problemlose Verführung eines *weißen* Mannes durch die Reize und Verlockungen einer „gefügigen" Frau ebenjene Gewalt verschleiert, um nicht zu sagen schön redet.[3]

3 Diese in Serie produzierten Sexismen und Fantasien einer patriarchalen Inbesitznahme wurden von den Strukturen der Musikökonomie systematisch befördert. Denn die Songschmiede der US-amerikanischen Tin Pan Alley, in der diese Songs für das Musiktheater produziert wurden, war fest in den Händen männlicher Songwriter, Texter und Verleger (Suisman 2009, 18–56) – das war im Übrigen auch in der englischen und deutschen Musikindustrie der Fall. Koloniale und ökonomische Strukturen griffen so in diesen Jahren ineinander und festigten das Machtgefälle des Patriarchats.

Abb. 2: Die koloniale und weiß-männliche Hawaii-Fantasie im Sheet Music Cover zum Song „They're Wearing 'em Higher in Hawaii" (1916, Musik: Halsey K. Mohr, Text: Joe Goodwin; Verlag: Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., New York). Quelle: Library of Congress Music Division Washington D.C. www.loc.gov/item/ihas.100007743/.

Popmusikalische Kolonialfantasien regulierten in den USA aber auch die gesellschaftlichen Hierarchien innerhalb der eigenen Landesgrenzen. Tin Pan Alley-Hits – wie etwa „Hiawatha (A Summer Idyl)" (1903, Musik: Neil Moret, Text: James J. O'Dea), „Red Wing" (1907, Musik: F.A. Mills, Text: Thurland Chattaway) oder „Silver Bell" (1910, Musik: Percy Wenrich, Text: Edward Madden; siehe UC Santa Barbara Library. o.D.b) – zeichneten klischeehafte und romantisierte Porträts von Native Americans, die als sanftmütige Subjekte in Einklang mit einer unberührt gelassenen Natur leben (Troutman 2012, 153–60). Nicht nur täuschte dieses Bildnis einer friedvollen „heilen Welt" über die Tatsache hinweg, dass den Native Americans mit der Ratifizierung des so genannten „Dawes Act" von 1887 auferlegt wurde, ihre Siedlungspraxis an die kapitalistische Logik des Privatbesitzes anzupassen, wodurch sie bis zur Aufhebung des Acts im Jahr 1934 ungefähr zwei Drittel ihres Landes verloren und an Souveränität einbüßten (Schultz et al. 2000, 608). Auch äußerte sich im Bild scheinbar glücklich und in harmonischer Einheit mit der „Wildnis" aufgehobener Native Americans die von der Historikerin Anne McClintock identifizierte koloniale Trope eines „anachronistic space", einem von Raum und Zeit der modernen Zivilisation entrückten Ort, an dem die Imaginationen des kolonialen Subjekts eingehegt und auf sicherer Distanz gehalten wurden (McClintock 1995, 40–42). Diese Trope grundierte auch die allgegenwärtige Fantasie der Südstaaten-Plantage, die das US-amerikanische Musiktheater aus der Tradition der Minstrel Shows des 19. Jahrhunderts übernahm und die von den stereotypen Figuren des glücklichen Plantagenarbeiters „Jim Crow" und der devoten Hausangestellten „Mammy" bevölkert wurde. In zahlreichen Revuen und Musical Comedies wurden opulente Plantagenszenen aufgeführt, in denen Performer*innen

in Blackface ausgelassen über die Bühne tanzten (Gerstner 2017, 91–98; Brown 2008, 24–31). Ein spätes Zeugnis liefert der Vitaphone-Kurzfilm „A Plantation Act“ (Warner Bros, 1926; siehe JeffsGreats 2014) mit Superstar Al Jolson, dessen Songnummern nahtlos an das rassistische Jim Crow-Klischee des armen, zerlumpten und dennoch fröhlich tanzenden und singenden Plantagenarbeiters aus den Südstaaten anknüpften.

Solche Inszenierungen boten einem *weißen* (und besonders dem männlichen) Publikum Projektionsflächen, um sich einer selbst behaupteten Überlegenheit zu vergewissern, die wiederum half, die Installation von Kolonialregierungen auf Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Kuba und den Philippinen zu rechtfertigen, paternalistische Assimilationspolitik gegenüber den Native Americans zu betreiben, Formen von rassistischer Gewalt und Lynchjustiz zu verharmlosen und die allgemeine Rassentrennung zwischen Schwarzen und *Weißen* zu legitimieren. Mir sind keine Studien bekannt, die erforscht hätten, ob sich in den Kolonien breitere Widerstandsbewegungen formierten, die diese Repräsentationsmuster des Musiktheaters attackierten. Zumindest im Inland machten von Rassismus betroffene Minderheiten – wie zum Beispiel afroamerikanische Vereinigungen und Schwarze Zeitungen (Abbott und Seroff 2007, 35–37) – ihre Kritik daran laut. Das war jedoch wenn überhaupt nur von kleinen Erfolgen gekrönt: Zwar wurde die Praxis des Blackface im Laufe der Dekaden zunehmend kritischer gesehen, doch blieben solche rassistischen Performancekonventionen bis in die 1920er für das Musiktheater außerordentlich prägend.

Urbanität und Migration

In einer zweiten Hinsicht standen die Inszenierungen des Musiktheaters in Zusammenhang mit zeitgenössischen Migrationsbewegungen. Im späten 19. Jahrhundert entwickelten sich die europäischen und nordamerikanischen Großstädte durch rapide Urbanisierungsschübe zu kulturellen Schmelztiegeln. Auf innerkontinentalen, transatlantischen und transpazifischen Routen zogen Menschen in der Hoffnung auf bessere Lebensbedingungen und Arbeit in Städte wie Chicago, New York, Berlin und London, die zu gigantischen Ballungszentren heranwuchsen. Wurden die eben beschriebenen kolonialen Imaginationen von Anderen in fern-entrückte und exotische (Natur)Welten platziert, so wurden sie in diesem Kontext als Bewohner*innen der modernen Metropole vorstellig: Die Anderen sind hier urban.

Stereotype Figuren ethnisch markierter Städter*innen multiplizierten sich auf den Bühnen des populären Musiktheaters parallel zum Aufkommen von Diskursen, in denen die zunehmende Einwanderung mit zivilisatorischem Verfall gleichgesetzt wurde. In den Vereinigten Staaten schürte etwa der einflussreiche Frontier-Mythos des Historikers Frederick J. Turner xenophobe und rassistische Ressentiments. In seinem erstmals 1893 erschienenen *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1966) warnte Turner vor einer Übervölkerung und Unterwanderung durch fremde Kultureinflüsse, die nicht mehr organisch absorbiert werden könnten. Turners Thesen verlautbarten, dass Einwanderung und Besiedelung zu den konstitutiven Säulen amerikanischer Kultur gehörten und zur Bildung einer genuin amerikanischen Mentalität beigetragen hatten: Amerikanische Werte und der amerikanische Charakter hätten sich stets an der Grenze zwischen zivilisierten und unerschlossenen Gebieten („Frontier“) in Auseinandersetzung mit der „Wildnis“ geformt und gehärtet. Doch nur bis ins späte 19. Jahrhundert hätten sich neu ankommende Siedler*innen qua Landnahme zu „echten“ Amerikaner*innen machen und im Stoff-

wechsel mit der Natur von ihren alten, „mitgebrachten“ Identitäten und Traditionen lösen können. Die Landmasse der USA hatte bis dahin immer noch ausreichend unerschlossenen Raum dafür geboten. Als der US Census im Jahr 1890 die Schließung der Frontier verkündete und damit nun offiziell alle Landstriche der USA für besiedelt erklärt waren, folgerte Turner, dass Zuwanderung nun zum Problem werden müsste, weil neu ankommende Menschen sich jetzt nicht mehr auf „natürlichem“ Wege amerikanisieren könnten und so zwangsläufig in ihren alten „unamerikanischen“ Denkmustern und Lebensweisen stecken bleiben würden. In der Perspektive von Turners Frontier-Mythos – der bis in die 1930er zur Standardtheorie der US-amerikanischen Historiographie und Geschichtsbücher zählte (Susman 2003) – wurden die stetig wachsenden und von Zuwanderung geprägten Großstädte zum Sinnbild eines Auffangbeckens und Horts von ethnisch diversen und nicht-integrierbaren „fremden“ Einflüssen.

Zeitgleich brachte das Tin Pan Alley-Songrepertoire eine Unmenge Klischees ethnisierter Städter*innen hervor, etwa afro-amerikanische Glückspieler*innen und Tunichtsgute, betrunkene und raufende Ir*innen oder temperamentvolle und laute Italiener*innen (Hamm 1997, 22–101; UC Santa Barbara Library. o.D.a). Hatten Deutsche und Ir*innen bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts die zahlenmäßig größten Einwanderungsgruppen gestellt, nahm zur Jahrhundertwende vor allem der Anteil aus süd- und osteuropäischen Gebieten (z.B. Italien, Russland, Griechenland, Serbien und den Balkangebieten Österreich-Ungarns) zu. Gleichzeitig stieg durch eine verstärkte *Black migration* aus den ländlichen Südstaaten der Anteil von Afro-Amerikaner*innen in den nördlichen Metropolen. Wie Jennifer Mooney in ihrer Studie zu irischen Vaudeville-Stereotypen anmerkt, verschob sich dadurch auch der Fokus stärker auf diese nicht-angelsächsischen und nicht-protestantischen Gruppen (besonders osteuropäische Einwander*innen hatten oft einen jüdischen Hintergrund):

> [T]he Irish were not the only group to be stereotyped by vaudeville performers. Dutch or German characters were also common, and by the 1880s and 1890s, as „new“ immigrants from Italy and Eastern Europe began to arrive in America in greater numbers, Italian and Jewish characters began to replace the Irish and Germans in vaudeville songs and sketches. Black Americans, of course, continued to be represented by white performers in blackface as vaudeville continued the traditions of the minstrel show. Vaudeville performers often assumed multiple ethnic and racial identities in their shows. The Polish-born team of Weber and Fields, for example, began their careers performing in blackface, in Dutch and Irish costumes and speaking in various dialects. Their opening theme song would announce „Here we are a colored pair,“ „an Irish pair,“ or a „Dutch pair“ as appropriate. (Mooney 2015, 41)

Diese urbanen, (zumeist) nicht-angelsächsischen und nicht-protestantischen Anderen der Vaudeville-Bühnen wurden als ungehemmte, hedonistische und lasterhafte Subjekte vorgestellt. Es war nicht unüblich, dass Performer*innen in gespielter Trunkenheit über die Bühne torkelten und komische Standups in Pseudo-Dialekten, „wilde“ Tanzeinlagen oder Slapstick-Prügeleien in ihre Songnummern einbauten, um das Publikum zum Lachen zu bringen. Diese zur Schau gestellte Exzentrik und Exzessivität hielt die Bühnenfiguren auf Distanz zu puritanischen Werten und bürgerlicher Etikette, wie Henry Jenkins (1992) und M. Alison Kibler (1999) in ihren Untersuchungen zum Vaudeville-Humor herausgearbeitet haben. Wurden die oben beschriebenen Inszenierungen der kolonialen Anderen mit Verweis auf deren Naturzugehörigkeit auf Abstand zu *weiß*-hegemonialen Subjektvorstellungen und Zivilisation positioniert, so wurden Inszenierungen der urbanen Anderen vor allem mit Eigenschaften versehen, die ihnen die Anpassungsfähigkeit an ein zivilisiertes Stadtleben absprachen.

Auch auf den deutschen Bühnen kam es zu solchen Inszenierungen urbaner Anderer. Besonders jüdische Stereotype waren hier präsent. In den Dekaden rund um die Jahrhundertwende waren deutsche Großstädte von einer verstärkten jüdischen Migration geprägt, wie der Historiker Thomas Brechenmacher konstatiert:

> Das deutsche Judentum […] war seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts zunehmend und schließlich dominant ein großstädtisches Judentum. […] Während der Weimarer Republik kamen im Schnitt zwischen 70 und 75 Prozent der jüdischen Kinder in Großstädten zur Welt. (Brechenmacher 2011, 128)

De jure war Menschen jüdischen Glaubens im Deutschen Kaiserreich (1871–1918) das volle Anrecht auf Staatsbürgerschaft und auf die Ausübung sämtlicher Berufe zugesprochen worden, de facto blieben antisemitische Ausgrenzungen an der Tagesordnung. So waren etwa sozialer Aufstieg und das Bekleiden prestigeträchtiger Posten in Politik, Wissenschaft und Bildung die Ausnahme, wie Brechenmacher hinzufügt. Entsprechend war auf den Musiktheaterbühnen das Stereotyp der*des jüdischen Städters*in verbreitet, die*der um soziale Anerkennung bemüht ist und sich – gemäß eines verbreiteten antisemitischen Klischees – auf vielerlei „Heimtückeleien“ einlässt und vor „krummen“ Geschäften nicht zurückschreckt, so lange sie*er daraus opportun Gewinn ziehen kann. So stellt Tobias Becker mit Blick auf das Berliner Metropoltheater fest, dass „kaum eine der hier bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg gespielten Operetten oder Revuen […] ohne jüdische Charaktere aus[kam]. Vor allem die Figur des jüdischen Schelms findet sich sehr häufig“ (Becker 2014, 285). Auch Frederike Gerstner hebt in ihrer Studie hervor, wie die inszenierten „Assimilationsversuche“ von jüdischen Charakteren zu einer typischen „Zielscheibe des Spotts“ (Gerstner 2017, 206) im Berliner Theater wurden.

Während sich die protestantische Mehrheitsbevölkerung durch das Lachen über die unbeholfenen Anpassungsversuche der jüdischen Figuren ihrer selbst behaupteten kulturellen Überlegenheit versichern konnte, beinhalteten solche Verspottungen einen zweiten zentralen Abgrenzungsmechanismus. Mit Becker und Marline Otte ist davon auszugehen, dass sich ein fester Stamm des Berliner Musiktheaterpublikums auch aus sozial und ökonomisch besser gestellten Jüd*innen der gehobenen Mittel- und Oberschicht rekrutierte (Becker 2014, 228–31; Otte 2006, 205–10). Vor diesem Hintergrund ist auffällig, dass die Berliner Theaterproduktionen, im Bemühen, nicht Teile der eigenen Stammkundschaft zu vergraulen, eine weitere Differenzierung der stereotypen Charaktere vornahmen. Die jüdische Migration und Flucht vor Pogromen aus vornehmlich osteuropäischen Gebieten brachte seit den 1880er Jahren zwei „Pole jüdischer Identität“ (Brechenmacher 2011, 130) hervor, die entlang einer ethnisierten Grenzziehung zwischen Ost und West gespalten war. Diese Differenz spiegelte sich sehr unmittelbar auf den Musiktheaterbühnen wider. Otte hält für die Shows des Metropoltheaters fest:

> There are consistent patterns in the Metropol's depiction of Jews. For example, most Jewish characters revealed their Eastern European origins in the course of a scene. The established, assimilated Jewish community of Berlin was rarely ridiculed; the jokes were at the expense of the recent Jewish immigrants who could not shed their roots in Berlin's „Jewish milieu“. (Otte 2006, 274)

Ethnisch markierte Jüd*innen der urbanen Unterschicht wurden also den alteingesessenen Jüd*innen der gehobenen Schichten gegenübergestellt. Letztere mussten sich dadurch nicht mit den Neuankömmlingen identifizieren und rückten durch das gemeinsame Verlachen der unbeholfenen Anpassungsversuche ein Stück weit mit der protestantischen Mehrheitsbevölkerung

zusammen. Otte sieht dies auch mit Blick auf das Ensemble und das Produktionsteam des Metropoltheaters bestätigt, denn tatsächlich waren diese stereotypen Figuren und Handlungen von Julius Freund erdacht, der einer wohlhabenden jüdischen Familie aus Breslau entstammte und der in den 1900er und 1910er Jahren als Haustexter am Metropoltheater engagiert war (ebd., 229–32). Auch die in einer jüdischen Wiener Kaufmannsfamilie aufgewachsene Star-Sängerin Fritzi Massary (geboren Friederika Massaryk) gehörte für fast drei Dekaden – von 1904 bis zur Machtübernahme der Nazis 1933– zum festen Ensemble des Metropoltheaters. Massary hatte den Ruf, jeden erdenklichen Akzent und Part virtuos meistern zu können, doch nur in sehr wenigen Ausnahmen übernahm sie jüdisch markierte Charaktere (ebd., 236–39). Dies traf auch auf viele andere jüdische Performer*innen am Metropoltheater zu, wie Otte feststellt:

> Most Jewish actors did not impersonate Jewish characters at the Metropol Theater. They might have feared, or possibly identified with, the prejudices of their upper-class audiences if they were to appear as Jewish characters drawn from the lower echelons of society. Because the Metropol used Jewish stage characters to enforce class boundaries, Jewish actors clearly did not care to find themselves in those roles. (Ebd., 239)

Hier wird deutlich, dass über die Inszenierungen von urbanen Anderen nicht nur Differenzen zwischen verschiedenen ethnischen Zugehörigkeiten, sondern auch zwischen verschiedenen Klassen verhandelt wurden. Mit anderen Worten: Die Musiktheaterbühne inszenierte hier Rassismen und Klassismen in intersektionaler Verschränkung, indem die urbanen Anderen durch ihre vorgebliche Primitivität die ethnisch „Fremden“ und gleichzeitig die „unkultivierten“ Unterschichten der Großstadt repräsentierten.

Abb. 3: Porträt von Fritzi Massary, 1916 (Foto: Nicola Perscheid).
Quelle: Wikimedia Commons, commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Massary_Fritzi_szenenfoto_2.jpg.

Körperpolitiken und Grenzüberschreitungen

Die „verAnderten" Bühnenfiguren des Musiktheaters verkörperten genau jene Eigenschaften, die die bürgerliche Subjektkultur des ausgehenden 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts als vermeidungswürdig erklärte. Die mangelnde Affektkontrolle, die rauschhaften Exzesse und die Tendenz zur hedonistischen Genussbefriedigung wiesen diese Figuren als nicht anpassungsfähig und unzivilisierbar aus. Wie ich bis hierhin argumentiert habe, untermauerte diese Differenz gesellschaftliche Hierarchien und reproduzierte so die symbolischen Ordnungen kolonialer, *weißer*, protestantischer und bürgerlicher Hegemonien. Wie ich allerdings im Folgenden zeigen möchte, kamen in solchen Inszenierungen auch die Kehrseiten und Ambivalenzen der Doppelstruktur der Differenz zum Tragen, da die vorgebliche Primitivität der rassifizierten bzw. ethnisierten Subjekte die verdrängten Begehren der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft spiegelten. Wie Andreas Reckwitz diese Ambivalenz der bürgerlichen Kulturhegemonie um 1900 auf den Punkt bringt, ist die

> anti-primitive Unterscheidung doppelt anwendbar: Sie richtet sich gegen ganze Personengruppen, die insgesamt als Repräsentanten der negativ konnotierten Subjekteigenschaften erscheinen – nun das Proletariat, daneben auch die nicht-westlichen Kolonialvölker –; gleichzeitig visiert sie riskante Elemente an, die in jedem Subjekt, auch dem bürgerlichen, präsent und zu bekämpfen sind. Das Risiko eines Rückfalls ins Primitive scheint auch im Innern des bürgerlichen Subjekts zu lauern. (Reckwitz 2006, 249)

Es war ganz besonders das populäre Musiktheater, das dieser Ambivalenz sprichwörtlich eine Bühne bereitete. Die „verAnderten" Bühnenfiguren lebten dem Publikum all jene Eigenschaften vor, die sich im gesellschaftlichen Alltag nicht anschickten. Mit dem Maskenspiel veranstaltete das Musiktheater ein Spektakel verpönter Lüste und Begehrensformen, wodurch immer auch symbolische Überdehnungen und Überschreitungen von scheinbar eindeutigen Grenzziehungen stattfanden.

In seiner Theorie des Karnevalesken begreift Michail Bachtin (1969) den Körper als Ort des potenziellen Widerstandes gegen gesellschaftliche Normen. Ich verstehe das Maskenspiel des Musiktheaters im Modus dieses Karnevalesken: Hatte die viktorianische und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert ein Subjektideal hervorgebracht, das seinen Körper durch den Geist disziplinieren und im Zaum halten sollte, dann war die prononcierte Körperlichkeit der „verAnderten" Bühnenfiguren dem diametral entgegengesetzt. Auf diese Weise forderten Performer*innen mit ihren Darstellungen prüde bürgerliche Moralvorstellungen heraus, woran sich Konflikte entzündeten. Etwa kam es immer wieder zu Kampagnen von elitären und christlichen Sittenwächter*innen, die gegen das in ihren Augen zu obszöne und freizügige Spektakel des Körpers wetterten (Erenberg 1981, 61–65; Peiss 1986, 97). In einer orchestrierten Polizeiaktion kam es zur Jahreswende 1908/09 beispielsweise zu Razzien in New Yorker Vaudeville-Theatern, bei denen auch einige Performer*innen vorübergehend in Gewahrsam genommen wurden (Erdman 2004, 28–32). Solche Maßnahmen blieben aber letztlich nur ein Tropfen auf dem heißen Stein, da der Musiktheaterbetrieb die Grenze zum Skandalösen immer wieder auf ein Neues anvisierte und überschritt. Theatermanager, Showproduzenten und Performer*innen hatten erkannt, dass sich mit diesen Attraktionen ein zahlendes Publikum locken ließ.

Das prononcierte Spiel mit Körperlichkeit hatte besondere Implikationen für *weiße* Frauen. *Weiße* Performerinnen verkörperten auf den Musiktheaterbühnen Erotik und Sexualität in exo-

tisierten, zumeist orientalisierten Kostümen, die den Blick auf entblößte Körperteile zuließen. Fraglos hatte es auch schon zuvor Darstellungen „fremdartiger" Erotik gegeben, doch explodierten solche Orientalismen zahlenmäßig in den Dekaden ab 1890 förmlich. Die Historikerin Holly Edwards erkennt darin einen neu einsetzenden Orientalismus-Schub, infolgedessen der „Orient" ein breites Arsenal an „metaphors and models for greater sensuality and liberated passions, relaxing enforcement of strict propriety" (Edwards 2000, 45) bereitstellte. Performerinnen eigneten sich diese Symboliken und Semantiken an und übersetzten sie auf den Bühnen in transgressive Entwürfe von Weiblichkeit.

Im Jahr 1893 machte die armenische Tänzerin Fahreda Mahzar Spyropolos auf der Chicagoer Weltausstellung eine Bauchtanzvariante unter dem Namen „Little Egypt" zu einer der Hauptattraktionen, die in der Folge von Performerinnen übernommen wurde und als „hoochie coochie" in die Bühnenroutinen des Vaudeville und der Burlesque Einzug hielt (Brown 2008, 101). In den 1900ern und 1910ern gehörten schleiertanzende Salomes, Cleopatras, Radhas und Geishas auf den europäischen und nordamerikanischen Bühnen zum festen Programm.[4] Superstars wie Maud Allan, Ruth St. Denis, Adorée Villany, Mata Hari (Bühnenname der Niederländerin Margaretha Zelle), Gertrude Hoffmann und Eva Tanguay performten unterschiedliche Varianten dieser Tänzerinnen in sowohl sinnlichen als auch in frenetischen und exzentrischen Versionen.

Abb.4: Maud Allan als Salome auf einer britischen Postkarte der Firma Aristophot Co Ltd, 1908 (Foto: Léopold-Émile Reutlinger). Quelle: National Portrait Gallery London, npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw207047, NPG-Nummer: Ax160371.

In aufwendigeren Produktionen wurden deren Tanz-Nummern auch schon einmal von opulent ausstaffierten „indischen" Tempelanlagen oder „arabischen" Palastkulissen gerahmt, sogar echte Tiere, wie Schlangen oder Kamele, kamen gelegentlich zum Einsatz. Die Historiker Edward

4 In der Spielzeit 1908/1909 kam es in den USA etwa zu einer regelrechten „Salome-Welle". Ein Artikel in der amerikanischen Monatszeitschrift *Current Literature* berichtete im Oktober 1908 allein für die New Yorker Vaudeville-Spielpläne von 24 verschiedenen Salome-Acts (Krasner 2001, 200).

Ross Dickinson (2011) und Andrew Erdman (2004, 107–20 und 2012, 106–17) zeichnen nach, wie diese orientalisierten Tanzperformances immer wieder zu Skandalen führten. In den USA wurde Hoffmann etwa im Jahr 1909 für ihren freizügigen Act von der Bühne herab verhaftet und Villany musste sich sogar nach einer ihrer Tanzdarbietungen im Münchener Lustspielhaus im Jahr 1911 für öffentliche Unsittlichkeit vor Gericht verantworten, was für sie zwar mit Freispruch, aber auch mit einem Landesverweis aus Bayern endete (Dickinson 2011, 95–96).

An diesen heftigen Reaktionen wird evident, dass die Darstellung von körperlicher Expressivität und das Zeigen von Haut gesellschaftliche Normen und Moralvorstellungen sehr offensiv herausforderte. Gleichzeitig lässt sich der Rassismus und Sexismus hinter dieser als exotisch und erotisch inszenierten Weiblichkeit nicht kleinreden und viele Studien betonen, dass sich darin eine Form *weißer* Privilegierung äußerte. Durch Tanzperformances in orientalisierten Kostümen konnten *weiße* Frauen ihren transgressiven Weiblichkeitsentwurf absichern, nicht-*weiße* Frauen liefen dagegen Gefahr, damit ein gängiges Stereotyp zu perpetuieren. Denn während die viktorianische bzw. bürgerliche Kulturhegemonie von *weißen* Frauen sexuelle und körperliche Reinheit, Unschuld und Zurückhaltung forderte, wurde Frauen of Color dieser Subjektstatus systematisch abgesprochen. Letztere wurden in der damaligen Rasseideologie hypersexualisiert und primitivisiert und nur als „gross collection of desires, all uncontrolled" gesehen, wie es die afro-amerikanische Autorin Marita Bonner (1925, 64) in ihrem Essay „On Being Young – a Woman – and Colored" im Jahr 1925 rassismus- und sexismuskritisch zum Ausdruck brachte. David Krasner merkt deshalb zu den orientalisierten Tanzperformances an, dass die Intersektion von Rassismen und Sexismen für Performerinnen of Color eine völlig andere Ausgangslage bedeutete und mit völlig anderen Konsequenzen verbunden war:

> For black women dancers, the deck was clearly stacked: stereotypes often prevented them from enjoying success even during a period of newfound interest in dance. Notions of sexuality in dance worked to reinforce the negative image of black women as primitive and inferior. (Krasner 2001, 194)

Performerinnen of Color entwickelten deshalb eigene Strategien. Wie Krasner in seiner Fallstudie zur afro-amerikanischen Star-Performerin Aida Overton Walker beobachtet, performte Walker ihren Salome-Tanz mit einem merklichen Unterschied zu *weißen* Performerinnen.

Abb 5: Aida Overton Walker als Salome, 1912 (Fotograf*in unbekannt).
Quelle: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington D.C., www.loc.gov/item/97502075/.

Im Jahr 1908 trat Walker mit diesem Act in der Schwarzen Broadway-Show *Bandanna Land* auf und 1912 tourte sie damit noch einmal durch die Vaudevilletheater. Mit Blick auf die zeitgenössischen Besprechungen ihrer Tanzperformance kommt Krasner zu dem Schluss, dass Walker die erotischen und exzessiven Elemente in ihrer Choreografie stark zurückgenommen haben muss und sich stattdessen vor allem auf die Dramaturgie ihrer Bewegungsabläufe konzentrierte, die sie anmutig und grazil gestaltete. Die Reviews beschreiben ihren Salome-Act etwa als „modest", „graceful" und „properly draped" und heben dabei auch explizit den Unterschied zu den *weißen* Salome-Performerinnen hervor (ebd., 201–06). Dadurch nahm Walker zwar am Orientalismus-Spektakel der Salome-Tänzerinnen teil, bezog aber dennoch mit einem bewusst gewählten Abstand ihre ganz eigene Position.

Walker bleibt der einzige dokumentierte Fall einer Schwarzen Salome-Tänzerin im amerikanischen Musiktheater (Erdman 2004, 108). Auf Grund der grundsätzlich anders gelagerten Ausgangslage nicht-*weißer* Performerinnen und der zahlenmäßigen Überlegenheit *weißer* Performerinnen halten Musiktheaterhistoriker*innen fest, dass es vornehmlich letztere waren, die in Verkleidung einer orientalisierten Anderen mit dem Tabu brachen, körperliche Expressivität in der Öffentlichkeit darzustellen, um sich so symbolisch aus dem sprichwörtlichen Korsett viktorianischer bzw. bürgerlicher Weiblichkeit und einer restriktiven Sexualmoral herauszulösen. Jayna Brown schreibt: „For *white* women, performing fantasies of African American, as well as various types of native, femaleness provided moments of immunity from restrictive social protocol, a license for physical expression and self-possessed sexuality" (Brown 2008, 100, Herv. i. O.). Auch Krystyn Moon formuliert in ihrer Studie zu chinesischen Bühnen-Stereotypen: „By becoming ‚Chinese,' [...] white actresses had found an acceptable way to express their sexuality, a practice associated with the New Woman and her break with the Victorian mores that had denied respectable white women access to public spaces and their desires" (Moon 2005, 113). Ein gewichtiger Unterschied zu den weiter oben beschriebenen passivisierten und sexualisierten Frauenfiguren besteht darin, dass diese Tänzerinnen eine aktive und ausdrucksstarke Bühnenrolle einnahmen. Auf diese Weise brachten *weiße* Performerinnen in orientalisierter Verkleidung Entwürfe expressiver Weiblichkeit in Umlauf, die dann immer weitere Kreise zogen. In den späten 1910er Jahren erreichten sie den Stummfilm, als die Schauspielerin Theda Bara (Künstlerinnenname von Theodosia Burr Goodman und ein vom Filmstudio Fox erfundenes Anagram für „Arab death") mit ihren Cleopatra- und Salome-Rollen sexuell angriffslustige sowie Männer kontrollierende und mordende Frauen verkörperte und damit zur ersten Sex-Ikone der Kinogeschichte wurde (Studlar 2011). Auch die erwähnte St. Denis ist mit ihren Tänzen in exotisierten Kostümen als Vorläuferin des freien Ausdruckstanzes bzw. des *Modern Dance* in die Geschichte eingegangen (Desmond 1991). Die Expressivität, die diese Tänzerinnen hier in Verkleidung einer orientalisierten Anderen auf die Bühne brachten, erhob Anspruch auf ein erneuertes, vor allem offeneres Verhältnis zu Körper und Sexualität, das damalige *weiße* Weiblichkeitsnormen überschritt und für das es andernorts in der Gesellschaft kein Ventil gab. Damit bereiteten solche Tanz-Performances prototypisch Diskurse zu sexueller Selbstbestimmung und Verfügung über den eigenen Körper vor, die im weiteren Verlauf des 20. Jahrhunderts insbesondere in feministischen Kontexten, aber auch darüber hinaus, immer wieder aufgegriffen wurden.

In anderer Hinsicht erlaubte das Maskenspiel das symbolische Überschreiten von Geschlechtergrenzen und heteronormativen Begehrensformen. Weibliche Gesangsstars der amerikanischen Vaudeville-, Revue-, Burlesque- und Musical Comedy-Bühnen wie May Irwin, Nora

Bayes, Artie Hall oder Sophie Tucker nutzten hierfür eine doppelte Cross-Dressing-Strategie. Als so genannte *coon shouter*[5] eigneten sich diese Performerinnen die Position Schwarz und männlich markierter Protagonisten an und traten mit exzentrischen und prahlerischen Songperformances (zumeist) in Blackface auf (Kibler 1999, 111–42) – andere, wie die Performerin Maggie Cline, spezialisierten sich auf Songs mit betrunkenen und prügelnden „irischen" Rowdys (ebd., 62). War die Praxis des Blackface zur Zeit der Minstrel Shows des 19. Jahrhunderts von Männern dominiert, so drangen um die Jahrhundertwende immer mehr Frauen in diese Domäne vor: „Through racial dialect and blackface, these white women gained comic license and adopted an uninhibited physical style, as men in the minstrel show had" (ebd., 112). Durch Einschreibung in diese mit Maskulinität assoziierte Praxis artikulierten Performerinnen einen Weiblichkeitsentwurf, der dem Bild der enthaltsamen und purifizierten *weißen* Frau nach Maßgabe des viktorianischen „cult of domesticity" bzw. „cult of true womanhood" (Cogan 2010) diametral entgegengesetzt war. Dieses hegemoniale Weiblichkeitsbild des 19. Jahrhunderts hatte *weiße* Frauen auf die Rolle in der häuslichen und familiären Sphäre reduziert und ihnen die Teilhabe an Öffentlichkeit abgesprochen. Mit der gesteigerten Präsenz von Frauen auf den Musiktheaterbühnen geriet diese viktorianische Festschreibung um die Jahrhundertwende ins Wanken und wie bei den orientalisierten Tänzerinnen wurde dieser Bruch mit dominanten Weiblichkeitsnormen durch die Mittel des Maskenspiels erzeugt.

Nicht nur durch visuelle Maskierung, sondern auch stimmklanglich setzten sich die weiblichen *coon shouter* durch harsche, angeraute und gepresste Vokalregister in Szene, die in damaligen Diskursen über Stimmbildung und in der Gesangspädagogik als primitiv diskutiert und mit einer Schwarzen Stimme in Verbindung gebracht wurden (Eidsheim 2015, 345–55). In zutiefst rassistischen Traktaten über die „gute" Stimme definierte man harsche, raue und gepresste Stimm-Timbres als unkontrolliert (etwa als animalisch oder triebhaft), assoziierte sie mit einer evolutionären Vorstufe und stellte diese der „Perfektion" des wohl gerundeten, klaren Tons gegenüber, der seit dem letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Opern-Tradition des Belcanto-Singens die Norm bildete (Smith 2008, 121–62). Innerhalb dieses Bedeutungskontextes machte der vokale Exzess der weiblichen *coon shouter* einen Körper vorstellig, der sich keiner disziplinierenden Kontrollinstanz unterwerfen will und stattdessen einen Anspruch auf das Ausleben seiner libidinösen Regungen stellt. Sophie Tuckers Aufnahme des Ragtimesongs „That Lovin' Rag" (Edison Standard Record 10360, 1910; Musik: Bernard Adler, Text: Victor H. Smalley; siehe UC Santa Barbara Library. o.D.c) exemplifiziert diese für die *coon shouter* typische Klanglichkeit. Mit einer robusten und rufartigen (= Schwarz konnotierten) Gesangsstimme performt Tucker hier einen Körpereindruck, der sehr energiegeladen und nicht ruhiggestellt wirkt. Dazu singt sie mit einem afro-amerikanischen Akzent (wie z.B. Silbenelisionen auf „lovin'" oder auch Slangausdrücke wie „gal") aus einer im Songtext Schwarz *und* männlich markierten Position über das Ragtime-Tanzen mit einer Partnerin und beschreibt enge Umarmungen und lustvolle Gefühlszustände, die im letzten Chorus mit zwei orgiastischen „shouts" bzw. „moans" unterstrichen werden. Durch Aneignung einer „männlichen" und „Schwarzen" Stimme und Perspektive vollzieht Tucker in diesem Song ein doppeltes vokales Cross-Dressing und singt aus dieser Position heraus über ihre erotische Zuneigung zu einer anderen Frau. Damit bietet sich die Möglichkeit, Tuckers Songperformance als Artikulation eines identitäts-

5 Der Begriff *coon* war ein damals weit verbreiteter rassistischer Ausdruck. Unter der Kategorie *coon songs* wurden Songs zusammengefasst, in denen textlich afro-amerikanische Songprotagonist*innen auftraten. In Musiktheaterprogrammen war es geläufig, Blackface-Performer*innen als *coon shouter* anzukündigen.

ambiguen und queeren Begehrens zu hören, wodurch in mehrfacher Hinsicht mit naturalisierten Identitätskategorien und heteronormativen Begehrensformen gebrochen wird.

Wie bei den Salome-Tänzerinnen bleibt allerdings auch hier hinzuzufügen, dass solche transgressiven Entwürfe ein *weißes* Privileg darstellten. Die Freiräume im Umgang mit Geschlecht und Sexualität ergaben sich eben gerade nicht durch die Auflösung von, sondern ganz im Gegenteil durch die Perpetuierung von rassifizierten Differenzen, da das Aufsetzen der schwarzen Maske und Stimme hier zur Möglichkeitsbedingung für das Spiel mit anderen Differenzmustern wurde.

Überschreibungen und „third spaces“

Damit konnten auch diese gegen den Strich gekehrten Porträtierungen den strukturellen Rassismus hinter diesen Verkörperungen nicht abschütteln. Auch solche körper- und identitätspolitischen Grenzüberschreitungen vermochten die verletzenden Stereotype des Maskenspiels nicht auszulöschen. Viele Autor*innen haben jedoch auch auf dekoloniale Performance-Strategien im Umgang mit den rassistischen Imaginationen der Bühnen hingewiesen. Performer*innen of Color nahmen am karnevalesken Spektakel des Musiktheaters teil und entwickelten ihre Bühnenfiguren oftmals mit direktem Bezug auf die allgegenwärtigen Stereotype. Studien etwa zum Schwarzen Musiktheater (Krasner 1997; Lotz 1997; Chude-Sokei 2006; Brown 2008), zu chinesisch-amerikanischen Vaudeville-Performer*innen (Moon 2005) oder zu jüdischen Musiktheaterstars (Rogin 1996) haben aufgearbeitet, wie es dabei regelmäßig zu parodistischen Überformungen und zu positiv gewendeten Überschreibungen von Klischees kam. Das Maskenspiel bot die Möglichkeit, Repräsentationsmuster von Identitäten in Frage zu stellen, ad absurdum zu treiben und auf die Konstruiertheit von scheinbar essenziellen Differenzen hinzuweisen. Performances erkundeten in diesen Zusammenhängen oft jene hybriden Zwischenräume, die Homi Bhabha (1994) als postkolonialen „third space“ beschreibt: Hier greifen Dichotomien nicht, weil typische Entweder-Oder-Zuordnungen nicht mehr funktionieren.

Strukturell waren die Konventionen des popmusikalischen Mainstreams von den wirkmächtigen Vorstellungen der *weißen* Mehrheitsgesellschaft geprägt. Um am Musiktheaterbetrieb teilnehmen zu können, mussten Performer*innen of Color einen schmalen Grat zwischen vorurteilsbehafteten Haltungen eines *weißen* Publikums und positiv gewendeten Selbstrepräsentationen ausbalancieren. M. Alison Kibler weist auf den Unterschied zwischen den eben beschriebenen Performance-Strategien im Maskenspiel *weißer* Performerinnen und den weniger privilegierten Spielräumen von Performer*innen of Color im US-amerikanischen Vaudeville hin:

> [M]anagers clearly accepted white women's challenges to vaudeville's ideal womanhood far more readily than they tolerated black performers' attempts to cross the racial lines in vaudeville. Vaudeville permitted some play with both race and gender identities, but not to the same degree. White women's increasing use of racial masquerades indicates a freedom in performance choices that black performers were often denied. (Kibler 1999, 118)

Die größten Vaudeville-Theater und Booking Agencies waren fest in den Händen *weißer* Manager, die Performer*innen of Color oft nur ins Programm nahmen, wenn deren Acts den verbreiteten Bühnen-Stereotypen entsprachen. Die Fähigkeit, etwas anderes darzustellen, wurde ihnen sogar systematisch abgesprochen (ebd., 116). Sie sollten letztlich zu leibhaftigen Kopien

der stereotypen Masken-Identitäten werden. Immer wieder jedoch machten Performer*innen of Color durch performative Interventionen deutlich, dass solche Figuren nichts weiter als rassistische Bühnen-Fiktionen sind.

Derartige Strategien hat Krystyn Moon (2005) für chinesisch-amerikanische Vaudeville-Performer*innen rekonstruiert, die mit ihren Acts diverse Stereotype und musikalische Repertoires ineinander überblendeten. Lee Tung Foo, The Chung Hwa Comedy Four, Prince Lai Mon Kim und Rose Elanor Jue aka Princess Jue Quon Tai sind heute kaum bekannte Namen in der US-amerikanischen Musiktheatergeschichte, weil sie systematisch aus dieser herausgeschrieben wurden, obwohl sie auf den damaligen Bühnen durchaus erfolgreiche Karrieren bestritten. Moons Studie ist außerordentlich verdienstvoll, weil sie die Laufbahnen dieser Performer*innen detailliert verfolgt. Sie zeigt, wie diese in ihren Acts einerseits – in der Regel auf Wunsch der Theater-Manager – mit „Yellowface"-Nummern, Chinatown-Songs in klischeehaften Pidgin-Dialekten und „chinesischen" Kostümen verbreitete Vorurteile bedienten, gleichzeitig porträtierten sie aber auch „irische", „schottische" und Blackface-Figuren, sangen „deutsche" Trinklieder, romantische Balladen, Barber Shop-Quartette und populäre Opernarien (ebd., 146–62). Besonders Lee Tung Foo war für seine Vielseitigkeit bekannt, eine Highlander-Routine im schottischen Kilt gehörte dabei zu seiner populärsten Nummer.

Abb. 6: Lee Tung Foo im schottischen Highlander-Kostüm, 1921 (Foto: B. White). Quelle: California State Library Sacramento, csl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01CSL_INST/kjolsn/alma990013888510205115.

Dazu belegt Moon durch zeitgenössische Reviews, dass Lee in der Lage war, das Publikum durch seine vielseitigen Gesangsqualitäten zum Überdenken von rassistischen Wahrnehmungsmustern zu bewegen:

> Lee Tung Foo often received extensive commentary on his singing ability because his act was considered so novel and groundbreaking. It seems almost silly, but it was such a widespread belief that men and women of Chinese descent could not understand European or American music that people were truly dumbfounded to hear him. (Ebd., 154)

Durch Hybridisierungen, aber auch unter Beweisstellung jener Fähigkeiten, die ihnen gemäß verbreiteter Vorurteile abgesprochen wurden, erlangten chinesisch-amerikanische Performer*innen Kontrolle über ihre eigenen Images und durchbrachen Klischees, wodurch koloniale Denkmuster ihre Deutungshoheiten verloren oder zumindest für den Moment der Bühnen-Performance ihrer Wirkungskraft beraubt wurden.

Für die europäischen Bühnen hat Rainer E. Lotz ganz ähnliche Strategien für die Tourneen Schwarzer Performer*innen dokumentiert. Unter anderem porträtiert er eine in San Francisco gegründete Musiktheatergruppe namens „The Black Diamonds", die in den Jahren von etwa 1905 bis 1922 mit einer Reihe an verschiedenen Acts in Detuschland auftraten (Lotz 1997, 257–82; siehe auch Green, Lotz und Rye 2013, 201–8). Weil die Überlieferungen viele Lücken beinhalten, ist nicht ganz klar, ob diese Teil eines größeren und lose zusammenhängenden Kollektivs waren, aus dem heraus sich über die Jahre verschiedene Duos, Trios und Quartette rekrutierten, oder ob es sich dabei um mehrere voneinander unabhängige Ensembles handelte, die in diesem Zeitraum als „Black Diamonds" durch den deutschsprachigen Raum (und darüber hinaus) tourten. Auf jeden Fall bedienten diese Gruppen ein breiteres Repertoire und machten, wie die eben genannten chinesisch-amerikanischen Performer*innen, von vielfältigen Varianten des Maskenspiels Gebrauch. Eine damit in Verbindung stehende Trio-Formation gab in den Jahren zwischen 1906 und 1911 etwa als „The Black Highlanders" mit einem – in zeitgenössischen Programmen als „exzentrisch" beschriebenen (Lotz 1997, 259–62) – Song-und-Tanz-Act in schottischen Kilts zahlreiche Konzerte.[6] Besonders beliebt scheint beim deutschen Publikum ein regelmäßig aufgeführter Act in alpinen Lederhosen-Trachten gewesen zu sein, bei dem die „Black Diamonds" Jodel- und Schuhplattler-Einlagen – wohl teilweise in Kombination mit Steptanz-Elementen (ebd., 270) – zum Besten gaben. Weiterhin zeichnet Lotz den außerordentlich erfolgreichen, über dreißig Jahre währenden Karriereverlauf der Afro-Amerikanerin Arabella Fields nach (ebd., 225–45; siehe auch Green, Lotz und Rye 2013, 242–47), die im Jahr 1894 mit einer Minstreltruppe nach Europa kam und sich anschließend in Deutschland niederließ. Fields war für Songs aus der Tradition der Minstrel Shows des 19. Jahrhunderts bekannt, doch genauso wie bei den „Black Diamonds" waren ihre deutschen Lieder und Jodel-Einlagen im Dirndl-Outfit der eigentliche Publikumsmagnet, wie Lotz durch Konzertreviews und Ankündigungstexte nachweist. Natürlich fußte das Spektakel Schwarzer Performer*innen in Trachten weiterhin auf einer Logik der Exotisierung. Doch nutzten die „Black Diamonds" und Fields die Konventionen des Maskenspiels hier in einer Art, die das typisch koloniale Schema aufbrach, indem sie die Bühnenpräsenz ihrer – durch den Publikumsblick mit klischeehaften Zuschreibungen behafteten – Körper mit einem alpinen Folklore-Stereotyp verbanden und überlagerten. Dass solche Acts über einen so langen Zeitraum erfolgreich funktionierten, deutet darauf hin, dass es im Musiktheater nicht zwangsläufig auf die Bestätigung essenzialistischer Vorstellungen hinauslief, sondern dass die spielerische oder

6 Lotz gibt hier Textauszüge aus diversen Veranstaltungsankündigungen bzw. Reviews der „Black Highlanders" aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum wieder. Dokumentiert sind u.a. Auftritte in Bremen, Hamburg, Teplitz (Böhmen), Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Augsburg, Göttingen, Düsseldorf, Bonn, Aachen, Essen, Eisenach und Duisburg. Darüber hinaus ist auch ein Gastspiel in St. Petersburg nachgewiesen.

ironische Überformung solcher Klischees einen ebenso großen Zuspruch beim zeitgenössischen Publikum fand.

Abb. 7: The Black Diamonds in Lederhosen auf einer Neujahrskarte, 1911.
Quelle: Sammlung Rainer E. Lotz, abgedruckt mit Genehmigung.

Abb. 8: Arabella Fields im Dirndl auf einer Ansichtskarte, unbekanntes Datum (Hersteller: Nordische Kunstanstalt Ernst Schmidt, Lübeck). Quelle: Sammlung Karl Markus Kreis, abgedruckt mit Genehmigung.

Für das US-amerikanische Schwarze Musiktheater hat David Krasner (1997) rekonstruiert, wie es auch hier regelmäßig zu Parodien und Überschreibungen kam. Krasner blickt auf den Broadway, wo in den 1890ern und 1900ern die ersten ausschließlich von Schwarzen konzipierten und besetzten Musical Comedies spielten. Diese ersten Schwarzen Broadway-Casts rund um die Star-Performer*innen Bert Williams, George Walker, Bob Cole, Ernest Hogan und Aida Overton Walker traten häufig mit *coon songs* und in Blackface auf und mobilisierten so in einem ersten Schritt rassistische Stereotype, um sie dann in einem zweiten Schritt als ebensolche zu entlarven und mit anderen Bedeutungen zu überschreiben. Die Strategie der Überschreibung kämpft, so Krasner, auf dem gleichen Terrain und mit genau jenen Waffen, die die hegemoniale Kultur zur Verfügung stellt (ebd., 26). Anstatt also den strukturellen Rassismus des Musiktheaters offen zu attackieren – was in Anbetracht der massiven Macht, die das *weiße* Showbusiness über die Performancekonventionen ausübte, einem aussichtslosen Unterfangen geglichen hätte –, wurden Stereotype von innen heraus unterhöhlt. Schwarze Musiktheater-Performer*innen eigneten sich die pseudo-afro-amerikanischen Dialekte, Slangausdrücke und rassistischen Bezeichnungen der damals populären *coon songs* (wie beispielsweise „coon“ oder „darky“) an, „stahlen“ damit den rassistischen Humor aus dem Mund der *Weißen* und erlangten so Kontrolle über die Verwendung dieser Sprache (ebd., 36). Aus dem rassistischen Sinnarsenal der Blackface Minstrelsy und *coon songs* bezogen diese Performer*innen eine eigene Sprecher*innenposition; eine Strategie, die auch später im Blues der 1920er Jahre, etwa bei Ma Rainey oder Bessie Smith, ihre Fortsetzung fand (siehe hierzu Antelyes 1994; Abbott und Seroff 2007).

Wie eine solche Überschreibung sich konkret performativ äußerte, hat Camille Forbes (2004) für den Vaudeville-Act von Bert Williams untersucht. Williams, der in den 1910er Jahren zu den Topverdienern im US-amerikanischen Showbusiness gehörte, wurde als Solo-Act in den prestigeträchtigsten Vaudeville-Theatern und Revuen als Headliner gebucht und hatte wohl auf Grund seines Star-Status einen größeren Handlungsspielraum als weniger bekannte Schwarze Performer*innen. Es ist freilich schwer, aufgrund fehlender Live-Aufnahmen den tatsächlichen Ablauf seiner Auftritte zu rekonstruieren. Aus vielen erhaltenen Fotografien, Songaufnahmen und zwei Stummfilmen („Fish“ und „A Natural Born Gambler“, beide Biograph, 1916; siehe The Riverbends Channel 2015 und 2012) lässt sich zumindest ableiten, wie Williams durch Kleidung, Mimik, Gestik, Sprache und Klang mit stereotypen Überzeichnungen gearbeitet hat. Auch Williams nahm *coon songs* in überzogenen pseudo-afro-amerikanischen Dialekten und Slang auf, aber immer wieder dekonstruierte er, wie Tim Brooks (2005, 105–48) und Tilo Hähnel (2014) in ihren Songanalysen feststellen, die klischeehaft Schwarz markierten Songprotagonisten durch „gehobene Aussprache, Ironie, Wortwitz und das überdeutliche Timing der Konsonanten“ (ebd., 10). Auf der Vaudeville-Bühne performte Williams als Song-Komiker in Blackface und mit Kraushaarperücke, trug übergroße Schuhe und einen zu kurz geschnittenen Anzug mit abgerissenem Frack.

Abb. 9: Bert Williams im typischen Bühnenoutfit, 1921 (Foto: Samuel Lumiere).
Quelle: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington D.C. www.loc.gov/item/2003653430/.

Forbes bezieht sich in ihrer Analyse auf zeitgenössische Quellen, aus denen hervorgeht, dass Williams besonders mit einem verlangsamten Timing und Pausen gearbeitet zu haben scheint. Dabei trat er sehr zögerlich durch den geschlossenen Vorhang auf die Bühne, indem er stückweise einzelne Körperteile voran schob: Zunächst die Hände, dann einen Arm und eine Schulter bis schließlich der ganze Körper zu erkennen war. Durch diese Entschleunigung brachte er das an schnelllebiges Musiktheater-Spektakel gewöhnte Publikum dazu, die Performativität seiner körperlichen Handlungen genauestens nachzuvollziehen. In den Worten von Forbes:

> Although Williams's character was informed by the minstrel „darky" type, he performed it with a notable difference that began by showing the performative frame into which he introduced the fictional character. Rather than emphasize the timelessness of the stereotype that would restrict the possibilities of his performance, he underscored the specificity of that performance. Through this particular and specific performative moment, which the establishment of his performance space (stepping into the area before the curtain, standing in the spotlight) indicated and affirmed, Williams created a break in the action of the hectic vaudeville show, which called attention to itself. By doing so, he allowed for a new performative instance by which there might be an opportunity to break the „stylized repetition of acts" through which his performance of blackness was read and interpreted by audiences, moving towards a new articulation of this presumably culturally and historically predetermined character. (Forbes 2004, 612)

Indem Williams von hyperbolischen und exzessiven Handlungsvollzügen absah und seine Blackface-Figur mit einer bewussten Langsamkeit in Szene setzte, erfüllte er nicht das gängige Bühnen-Klischee des primitiven und impulsiven Schwarzen Charakters. Seine entschleunigte Blackface-Figur konnte so nicht mehr mit Hilfe herkömmlicher Differenzmarker dechiffriert werden. Zwar war seine Figur durch das rassistische Blackface-Stereotyp informiert, doch entglitt sie durch die Verlangsamung den vorgefertigten Festschreibungen und Erwartungshaltungen in den entscheidenden Momenten und erspielte sich eine Position, die nicht mehr in das Raster kulturell produzierter Unterscheidungen hineinpasste.

Williams und andere Schwarze Performer*innen, die in Blackface auftraten, waren beim zeitgenössischen Schwarzen Publikum durchaus akzeptiert und beliebt. Doch mussten sie oftmals auch heftige Kritik von der progressiven afro-amerikanischen Presse einstecken (Brooks 2005, 120; Abbott und Seroff 2007, 87–92), die ihnen den Vorwurf machte, problematische und entfremdende Stereotype zu perpetuieren. In einer Phase, in der sich in den USA einflussreiche Schwarze Bürgerrechtsorganisationen wie die National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1909) gründeten und Diskurse um *racial pride* zum Politikum wurden, forderten militante afro-amerikanische Kritiker*innen von Williams einen „authentischen" Schwarzen Gegenentwurf, den Williams, in seiner Weigerung die Maske abzulegen, nicht gab (Chude-Sokei 2006, 48). Louis Chude-Sokei liest Williams' Gebrauch von Blackface und seine Verweigerung, einen eindeutigen Gegenentwurf einer Schwarzen Identität zu präsentieren, als performative Strategie, die Williams ganz bewusst wählte, weil er kein Afro-Amerikaner war, sondern in Nassau, auf den heutigen Bahamas (damals die „British West Indies"), geboren wurde und als Kind mit seiner Familie in die USA gezogen war (ebd.). Williams gehörte damit selbst zu einer migrantischen afro-karibischen Minderheit innerhalb der afro-amerikanisch dominierten Schwarzen Community der USA und nutzte das Maskenspiel, um damit die strikt binäre Unterscheidung zwischen einem *weißen* und Schwarzen Amerika weiter aufzubrechen. In einem Artikel, der im Jahr 1918 im *American Magazine* erschien, schrieb er: „I took to studying the dialect of the American negro, which to me was just as much a foreign dialect as that of the Italian" (Williams 1918, 60) und erklärte damit rückblickend, wie er in den 1890er Jahren als noch unbekannter Performer im US-amerikanischen Showgeschäft nur Fuß fassen konnte, weil er sich einen afro-amerikanischen Bühnen-Dialekt zugelegt hatte, um gemäß den Konventionen des Musiktheaters als Figur eines „Afro-Amerikaners" zu funktionieren. Das stereotype Maskenspiel hatte für diesen Performer mit afro-karibischen Migrationshintergrund also noch einmal eine ganz andere Bedeutung als für seine afro-amerikanischen Kolleg*innen. Für einen Superstar von Williams' Kaliber wäre es auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Karriere in den 1910er und 1920er Jahren womöglich eine Option gewesen, auf den Einsatz der Blackface-Maske zu verzichten, doch blieb er bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1922 bei dieser Strategie, was Chude-Sokei zu folgender Deutung veranlasst:

> For this comedic performer [Williams, S.J.], blackface masquerade was as much a means of negotiating relationships between and among diaspora blacks in Harlem as it was an attempt to erase the internationally projected racist fiction of the „stage Negro" (or „darky") from within the conventions of popular performance, from behind a mask produced and maintained by competitive projections and denials of black subjectivity. (Chude-Sokei 2006, 8–9)

In Chude-Sokeis Lesart nutzte Williams sein Maskenspiel also nicht nur, um – wie in der oben dargelegten Deutung von Forbes – rassistische Stereotype zu dekonstruieren, sondern auch um damit simple Entweder-Oder-Schemata zu verkomplizieren und aufzufalten. In der Weigerung, Identität auf eine essenzialistische Zuschreibung festzuzurren – auf keinen Fall *weiß*, aber auch nicht dezidiert „authentisch" Schwarz –, nahm seine Blackfacefigur in einem Zwischenraum Platz, der darauf verwies, dass Prozesse der Identitätsbildung nicht reibungsfrei in dichotomen Differenzzuschreibungen aufgehen können.

Postkoloniale Theorie und historische Popmusikforschung: Ein Fazit

Wie dieser Text dargelegt hat, war das europäische und nordamerikanische populäre Musiktheater der Jahre 1890 bis 1930 von Konventionen des Maskenspiels dominiert. Dabei kam es zur Darstellung einer ganzen Reihe an vor allem rassistisch überzeichneten Bühnenfiguren. Diese Inszenierungen „verAnderter" Subjekte dürfen, so wird in den einzelnen Abschnitten deutlich, nicht monolithisch als Ausdruck westlicher Überlegenheitsvorstellungen und kolonialer Herrschaftsansprüche verstanden werden, sondern sie waren mit durchaus sehr heterogenen gesellschaftlichen und politischen Zusammenhängen verwoben. Das populäre Musiktheater war damit mehr als nur ein Ort, an dem groteske Rassismen perpetuiert und Bevölkerungsgruppen ins Lächerliche gezogen wurden, um damit koloniale und paternalistische Machtverhältnisse aufrecht zu erhalten. Das Maskenspiel ermöglichte Performer*innen auch körper- und identitätspolitische Interventionen, durch die Alternativen zu herrschenden symbolischen Ordnungen artikuliert wurden. Dies habe ich als Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz der Differenz beschrieben: Darstellungen von „verAnderten" Subjekten konnten zwischen Aversion und Faszination hin und her pendeln und öffneten darüber hinaus Räume, die jenseits von Entweder-Oder-Dichotomien lagen. Auch wurde deutlich, dass sich rund um diese Figuren gesellschaftliche Diskurse zu Identität und Körperbildern bzw. dem Stellenwert des Körpers entzündeten.

Vor zwei Dekaden stellte Peter Wicke (2001) mit Rückblick auf das damals gerade zu Ende gegangene Jahrhundert die Diagnose, dass der Siegeszug der populären Musik im 20. Jahrhundert sehr zentral mit der Erschließung von Körperlichkeit und der Artikulation von Identitäten und Begehrensformen zusammenhängt. Populäre Musik avancierte dabei zum „heftig umkämpften Terrain" (ebd., 14), das gesellschaftliche, kulturelle, politische und ökonomische Bereiche aneinander band, die sich schließlich auch global vernetzten. Sie wurde zum

> Ort, an dem sich Subjektivitätsformen vermitteln, jene Werte- und Wunschproduktion stattfindet, ohne die der Gesellschaftskörper seinen inneren Zusammenhalt verlieren, im Spannungsfeld der vermittlungslosen Triebkräfte von Wirtschaft und technischem Fortschritt zerrissen und zerrieben würde. Im 20. Jahrhundert ist dieses Terrain [...] durch die fast grenzenlose Pluralisierung der Codes kultureller Identitäten enorm ausdifferenziert und entsprechend vergrößert worden, hat mit der Erschließung des Körpers als einer kulturellen Ikone immer weiterreichende Dimensionen erhalten. (Ebd.)

Hier lässt sich abschließend postulieren, dass die Aushandlung und Ausdifferenzierung von Identitätskonstrukten, Körperbildern und Begehrensformen mit dem Aufstieg der Massenkultur und der kommerziellen Unterhaltungsindustrie um 1900 einen mächtigen Schub erfuhr und dass hier womöglich der Startschuss für jene von Wicke ausgemachten historischen Entwicklungen gegeben wurde. Gerade weil in diesen Jahren die Sichtbarkeit von Frauen und People of Color auf den populären Musiktheaterbühnen deutlich zunahm, multiplizierten sich Strategien und performative Interventionen in der popkulturellen Arena erheblich.

In den 1920ern begann das Musiktheater seine Vorreiterrolle in der Popmusiklandschaft einzubüßen. Die Weltwirtschaftskrise ab 1930 besiegelte dessen Schicksal endgültig. Die neu aufkommenden technischen Medien, das Radio und der Tonfilm bzw. konkret das Filmmusical, verdrängten und beerbten das Musiktheater in dessen Funktion als popmusikalisches Massenmedium und schufen im gleichen Zuge neue Räume für Inszenierungen von Identitäten,

Körpern und Begehrensformen auf Leinwand oder durch Lautsprecher im heimischen Wohnzimmer. Damit verschwand das Musiktheater in seinen damaligen Formen und mit seinen Konventionen des Maskenspiels und machte neuen Formen und Konventionen Platz. Was bis in die Gegenwart blieb, sind Muster rassistischer, sexistischer und anderer identitätsbasierter Diskriminierungsformen, wenngleich diese sich in stets verändernden Gesellschaftsformationen in immer wieder unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen zeigen. Sie erfinden – auch ohne wortwörtliches Maskenspiel – fortwährend neue „Verkleidungen", so dass die Popmusikforschung hier vor der Herausforderung steht, diese Strukturen in ihrer historischen Spezifität zu beleuchten und offen zu legen. Die von mir vorgenommene Anwendung postkolonialer Theorie auf historisch konkrete Fälle darf als Möglichkeit und Anregung für ein solches Projekt verstanden werden.

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Abstract (Deutsch)

In den Dekaden von 1890 bis 1930, vor dem allgemeinen Siegeszug der technischen Massenmedien rund um Radio und Musikfilm, dominierte das Musiktheater die europäische und nordamerikanische Popmusiklandschaft. In Kostümen und Masken porträtierten Performer*innen hier eine ganze Reihe an rassistisch überzeichneten Figuren, die ich in diesem Text mit der postkolonialen Denkfigur *The Other/Othering* als Inszenierungen von Anderen verstehe. Ich gehe den gesellschaftlichen Machtverhältnissen hinter diesen Inszenierungen auf den englischen, deutschen und US-amerikanischen Musiktheaterbühnen nach und rekonstruiere die kulturellen Hegemonien, Spannungen, Identitäts- und Körperpolitiken, die in solchen Darstellungen „verAnderter" Subjekte zum Ausdruck kamen.

Abstract (English)

From 1890 until 1930, predating the advent of radio and film musicals, musical theatre dominated the world of European and North American popular music. Stage performers commonly put on masks and costumes to portray a wide range of racially stereotyped stock characters, which I analyse through the postcolonial trope of The Other/Othering. I reconstruct the cultural hegemonies, social tensions, identity and body politics that shaped and critically challenged these colonial fantasies through an investigation of English, German and American musical theatre acts and shows.

Zitiervorschlag. Just, Steffen. 2020. „Zur Doppelstruktur und Ambivalenz der Differenz: Inszenierungen von Anderen im populären Musiktheater, 1890–1930." In *Pop – Power – Positions: Globale Beziehungen und populäre Musik*, herausgegeben von Anja Brunner und Hannes Liechti (~Vibes – The IASPM D-A-CH Series 1), 37–68. Berlin: IASPM D-A-CH. Online unter www.vibes-theseries.org/just-musiktheater.

Dietmar Elflein

What Is Soul?

Einleitung

Dieser Aufsatz bearbeitet vier zentrale Fragestellungen. Erstens: Was genau wurde der deutschen Öffentlichkeit musikalisch in den 1960er Jahren als Soul präsentiert? Zweitens: Lässt sich dieser Soul musikalisch beschreiben? Drittens interessiert mich, ob – und wenn ja, wie weit – die Produktionsbedingungen dieser als Soul bezeichneten Musik in Deutschland bekannt sein konnten. Und viertens: Wie verändern sich daraus folgend die Bedeutungen von Soul auf dem Weg über den *Black Atlantic*?

Die Soul-Rezeption in der BRD Teil 1

An anderer Stelle (Elflein 2017) habe ich bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass Soul seit seiner allmählichen Formierung in den 1950er Jahren in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (BRD) kontinuierlich veröffentlicht wird, also gehört und angeeignet werden kann. Es erscheinen auch permanent deutsche bzw. deutschsprachige Bearbeitungen und Coverversionen für den nationalen Markt (Elflein 2018).[1] Allerdings kräht die meiste Zeit kein Hahn nach diesen Veröffentlichungen – weder nach den US-Originalen noch nach den Bearbeitungen, sieht man von Ausnahmen wie den US-amerikanischen Supremes ab, die zwischen November 1964 und Juli 1965 fünf Singles in den deutschen Charts platzieren konnten (Chartsurfer 2019a). Den Supremes gebührt nach meiner Kenntnis auch die Ehre des ersten Auftritts von Motown-Künstler*innen[2] im deutschen Fernsehen, im Februar 1965 in der Sendereihe *Musik aus Studio B* des Norddeutschen Rundfunks (NDR) mit ihrem Titel „Thank You Darling" (The Supremes 1965a). Der Song war ab Mai 1965 acht Wochen in den deutschen Charts platziert und kletterte bis auf Platz 18 (Chartsurfer 2019b). Das Stück wurde von den Münchner Schlagerprofis Werner Scharfenberger (Musik) und Fini Busch aka Josefine Huber-Busch (Text) exklusiv für den deutschen Markt komponiert. Dementsprechend singen die Supremes auf „Thank You Darling" (The Supremes 1965a) einen deutschsprachigen Text. Diese Liedauswahl[3] entspricht auch dem Sendungskonzept von *Musik aus Studio B*, das bis auf wenige Ausnahmen auf deutschsprachiger Popmusik respektive deutschem Schlager beruht (Wikipedia 2019b). Mark-

1 Vgl. z.B. Billy Mo „Darling, du weißt ja" (1957, Cover von Sam Cooke „You Send Me" 1957), Peggie Peters „Aus" (1963, Cover von The Isley Brothers „Shout" 1959), Frankie Farian & die Schatten „Mickey's Monkey" (1965, Cover von „The Miracles Mickey's Monkey" 1963).

2 Motown ist ein US-amerikanisches Plattenlabel aus Detroit, das einerseits zentral für die Geschichte von Rhythm & Blues und Soul ist und andererseits den Crossover afroamerikanischer Musik und Künstler*innen in den Weißen Popmarkt anvisiert. Motown wird 1959 von Berry Gordy als Tamla-Motown in Detroit gegründet. Zwischen 1961 und 1971 verzeichnet das Label 110 Top-Ten Hits, mit dem Umzug von Detroit nach Los Angeles 1972 lässt der kommerzielle Erfolg nach. 1988 wird Motown an MCA/Universal verkauft (vgl. Lüthe 2011, Smith 1999, Wikipedia 2019a).

3 Bezogen auf eine musikindustrielle Veröffentlichungs- und Vermarktungslogik wären auch das im Dezember 1964 veröffentlichte „Come and See About Me" (The Supremes 1964) oder das wie „Thank You Darling" im April 1965 veröffentlichte „Stop! In the Name of Love" (The Supremes 1965b) naheliegend gewesen. Ersteres hätte werbende Unterstützung benötigt, da es in Deutschland den Charteintritt verfehlt, letzteres wird der größte Hit der Supremes in Deutschland und klettert bis auf Platz drei.

iert dieser TV-Auftritt also nicht nur die Premiere von Motown-Künstler*innen im deutschen Fernsehprogramm, sondern auch die erste TV-Präsentation von Soul-Musik, oder singen die Supremes hier einen deutschen Schlager? Wie unterscheidet sich des Weiteren deutscher Schlager in musikalischer Hinsicht von Soul? Ich werde darauf zurückkommen.

Größeres kommerzielles Interesse generiert US-Soul in Deutschland erst ab 1967, als eine kurzfristige Mode entsteht, deren Vorgeschichte zumindest teilweise rekonstruierbar ist (Bloemeke 1996). Diese Mode geht weniger von den erwähnten, erfolglosen deutschen Bearbeitungen aus (Elflein 2018), sondern vor allem von Coverversionen von Soul-Originalen durch Mod- und Beat-Bands[4] bzw. -Künstler*innen, die in den bundesdeutschen Massenmedien ab 1964 präsent sind. Zudem wird Soul in der zweiten Hälfte der 1960er Jahre in das Programm von Tanzveranstaltungen integriert und auch im nicht öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk[5] gesendet, so dass die Mode 1966/67 Fahrt aufnehmen kann.

Künstler*innen / Band	Albumtitel	Jahr	Höchste Chartplatzierung	Erste Notierung
The Supremes	Where Did Our Love Go	1965	33	15.07.65
Various Artists (V.A.)	**That's Soul**	**1967**	**2**	**15.10.67**
V.A.	**Soul Meeting**	**1967**	**7**	**15.12.67**
V.A.	Soul Party	1968	10	15.04.68
Paul Nero Sounds	Nero's Soul Party	1968	14	15.02.68
The Samson & Merrill Soul Band	That's Soul II	1968	15	15.06.68
V.A.	Soul Meeting II	1968	16	15.08.68
Otis Redding	The Dock of the Bay	1968	17	15.07.68
Aretha Franklin	Lady Soul	1968	18	15.09.68
Aretha Franklin	Aretha Now	1968	26	15.11.68
V.A.	This Is Soul	1968	32	15.09.68
James Brown	Live at the Apollo Vol. II	1969	32	15.10.69
Ray Charles	King of Soul	1969	33	15.02.69
Eric Burdon & War	Declares War	1970	14	15.09.70
Ike & Tina Turner	Working Together	1971	12	15.04.71
Eric Burdon & War	Black Man's Burdon	1971	20	15.02.71
Ike & Tina Turner	Live in Paris	1971	25	15.08.71
The Temptations	All Directions	1972	20	15.12.72
Osibisa	Woyaya	1972	46	15.03.72
The Temptations	Masterpiece	1973	17	15.04.73
Roberta Flack	Killing Me Softly	1973	47	15.10.73

Tab. 1: Soul in den deutschen Albumcharts 1963–1973[6]

4 Zum hörbaren Einfluss von Soul auf die Beatles siehe Everett 2002.

5 Detaillierte Angaben über die Programmgestaltung fehlen sowohl für Tanzveranstaltungen als auch für den nicht öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk und scheinen aufgrund fehlender Archivierung der Originaldokumente auch nicht mehr rekonstruierbar zu sein (siehe Schäfers 2014, Schwetter 2017). Demgegenüber stehen diverse biografische Veröffentlichungen, die die Präsenz von Soul behaupten bzw. Originaldokumente in Bezug auf das Programm einer Band oder eines*r Künstler*in zeigen (Jung 2016, Bloemeke 1996). Teil der 2013 gezeigten Ausstellung des Berliner Alliiertenmuseums mit dem Titel *Von G.I. Blues zu G.I. Disco* ist ein Interview mit dem Kassler DJ Uwe Welsch aka Mr. Brown, der 1967 beginnt in Kassel R&B aufzulegen. Eine Kopie des Interviews wurde dem Verfasser vom Alliiertenmuseum zur Verfügung gestellt.

6 Als Quelle diente die Website Chartsurfer.de (Chartsurfer 2019c). Ich habe nach Veröffentlichungen mir bekannter US-Amerikanischer R&B- und Soullabels gesucht, alle vertretenen Künstler*innen mit der Fachliteratur zu Soul & R&B abgeglichen und mir alle Künstler*innen angehört, die ich nicht kannte.

Tabelle 1 zeigt, dass Soul vor allem 1967/68 in den deutschen Charts präsent ist. 1968 zeigt sich (grau hinterlegt) mit acht Alben die größte Präsenz, während bereits ein Jahr vorher, 1967 (fett gedruckt), die beiden erfolgreichsten Alben zu verzeichnen sind. In den folgenden Jahren schwächt sich der Trend schon wieder ab, die Top Ten werden nicht mehr erreicht. Das erfolgreichste Soul Album der damaligen Zeit ist der Southern Soul[7] Sampler *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a),[8] der Platz zwei der Charts erreicht, gefolgt von dem Motown Sampler *Soul Meeting* (V.A. 1967b), der bis auf Platz sieben der Charts klettert. Die 1968 in den Charts verzeichneten Alben konzentrieren sich mit Ausnahme einer weiteren Motown-Zusammenstellung, *Soul Meeting II* (V.A.1968b), auf Southern Soul. Nur *Nero's Soul Party* (Paul Nero Sounds 1968a) enthält neben Southern Soul auch zwei Holland-Dozier-Holland[9] Kompositionen und zwei von Stevie Wonder via Motown popularisierte Stücke unter insgesamt 28 Titeln. Bezeichnend für die damalige Identifikation von Soul mit Southern Soul mag auch sein, dass das ebenfalls 1968 erschienene Potpourri *Nero's Detroit Soul Party* (Paul Nero Sounds 1968b), das sich ausschließlich aus Motown-Stücken zusammensetzt, nicht in die Charts vordringen kann.

Southern Soul als Tanzmusik

Drei der oben genannten Zusammenstellungen vermarkten Soul via tanzender Menschen auf dem Cover als Tanzmusik (V.A. 1968a, The Samson & Merrill Soul Band 1968, Nero 1968a), das Cover von *Soul Meeting* (V.A. 1967b) erinnert über Typografie und Farbgestaltung an ein Club-Logo und ähnelt deshalb in der Vermarktung stark den eben genannten. *Soul Meeting II* (V.A. 1968b) zeigt dagegen Fotos der vertretenen Künstler*innen, während *That's Soul*[10] (V.A. 1967a) auf eine Fotomontage eines exaltierten Sängers vor einem eher indifferenten Publikum setzt.

Trotzdem kann meiner Ansicht nach verallgemeinernd von dem Versuch gesprochen werden, Soul Ende der 1960er Jahre als Tanzmusik zu vermarkten. Diese Verallgemeinerung wird auch durch die Praxis der ab September 1965 im Nachmittagsprogramm der ARD laufenden TV-Sendung *Beat Club* (Beat Club 2008a) argumentativ unterstützt, die ab Anfang 1967 in acht Ausgaben ein von Tonträger abgespieltes Soul-Original, zu dem Go-Go-Girls tanzen, als Einstieg nutzt.[11] Diese Show-Openings werden um den Jahreswechsel 1968/69 für vier Sendungen wieder aufgenommen (Beat Club 2008b). In allen insgesamt zwölf Ausgaben wird Soul mit Southern

7 Die Unterscheidung zwischen Southern Soul und Motown beruht an dieser Stelle auf dem Produktionsort der Tonträger. Southern Soul wird in den US-Südstaaten produziert, Motown in Detroit auf dem gleichnamigen Label. Aufgrund des Zielpublikums von Motown, das auch im Weißen Popmarkt liegt, grenzen einige Autoren Motown aus dem Soul-Diskurs aus (vgl. Guralnick 2009). Ich teile diese Argumentation nicht und betrachte Southern Soul und Motown deshalb als Teile von Soul. Beide weisen Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede auf – unter anderem auch musikalisch. Bowman (1995) hat Southern Soul am Beispiel des STAX Labels musikalisch analysiert, Auch zu Motown existieren umfangreiche Forschungsarbeiten (vgl. Fitzgerald 2007, Lüthe 2011, Smith 1999).

8 Die 1968 in den Charts verzeichnete Zusammenstellung This Is Soul (V.A. 1968c und d) ist zudem entweder eine um zwei Titel (B5, B7) gekürzte Wiederveröffentlichung von *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a) oder eine teilweise mit *That's Soul* identische Zusammenstellung von bei Atlantic Records erschienenen Soul-Titeln (V.A. 1968d). Allerdings ist unklar, ob diese Zusammenstellung auch in Deutschland erschienen ist, während die Wiederveröffentlichung von *That's Soul* als *This Is Soul* (V.A. 1968c) für Deutschland belegt werden kann.

9 Brian und Eddie Holland sowie Lamont Dozier sind zwischen 1962 und 1967 eines der wichtigen Kompositionsteams bei Motown (Fitzgerald 2007).

10 *That's Soul* (V.A 1967a) und *This Is Soul* (V.A. 1968c) haben das gleiche Cover. Das Cover der nicht mit *That's Soul* identischen Zusammenstellung namens *This Is Soul* (V.A. 1968d) basiert auf einer typografischen Gestaltung der Namen der auf dem Album vertretenen Künstler*innen.

11 Die Literatur zum Beat-Club ignoriert die Show-Openings. Die entsprechenden Stücke fehlen in den ansonsten minutiös dokumentierten Setlisten der Sendungen (exemplarisch: Schmidt 2005).

Soul identifiziert, wie Tabelle 2 zeigt. Einzig das an Southern Soul angelehnte „Cool Jerk“ von The Capitols (1966; grau hinterlegt) stammt aus Detroit, wenn auch nicht von Motown.[12]

Abb. 1–6: Cover von Soul-Veröffentlichungen (Quelle: Discogs)

12 Auf dem Stück spielt die unter Pseudonym agierende Motown-Hausband Funk Brothers.

Sendung	Datum	Künstler*innen / Band	Tracktitel
17	25.02.67	Wilson Pickett	Land of 1000 Dances
19	01.05.67	The Capitols	Cool Jerk
20	20.05.67	Arthur Conley	Sweet Soul Musc
21	24.06.67	Solomon Burke	Everybody Needs Somebody to Love
24	23.09.67	Bunny Sigler	Let the Good Times Roll
25	14.10.67	Aretha Franklin	Respect
26	25.11.67	Wilson Pickett	Stagger Lee
27	30.12.67	Otis Redding	I Can't Turn You Loose
...			
38	31.12.68	The Foundations	Built Me Up Buttercup
39	25.01.69	Otis Redding	Shake (Live)
40	22.02.69	Rex Martin & the Midnight Cravers	Sock It to 'Em J.B.
41	29.03.69	Don Bryant	Everything Is Gonna Be Alright

Tab. 2: *Beat Club* Show-Openings

Ein TV-Beitrag aus dem Schweizer Fernsehen aus dem Jahr 1968 suggeriert im Interview sogar einen zwingenden Zusammenhang von Go-Go Tanz und Soul-Musik: „Go-Go-Girls, das sind Mädchen, die gern tanzen, die die Musik lieben, vor allem die Soul-Musik" (Tänzerin Joyce im Interview in Rendezvous vom 5. Mai 1968, SRF Archiv 2016). Im Hintergrund des Interviews ist eine Coverversion der Hayes/Porter Komposition „Soul Man" (Sam & Dave 1967), also Southern Soul, zu hören. Ilse Jung, die in der fraglichen Zeit Mitglied einer der ersten deutschen Frauen-Beat-Bands war, bestätigt: „Soul-Musik war 1967 (vielleicht auch schon etwas eher) in den Diskotheken, die ich besucht habe, die aktuelle Tanzmusik. Es gab auch einen speziellen Tanz-Stil dazu, den es vorher nicht gab und den heute niemand mehr tanzt" (Jung, E-Mail an D.E. vom 11. Oktober 2018). Das Bühnenprogramm ihrer Band The Rag Dolls aus dem Jahr 1968 verzeichnet mit einem Percy Sledge- und vier Aretha Franklin-Songs unter insgesamt 14 Titeln ebenfalls eine Häufung von Southern Soul (Jung 2016, 57–58). In der deutschsprachigen Rezeption der 1960er Jahre wird Soul zu Tanzmusik und als solche eher zu Southern Soul, denn zu Motown Soul.[13]

Southern Soul als Tanzmusik und Gesangskunst

Diese Vermarktungsstrategie von Soul als Tanzmusik und Partysoundtrack steht in einem vermeintlichen Widerspruch zur Konzeption des Musikstils als eine spezifisch afroamerikanische Gesangskunst, die den zeitgenössischen Diskurs dominiert (Elflein 2017, 78–80; Ege 2007, 46–56). Soul ist in dieser Argumentation das ungeliebte weltliche Kind einer sozialen Formation, die erfahrenes Leid in religiöse Überzeugung transformiert. Dies funktioniert wiederum musikalisch nach Regeln, die zumindest im Ursprung aus einer mythischen Zeit stammen, die vor dem Leiden der Sklaverei liegt und sich als Spiritual bzw. Gospelgesang äußert. Jener ist für die deutsche Öffentlichkeit spätestens seit Mitte der 1950er Jahre via Schallplatten von Mahalia Jackson (ab 1956) und Paul Robeson (ab 1958) zugänglich. 1961 gastiert Jack-

13 Dabei geht es mir nicht um die Bestätigung der im Soul-Diskurs durchaus verbreiteten Ausgrenzung von Motown als Pop aus dem Feld (exemplarisch: Guralnick 2009, 10 und 17), sondern um den Erwartungshorizont, den die Bezeichnung Soul in Deutschland Ende der 1960er Jahre heraufbeschwört haben könnte.

son im Rahmen ihrer zweiten Europatournee auch in der BRD.[14] Robeson veröffentlicht in der DDR ab 1964 Schallplatten (Schubert 2018, 127, Fn. 210), Jackson ab 1966 (Discogs 2019). 1965 präsentiert die Konzertagentur Lippmann und Rau ihr erstes *Spiritual & Gospel Festival* der westdeutschen Öffentlichkeit, 1966 folgt eine zweite Auflage. Beide Festivals werden auch unter der Ägide von Joachim Ernst Berendt für das Fernsehprogramm des Südwestfunks ausgewertet (Elflein 2017, 77). Moritz Ege hat auf eine zeitgenössische Argumentation hingewiesen, nach der Nicht-Afroamerikaner*innen dieser leidvolle Erfahrungshorizont per Definition nicht zugänglich sei und die entsprechenden musikalischen bzw. vokalen Techniken nicht oder nur schwer erlernbar seien (2007, 46–56). Die Hautfarbe und Herkunft der Besitzer*in einer Stimme sei also im Prinzip hörbar. Dies alles wird von Weißen Intellektuellen mit Bewunderung behauptet und ist laut Ege Teil einer Afroamerikanophilie (ebd.). Gleichzeitig gilt Soul Autoren wie Rolf-Ulrich Kaiser (1969, 75–76), Joachim Ernst Berendt (1970, 45) oder auch Nik Cohn (1971, 104) als kommerziell motivierte Ausbeutung dieses eigentlich religiös behaupteten Gesangsstils. Jack Hamilton (2016, 26–85) weist dagegen in einem Buchkapitel zu Sam Cooke darauf hin, dass bei der Argumentation, der weltliche Soul plündere aus kommerziellen Gründen das religiöse Spiritual, völlig vergessen wird, dass bereits der Markt für religiöse Musik in den USA ein Multi-Millionen-Dollar-Markt ist, durch den Stars existieren, die fürstlich verdienen. Soul entsteht nach Hamilton dementsprechend nicht aus rein ökonomischen Gründen. (Southern) Soul wird so in der wissenschaftlichen und journalistischen Rezeption (Kaiser 1969, 75–76; Berendt 1970, 45; Cohn 1971, 104) diskursiv auf die Stimme reduziert, die aus dem Spiritual ableitbaren ästhetischen Mehrwert enthalte, und gleichzeitig als Tanzmusik vermarktet, die jedoch, so nicht nur die eben bereits erwähnten Autoren, industriell gefertigte Stangenware sei (Schmidt-Joos 1975, 23; Kneif 1982, 219; Kneif und Halbscheffel 1992, 361–62).

Das erfolgreichste Soul-Album der 1960er Jahre, That's Soul (V.A. 1967a), präsentiert im Einklang mit dieser Dichotomie Soul sowohl als Tanzmusik als auch als afroamerikanische Gesangskunst, die sich insbesondere in Balladen entäußert, und enthält dementsprechend vier Balladen und zehn Tanzstücke. 13 der 14 Titel des Albums stammen von afroamerikanischen Sänger*innen, einer von einer Männergesangsgruppe gleicher Hautfarbe. Bands und Instrumentalist*innen kommen nicht vor, die Begleitmusiker*innen werden auf dem Cover nicht genannt.

Es existiert auch eine aufwendiger gestaltete Edition des Albums mit zehnseitigem Beiheft (Discogs 2019b), das neben kurzen Liner Notes Fotos von allen Sänger*innen außer einem und biografische Texte zu acht der zwölf Künstler*innen enthält. Auch diese Texte sprechen von Soul ausschließlich als Gesangskunst: „Fachleute schätzen das, was sie singen und wie sie es singen: Es ist das, was von innen kommt" (Jensen 1967, 1). Über den Gesang hinaus wird Musik nur einmal kurz erwähnt: „Die Musik peitscht auf, sie hat Schockwirkung, ist überdimensional und dann wieder ergreifend romantisch" (ebd., 3). Die Präsentation im deutschen TV-Programm ab 1967, beispielsweise im *Beat Club* von Radio Bremen oder in *Beat Beat Beat* des Hessischen Rundfunks (HR), verzichtet im Normalfall ebenfalls auf Begleitmusiker*innen und präsentiert als Studiogäste ausschließlich Sänger*innen, so dass hier ebenfalls eine Schwarze Gesangskunst konstruiert wird. Die oben bereits angeführten Show-Openings des *Beat Clubs* (Tabelle 2), die Soul als Tanzmusik bewerben, nutzen wie erwähnt Tonträger. Generell bleiben die Begleitmusiker*innen, wenn denn überhaupt auf die Musik Bezug genommen wird, immer in jeglicher Hinsicht anonym.

14 Für ihre erste Europatournee 1952 liegt mir kein detaillierter Tourneeplan vor.

Für die ab 1967 stattfindenden, von der Konzertagentur Lippmann und Rau organisierten Tourneen mit Soul-Sänger*innen gilt, dass die für diese Tourneen engagierten Begleitmusiker*innen, beispielsweise bei Wilson Pickett oder Sam & Dave, nicht mit den Studiomusiker*innen identisch und ausschließlich afroamerikanischer Herkunft sind. Beide Tourneen werden auch im deutschen Fernsehen übertragen, die Sam & Dave Show gestaltet am 13. November 1967 eine komplette Folge von *Beat Beat Beat*. Über die Wilson Pickett-Tournee dreht Reinhold Hauff 1968 für den Westdeutschen Rundfunk (WDR) einen Dokumentarfilm. Soul bekommt auf diese Art und Weise in Deutschland endgültig eine Hautfarbe, sowohl als Gesangsstil als auch als Tanzmusik, als Groove und Rhythmus.

That's Soul – eine Analyse von Soul als Tanzmusik

Dem mit Soul in Verbindung gebrachten Groove möchte ich mittels einer Analyse der auf dem erfolgreichsten Soul-Album der damaligen Zeit, *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a), enthaltenen Musik näherkommen. Dieses Album enthält 14 Stücke von zwölf Interpret*innen, die sich in vier Balladen und zehn Tanzstücke in mittlerem bis schnellem Tempo unterteilen. Die Verteilung der Stücke auf dem Album erscheint, wie Tabelle 3 zeigt, bezogen auf das Tempo zufällig.

Nr.	Artist	Song	Tempo (bpm)	Takt	Dauer	Fade out
A1	Wilson Pickett	Mustang Sally	111	4/4	03:03	ja
A2	Carla Thomas	B-A-B-Y	115	4/4	02:49	ja
A3	Arthur Conley	Sweet Soul Music	148	4/4	02:20	ja
A4	Percy Sledge	When a Man Loves a Woman	66	6/8	02:55	ja
A5	Sam & Dave	I Got Everything I Need	51	6/8	02:53	nein
A6	Ben E. King	What Is Soul	89	4/4	02:20	ja
A7	Aretha Franklin	I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You	92	6/8	02:47	ja
B1	Otis Redding	Fa-Fa-Fa-Fa (Sad Song)	100	4/4	02:37	ja
B2	Eddie Floyd	Knock on Wood	105	4/4	02:55	ja
B3	Solomon Burke	Keep Looking	125	4/4	02:36	ja
B4	Wilson Pickett	Land of a 1000 Dances	174	4/4	02:23	ja
B5	Joe Tex	Papa Was Too	92	4/4	02:40	ja
B6	Percy Sledge	Warm and Tender Love	81	6/8	03:17	ja
B7	The Drifters	Baby what I Mean	128	4/4	02:32	ja

Tab. 3: *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a) Tempo, Taktart, Dauer, Ausblendung

Die Balladen sind ternär (6/8-Takt), die Tanzstücke stehen im 4/4-Takt. Das Tempo schwankt zwischen 51 und 92 bpm bei den Balladen und zwischen 89 und 174 bpm bei den Tanzstücken, wobei sechs der zehn Stücke zwischen 100 und 130 bpm und damit im mittleren Tempobereich liegen. Die Länge der Stücke bewegt sich zwischen 2:20 und 3:17 Minuten, nur zwei Stücke sind länger als drei Minuten. Alle Stücke bis auf eine Ballade (A5) werden am Ende ausgeblendet.

Die Instrumentierung beruht neben der Melodiestimme auf Schlagzeug, Bass, ein oder zwei E-Gitarren, Piano und/oder Orgel sowie meist einem Bläsersatz und Hintergrundgesang. Streicher finden sich nur bei den das Album beschließenden Drifters, die mit teils halbtaktigen

Harmoniewechseln, teils auf allen vier Vierteln durchgeschlagener Snare und einem durchgehenden Achtelbass auch musikalisch eine stärker an Motown-Konventionen erinnernde Ausnahme bilden. Für alle anderen Tanzstücke und die schnellste Ballade (A7) ist die Groove-Orientierung von Komposition, Arrangement und Mix zentral, bei der die Stücke um ein Riff kreisen, das vom Backbeat des Schlagzeugs ergänzt wird. Dessen Snare-Schläge auf den Zählzeiten Zwei und Vier werden wiederum grundsätzlich von einer E-Gitarre und/oder Piano gedoppelt. Gitarre und Piano werden dabei stakkato, unverzerrt und im Falle der Gitarre mit eher dünnem, höhenlastigem Klang (Single Coil Tonabnehmer) gespielt. Die Riffs beruhen wahlweise auf parallelem Spiel von Tasten- und Saiteninstrumenten ergänzend zum Backbeat oder auf ineinander verzahnten Pattern aller Instrumentengruppen. Innerhalb eines Stücks können verteilt auf unterschiedliche Formteile beide Arten der Riffkonstruktion vorkommen. Der Groove entsteht zudem über eine flexible Haltung zum Metrum. Man spielt nicht zwingend auf dem Beat, sondern gerne davor oder danach. Der Klang ist insgesamt zwar von analoger Bandsättigung geprägt, Verzerrung als klanglicher Effekt wird aber weitgehend vermieden und kommt maximal bei auf Powerchords beruhenden Rhythmusgitarrenfiguren zu Gehör, die auch als klangliche Reminiszenz an Chicago Blues und älteren R&B deutbar sind.

Der Mix stellt grundsätzlich den Bass heraus und ist immer stark hierarchisiert, um den Groove zu unterstützen. Instrumentengruppen wechseln während eines Stückes durchaus mehrfach zwischen Vorder- und Hintergrund. Der Melodiegesang steht zwar im Vordergrund, soll aber ebenfalls den Groove nicht gefährden, und wird deshalb eher in die Hierarchie des Klangbildes integriert als dieses zu dominieren. Diese Hierarchisierung des Klangraums betrifft jedoch nur Vorder- und Hintergrund, während die zusätzlichen Möglichkeiten des Stereoraums (Links-Mitte-Rechts) ignoriert werden.[15] Der Groove soll als Einheit aus den Lautsprechern schallen und auf allen Abspielgeräten möglichst ähnlich klingen. Diese Mix-Charakteristika gelten auch für die Balladen, die in Komposition und Arrangement jedoch stärker von der Harmonisierung der Gesangsmelodie bestimmt sind, so dass hier auch Flächenklänge von Orgel, Bläsern oder Chor dominant sein können.

Nr.	Song	Form	Harmonik
A1	Mustang Sally	3 Strophen (Str) mit Playout (Po)	Bluesschema
A2	B-A-B-Y	Intro (I) AABA Po (A, B je 16 Takte)	I IV plus sekundäre Akk.
A3	Sweet Soul Music	8 Str mit Break (Br) nach Str 6 und Po	I IV (plus vi V)
A4	When a Man Loves a Woman	I AABA A Po	A: Pachelbel-Variation, B: IV I (plus vi II7 V7)
A5	I Got Everything I Need	AAAABAABB	I IV V plus sekundäre Akk.
A6	What Is Soul	Chorus(C) Verse(V) CV Br C	reale Quintfallsequenz im V (von VII nach bVII) C: I, Br: vi V
A7	I Never Loved a Man the Way I Love You	2 Strophe, Br, Po	I (IV) V (I) Br: IV I V / IV III I

15 Von allen hier in Frage stehenden Stücken existieren auch nachträglich angefertigte (Pseudo-) Stereomixe, von denen in klanglicher Hinsicht abzuraten ist. Sie bieten kaum einen Mehrwert, erscheinen meist als sehr lieblos angefertigt und trüben den Hörspaß gerade in Bezug auf den Groove deutlich. Insbesondere Spotify-Hörer*innen seien auf diesen Umstand hingewiesen, während sich auf YouTube bisher mit etwas Aufwand fast immer die Originalmixe finden lassen.

B1	Fa-Fa-Fa-Fa (Sad Song)	I C' VC VC Br I C	C: I IV (V, Br: I V IV, I: I vi)
B2	Knock on Wood	Riff (R) VCR VCR Br VCR Po	I IV (Riff plus III, V7 und bVII)
B3	Keep Looking	AAA'B AA"B AA"(=Po)	I (IV V)
B4	Land of a 1000 Dances	In VC SoloC Po	I (bVII)
B5	Papa Was Too	I ABABABABABA (A=6-12, B=1 Takt)	I (bVII)
B6	Warm and Tender Love	I AABA AABA AABA Outro	A: I I IV I, B: I I7 IV I (V)
B7	Baby what I Mean	I AABA Br BA Po	A: I IV (V), B: IV bVII (V)

Tab. 4: *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a) Songstrukturen und harmonische Formeln

In Bezug auf die Songstruktur finden sich sowohl reihende Formen als auch Liedformen. Vier (A2, A4, B6, B7) der 14 Stücke beruhen auf der AABA Form des Classic American Song (Forte 2001), die jedoch jeweils unterschiedlich variiert und ausgearbeitet wird. Drei Lieder (A6, B1, B2) haben eine Verse-Chorus-Struktur, ein Prechorus kommt nicht vor. Ebenfalls drei Stücke (A1, A3, A7) reihen Strophen mit starkem Blueseinfluss und enden in einem Playout. Das normative 12-taktige Bluesschema findet jedoch nur einmal Verwendung. Die vier restlichen Stücke (A5, B3, B4, B5) sind zyklisch strukturiert und reihen zwei Formteile als Haupt- und Breakteil.

In Bezug auf die verwendeten harmonischen Formeln werden die beschreibbaren Gemeinsamkeiten geringer. Zwar basieren sechs Stücke hauptsächlich auf dem Wechsel zwischen erster und vierter Stufe (A2, A3, B1, B2, B6, B7), aber keines der Stücke beruht ausschließlich auf diesen beiden Akkorden, sondern die fünfte Stufe oder sekundäre moll-Akkorde finden ebenfalls Verwendung. Drei Stücke (B3, B4, B5) verharren auf einem Akkord, zwei von diesen basieren auf einem Slide-in von der kleinen Septime, B3 löst das Verharren auf der ersten Stufe immer mal wieder über die vierte und fünfte Stufe auf. Ansonsten findet sich auch Pachelbels Kanon (A4), eine reale Quintfallsequenz (A6), ein 12-taktiges Bluesschema (A1) sowie ebenfalls je einmal ein Wechsel zwischen erster und fünfter Stufe (A7) und die Verwendung aller drei primären Akkorde plus sekundärer (Neben-) Akkorde (A5).

Diese Ergebnisse entsprechen weitgehend dem harmonisch von Richard J. Ripani (2006) für R&B und die Soul-Ära analysierten sowie der grundlegenden Analyse des STAX-Sounds von Rob Bowman (1995) – einem der wichtigsten Labels und Tonstudios für Southern Soul, das in Memphis beheimatet ist. In Erweiterung von Bowmans Erkenntnissen scheinen Verse-Chorus-Strukturen außerhalb des STAX-Kosmos nicht so dominant zu sein, da *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a) nicht von dieser formalen Struktur geprägt ist. In harmonischer Hinsicht bestätigt sich Ripanis und Jon Fitzgeralds (2007) Argument der eminenten Wichtigkeit der vierten Stufe für R&B, das Bowmans harmonische Erkenntnisse erweitert. Fitzgeralds (2007) Analyse von, wie er formuliert, Black Pop Top 40 Hits in den USA zwischen 1963 und 1966 zeigt viele Gemeinsamkeiten und einige Unterschiede zu dem auf *That's Soul* analysierten Sound.[16] Die Unterschiede bestehen in einer potentiell größeren harmonischen Komplexität, einer geringeren Wichtigkeit von Riffs, größeren Besetzungen inklusive Streichersektion und Perkussion sowie einer erweiterten Dopplung des Backbeats der Snare durch insbesondere Klatschen, Fingerschnippen und Tambourin.

16 Fitzgeralds (2007) Analysen beziehen sich mehrheitlich auf Motown-Produktionen plus Arbeiten von Sam Cooke und Curtis Mayfield.

Die auf *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a) vertretenen Stücke haben damit eine fast allen Stücken gemeinsame klangliche und musikalische Ästhetik von Southern Soul-Musik, die als Genrekonventionen deutbar sind. Zudem sind alle 14 Stücke von unterschiedlichen Kreativteams komponiert und getextet, sodass ein Personalstil ausgeschlossen werden kann, auch wenn einzelne Akteure wie Steve Cropper (A5, B1, B2) oder Otis Redding (A3, B1) mehrfach auftauchen.

Southern Soul umfasst damit eine bestimmte Menge an Backbeat basierten Grooves in mittlerem Tempo, die auf E-Gitarre, E-Bass und Piano/ Orgel beruhen und von einer Bläsergruppe ergänzt bzw. kontrastiert werden. Der Backbeat wird dabei von Snare, Gitarre und/oder Piano deutlich markiert. Soul kommt weitgehend ohne Verzerrung und Modulationseffekte aus, Hall findet eher dezent Verwendung. Die Abmischungen haben eine Tendenz zu monauralem Klang mit starker Tiefenstaffelung und deutlicher Betonung der Basslinie. Die Songstrukturen sind in der Regel einfache Lied- oder zwei Formteile reihende Tanzmusikstrukturen mit einfacher Blues-basierter Harmonik. Instrumentale Solos sind unüblich. Schlusswendungen werden zugunsten des Ausblendens der Stücke vermieden und unterstützen damit die potentielle Unabgeschlossenheit von Tanzmusik.

„Thank You Darling" – eine Analyse von Soul als Schlager

Vergleicht man die vorangestellten Ergebnisse der Analyse von Soul als Tanzmusik mit dem erwähnten, potentiell ersten Soul-Stück im deutschen TV-Programm, „Thank You Darling" von den Supremes (1965a), so fallen einige Gemeinsamkeiten und große Unterschiede auf. Gemeinsamkeiten finden sich in der Songstruktur, einer Variation der AABA Form bestehend aus *Intro AABA-BA Playout*, die als Variation jedoch nicht Soul-typisch ist, sondern beispielsweise auch häufig bei den Beatles zu finden ist.[17] Das Tempo des Stückes liegt im mittleren Bereich, es steht im 4/4 Takt und wird am Ende ausgeblendet. Die grundlegende Bandbesetzung entspricht dem oben gesagten, der für Soul wichtige Bläsersatz fehlt jedoch mit Ausnahme eines Bariton Saxofons. Außerdem liegt auf der Gitarre ein für Southern Soul eher ungewöhnlicher Modulationseffekt. Im Mix ist der Bass zwar deutlich zu hören, allerdings fehlt die differenzierte Tiefenstaffelung, die durch Vorder- (Leadstimme, Chor) und Hintergrund (der Rest) ersetzt wird. Eine Groove- oder Rifforientierung ist nicht vorhanden, vor oder hinter dem Beat spielen wird vermieden, es geht vielmehr um die Ausdeutung der Harmonien. Deren Gestaltung ist in den A- und B-Teilen aufwendiger als bei allen Stücken auf *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a), beinhaltet beispielsweise auch die Vermollung der ersten und vierten Stufe sowie eine Rückung um eine große Terz für den letzten A-Teil und steht eher in einer europäischen Tradition des populären Liedes. Einzig das viertaktige Intro mit einem Blues-Boogie-Lick über die erste und vierte Stufe sowie das Playout, das die Harmonik auf das Popklischee I vi IV V vereinfacht, lassen spontane Soul-Assoziationen aufscheinen, die sich auch aus dem Gesang via plötzlichem Anschleifen der Töne, Melismen, Einwürfen und Vorsängerin-Chor-Strukturen speisen. „Thank You Darling" (The Supremes 1965a) ist also eher ein deutscher Schlager mit leichten Soul-Einflüssen als ein Stück Soul-Musik, beziehungsweise zumindest als ein Stück Southern Soul.

17 Exemplarisch: The Beatles (1964) „I Want to Hold Your Hand".

Wer spielt? Produktionsbedingungen von Soul in den USA

Eine Recherche der Produktionsgeschichte der 14 auf *That's Soul* (V.A. 1967a) versammelten Stücke zeigt, dass sechs Lieder (A1, A3, A4, A7, B4, B6) in den FAME Studios unter Mitwirkung der Muscle Shoals Rhythm Section repektive Swampers (Whitley 2014) aufgenommen wurden. Bei der Hälfte dieser Stücke (A1, A7, B4) wird diese um Mitglieder der Memphis Boys ergänzt, der Hausband der American Studios in Memphis (Jones 2010), einer Abspaltung von STAX. Die Bläsersektion von STAX, die Memphis Horns, ist ebenfalls in drei der in den FAME Studios aufgenommenen Lieder (A1, A3, A7) zu hören. Weitere vier Stücke (A2, A5, B1, B2) wurden bei STAX in Memphis (Bowman 1997) unter Mitwirkung der Hausband Booker T & the MGs sowie den Memphis Horns aufgenommen. Damit bleiben nur vier Aufnahmen (A6, B3, B5, B7), die nicht aus diesem Netzwerk zwischen Muscle Shoals, Alabama, und Memphis, Tennessee, stammen. Sie wurden in zwei Fällen (A6, B7) nachweislich – und in einem weiteren Fall (B3) wahrscheinlich – im Talent Masters Studio in New York (Simons 2004) aufgenommen. Für das verbleibende Stück (B5) fehlen mir jegliche Informationen zum Aufnahmeort und den zu hörenden Musiker*innen.[18]

Die Geschichte dieser Tonstudios ist mittlerweile gut dokumentiert (Bowman 1997, Jones 2010, Whitley 2014), so dass klar ist, dass die musikalische Seite der R&B- und Soul-Produktion in den USA von an die aufnehmenden Studios gebundenen, zeitgenössisch meist anonym bleibenden, bei größeren Studios häufig auch mehrfach besetzten Hausbands dominiert wird, die wechselnde Vokalist*innen begleiten, unter deren Namen das Produkt dann schließlich vermarktet wird. Die Kompositionsteams sind zum Teil gleichzeitig Mitglieder der Hausband, zum Teil unabhängig davon beschäftigt. Die intensive, zum Teil langjährige Zusammenarbeit der Beteiligten, die räumlich-klanglichen Gegebenheiten, das verwendete Aufnahmeequipment und das vorhandene tontechnische Know-How unterstützen die Entwicklung eines wiedererkennbaren Grooves und Klangs, der für das Studio und davon ausgehend für einen bestimmten (Sub-)Stil von R&B bzw. Soul charakteristisch werden kann. Diverse Wiederveröffentlichungen machen es mittlerweile möglich, diese unterschiedlichen Grooves und Klangästhetiken zu hören und ihre Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten nachzuvollziehen (exemplarisch: V.A. 2001, 2003). Während Musiker*innen weniger prominenter Studios zumindest teilweise noch in der Anonymität verharren, sind die Hausbands der FAME Studios (Hughes 2015, Whitley 2014), von STAX (Bowman 1997) und den American Studios (Jones 2010) einer interessierten Öffentlichkeit namentlich bekannt. Damit ist auch dokumentiert, dass die Studiobands, die den hier infrage stehenden Southern Soul-Groove produzieren, mehrheitlich Weiß bis paritätisch Weiß/Schwarz und in Bezug auf Gender rein männlich besetzt sind – Southern Soul wird zu einem erklecklichen Teil von Weißen Country und Rock 'n' Roll sozialisierten Musikern eingespielt. Die Selbstdarstellung der Aufnehmenden in schriftlichen und filmischen Dokumentationen (exemplarisch: Camalier 2012) betont immer die der staatlichen Realität vorauseilende integrative Praxis der Soul-Produktion in den zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch segregierten USA und positioniert diese eindeutig progressiv und antirassistisch. Gleichzeitig ist klar, dass Weiße Unternehmer wie Rick Hall (FAME), Jim Stewart (STAX), Lincoln Wayne ‚Chips' Moman (American) oder auch Jerry Wexler (Atlantic) Hits für eine als Schwarz imaginierte Zielgruppe, das R&B Publikum, produzieren wollen und müssen. Charles L. Hughes (2015) hat hervorragend herausgearbeitet,

18 Joe Tex: „Papa Was Too". Die Liveband von Joe Tex soll bei vielen seiner Aufnahmen zumindest teilweise im Studio gestanden sein, für „Papa Was Too" ist das jedoch nicht nachgewiesen. Der Produzent des Stückes ist der in Nashville beheimatete William Doyce ‚Buddy' Killen.

dass im, wie er es nennt, Country Soul lang nicht alles Gold ist, was antirassistisch glänzt, um es vorsichtig zu formulieren. Ein Beleg hierfür ist ein Interview, das für eine schwedische TV-Dokumentation 1970 mit Rick Hall vor Ort in den FAME Studios geführt wurde. Hall verklärt hier den US-amerikanischen Süden und sieht explizit die Bildungsmöglichkeiten in den Nordstaaten der USA als gefährlich für sein Geschäftsmodell:

> They [afroamerikanische Sänger*innen aus den Südstaaten – D.E.] somehow become more sophisticated when they go up North [...] and their speech becomes different. They become better educated and more sophisticated and they tend to forget about the old South ways and they… we feel like that the people here are still, in general, still love each other. (R. Hall in Hopkins und Ribbsjö 1970, 11:54–12:16, Transkription D.E.)

Für eine vertiefte Auseinandersetzung mit Fragen der Auflösung von Segregation oder Progressivität von Soul ist an dieser Stelle kein Raum. Vor allem möchte ich mit dem Vorangestellten verdeutlichen und in Erinnerung rufen, dass die Produktionsbedingungen stark von rassistischen Kategorisierungen geprägt waren und sind. Zudem möchte ich mich nachfolgend noch einer anderen Argumentationslinie zuwenden.

Dekonstruktion und Identität

Die kultur- und musikwissenschaftliche Forschung in den USA, von Karl Hagstrom Millers *Segregating Sound* (2010) über Hughes *Country Soul* (2015) und Hamiltons *Just Around Midnight. Rock and Roll and the Racial Imagination* (2016) bis zu Ronald Radanos *Lying Up a Nation. Race and Black Music* (2003), dekonstruiert Begriffe wie *black music*. Gleichzeitig werden die zugrundeliegenden rassistischen Praktiken und Diskurse betont – der, wie Ta-Nehisi Coates (2018) es nennt, Markenkern der USA: Weiße Vorherrschaft. Diese Bemühungen, *black music* zu dekonstruieren, stammen jedoch meines Wissens ausschließlich von Weißen und männlichen Forschern. Interessant erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang auch, dass der Weiße Peter Guralnick in seinem erfolgreichen und einflussreichen Buch *Sweet Soul Music* (1986) bereits Mitte der 1980er Jahre Soul auf Southern Soul verengt, ein Projekt aus der partnerschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit (Guralnick 2009, 14 und 20) von Schwarz und Weiß konstruiert und ausgerechnet das in afroamerikanischem Besitz befindliche Motown-Imperium aus seiner Soul-Definition ausgrenzt, weil es musikalisch nicht authentisch genug sei (ebd., 17). Dabei spielen bei der Hausband von Motown, The Funk Brothers, ebenfalls Musiker unterschiedlicher Hautfarben zusammen, allerdings ohne Country-Einfluss und stattdessen mit Jazz-Hintergrund (vgl. Fitzgerald 2007, 102 und 128; Justman 2002).

Der afroamerikanische Diskurs ist stärker mit der Fortschreibung der in den 1960er bis 1970er Jahren spätestens bei dem Komponisten Olly Wilson (1974, 1981, 1983, 1992) im Rahmen des *Black Arts Movements* erfolgten Konstruktion von *black music* als musikalisch definiertes (1983, 3), politisch gegen die Weiße Vorherrschaft gerichtetes und identitäres Projekt beschäftigt. Hier ist Motown dann auch ein selbstverständlicher Teil der R&B/Soul-Geschichte (George 1989) oder wird, wenn schon nicht behandelt, zumindest lobend erwähnt. Guthrie P. Ramsey Jr. (2003, 1) etwa nennt Motown in *Race Music* zwar nur genau einmal auf Seite 1, dort aber als „historically important“ (ebd.).

Beide Positionen stehen sich nach meiner Kenntnis weiterhin gegenüber. Bedeutet dieser (vermeintliche oder reale) Gegensatz etwas für eine Erforschung der Soul-Rezeption und -Produktion in der BRD? Wie positioniert man sich im Feld zwischen einer positiv konnotierten Aneignung als Teil des wilden Lernens (Elflein und Weber 2017) bzw. als „Adaptation“ (Hutcheon 2006) und der im Rahmen der Critical Whiteness an den Pranger gestellten cultural appropriation als moralisch grundierte Kritik einer kulturimperialistischen Dominanz und/oder Ignoranz? Zuvorderst erscheint es mir als Weißem, männlichen Forscher jedoch als sinnvolle Forschungsfrage, den Aneignungsprozess erst einmal zu beschreiben.

Die Soul-Rezeption in der BRD Teil 2

Die beschriebenen Produktionsbedingungen des US-amerikanischen Southern Soul sind in der BRD Ende der 1960er, Anfang der 1970er Jahre, wie ich zeigen werde, weitgehend unbekannt. Southern Soul wird wie beschrieben als *black music* vermarktet und steht damit in einer Traditionslinie mit der von der Konzertagentur Lippman und Rau mit den American Folk Blues Festivals begonnenen Konstruktion von Blues als authentisch Schwarz, authentisch arm und/oder ländlich und durch den/die Künstler*in selbst erlittenen Rassismus respektive eine möglichst unvermittelte Sklaverei-Erfahrung geprägt (Adelt 2010, McGinley 2014, Rauhut 2016). Mit Fritz Rau konstruiert ein wichtiger Akteur der damaligen Zeit seine Biografie in der Art, dass die Festivals und Konzerte auch als antifaschistisch motivierte Ideen der Volksbildung im Rahmen der Demokratisierung der deutschen Bevölkerung zu verstehen seien (Rau 2008; Elflein 2017, 73–75). Die Konstruktion von Soul als *black* beschreibt auch Ege (2007, 50–56) anhand von Artikeln aus der Zeitschrift *Twen*. Ansonsten hält sich die zeitgenössische Fachpresse inklusive der zugänglichen Bücher über Pop und Jazz weitestgehend bedeckt. Soul ist hier eher eine Fußnote als ein eigenständiges Thema (Elflein 2017,76–80). Der Kassler DJ Mr. Brown aka Uwe Welsch erzählt 2013 im Interview für die Ausstellung *Von G.I. Blues zu G.I. Disco* des Berliner Alliiertenmuseums von seinen Schwierigkeiten, an Informationen und Tonträger zu gelangen – auch via Kontakten zu US-amerikanischen Soldaten. (Tiefergehende) Informationen über Soul sind also durchaus rar.

Irritationen dieser idealen Konstruktionsbedingungen für ein Phänomen namens *black music* hätten beispielsweise durch die Europatournee des STAX-Labels im Jahre 1967 gesetzt werden können, da die Hausband Booker T & the MGs sowie die aus den MGs und den Memphis Horns zusammengesetzten Mar-Keys Teil der Tournee sind. Booker T & the MGs bestehen aus den Schwarzen Booker T. Jones, Orgel, und Al Jackson Jr., Schlagzeug sowie den Weißen Steve Cropper, Gitarre, und Donald Dunn, Bass. Die Memphis Horns aus dem Weißen Trompeter Wayne Jackson und dem Schwarzen Saxofonisten Andrew Love. Allerdings macht die Tournee nicht in der BRD halt, so dass dem deutschen Publikum eine Erfahrung vorenthalten bleibt, die in einem Radiobeitrag der BBC von Zeitzeugen als verwirrend zusammengefasst wird (Gambaccini 2007): Die Hautfarben der Musiker auf der Bühne entsprechen nicht den Erwartungen des Publikums.

Nicht nur die Beatles sind nachgewiesenermaßen Fans von STAX, Anekdoten berichten von einer hohen Musikerdichte im Publikum der Englandkonzerte der STAX/Volt-Tournee 1967. Gleichwohl erzählt eine weitere Anekdote vom Erstaunen bzw. Ärger Rod Stewarts über die Musiker, die ihm Mitte der 1970er Jahre in den FAME Studios vorgestellt werden. Er hält sie

für Hilfskräfte und glaubt, man wolle ihn betrügen, denn die Hautfarbe der Musiker entspricht nicht seinen Erwartungen an eine den Soul-Groove von Aretha Franklin mitprägende Studioband (Whitley 2014, 88, Camalier 2012). Die Idee, dass der Groove von Southern Soul Schwarz sein muss, hält sich also auch dann hartnäckig, wenn man es – unter anderem als Insider – besser wissen könnte. Die in Deutschland vorherrschende Präsentation von Soul als *black music* ist deshalb mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit glaubwürdig für das Publikum.

Wenn Roger Abrahams in einem Aufsatz für das *Black Music Research Journal* fragt: "How do receptive and productive competences travel so well [across the Black Atlantic – D.E.], detached from the social imaginary in which the style developed?" (2012, 92), so muss in Bezug auf die Soul-Rezeption (und -Produktion) festgehalten werden, dass die identitäre Erzählung von Soul als Schwarz nicht losgelöst von den „receptive and productive competences" reist. Verloren geht auf dieser Reise vielmehr ein mögliches Wissen über die realen Produktionsbedingungen des in Frage stehenden Stils.

Ein Ausblick: (Produktive) Konsequenzen

Die überwiegende Mehrheit der deutschen Soul-Produzenten und ihrer sie umgebenden Netzwerke scheitert Ende der 1960er und Anfang der 1970er mit ihren Veröffentlichungen kommerziell – unabhängig von ihren produktiven Kompetenzen nach Abrahams (2012). Genau wie die kurzfristige Soul-Mode relativ schnell wieder abflaut, scheint das Interesse an deutschsprachigen Adaptionen beim deutschen Publikum begrenzt. Die mehrheitlich deutschen und Weißen Interpret*innen sind zudem losgelöst vom sozialen Imaginären von Soul als *black music*. Soul hat, wie die deutschen Produzenten erkennen müssen, eine Hautfarbe, und die ist nicht Weiß. Gleichwohl gibt es (natürlich) Ausnahmen: Joachim Heider gelingt es beispielsweise mit Marianne Rosenberg erfolgreich Philly Soul-Adaptionen einer nicht Schwarzen Interpretin im deutschen Schlager zu etablieren. Musikwissenschaftliche Forschungsbemühungen zu dieser Musik sind bisher rar bis quasi inexistent, auch weil die Schlagerforschung sich kaum mit Schlager als Musik auseinandersetzt (Mendívil 2008 und 2017).[19] Auf jeden Fall sickern Spurenelemente von Soul in dieser Phase gemeinsam mit Beat, Folk und Rock als modernisierendes Element in die deutsche Pop- und Schlagerproduktion ein (Elflein 2018).

In- und außerhalb der Schlagerwelt wird eine international konkurrenzfähige Aneignung von Soul oder Funk mit dem Aufkommen von Discomusik Mitte der 1970er Jahre erstmals auch kommerziell interessant. In diesem Zusammenhang verpflichten die Produktionsteams gerne auch Schwarze Sänger*innen, Fotomodels, Tänzer*innen etc. um ihre Songs mit Hilfe meist stark sexualisierter Körper(-bilder) zu vermarkten.[20] Damit stehen sie in einer Tradition, die in Deutschland mindestens bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts zurückreicht (Gerstner 2017, Lotz 1997). Für die Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg analysiert Maja Figge (2015) Inszenierungen Schwarzer Körper im deutschen Spielfilm der 1950er Jahre unter dem Titel *Deutschsein (wieder) herstellen* und Ege (2007, 79–92) beschreibt die Diskussionen um Sexualität zwischen Menschen

19 Ich habe eine andere Heider-Produktion aus dieser Zeit in den Fokus eines Aufsatzes gesetzt (Elflein 2014), Thomas Krettenauer (2017) liefert zumindest Schlaglichter auf die Karrieren von Giorgio Moroder und Frank Farian, Jeffrey M. Wright (2007) analysiert „Rasputin" von Boney M (1978) und Tilman Baumgärtel (2015, 315–28) „I Feel Love" von Donna Summer (1977).

20 Erfolgreiche Beispiele für diese Praxis sind unter anderem Donna Summer, Boney M, Eruption, Silver Convention und Linda & The Funky Boys.

unterschiedlicher Hautfarbe im Rahmen seiner titelgebenden *Afroamerikanophilie* ebenfalls als ein Weiß-Sein-Herstellen. Im Schlager überwiegen ähnlich gelagerte Onkel Tom-artige Figuren (Gerstner 2017, Meer 2005) wie Billy Mo[21] und Roberto Blanco. Neben der Sexualisierung als Teil dieses rassistischen Diskurses findet sich jedoch meiner Ansicht nach auch ein Bestreben um Authentifizierung deutscher Produktionen im Sinne der beschriebenen Konstruktion von Soul als Schwarz. Die Rezeption soll über die Präsentation dunkelhäutiger Körper das Produktionsland ignorieren oder noch besser in den angelsächsischen Raum imaginieren. Die Dopplung der realen Produktionsbedingungen von Soul in der deutschen Discoproduktion – Weiße im Hintergrund, Schwarze im Vordergrund – ist zwar einerseits offensichtlich, andererseits existieren starke Unterschiede im Zielpublikum. Die deutschen Produktionsteams zielen auf den Popmarkt, Crossover-Erfolge im R&B-Bereich dienen vor allem der Authentifizierung der Produktionen. Die US-Teams der besprochenen Studios zielen dagegen auf ein vorgestelltes Schwarzes Publikum im R&B. Crossover-Erfolge im Pop werden als zusätzlicher Gewinn gerne in Kauf genommen. Eine Vertiefung dieser Fragestellungen muss und wird an anderer Stelle erfolgen.

Fazit

Soul wird der deutschen Öffentlichkeit in den 1960er Jahren als Schwarz, als genuine *black music* präsentiert, die die Authentifizierung der Schwarzen Stimme als Ausdruck er- und gelebten Leids mit energetischer Tanzmusik kombiniert. Diese Entwicklung wird in Deutschland einerseits von der Musikkritik skeptisch bis ablehnend diskutiert und andererseits vom Publikum genossen und bzw. aber auch in bestehende rassistische Diskursformationen integriert. Soul wird musikalisch mit Southern Soul und nicht mit Motown identifiziert. Musikanalytisch lässt sich dieser Soul als um monaurale, bassbetonte, um den Backbeat kreisende Grooves mit kontrastierendem Bläsersatz zentriert beschreiben. Soul-Stücke stehen meist in mittlerem Tempo und sprengen selten die Drei-Minuten-Grenze, bleiben also auf die Vermarktung als Single ausgerichtet. Schlusswendungen werden vermieden. Harmonik und Form sind einfach, erstere, um der Stimme Entfaltungsmöglichkeit zu geben, letztere, um tanz- und erinnerbar zu bleiben. Soul ist jenseits des Gesanges Groove orientierte Ensemblekunst, Virtuosität präsentierende solistische Äußerungen sind dementsprechend selten. Die Produktionsbedingungen von US-Soul, die mehr oder weniger problematische Zusammenarbeit von Weißen Studiobesitzern, Weißen und Schwarzen Studiomusikern und Schwarzen Sänger*innen sind in Deutschland damals, wenn überhaupt, nur wenigen und auf keinen Fall der breiten Öffentlichkeit bekannt. Stattdessen ist das soziale Imaginäre der *black music* dominant. Die Überwindung der Segregation in der Soul-Produktion, egal ob als rassistische Ausbeutung oder als integratives Projekt, geht auf diesem Weg über den *Black Atlantic* erst einmal verloren. Gleichzeitig führt dies zur überwiegenden Erfolglosigkeit deutscher Aneignungsversuche, solange die Interpret*innen die „falsche“ Hautfarbe haben. Erst mit Disco Mitte der 1970er Jahre lehnen sich die deutschen Produktionsteams wieder verstärkt an die vorhandenen rassistischen Diskurse an, sexualisieren ihre Interpret*innen und versuchen ihre Produkte durch Schwarze Performer*innen zu authentifizieren.

21 Billy Mo veröffentlicht 1958 mit „Darling du weißt ja“ die erste bekannte deutsche Bearbeitung eines Soul-Stückes, von Sam Cookes (1957) „You Send Me“ (Elflein 2018, 175–77).

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Abstract (Deutsch)

In diesem Artikel analysiere ich die Rezeption von Soul in den ausgehenden 1960er Jahren in Deutschland, versuche eine musikalische Analyse des damals mit Soul identifizierten Grooves, spüre den Produktionsbedingungen dieser Musik nach und frage, was man in Deutschland damals von diesen Produktionsbedingungen wissen konnte. Die zugrunde liegende Methodik beruht auf Quellenrecherche und Höranalyse, deren Ergebnisse in soziale und Akteur-Netzwerke überführt und diskursanalytisch befragt werden. Im Ergebnis wird Soul unabhängig von seinen Produktionsbedingungen in den USA als *black music* und Tanzmusik konstruiert. Dabei werden neben der Spiritual- und Gospel-geschulten Singstimme die bassbetonten Grooves, einfachen Songstrukturen und die simple Harmonik des Southern Souls synonym mit Soul.

Abstract (English)

In this article, I begin by analyzing the reception of soul music in (West) Germany in the 1960s. Next, I attempt a musical analysis of a groove German listeners identified with soul and, after that, I trace the modes of soul music production in the U.S. Lastly, I ask what German listeners were able to know about soul production in United States. The basic methodology is based on reading and interpreting resources and close listening to musical examples. The outcomes are transformed into social and actor networks, which are then the subject of discourse analysis. The findings suggest that in (West) Germany soul music is constructed as black music and dance music, and the knowledge about the modes of soul music production is marginal. In (West) Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, voices trained in spiritual and gospel, grooves emphasizing the bass, simple song structures and the simple harmonic language of Southern soul become synonymous with soul music.

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Chelsea Oden

Dance as Political Activism: Two Popular Choreomusical Responses to the Orlando Shooting

Foreword

A published paper is inherently limiting—it cannot truly show moving bodies, it cannot be conversational or self-reflexive. It cannot, in other words, substitute for interacting with human beings. For these reasons, as I describe the physical body and more-than-two-dimensional identities, I ask you, the reader, to go beyond the page. Watch the music videos, dance to the music, take careful notice of your own body, your own identity, to whose realness this article cannot do justice.

Introduction

On June 12, 2016, a 29-year old United States American man entered the Pulse gay bar and nightclub in Orlando, Florida. He was armed with two legally purchased firearms and took 49 lives, the majority of whom identified as queer persons of color. At the time, the Orlando massacre was the deadliest mass shooting in the United States. It remains the country's deadliest hate crime against the LGBTQIA+ community.

Among mass media responses were two popular music videos that are noteworthy for the ways in which they unite music and dance in a political critique of the violence. The music video for Sia's "The Greatest" (Sia et al. 2016) infuses its music with a queer choreographic aesthetic and uses a filming style that invites the spectator to participate in a communal response to the tragedy. I use the term "queer" to describe dance—and intersecting modes of performativity (Kattenbelt 2010)—as sites of resistance and political possibility (DeFrantz 2016, Croft 2017). Rather than critiquing the stylistic structure of mainstream music and dance videos, the dance video for X-Ambassador's "Unsteady" (Diorio, Boyd and Johnston 2016) reconceives the heteronormative commercial contemporary dance duet with two male dancers. The video infuses its music with a political validation of homosexuality. Through a more intimate and dynamic filming style, it asks the spectator to confront structures of marginalization empathetically. Exploring these intricately correlated musical and choreographic structures forms the basis for an argument with larger implications: that in their convergence, music and dance imbue one another with new political power. These case studies are all the more poignant because their choreomusical unity amplifies the very sonic and visceral acts of living that were silenced in the shooting, people dancing to music together.

In this article, I contextualize these arguments, first by understanding the dancing body as a political force. I then propose a system of choreomusical analysis that uses examples from "The Greatest" and "Unsteady" to explore the ways the body as a political force joins and politically amplifies music. To illustrate the significance of this amplification, I offer a thought experiment,

"the three listenings," which considers how danced political messages remain vivid in music, and how this relationship can reflect back on specific events while also carrying into broader global dialogues. I close with a more focused analysis of "The Greatest" and "Unsteady" which includes YouTube viewer comments as one indicator of the videos' political impact.

The Dancing Body as Political Force

Many dance and feminist scholars have written about the body's political power. In an argument foundational to new material feminism, Karan Barad compellingly claimed that "[the body in] its very materiality plays an *active* role in the workings of power" (Barad 2003, 809; italics original). The dancing body, which visibly animates the body's materiality, is an especially rich site to study powers negotiated in political struggle. This has been a central claim in theories of both popular and queer dance. Dance scholar Sherril Dodds has written, for instance, that "[P]opular dance constitutes a site of social and economic power that has the capacity to destabilize and transgress cultural norms" (Dodds 2011, 3). Describing the active materiality of dance, dance theorist Clare Croft also names political action as fundamental to queer dance: "Queer dance argues [...] that queerness emerged in action, in protests, on stages (as well as in writing), demanding physical history" (Croft 2017, 13).

The concept of "queer corporeal orature", coined by Thomas DeFrantz in reference to black social dance (DeFrantz 2016; 2004, 4), describes the specific capacity of dance to "incite action" through "performative gestures which cite contexts beyond the dance" (ibid.). Following these many conceptions of the dancing body as an active political force and theories of queer dance as challenging political structures, I maintain that the dancing bodies in the music videos "The Greatest" and "Unsteady" cannot be considered as passive instruments, but must be seen as active forces engaged in the negotiation of political boundaries.

An Approach to Choreomusical Analysis

The term "choreomusical" has been embraced by a handful of scholars to describe the relationship between music and dance. Chief among these is Paul Hodgins (1991, 1992) whose seminal work in the early 1990s proposed a musical foundation for the analysis of choreographic structures. Critiquing scholarship that frames dance as subordinate to music, other choreomusicologists, most notably Stephanie Jordan (1993, 2002), have sought more flexibility in thinking about the possibilities co-produced by music and dance. By "choreomusical," I here mean those specific ways dance and music overlap or are parallel to one another to the degree that they create the impression of being a single force. This take on choreomusicality is different from those conceptualizing dance and music as contrapuntal (Leaman 2016). It aligns most closely with what Turner and Fauconnier (1995) called "blended space" and what Jordan (2012, 13) describes as "a new composite form."

My approach to choreomusical analysis also sits adjacent to the work of music video scholars. Carol Vernallis (2004) and Nicholas Cook (1998), for instance, dissect music videos according to parameters that are very similar to, and in some cases more extensive than mine. But our aims are somewhat different. Although they each describe characteristics of synchronicity be-

tween mediums that amplify one another, they attend more to the ways individual elements interact than to their composite effect. Akin to contrapuntal understandings of music-dance relationships, Cook's conformance, complementation, and contest, for example, are based on his definition of multimedia as "the *interaction* of different media" (ibid., viii; italics original) rather than on a "composite form" (Jordan 2012, 13) Vernallis, likewise, contrasts the dynamic, multimedia nature of music videos with narratively unified Hollywood film. She describes music videos as "always in flux" and "unpredictable," owing to the camera's obligation to follow the music (Vernallis 2004, 110). I have not found this to be the case in "The Greatest" and "Unsteady," which differ from many mainstream music videos in that "the dance" and "the music" are equal and overlapping subjects of the film. I am interested not only in what is musical about dance or dance-like about music, but in those moments of co-articulation that erase the boundaries between them. In this erasure, dancing bodies deepen music politically.

Throughout my analyses I draw on a concept known in dance as kinesthetic empathy (Daly 1992, 243; Reason and Reynolds 2010), known in music as the mimetic hypothesis (Cox 2001), and in film as the phenomenon of the cinesthetic subject (Sobchack 2004). All hold that the listener-viewer makes sense of the world through their body and that bodily understanding participates in constructing aesthetic experience. I will prompt you, the reader-viewer-listener-dancer, to bring your awareness to your body often. Part of the political power of these short films is that their structures resonate in us.

In the context of these videos, I have found it most useful to think about the convergence between music and dance through five parameters, which I propose as the basis for my method of choreomusical analysis: (1) choreomusical form, (2) choreomusical texture, (3) emphasis of pulse, (4) rhythmic amplification, and (5) choreomusical text painting. Through each parameter, music and dance meet one another in a space that is between and beyond either alone. As I introduce each parameter, I will offer an example from the case study videos.

(1) By *choreomusical form*, I mean the feeling of formal structure articulated by the music and dance together. A good example in "The Greatest" is the climactic initiation of the final chorus (3:38). At this moment, the escalated energy of the music and the choreography converge in a unified feeling of large-scale arrival. Watch and listen to the video, taking note of your own embodied response to this moment. Likewise, in the introduction of "Unsteady" (0:00–0:35), the two dancers' movements are linear and confined as they slowly address one another from across a small, square table. This is amplified musically by a smooth, percussion-less introductory vocal line. When the percussion enters, setting up the rhythmic backdrop for the first verse, the dancers' movements are simultaneously freed from the table. Their more dynamic and sporadic movement emphasizes a formal shift from the introduction to the first verse that I, the dancer-listener, experience as a united energy. Watch and listen to the beginning of this video, taking note of your own embodied response to the choreomusical shift in form.

(2) By *choreomusical texture*, I mean the combined impact of musical textural forces and dance textural forces. Musical textural forces include the number of musical lines, the quality of movement in those lines, and their relationship to one another. Dance textural forces include the number of dancers, their organization or distribution throughout the performance space, and relationships between their qualities of movement. But more than synchronizing these textural elements, choreomusical texture synthesizes them. It exists in the space that music and dance coproduce. In "The Greatest," for example, choreomusical texture offers a more

specific way to talk about the escalated energy that initiates the final chorus (3:38). At this moment, the largest number and most dense concentration of dancers joins the thickest combination of musical sounds. A splash cymbal, clap with chorus effect, and fricative "F" of the word "free" join the dancers' airborne hands, actively spread fingers, flying hair, wide eyes, and open mouths in a focused buzziness. At the same time, the dancers anchor their lower bodies with widespread feet and bent knees and commit their arms to extended positions in an energy that converges with the crisp drum-kit snare and substantive bass entrance. Try imitating the dancers' movements in time with the video at (3:38). Take note of the way your body participates in this moment's sudden, bright, anchored, yet fizzy choreomusical texture.

As the high point (3:38) shows, choreomusical texture can help articulate choreomusical form. In contrast to the dense, fizzy onset of the chorus, for instance, the verses are characterized by a choreomusical narrowness that widens slightly. In the first verse, Sia's solo voice, which is lightly harmonized on the phrase "I got stamina," projects over an unadorned drum-kit bass and keyboard synth. At the same time, the camera focuses on dancer Maddie Ziegler and a single-file line of dancers she directs down a hallway. Together, the sonic and visual organization produces a choreomusical texture that is narrow, thin, and focused. Halfway through the verse, a bass line and somewhat more active keyboard synth open the musical texture slightly. Simultaneously, the dancers arrive at a staircase and break out of their single-file line to ascend the stairs. The staircase continues the linearity of the dancers' path and widens it. Together, the thickening musical and visual features create a choreomusical texture that has been nudged opened. (see 1:20 and 1:29). This same narrowness and subtle intensification also shapes the second verse (see 2:14 and 2:18) where Ziegler is as texturally singular as Sia's voice and the surrounding dancers are as texturally augmenting as the accompanimental musical lines. In the verses, I, the dancer-listener, experience not the separate textural elements of music and dance, but a deeper, synthesized narrowness and widening.

The prechorus zeroes in even further. Visually, it drops to a nearly singular focus on Ziegler, completely eliminating other dancers on the second and third iterations (see 1:40, 2:33, and 3:31). With a similar level of focus, the "o" vowel sound becomes primary in the straightforward lyrics, "Don't give up, I won't give up, don't give up (no, no, no)." Sia's harmonized voice stands out easily from the drum-kit bass and the keyboard synth that support it. The visually simplified texture and diminishing musical texture intersect, giving the pre chorus a highly focused, decrescendoing choreomusical shape that is designed to be broken open by the energy of the chorus.

The chorus is the most texturally dense part of the song. Following the high point (3:38), for instance, Sia's voice harmonizes itself as background vocals sing in their own texturally distinct line. The clap with chorus effect, the drum-kit bass, and the splash cymbal are joined by a drum-kit ratchet suspending over downbeats and three additional keyboard synth parts. Each chorus contains more dancers than the last, culminating in the massive unison articulation of the final chorus.

(3) *Emphasis of pulse* is a choreomusical parameter that connects music and dance through co-emphasis of an underlying pulse. For the sake of brevity in this article, I will focus on one particular type of pulse emphasis: emphasis of the downbeat. Musicians and dancers use downbeats to organize the pulse underlying their performance into repeating groups. For dancers performing choreography in 8-count phrase lengths, downbeats are usually felt on

counts 1 and 5 (and sometimes on 1, 3, 5, and 7), resulting in pulse groups of 4 (or 2). Musicians typically count these 8 beats as two measures of four with a downbeat on each count-one: 1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4. Because downbeats are so fundamental to the temporal structure, they compositionally attract other salient features. Often, they highlight important words in the lyrics. They might take on louder dynamics, distinct articulations, or make a timbral shift for contrast. Choreographic gestures draw the body into the downbeat through physical extension or dynamic articulation. For instance, in "Unsteady," we might perceive an underlying pulse occurring at the pace of 58 beats per minute. The pulses fall easily into a repeating pattern of 4. At 2:05 on the dancers' and musicians' count-one, the dark-shirted dancer (Will Johnston), laying across the light-shirted dancer (Kent Boyd), sweeps his arm clockwise across the floor with an extended, wide-spread hand. The reaching gesture synchronizes with the vocalist's clearer timbre on the first word of the song's chorus, "Hold…" and amplifies a choreomusical downbeat. As you listen, try sweeping your arm on the word "Hold" to feel the choreomusical emphasis.

While downbeats have been my focus here, it's important to note that downbeat pulses are not the only pulses musicians and dancers regularly emphasize. In "Unsteady," for example, there are several instances of a sharp choreographic gesture joining the snare hit on musical beats 2 and 4. For instance, at around 0:47 on the musical beat 2, the light-shirted dancer (Boyd) quickly lifts the dark-shirted dancer (Johnston) and pivots him out of a dip into a standing position. At 1:44, on the musical beat 4, both dancers toss their heads back with the snare in a choreomusically percussive gesture. The regular shape of choreomusical emphasis of the pulse in "Unsteady" sets up an expectation of a choreomusical meter. As you listen to the music, see if you find yourself inclined to move in any kind of temporally regular pattern. If so, what are the tendencies of its shape?

(4) *Rhythmic amplification* connects music and dance through a co-articulated rhythm. Rhythmic amplification can be incidental, or it can occur as part of an important repeating pattern. The instrumental break in "The Greatest" offers a good example of the latter. Matching the inflection of the primary synth voice's repeated note, three dancers sharply articulate hit points on count 1, the "a" of 1, and the "&" of 2 (~3:20, 3:21, 3:23). The music and the choreography amplify one another in a punchy, sharp choreomusical rhythm. The rhythmic figure is repeated and elaborated with various choreographic gestures and slight variations in musical timbre. The repetition etches itself into our embodied, choreomusical memory. Watch and listen to the instrumental break and notice how your body engages with the sharpness of the rhythm. Notice, even after the instrumental break has given way to the smooth, unarticulated prechorus, that the rhythm continues to echo in your body.

(5) *Choreomusical text painting* occurs when an action or characteristic described in a song's lyrics is expressed in the music and dance. While choreomusical text painting might be thought of as dance and music mimicking text, the effect is more than imitation. Instead, music and dance work together to bring about a realization of the text. Unsurprisingly, the words I have seen painted choreomusically most often are verbs. For an example, consider the word "hold" in "Unsteady." "Hold" appears three times in succession in each chorus ("Hold, hold on, hold on to me"). Musically, the first "Hold" (1:17) lingers over two beats, rising in pitch longingly from the third scale degree to the home-seeking fifth scale degree on the second beat. The following "Hold on" (1:20) places "Hold" on a single beat and reverses the previous upward pitch motion through movement from the overshot sixth scale degree back to the unsettled

fifth scale degree. "Hold on to me" (1:23) then casts "Hold" into a fleeting, unstable upbeat, and continues to tether it to the unresolved fifth scale degree. In each chorus, "Hold" is painted with an energy that is increasingly destabilized and beseeching.

The music's desperate trajectory is co-opted at a larger level in the dance. Over multiple choruses, the dance, too, uses text painting to convey a sense of longing for impossible closure. In the first choreographed chorus, "Hold" is underscored by the light-shirted dancer (Kent Boyd) jumping and holding onto the back of the dark-shirted dancer (Will Johnston) (1:17). "Hold on" is accompanied by movement to a suspended, facing embrace (1:20). Through "Hold on to me," the dark-shirted dancer slowly lowers the light-shirted dancer to the floor, maintaining a close embrace (1:23). As you listen to the first chorus, try performing a motion in time with the word "hold" that you feel expresses the word's meaning. Take note of the quality of your movement and what it implies about your connection with the space around you. In my body, "hold" becomes a choreomusically sustained motion that asks for connection.

In the next iteration of the chorus, "hold" is absent from the choreography until the lyrics' final "Hold on to me" in which the dark-shirted dancer offers the light-shirted dancer his arms like rungs of a ladder (2:11). As you listen to this chorus, see what it feels like to wait to express "hold" in your movement until its third statement. The chorus immediately repeats and the light-shirted dancer reaches to help the dark-shirted dancer to his feet on the first "hold" (2:22). In the "hold on" that follows, the dancers undo the word: they initially connect before dark-shirted dancer pushes his partner away (2:25). The third chorus's final "hold on to me," falls unpainted in the distance between the dancers. See what if feels like to express "hold" in your movement on its first two iterations in this chorus. Notice the effect of leaving the third "hold" unexpressed. The fourth and last iteration of the chorus paints only its final "hold on to me" where the dark-shirted dancer hugs and lifts his partner, reversing—for the moment—his earlier physical rejection (2:44). Remind yourself of the impact of expressing only the final "hold on to me" in your movement.

Together, the four choreographed choruses use text painting to project an ABCB quatrain. The first chorus, characterized as "A," paints "hold" choreographically in all three utterances. This consistency establishes a stability to which the following choruses will never return. The second chorus, characterized as "B," leaves its first two "hold"s unpainted, choreographically painting only the third instance. The diffuseness of the first two "hold"s sets up the final "hold" as a glance back to the steadiness of "A." The third chorus, characterized as "C," picks up where B left off, continuing to paint the word "hold" through its first two iterations. But the third iteration, whose position communicates the most resolution, is left unpainted. Without painting its final "hold," "C" ends with the greatest amount of unrest. Chorus 4, characterized again as "B," continues and escalates the silence of the third chorus's conclusion by leaving its first two "hold"s unpainted. The painting of the final "hold" carries a bittersweet weight: it brings the dancers together in a long-denied embrace, but without ever regaining the stability of "A." Below, choreographically painted lyrics are italicized and the word "rest" substitutes for unpainted text.

Chorus 1*: Hold, hold on, hold on to me*. (A)
Chorus 2: Rest, rest, *hold on to me*. (B)
Chorus 3: *Hold, hold on,* rest. (C)
Chorus 4: Rest, rest, *hold on to me*. (B)

As the music's desperation courses through each iteration of the chorus, we are left with the sense that something has transpired that cannot be undone – there is no path back to the way things were "before." The choreomusical story of the word "hold" is one that longs for impossible stability.

Choreomusical form, choreomusical texture, emphasis of pulse, rhythmic amplification, and choreomusical text painting are useful parameters when considering specific ways music and dance converge. In their convergence lies a powerful political potential. The following section explores this political potential through a thought experiment I call "the three listenings."

The Three Listenings

"The three listenings" is a hypothetical series of listening and viewing experiences that shows how political statements enter the choreomusical space in music and dance videos and remain active in music beyond the video's frame:

In the first listening, you hear the music in an everyday context. Perhaps you hear it on the radio or through a streaming service playlist. Maybe someone has recommended it and you give it a listen.

In the second listening, you watch the song's music video. As you hear the song, you watch a co-articulating dance. The music and dance converge in choreomusical textures and forms. They amplify rhythms and emphasize choreomusical downbeats. They cast the lyrics in new dimensions of sound and motion. Together, dance and music integrate politically active bodies, aesthetics, and narratives. You experience them together—the politically-situated music and dance are one choreomusical experience.

In the third listening, you hear the music again in an everyday context, but your hearing of it has been transformed. You cannot hear it as you did in the first listening. The second listening has knit into it echoes of politically-situated moving bodies. In becoming one with the dance, the music now carries the dance and its many meanings beyond the video's frame.

"The three listenings" shows that choreomusical relationships may continue to shape subsequent hearings of the music outside of the context of the video. Drawing on the choreomusical parameters outlined above and the framework of the three listenings, the next section analyzes specific political statements realized in "The Greatest" and "Unsteady." For each case study, I will first describe the video as a whole and encourage you, the reader, to watch it all the way through. I will then make a case for political statements carried into the music through the videos' choreomusical structures.

Case Study I: "The Greatest"

Before reading this analysis, take a moment to watch "The Greatest" from start to finish. "The Greatest" begins with the white letters of the text "#WeAreYourChildren" flashing against a black background. The camera cuts to its first image—a dark hallway leading to a pile of inanimate dancers behind a barred gate. With the cut to this first image, we hear an empty sine

tone, as though our ears are ringing after a gunshot. The camera pans through an abandoned building, revealing 49 inanimate dancers sprawled in various locations. In front of a grey wall, dancer Maddie Ziegler runs her fingers down her cheeks, leaving the mark of teary rainbow streaks. Standing among the fallen dancers, she beckons silently and violently against the dominating sine tone for them to rise. When the music begins, the dancers follow her bidding. The music has transported us into a place where the dead are living. The first group of dancers, piled behind bars, is released by Ziegler who kicks open an interior gate. Together, they run up a flight of stairs and dance in small groups through two linear hallways. Ziegler then enters a new room and finds her way to the center of a large circle of dancers. Leaving the circle for a brief trio, and a briefer solo in front of a bloodred wall, Ziegler makes it to her last destination: a large, dimly lit room. The room is filled with more dancers than any of the spaces that have led to it. Disco balls lay on surfaces and light peers through bullet-pierced walls. The music finally fades back to the eerie stillness of the sine tone and all of the dancers, including Ziegler, drop to the floor. We have returned from the life and dance of the music's world to the silence and death of the present. Opening her eyes, but seemingly defeated, Ziegler appears to be the only conscious dancer. The camera pans again through the building, this time in reverse order, showing all of the dancers returned to an inanimate state. The gate that Ziegler kicked open in the beginning is closed as though it was never opened. The camera cuts back to Ziegler, weeping in front of the red wall.

"The Greatest" imbues its music with a political message that speaks powerfully against the horror of the Orlando Shooting by elevating an empowered community of unique, expressive individuals. To do this, the video choreomusically combines dancing bodies with overt references to the shooting, physical symbols of oppression, a queer dance aesthetic, a filming style that addresses the spectator, and lyrics that celebrate love, endurance, and individuality.

A handful of overt references contextualize the video as a response to the Orlando Shooting. Perhaps the most direct references are the use of 49 dancers—in honor of the shooting's 49 victims—and the bullet-strewn walls amidst disco balls in the video's final room. Gunshots are also referenced significantly throughout the video. The opening and closing sine tones, for instance, are ear-ringing—a fitting post-gunshot timbre for entering and leaving the world of the dead. As though caught in crossfire, the dancers frequently collapse against walls (1:57, 1:58, 2:08–2:09, 3:49–3:52). The most salient gunshot collapses are choreomusical, occurring in the unison between falling bodies and dissipating splash cymbal in the first chorus (1:57, 1:58) and in the final chorus (3:49). Gunshots even seem to ricochet through the choreomusical articulation of the opening snare hit that collides with the dancers throwing their heads back and opening their mouths percussively (1:09–1:18). In another visceral reference to the shooting, a dancer in the final room appears to be using her shoe as cell phone (4:06), alluding to those trapped in the club with the shooter who were calling for help. One viewer suggested that the pulse-like rhythm of the bass drum that enters at 1:13 was itself a reference to the Pulse night club (Micah Jane 2016).[1] More broadly, Ziegler paints rainbows on her cheeks that remain visible throughout the video in a nod to LGBTQ pride flags. The opening text, "#WeAreYourChildren," also attests to a larger history of queer political struggle. The phrase refers to a chant used in San Francisco's Castro

1 Viewer Micah Jane's full YouTube comment: "Did anyone else notice that the entire beat of the music (especially in the beginning) sounds like a legitimate pulse? That was not on accident people. The rainbow face paint was not on accident. The 49 dancers were not on accident. The fact that the final room is equipped with disco balls and dark, colorful lighting (plus a stage) is not an accident. If you don't think this is about the Pulse shooting you are simply lying to yourself" (Micah Jane 2016).

District in 1977 in response to the "Save Our Children [from homosexuality]" movement initiated in Miami, Florida the same year (NGTF 1977). This historical context sends the message "save us" ringing ironically through the film's 49 dancing bodies.

"The Greatest" contains many physical symbols of oppression. The setting of the abandoned building and the striking first image of the barred gate allude to marginalization and imprisonment, paralleling queer experience in a heterosexist society. One viewer described the barred gate as a "cage" symbolic of gay oppression (Leoness 2016).[2] In complete opposition to the rainbows on Ziegler's cheeks, dark grey costuming and face paint cast the dancers in the same colors as the building's walls. The dominance of dark grey on the dancers' bodies and in the space that contains them recalls heterosexist structures imposing conformity at the expense of individual expression. Moreover, the dark grey face paint is mask-like, eerily suggesting identities concealed by a death-like stillness—a stillness made yet more eerie against the living movement of the music and dance.

The video's sharp, gestural choreography is the result of Sia's long-standing collaboration with choreographer Ryan Heffington. Describing the collaborators' viral premier video, "Chandelier" (Sia et al. 2014), dance critic Gia Kourlas wrote in the New York Times: "[It] is a far cry from the typical dance in a pop video, where militaristic arrangements of background dancers follow the beat like human metronomes or, on the opposite end, sultry, slow-motion movement borders on soft porn" (Kourlas 2016). What Kourlas omitted in this critique was the adjective "heterosexual." The Sia-Heffington "far cry" rejects not only "the typical dance in a pop video," but also the mainstream heterosexuality associated with it. Embracing this queer choreographic aesthetic, Sia said to the New York Times: "I couldn't think of anything I'd want less than just another video for little girls and boys to watch that tells them: 'Look pretty! Be sexy!' I want my work to say: 'Get weird! Express yourself freely!'" (ibid.).

The prominence of the open mouth in Heffington's choreography for "The Greatest" offers a good example of how the aesthetic cuts against the normative grain. To understand the ways the widely open mouth challenges conformity, try on the movement in your body. Open your mouth wide. Notice that, if you open it wide enough, the skin on your face stretches to accommodate a movement you don't often ask your body to perform. Notice, too, that if there are other people in your vicinity, you probably feel social pressure to limit this movement in some way. Perhaps you only opened your mouth briefly, or perhaps you stopped shy of its full range of motion. What you feel in your skin and in your social awareness is a political boundary that expects the silence of bodies.

The open mouth, after all, is also something we associate with the sound of screaming. If not read as a political critique of the control of bodies, the recurring open mouth in "The Greatest" still reads as the politically powerful image of a silent scream. Amplified through choreomu-

2 Viewer Leoness' full YouTube comment: "Just Incase you guys didn't understand or missed out some of the representations of this piece...This is dedicated to the Orlando shooting as the rainbow colours on her face represent gay pride. The cage at the beginning shows how homosexuals feel ostracised from society. Maddie telling them to get into the room is them trying to get away. Them splattering against the walls and the white paint on the wall behind Maddie shows the shooting. When Maddie is turning in the room inside the circle it represents them as ghosts haunting the room. The ending is them before being shot and they are just being crazy and having fun (like they are able to just be themselves without being judged.. You know) that's why the disco balls are rolling around the room. After they are shot down in the end you see gun shot holes through the wall as they drop down. Everyone is dead by the end of the video. Some of these ideas are from my own perspective but it's just to give u an idea" (Leoness 2016).

sical rhythms and emphasised downbeats, variations of the open mouth feature prominently throughout the film. The movement even defines the pivotal transition to the final prechorus and chorus in which dancers overtly intersperse with disco balls and are enclosed by bullet-pierced walls. In this iconic transition, the camera zooms all the way into Ziegler's open mouth in a fade to black and zooms back out of Ziegler's mouth again to find her in front of the red wall.

Individual variance between dancers in the choreography, too, reflects a celebration of free, unique expression. In the first hallway, each dancer performs their own set of movements (1:37); in the next hallway, Ziegler addresses each dancer, as though acknowledging their individuality (2:09); and in the final chorus, dancers break into small groups or solos with almost no two facial expressions exactly alike (3:54). This final dance section was described by one viewer as "just being crazy and having fun (like they are able to just be themselves without being judged" (Leoness 2016; see Fn. 2).

The political and affective power of Heffington's choreographic aesthetic was noted by viewers. One viewer compared the political and emotional affect of the dance to painting outside the lines:

> Dancing is like painting. Anyone can paint by number. Some people follow the steps perfectly and stay in the lines flawlessly. And the painting comes out just as it should. Then there are those that just free paint. Sure they may paint out of the lines or use the wrong colors, but what they end up creating is an [emotionality]. (Jenny From the Flock 2016)

Another viewer described the dance in the same way queer activists have described love (The New York Times 2016): "The dancing to some may seem 'weird' or 'confusing'. The thing is you don't need to understand it…. You just need to understand the energy and emotion" (Š3th1905 2020).

Daniel Askill, who directed "The Greatest" and other Sia-Ziegler-Heffington collaborations, framed the video simply but powerfully. Through the frame, Ziegler appears to address the spectator directly. We are eye-level to her, positioned as listeners invited to a conversation. This is not a dance about controlled patterns of bodies designed to be enjoyed from an elevated perspective. It is not a dance about intimate contact. It is a danced message from silenced voices. The frame allows Ziegler to tell us, very directly, that things cannot stay as they are, that *we* have to do something about it, together. The music becomes inseparable from that imploring feeling drawn out of the dance through the frame.

Alone, the lyrics of "The Greatest" seem simply to be those of workout or dance music ("Oh oh, I got stamina"). But when contextualized in this music video, the words take on a much greater meaning. "I got stamina" and "I won't give up" become statements echoing the endurance of the queer community. This determination and endurance are cast into the dancers' viewer-directed eye contact, clenched fists, bent knees, flexed arms, and pivoting torsos as the "the greatest" repeats through the structurally significant dance chorus (2:03) (Barna 2018). "I'm free to be the greatest, I'm alive" takes on a heart-wrenching duality. In the unique inflections of each dancer, the phrase serves as an empowering celebration of individuality. In the dancers' 49 motionless bodies, it delivers a viscerally poignant critique of lives taken.

Through these many choreomusical infoldings, "The Greatest" takes on a political meaning in "the third listening." Viewer comments support the power of the third listening by equating the video's message with the song's meaning. Here is what some had to say:

> When I saw this… I started crying. I'm a Florida resident, very close to Orlando. The shooting broke me. This song is amazing. No one should joke about this video. (Nike Girl 2016)

> This song has to do with the shooting. It was a gay club so she puts rainbow tears, there are 49 of them I think and at the end there is a disco and they are all dancing until they all fell, letting us see the bullet holes. […] it does give me chills at the end… (YikesCami 2016)

> Maybe this song is about the Orlando LGBT Club Massacre.. 49 dancers representing 49 souls.. "I'm free to be the Greatest here tonight" (beefycheesysaucylazagna :3 2019)

> I felt nostalgic so I started looking through my old playlists and found this. I never knew it was about the shooting. It really hits differently now, it's very chilling and powerful. (Ha! 2019)

One viewer even described the film and its meaning as becoming part of the music:

> It's very Impressive that nowadays the videos or the "short films" is part of the music, they bring double meaning, double understanding[.] (Noureddine Ziani 2016)

Listen to the music again, without watching the video. In this "third listening," the music is transformed: its choreomusical structures echo the shooting's specific violence, a larger history of queer oppression, and an invitation to celebrate bodies dancing beyond convention.

Case Study II: "Unsteady"

Before reading this analysis, watch "Unsteady" from start to finish. The video opens with white text on a black background: "Love is love is love is love is love is love is love is love." The first piano chord collides with the camera's cut to a man wearing a dark jacket (Will Johnston) who sits alone at a table in a well-lit public café. It appears to be daytime. The camera approaches the table and pans left to show another man in a blue overshirt (Kent Boyd) pulling the empty chair back to sit across from his pensive partner. After a hesitantly given but pointed moment of eye contact, the dancer in the dark jacket looks away. For a few seconds, they sit across from each other without making eye contact. Then, with the iconic word "unsteady," the dancer in the dark jacket slides his arms across the table to join hands with the blue-shirted dancer. They both rise, leaning forward until their foreheads touch. As a distorted, airy synthesizer and diffuse snare articulate the beginning of the first verse, the camera cuts to the two dancers standing in a new version of the café space. It has been emptied of its tables, chairs, and other people. It seems to be nighttime and the space is more warmly lit. In the transition from the public café to this intimate dance floor, both dancers have become barefoot and shed a layer of clothing. The blue-shirted dancer now wears a white t-shirt and the dancer in the dark jacket has donned a three-quarter sleeve dark shirt. In the contemporary, lyrical dance duet that follows, the two dancers navigate a complicated tension. At times they push each other away, but their escalated energies seem always to return them to one another in intimate lifts and positions of support. Their troubled facial expressions sometimes convey longing, sometimes sadness, sometimes anger. Their final embrace on the dance floor is the most prolonged. As the music's last "unsteady" fades, the camera cuts back to the daylit public café and the two dancers clasping hands over the table with their foreheads touching. They begin to pull back from each other. The dark-shirted dancer then tears his hands away quickly and slouches into

his chair as he crosses his arms to close his jacket. The light-shirted dancer, again wearing the blue overshirt, sits down more slowly, and remains forward, at the edge of his chair with his arms on the table. Returning to white text on a black background, the video closes in silence with a list of the Orlando Shooting's 49 victims.

"Unsteady" infuses its music with an empathetic, political validation of homosexuality while contemplating the shooting's impact on survivors. The video does this through several means. Overtly, the opening and closing text reference the shooting. In a powerful political statement, the video uses two male dancers to challenge power structures in the heterosexually dominated commercial contemporary duet. Choreomusically, it casts their bodies and movements into symbols and metaphors of death, desire, and oppression. The camera frames the dance with empathy by moving intimately through the duet, blurring the spectator's position as observer or participant.

The video situates itself as a response to the shooting through its opening quote, "Love is love is love is love is love is love is love." These words were spoken by Broadway musical composer Lin-Manuel Miranda at the Tony awards ceremony that took place the same day of the shooting, June 12, 2016. The words are the penultimate line in a sonnet Miranda composed reacting to the tragedy, which he then read when he accepted the Tony award for best score for "Hamilton" (The New York Times 2016). The famously long, repetitive "love is love" line is politically rupturing in at least three ways. Most overtly, the line claims that love, regardless of gender or sexual orientation, is love. Author and journalist Charlotte Runcie has argued that the line also challenges normative structures by breaking the form of the sonnet with three extra syllables (Runcie 2016). Runcie also suggests that the sonnet as a whole mimics a set of sonnets by the English poet George Meredith that reject love. Instilling a celebration of love in the same shapes of a poem that denounced love, she argues, is politically powerful (ibid.). Lin-Manuel Miranda's "love is love" rings through the intimacy of the music and dance that follow it. The end of the video lists the names and ages of the 49 victims under a heading that reads, "Honoring those lost, Orlando, 6.12.2016." More than bookending the video, the names make even more real the circumstances danced into the music through the duet.

The use of two male dancers in the heteronormative commercialized dance duet is one of the video's most powerful political moves. Where "The Greatest" used choreographic aesthetic to overturn norms, "Unsteady," instead, (re)occupies a traditionally heterosexist digital space with masculine homosexual intimacy. Their gendered, embodied intimacy reverberates in the music through choreomusical emphases of the underlying pulse (2:05, ~0:47, and 1:44, for example), rhythmic amplification (1:55–1:56 in the light-shirted dancer's feet and bass drum, for instance), and poignantly through each of their embraces on the choreomusically painted word "Hold" (1:17, 1:20, 1:23, 2:11, 2:22, 2:25, 2:44). The solo masculine voice (X Ambassadors' lead singer Sam Harris) with occasional harmonization by a second masculine voice (Casey Harris) amplifies the gender they embody. Viewer comments confirmed the noteworthiness of the same-sex duet and its empowering, political impact. Here is what some had to say:

> I was weirded out at first…… but as I went on through the video, i recognized how much of a work of art this was. Love is love (Anna 2018)

> I was wondering when we would see the LGBT community more represented in dance, where most of the time we see love stories between a boy and a girl. (Sassy Gee' 2016)

> Finally! Same-sex dances. I've been waiting for this my whole life. Now to find females (Carissa T. 2016)

> This is so, so beautiful! […] I'm glad that the dance community is finally doing same sex pairings[.] I hope […] one day that this will be considered normal for everyone, and I hope there will be no more shock when a same sex couple is seen. (Tia Pavo 2016)

> I've always wanted to see a male same sex dance such as this. #beautiful (branden maestas 2016)

> I'm starting to transition to being male and these are things that remind me that I don't need to be SO EXTREMELY masculine that men can dance and feel and cry and I don't need to feel self conscious about being a man AND having feelings. (Superfluous Greg 2019)

Tyce Diorio's choreography extends the political statement of the same-sex pairing by also challenging the power dynamics typical of heterosexual duets in this style. Male-female duets tend to place the male dancer in a position of power (who guides the poses of his partner) and the female dancer as a subject of manipulation (being lifted, spun, dipped, or pressed into poses that showcase her flexibility) (Foster 1996, 3). In Diorio's choreography, the two male dancers, instead, exchange control of each other's bodies almost equally. At 0:46 and 1:06, for example, the light-shirted dancer (Boyd) supports the dark-shirted dancer (Johnston) from behind to showcase the dark-shirted dancer's movement. Their roles are reversed at 0:57 and 1:34. At 0:53 and 1:58, they strike symmetrical poses that require them to share weight in order to balance one another. Viewers commented on the political significance of shared power in the same-sex duet:

> I saw the girl+boy version of it and it was mainly the girl dancing and the male trailing behind but seeing these two work together to dance is beautiful. (Tear Drops 2018)

> This is why I love two guys or two girls dancing together: there are no predetermined "roles" and both partners are equal. Come to think of it, that's also what I love about same sex relationships. (HailG3 2017)

In their duet, the video invites readings of death, desire, and oppression. Consider, for instance, a possible significance of Kent Boyd's white shirt: white is ghostly. Even Boyd's entrance is ghostly: the camera zooms in on Will Johnston sitting alone at the table and then rotates left to reveal Boyd, giving the impression that the camera's smooth, somewhat hovering approach to the table has been through Boyd's perspective. That Johnston often refuses eye contact with him suggests that Boyd may represent a lover lost in the shooting who is not physically present.[3] Perhaps Boyd has been called here as a figment of Johnston's memory and their dance takes place in an interior psychological space that is primarily Johnston's. The music, after all, uses a simple, intimate instrumentation and features primarily Sam Harris' solo masculine voice with harmonic echoes of a second masculine voice (Casey Harris). Cast through this sonic world, Johnston often has his eyes closed and eyebrows furrowed, as though he is processing something very painful. A moment at 1:53 is particularly expressive of a troubled interiority, amplified by the camera's close-up on Johnston. Although both dancers push each other away

3 The reading of the white-shirted dancer (Kent Boyd) as a lover lost in the shooting was proposed to me by my colleague Neeka Safdari in Fall 2018.

at different times, Johnston pushing Boyd away is frequently made more visible. Perhaps Johnston pushes him away as a denial of a deep loss.

An equally plausible reading—and the one most commonly mentioned by viewers—is that the two dancers represent gay lovers facing oppression in a heteronormative society. The dark-jacketed dancer (Johnston), for example, is the most hesitant to engage his partner when they are in the public café setting. Notably, the only other couple in the public café appears to be a heterosexual pairing (0:10). In this reading, their intimate duet is a conversation and a desire forbidden in the public space. The lovers' physical rejections of one another, and the dark-shirted dancer's pensively closed eyes, seem to revolve around the question of whether, despite deep desire, their relationship can survive the pressures of the outer world. This lack of stability is amplified in the title lyric "unsteady." The melody paints the word "unsteady" with a bumpy, lingering descent, in the rhythm of a weeping exhale. The rhythm rings through the dancer's bodies as they perform vulnerable inversions that in turn cast a suspended unrest into the music. Together, the music and dance reflect off the wood-paneled back wall that has the appearance of a floor rotated 90 degrees, disrupting the overall gravity of the choreomusical space. Some viewers commented that they felt a personally relatable representation of oppression in the video:

> I'm in a long distance relationship with someone. we're both trans (ftm) but he hasn't come out to his parents. He lives in a trans phobic house and everyday I'm terrified if he's ok. I just want to be there for him, and know he's ok. […] I want to be able to just care for him. But I can't, and it tears me apart. At the end of the video when they're just holding each other, I lost it. To most people it seems normal, but to me it's something I fear I may never get to experience. (Loki 2017)

> Truly captures the idea of feeling but not being able to express it freely. Very beautiful (TheWasted TheWicked 2019)[4]

> I'm bisexual, and this hit the feels on another level. […] Only a few people in my family are not borderline homophobic. One day I hope to be able to come out without being judged and feeling disowned. (Gabby Edwards 2019)

> It breaks my heart that humanity would rather see two men holding guns than two men holding hands. […] I cried at the end, and I can't stop thinking about how lucky I am to still be alive today. […] My name could have been on that list, just because of who I am. (Someone Anonymous 2019)

The lyrics resonate strongly in this reading and open its specific relationship with the Orlando Shooting. "Hold on to me, 'cuz I'm a little unsteady," and "if you love me, don't let go" are simultaneously a plea between the lovers and a cry from marginalized survivors and victims. "This house don't feel like home" describes at once oppression and grief. "Mother, I know that you're tired of being alone" is sympathetic to both the isolation felt in grief and in marginalization. "Dad, I know you're trying to fight when you feel like flying" acknowledges the specific traumatic burden on those most directly impacted by the shooting, as well as the broader queer socio-political struggle.

4 Sometime between February 14 and March 13, 2020, this comment appears to have been deleted from YouTube. Based on screenshots I took of the comment in early 2019, I estimate it to have been posted in late 2018 or early 2019.

The music and dance collide in gestures that might also read as references to the shooting's trauma. At around 0:37–0:38, for example, the light-shirted dancer (Boyd) throws his shoulders back percussively in time with the bass drum. Framed by the diffuse snare timbre, the rhythmic amplification carries tones of a visceral reaction to a gunshot. Fittingly, the dancer (Boyd) then slowly falls, catching himself on the floor-like, wood-paneled back wall. Similar choreomusical gunshots occur at around ~1:13–1:14 and at 1:34, both in connection with the white-shirted dancer. At 2:03, the dark-shirted dancer pushes the light-shirted dancer quickly flat on the floor and then dives sharply over him as though protecting him from an airborne threat. Simultaneously, the snare disappears from the choreomusical texture, creating a moment of relative silence and suspense akin to explosion or gunfire sequences in action films that use silence to express psychological and physiological shock (Kulezic-Wilson 2009). Whether read specifically as the dark-shirted dancer mourning the light-shirted dancer as a lost lover, or as a broader reference to the shooting's violence, the choreomusical shapes of violence course through the film powerfully.

These readings, which encompass death, desire, and oppression, are simultaneously possible not because the dance and music are ambiguous or generic but because together they tell the bigger story in which all of these readings exist: we continue to live in a society that tolerates hate.

Countering hate with empathy, director David Javier frames and amplifies the video's political energy with a dynamic and intimate filming style that invites the viewer into an empathetic, participatory perspective. To understand the significance of this filming style, it is useful to compare Javier's cinematography with Daniel Askill's camera movement in "The Greatest." Askill framed Maddie Ziegler almost always at eye-level in direct address of the viewer. This created the sense not only that Ziegler was inviting the viewer to a conversation, but also that the relative positions of the viewer and Ziegler were fixed. If ever we were dancing with Ziegler, it was from a distance. In contrast, Javier's camera moves dynamically through "Unsteady." It participates in the dancers' prolonged moments of contact with close-up shots (0:47, 1:10, 1:28, 2:19, 2:48). It floats subtly toward and away from the dancers. It accelerates around their movements, as though it is an extension of their movement. The shot of the jump is a good example of the interactive relationship between the camera's movement and the movements of the dancers. At 1:44, the camera holds a medium close-up of the two dancers in an embrace. It zooms out and up slightly to catch the light-shirted dancer (Boyd) sharply extending his arm on the word "fight" (1:46). Rotating approximately 90 degrees clockwise around the dancers, the camera then zooms dramatically back alongside the dark-shirted dancer (Johnston) as both prepare to catch the light-shirted dancer's jump on the word "flying" (1:48–1:49). Several such moments of dynamic camera movement evoke an amplified empathy. Adding to the listener-viewer's visceral inner mimesis, the camera casts the dance, at moments, from the perspective of these socio-politically situated dancers in an act of political power: it asks the spectator to dance in the footsteps of the marginalized. One viewer comment, particularly, shows the impact of the video's empathetic message:

> Mercedes was my friend. We went to Pulse all the time together, since I lived a block down on Kaley. A month after everything happened, I moved out of my place. Having to drive past there everyday was too much. I love this video, and the first time I saw it and saw her name I cried for hours. I'm so glad that the message that we are people too is staying. (Laney Labelle 2017)[5]

5 Sometime between February 14 and March 13, 2020, this comment appears to have been deleted from YouTube. Based on screenshots I took of the comment in late 2018, I estimate it to have been posted in late 2016 or early 2017.

In "the third listening," "Unsteady" becomes inseparable from the shooting's violence, but also inseparable from the empathetic, political message "love is love." Consider the following viewer comment regarding how the dance video transformed the music politically:

> I know this isn't the meaning of the song, considering it's been out for a couple years, but I can't think of anything other than Orlando when listening to this now. The fear that one day down the road I, or anyone else like me, could so easily be killed simply for loving is one of the strongest things I've felt. […] It was so easy for that man to kill all of those innocent people, and it feels like nothing is being done. Nothing has ever made me feel so unsteady. (Cam C 2016)

Near the anniversary of the shooting, another viewer described the continuing power of X Ambassadors' song:

> I saw XAmbassador in concert for the universal Mardigras celebration. They dedicated this song to Orlando and I couldn't hold back my tears. So many of my friends went to Pulse. One even worked there. She didn't make it out. This song sums up Orlando this time last year. We were all in so much pain the only thing we could do was hold on to each other for strength. […] We are still hurting but we still have eachother and we struggle everyday to keep dancing and spreading as much love as we can. I will never forget the blood stains on our sidewalks, […] the pain, the numbness, the anger, the fear, the screaming, the tears, but also the hugs, the flags going up, the candles being lit, the songs sung by thousands, and hands held so tight I thought they would never let go. I will never forget their names. I will never forget all of the love and I will always remember her smile. […] We will not let hate win. OrlandoUnited Loveislove (Morbid Mizzy 2017)[6]

Listen to the song again, without watching the video. Do you find that it is transformed? In my own listening, it reverberates with choreomusically amplified words, bodies, sounds, actions, and empathy that converge immutably in a powerful political activism.

Conclusion

On June 12, 2019, the three-year anniversary of the Orlando Shooting, churches and organizations around the world joined in a unison tolling of 49 bells to honor the shooting's victims (One Orlando Alliance 2019). On the same day in Ecuador, the country's highest court approved same-sex marriage (BBC 2019). Admittedly, "The Greatest" and "Unsteady" had very little to do with the court's decision or with the organized tolling of 49 bells, but activism rarely travels so narrow a path. What all of these together tell us is that the broader LGBTQIA+ rights movement, with its long and hard-fought history, is making a difference.

Quantifying the videos' political impact is potentially an impossible task, and it is certainly not as simple as translating numbers of views or categorizing viewer comments. At the same time, these massive digital platforms and their many revelatory viewer comments cannot be dismissed. To date (February 2020), "Unsteady" has been viewed 3.8 million times and "The Greatest," which topped charts internationally (Lescharts 2016), has been viewed over 646 million times. In these millions of views, as evidenced by viewer comments, listeners and viewers

6 Sometime between February 14 and March 13, 2020, this comment appears to have been deleted from YouTube. Based on screenshots I took of the comment in early 2018, and based on its reference to the shootings' one-year anniversary, I estimate it to have been posted in mid June, 2017.

engaged messages that validate queer expression immutably. For many viewers, these messages continued to resonate in the music beyond the frame in "the third listening."

Through its choreomusicality, "The Greatest" became a song about the shooting's specific violence, a larger history of queer oppression, and a celebration of bodies dancing beyond convention. Dancers opened their mouths widely and produced snare-drum gunshots. Their bodies dissipated with splash cymbals against dark, dominating walls. But their bodies also joined one another in the escalated choreomusical energy of the chorus, projecting an unquestionable unity and diversity in which the spectator viscerally participates. And although the video ends with tears, collapsed bodies, and an ear-ringing sine tone, the dance is immutable. Long after the video, the music continues to pulse with the dance's energy. "The Greatest," in other words, dances into its music a political activism.

Through its choreomusicality, "Unsteady" became an empathetic song about two male lovers facing the violent structures of a heteronormative society. The video cast the dancer's bodies into the contemporary commercial duet, a space dominated by heterosexual dance pairings. Its masculine bodies took up the tones of the music's masculine voices. The intimacy of their movements resounded in the thinly scored musical texture. The imploring phrase "hold on to me" spilled into the choreography as a broader political plea. This video, too, sent choreomusical gunshots ringing through its music and dance. And even so, its intimate message that love is love rang louder. Long after the video, the music continues to project an empathetic validation of homosexual intimacy. "Unsteady," in other words, dances into its music a political activism. Powerfully, both "Unsteady" and "The Greatest" used the very materials silenced in the shooting—people dancing to music together—to amplify an enduring political response.

So what is to be done? You have watched the videos, danced to the music, and listened more deeply. You have engaged political power in movement and sound. You have viscerally contemplated a tragedy and imagined ways beyond it. But what is to be done?

I will close by offering a few thoughts. First, we must all listen more deeply. We must be willing to hear bodies in sounds. We must be willing to hear stories in bodies. We must be willing to hear hate in violence and empathy in love. Second, we must dance. We must dance to understand new ways of being and knowing. We must dance more loudly than our Western academic chairs and desks would have us dance. We must dance outside the lines of limited conceptions of beauty. We must dance our truths and cast them against the structures we know must change. Above all, we must dance and listen together. Our bodies and our music are powerful, and in their convergence lies the possibility of a more empathetic world.

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Abstract (English)

The violence perpetrated against queer persons of color in the 2016 Orlando Shooting was met with many collaborative artistic responses. This article considers how the relationship between music and dance amplified the political power of two such responses. The music video for Sia's "The Greatest" (2016) and the dance video for X Ambassadors' "Unsteady" (2016) each address the shooting through intricately correlated musical and choreographic structures. Exploring this correlation through a proposed system of choreomusical analysis, the article argues that it is in the overlap of dance and music that each imbues the other with new political power.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Die Gewalt gegenüber Schwarzen queeren Menschen beim Attentat von Orlando im Jahr 2016 hat eine Vielzahl an kollaborativen **künstlerische**n Reaktionen hervorgerufen. Dieser Artikel untersucht, wie die Beziehung zwischen Musik und Tanz die politische Aussagekraft (political power) zweier solcher Beispiele verstärkt. Das Musikvideo für Sia's "The Greatest" (2016) und das Tanzvideo für X Ambassadors' "Unsteady" (2016) nehmen beide mittels komplexer Wechselbeziehungen von musikalischen und choreografischen Strukturen Bezug auf das Attentat. In diesem Artikel wird ein System choreomusikalischer Analyse für die Untersuchung dieser Beziehungen vorgeschlagen. Dabei wird deutlich, dass durch die Überschneidung von Tanz und Musik beide Elemente mit neuer politischer Aussagekraft erfüllt werden.

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When "Ojos así" Became "Eyes Like Yours": Translation as Negotiation of Lyrics, Sound, and Performance by Shakira

Introduction

In 2001, the release of Shakira's first English language album *Laundry Service* started her global career, making her one of the most famous mainstream singers in the world. Today, Shakira is known worldwide for performing the official song "Waka Waka" for the FIFA World Cup 2010 in South Africa, and for her performance in the Super Bowl Half Time Show together with Jennifer Lopez in 2020. In academic writing, the singer is recognized for her transnational performances (Gontovnik 2010), a certain deracination when entering the global market (Fuchs 2007, Cepeda 2010), and the subsequent reintegration of her Caribbean origins into her image (Celis 2012), which is especially manifest in the media coverage and the official music videos.

Research generally focuses on her chart hits with English lyrics, while her songs with Spanish lyrics are studied less frequently, although they form half of Shakira's repertoire. Though some authors have mentioned Shakira's multicultural background and multilingualism (Fuchs 2007, 171; Cepeda 2010, 74), the way different languages are represented in her music has not yet been analyzed in detail. However, it is impossible to ignore that the singer utilizes interlingual and other forms of translation as a means of reaching diverse audiences, and as a powerful tool for positioning herself in the global as well as local Latin American pop music market. As a result, different languages shape the sound of her songs.

According to Umberto Eco, translation (be it interlingual translation from one language to another, or respectively, transmutation which is the adaptation between semiotic systems, such as literature, music, the visual, etc.) may be understood as negotiation; polysemy and substance in the original always become lost, while translators normally add something depending on their interpretation, aesthetics, and abilities. Through rewriting, translations gain new meanings and forms in their new contexts. Words in another language change the substance of speech, including rhythm, sounds of the vowels, and consonants or rhyme (Eco 2003). Consequently, the translation of poetry is especially complicated because of those changes in substance. Poems set to music as songs are even more determined and offer more pitfalls to translators. Nevertheless, popular songs are frequently transferred to new audiences and translated or adapted freely, in some cases with great success, as Isabelle Marc has shown in her examination of "travelling songs" (Marc 2015).

As part of my research on the translation of vocal music,[1] Shakira's oeuvre serves as a rich source of song translations with recordings in various languages and situations, such as studio productions or live concerts. This article is a preliminary case study that summarizes Shakira's reasons for starting song production in the English language around the turn of the century

1 Research project "Songs in Translation: Übersetzungen von an Sprache gebundener Musik. Kulturelle Kontexte und digitale Analyse," University of Tübingen, April 2018–March 2023, uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/altertums-und-kunstwissenschaften/mwi/forschung/drittmittelprojekte/songs-in-translation-wrangell-programm.

in the context of her changing image alongside global success. The following analysis of different tracks and performances of the song "Ojos así," translated as "Eyes Like Yours," aims to demonstrate: (1) which aspects of the song were substantially changed in this process and provoked the criticism by reviewers and Latin/o American fans; (2) which parameters of the sound of Shakira's voice were lost; and (3) which elements of bodily performance were instead added in on-stage performances. The comparison reveals how Shakira interpreted the song and rewrote it several times through various performances, leading up to the most recent performance at the Super Bowl Half Time Show 2020 which displayed the song's very essence in only few seconds.

In contrast to most writings on Shakira that focus on her physical appearance, stardom, and the music videos, this article provides insights into the variations of sound and musical performance in both studio and live recordings published on CD or DVD. The first section examines Shakira's position in the historical occurrences of the translation boom in Latin/o pop music. Phono-musicological methods, i.e. the study of recorded music, form the core of the argumentation in the second section in order to drive attention to a particular song and the music itself, whose details have rarely been analyzed sufficiently in academic writing about the singer. In the third section, a glance at Shakira's productions after the album *Laundry Service* emphasizes the calculated performance of multilingualism and sound in her oeuvre that guaranteed her position as a successful singer in Anglophone mainstream as well as Latin American pop.

The "Miamization" of Latin American Pop and the Release of Shakira's Album *Laundry Service* (2001)

Shakira became a successful singer in Latin America with the Spanish-language albums *Pies descalzos* (1995, produced by Luis Fernando Ochoa) and *Dónde están los ladrones?* (1998, produced by Emilio Estefan Jr., Lester Méndez, and Luis Fernando Ochoa), both released by Sony Colombia. These recordings sold several million units. Shakira appeared as a dark-haired girl on CD covers, often wearing small braids and long leather clothes in live performances. With *Dónde están los ladrones?*, she reached the U.S. market and, in January 1999, she first appeared on Rosie O'Donnell's TV show on NBC, where she performed the song "Inevitable" in an English translation. At the time, her success was part of a general adaptation of Latin American music to the U.S. market, which was accompanied by a growing bilingualism of the performers and the repertoire. This phenomenon was termed "Miamization" by Daniel Party (2008) due to the fact that the production of Latin American pop music had almost completely moved to Miami.

Regarding Latin American music's breakthrough to the global market at the end of the 1990s, Party traces its roots back to the music of Emilio Estefan Jr.'s band Miami Sound Machine, and more specifically its album *Primitive Love* (1985), as well as to the creation of the Best Latin Pop Performance category at the 1984 Grammy Awards (Party 2008, 66–67). María Elena Cepeda recalls that, of course, there are other predecessors of the Latin/o music boom during the 20th century and she mentions the music entrepreneur Victoria Hernández or "veteran performers" such as Susana Baca or Rubén González (Cepeda 2001, 70). In the 1990s, Emilio Estefan Jr. became the most famous and powerful producer of Latin/o American artists, working with such interpreters as his wife Gloria Estefan, Ricky Martin, Marc Anthony, and Jennifer Lopez. At

the same time, Miami had become not only a "transnational economic center," but the "heart of Latin American show business and the preferred production center for Latin American pop artists wishing to internationalize their career, either within Latin America or crossing over to the American market" (Party 2008, 65).

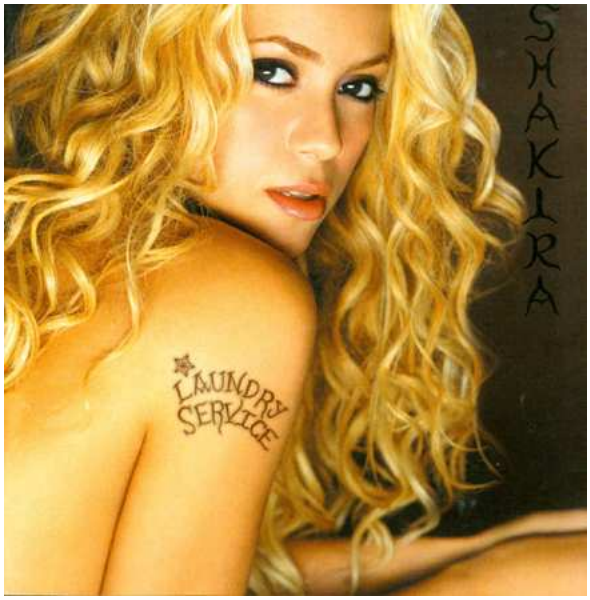
The Latin/o pop boom in 1999 drove attention to the centrality of Emilio Estefan Jr. The biggest Latin/o hits of the year were produced by him and his parent company Sony. Ricky Martin was awarded a Grammy for his album *Vuelve* and published his first album in English, *Ricky Martin*. Carlos Santana (*Supernatural*), Marc Anthony (*Marc Anthony*), and Jennifer Lopez (*On the 6*) released albums that sold millions and attained multiple platinum status in the U.S. Martin and Anthony anglicized their names in the early stage of their careers, but performed successfully as "white-skinned, good-looking" (Fiol-Matta 2002, 32) singers on the Spanish-speaking music market. In 1999, bilingualism became a fundamental principle of their stardom. The English-language albums *Ricky Martin* and *Marc Anthony* also included two or three songs in Spanish versions, and Martin's hit single "Livin' la Vida Loca" directly mixed English with Spanish words.

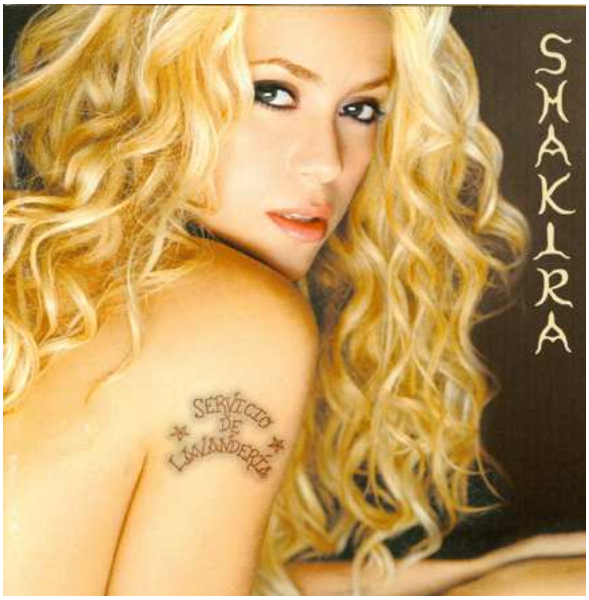
Shakira profited from the Latin/o boom in 1999 and was at the same time an important part of it. In April, she repeated "Inevitable" in English at the American Latino Media Arts Award in Pasadena, and in August, she performed an entirely Spanish *Unplugged* concert for MTV which was recorded and released on CD and DVD. Shakira started working on an English translation of *Dónde están los ladrones?*, as she stated during the O'Donnell show. In the second half of the year 1999, the singer changed her management from Emilio Estefan Jr. to Freddie DeMann, the former manager of Michael Jackson and Madonna. In November 1999, she appeared in Cartagena for the election of Miss Colombia with newly-dyed blonde hair with smooth braids. In the following year, she still performed her Spanish songs but appeared with the new image on her "Anfibio" tour as well as at the Latin Grammys, where she was awarded Best Pop Singer for the song "Ojos así."

Both on the tour and at the Grammy Awards, staging and dancing became the focus of that song—a tendency that can also be observed in later stage performances. Shakira's dance and body moved into the foreground when entering "the multilingual market" (Celis 2012, 201) and her dance style became more professional. Since then, album covers often show her sparsely dressed with blonde, curly hair. The singer obviously worked as intensively on her bodily appearance as on the production of new songs. In 2000, she rejected the idea of translating the whole album *Dónde están los ladrones?* and, for several months, dedicated herself to the composition of new songs for her upcoming English album *Laundry Service* instead. According to the press and fan literature, she found writing texts in English and translating more difficult than expected and needed more time to find her way (Diego 2001, 128–29). From her statements, it can be deduced that she recognized the difficulties of translation. With the help of her new management and various co-writers she became more "anglicized" (Cepeda 2010, 72): her body became thinner, her hair became blonder, and her songwriting adapted to the new language.

In 2001, *Laundry Service* was released by Sony/Epic. It contained nine songs in English and four in Spanish—almost exclusively newly composed titles. Songs that were both produced in English and Spanish versions were the tango "Objection" ("Te aviso, te anuncio"), and "Whenever, Wherever" ("Suerte"). The only older song on the CD was "Eyes Like Yours," the

translation of "Ojos así." Gloria Estefan, who had performing experiences in both English and Spanish, helped with the translation and is credited for the lyrics. Interestingly, the Spanish edition, *Servicio de lavandería*, appeared in a slightly brighter cover: Shakira's body seems even more bleached than on the cover of *Laundry Service*, which might have additionally stimulated the negative reaction of many Latin/o American fans to the new image (Cepeda 2010, 72). The order of the tracks on *Servicio de lavandería* is different when compared to *Laundry Service*, and starts with the Spanish version of "Whenever, Wherever." However, there was no additional track for the Spanish-speaking audience, as is the case in later albums.





Laundry Service	**Servicio de lavandería**
1. Objection (Tango)	1. Suerte (Whenever, Wherever)
2. Underneath Your Clothes	2. Underneath Your Clothes
3. Whenever, Wherever	3. Te aviso, te anuncio (Tango)
4. Rules	4. Que me quedes tú
5. The One	5. Rules
6. Ready for The Good Times	6. The One
7. Fool	7. Ready for the Good Times
8. Te dejo Madrid	8. Fool
9. Poem to a Horse	9. Te dejo Madrid
10. Que me quedes tú	10. Poem to a Horse
11. Eyes Like Yours (Ojos Así)	11. Eyes Like Yours (Ojos Así)
12. Suerte (Whenever, Wherever)	12. Whenever, Wherever
13. Te aviso, te anuncio (Tango)	13. Objection (Tango)

Fig. 1–3: Covers and tracks of *Laundry Service* and *Servicio de lavandería* (Sony Music Entertainment 2001, art direction: Shakira and Ron Jaramillo, photographer: Firooz Zahedi, graphic artist: Michelle Holme / Sara Syms)

Despite commercial success, with more than 15 million units sold worldwide, Shakira's change of language and image was controversial after the release of *Laundry Service* in 2001. The term

"anglicized" was often used pejoratively. In November 2001, *Rolling Stone* reviewer Ernesto Lechner evaluated the album under the headline, "Latin Rock Superstar Gets Lost in Translation":

> On the Spanish-language albums that elevated her to Latin-rock-goddess status, Shakira Mebarak sounded playful, bohemian and rebellious. On her English-language debut, she sounds downright silly, but the blame is not entirely hers. Surrounded by a battalion of producers and songwriters, the twenty-four-year-old yodeling diva can't quite overcome the pedestrian nature of most of the material at hand, the bulk of which she co-wrote. Equally misdirected are her efforts to spice things up with obvious touches of Latin American folklore (the opening "Objection" sounds like a cross between "Livin' la Vida Loca" and an Astor Piazzolla tango). Shakira's voice is a wild and beautiful instrument, and she's capable of delivering scorching moments of musical passion, as her live performances have amply demonstrated. But if you take away the Zeppelin-esque crunch of the Glen Ballard-penned ballad "The One" and the sinuous chants of the Lebanese-flavored "Eyes Like Yours," you'll see that, for now, at least, Shakira's magic is lost in translation. (Lechner 2001, 126)

It seems that Lechner blames the compositions and arrangements for the loss of "magic" on the one hand, while other phrases such as "sinuous chants" or "Shakira's voice is a wild and beautiful instrument" suggest that he also attributes it to a changed voice. Lechner is not analytical enough to keep both layers apart. The fact that he mentions "The One" and "Eyes Like Yours" as outstanding is noteworthy. Equally, Elizabeth Mendez Berry judged in *Vibe* that "Eyes Like Yours" was one of the better tracks on *Laundry Service*. She also referred to Shakira's performance of "Ojos así" at the Latin Grammy Awards and the way it amazed the audience:

> When Shakira took the stage at the Latin Grammys last year and performed her hit "Ojos Asi," the Colombian pop princess seemed to translate perfectly. She enchanted folks who don't speak Spanish but do understand feminine writhing. […] *Laundry Service* mines the unthreatening alt-pop territory that made her a star. But while her Spanish-language albums sparkled with elegant wordplay, this record is rife with clichés, both musically and lyrically. Featuring the obligatory tepid dance-floor track, and mildly Middle Eastern songs—the most vigorous of which is "Eyes Like Yours," a translation of "Ojos Asi"—*Laundry* [sic!] is seldom inspired. Indeed, the four Spanish-language tracks are the highlights, including boppy guitar-and-harmonica numbers and Caifanes-esque melancholy ballads. For Anglophone Latin lovers, Shakira's lyrics are best left to the imagination. (Berry 2001, 18)

Both critics argued that Shakira's "magic" was lost because the English lyrics and music were too stereotypical, less original or authentic than her older songs, but the reviews remained rather superficial and did not really explain the reasons for this impression. Interestingly, both refer to translation from different angles: Berry suggests that in a concert or show, no interlingual translation is necessary. As long as bodily performance enchants the audience, lyrics do not need translation or to be understood. In contrast, when referring to the overall shift from Spanish to English, Lechner, as well as Berry, detects less quality of the lyrics, the music, and the overall impression—always comparing them with Shakira's former productions. Apparently, none of the authors accepted the changed aesthetics of *Laundry Service* and while this attitude was probably shared with Latin American fans, the album was successful with listeners around the globe who were not previously familiar with the singer. Curiously enough, despite their profound skepticism towards the transfer from Spanish to English, both critics emphasized that "Eyes Like Yours" was one of the best songs of the album, although this song is the oldest one, only translated and profoundly changed in terms of vocal expression.

Changes in Substance: A Comparison of "Ojos así" and "Eyes Like Yours"

> "Ojos Así" […] kicks double butt in English, but back in Spanish on *Dónde Están los Ladrones?* it kicks quadruple butt. It's the identical track except for the voice; the difference is that in English her voice slices around making lightning-brilliant treble strokes in the air above the instruments, whereas in Spanish she's got a deeper timbre and richer tone and so is in with the rest of the music, and her voice moves with the whole force of the sound, hence there's more force total. In English she's, so to speak, dressing herself up in an alternative personality, and maybe her new hairstyle is part of this too. (Kogan 2001)

Frank Kogan's review of *Laundry Service* in the magazine *Village Voice* is exceptional in giving more attention to Shakira's voice in English and Spanish with special regard to "Ojos así." These observations are rich in associations and describe the vocal effect in a fruitful, subjective way. That is why the quote is an ideal starting point for analyzing the tracks. Nevertheless, the critique could be developed more empirically in order to describe the musical effects in more detail. The following analysis aims to complement Kogan's statements with a general overview of versions of the song and changes in vocal and bodily performance over the course of time. Kogan is right in comparing "Eyes Like Yours" from *Laundry Service* with "Ojos así" from *Dónde están los ladrones?*, but between 1998 and 2001 other performances, such as the single version, the *MTV Unplugged* performance, or the Latin Grammy show obviously influenced the audience's perception of the song as illustrated in Berry's review. My comparison aims to value the variations in Shakira's musical performance and to make evident the translation efforts, successes, and failures on various levels.

The album and the single version of "Ojos así" included in *Dónde están los ladrones?* as track 11 and 13 are relatively similar; tempo (126 beats per minute), overall form, and total length do not differ. The contrast is in the instrumentation. In the single version's intro, a solo string instrument plays microtonal ornamentations and vibrato at the beginning, evoking Middle Eastern music styles, while the regular album version starts with a less ornamented duo of violin and accordion. The vocal tracks hardly vary; the vocal layer even seems to be identical, though the overall mix is a bit different. As it does not alter the voice, the single version track will not be included in the following comparison of the vocal expression.

The overall form of the 1998 (Spanish) and 2001 (English) recordings is a verse/pre-chorus/chorus form with an instrumental bridge instead of a third verse and pre-chorus (see Fig. 4). An interesting feature is the use of Arabic lyrics in the repetition of the first chorus line in the background and in Shakira's final chorus. Due to the use of Arabic, the song is bilingual and works with the sounds of the language, which is not understood by many listeners. Other elements that arouse the listener's attention are segments of either two or four bars and the instrumental twelve bars beginning, all of which break up the regular eight-sixteen-periodicity. Every beat is clearly accentuated according to the 4-to-the-floor principle. The melody follows a Phrygian scale over C-sharp (C# D E F# G# A B C#). Except in the chorus, the third step is mostly raised resulting in a Phrygian dominant scale (C# D E# F# G# A B C#). Together with the percussion instruments darbuka, riqq, and others played by dancer, choreographer, and percussionist Myriam Eli, these aspects add up to a music that perfectly fits to the Middle Eastern atmosphere described by the lyrics.

For the 2001 English translation, the instrumental background is identical to the Spanish album track, although everything is mixed a bit differently and the credits are not completely provided in the booklet. Of course, the vocal was recorded in English so that in “Eyes Like Yours” Shakira’s voice blends in less with the instruments when compared to the Spanish original.

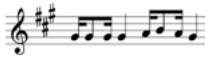
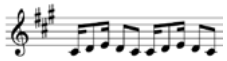
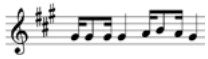
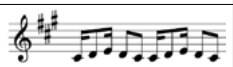
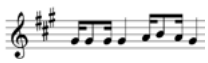
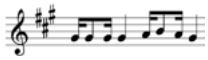
Time	Bars	Function	Melody	Lyrics Spanish version	Lyrics English version
0:00	-	Intro			
0:15	4+4+4	Instrumental			
0:40	4+4	Verse I		Ayer conocí	Oh, you know
0:53	4+4	Pre-Chorus		Ya he ya he	
1:07	4+4	Chorus part I Shakira		Le pido al cielo	My one desire
		Chorus part II Shakira		Viajé de Bahrein	Came from Bahrein
1:23	4+4	Chorus part I background choir		Arabic translation of Chorus part I	See Spanish version
		Chorus part II Shakira		Viajé de Bahrein	Came from Bahrein
1:38	4			Vocalise	Vocalise
1:45	4+4	Verse II		Ayer vi pasar	Oh, you know
2:01	4+4	Pre-Chorus similar to 0:53			
2:15	4+4	Chorus similar to 1:07			
2:31	4+4	Chorus similar to 1:23			
2:46	4+4+ 4+4	(Instrumental) Bridge		Vocalise at the beginning and end	Vocalise at the beginning and end
3:16	2	Break			
3:18	4+4	Chorus part I background choir and Shakira		Arabic translation of Chorus part I	See Spanish version
		Chorus part II background choir first phrase		Arabic translation of “Viajé de Bahrein”	Arabic translation of “Came from Bahrein”
		Shakira last sequence		Fuí desde el norte	Looking for someone
2:15	4+4	Chorus Shakira		Le pido al cielo	My one desire
				Viajé de Bahrein	Came from Bahrein
3:48		Fade out voice			

Fig. 4: Song structure of “Ojos así” 1998 and “Eyes Like Yours” 2001

Between the 1998 Spanish recording and the 2001 English version, the song was reworked for the *MTV Unplugged* concert in 1999. There is a longer, detailed introduction and before the final chorus, a drum-based sequence is introduced while Shakira dances, as can be seen in the corresponding video recording (released in 2002). In the final chorus, Shakira's Arabic vocals were removed and in return greater emphasis was given to (belly) dance, which is easier to appreciate than a foreign language—as Berry puts it, "feminine writhing" translates "perfectly" (Berry 2001, 18, see above). Given the different placement of the microphones and the instrumentation in the *Unplugged* performance, her voice clearly comes to the foreground in this recording. Finally, there is less compression in this track than in the other versions, which makes the song smoother and less suitable for playing in a dance club setting.

Besides the various recording situations and arrangements, the differences in the vocal performance are the most impressive when comparing the *Unplugged* version from 1999 to the 1998 Spanish and 2001 English recording. For example, in the beginning of the second verse (Fig. 5–7), the long vowels [a], [o] and [u] are sustained with an irregular vibrato in both Spanish versions. On the unplugged recording this becomes even more obvious. In the English translation, the vibrato becomes shorter due to more syllables in the lyrics: There are more words, letters and, finally, notes to sing:

> Ayer vi pasar una mujer debajo de su camello
> un rio de sal un barco abandonado en el desierto
>
> Oh, you know I have seen a woman of means in rags and begging for pleasure
> crossed a river of salt just after I rode a ship that's sunk in the desert

In compensation for the vibrato, there are other new effects in the English version, for example the glissando down from the first note (this might be the effect Kogan termed "lightning-brilliant treble strokes in the air"; Kogan 2001). Moreover, Shakira's Spanish is characterized by noisy consonants, especially the [s]—a feature that is rather missing in English. These characteristics are visualized in the spectrograms (Fig. 5–7).

The Spanish recordings often show intense frequencies (a formant) around 3,000 Hz and, especially when Shakira sings vowels like [u] or [o], between 7,000 and 10,000 Hz, which constitute the characteristic timbre and rich tone of her voice. The sound of Shakira's voice might have been processed electronically to comply with certain aesthetics, and frequencies might be highlighted artificially, but in any case, it is characteristic of the final product. These frequencies are less present in the English version, which might be due to less [u] or [o] vowels or different use of the equalizer. The passages where Shakira sings vocalises are rather similar in the Spanish and English versions, though the voice is significantly more in the foreground of the mix in the Spanish one.

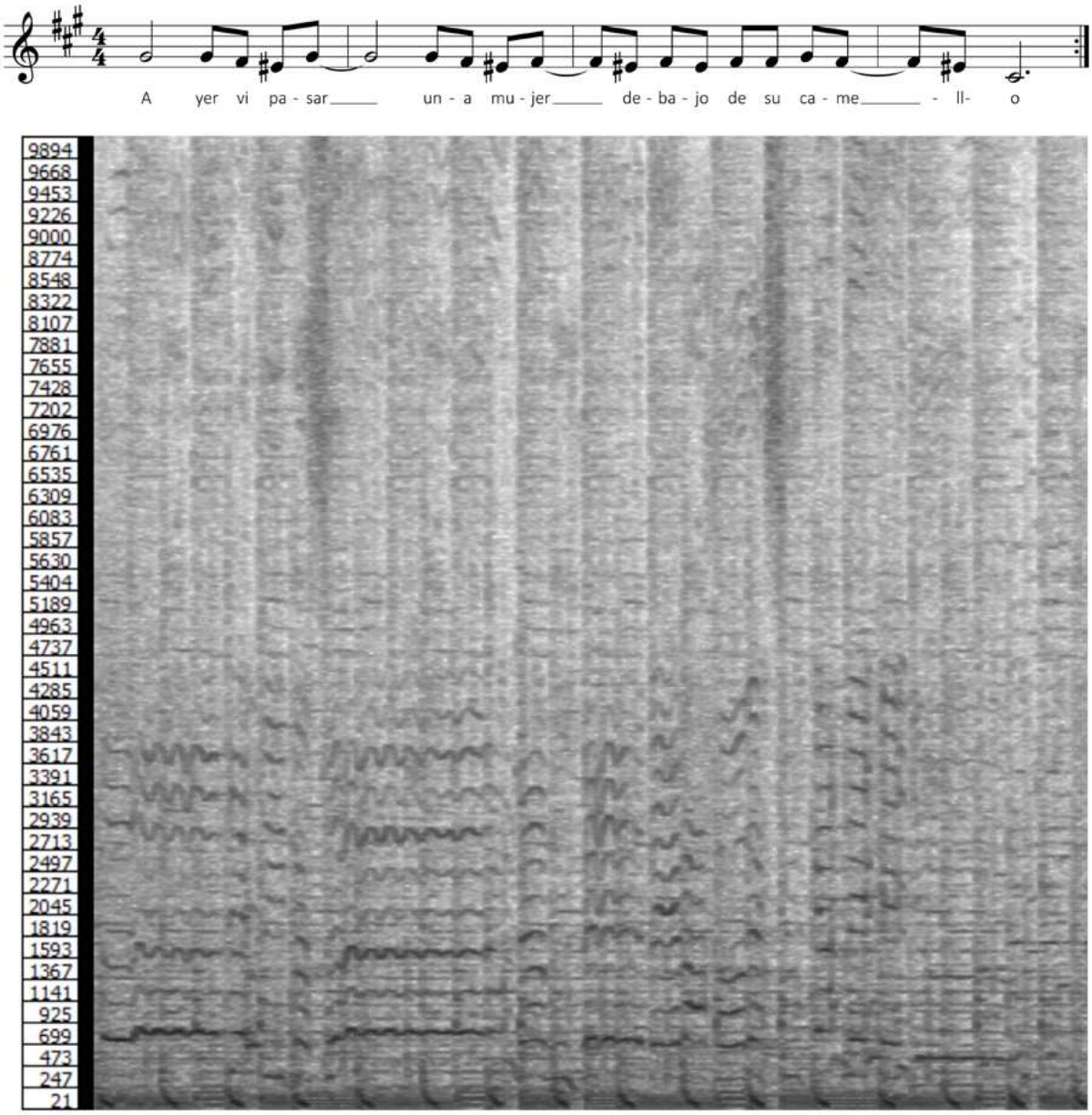


Fig. 5: “Ojos así” 1998 album version, second verse beginning

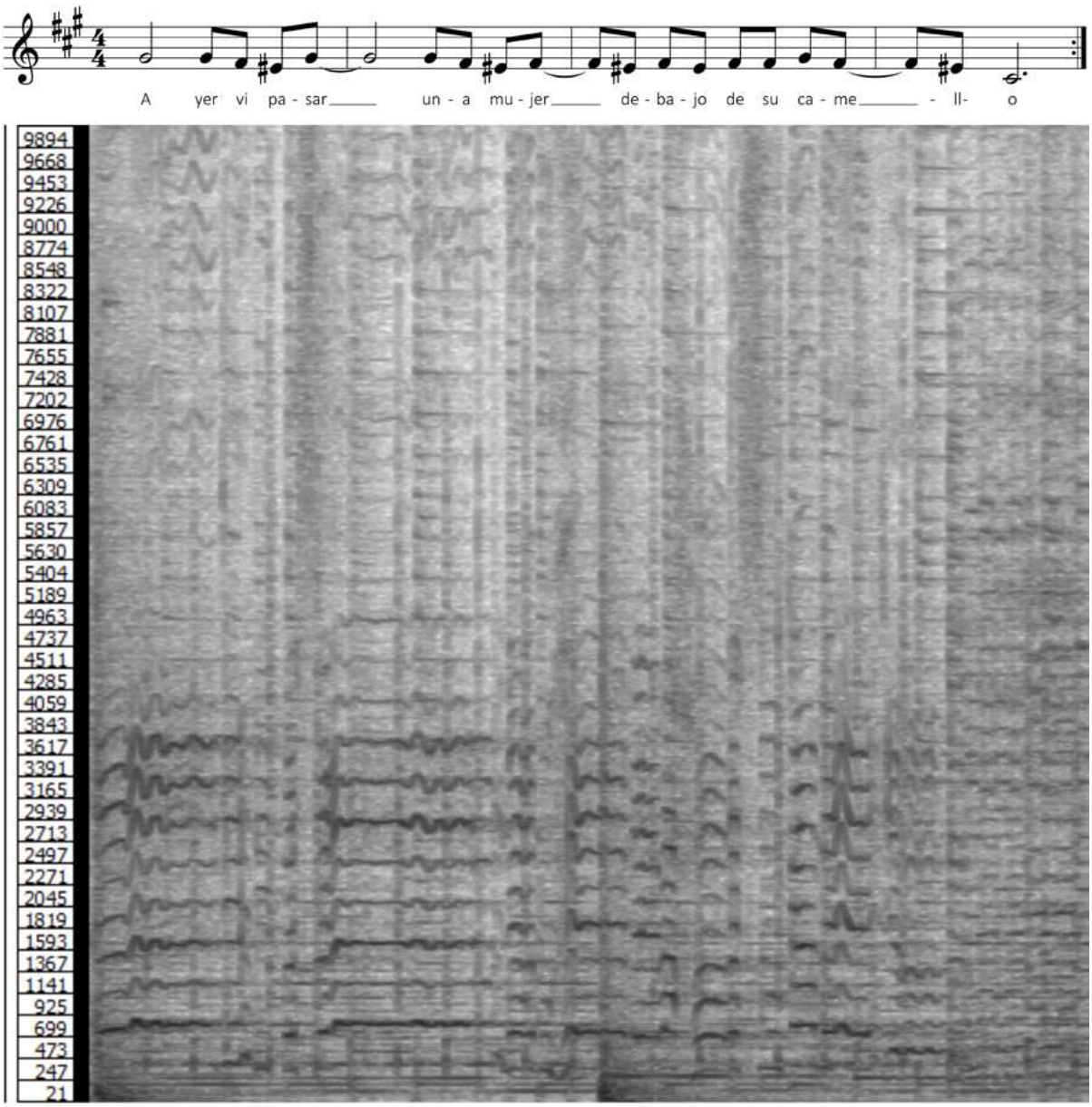


Fig. 6: “Ojos así” 1999 unplugged, second verse beginning

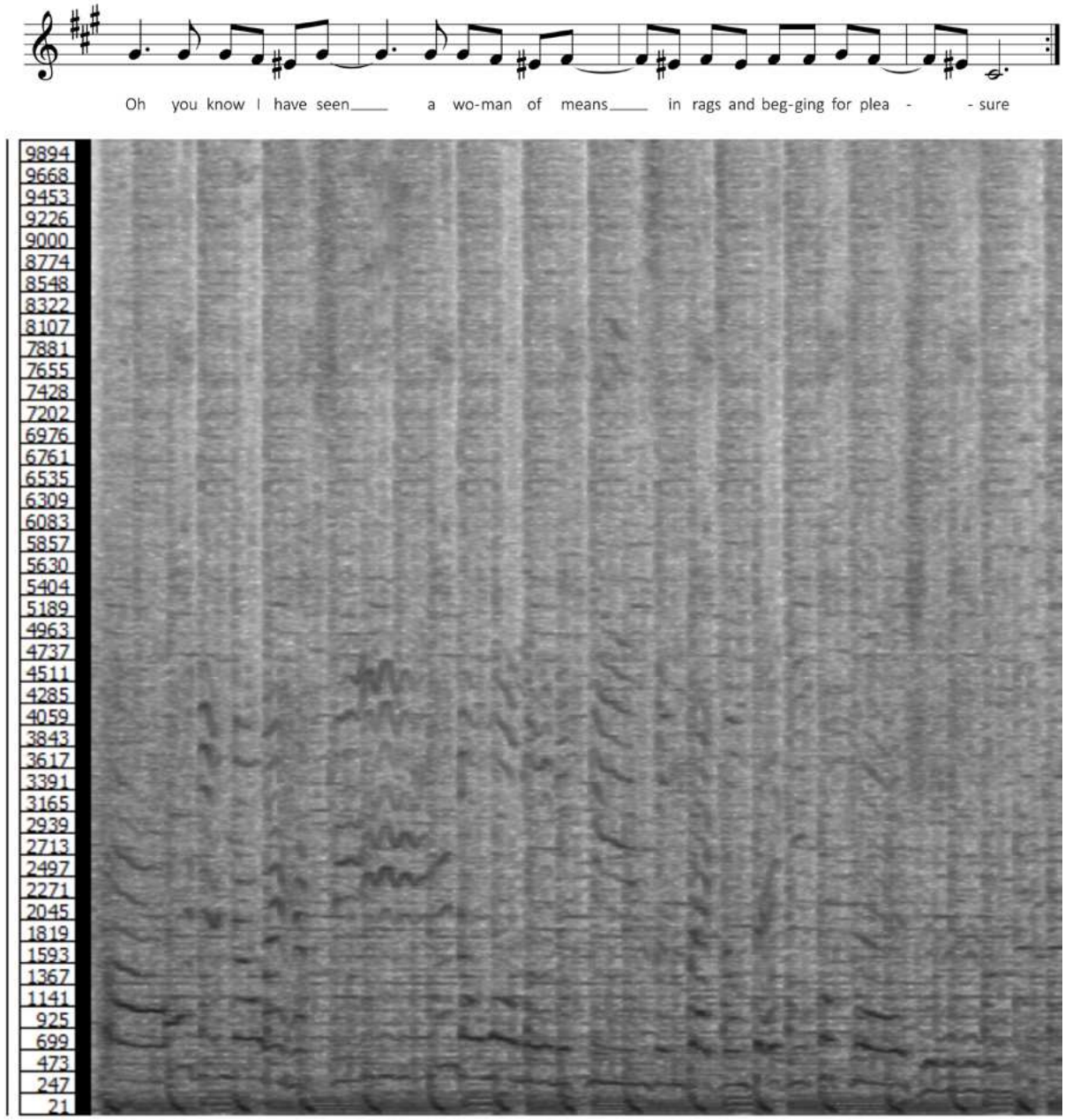


Fig. 7: “Eyes Like Yours” 2001, second verse beginning

Another important element that changed in the English lyrics is the position of the hook line at the end of the chorus. In the Spanish version, the two final chorus verses read "No encontré ojos así / Como los que tienes tú" (literally: "I didn't find eyes / like those you have"). The words of the song's title "Ojos así" form the end of the penultimate verse. The seven syllables of the last verse are set as a descending motive in seconds that repeats three times (E–D, E–D, E–D) before reaching the final C-sharp and forming a hook that can be easily sung. Although, in the English version, the song's title "Eyes Like Yours" is placed at the very end of the chorus as a typical hook, the complete two verses read "tearing down windows and doors / and I could not find eyes like yours", which makes singing along more complicated, it loses some clarity in the combination of words and melody, and results in Shakira's voice not being "in with the rest of the music" (Kogan 2001).

It becomes clear in this comparison that the new language did not fit exactly with the melody and slight changes were necessary. It seems that the recording gives an idea of the problems Shakira was faced with when adapting her older songs to the new language. Despite the losses in substance and sound (namely, the overtone spectrum), "Eyes Like Yours" served as a bridge between the old Latin American and the new "anglicized" Shakira as the reviews of Berry and Lechner display. Although the song's outstanding instrumentation kept working with the English lyrics, it was only half as convincing to reviewers. One might ask whether the transformation of the voice's performance and sound happened by accident, was intended as a kind of adaptation to the new audiences, or a mix of both. Even though this question can probably only be answered by interviews with the singer and the production team, the later handling of the song shows which elements of it were negotiated and further transformed in the course of time.

After the release of *Laundry Service*, Shakira mainly performed "Ojos así" in Spanish and there are hardly any other English versions. "Ojos así" remained an important element of her live shows, performed either at the beginning ("Tour of the Mongoose" 2002–03) or in the final part ("Oral Fixation Tour" 2006–07, "The Sun Comes Out World Tour" 2010–11) of the shows. Beginning with the Latin Grammy show in the early 2000s, the formal structure followed the unplugged version from 1999, where it was changed in overall form by giving more importance to dance rather than to voice. For example, in the *Live from Paris* video recording (2011), the lyrics are reduced to the first verse and chorus. The vocalise after the first chorus directly leads to the instrumental bridge and to the extended, softer percussive passage with subsequent violin solo and Shakira's dance. Her belly dance movements still show the characteristics which were introduced during the MTV concert in 1999, choreographed and taught by Myriam Eli, but had been exercised more professionally over the course of time since the Latin Grammy performance.

In the Super Bowl Halftime Show 2020, the song was reduced to only the first phrase of the lyrics in Spanish with much ornamentation, vibrato, and reverb in only ten seconds, followed by a belly dance sequence lasting twenty seconds, which served as a prelude to the next song "Whenever, Wherever". Indeed, the use of a rope, the dress, and the movements resemble the dance sequence before "Whenever, Wherever" rather than the staging of "Ojos así" at the "Oral Fixation Tour". Thus, the very essence of "Ojos así" was basically represented in the expressive ten-seconds-solo-voice and associated to the belly dance-inspired body movements.

When comparing other songs from *Laundry Service* which were directly published in English and Spanish ("Whenever, Wherever" and "Objection"), the differences in the voice are less obvious than in "Ojos así" / "Eyes Like Yours", though intense frequencies around 3,000 Hz

and noisy [s] consonants are more frequent in the Spanish versions. That means that the timbre and intensity of Shakira's voice often differ in English and Spanish. What can be visualised with the help of spectrograms is also described by Kogan with regard to *Laundry Service* when he states that "songs that get both English and Spanish versions sound very different in the different languages" (Kogan 2001). And he explains more precisely:

> [I]f you go back and check her Spanish-language LPs, they'll confirm the difference. Her voice in English has a twisty trebly twang that's appealing but doesn't correspond to any accent I've ever heard […]. Shakira pronounces both syllables in "dear." ("DEE-ear.") She probably gets a kick out of singing like that. She recorded an album in English not to enter a multimillion-dollar market but to have the opportunity to make funny sounds with her voice. In Spanish she sings deeper and rounder, and she sounds more normal. Where there's a direct comparison I prefer the Spanish versions, but I'm glad to have both. (Kogan 2001)

In contrast to Lechner or Berry, Kogan appraises Shakira's experiments with her voice and describes the particularities of the vocal performance. More importantly, he appreciates the Spanish as well as the English recordings though the latter do not withstand direct comparisons. Perhaps, *Laundry Service* would also have benefitted from the insertion of a Spanish version of "Ojos así", but only a Japanese edition (2002) included it as an additional track number 14.

Further Translation Strategies in Subsequent Albums

Kogan's doubt about the aim of Shakira's crossover seems ironic but drives attention to the challenge, the opportunities, the fun, and the risks of singing in different languages. Adapting to a new style for a new market may result in a loss of former fans. Reflecting on this in 2001, Shakira was quoted by Leila Cobo in *Billboard* as saying, "My Latin market is as important, or more [so], than others. It's not that I'm abandoning one territory for the other. On the contrary: I'm expanding" (Cobo 2001, 5). It is remarkable that Shakira continually endeavored to fulfill the expectations of the different audiences in several languages. With *Fijación Oral, Vol. 1* she released an album with songs in Spanish which was followed by *Oral Fixation, Vol. 2* almost exclusively in English.

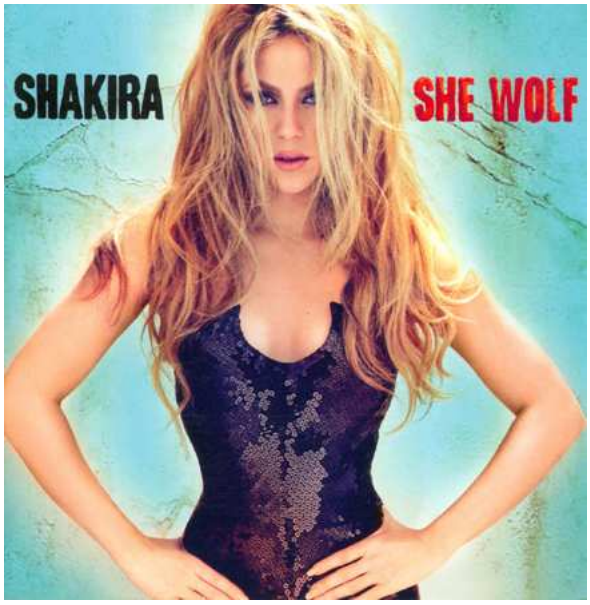
Besides the related titles, both covers show Shakira and a child representing feminine archetypes: On the Spanish cover, Shakira "holds a child in the same position as numerous 'virgin and child' paintings," while on the English "she is an almost naked Eve, with a red apple in her hand and the same baby watching her but from a position in the tree as if Cupid or Eros could be here" (Gontovnik 2010, 148). At first glance, titles and covers attempt to assume the English album was a simple translation of the Spanish, designed differently in order to serve other gender ideologies in the English market, but the assumption fails. *Oral Fixation, Vol. 2* also differs both musically and in concept as there is only one translated song. Track 1 "En tus pupilas" in *Fijación Oral, Vol. 1* corresponds to track 11 "Something" in *Vol. 2*. The vocal expression is very similar in both versions of the song. The pronunciation in English is almost as clear as in Spanish with notable consonants such as the [s] at the beginning of the chorus ("something" respectively "siento"), and the sustained tones often develop into an irregular vibrato and show a rich overtone spectrum up to 4,000 Hz. Interestingly, the other track present in both volumes is the Spanish hit "La Tortura" which has not been translated into English but was arranged in three different versions (two of them on the Spanish album and another one on the English).

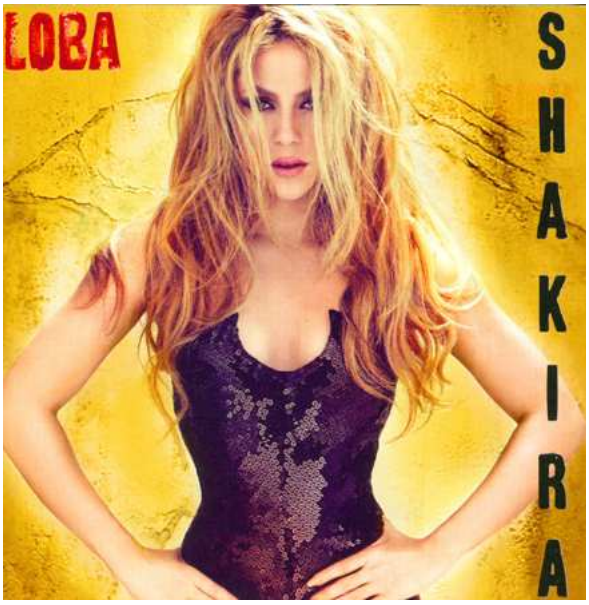
Fijación Oral, Vol. 1 / *Oral Fixation, Vol. 2* are probably the best examples of Shakira's expansion and her strategy of serving different language areas with totally different songs.

Fig. 8–9: Covers of *Fijación Oral, Vol. 1* (Sony Music Entertainment 2005, cover concept: Shakira, packaging concept and art direction: AR Media y Maria Paula Marulanda, photographer: Mario Sorrenti) and *Oral Fixation, Vol. 2* (Sony Music Entertainment 2005, art direction and design: Shakira and Maria Paula Marulanda, photographer: Jaume Laiguana)

In contrast, the album *She Wolf* has a comparable Spanish version called *Loba*. The Spanish cover design is graphically identical to the English one and simply colored differently (Fig. 10–11). Certainly, the Spanish album, published in Argentina, contains more translated songs and in a different order: *She Wolf* finishes with "Lo hecho está hecho," "Años luz," and "Loba" as tracks 10 to 12, which are the Spanish versions of the English tracks 1, 2, and 4 and put at the beginning of *Loba*. *Loba*'s tracks 4 to 12 are identical with the tracks 1 to 9 of *She Wolf*, but *Loba* continues with an extra Spanish version of "Gypsy" ("Gitana") and four other tracks in live or remix versions of "Lo hecho está hecho," "Gypsy," "She Wolf," and "Loba." As in the versions of "En tus pupilas" / "Something," the vocal expression no longer shows such remarkable differences as found in "Ojos así" / "Eyes Like Yours."

The following album *Sale el sol* (2010) is again mainly in Spanish. *Shakira* (2014) is in English and contains the song "Can't remember to forget you" / "Nunca me acuerdo de olvidarte" as the only translation. Depending on the countries, the track order on the albums and the bonus tracks differ as they did on *Laundry Service* and *She Wolf*. Counting all those examples, there are only a few songs that were produced in two or more versions altogether. Shakira's oeuvre seems to serve both languages with different songs and subjects. While most of her Spanish songs are still written by herself or in collaboration with somebody, some English songs such as "Islands," "Empire," "You Don't Care About Me," "Cut Me Deep," or "Chasing Shadows" on *Sale el sol* and *Shakira* have entirely been written by other authors.





She Wolf	*Loba*
1. She Wolf	1. Loba
2. Did It Again	2. Lo hecho está hecho
3. Long Time	3. Años luz
4. Why Wait	4. She Wolf
5. Good Stuff	5. Did It Again
6. Men in This Town	6. Long Time
7. Gypsy	7. Why Wait
8. Spy (feat. Wyclef Jean)	8. Good Stuff
9. Mon Amour	9. Men in This Town
10. Lo hecho está hecho	10. Gypsy
11. Años luz	11. Spy (feat. Wyclef Jean)
12. Loba	12. Mon Amour
	13. Gitana
	14. Lo hecho está hecho (feat. Pitbull)
	15. Gypsy (en vivo)
	16. She Wolf (Deeplick Club Remix)
	17. Loba (Deep Mariano Radio Mix)

Fig. 10–12: Covers and tracks of *She Wolf* and *Loba* (Sony Music Entertainment 2009, art direction and design: Jaume Laiguana and Shakira, additional art direction and design: Christina Rodriguez, photographers: Mert Alas and Marcus Piggot)

Probably more than other Latin/o American stars before her and during her time, Shakira succeeded with her multiple-track approach to the international, English-dominated pop scene without leaving the Latin American market behind. Additionally, Shakira expanded further into transnationalism and multilingualism by mixing language and instruments into her performances. The *Oral Fixation* albums and the corresponding tour also represent a step to further multilingualism in Shakira's oeuvre: "En tus pupilas" / "Something" included French lyrics and "Hips Don't Lie" was bilingual (Spanish/English). In the case of "Hips Don't Lie," Roberto Agostini argues that the Latin/o song interpreted in English and performed together with

the Haitian rapper Wyclef Jean turned out to be more successful even in the Spanish-speaking world than its monolingual version "Será, será (Las caderas no mienten)" (Agostini 2008, 213–14). According to Celis, Spanish phrases such as "bonita," "mi casa," "en Barranquilla se baila así" in the English version of "Hips Don't Lie" have the function of pointing to Shakira's Caribbean background and "the diffusion of Spanish" (Celis 2012, 205) since 1999. Such word plays and references in multilingual texts clearly get lost in translation and can only be compensated by radical rewriting (Eco 2003, 74). Since the English parts of "Hips Don't Lie" were only translated into Spanish but "Será, será (Las caderas no mienten)" was not entirely rewritten, the translation only loses and the losses are not compensated.

Regarding multilingualism and the mix of different musical styles, the intro of the "Oral Fixation Tour" with guitarist Ben Peeler playing the Chinese zither guzheng and Shakira singing the song "Aatini al nay" (made famous by Lebanese singer Fairuz) in Arabic are emblematic. The *Live from Paris* recording shows that Shakira has explicitly placed herself in the tradition of song translation next to famous forerunners when performing Francis Cabrel's song "Je l'aime à mourir" which he recorded in Spanish as "La quiero a morir" in 1979/80. Shakira surprised the audience with the French lyrics after the first verses in Spanish. Consequently, in 2014, she included the Catalan "Boig per tu" on the album *Shakira*, and, in 2016, Spanish, English, and French intermingled more prominently in the songs on the album *El Dorado*.

Conclusion

Shakira started translating her songs in the context of the "Miamization" of Latin American pop and its crossover boom in 1999. She developed a differentiated approach to language in the course of time, which can be witnessed in her albums until 2016. To get to the bottom of this process, comparisons of versions and detailed analyses of recorded tracks are a helpful tool. On the one hand, the microanalyses of "Ojos así" / "Eyes Like Yours" confirm musical aspects that some reviewers felt and described when *Laundry Service* was released in 2001. On the other hand, parameters of the vocal expression can be described more accurately with the visualization in spectrograms. Elements of vocal intensity such as the long irregular vibratos, particularly accentuated consonants, and a certain range of highlighted frequencies were lost when translating "Ojos así" to "Eyes Like Yours," while visual aspects served as compensation: the play with feminine role models, dance sequences, and complex stage performances.

Nadia Celis argued that Shakira's "emphasis on expressing herself through her body can be interpreted as a strategic shift aimed at communicating with a public that she could not address in her native tongue" (Celis 2012, 201). Consequently, the bodily performance belonged to the translation as a negotiation process at the time. Although Shakira has kept her blonde image and figure-accentuating dance performances to date, her vocal expression since *Fijación Oral, Vol. 1* shows that she has also composed and acted more carefully in various languages and remained versatile as a musician. However, if we take Ernesto Lechner's review of *Laundry Service* and the mention of "the Glen Ballard-penned ballad 'The One'" (Lechner 2001, 126) into account, we can see that Shakira's voice had already worked with English lyrics on *Laundry Service* as intense vibrato sequences with a rich overtone spectrum and the characteristic timbre in ballads such as "The One" or "Underneath Your Clothes" display: Perhaps the

expressiveness of Shakira's voice was changed, but not entirely lost when crossing over to the mainstream market.

The success of *Laundry Service* proves that in spite of certain losses in the translation process which were noticed by reviewers, the product Shakira worked as a whole in the new Anglophone market supported by new images and body concepts. Besides the outward appearance, multilingualism, translation, and transnationalism remain an integral element of Shakira's recordings and stage productions which deserve further detailed analyses on the basis of the recorded sounds.

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Abstract (English)

Scholarly research on Shakira has focused on image-building and the singer’s transnational performances since the crossover from the Latin American market to global mainstream in 1999 to 2001. In contrast, this essay drives attention to the sound of her songs demonstrating how the singer’s vocal expression changed when she started singing in English. The song “Ojos así,” its various recordings and especially the translation entitled “Eyes Like Yours” are subjects of analysis. Additionally, an overview of the albums released since 2001 indicates that the singer serves the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking markets with diverse (vocal) performances, and multilingualism as well as translation form an important part of Shakira’s artistic production.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Die wissenschaftliche Forschung zu Shakira hat sich auf die Imagebildung und die transnationalen Performances der Sängerin seit dem Übergang vom lateinamerikanischen zum globalen Mainstream-Markt in den Jahren 1999 bis 2001 konzentriert. Im Gegensatz dazu widmet sich dieser Aufsatz dem Klang ihrer Songs und zeigt, wie sich der vokale Ausdruck der Sängerin veränderte, als sie begann auf Englisch zu singen. Der damals zentrale Song “Ojos así”, dessen verschiedene Aufnahmen und vor allem die Übersetzung “Eyes Like Yours” sind Gegenstand der Analyse. Darüber hinaus zeigt ein Überblick über die Alben seit 2001, dass die Sängerin den spanisch- und englischsprachigen Markt mit unterschiedlichen (vokalen) Performances bedient und Mehrsprachigkeit sowie Übersetzung wichtige Elemente ihrer künstlerischen Produktion sind.

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César Jesús Burgos Dávila, David Moreno Candil, Helena Simonett

State Censorship and the Controversy Surrounding the Narcocorrido Genre in Mexico

> "Popular culture always is part of power relations; it always bears traces of the constant struggle between domination and subdomination, between power and various forms of resistance to it or evasions of it" — Fiske (2011 [1989], 17)

Over 30 years ago, John Fiske argued in his classic book *Understanding Popular Culture* (1989) that "popular culture is made by the people at the interface between the products of the culture industries and everyday life" (2011 [1989], 21). His insightful analysis of the diverse ways in which people use and subvert commodities to create their own meanings and messages remains equally relevant today, when music has become a streamed product easily accessible to the public at large. At the time of publication of Fiske's book, certain types of popular music had become the target of censorship, in the United States and elsewhere (Jones 1991). Prompted by lobbyist groups, the U.S. government intervened directly in the distribution of popular music, holding hearings in Congress on the matter of music lyrics (Chastagner 1999). While in the United States these measures were geared specifically towards the genres of rock and rap music, laws to regulate popular music in Mexico targeted the then-emerging narcocorrido genre, a type of ballad that cherishes the lifestyle of drug traffickers[1] (Astorga 2005). However, unlike the demonizing of popular music genres with roots in African or African diaspora culture, the banning of narcocorridos was not related to structures of racial oppression (Rivera 2009, 121): narcocorrido opponents' moral concerns were based on class distinctions. Moreover, today's censorship of narcocorridos criminalizes artistic expressions as a preventive strategy to combat criminal activities related to drug trafficking.

Taking an U.S. American perspective, journalist Elijah Wald compares the narcocorrido to gangsta rap, calling one of its key figures in Los Angeles, Chalino Sánchez, "the Tupac Shakur of narcocorridos." According to Wald, narcocorridos occupy "not just a kind of equivalent terrain to gangsta rap, specifically, but it's the same audience" (interview with Walroth 2002, quoted in Simonett 2006). This kind of comparison does not apply in Mexico, where narcocorrido fans have very little exposure to hardcore rap music. While there are certainly some thematic parallels between these two genres—such as the topics of violence, illegal activities, physical prowess, and masculinity—the lyrical expression and the overall musical sound are drastically different (Simonett 2006). The ensembles that accompany narco-balladeers remain so deeply rooted in rural Mexican music that the audience cannot discern between a traditional corrido (folk ballad) and a narcocorrido only by listening to the music. Accordingly, it was not the music itself but rather the song lyrics that came under fire. As Steve Jones has noted: "It is likely that attempts to silence popular music arise not because popular music empowers youth but because it empowers via the flaunting and or breaking of rules and authority" (1991, 85). To understand the narco-music's appeal to today's youth audiences on both sides of the

1 Narco is short for narcotraficante (drug trafficker). It can be added to any word to specify a relation to drug trafficking. In academic writings, the genre is variably referred to as narcocorrido, narco-corrido, corridos del narcotráfico (corridos of drug trafficking), baladas de narcotráfico (ballads of drug trafficking), or música del narcotráfico (music of drug trafficking).

U.S.-Mexico border, it is necessary to take a quick look at the corrido's century-long history as a subversive expression of Mexico's lower classes.

From Corrido to Narcocorrido

Stories about the deeds of bandits, poachers, smugglers, and other outlaws have long captured the imagination of diverse audiences around the world (Hobsbawm 1969). In Mexico, narrative songs or folk ballads, known as corridos, have told the stories of the common people for one and a half centuries, commenting on everything from natural disasters and political events to crimes, family feuds, horse races, romantic entanglements, migration, and, more recently, drug trafficking (Herrera-Sobek 1993; Nicolopulos 1997; McDowell 2000, 2015; Griffith 2002; V.A. 2002; Burgos 2013; Simonett 2014a). Populated by heroes and/or anti-heroes that emerged from the marginalized classes of society to perform inchoate class war, this mestizo cultural form flourished within the context of border conflicts with the United States and contributed to the rise of a Mexican national consciousness, especially during the post-revolution era in the early decades of the twentieth century (Paredes 1958; McDowell 1981; Holscher and Fernández 2001). Famous are the deeds of the gold-miner-turned-bandit Joaquín Murrieta, who terrorized the California mining camps after Mexicans suddenly came under the newly imposed U.S. Foreign Miners Tax Law due to California's annexation in 1848 (Leal 1995). Also famous was Gregorio Cortéz, a wrongly accused Mexican farmhand living in the Texas border area at the turn of the nineteenth century, who led his pursuers on a long manhunt before he was finally captured and jailed (Paredes 1958). The Northwestern state of Sinaloa was famed for two Robin Hood-like outlaws: Heraclio Bernal, who with this band of former mine workers raided the mountain ranges of the Sierra Madre Occidental and was killed in 1888 (Girón 1976), and Jesús Juárez Maza, better known as Malverde, who was allegedly hung in 1909, shortly before the beginning of the Mexican Revolution. Venerated as a folk saint, Malverde has become an idol of Sinaloa's drug traffickers (Simonett 2001a, 201–8). The ballads about these popular heroes, as well as those about revolutionary leaders such as General Pancho Villa, are still known and sung today (Chalino Sánchez 1993; V.A. 1994).

Accompanied by one or more guitars—more commonly today by accordion-driven norteño groups (from Northern Mexico, Ragland 2009) or bandas (brass bands from the state of Sinaloa at Mexico's Northern Pacific coast, Simonett 2001a)—and handed down orally and/or on leaflets, the corridos were the "history book" of the illiterate, providing an intriguing folk counterpoint to Mexico's official history. Today, it is this notion of the genre's subversiveness that, on the one hand, makes it an ideal expressive form for contesting a corrupt and duplicitous "official Mexico" and, on the other hand, has led to state censorship of the supposedly out-of-control production of popular music related to drug trafficking.

Even though the corrido underwent considerable changes with the onset of the recording industry in Mexico in the 1930s (Strachwitz and Sonnichsen 1994), today's commercially-produced corridos about drug trafficking, the so-called narcocorridos, still take advantage of the traditional corrido, particularly the Lower Rio Grande Border contraband-type corrido from the U.S. Prohibition era in the 1920s and 1930s, in which the smuggler was seen as an extension of the hero of intercultural conflict (Herrera-Sobek 1979; V.A. 1994; Simonett 2006b). At first closely tied to the shady underworld of the Sinaloan narcos (drug traffickers), the growing popularity

of the narcocorrido in the early twenty-first century suggests that the music industry had managed to produce a music that spoke to a large audience not defined by social, regional, national, or gender boundaries, and not sympathizing in any way with the lifestyle and achievements of drug traffickers. The genre has enjoyed widespread popularity beyond Mexico among people of Mexican or Latino descent in the United States and certain audiences in Colombia (Astorga 1997; Simonett 2001b; Almonacid 2016; Vergara 2017; Burgos and Simonett 2020).

Because the bulk of commercial narcocorridos glorify and defend the lifestyle and deeds of narcos and other actors involved in the illegal business, as well as drug-related violence, conflicts, confrontations, and territorial disputes between drug cartels, the genre has been regulated by law in several Mexican states. In Sinaloa, the historic hub of illegal narcotics production and trade, the popular music genre was first censored in 1987 (Astorga 2005). Two years later, the Sinaloan norteño group Los Tigres del Norte, by that time residing in Northern California, released an entire album with songs about drug trafficking, titled *Corridos prohibidos* (Forbidden Corridos), as a reaction to the Mexican government's attempt to suppress their music. Los Tigres allied themselves with news reporters, notably by making the corrido "El Gato Félix" (Felix the Cat) the LP's lead track. Félix el Gato was the nickname of Héctor Félix Miranda, a Sinaloan investigative journalist who was assassinated the previous year for his inquiry into organized crime and corruption in Tijuana. Furthermore, Los Tigres see themselves as "true-to-life" storytellers—another form of news reporting—rather than narco-balladeers.[2] Because popular music reaches a very large audience—larger than any newspaper report ever could—it has become the most prominent target of state censorship since the 1980s. Authorities justified the measures due to a sharp increase in drug cultivation and trafficking, coupled with high rates of drug-related violence, and a concurrent growing visibility of Sinaloa's drug traffickers and popularization of their extravagant lifestyle in the media. Censorship of narco-music was thus established and rationalized as a strategy to protect youth, reduce violence, and control drug trafficking (Astorga 1995).

Partly due to the ban of narco-music in several Mexican states and partly to the huge amounts of ill-attained money that remained in the United States after the shipments of drugs were sold there, the center of production shifted to the Los Angeles area in the 1990s (Simonett 2001b). Locally produced, and often commissioned by individuals related to the drug business, narcocorridos were an integral part of the local music network. Years later, major record companies such as Capitol Records (EMI Latin), Sony, Balboa Records (Musart), and Fonovisa discovered them as a profitable commodity that could be sold to a mass audience. Soon thereafter, the *Billboard* charts in the U.S. began to reflect their "mainstream" popularity. Spanish-language radio stations in the U.S. Southwest that broadcast Mexican popular music further contributed to the genre's popularization by putting narcocorridos on their airwaves.

Even though it flourished below the radar of the U.S. authorities (the Federal Communication Commission that monitors Spanish-language radio), the controversy around narco-music made headlines in several newspapers in 1997. According to the *Los Angeles Times* staff writer Anne-Marie O'Connor, critics claimed that "the ballads are the soundtrack to a nihilistic cult of automatic weapons and cocaine traffickers that is seducing their young," while defenders held that the songs "are not the siren call of cocaine kings, but an artistic reflection of an undeniable reality […], a mirror of the contemporary Mexican political drama and part of a tradition as

2 According to the band's own website (Los Tigres del Norte, n.d.). See also Burgos and Simonett (2020, 113).

old as Mexico itself" (1997a). The *Dallas Morning News* released a story by the same writer on the popularity of the "ballads about drug cowboys" in Mexico (O'Connor 1997b), and the *Christian Science Monitor* claimed that on the Mexican side of the border, the drug lords were seen as "regular guys" who enjoyed high social prestige (LaFranchi 1997). Journalist Sam Quiñones wrote several pieces about the emerging genre, calling it "narco pop's bloody polkas" that "paint [the] underbelly of Mexican life" (1995, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c). Catchy terms such as "drug cowboys" and "bloody polkas" used by journalists to describe this new (or, more accurately, then surfacing) musical phenomenon, reflect class-based prejudices against the kind of music that accompanied these ballads. Both banda and norteño are firmly rooted in Mexico's rural society and traditions that can be traced back to nineteenth-century European immigrant influences (Simonett 2001a, 99–154).

In the digital age that began at the dawn of the twenty-first century, the controversy around narco-music has continued to grow stronger. Artists are able to circumvent the vetting of music and media industries, as well as to avoid censorship policies implemented by Mexican state authorities. Access to alternative and low-cost means of production coupled with online distribution have shaped the current proliferation of YouTube narcocorrido videos, which are consumed by millions of mostly young users. A generation of savvy young composers and performers found the material for their ballads ready-made in Mexico's gruesome reality of out-of-control violence caused by the Mexican government's decades-old war on drugs. Replete with explicitly violent song lyrics and driven by an accelerated tempo played by a (combined) norteño-banda group, the movimiento alterado (alterado movement)[3] is the latest and most controversial development in narco-musical expression (Misarachi 2016). Not surprisingly, Mexican authorities reacted with even stricter laws to curb the music's growing popularity, allegedly with the intention of decreasing the violence and ensuring social peace in the region (Chávez 2016).

In the following, we will consider different positions on the censorship of narco-music from multiple perspectives. Our interest lies in censorship as a thoroughly social practice, rather than in its legal aspects. We will examine how in Mexico, particularly in the state of Sinaloa, such restrictions are justified and implemented; we analyze the scope and repercussions of censorship policies on the narcocorrido and its practitioners; and we examine the interactions and discourses of those involved in the controversy. Our analysis is based on years of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Sinaloa and in California. Simonett began her ethnomusicological research on narco-music as a transnational phenomenon in 1994 while attending the doctoral program in ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Burgos, a native of Culiacán, conducted fieldwork in Sinaloa in 2008 when he was a Ph.D. candidate in social psychology at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain, and continued his research as a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, from 2014 to 2015.[4] Moreno's Master's thesis examines the impact of Sinaloa's narco-culture on the local youth based on fieldwork he conducted in 2009. He received his doctoral degree in social psychology from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México by investigating how drug trafficking affects people's collective memory.

3 Alterado in colloquial language means upset, deranged, infuriated, or being under the influence of drugs. The music productions of the alterado movement are called pura enfermedad (pure disease). A representative example of this style is the music video "Leyenda M1" by El Komander, a corrido about the legendary Manuel Torres Félix (1958–2012), aka M1, a high-ranking leading member of the Sinaloa cartel. The film Narco Cultura by Shaul Schwarz (2013) documents this trend. Trailer and sample scenes can be watched in Simonett 2014b.

4 More recently (from 2014 to 2018), two ethnographic projects of his concerning narco-music were sponsored by grants from the Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Culiacán, CONACyT-23476 and PROFAPI-UAS, 2015/047.

"Cartography of a Controversy"[5]

Due to the digitalization of contemporary music production and its availability on various internet platforms, narcocorridos can be heard almost anywhere in the world. However, it is in Sinaloa's capital, Culiacán, one of Mexico's most unstable and crime-ridden cities due to drug trafficking activities, where young people in particular "live" the narcocorrido (Burgos 2012, 2016; Moreno, Burgos and Valdez 2016; Garza 2016a). Culiacán and the surrounding sierra, home of the infamous Sinaloa Cartel, continues to inspire young composers, but having been fully absorbed into the transnational circuit of popular music production, the music reaches beyond the region and traverses the U.S.-Mexican border. Its scope and impact can be observed on both sides of the border, particularly because many of the involved actors were either born or permanently reside in the United States, but maintain strong family ties to Mexico (Edberg 2011; Burgos and Simonett 2020).

Rather than just listening and dancing to norteño or banda music, many young people nowadays also engage in socio-musical practices such as composing, performing, and disseminating narcocorridos that tell of the feats and defeats of the capos (drug lords), of agreements and disagreements between drug cartels, of corruption, crimes, massacres, beheadings, abductions, and disappearances. In short, narcocorridos reflect their experiences, practices, and ways of positioning themselves in transnational contexts ravaged by violence and drug trafficking: "Narcocorridos, specifically YouTube narcocorrido videos, are aesthetic productions generated from 'the margins.' As symbolic responses to experienced realities, the content of this genre is constantly adapting to changing historical, political, and cultural conditions" (Burgos and Simonett 2020, 116). No wonder, then, that the song lyrics have grown more violent and explicit over the last decade.

It is the increase of narco-music's popularity among young people, however, that makes the narcocorrido genre so controversial. According to government authorities, narcocorridos not only celebrate drug trafficking and drug traffickers, but may also encourage young people to commit crimes or join the cartels, thus contributing to a an already pervasive sense of social anxiety and insecurity. Based on these arguments, narco-artists such as Gerardo Ortiz, Calibre 50, and Enigma Norteño have recently been denied permission to perform in the state of Sinaloa (Bustamante 2016; Redacción El Debate 2016). Considered a "social risk" by the government, the narcocorrido has been demonized (Garza, 2016b; Ramírez-Pimienta 2011), stigmatized (Valenzuela et al. 2017), vilified as "enemy of the state" (Mondaca 2012), and those who practice and are fond of it criminalized (Nateras 2016). Sinaloa and other states implemented censorship despite the lack of evidence to prove a causal relationship between the violence related to drug trafficking and narco-music practices.

Censorship is always an act of domination, a display of state power, and, in the case of popular music, a strategy to discipline cultural expressions that contradict official ethics and values (Fuente 2005). Since censorship as a social practice is situated in public life, it generates discussions about freedom of speech as well as the measures' justification, objectives, scope, and consequences (Coetzee 2007). Thus, legal attempts to control popular music's production and

5 *Mapping controversies* is an analytical method developed by the French sociologist and philosopher Bruno *Latour (2012) that focuses on* the actants and their role in the sociotechnical network. We adopt Latour's idea that a controversy always involves more than two positions that stand in opposition to each other: in this case, authorities vs. the musicians, or being for or against censorship. The complexity of such phenomena can only be understood if they are studied thoroughly.

consumption reveal the different positions, discourses, practices—of both control and subversion—, and the complex interactions and tensions between the state, the culture industries, the musicians, the composers, and the fans.

As Bruno Latour (2012) has pointed out, there are never only two positions surrounding a controversy; there are several different ones. It is never a clear-cut yes or no, for or against. The positions do not take shape in a social vacuum. Rather, they are anchored in political, social, and cultural conditions; historically situated, and shaped by ever-changing situations and circumstances. According to Latour (2008, 2012), to reveal the complexity of a controversy implies to thoroughly understand its context, the specificity of the case, and the array of the positions of the actors involved in the controversy. Thus, a careful ethnographic study of the local musical practices, as proposed by Antoine Hennion (2002, 2010), is necessary in order to do justice to the narcocorrido phenomenon. This, in turn, means detailing the socio-musical spaces where this music is produced, performed, consumed, shared, and talked about.

At the center of our ethnographic attention were socio-musical spaces where narcocorridos are typically performed and consumed, such as live concerts, fairs, dances, discotheques, cantinas, and parties of individuals not related to trafficking. We also attended rehearsals by a variety of music groups, acquired cassettes and CDs from street vendors, and listened extensively to the radio. We interviewed a number of musicians who play in local bands that compose and perform narcocorridos as part of their repertoire, as well as young amateurs whose musical preferences include narcocorridos.

Acts of Power: Narcocorrido Censorship in Sinaloa

The first censorship policy in Sinaloa was implemented in 1987 by the government in a socio-political context that furthered the visibility of drug trafficking and drug traffickers in everyday life, as well as the rising popularity of the narcocorrido (Astorga 1995, 1997; Ramírez-Pimienta 1998, 2004, 2011). The media played their part in promulgating the narco lifestyle through excessive coverage (Córdova 2005). Together with the culture industries, they portrayed the narco as a subversive but mythical and heroic figure whose glamorous lifestyle, adventures, and stories became indispensable elements in the composition of new corridos. One of the favored motifs on cassette covers in the 1990s was the singer posing as a narco, featuring heavy gold chains and lavish clothing, pickup trucks, cell phones, and weaponry (Fig. 1–3). In this way, the figure of the drug trafficker was consolidated as a cultural icon of conspicuous consumption (Astorga 1995; Edberg 2011; Fernández 2011).

Fig. 1–3: Cassettes and CDs from the 1990s. Photos by Helena Simonett.

To counter the growing popularity of narco-culture, the Sinaloan government launched the 1987 Festival Cultural (cultural festival) under the auspices of the State Program of Justice and Public Security. According to the director of the Sinaloan Institute of Culture (ISIC), María Luisa Miranda Monrreal, the festival aimed to offer citizens a different (in her words, "a better") prospect for social coexistence and spiritual well-being by promoting and diffusing (the right kind of) art and culture: "a joyful, festive and real alternative to the phenomenon of violence [...], a renewed affirmation of this culture by and for the people of Sinaloa" (cited in Burgos 2012, 125, translation by the authors). Under the pretext "to build a better place to live together" (Montoya and Fernández 2009), the diffusion of narcocorridos via radio, television, and the press was prohibited.

But these legal measures taken to curb the popularity of the narcocorrido did not keep the genre from flourishing. Since ethical issues had never been the record industry's guidelines when economic gains were at stake, the main production of narco-music shifted across the border, where transnational music labels operated outside the legal reach of Mexican censorship (Simonett 2006b; Olmos 2005; Fernández 2011). To attract a new audience, one that was used to globally appealing music styles such as salsa or cumbia while at the same time aching for the "local" Mexican feel, norteño bands and Sinaloan bandas adapted their production to the changing taste (Burgos 2016). Soon, young people on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border began to listen to—and eventually reappropriate—the musical genre.

Between 2001 and 2003 several regional Mexican governments (gobiernos estatales), particularly in the Northern part of the country, signed agreements to banish the narcocorrido. Program directors at radio and television stations had to follow suit. The omnipresence of drug trafficking and the aggravated violence were seen as justification for implementing such measures. Banning narco-music from public networks was thought to be an important measure against artistic expressions of violence and crime, and thus a step towards ensuring public order and security, upholding public morality, and protecting children and minors from harm.

During the presidency of Felipe Calderón (2006–2012), the fight against drug trafficking intensified. Within two months of taking office, around 20,000 soldiers were involved in operations across the country. The purpose was to recuperate the spaces occupied by drug trafficking, re-establish the rule of law, and recover public safety (Osorno 2009). The government treated the problem as a matter of national emergency. However, the strategy only revealed the failure of the State to combat organized crime. Despite the increase in public security spending, instability did not diminish, and criminal structures continued to function even after the arrest (or death) of high-profile traffickers. Overall, drug related activities proliferated, and the economic power of the traffickers grew (Ovalle 2010). Violence among rival drug cartels escalated and spilled into society at large. By the end of Calderón's term, the war on drugs had caused over 121,000 fatalities, most of them civilian casualties (Redacción Proceso 2013).

Under these socio-political circumstances, censorship of narcocorridos developed from being a preventive measure to being part of a strategy of direct intervention to combat drug trafficking. In 2009, Mexican authorities proposed bills to punish artists whose performances trigger criminal acts as subject to the Federal Law of Organized Crime (Comunicación Social 2011a, 2011b; Ibarra 2010). In addition, the governor of Sinaloa modified the State Regulation of the Alcohol Law to prohibit the performance or broadcasting of narcocorridos in places where alcohol was sold (Secretaría General de Gobierno 2011). Failure to comply with the decree

resulted in a monetary fine, the withdrawal of the license for the sale of alcohol, and the provisional or permanent closure of the establishment. This official persecution of musicians and composers of narcocorridos presumed that they were directly linked to organized crime by, for example, engaging in activities such as money laundering. The highly publicized arrest and imprisonment of the Texas-based norteño musician and Latin Grammy winner Ramón Ayala in December 2009 in Tepoztlán, Morelos, for alleged links with organized crime was seen as further proof. As a result, the tightened regulations reinforced the public stigmatization of young people as a societal group. In addition, the belief that young people would be enticed to commit crimes just by listening to narcocorridos widely circulated in the media and influenced public opinion (Contreras 2010; León 2010).

Conditions of violence, instability, and the impact of drug trafficking further increased under president Enrique Peña Nieto (2012–2018). More than 58,000 murders were committed during the first three years of his government (Redacción Animal Político 2016; Redacción SinEmbargo 2017). By June 2018, the number had doubled. Event organizers cancelled numerous concerts and performances at local fairs throughout the country due to the perception that the music contributed to the rampant violence. Among the artists that were denied access to the stage were popular bands such as Los Tigres del Norte, Los Tucanes de Tijuana, El Komander, Gerardo Ortiz, Calibre 50, Colmillo Norteño, and Los Buitres de Culiacán. The official justification for the measure was civil protection and safety.

The censorship of popular music functions as a mechanism of social control exercised by a (dominant) group over the conduct of the members of another (weaker) group (González Sánchez 2016, 91). This battle often takes place in public spaces that fulfill specific social functions, such as radio and television. Indeed, Mexico's Federal Law on Radio and Television forbids the transmission of news, messages, or propaganda of any kind that are contrary to the security of the State or public order (Congreso de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos 2009). Article 63 of the Federal Law on Radio and Television states that

> [a]ll transmissions that cause the corruption of language and those contrary to good morals are forbidden, whether through malicious expressions, words or lewd images, ambiguous phrases and scenes, *the apology of violence or crime*; it also prohibits everything that is degrading or offensive to the civic cult of heroes and religious beliefs, or discriminatory towards races; as well as the use of low comedy resources and offensive sounds. (Justicia 2020, translation and italics by the authors)

Although the dissemination of narcocorridos falls under this law, in 2011, a parliamentary group of the conservative Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), represented by Federal Deputy Armando Corona Rivera, proposed to amend article 63. In order "to avoid the unintentional apology of violence or crime in the media resulting in the prevention of crime in Mexican youth" (Corona Rivera 2011a, translation by the authors), they proposed to specify the expression "the apology of violence or crime" that would explicitly address narcocorridos:

> The apology of criminal acts is: To express, describe and present images with an explicit content of admiration for crime; homicides, mutilated or bloodied victims and the material wealth generated by criminal actions. (Corona Rivera 2011a, translation by the authors)

The same parliamentary group simultaneously proposed a reform of the Law on the Offenses against Printing with the aim to further define actions that were considered an apology of

violence and crime, such as "enunciating, describing and presenting images with an explicit content of admiration for delinquency; for homicides, for mutilated or bloodied victims and for the wealth derived by criminal actions" (Corona Rivera 2011b, translation by the authors). According to Human Right's specialist Juan Carlos Arjona,

> [t]his proposal was presented after the peak in violence registered in 2011 in Mexico derived from a failed policy on security, in the context of the prosecution of crimes against health (drugs). In these circumstances, the press reported the appearance of mutilated bodies on public roads, through which organized crime sought to intimidate individuals and authorities in the region, showing their strength and impunity. (Arjona Estévez 2018, 18)

With the above amendments to the federal law, the Ministry of the Interior was empowered to regulate the transmission of narcocorridos on radio and television as well as to stipulate sanctions for any type of defense or praise of criminal acts through song. For some state legislators, however, sanctions were no guarantee of achieving the stated goals. In the words of an authority of the state of Durango:[6]

> [E]nding such expressions will not end the country's criminal acts, and it is most likely impossible to measure how much violence is reduced by not transmitting them [narcocorridos] through any channels. What will happen is that prohibiting them in practice (at least in Durango) will put an end to the commission of a crime: the apology of violence. Most importantly: fewer people (especially children) will idolize the drug traffickers because they will listen less to their songs. (Quoted in Lozano 2014, translation by the authors)

In Sinaloa, where in 2011 the performance or broadcasting of narcocorridos in places where alcohol was sold was prohibited by law, governor Mario López Valdez blamed the music for the murder of seven youths during the Carnival in Mazatlán: "At such late hours of the night, with armed people and people who were drunk or under the influence of some drugs; suddenly a music gushed forth that heated up their blood. What happened? Seven young people lost their lives, and some more were left wounded" (López Valdez, quoted in Cadín 2011). He believed that "[n]o one can rule out that [narco-music] incites, that it provokes, or somehow causes the commission of crimes" (López Valdez, quoted in Burgos 2012, 139). Narcocorridos create false heroes and persuade children to idolize them, the governor thus claimed. He downplayed censorship as a repressive act on the part of the government, arguing that, after all, people could still listen to the music on the streets, in their cars, at home or private parties.

As mentioned above, during the past years, the number of cancellations of live performances by narco-artists has increased. Among the most controversial cases was the performance of El Komander at the Santa Rita fair in Chihuahua in 2013. The Los Angeles-based artist had gained fame through his violent and graphic corridos that had become the core of the movimiento alterado. Since El Komander's main repertoire consists of corridos that exalt criminal acts, the Chihuahua City Council requested a deposit prior to the concert as a guarantee that the artist would abide by the law (González Flores 2013). Nonetheless, El Komander performed narcocorridos and, thus, was fined 8,000 US dollars. Los Tigres del Norte had to pay a fine of 25,000 US dollars for violating Chihuahua law after performing their classic and "well-known ballad about Camelia the Texan—a woman who smuggles drugs into the United States and then murders her lover in a jealous rage" (Linthicum 2017; the song was originally released on the

6 Because the topic is quite sensitive, we keep all our sources confidential, unless we cite people whose names have been published elsewhere.

album *Los Tigres del Norte* 1974). Gerardo Ortiz was arrested by the Federal Police in Guadalajara in 2016 and later charged for "criminal exaltation" stemming from a music video that depicts the singer shooting a man in the head, tying up a woman, tossing her into the trunk of a car, and setting her on fire (Cobo 2016).

From a political point of view, censorship is a legitimate measure to prevent the circulation of material that is considered harmful, objectionable, or otherwise inconvenient. But contrary to the goal of its prohibition, the marketability of the narcocorrido only increased. For example, fines and concert cancellations contributed to El Komander's image as an unruly man, and made him a hero in the eyes of his core fans. Censorship thus was appropriated by narco-musicians as a sociocultural practice that subverted its original intention to suppress their nonconforming voices. It is this intersection of domination and resistance through which power is exercised that now leads us to examine the positions of the censored musicians in more detail.

Subversive Tactics: Composing and Performing Narcocorridos Despite Censorship

According to Michel de Certeau,

> *a way of using* imposed systems constitutes the resistance to the historical law of the state of affairs and its dogmatic legitimations. A practice of the order constructed by others redistributes its space; it creates at least a certain play in that order, a space for maneuvers of unequal forces. […] That is where the opacity of a "popular" culture could be said to manifest itself. (De Certeau 1988, 18, italics original)

Indeed, one of the artists' most successful tactics to undermine state censorship has been to continually re-signify its meaning—that is, to *utilize* it to enhance and position their products, in much the same way as Los Tigres del Norte had manipulated the corrido prohibido label to their commercial advantage three decades before. On the 1989 LP cover of their self-censored corridos, the five artists are depicted as villains (Fig. 4). As if torn out of a newspaper, only the first part of the title beneath the photograph can be read: "Los famosos corridos de Los Tigres del Norte fueron prohibidos porqu[e]" (The famous corridos of Los Tigres del Norte were banned becaus[e]), leaving it to the album buyer to speculate about the reasons for the ban. A red stamp with the word "PROHIBIDOS" across it, similar to the parental warning label for explicit music lyrics used by the U.S. music industry, turns this product into a desirable "forbidden fruit."

Fig. 4: Los Tigres del Norte's "prohibited" music. Photo by Helena Simonett.

Later followed the corridos pesados (heavy corridos) and corridos perrones (bad-ass corridos), and eventually the corridos alterados or enfermos (sick corridos). All of them subvert the stigma that was officially attached to them by affirming the music's "harmfulness." In such way, the term censorship assumes different meanings through which people destabilize political discourse, allowing for the opening of spaces for alternative discourses. Rather than contesting the arguments that are used against them, the censored employ the same arguments to resist, counteract, and acquire strength and visibility. Narco-artists make use of what Judith Butler has called a "hyperbolic performance" (1993, 23), an excessive public demonstration of what has been prohibited. This includes the performance and staging of cultural elements that are objectionable or inconvenient to censors.

How musicians actually operate under conditions of censorship and how they legitimize their music depends on the particular circumstances in which they work. A band such as Los Tigres del Norte, for example, stages grand, pre-programmed events, where they exclusively play their own songs, a huge repertoire accumulated over the almost five decades of their musical career. At most smaller venues, however, musicians cannot simply play a preset list of pieces, but must respond to the spontaneous demands of their audience. They must learn the latest hits of the better-known bands and be flexible enough to perform across genres, including narcocorridos. "It is what people are asking for," an U.S.-based artist, who wants to stay anonymous, explains. "If we don't play these songs […], then people are going to say 'these roosters[7]! As if they didn't know!' […] If we want to reach their hearts, or make people like our music,

7 Expressions such as gallo valiente, "brave rooster" or simply "rooster," are commonly used in Sinaloa to refer to a potent, manly man (see Simonett 2006).

then, by necessity, we have to include what's popular right now" (interview with musician by César Burgos, 19 March 2015, Oakland, California, translation by the authors). Another Mexican musician-composer who resides in California confirms:

> When the fever of the alterado movement gained ground, we said: "they are already all around, destroying the music: our Mexican music." At the beginning we listened to it and said: "That music is so bad!" Even now there are people who say that this music is bad. To them it's bad […] but not to the youths. It's what is peaking. […] We play [the corridos alterados] because we have to please them [the young audience]. […] We have to be attentive to what's coming out, the new trends. (Interview with musician by César Burgos, 16 March 2015, Oakland, California, translation by the authors)

Much like former times when musicianship was seen as a trade, like masonry or carpentry, today Mexican musicians see themselves as "service providers" and their compositions as merchandise. They vehemently reject the accusations of complicity with drug trafficking even though, as one composer told us, drug trafficking "has opened many doors for us to work. […] We write about what is given to us as data. We don't try to investigate if it's true, if it's a lie. What for?" (interview with composer by César Burgos, 10 November 2009, Culiacán, translation by the authors). Since composing corridos on commission has become a risky task, artists take various precautions, such as dissociating themselves from their clients or rejecting any responsibility for the content of the songs:

> They ask me to compose the song. I do it and they stick with it. Sometimes I even tell them, "you know what? Don't tell anyone who composed it for you." […] Because it already belongs to them, I don't have anything to do with the song any longer […] I try not to tell any details; where it was recorded, or anything. Just, "send me the information and what you want me to say." I'll sort them out and that's it. (Interview with composer by César Burgos, 16 March 2015, Oakland, California, translation by the authors)

Because numerous artists involved in the business of commissioned corridos have been threatened or murdered—including the legendary Chalino Sánchez in 1992 and Valentín Elizalde in 2006 for singing the "wrong" corridos—artists are careful with whom they associate themselves.[8] Some refrain from composing narcocorridos altogether, only performing them when requested by the public, as the vocalist of a well-known band of Culiacán explains:

> There are times when [clients] come to us with lyrics. We listen to them, [the members of the group] get together and if it suits us, we record it […] What we don't want is for it to be an offensive corrido, or for it to mention people who shouldn't be mentioned [...] Well, because it scares us [...] A friend called me from Phoenix, where we were about to go for work and he says, "Listen, record one of those sick corridos, those that really hit." I said, "Look, I'd rather be eating beans with cheese here [in peace]." (Interview with singer by César Burgos, 10 January 2009, Culiacán, translation by the authors)

The norteño group Los Tucanes de Tijuana that was banned in 2008 to perform in their namesake border city, insisted: "It's music. We want people to have fun, to be entertained. I think we all have a right to freedom of expression" (Mario Quintero, quoted in Burgos 2012, 138–39). And so, they turned to the very corrido to publicize their opinion:

8 According to banda musicians residing in Los Angeles who regularly accompanied the late singer and to his widow whom one of us authors, Helena Simonett, interviewed in 1996, Chalino's death is believed to be connected to the commissioned corridos which he often performed live (see Simonett 2001a: 241–54).

> De muy joven yo deseaba, que me hicieran un corrido.
> Nomás les hacían a narcos, y a los que morían a tiros.
> Por fin se me hizo justicia, aquí va uno de los míos.
> Cada quien, es lo que quiere, y hace lo que le dan ganas.
> Yo escucho narcocorridos, y no vendo hierba mala.
> Así es que no inventen cosas. Es la historia mexicana.
>
> (From a very young age, I wanted a corrido to be written about me.
> They only made them about narcos, and about those who were shot to death.
> At last justice was brought to me, here goes one of mine.
> Everyone is what they want to be, and does what they please.
> I hear narcocorridos, and I don't sell weed.
> So don't make up things. This is Mexican history.)
>
> (Excerpt from "No solo de traficante" [Not Only of Traffickers], 1997, translation by the authors)

In the spoken lead-in to another of Los Tucanes' songs, "Los Chiquinarcos," a voice, pretending to be a reporter, asks: "Hello, how are you? Look, we're doing a special on corridos, what do you think about them being banned on the radio?" Another voice answers: "Look, buddy, they may be banned on the radio. But in my pickup truck, never!" (translation by the authors). A recent corrido by Calibre 50 featuring El Komander ("Qué tiene de malo" [What's Bad About It], 2014) includes a conversation about favorite corridos. One of them asks: "How much do you think I like corridos? What the hell of a fuss do you have with me? [...] Listening to corridos, buddy, I assure you, doesn't make me a bad Mexican." At 1:40 minutes, the two vocalists continue to converse with each other about having a taste for graphic corridos, particularly the titles by Calibre 50 and by El Komander: "And you, how many have you robbed? And I, have I killed anyone? No one, buddy, no one" (translation by the authors).

Whether merchandise or simply entertainment, musicians and composers do not believe that banning narcocorridos is an effective measure for fighting drug trafficking and violence. In the words of a musician from Culiacán: "If it were, we would collaborate so that the violence could end, we really would cooperate. We don't want violence. If [censorship] was a measure that could be used for that, we would accept it, of course" (interview by César Burgos, 2010, Culiacán, translation by the authors). The cancellations of events and surveillance of locales where live music is played not only affect the musicians' everyday lives, but also has adverse effects on audiences, as it controls their choice of musical preferences and entertainment forms.

Finding Loopholes: Consuming and Disseminating Narcocorridos by Fans

To quote de Certeau again:

> Innumerable ways of playing and foiling the other's game […], that is, the space instituted by others, characterize the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups which, since they lack their

> own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations. People have to make do with what they have. (De Certeau 1988, 18)

Narcocorrido fans who did not want to forgo the pleasures of popular music began to engage in socio-musical practices to circumvent the restrictions implemented by the state governments, to find loopholes and inconsistencies, and to shift their maneuvers to spaces largely outside the reach of the State: the streets and the internet.

Street vending is an omnipresent feature of Culiacán's urban landscape and plays a significant role in the city's informal economy. Street vendors are concentrated in strategic places where there is a constant flow of people: in the city center, markets, bus stops, gas stations, beer outlets, taquerías (restaurants specializing in tacos, burritos, and other Mexican dishes) and outside small supermarkets (Burgos 2016; Mondaca 2012). They play narcocorridos on cheap boom boxes to promote their products: pirated music in mp3 format burned onto CDs (Fig. 4–6). Although piracy is a federal crime, distribution and consumption of pirated products are ubiquitous in everyday life. A street vendor explained: "I sell whatever my boss gives me. They bring me the records […] We offer what people ask for, what's trending. […] [They] ask me for a record or for a song. If I don't have it, I write it down and then I will get it" (interview by César Burgos, 2015, Culiacán, translation by the authors). The sale of such products occurs in the open, pointing to the complicity and corruption of the authorities. According to the street vendor: "Sometimes the police patrol passes by. They don't do anything, they don't even stop. They haven't done anything to me [...] I don't know, maybe the boss bribes them so that they'll let him work" (ibid.). Access to narcocorridos is facilitated by the fact that pirated products are inexpensive and ever-present. As a young listener confirms: "I'm not in the habit of buying the original records [...] as one is supposed to do. In fact, going from one locale to another, drinking with friends, we come across [a street stand] at every corner" (interview by César Burgos, 2014, Culiacán, translation by the authors). Indeed, production and consumption of narcocorridos proliferate through informal trade. Access to musical novelties occurs on the streets. It is also where productions by local groups are promoted.

Fig. 5–7: Products of street vendors. Photos by Julián Alveiro Almonacid Buitrago and César Burgos, Culiacán, 2019.

The internet and social networks have also become important spaces for the distribution of censored cultural products. Digital platforms such as iTunes, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, and Spotify facilitate production, diffusion, accessibility, consumption, and interaction between artists and their audiences. In this virtual environment, the popularity of narcocorridos has increased exponentially. By using spaces of communication that are outside of state control, censorship becomes irrelevant, as one young listener explained:

> I don't care […] I would be against them if they wouldn't let me listen to [corridos], if they would take them away. But one can easily listen to them from pirated discs, the internet. They just take them off the radio [...] I don't care, because I find them and listen to them elsewhere. (Interview by César Burgos, 2009, Culiacán, translation by the authors)

The internet is a crucial component of today's musical practices as it offers its users immediate satisfaction, reduces costs, allows access to music without the need for sophisticated technology, and makes it possible to listen to the most recent music, often even before it has been released for sale (Reguillo 2012; Simonett and Burgos 2015).

Concluding Thoughts

Popular culture has often been held responsible for many of society's ills (Chastagner 1999). But as Herman Gray has pointed out, "claims against popular music are not just about music. They are also expressions of political, cultural, and social disagreements over images, meaning, and behavior. They are contests for control over public images and expressions" (Gray 1989, 143). Hence, it is not the purpose of this article to advocate for or against narcocorrido censorship or whether freedom of expression should or should not override the ban of this music. Rather, we consider the implementation of censorship as a productive power; that is, it not only represses and silences voices but also engenders various kinds of discourses, as well as new socio-musical practices. It is productive in the sense that it forms part of the complex relations between, and meaningful actions of, the people involved in the controversy, such as authorities, musicians, composers, and audiences.

Since the performance of music is an intangible art form, it often escapes the reach of censors who try to repress it. Indeed, legal efforts to restrict the performance and dissemination of narcocorridos had paradoxical consequences, as they overall furthered the popularization of the genre. Moreover, Mexican censorship policies were ineffective as a preventive measure to curb the production and trafficking of drugs, or to lessen drug-related violence and social anxiety and insecurity. Thus, censorship of popular music cannot be the answer to Mexico's enormous sociopolitical problems.

The young musicians and listeners of narcocorridos engage in an array of creative activities in order to preempt the legal measures that ban the genre: they compose, play and promote the music; they listen and dance to the music; they share and talk about their musical preferences. They take advantage of the inconsistencies of the legislation and find loopholes to subvert the norms and established order. The fact that narco-music continues to flourish in Sinaloa and other states shows that censorship does not prevent young people from producing, accessing, disseminating, and enjoying this music; they just have to be more inventive in doing so.

Finally, we do not aim to downplay the graphic violence of today's "hyperbolic" performance style and audiovisual productions related to drug trafficking (Valenzuela et al. 2017). In Northern Mexico, violence pervades everyday life in varying degrees. People may respond to social forms of violence, such as inequalities and injustices, with personal forms of violence. But there is no evidence that composing, performing, or consuming narco-music are activities that have a direct impact on the pandemic violence in Northern Mexico caused by the drug cartels. Moreover, one might also argue that the corrido is more than a reflection of the violent conditions in which it exists. Folklorist John McDowell (2000), for example, holds that rather than just celebrating, and thus perpetuating, violent behavior, the corrido has a regulatory and healing function within the community affected by these very same acts of violence. With regards to the narcocorridos of the U.S.-Mexican borderlands, sociologist Luis Astorga (1995) similarly views the new compositions as a symbolic product that may generate a collective catharsis, and as an example of an increased visibility for what has become allowed and tolerated by modern society.

Because popular culture never exists outside of power relations, as Fiske argued so persuasively (2011 [1989]), it often gets caught in the struggle between agents' different positions, discourses, and practices. In the case of music that is in one way or another related to the phenomenon of drug trafficking, agents such as the state, culture industries, musicians, composers, and audiences often take antagonistic positions. While attempts to control popular corridos on the part of state authorities has a long history, the common people's subversive tactics do as well. Los Tigres del Norte, for example, continue to sing their now-classic corridos about contraband and betrayal, even under the threat of having to pay huge sums as penalty, or go to jail. To face censorship means to remain true to their epithet "los *ídolos* del pueblo" (the idols of the common people). At the same time, this kind of authentication of one's insubordination helps to build a larger number of fans and followers on the internet. To conclude, the corrido, which was historically a subversive expression of Mexico's lower classes, continues to hold the same power in its current form as narcocorrido—a clear indication that turning the drug war into a cultural war will not resolve Mexico's actual problems.

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Abstract (English)

After briefly presenting the history of the narcocorrido and its censorship in Mexico, we assess the different positions regarding the sanctioning of narco-music from multiple perspectives. Our interest lies in censorship as a social practice, rather than in its legal aspects. We examine how in Mexico, particularly in the state of Sinaloa, such restrictions have been justified and implemented, and analyze the scope and repercussions of censorship policies on the narcocorrido and its practitioners. Furthermore, we examine the interactions and discourses of those involved in the controversy.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Nach einer kurzen Zusammenfassung der Geschichte des Narcocorridos, einer Balladenform, in deren Mittelpunkt Mexikos Drogenhändler stehen, werden die verschiedenen Positionen gegenüber der Zensur dieser Musik beleuchtet. Unser Augenmerk richtet sich dabei auf die Zensur als soziale Praxis, nicht auf ihre legalen Aspekte, denn das Verbot der Narco-Musik in Mexiko, insbesondere im Bundesstaat Sinaloa, ist äußerst kontrovers. Wir zeigen auf, wie die Zensur gerechtfertigt und umgesetzt wurde, analysieren den Umfang und die Auswirkungen der Zensurpolitik auf den Narcocorrido und seine Akteure und erläutern die Interaktionen und Diskurse verschiedener Beteiligten.

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Beate Flath

Data-Based Co-Creation and Participation: Reflections on an Ambivalent Relation by the Example of Music Apps

Introduction

Participation is a central keyword of our times—it is discussed and reflected in various ways, not least against the backdrop of (de-)democratization (Taylor and Nanz 2020, Manow 2020, Rosanvallon 2015), populism (Hillje 2018, Balzer 2019) and culture management (Lange 2015, Mandel 2016). The availability of everyday digital technologies, such as smartphones or tablets, and related applications has created a special dynamic within these discussions: A positive vision of a networked world meets echo chambers, populist forums, and hatred on the net.

Against this background, questions about the role of pop culture and pop music, various economic institutions, players, and stakeholders arise. Who is allowed to participate, how, and to what extent in creation and exploitation processes? How are various forms of participation, e.g. economic, political, and creative participation, related to each other? How are these forms of participation correlated to democracy? These questions are the starting points of this paper, which focuses on co-creation-based pop-music-apps.

Participation based on co-creation means that participants are part of the artistic process. "Co" indicates that artists *and* the audience, users, the customers etc. are constitutive parts of the artistic or the creative process. Following this, the audience, users, customers etc. are integrated into the artistic and creative production process.[1] The availability and usability of digital network media had, and still has, a great impact on the form and quality of participation and co-creation, not least because they make increasingly targeted use of users' data. Such data-based co-creative apps open up the possibility for not only personalizing playlists, but also—as will be shown later—personalizing the sounds of a song or controlling the light of the smartphone display. Concepts of co-creation reach their limits when legal issues like intellectual property or exploitation rights are affected, for example when author- and ownership are not clear. Following this, creative participation (in terms of contributing actively to a creative process) and economic participation (in terms of being part of the related economic utilization processes) are in a state of tension. This is where the present text comes in. It discusses data-based co-creation initiated by music apps with respect to the contradictions and ambiguities of creative, economic, and political participation, whereas the attribute "data-based" refers to those co-creative processes based upon data generated by and saved on portable digital devices, for example smartphones or tablets.

While conscious of the *Digital Labor Debate* (e.g., Scholz 2013, Fuchs 2010), this paper mainly draws on three theoretical approaches: Armin Nassehi's (2019) approach to digitization and

1 This approach is used in various contexts, which range from arts to creative industries and marketing. At the beginning of the 1960s, Umberto Eco introduced in *Opera Aperta* (1962) the concept of open work by referring to the works of Alexander Calder and John Cage, where he considers co-creation and participation as epistemological processes. A wide range of artistic movements used co-creation and participation as aesthetical and epistemological "tools" (e.g., Fluxus, Viennese Actionism).

data, Klaus Dörre's (2009, 2019) further development of the concept "Kapitalistische Landnahme" (capitalistic expansion),[2] and Karl Polanyi's (2011 [1944]) ideas about fictitious commodities. Based on these approaches, the paper develops a theoretical framework, which is illustrated by analyzing the two music apps: *Fantome Mezzanine* by Massive Attack, and the "Handy-Lightshow" feature of the official app of the German schlager singer Helene Fischer. Discussing these analyses against the backdrop of the theoretical framework leads to suggestions for developing productive approaches in order to deal with emerging tensions and contradictions— a defining component of pop culture. In other words: Dealing with contradictions and tensions is constitutional of pop culture and pop music, as understood here:

> Throughout my life, I loved and hated Pop at the same time. Pop was emancipation here and oppression there, explosion of truthfulness here and implosion of hypocrisy there. Pop conserves the inner child and enhances the aging. Pop constructs the distinction of classes and disregards them. Pop is universal, regional and national. Pop participates in everything because it is an expression of capitalism within democracy as well as an expression of democracy in capitalism. (Seeßlen 2018, translation B.F., blurb)

Digitization, Data, and Value Creation

It is common to focus on the influence of digital technologies, their availability, and various features on economies, societies, and cultures. This discussion takes a different approach in order to look at the *relation* of digitization and value creation using Armin Nassehi's central argument in *Muster. Theorie der digitalen Gesellschaft* (2019). His main research question addresses the conditions of the emergence of digitization. Based on the idea that the main characteristic of digitality is linking and recombining data (Nassehi 2019, 31), he argues that the origin of digitality lies in the counting done in 19th century to create public social statistics. Following this, origins of digitality relate to the administrative demands of national states, urban planning, the need for the rapid provision of goods etc. Counting and detecting patterns became central processes with respect to societal complexity in the early modernity (ibid., 63). Thus, data and their relation to complexity, structure, and regularity of societies are based on counting, whereas categories and units of what is counted result from self-observation of societies. These categories are created and shaped in cultural discourses. One can say society rediscovers itself through a digital view (ibid., 59). Nassehi treats digitality not as an independent but as a dependent variable and allows an alternative perspective on digitality, digital technologies, and their relation to society, economy, and culture. Digital data can be recombined in almost any manner and its generation is unnoticed by users in many cases.

These insights can be connected to various critical reflections on data mining and surveillance (e.g. Bauman and Lyon 2013, Zuboff 2019) as well as on value creation. The economist Mariana Mazzucato argues that in many cases value creation is embedded into value extraction. In *The Value of Everything: Making and Taking in the Global Economy* (Mazzucato 2018), she explores the understanding and interpretation of value creation within capitalistic societies along the variable boundaries of productive and non-productive fields.

2 Also see the research of the Research Group funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG): "Landnahme, Beschleunigung, Aktivierung. Dynamik und (De-)Stabilisierung moderner Wachstumsgesellschaften" (DFG Research Group 2020).

> While it is of course OK for companies to create services around new forms of data, the critical issue is how to ensure that the ownership and management of the data remain as collective as its source: the public. As Morozov [2016] argues, "Instead of us paying Amazon a fee to use its AI capabilities – built with our data – Amazon should be required to pay that fee to us."(Ibid., 221)

This critique refers to distribution issues, which are of central interest when questions of political and economic participation are raised because the assignment of productive and non-productive spheres is concerned. Value creation based on data is invisible, and therefore the producers of data do invisible, unpaid jobs. Such concerns capture the relation of data value and societal frameworks as well as the associated understandings of being productive or unproductive. At the least, this is reflected in being paid or not. The *relation* of so called productive and non-productive spheres is of special interest since in many cases the non-productive, unpaid sphere contributes to the running of the productive one. This becomes evident with respect to housekeeping or caring, which are essential for keeping the productive sphere in capitalistic systems being productive (e.g. Fraser 2019, 80–81; Fraser 2016; Fraser and Jaeggi 2018). Transferring this approach to the production of data and its value leads to the consideration that the unpaid, supposedly unproductive, users essentially contribute to the productive sphere of the trade in data.

These considerations are related to the concept of *Kapitalistische Landnahme* ("capitalistic expansion") (Luxemburg 1913, Gramsci 1991 [1929], Harvey 2006). The basic idea of this critical approach highlights the interaction of internal (commodified) and external (not commodified) markets, whereas internality addresses already existing capitalistic markets (in which democracy and capitalism *can* be linked) and externality refers to, for example, (former) colonies, little known music cultures, and new branches characterized by outside economic forces and unequal exchanges. According to this, internal and external markets act like communicating vessels, which is the driving force of capitalistic economic systems as commodifying not commodified markets. Adapting these considerations for the issue discussed here, one can say that the external markets shift more and more in the private (supposed to be unproductive) sphere of internal, capitalistic markets. Thus, capitalistic expansion and therefore value creation is supposed to be within unproductive spheres and in former internal markets. Klaus Dörre refers to this as "Landnahme zweiter Ordnung" ("expansion in second order"; Dörre 2019, 35).

Up to this point, various types of values are taken into account. In economics there are many ways of defining value, from mercantilist and physiocratic approaches to classical economics and the neoclassical perspective. In addition to the question of what influences value (e.g. trade, treasure, soil, labor, preferences, price), questions of the relation of value and monetary units arise. It is suggested here that in general values are discursive, contingent, and fluid cultural concepts, consisting of monetary (e.g. price, revenue, taxes, salaries, profit) and non-monetary components (e.g. aesthetic experience, sense of belonging, creativity etc., Flath 2018). This approach considers that monetary components of values need a cultural or societal reference point to be considered as value. Hence, the individual value of an app on a smartphone could be determined by the price paid, the popularity of the app and the features of the app. Or as another example, the collective value of a new (bought) feature of a blog for a blogger-community could be composed by the integrative (not additive) cumulation of individual values as the appreciation of this new feature, the reach or the price. Transferring this approach to the question addressed here—the relation of co-creation and participation by the example of

data-based music apps—permits the understanding of individual as well as collective value creation processes beyond pure monetary issues.

To sum up the main arguments of this section: Counting and pattern detection are the basic principles of digitality. Within their cultural embeddedness lies the value of data, because the units of counting, for example, clicks, likes, preferences, or inhabitants, are highly related to social and cultural discourses. The discursive dimension of values also addresses the difference between and the relation of so-called productive and non-productive spheres. The non-productive, more or less private spheres contribute not only in terms of housekeeping and care, but—regarding the present issue—also in terms of producing and delivering data by using digital network media. In accordance with the theory of capitalist expansion, external, non-commodified markets are moving more and more into the heart of private spheres. Data-based co-creation is one important part of this process.

Commodification of Data and Participation—A Polanyian Perspective

The question on commodification of a good is not only related to the question of distribution—as discussed using Mariana Mazzucato's quote above—but also to the critical discussion about how goods become commodities (e.g. Honneth, Forst, and Jaeggi 2007; Satz 2010) and how these processes affect our "Lebensformen" (way of life, Jaeggi 2014, 25).

The economic sociologist Karl Polanyi (1886–1964) suggested, in line with Karl Marx, that labor, raw nature, and money are "fictitious commodities." This means that they are not originally produced for being traded at a market:

> But labor, land, and money are obviously not commodities; the postulate that anything that is bought and sold must have been produced for sale is emphatically untrue in regard to them. In other words, according to the empirical definition of a commodity they are not commodities. Labor is only another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that activity be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized; land is only another name for nature, which is not produced by man; actual money, finally, is merely a token of purchasing power which, as a rule, is not produced at all, but comes into being through the mechanism of banking or state finance. None of them is produced for sale. The commodity description of labor, land, and money is entirely fictitious. (Polanyi 2001 [1944], 75–76)

Following Polanyi, commodification of these "fictitious commodities" leads to the subordination of social life to the capitalistic economic system and therefore to an end of embeddedness of economy: "Instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system" (ibid., 60).

In general, commodification is related to the mechanisms of a market with its suppliers and demanders as well as owners. As labor, money, or raw nature, data are not "produced" to be traded. They are collected to be traded. Strictly speaking, users are producing data, service providers are collecting data, and are trading with data. Adopting Polanyi's idea, data are fictitious commodities. They are not produced by users to be traded in a market; they arise as a kind of by-product from using digital network media. The origin of this data lies within digital practices of everyday life.

Nevertheless, Polanyi's approach needs to be examined in more detail and differentiated in terms of data. He points out that activities called labor cannot be detached from the rest of life, nor can they be stored or mobilized (ibid., 77). This is not entirely the case within a digital world because data-based co-creation, as invisible labor, is tracked, stored, and mobilized activities of users. Additionally, like knowledge, which can be considered as fictitious commodity too (Jessop 2007, 123; Cangiani 2019), data have a reflexive character: Data are "raw material" for data production.

This paper considers data as "fictitious commodities of second order" because—in contrast to labor, for example—they are not produced by users of digital network media to be supplied to a market, but within the private, unproductive sphere. This is related to Dörres's aforementioned concept "Landnahme zweiter Ordnung" ("capitalistic expansion of second order", Dörre 2019, 35) that notes the tendency of capitalistic expansions to blur the protections of inner markets (as private, supposed unproductive spheres)—in this case privacy policy, privacy rights, and exploitation rights. The accompanying invisibility leads to a political invisibility of users. Whereas, for example, during the process of the commodification of labor, unions arose—in a Polanyian perspective these protecting processes are part of the "double movement" (Polanyi 2001 [1944], 79; Ther 2019; Dale 2016, 5)—the commodification of data has not been accompanied by a formation of comparable political institutions or movements. Although there exists a wide range of political discussions and discourses which address the rights of users with respect to data protection, issues of how, and to what extent, users are "data workers" are given relatively less political attention. One can say that human resource management arrived in the living rooms of users (Burawoy 2015, 204; Dörre 2019, 42).

In terms of capitalistic expansion, external markets open more and more within the core of internal markets, which means that consumers actively contribute to driving it forward. Klaus Dörre (2019, 41) describes and argues that there is a technology driven loss of democracy. He points out that the main actors of the digital expansion are technology groups, which are linked with international shareholders and financial institutions. Their business model is based on an exploitation of knowledge, copyrighted intellectual work, and information about social relations. By using services such as Facebook, Twitter, or Google, users turn into unpaid data providers within these business models (ibid., 42). Following this users, as data producers, *have* a part in this market but do not *take* part in any negotiating process regarding the use of their data, despite, for example, making decisions about cookies. This (non-)participation through data-based co-creation is at least an urgent question about democracy within capitalism.

Data-Based Co-Creation: Framework and Definition

In general, co-creation within the context of digital network media can be described as interaction *within* and *across* various groups of stakeholders (e.g. consumers, producers, users, algorithms, producers, and distributors) with various aims (e.g. running a blog, creating a new sound, or providing a collaborative environment to create an innovative image) and with respect to various values (e.g. identity, creativity, fandom, promotion). This goes in line with the conceptual framework for value co-creation suggested by Payne, Storbacka, and Frow (2008). They consider co-creation of value as an interactive and recursive process, which includes customer, encounter, and supplier processes. Following these considerations, co-creation can

lead to blurring the line of formerly separated players and their roles: The consumer becomes a "prosumer"[3] (Toffler 1970, 1980) or the user becomes a "produser"[4] (Bruns 2008). The present paper focuses on those types of co-creation where traditional predefined roles of consumers and producers are blurred, because this view provides a framework for including a variety of groups of players.

From the perspective of suppliers, co-creation is related to the consumer experience as a central resource of value creation. The understanding of the importance of customer experience regarding consumption became very popular in the beginning of the 1980s (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982) and at the end of the 1990s (Pine and Gilmore 1998, 1999). Nevertheless, following Lebergott (1993, 3), the assumption that value lies in the consumption experience is rooted in the works of Adam Smith, Alfred Marshall, and John Maynard Keynes, and was picked up again in the 1950s by Wroe Alderson (1957), Lawrence Abbott (1955, 39), and, not least, by Alvin Toffler (1970, 178; see also Holbrook 2006, 2000). More recently, the assumption that value lies in the consumption experience is related to the shift from production intensive economic systems to service oriented systems and furthermore to a service-dominant logic of marketing. As developed by Vargo and Lusch (2004), this logic highlights the importance of the customer as a co-creator of value.

Co-creation, as it was termed by Coimbatore Prahalad and Venkatram Ramaswamy (2004a, 2004b, 2004c), is (1) "about *joint* creation of value by the company and the consumer […]", (2) is "allowing the customer to co-construct the service experience to suit her context […]" and (3) is "creating an experience environment in which consumers can have active dialogue and co-construct personalized experiences" (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004c, 8, italics original). Following these considerations, co-creation is not only related to a concrete product or service, but to the co-creation of monetary and non-monetary components of value for customers and suppliers.

Based on a literature review of 33 peer-reviewed research papers in the English language published from 2011 to 2017, Harriman Saragih (2019) identified five topics of research on application of co-creation in music industries: stages of the value-chain; co-creation focus (experiences, monetary, social); co-creation strategy (involvement, curation, empowerment); channels (recorded music and/or live music industries); and platforms (combined, physical, virtual). A significant finding of this study is that co-creation is highly related to the supplier's aim of enhancing the experience of customers (ibid., 471, see also Tschmuck et al. 2013), and suggests that co-creation is an important tool within the music business (see also Baym 2018). In line with these considerations is Patrik Wikström's (2012) approach to successful distribution models: They include the concept of "doing things with music" in terms of playing (with) music like playing a game. Wikström describes a shift from a so-called "ownership model" to an "access model" and finally to a "context model" of music distribution. As the term says,

3 The futurologist Alvin Toffler (1970, 1980) considered the fusion of producing and consuming activities. In the late 1970s he coined the term "prosume," which captures the idea that consuming becomes more and more interrelated to producing. Toffler developed this concept on the basis of observations within the U.S. context, like the upcoming of ATMs, hotlines, do-it-yourselfers, and self-help-groups.

4 In regard to the availability of digital network media, Axel Bruns (2008) developed the concept "produse." It terms the amalgamation of production and use, as it can be observed for example in blogs or wikis. Users are producers and producers are users. Following Bruns, "produsage" is characterized by four key principles: a) open participation/communal evaluation, b) fluid heterarchy/ad hoc meritocracy, c) unfinished artefacts/continuing processes, and d) common property/individual rewards (Bruns 2008, 27–28). Therefore, producers not only become users and the other way around, but also traditional concepts of artefacts and creative processes, as well as rights of intellectual property, change within the context of produsage cultures.

the first model is based on the idea of owning music, which was/is the business model of the traditional recorded music industry. The second model is based on the idea of having access to music, which is the dominant business model of streaming services, and the third model is based on consuming, not to say to "experiencing," music via interactive apps—this last approach follows the paradigm of "doing things with music" (ibid., 15). This is closely related to considerations about participatory cultures (Jenkins 1992)—originally considered as fan cultures—which are located at the intersections of new digital technologies, DIY subcultures, and economic trends (Jenkins 2006, 136), as well as, to the idea of spreadable media (Jenkins, Ford, and Green 2013), which addresses the shift from distribution to circulation of media content.[5]

Finally, what is meant by data-based co-creation with respect to these approaches? First of all, data-based co-creation is considered here as co-creation based on consumer's data, taking into the account that the co-creative process is based on already existing data and generating new data at the same time. It thus follows the difference between "user generated content" and "user generated data", as suggested by Mark Andrejevic (2009, 418–19). The prefix "co" refers to user's data based on his or her past and current activities and corresponding algorithms. A simple example for such data-based co-creation is the recommendation-system of Spotify on the basis of user listening habits (e.g. Eriksson et al. 2019, Prey 2018, Lamere 2008). In contrast to this, the present paper narrows the focus to music apps, which are used consciously and purposefully by users. Whereas Spotify playlists are generated by a user's listening behavior and are to some extend a "byproduct" of their listening behavior, data-based co-creation initiated by music-apps integrates user data in concrete individual as well as collective creative process in terms of playing with music consciously and purposefully.

The Relation of Data-Based Co-Creation and Participation

In general, *part*icipation implies a relation between parts, as for example individuals, fans, listeners etc. and a certain reference point, such as groups, scenes, communities, societies, economic and political systems. The verb "to participate"—in terms of to "take part in," to "be involved in," or to "have part in"—addresses various qualities of these relations, which refer to interrelating social, cultural, aesthetic, political, and economic fields (see for example Jenkins 1992, 2006, 2013, Lessenich 2019a, b).

With respect to arts and culture, "participation" can be related to economic, social, and cultural accessibility to cultural offers (e.g. in terms of affording cultural offers at a reasonable price or in terms of accessibility for disabled persons);[6] it can be related to having a say in political terms (e.g. in terms of the involvement in political decision-making processes regarding cul-

5 Carsten Winter (2012, Kaufmann and Winter 2014) puts development of digital network media into the context of social innovation and argues that due to upcoming and available digital network media, media prosumers contribute to social innovation. Prosuming activities, as activities which include aspects of producing as well as consuming, provide the potential for social innovation. Based upon this, Winter describes and analyses on-demand-cultures with respect to open networked value creation (Winter 2012, 66). Creators' activities include, for example, publishing a blog or a website, uploading a video, or writing an article, becoming entrepreneurs of their own pop culture. In a similar positive and optimistic way, Michel Serres (2013), in *Petite Poucette*, encourages the young generation—referring to the dominant role of the thumb while using the smartphone—to reinvent society, educational institutions, and not least themselves.

6 Accessibility can be seen as related to Elisabeth Klaus' and Margreth Lünenborgs' (2004) understanding of "cultural citizenship," which terms cultural practices as the enabling to participate competently in cultural resources and production of meaning in media society.

ture); it can be related to economic participation (e.g. in terms of benefiting from copyright or exploitations rights); or it can be related to the opportunity to be part of creative processes as in co-creative processes initiated by music apps. Whereas these fields of participation (accessibility, involvement in political decision-making processes, integration into the exploitation chain, and involvement into the creative process) are interwoven and are mutually dependent, the relation of creative participation (in terms of data-based co-creation) and economic participation (being factored in the copyright and exploitation right system) is the main issue here. This relation is primarily influenced by legal issues, which should, for example, regulate the compensation for delivering data or the sovereignty over data. As many discussions around digitization and Big Data show, sovereignty over data as well as compensation for delivering data are fields of political negotiation processes (e.g. European Data Protection Regulation 2019). This raises questions about how users can be players in this political field, and if and how co-creation processes can be used and/or transferred into these negotiation processes.

Graeme Turner's concept of a "demotic turn" (2010, 2004) is useful here. He argues, with respect to reality television shows, that the participation of ordinary people increases, but that this does not lead to democratization. "Demotic turn" captures the process from exclusive access to access for greater parts of the population. Then, the audience has the opportunity to participate, but not in terms of representing their political or social interests. Referring to Mark Andrejevic, Turner argues that participation is rather a form of labor than a mode of citizenship, and individual expression does not lead obligatorily to individual empowerment. To put it pointedly: Entertainment related activities are invisible labor and human capital reaches to the very private spheres, which transform unproductive into productive spheres. This consideration relates to Klaus Dörre's "Kapitalistische Landnahme zweiter Ordnung" ("capitalistic expansion of second order", Dörre 2019, 35) as well as Mariana Mazzucato's interpretation of capitalistic value creation (Mazzucato 2018, 221), discussed above. This is the crux of matter when it comes to questions on participation or representation (Terkessidis 2015, 32–33), because non-productive fields, as core fields of value creation within data-based co-creation processes (see above), are characterized by an absence of political and economic representation (e.g. in terms of unions and value shares).

Data-based Co-Creation by Music Apps: Massive Attack and Helene Fischer

In 2016, the British trip hop band Massive Attack released the app *Fantom*, and in 2018, the app Fantom Mezzanine that refers to their album *Mezzanine* of 1998. The description says: "*Fantom Mezzanine* is a sensory music experience. It features completely new interactive remixes of the classic album *Mezzanine*. You can make and share a video and the music will adapt in real-time to what's happening!" (3rd Space Agency 2020). The app enables the user to shape the sound of single tracks with respect to the GPS data of the smartphone, the playlists, and the brightness of the environment measured by the camera. Then, the user's data and algorithms co-create a personalized album based on songs of Massive Attack (Flath 2016b).

In 2015, the German schlager singer Helene Fischer went on tour with her show *Farbenspiel*. Fischer's app (Helene Fischer 2015) included the feature "Handy-Lightshow" that uses the acoustic signals of the concert to change the color and light of the smartphone's display. Con-

cert attendees hold their smartphones up into the air—like lighters—and the display changes as a function of the music (Flath 2016a).

Massive Attack's app relates to the private context and personalizes in real-time ("live") existing tracks from users' data; Helene Fischer's app relates to the collective creation of light within a live music concert. Whereas *Fantom Mezzanine* uses data saved on (e.g. music) and generated by (e.g. GPS data) the smartphone in order to create personalized versions of existing Massive Attack songs, the "Handy-Lightshow"app reacts to the acoustic signals from a live music concert. Both apps can be considered with respect to data-based co-creation, although their co-creation processes differ. As mentioned previously, the attribute "data-based" refers to past as well as current data, which means that data-based co-creation uses already existing data and generates data at the same time. Following this, the co-creative process of *Fantom Mezzanine,* which is based on saved and generated data and algorithms, differs from the co-creative process of "Handy-Lightshow," which is based on acoustic musical within a collective situation and the usage of the app by many concert attendees, who become co-creators of the lightshow. A closer look reveals that the access to data may differ, but in both cases data-based co-creation is characterized by delivering data within a productive creative process. Following this, the usage of the apps *Fantom Mezzanine* as well as the "Handy-Lightshow" are—in style of "prosume" and "produse"—co-creative "prolivering" processes.

Both apps provide a framework for creative participation. For example, the app *Fantome Mezzanine* by Massive Attack provides co-creation based on data, which are saved on and generated by the smartphone, in terms of an interaction between an emotionalized everyday object, and probably highly emotionalized music. Using this app could also contribute to social and/or cultural participation becoming being part of a music culture or fan scene. These considerations can also apply to the app "Handy-Lightshow," even though it is used in a different situation. People who take part in a concert and use the app generate a sea of lights in a collective situation just by holding their smartphones into the air. In this case creative participation takes place too, and it is possible that users of this app participated socially and/or culturally by being part of a collective experience.

With respect to political participation as sketched in the previous paragraph, it appears that creative participation does not lead to economic or political participation as discussed above. There is no sovereignty over data and no compensation for delivering data (beside the permission to use the app or to have fun). Nor is there political representation for their function as invisible workers. Following this, the relation of co-creation and participation seems to be an uneven one, which is represented by the inequality debate in respect to rights as well as by the inadequacy debate in respect to the commodification of data. Whereas inequality and inadequacy are one side of the coin, entertainment, fun, social networks and fandom are the other side. The misuse of customer data has no impact on users' social or cultural participation. To the contrary, the more intensively music apps are used, the more diverse are the possibilities for co-creative processes, and the more data is generated. Following this, the crucial issue regarding co-creation and participation is that creative participation in terms of co-creation does not influence social and cultural participation in a negative sense by hindering social and cultural participation, but that social and cultural participation is integrated into value-chains. In contrast to a Marxian understanding of exploitation,[7] users are not forced in a narrow sense,

7 Referring to Erik Olin Wright, David Hesmondhalgh (2010, 274) sums up, that in a Marxian sense, "Exploitation occurs when the material welfare of one class is causally dependent upon the material deprivation of another.

but because of the integration into and omnipresence of digital network media in everyday life, force is related to the power of an oligopolistic supply market.

Finally, the question of how this can be changed in democracies must be addressed. Crucial here is that democracies and related political discourses are increasingly influenced by digital mass media—not only in terms of content, but also in terms of structure. In the words of Philip Manow:

> Within a logic characterized by mass consumption and mass democracy, the sheer extent of distribution, the pure click numbers can claim their own democratic dignity [...]. Negotiations always take place only afterwards and with a certain degree of unsuccessfulness—what is legitimate and what is possibly only a short-term excitement or even criminally relevant. (Manow 2020, 114, translated by B.F.)

Following this, democratic negotiations about the commodification of data are integrated into processes of the deinstitutionalization of production by the public (Manow 2020, 113). This is one aspect that makes it difficult to enforce user rights. On the other hand, movements based on the internet do not offer enough opportunities to turn participation into political representation, because effects of participation are fragmented (Tufekci 2014, Krastev 2017, Menasse 2019). Regarding digital network media the political scientist Ivan Krastev (2017) contends:

> We will remember not manifestos of these protest movements, but videos; not speeches, but happenings; not any political tracts, but conspiracy theories. They are a form of participation without representation. (Krastev 2017, 100)

These two aspects illustrate a dilemma: The potential for more political participation through digital network media is not necessarily a positive influence on democratic discourse and does not necessarily help users to band together with regard to political institutions. This means that the question concerning the extent to which creative participation also leads to economic participation is ultimately one which requires more focus on political participation in the sense of participation in democratic processes and public discourses.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

This paper started with noting that data is generated by users unnoticed, with the implication that value creation from data is based on the invisible—not only because data are not visible in a narrower sense but also because users of digital network media generate them within the so-called supposed unproductive sector, the private sphere. These considerations are related to the concept of capitalistic expansion, which is characterized by the interrelation of external (commodified) and internal (not yet commodified) markets. Polanyi's concept of fictitious commodities—commodities, which are not produced for trade on the market (as labor, raw material, and money)—is adapted for the issue discussed here which considered data as fictitious commodities of second order, which addresses the fact that they are not *produced* for a market and are not *supplied* by users for a market. Following this, capitalistic expansion reaches formerly unproductive and inner markets, as the private sphere of citizens where music apps are

[…] Second, that causal dependence depends in turn on the exclusion of workers from key productive resources, especially property. Third, the mechanism through which both these features (causal dependence and exclusion) operate is appropriation of the labour of the exploited." In line with Andrejevic, he argues that the third aspect is not served within the context of digital labor.

used. Thereon, and in line with the concepts "prosuming" (Toffler 1970, 1980) and "produsing" (Bruns 2008), data-based co-creation should be termed here as "prolivering": Users of digital network media produce and deliver data at the same time. Apart from correct assessments that data-based co-creation environments can enable creative participation, co-creation also co-creates markets and capitalist expansion. In the end, this represents the commodification of what Alvin Toffler (1980, 266) called the "production for use" (see Fn 2) in terms of commodification of data.

These dynamics find their counterpart in experience-related strategies of music- and media industries, which focus on data-based co-creation in manifold ways and for various reasons. Not least, they provide environments for social and/or cultural participation in scenes and fan communities. In addition, participation in data-based co-creation is a highly ambiguous field: Co-creation meets surveillance, and capitalistic expansion meets cultural participation. Taking part and being involved goes along with being (ab)used. Sometimes the line between these aspects is clear, but sometimes it is thin and nearly invisible. Especially in regard to the need for entertainment, social networking, or security, tolerance toward data tracking and trade in data is more or less given. However, although every perspective in this issue is plausible when considered separately, taking them together turns into a kaleidoscope of ambivalence. The lines between making and taking (Mazzucato 2018) and inclusion and exclusion (Lessenich 2019a, 2019b) are blurring. To capture this ambivalence, a dialectic approach to participation is suggested, enhancing possibilities of participation by co-creating leads at the same time to exploitation and exclusion.

This perspective touches one core issue of pop music cultures and popular music studies: Its relation to mass production, industrialization, and capitalism and the related aesthetic, social, political, and economic impacts. This relation is highly connected to questions about affirmation, subversion, the emancipatory quality of pop music cultures and their commodification (e.g. Holert and Terkessidis 1996) as well as their ambiguities, ambivalences, transitions, and parallelisms as outlined in the quotation from Georg Seeßlen (2018) at the beginning of this paper. Nevertheless, this ambiguity raises very fundamental questions, which not only address the value of artists and creative professionals as well as the value of the creative process, but also concepts of employment, for example, the unconditional basic income (e.g. Braun 2014), distributional issues, justice, and ownership.

Last but not least, it will also be a matter of representing the economic, societal, and cultural importance and value that digital data have in these days and thus making it visible in the public sphere. Whereas, for example, the heavy or textile industry not only shaped the economy and society but was also directly visible in the cityscape through factories and worker housing, there is no equivalent for the economic, societal and cultural significance of data. Or in the words of Niklas Maak:

> We need symbolic places that make data understandable as public good and collective property. A city center does not always have to be a piazza with cafés, theatres and art museums. One could imagine a city hall built over a glass server hall. In it one could present the totality of all data like a gold reserve as a public treasure of all citizens and organize guided tours to sensitize people to what one could do with this data if it did not become the private property of corporations. (Maak 2020, 69, translation B.F.)

Hence, pop music cultures are not only given other types of symbolic places, but new places, which represent participation and turn participation into representation.

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Abstract (English)

This paper discusses data-based co-creation initiated by pop music related apps with respect to ambivalences of cultural, social, economic, and political participation. It refers mainly to Armin Nassehi's (2019) approach on digitization, Klaus Dörre's (2009, 2019) further development of the concept capitalistic expansion and Karl Polanyi's (2011 [1944]) ideas on fictitious commodities. Referring to two examples—*Fantome Mezzanine* by Massive Attack and the feature "Handy-Lightshow" of the app of the German schlager singer Helene Fischer—the paper suggests a dialectic approach to cultural, social, economic, and political participation, and raises questions on employment, distribution, and ownership.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Der Beitrag diskutiert datenbasierte Co-Creation Prozesse, die durch Popmusik-Apps initiiert werden, in Hinblick auf die Ambivalenzen kultureller, sozialer, ökonomischer und politischer Teilhabe. Er bezieht sich dabei vorrangig auf Armin Nassehis (2019) Überlegungen zur Digitalisierung, Klaus Dörres (2009, 2019) Weiterentwicklung des Konzeptes der Kapitalistischen Landnahme und Karl Polanyis (2011 [1944]) Begriff der fiktiven Güter. Bezugnehmend auf zwei konkrete Beispiele – die App *Fantome Mezzanine* von Massive Attack und die Funktion „Handy-Lightshow" der offiziellen App der Deutschen Schlagersängerin Helene Fischer – wird in Hinblick auf kulturelle, soziale, ökonomische und politische Teilhabe ein dialektischer Zugang vorgeschlagen, der Fragen nach Beschäftigung, Verteilung und Eigentum aufwirft.

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