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To cite this article: Prof Marco Martiniello & Dr Jean-Michel Lafleur (2008) Ethnic Minorities' Cultural and Artistic Practices as Forms of Political Expression: A Review of the Literature and a Theoretical Discussion on Music, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34:8, 1191-1215, DOI: [10.1080/13691830802364809](https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802364809)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691830802364809>



Published online: 09 Sep 2008.



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Ethnic Minorities' Cultural and Artistic Practices as Forms of Political Expression: A Review of the Literature and a Theoretical Discussion on Music

Marco Martiniello and Jean-Michel Lafleur

Looking at the current state of the literature, political scientists and sociologists have neglected the political relevance of ethnic and migrant minorities' popular cultural and artistic productions to concentrate on more conventional forms of political participation. In the first section of this paper, we provide a theoretical framework to this special issue by examining the links between music and politics. We underline several elements related to music which potentially have political significance. We discuss how music can provide/ascribe identities and a sense of place. In the second part of the paper, we attempt to explain why ethnic minorities choose music as a means of political expression. To this end, we present and subsequently critique a typology of political action in popular music developed by the American political scientist Mark Mattern. The paper concludes by stressing the urgent need to develop research on the topic and how this special issue makes its own contribution to this agenda.

Keywords: Culture; Music; Political Participation; Ethnic Minorities

Introduction

In many European countries and in the United States, the issues of political mobilisation, participation and representation of immigrants and of ethnic and racial minorities have become very hot both politically and academically over the last two or three decades. Several attempts have been made to explain the political

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participation or non-participation of these groups, as well as the forms the political participation takes.

For a long time, immigrants in Europe have been exclusively considered as workers. They were not supposed to be politically active; even less were they expected to be interested in culture and arts, especially as producers and artists. With the emergence of second and subsequent migrant generations in the public sphere, the cultural expressions of migrant-origin groups and ethnic minorities started to attract attention, especially in the fields of cultural studies, anthropology and sociology. In the ongoing debates about multiculturalism, the ways in which the cultural production of immigrants and ethno-racial minorities was changing the mainstream culture became a relevant topic. One approach has been to show to what extent migrant and ethnic minorities' cultural and artistic productions, inspired by the actors' experience of migration and/or discrimination, were changing and enriching local cultures through processes such as cultural *métissage*, fusion and invention, contributing thereby a different approach to cultural traditions. We could take many examples here: the emergence of *Rai* music in France and Belgium; the emergence of a specific literature based on the various migrant experiences in France (Hargreaves and McKinney 1997), the UK and the US; the invention of Tex-Mex music in Texas in which Spanish, German, Czech and Mexican music were somehow fused to give birth to a specific musical form (Burr 1999; Pena 1985).

Another approach has been to read ethnic and racial domination in the cultural and artistic sphere as well (Cashmore 1997). For example, the incorporation of Jazz into mainstream American popular culture was analysed both in terms of a reappropriation by Black people of their own music and as an additional proof of White domination in the cultural sphere. The evolution of the Blues, which developed over 50 years from being a type of music played mainly by uneducated middle-aged and elderly Blacks from the South to one played mainly by educated young and middle-aged Whites from the North, was seen as a kind of confiscation of Black cultural heritage by Whites. In one way or another, popular culture and arts have been seen by specialists of cultural studies and anthropology as having a stake in majority–minority relations. Studying the artistic production of racialised and dominated ethnic and racial minorities, and studying African-American music, Anglo-Pakistani cinema or post-colonial literature in France, have certainly been part of a process of identity claim making, but this approach has downplayed the potential *political* relevance of minority cultures.

The fact is that many political scientists—and to a lesser extent sociologists—have often forgotten that popular culture and arts can also be a form of political expression. More specifically, they have ignored the political relevance of ethnic and migrant minorities' popular cultural and artistic productions, concentrating instead on more conventional forms of political participation. The few political scientists who have studied the question tend to focus on music as a tool (that supports or opposes a political regime, an electoral campaign . . .), while failing to acknowledge

the fact that producing, listening and dancing to music may in itself be a form of political action (Baily 2004).¹

From Plato to Adorno, the political significance of cultural practices has however largely been demonstrated. Looking specifically at the role of music, even a rapid overview of the literature makes one aware that musicologists, ethnomusicologists and a few sociologists have produced most of the research on the topic. According to Bennett (2000a), musicologists look for meaning in the musical text, melodies and rhythmic passages. Ethnomusicologists phrase the issue in slightly different terms: music has to be studied as a human practice that takes place in a specific cultural context. For cultural theorists and sociologists, Bennett continues, the meaning of music is 'a product of its reception and appropriation by audiences' (2000a: 181–2). Music is accordingly a process through which groups negotiate their identity with others.

While these viewpoints have certainly contributed to understanding the question of music and identity, they also tend to avoid three major questions that political scientists ask themselves when researching the field of culture (and music in particular). Can music itself be political? How can one explain the choice of culture and arts as a means to express political concerns and, hence, to participate politically? What is the political function of cultural and ethnic practices for ethnic groups? Overall, the aim of this paper is to contribute modestly towards filling the gap in the literature by examining the extent to which immigrant ethnic cultural and artistic productions can be analysed in terms of political expression and participation.

This paper falls into two main parts. In the first, we provide a theoretical framework to this themed issue of *JEMS* by examining the links between music and politics. We first briefly review the general findings of four crucial authors on the political significance of music: Plato, Gramsci, Adorno and Bourdieu. We then underline several elements related to music which potentially have political significance. Later in this first part, we discuss how music can provide/ascribe identities and a sense of place. In the second part of the paper, we attempt to explain why ethnic minorities choose music as a means of political expression. To this end, we present and then criticise a typology of political action in popular music developed by the American political scientist Mark Mattern. The paper concludes by stressing the urgent need to develop research on this topic and how this special issue makes its particular contribution to this effort.

Two further comments should be made in this introduction. First, while we refer to culture as the various forms of popular arts (literature, cinema, music and to a certain extent theatre, painting, sculpture, cartoons . . .), the scope of this paper is limited to the political significance of musical practices. In opposition to any essentialist definition of music, we consider (like Stokes 1994: 5) that 'music "is" what any social group consider it to be' and we will accordingly not try to define the concept further. Clearly, in our conception, music covers both sounds and words, and rhythm and lyrics. Second, the literature we review concerns the musical practices of both migrants and ethnic groups. Even though some ethnic groups have not experienced

migration, the situation of those minorities presents enough similarities with migrant communities as far as using music as a political tool is concerned to be included in the paper.

Music and Politics

Some Theoretical Considerations on the Political Meaning of Culture

From Greek antiquity to the modern day, music has been interpreted as a potential source of power. For Plato, the social role of music was to organise and bring society together; a decisive factor in making society move as an entity, thereby providing people with the necessary discipline with which to face wars. Plato thus considers that music constitutes an important part of a child's education. Popular music, according to Plato, plays a different part in society. It gives a reassuring feeling to individuals by binding them through common emotions that are stable over time. This conservative nature of music implies that new music is a potential source of social disorder (Moutsopoulos 1959).

In his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci, too, supports the idea that culture is decisive in maintaining the social order. Following a Marxist interpretation of culture, he posits that elites use culture to justify the oppressive social order to the masses. Starting from that postulate, he suggests that the reappropriation of culture by the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle. The oppression by the elite is exerted by a specific sort of intellectual. All men [*sic*] have intellectual faculties, he says, but not all men perform the social function of intellectuals. Within this latter category, Gramsci distinguishes organic intellectuals from traditional intellectuals. Organic intellectuals are a corollary to the rise of a dominant social group. Their function is to ensure—through culture—the popular consent of the masses to the social organisation set up by the dominant group. Gramsci thus suggests promoting the role of education in developing a working-class culture that would contest the depiction by organic intellectuals of the social reality (Gramsci 1978).

Another major contribution to the debate on the political significance of culture is that of the Frankfurt School. One of its prominent representatives—Theodor W. Adorno (1994)—focused particularly on music. In his 'Introduction to the Sociology of Music', he defines the discipline as the study of the connections between the listener as a socialised individual and the music itself. He describes popular music as a commodity produced by the culture industry that led to top-down production and the standardisation of music in pre-established structures. For Adorno, the standardisation of music means that listeners look for repetition in music in order to repeat an experience deemed satisfactory. Not only does this system discourage innovation in music, he says, but it also contributes to greater passivity on the part of the listeners and progressively stupefies them. Various scholars have criticised Adorno's approach to music. Bennett (2000b) sums up those critiques by underlining

that the central problem with Adorno's approach is his disregard for the complex social processes by which music is appropriated by the listener.

For Bourdieu, there is no such thing as popular arts because it has been counterfeited by the dominant class that defines as 'popular' some of its own productions. Bourdieu's main argument, however, lies elsewhere. For him, only those individuals who have the necessary instruments may access works of art. These instruments are the cultural characteristics that condition individual behaviour in areas such as cultural taste, political opinion, moral values, etc. All these characteristics reflect the social environment of an individual and therefore establish clear borders between social groups. Through the concept of *habitus*, Bourdieu explains that class reproduction is partly based on the transmission of cultural capital (as well as economic capital). The specificity of cultural capital is that it relies on informal means of acquisition and, unlike economic capital, it offers little room for deliberate strategies of accumulation. But taste and cultural practices are more than a way of differentiating social groups, says Bourdieu. As they are linked with specific social positions, they create a hierarchy between the groups. This means that the social identity of the individual is not only defined by the group's practices but also by its rejection of the practices of the other group (Bourdieu 1980 and 1998; Coulangeon 2005; Fowler 1997).

This brief discussion of some of the theories of the political meaning of music (and more generally culture) introduces different questions that are developed in this paper concerning, among other things, the implication of music for group identities, the reaction of dominant groups towards minorities' cultural productions, and the impact of commercialisation and censorship on the capacity of music to express political ideas. Before discussing why migrants use music as a political means and what political function music can perform, it is necessary to determine what elements of music are in fact political.

What is Political in Music?

When trying to answer the question of what can be political in music, two diametrically opposed approaches can be distinguished. One view is that there is only a limited interest in studying the political dimension of music, since politics mainly takes place in political institutions. Most mainstream political scientists implicitly defend this view. Another view considers that music, like any other human action, is always political and cannot but be political in one way or another. This view is sometimes advocated in the field of cultural studies. Against these two rather extreme and simplistic approaches, we are simply claiming that it is interesting to examine the political relevance and importance of music and popular arts generally, but more specifically in post-migration multicultural societies. Having said that, we also claim that music is not always political and should also often be considered as mere entertainment.

Focusing on the processes of music production and dissemination, we distinguish three elements that potentially have a political meaning: lyrics, rhythm and sounds, and performance. Lyrics are the component in music which have the most obvious political meaning. Firstly, the name of the artists and bands can sometimes express social and political concerns. Many examples could be presented such as the French-Algerian *Rai*-inspired band of the 1980s *Carte de Séjour* (residence permit) and the British band UB40 whose name refers to the English unemployment benefit form, filled by the numerous applicants in the band's hometown of Birmingham in the 1970s. Secondly, artists have frequently taken an explicit position in their songs regarding political situations such as South African apartheid, the African-American Civil Rights Movement, the Vietnam War, the Irish Civil War, the protection of indigenous minorities, the protection of migrant rights, etc. Hundreds of examples could be provided from the famous 'Fight the Power' recorded by Public Enemy to Steve Earle's commitment against the death penalty in the song 'Billy Austin'. Even though the direct political impact of protest songs on politics and policies is probably impossible to measure, we can however make two general comments on the political significance of lyrics.

First, even though the political message contained in some songs is more explicit than in others, it cannot be inferred that the former are more political than the latter. Street (2003: 124–5) has rightly pointed out that artists who fear they may be censored tend to develop skills to hide political messages within apparently 'harmless' songs. For instance, one of the most famous Greek political songs is undoubtedly 'Cloudy Sunday' written by Vassilis Tzitzanis (Holst 2001), despite the fact that at first sight the song just describes a rainy day in Greece and makes no explicit reference to the German invasion of the country during World War II. Second, lyrics may seek to frame the mindset of the audience on a particular question (see for instance Ben Auslander (1981) on protest songs during the Vietnam War) or to educate citizens or ethnic groups on a particular question (Lee Cooper 1979). But the influence that artists wish to have on their audience through lyrics is sometimes much larger than this. In the case of the Salvadoran National Liberation movement, Almeida and Urbizagástegui (1999) found out that the process of revolutionary mobilisation was supported by indigenous popular music, which served as a 'powerful educator of movement strategy' for the disenfranchised and illiterate population. The particular music group they studied not only gave its opinion on a specific political situation, but also provided its audience with tactical advice on how to engage in collective action.

In the context of multicultural post-migration societies, another important element to look at is the language in which the lyrics are written and sung. The choice of a language can itself have political consequences. For example, choosing the language of the country of residence or singing in the home-country language, which is sometimes only spoken by the migrant community, has different consequences on the audience that will be reached and on the diffusion of the political message. In a linguistically and ethnically divided country like Belgium, when Flemish singers Arno

and Axelle Red decided to sing in French, it was interpreted as an anti-Flemish statement by the far-right Flemish nationalist party, the Vlaams Belang. Since then, the party has never stopped presenting these two artists as traitors to the Flemish cause. Sometimes, the political message contained in the lyrics may also be supported by the use of a specific language, such as Linton Kwesi Johnson's poems in a constructed Jamaican-Creole-English language mixed with dub music. In his study of the Hip-Hop scene in Frankfurt am Main, Bennett (1999 and 2000b) points to two important though different functions of the language. First, Hip-Hop groups who sing in German instead of English or another language find it easier to communicate with their audience and express themselves clearly because it is the language they know best. Second, Bennett confirms that the significance given to the use of a specific language is potentially disconnected from the lyrics themselves. Referring to incidents when young Turks in Germany expressed hostility towards a mainstream German-speaking rock band, Bennett underlines the assumption that the audience can draw something from the use of the language. He argues that the fact that Neo-Nazi rock bands in Germany only sing in German, in order consciously to reproduce the Nazis' policy of banning all non-German music, misleads parts of the immigrant youth to assume that German rock music is necessarily neo-fascist, no matter what the lyrics of their songs may be. In that sense, Bennett (1999: 86) concludes that 'language itself, irrespective of lyrical content, becomes a primary way in which the meaning of popular music is interpreted (...)'.

A last element that deserves to be mentioned in this discussion on the political meaning of words is what Rolston calls lyrical drift. 'Lyrical drift occurs when the meaning of a song is taken out of the context in which it was originally produced and reinterpreted by an audience in a different political context' (2001: 55). For example, Pink Floyd's 'Another Brick in the Wall' was used by South African students as an anthem in their struggle against discrimination. The example of the French band, *Carte de Séjour*, is also very illustrative. In the 1980s, the band remixed a French popular song, *Douce France* (Sweet France), with Arab sonorities. The song was a hit but it also divided the French political class. Indeed, it was unacceptable for some that a song known to emphasise the nostalgic and traditional side of France as well as the struggle against the German invader during World War II be appropriated by the immigrant youth. These two examples show that the political significance of lyrical content may diverge according to the context in which the song is played and that the same song may be 'claimed' and used by different actors. It also shows, as we will develop below, that the political significance of music belongs both to the process of production by the artists and that of reception by the audience.

Apart from lyrics, sounds and rhythm may also have political meaning. Clearly, social and political scientists would need the help of musicologists in order to make sense of this issue. Some specialists, for example, have claimed that the opacity of free jazz was to be interpreted as an attempt at reappropriation of their own music by African-Americans, which had been stolen by the White majority during the era of Swing (Carles and Comolli 2000). In her study on the political

facets of salsa, Janson Perez (1987) describes this musical genre, which was born in New York, as highly indebted to the Cuban *son* (see below). The instruments and the rhythmic time-line chosen by early salsa musicians (who were mostly migrants) was as much an affirmation of their Caribbean heritage as a way of affirming their ethnic identity in a host society where they were marginalised. For Rose (1991) and Henderson (1996), the fact that Rap uses samples from other Black music, which are themselves cultural markers, is a way of uniting past and present Black collective experiences. Another example that epitomises the importance of sound is Cajun music. The tone used by some singers, which is similar to a sobbing voice, aims to evoke the suffering that these people have faced. In other words, the particular tonality of this music is supportive of the political message that these singers may wish to spread. It is also worth noting that the music and the lyrical content of one song may send out different messages. For instance, the music may be progressive but the lyrics conservative (e.g. Christian rock). Eyerman and Jamison (1998) also make this point when underlining that social movements may mobilise cultural traditions in a similar way that progressive social movements use music to redefine habitual behaviours and underlying values. Conversely, the music may be associated with conservative values while the lyrics are progressive (e.g. alternative country).

The third element in music to have political significance is public performance. For Eyerman:

... live performance and collective listening to recordings and viewing videos are important in promoting collective experience and grounding collective identity. Music is central to getting the message out, to recruiting, but collective experience is the core of collective identification/identity formation (2002: 449).

Rose again (1991) underlines the importance of live performance for Rap artists in order for them to communicate with their fan base about current social issues. Performances in large metropolitan areas where their audience reside are thus decisive for ensuring both their commercial success and the spread of their political message. In her study on salsa music, Janson Perez (1987) however questions the impact of the political message when the music is played in a festive context such as a discotheque.

The three above-mentioned elements are those we consider to be the most politically significant in music. There are obviously many more that could be mentioned. While we do not pretend to list them exhaustively here, we have designed three categories that cover the majority. First, there are the elements connected to the live performance such as the settings, the clothes worn by the musicians, the symbols displayed on stage (flags, for example), the place where the concert is held or the actors present around the performance, and the items sold at the concert hall. Second, there are the elements connected to the distribution of music such as the choice of a label to sell the record, the videos produced to support the album, the websites of the artists or the leaflets accompanying the CDs. It would probably be

very instructive to dedicate a specific study to the political messages displayed on the websites of various artists from different music styles. Third, elements disconnected from the music or the performance can also have strong political content. Artists may indeed express political ideas outside of the concert hall or ideas not expressed in their recordings, for instance, when they give interviews to the press or when they meet with political actors. Their mere presence at an event (e.g. political rally to support a candidate) may have a political meaning. In all these instances, the musician is given credibility for expressing or supporting political opinions in the light of his/her artistic work.

Music, Identity and Place

The brief theoretical review that introduced this paper underlined the fact that music—as with other cultural and artistic practices—has strong links with identity. Indeed, music provides individuals with a sense of belonging to society as a whole and/or to a specific group. In this case, the study of how music is received by the audience is crucial. According to the theoretical studies described above, however, the process of identification is largely imposed on the individual rather than being one that is chosen. This constraint is symbolised by factors such as the notion of *habitus* for Bourdieu, the culture industry for Adorno or the idea of organic intellectuals for Gramsci. As we will show below, local studies of music in the era of globalisation contest the idea that the audience plays a passive role in the reception of music.

Music in modern societies is often used to fill the gaps of silence left by the working day. While making this observation, Stokes (1994: 5) wishes to re-emphasise the social role of music because, he argues, ‘It provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them’. In other words, people use music not only to locate themselves in a particular social context but also to preconceive knowledge about other people and places. We elaborate on this question below when distinguishing the prescriptive and the self-defining role of music according to the context in which it is played.

For the state, music is also a tool to provide individuals with a sense of belonging. This occurs in two possible ways. First, the state may use music as a supportive strategy for a regime or an ideology. Classic examples include Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union; both saw music as a way of promoting national identity and gaining support for the dominant ideology. The Nazis, for instance, obliged school children to learn the *Horst-Wessel* song (the official song of the Nazi Party). Second, the State may also use music to promote the wider goal of creating or reinforcing the national identity. In that sense, music often plays an important role in the nation-building process. Adorno argues that, since the nineteenth century, music has become a political ideology because of its focus on particular national characteristics and its claim to be representative of nations (1994: 160). After World War II, music served to reconstruct national identity as several European nation-states tried to restore

confidence in the State and to strengthen the feeling of belonging to the Nation (Everitt 2001: 65).

The idea that music plays a role in identity formation may also apply to nations in exile or diaspora. As it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the concept of diaspora, we will simply agree with Schnapper who considers that the meaning of diaspora has evolved through time to include geographically dispersed populations that keep a form of unity and solidarity in spite of their dispersion (Schnapper 2001: 9). This provides us with a gate of entry into the role of music in the construction of identity in the context of migration (and minority emancipation). James Clifford and his concept of 'travelling cultures' (1992) supports the idea that defining the culture of those states which have large migrant/exile communities living abroad should be understood as a multi-local process involving both the home country and the countries of migration. It is the interaction between the two spaces and the country's population that redefines the content of the national culture and, accordingly, the national identity.

Hae-Kum Um studied the musical tastes of Korean migrants in the former Soviet Union and found that results differed according to the migrants' age, level of education, migration generation and place of residence. Unsurprisingly, first-generation migrants had a dominant preference for Korean traditional music over any other type, while the fourth generation—for whom traditional music did not have the same significance—strongly preferred Western popular music. In that sense, the music-listening patterns of the community reflected the multiple identities of the Korean community in the former USSR. As Um puts it:

Korean traditional music is linked to the real or 'imagined' homeland and past which, in turn, is associated with Korean ethnic identity. However, as different individuals and migrant communities have their own definition of Korean traditional music, their semantic associations of the homeland and past with ethnic identity may be different (2000: 137).

It may be useful to recall another example. In the early 1920s, the post-revolutionary Mexican state decided to support folk dances, or *Folklorico*, in order to stimulate its population's national sentiment. At the time, folklore was perceived in two distinct ways. For some, it was the reminiscence of previous societies characterised by their diversity and their low degree of modernity. For others, folklore was a basis on which a strong identity could be built for the future. By choosing to support folk dances, the Mexican state decided to acknowledge diversity (to secure the support of minorities), while demonstrating the distinctive nature of Mexico as a nation.

The Mexican case has however another dimension, which is even more closely related to the topic of this paper. In the 1960s and 1970s, Mexican folk dances gained renewed interest in the United States. At the time, the *Chicanos* were facing a negative mind-set in public opinion and they saw in folk dances a way to defend and promote their contested identity. Najera Ramirez (1989) points out that it is no surprise that the Chicano movement used the same artistic forms of cultural expression as post-revolutionary

Mexico because it was ‘an unspoken attempt to imitate the Mexican Revolution’. What is striking here is that Chicanos, unlike Mexican migrants, were born and raised in the United States and had therefore a lesser knowledge of Mexico and its cultural and artistic practices. This was in fact an attempt to stimulate an identity by adopting and reinterpreting the cultural practices of the homeland.

This last example illustrates the transnational cultural dialogue taking place between the country of origin and the country of settlement and by which culture at home is redefined by practices abroad. This dialogue is strengthened by the possibilities of diffusion and exchange offered by globalisation and the correlated arrival of new technologies of mass diffusion of culture. At first glance, it appears that this process has served solely to give greater visibility to Western culture worldwide. If we were to consider the audience as a passive actor, the process of globalisation would indeed necessarily lead to the cultural homogenisation of the world. A variety of anthropological and sociological scholarship has however shown that Western music, while experiencing a massive level of diffusion, is assigned a different meaning by the audience according to the locality in which it is received (see Bennett 2000b; Besley 2003). As Nayak argues:

... local cultures have not been entirely superseded by global change either, but rather shape these processes and in doing so influence the opportunities, lifestyles and cultural identities of young people. In this sense, young people in different places negotiate change in different ways (2003: 5).

Now, what does this imply for the use of music as a political means for migrant communities and ethnic groups? Globalisation not only provides the technological means for artists belonging to such communities to broadcast their music, it also stimulates—as in the example below—local responses to current issues faced by the community.

In the 1990s a new sound appeared in the Chicano community of the Greater Eastside in Los Angeles. The bands that started this movement are epitomised by their Latin-fusion sonorities and their socio-political consciousness. For Viesca (2004: 720) ‘[t]he Eastside scene is both a product of and a means for countering the impact of globalization on low-wage workers and aggrieved racialized populations’. He thus locates the emergence of the Eastside scene in the context of social and economic oppression faced by the community since the reconfiguration of the economy in the area. The musical response that this movement gives to globalisation aims to provide the community with ways to unite and express their opposition towards their disenfranchisement. This is itself a product of globalisation, as it creates a sort of transnational culture, mixing past and present cultural traditions (visible in the names of the bands, the use of sound originating from Mexican folk music, the use of traditional instruments ...) to build their own vision of Chicano identity. Viesca underlines that the unique mixture of Mexican traditional sounds with modern elements (such as Rap music or lyrics that address current issues of the community

like the group *Aztlan Underground*) is a way of reaffirming ethnic roots while providing an answer to the social distress in the community.

Music as a Stage for the Struggle between Minorities and Dominant Groups: Stigmatisation, Commercialisation and Censorship

The above-mentioned examples illustrate a decisive characteristic of the political role of music: the meaning of music depends on the context in which it is performed or listened to. In other words, the same musical genre or even the same song may have different effects according to the context/place in which it is played. What we have not yet explored is the interaction between the different meanings given to music by the immigrant group/ethnic minority, the State and the market. In this part of the paper, we discuss how the cultural production of minorities may similarly be used as a means of affirmation for minorities themselves on the one hand and, on the other hand, as a tool that the market uses to make a profit and as a means that dominant groups use to stigmatise minorities. This analysis in fact reveals the power relations at stake in the production of music by ethnic minorities.

We have already explored the question of the different functions of music according to the context (post-migration situation or not). The same music that is listened to solely for entertainment purposes in the country of origin may very well contribute to the process of identity formation amongst the migrants and their offspring in the country of settlement. As we will show in the examples below, the relations with the music industry may influence differently the function of music as a tool of identification for ethnic groups. Indeed, the negative effects of commercialisation on the political impact of music should not be underestimated. Attali (1977: 73) argues that, with money, music becomes a product that is being produced, circulated, exchanged and censored. Even though he criticises the abstraction of the Frankfurt School's arguments, Frith (1983) believes that the pursuit of a mass market changes the context of music and the way it works culturally because it involves an undifferentiated audience. In that sense, these authors agree with Adorno (1994: 31), who considers that commercial pressure on popular music leads to the mass production of songs that are extremely poor both in lyrical and musical terms.

Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg (1994) illustrate the importance of contextualising music in their comparative analysis of Rap and *Rai* music in France. *Rai*, which developed in Algeria in the early twentieth century as a combination of rural music and urban culture, is considered to have been talking about social issues since its early days. It is however topics like alcohol, love or marginal life that have long occupied the dominant scene. The growth of Islamic Puritanism after Algerian independence in 1962 marginalised the musical genre until 1979, when the new president loosened the policy on popular culture. From then on, *Rai* has been struggling between remaining partly a form of protest music and becoming a mainstream genre, removing any controversial lyrics in order to broaden its audience. To North Africans residing in France, as underscored by Gross *et al.*, *Rai* performs a different role. *Rai*

seems to be a part of the 'syncretic processes of franco-maghrebian identity formation' in which immigrants engage in the country of settlement (1994: 9). The fact that the message contained in some popular *Rai* songs contradicts some of their religious values is perceived by migrants as being of lesser importance than the music's ability to help reconnect with the community. In this case, while the economic imperatives of the music industry seem to have influenced the lyrical content of the genre, this seems to have had limited effect on the ability of music to perform its role for the ethnic community.

Another example of market pressure to remove controversial lyrics from a musical genre is that of *barrio* music; later known as *salsa*. This music emerged in New York shortly after the Cuban Revolution and the subsequent embargo by the Organisation of American States (OAS), which put an end to Cuban music exports. The coming together of Cuban and Caribbean musicians led to the creation of a new musical genre highly indebted to Cuban *son*. The small ensembles playing *barrio* music in New York reflected in their music the problems of violence, poverty and discrimination, from which Latin Americans suffered in that city. Interestingly enough, this music subsequently became successful in the Caribbean Basin without any commercial effort. Janson Perez's (1987) hypothesis is that Latin Americans in New York and a share of the population from Caribbean countries had similar concerns regarding poverty, delinquency and marginalisation. To them, salsa was a musical genre that fulfilled their need for cultural identification.

The early success of salsa, however, encouraged producers to mainstream the genre in order to enlarge its audience. During the 1970s, the industry has therefore managed, to a great extent, to change salsa's image, which it was thought was associated with poverty, violence and marginality. A large part of the production that followed thus lost its meaning to the original audience for *barrio* music. This example illustrates the potential conflict between large-scale commercialisation of a musical genre and its political significance for the community which identifies with it. Commercial pressure may mean that controversial statements are taken out of the lyrics or that performers behave in a different way in order to approximate their genre to mainstream popular culture. In this case, the market has managed to divert the function of identification for the ethnic group.

In addition to the pressure of commercialisation, the artistic production of ethnic minorities may also come up against the discourse of dominant groups, who try to discredit production seen as dangerous for society. Dominant groups may ascribe a different meaning to a musical genre to those who listen to it, depending on whether it is played in the context of migration or not. Music that is considered local or mainstream by public opinion in the migrant community's country of origin (or within the ethnic community) may be considered as foreign or attached to the 'ethnicised other' in the country of settlement (or by the dominant group in the case of ethnic minorities' cultural productions). Just like the minority itself, dominant groups thus use musical genres as ethnic markers for specific communities.

Besides stigmatisation, the political meaning of the cultural productions of minorities may also come up against censorship. Defining this concept is a difficult task in the sense that it may vary according to the level of restriction implied, the agents involved or the intentions of the censor. One way of approaching the question is that proposed by Cloonan (2004: 3–5). He defines censorship as a process of restricting or forbidding, which can take place at three different levels. The first level refers to forms of censorship that involve prior restraint by the artists themselves or censorship that occurs prior to publication (such as the commercial pressures described in the case of salsa music). The second level consists of restricting access to musical production, for instance by putting age thresholds on purchasing the music or limiting the period of the day during which it can be aired. The third level is the suppression of music by forbidding explicitly the sale of records or the holding of public performances.

The use of minorities' music as both a means to stigmatise ethnic communities and to silence disagreeing voices is illustrated in the following two examples. Rose's (1991 and 1994) analysis of Rap music in the United States is an example of how dominant groups may use specific musical genres as ethnic markers. The depiction of Rap as a violent form of African-American cultural expression (based on actual incidents that took place at such concerts) in some White media has led to the creation of labels associating music, criminality and the ethnic group. These labels, says Rose, 'are critical to the process of interpretation because they provide a context for social behaviour' (1991: 282). In other words, those labels serve as frameworks of reference which attach particular meaning to Rap music. While not trying to pretend that violence does not happen, Rose underlines the absence of critical mediation by dominant discourses when covering these events. An implicit link is thus created between criminality and the musical genre or, in Rose's words, Rap music is thus positioned 'within the larger discourse on the Black urban threat' (1991: 284).

With regards to the effect of commercialisation, Rose proposes a different perspective than the one we have suggested with salsa music. In her account of the importance of music videos and MTV in establishing Rap as a major musical genre, she shows how producers and artists are bound to respect strict rules in terms of images and lyrics if they want their video to be aired, and how this affects the content of the message Rap groups want to send to their audience. According to Rose, Rap groups therefore face the choice of either softening their message and reaching a global audience or rejecting the rules of the game and remaining at the margins. For Rose, even if the musical industry imposes limits on the genre, Rap remains a powerful tool for African-Americans to express their concerns globally (1994: 16–17).

The example of Rap in France is a final example of the effects of the confrontation of music as a tool for the identification and protest of ethnic groups against the interests of dominant groups and the market. Rap in France is epitomised by its mixed origins. This music is largely an original production of children of immigrants coming from Africa, French overseas departments and the Far East, all of whom share a similar experience of struggling with the hegemonic French identity and facing

marginalisation. Some groups, which we will refer to as hard-core Rap groups, have decided to protest against the marginalisation of the immigrant youth through explicit lyrical attacks towards the institutions they hold responsible for this situation (a recurring target being the police). Other groups, however, have softer lyrics or have developed a sort of pop Rap, which is not solely addressed to the immigrant youth and which meets with greater commercial success.

State censorship has expressed itself in France through legal proceedings intended by the Ministry of the Interior for use against various hard-core Rap groups. Because of their verbal attacks against the judicial system and the police during a concert in Toulon, the lead singers of *Suprême NTM* were sentenced in 1996 to two months in prison and were prohibited from playing their music for six months. Later, a member of the group *La Rumeur* was also prosecuted for defaming the police in an interview he gave after the release of their album in 2002. The repeated opposition of state authorities to hard-core Rap music makes one question the relationship between some representatives of the State and those whom these hard-core groups are supposed to represent. Indeed, if one considers, like Lewis (1982), that musical genre symbolises the social groups who declare their identification with it and its values, are not the systematic judicial attacks against those hard-core bands also an explicit rejection of those citizens who listen to that music? Censorship here joins our discussion on stigmatisation.

Hard-core Rap groups have to face a second form of censorship: commercial censorship. Being absent from all large mainstream media, some of these groups are also banned from Skyrock Radio, the largest broadcaster of Rap music in France. Executives at Skyrock explain that groups such as Booba and *La Rumeur* are too explicit and argue that their songs, if played, would be subsequently censored by the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel*, or CSA (the French media supervisory body). As the CSA is responsible for distributing frequencies all over France, a conflict would undermine the station's capacity to develop its network and would thus harm its economic activity. By censoring hard-core groups, the station therefore anticipates the authority's reaction in order to protect its business (Brown 2004).

The example of Rap music in France illustrates the difficulties of protest Rap music. The messages contained in songs that are deemed too aggressive towards institutions potentially expose their performers to judicial proceedings and/or censorship. This example, just like that of salsa, also teaches us that the commercialisation of music may imply its own form of censorship as the entrepreneurs (producers, radio stations ...) may be encouraged to remove controversial political statements from the songs in order to broaden their audience, avoid conflict with the authorities and increase their profits.

To conclude this discussion on ethnic music and power relations between ethnicised groups, it must be mentioned that censorship may also be used by migrant groups themselves for political purposes. The Cuban American community in Miami probably best exemplifies this case. This community represents about a third of the population of Miami-Dade County. Due to its geographical concentra-

tion, its economic success, its mobilisation and favourable conditions for integration, the community has achieved greater political leverage than most migrant communities in the United States (see Lafleur 2005). This power is mainly used, however, by conservative Cuban Americans, who try to influence US foreign policy towards Cuba. These migrants, who are referred to as the *hardliners* (also often those who left quickly after the Cuban revolution), have been the most politically successful group so far. Their influence has also been visible at the city level where culture, geopolitics and local politics closely intertwine.

Hardliners have managed for decades to prevent Cuban artists (accused of supporting Fidel Castro's regime), or even Latin American artists who have performed in Cuba in the past, from playing in Miami. The rationale underpinning this practice is that those who play in Cuba without explicitly denouncing the abuses of the regime must in fact be supporters of that regime. This practice, followed by private institutions and individuals, became a county policy adopted in 1996 under the name of the 'Cuba Ordinance'. The text of the policy, until it was deemed unconstitutional in 2000, stated, among other things, that groups wishing to perform in Miami-Dade must swear not to subcontract to people who were doing business in Cuba and that the concert arena could not book artists who were somehow related to Cuba (Silva Brenneman 2004).

For the Cuban American hardliners, music and more generally culture are just another way of achieving political goals. To them, censoring Cuban groups (and others who are deemed uncritical of the Cuban regime) from performing in Miami is a legitimate form of political action, independent from the rest of the community and the legitimate right of the general American population to attend such concerts. Furthermore, if the efficiency of this measure in stopping performances from taking place is not questionable, the impact of such a policy on the Cuban regime remains to be demonstrated. Also, the specificities of the Cuban American case should be emphasised, as few migrant communities have achieved such high levels of both geographical concentration and political leverage.

Explaining the Choice of Culture and the Arts as a Means of Political Expression and Participation

Why do Migrants and Ethnic Minorities Choose Culture and the Arts as Forms of Political Expression When and Where They Do?

We have developed elsewhere the hypothesis whereby immigrant political participation largely and primarily depends on the structure of political opportunities present at a given time and in a given society and which is the result of inclusion–exclusion mechanisms developed by states (of residence and of origin) and their political systems (Martiniello 2006). By granting, or not, voting rights to foreigners, by facilitating, or not, access to citizenship and nationality, by granting, or not, freedom of association, by ensuring, or not, the representation of migrants' interests, states

open to migrants greater or fewer avenues of political participation, greater or fewer opportunities to participate. Now, migrants will seize these opportunities, or not, according to several variables such as: political ideas and values, previous involvement in politics (for example, in the country of origin), the vision they have of their presence in the country of residence as being permanent or temporary, the feeling of belonging to the host country and/or the society of origin, and all the usual determinants of political behaviour such as level of education, socio-economic status, etc.

Is this hypothesis useful in answering the question of why migrants and ethnic minorities choose culture and the arts as a form of political expression and when and where they do so? Only in part. Different scenarios are possible.

Firstly, when all the avenues of conventional political participation are closed or very severely restricted for immigrants and ethno-racial minorities, culture and the arts can become the only means of implicit or explicit political expression. In the USA during segregation, when Blacks were totally excluded from conventional political participation, music was one of the few means to express, most often indirectly, political opinions and to display community solidarity. For Duke Ellington, Jazz was a reflection of the singular experience of slavery and segregation faced by the Black people. What could not be said openly was therefore expressed through Black music (Daniels 1985). Even if globally the Blues and Jazz cannot be considered as political forms of music, there are many examples of blues and jazz songs in which the injustice of the Jim Crow regime was denounced. One of the very first political blues and jazz songs was Billie Holiday's 'Strange Fruit'.² Written in 1939 by a Jewish school teacher called Abel Meeropol, this song became a weapon in the struggle for racial equality in the US. There have also been many other songs by many artists after 'Strange Fruit' that denounce the injustice of racial relations or expressed broader political concerns (Margolick 2000).

Secondly, when avenues for conventional political participation are open, culture can still play an important political role in another way. Like other groups of the population, immigrant and ethno-racial minorities often have problems with a conventional and direct participation in politics. Again in the United States, electoral participation may be very weak. The gap between the political elite and the population is also a reality for immigrant and ethno-racial minorities. The trust in political institutions and political personalities has often been eroded. Particularly for young people, culture and music can be seen as a more obvious and direct way to express one's opinion against the system or in favour of one's group.

Rap in post-migration societies illustrates this point. In the United States, it can be hypothesised that Rap has helped to increase the level of political awareness of the African-American urban youth. This is because that type of music has proved a powerful medium in epitomising the concerns of this population using a language of liberation and social protest. In that sense, Rap music is a sort of subculture that proposes a counter-hegemonic view of the situation of the African-American community in the United States. Authors such as Kitwana (2004) however question

Hip-Hop's ability to remain a site of resistance for the African-American community. On the one hand, he argues, the commercialisation of Hip-Hop and the emphasis that successful groups put on money and consumerism (particularly visible in their lyrics and videos) could lead some to conclude that 'the market has in fact overtaken the concern of Black cultural integrity as part of the psyche of young Black artists' (2004: 116). On the other hand, he continues, the analysis of Hip-Hop's impact must also integrate what he calls the 'off-the-radar segment of Hip-Hop's cultural movement'. These are the underground elements of the Hip-Hop cultural movement who perform at the local level, press their own CDs, or tune in to Hip-Hop. According to Kitwana, these are the elements that are the most politically active, participating in political rallies and stimulating the participation of young voters. As for the question posed by Kitwana, Rose (1991: 289) had previously opted for a different perspective, considering that when trying to determine whether Hip-Hop has a political impact or not, it should not be looked at solely in terms of the content and the spirit of the music:

Contestation over the meaning and significance of rap music, controversies regarding its ability to occupy public space, and struggles to retain its expressive freedom constitute critical aspects of contemporary Black cultural politics (1991: 289).

In other words, the mere fact that Rap is struggling to exist is proof of its political significance.

Thirdly, the use of culture as a means of political participation is not necessarily a substitute for more conventional forms of political participation. These two aspects can complement each other when, for example, artists support political candidates in elections or mobilise to prevent the election of a candidate, as Bruce Springsteen did during the campaign that ended with a second mandate for George W. Bush. A good example from France is the initiative called *Devoir de réagir* launched by an association created by the controversial lead singer of NTM, Joey Starr, and supported by other artists and sportsmen. Following the 2005 riots and to avoid a repetition of the 2002 presidential election that saw the extreme-right candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen making it to the second round, these personalities wrote a manifesto to encourage young citizens from the *banlieues* (and others) to register as voters. Another good example of music and formal politics coming together is the initiative of Zebda. This is a band from Toulouse which, besides promoting diversity and tolerance in its music, also launched a political party in its hometown in 2001 with the intention of promoting participative democracy.

Fourthly, popular culture often plays a role in social and political movements to the extent that it is difficult to say whether culture is a means of political participation or whether political mobilisation is a means of cultural production. Let us take for example the Civil Rights Movement. At the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s, African-American music and literature were very important in the struggle for racial equality, led politically by leaders such as Martin Luther King. Black cinema also

denounced the racial system. One could say that the Civil Rights Movement was either a political-cultural movement or a cultural-political movement.

Fifthly, economic and social resources available to the immigrant group or the ethnic minority also explain what type of cultural form of expression will be used. Some forms of the arts are definitely more expensive than others and are therefore not necessarily accessible to some parts of the population. Cinema is a good example of this. It is certainly more difficult to use cinema as a form of political expression than, say, music. There are cost reasons for this, but social networks are also needed to enter and work in the movie world, not to mention the specific education required to become a film-maker. Music is probably the most accessible form of art that can be used in the most deprived situations. Blacks in pre-war Southern states of the US were able to express their anger and frustration through music even without musical instruments, or with instruments just made out of a rope and a broom or a washboard! Furthermore, today, the Internet offers a number of opportunities to post clips, films and music freely on sites such as 'Youtube.com' or 'Myspace.com', sites that allow almost anybody to express political views in a multimedia perspective.

A Typology of Political Action in Popular Music

As mentioned earlier, popular arts and popular music have been very slow in capturing the attention of political scientists, especially in the field of immigration and ethnic relations. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, the importance of arts and music in politics remains a matter for speculation. Can a song change the world or at least contribute to causing some change? This remains extremely difficult to prove and interpretations can go in many directions. Secondly, it is difficult to delineate the corpus of cultural productions worth studying from a political scientist's point of view. Thirdly, interest in popular arts and culture has possibly also been considered as belonging to the realm of cultural studies and ethnography, and even interested political scientists have not been keen to cross the disciplinary border. Furthermore, when they try to do so, this is not easily accepted.

The work of political scientist Mark Mattern is a proper political science approach to popular music and, in particular, to the political relevance of the musical expression of some ethno-cultural groups. In a book entitled *Acting in Concert: Music, Community and Political Action* (1998), he makes the claim that popular music can have political implications and he presents a typology of three kinds of political action in popular music: confrontational political action, deliberative political action, and pragmatic political action.

Confrontational political action refers to music as a practice of resistance, opposition and struggle. Street (2003) underlines the fact that music has been a site of resistance for a long time. Historical examples are the work songs of the black slaves or protest songs during the Vietnam War. The above-mentioned example of *Folklorico* dance in the Chicano community demonstrates how music and dance may

be used by minorities to resist acculturation efforts by dominant groups in the United States (Najera Ramirez 1989). The major characteristics of confrontational political action are militancy, perception of incompatible interests, and perception of zero-sum power relations and of zero-sum outcomes. There is also a rather sharp distinction between the oppressors and the oppressed, between the bad and the good. Protest songs and music fall directly into this category. Musicians decry the injustices and the oppression suffered by a minority group and hope for a radical change in the power relations in the society.

Confrontational political action can potentially produce positive outcomes in a democracy. First, it can help to make an issue, or a group and its cause, better known and thereby placed on the political agenda. Second, it can also attract members of the minorities into the realm of political participation. Third, it can sometimes produce rapid policy outcomes in favour of the minority. But confrontational political action can also have negative effects. First, it can rigidify the positions of those in power and alienate potential allies, who become annoyed by the confrontational strategies of minority groups. Second, framing political action as a zero-sum game between two opposing forces may erase intra-group differences and struggles and therefore homogenise both the oppressor and the oppressed. Third, this strategy ignores the fluidity between groups and the existence of border zones between them. These border zones are social spaces between groups with overlapping interests. Consequently, contestation makes negotiation impossible.

Deliberative political action rests precisely upon the recognition both of intra-group differences and disagreements and of border zones in which different groups share the same interests. Deliberative political action takes place when members of a minority group use music either to deliberate their collective identity and commitments or to discuss and negotiate mutual relations with other groups located in the same border zone. There is, so to speak, either an internal or an external deliberation through music. In the former case, the creation of a collective identity can be the outcome of a form of political action marked by disagreement and debate. In the latter case, a group can use music to discuss and negotiate mutual relations with another group or with other groups.

Finally, *pragmatic political action* relies on the assumption of the existence of shared political interests. This occurs when groups use music to promote awareness of shared political interests and when they organise collaborative efforts to try and pursue those interests. The idea is to bring together individuals and groups, who share the same interests, to try to solve a problem. There are many examples of events organised by more or less famous artists: Live Aid, Farm Aid, America for Africa, the big concerts of *SOS racism* in France, etc.

Clearly, these three forms of political action, which can potentially occur wherever music is produced and listened to, are not mutually exclusive. They can overlap. For example, in a concert organised by several groups to solve the problem of hunger in the world, minority artists could express a very strongly confrontational message based upon an opposition between, say, racial minorities and racists. They could also

discuss the responsibility within the minority group in question and therefore propose an internal debate about it.

Mattern's Typology: A Critique

This typology is in our view very useful in trying to make sense of popular music as a form of political participation and expression, but it nevertheless raises a few questions and criticisms. First, it was said earlier that the importance of music in politics remains a matter for speculation. We do not find any solution to this problem in this typology. It does not provide for any means to assess the real impact of popular music in politics. Maybe the political and policy outcomes around one issue, say the Cajuns of Louisiana, a case studied by Mattern, would have been the same without the use of music. Maybe not. It remains very difficult to tell, as we already mentioned above.

Secondly, the typology does not help us to delineate the corpus of cultural productions worth studying from a political scientist's point of view, which is also a problem we mentioned before. Should we study only those apparently successful uses of music such as Black music in the Civil Rights era? Is it not also interesting to study more marginal forms of political music, for example extreme right-wing music? The fact that this music is by nature invisible because it is underground, and even forbidden, does not mean that it is politically meaningless. Therefore, we may need to build criteria by which to choose what is worth studying and what is not.

Thirdly, there is no reason why the typology should be restricted to music. It could very well be applied to other forms of popular culture such as literature and cinema. The distinction between the three types of political action is certainly useful for other popular cultural forms.

That said, the main insight of this typology is to indicate that culture, music, and the arts more generally, can certainly have political implications and therefore can be studied by political science as well. The subject should thus not be left only to cultural studies specialists, cultural anthropologists and ethnographers.

Outline of the Issue

The aim of this special issue is precisely to contribute modestly to start filling the gap in the literature and to examine the extent to which immigrant/ethnic cultural and artistic productions and modes of consumption can be analysed in terms of political expression and participation in a broad sense. We present contributions from different disciplinary perspectives, covering different artistic forms such as music, writing, cinema, radio, dance, etc., which are rooted in different geographical areas in Europe and beyond.

Sievers' paper compares the emergence of immigrant and ethnic minority writing in Germany and Austria with a view to explaining why a guestworker literature emerged in Germany in the 1970s but not in Austria, despite the fact that the

migration histories were comparable in these two countries. She shows that when the first immigrant and ethnic minority publications eventually appeared in Austria in the 1990s, the circumstances were comparable to those in Germany in the 1970s: the writers positioned themselves as immigrants in order to express their opposition to the mechanisms of political and cultural exclusion. Yet, the responses to these developments differed: while the literature written in 1970s' West Germany displays a strong belief that change can be brought about by workers' solidarity in the fight against capitalism, the novels published in the last decade in Austria seem to subscribe to a more individualised approach to social change.

Grassilli's essay concentrates on the industry of Migrant Cinema and addresses the particular case of the production and distribution of this cinema in Italy. After defining Migrant Cinema and introducing its positioning within the wider genre of Third Cinema and its recognition also as a form of cultural activism, the paper focuses on the means of production and distribution, as they have further expanded in a transnational strategy of international co-productions beyond post-colonial communication and cooperation flows.

In her paper, *Knauer* examines Afro-Cuban cultural practices in New York City, specifically the 'folkloric' music and dance complex known as rumba. She looks at these cultural performances as arenas in which Black Cubans from the post-1980 migratory cohorts (among others) craft and negotiate identifications that are shaped—discursively and spatially—by the larger social contexts, but are also sites for contesting hegemonic constructions of Cuban identity. Although most participants claim they are not political, she argues that they are engaged in a politics of recognition.

Boogaarts' paper examines the proliferation and development of the Turkish clubbing scene in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. It points to how a new clubbing scene is created within the existing regular nightlife in order to overcome social and cultural constraints in accessibility and the cultural needs of the Dutch-Turkish consumers. The question will be addressed as to whether Turkish party organisations and party-goers are engaged in politics of recognition by claiming their space in mainstream nightlife.

The main aim of *Delhaye's* article is to trace the dynamics of cultural transformation in the field of art in Amsterdam as a result of the changing demographic make-up of the city in the postwar period. In an attempt to understand the full complexity of this transformation process, the analysis focuses on the multidimensionality of a divergent range of managing strategies by which the cultural flow has been pushed forward or constrained. Emphasis is placed on both the structure and the agency elements of these diverse strategies. The article concentrates on the dynamic at work in the field of the visual arts and theatre performances. By doing so, we are able to scrutinise the processes that define cultural practices as 'art' and to examine the way cultural policy is steering this process.

Finally, *Morawska's* paper examines the programmes of the Polish section of Radio MultiKulti in terms of 'recognition politics' and makes claims for the public recognition of Berlin's (and Germany's) de facto multiculturalism.

Acknowledgements

This special issue of *JEMS* is a product of the European Network of Excellence on 'IMISCOE'—International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe—funded by the European Commission under FP6, and specifically the IMISCOE research cluster on 'Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Diversity'. As guest-editors we want to thank the journal's referee, who reviewed the entire set of papers and made valuable suggestions for revision of some of the papers.

Notes

- [1] See also the special issue of *JEMS* guest-edited by John Baily and Michael Collyer (2006).
[2] Southern trees bear a strange fruit,
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root,
Black body swinging in the Southern breeze,
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees.

Pastoral scene of the gallant South,
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth,
Scent of magnolia sweet and fresh,
And the sudden smell of burning flesh!

Here is a fruit for the crows to pluck,
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck,
For the sun to rot, for a tree to drop,
Here is a strange and bitter crop.
(Margolick 2000: 15)

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