gegenwärtig entstehen, waren und sind zugleich aber so unvorhersehbar, dass sich Adornos Sorge um kulturelle Homogenisierung als unbegründet erweist.

Die kulturelle Bedeutung von Musik unter den Bedingungen einer sich in ihrer Zusammensetzung wandelnden Gesellschaft kann nur im Kontext globaler Prozesse beleuchtet werden. Wir befinden uns zunehmend in einer Welt, in der Menschen, Dinge und Ideen mobil werden und kulturelle Gemeinschaften zugleich instabil. Die weltweite Kulturwirtschaft kann eher als eine Ökonomie der kulturellen Differenzen gesehen werden denn als eine der kulturellen Homogenität. Als Gegenbewegung zur Globalisierung bildet sich im Kontrast zu diesen totalisierenden Tendenzen eine schier unbegrenzte Zahl von Formen heraus. Hybridität ist nicht mehr die Ausnahme, sondern längst die Regel.

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Reflections on Musical Identity from the Perspective of Subject-centered Musical Ethnography

In 2003, I published in the journal *Ethnomusicology* an article that contains an analytic framework or ›model for‹ what I call »subject-centered musical ethnography«[1]. My goal for this model was to help researchers think about and understand ›musical experience‹. My interest in focusing on the subject of musical experience was motivated by a sense that the complexity of modern life challenges ethnomusicologists' traditional emphases on (1) shared cultures operating within bounded social spaces and (2) analytic dichotomies such as »emic and etic« and »insider and outsider.«

In proposing an analytic framework for thinking about individual musical experience, my goals were broad. I hoped the model could be applied to every kind of musical experience from microscopic, short-term assessments of formal, physical, and auditory structure to questions of music's referential meanings to music-mediated experiences of social solidarity and intimacy, to peak aesthetic and spiritual experiences. Within this wide range of potential musical experiences lie the experiences of musical identity. So my goal in this paper is to apply my model for subject-centered musical ethnography to some of the questions and issues associated with the concept and experience of musical identity.

My paper is divided into five parts: (1) reflections on why the notion of musical identity is so engaging to current musicology; (2) a review of the basic structure of my model for subject-centered musical ethnography; (3) some reflections on the concept of musical iden-

1 Timothy Rice, »Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography«, in: *Ethnomusicology* 47 (2003), p. 151–179.

tity using the model; (4) some case studies from my research on Bulgarian music to illustrate the application of my model to particular situations; and (5) a hypothesis about why music is such a good domain for identity formation.

I. Why Musical Identity?

As for the question of why musical identity is such an important topic, it seems to me that a number of disciplinary trajectories intersect to encourage an interest in musical identities.

First, from anthropology, Arjun Appadurai[2] has written influentially about what he calls the »deterritorialization« of culture. Specifically, he notes the extent to which the whole world seems to be on the move, whether for reasons of war and political oppression, of economic gain in an increasingly globalized economy, or of touristic searches for exotic experiences. The result seems to be a potentially chaotic fragmentation and individualization of experience that challenges anthropological notions of shared culture and engenders the creation of new forms of identity.

Second, from sociology Anthony Giddens[3] has argued that the conditions of high modernity »undercut« traditional »habits and customs«, knock down the traditional underpinnings of habitus, social status, and social roles, and require all of us to construct reflexively our biographies and senses of identity from a wide array of choices not available in traditional societies. »What to do? How to act? Who to be? These are focal questions for everyone living in circumstances of late modernity – and ones which, on some level or another, all of us answer, either discursively or through day-to-day social behaviour.«[4]

Third, from the Russian tradition of literary criticism, Mikhail Bakhtin, suggests that we »author« ourselves in dialogue with others, or to paraphrase him, we get our selves from others.[5] The identity of ourselves becomes, then, not a given, stable social category but something we construct in dialogue with others in often ›heteroglossic‹ contexts.

Fourth, from the philosophical tradition of phenomenological hermeneutics, Paul Ricœur[6] has taught us that the self is acquired through a continual, life-long encounter with others and the symbolic systems available to us. He is concerned primarily with language but his insights can be applied to works of art such as music composition and performance.

Fifth and finally, from psychology we learn that older concepts from William James and Erik Erikson of self-identity based on a distinction between a changeable, observed, known, social identity and an unchanging, internal, ›real‹, subjective identity are being replaced with an understanding of identity as always constructed. As David Hargreaves has written, the self »is formed and developed continuously through conversation and interaction with others […]. We are not just influenced by others, but are in effect made up of interactions with others – we are ultimately social and not personal beings.«[7]

2 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis 1996.
3 Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Stanford, CF 1991.
4 Ibid., p. 70.
5 Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist, *Mikhail Bakhtin*, Cambridge, MA 1984.
6 Paul Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, transl. by Kathleen Blamey, Chicago 1992.
7 David J. Hargreaves, Dorothy Miell and Raymond A. R. MacDonald »What are Musical Identities,

Mapping this new social-psychological notion of self-identity onto the insights of Appadurai, Giddens, and Bakhtin, it follows that the diversity of experience available today to virtually everyone in the world, due to economic and cultural globalization, will lead to socially formed but not necessarily culturally shared forms of self-identity, to enormous diversity of self-identity within single individuals, to an evolution of self-identity over the life span of the individual, and in some cases to an experience of fragmented identity. All this intellectual movement in cognate fields, coupled with the physical movement of people and the music they make, challenges ethnomusicologists to rethink their reliance on the culture concept, on the notion of bounded social spaces, and on the primacy of ethnic identities. In these old paradigms, the fundamental intellectual questions for ethnomusicologists were (1) how to understand and interpret music as coherent with other domains of culture, and (2) how to understand music as a form of social behavior that either mirrors or contributes to social stability, social relations, social structures, or social change. The interest at this ›Kongress‹ in musical identity can be interpreted as a move beyond the cultural and the social toward the psychological domain, and to questions of musical experience, of individual agency and invention, and of individual idiosyncrasy.

II. A Three-dimensional Model of Musical Experience

I propose that my model of musical experience might help in this move from the social and cultural to the individual and psychological. I argue that musical experience occurs within a conceptually-defined three-dimensional space. The three dimensions of this imaginary, ideal space are location, time, and metaphor.

On the location dimension, my proposal responds to the growing understanding that our and our subjects' experiences are no longer contained within local, isolated cultures or even within nation-states, but are and have been shaped by regional, areal, colonial, and global economics, politics, social relations, and images. The global and the local have become a cliché of recent locational analysis in ethnomusicology, a cliché captured in the title of this roundtable. But the locational dimension contains many other positions, literally ›zwischen Lokalität und Globalität‹, that powerfully impact musical experience. For example, for my analytic purposes, I have found it useful to posit a set of nested nodes that seem to influence musical experience, on one hand, and to themselves be constructed in part by musical practice on the other: the individual, subcultural, local, regional, national, areal, diasporic, global, and virtual. Though these spaces can refer to on-the-ground realities, they may be equally important for musical experience as constructed mental locales in which musicians and their audiences imagine themselves experiencing music. I argue that the place where music making or musical imagination occurs is crucial to musical experience and the construction of self-identity.

On the time dimension, I create, depending on the analysis I am engaged in, various periodizations from the microscopic to the macroscopic. Descriptions of musical sounds in

and Why are They Important?«, in: Raymond A. R. MacDonald, David J. Hargreaves, and Dorothy Miell, *Musical Identities*, New York 2002, p. 10.

succession (a chord progression or a formal analysis) represent a kind of periodization within a performance. More typically I periodize musical styles, grouping a continuous succession of pieces or performances into categories spanning decades and centuries. Sometimes these histories of style are linked to changes in the social maintenance and cultural underpinnings of music. I argue that the experience of music, and hence its relevance for identity formation, changes within a piece of music and with the passage of time throughout the life of an individual.

The metaphor dimension consists of beliefs about the fundamental nature of music expressed in metaphors in the form ›A is B‹, that is, ›music is x‹. These beliefs then become the basis for discourses about music, musical behaviors (including all aspects of creativity, reception, performance, and institutionalization), and strategies for deploying these beliefs and behaviors in self-interested ways. One can imagine a single subject employing many metaphors or claims about the nature of music in different nodes of place and time to make sense of musical experience and many subjects contesting the nature of music at the intersection of their individual spaces of music experience. Musical metaphors guide discursive and practical action in individual lives, in society, and through time.

Not only do the people we study make metaphors to account for their experience of music. Musicologists also base their studies of music on metaphors that make fundamental claims about music's nature and significance. Among the common ones in current use, and therefore applied cross-culturally in our studies, are music as art, as cognition, as entertainment, as therapy, as social behavior, as commodity, as referential symbol, and as text for interpretation. Though in many cases these metaphors are left unspoken, I believe that our analyses in every case are predicated on the truth of one or some of these metaphors. Furthermore, in advancing our arguments, we often imply that those we study behave as if these metaphors were true for them as well.

I can apply this three-dimensional model of musical experience to questions concerning musical identity because musical identity is one type of musical experience. Happily as it turns out, each of my model's dimensions speaks to the new constructivist ideas about self-identity in social psychology. First, time is a crucial element in the construction of self-identity. Second, the creation of self-identities occurs in social contexts and social interactions with others, that is, in particular places or locations. Third, the metaphoric dimension provides the link between music and identity in the expression ›musical identity‹. Specifically, Hargreaves uses metaphor to argue that »music is a fundamental channel of communication, and […] it can act as a medium through which people can construct new identities and shift existing ones in the same way as spoken language. The continual construction and reconstruction of the self through autobiographical narratives can occur in music as well as in language.«[8] Moving beyond Hargreaves, I will argue in Part 5 that music is even better than language for constructing new and shifting identities.

8 Hargreaves, »What are Musical Identities?«, p. 10–11.

III. Musical Identity

I would like to flesh out my claim about the use of metaphor to understand musical identity by mapping some of the ideas about musical identity of British social psychologists onto ethnomusicologists' approach to these concepts.

Hargreaves distinguishes usefully two kinds of musical identity, what he calls »identity in music« and »music in identity.«[9] The first of these somewhat infelicitous terms, identity in music, refers to well-known and well-established, though culturally variable, social roles such as composer, performer, and audience. These categories of musical identity are defined by one's ability to make music or to perform various intellectual, physical, and social tasks defined as musical. Success in these tasks, whether self-assessed or assessed by others, is crucial to making claims about one's self-identity as a musician. In this type of musical identity, music as art seems to be the dominant metaphor, with music as social behavior occupying a secondary role. This type of musical identity plays a prominent role in ethnomusicological studies from the 1950s through the 1980s. These studies examined the social role of various types of musicians in culture and asked how these roles are achieved, ascribed, and maintained.

Hargreaves' second type of identity, music in identity, is of recent and increasing interest to social psychologists and has galvanized much recent research in ethnomusicology at least as far back as the 1980s. The question of music in identity turns away from culturally and socially given musical roles to how music making participates in and contributes to the formation of other aspects of identity. To make the argument for this contribution of music to identity formation, ethnomusicologists have used the metaphor of music as symbol or text most prominently; music as social behavior and music as communicative medium have also played important roles. Identity in recent social psychology is furthermore understood as multi-layered and fragmented, constructed over time, and contextually negotiated. Ethnomusicologists have been particularly interested in the contribution of music making to two aspects of self-identity: gender and national identity. National identity is particularly relevant for this roundtable, located as it is ›zwischen Lokalität und Globalität‹. But the dynamics of globalization complicate the construction of self-identity along the location dimension of my model and create many other possibilities for identify formation between the local and the global.

IV. Bulgarian Case Studies

To illustrate the utility of this model of musical experience, I apply it to three case studies from my research on Bulgarian neotraditional music.

The first case involves the Bulgarian government's use of music to construct national identity during the communist period (1944–1989). The music that stood most prominently as a symbol of national identity in this period was appropriated from the local, village level and changed in almost every respect, based not so much on global models but on an

9 Ibid., p. 10

›areal‹ model borrowed from the Soviet Union. In this process, almost all the local metaphoric understandings of music were altered (figure 1). A symbol of a local community was forced to become a symbol of national identity. A relatively informal, quasi-improvisatory practice with few artistic pretensions was transformed into an art with such accoutrements of Western classical music as harmonies, orchestrations, and arrangements. A social behavior linked to gender identity was remade into a performance of allegiance to the state. A communal, traditional, shared skill was commodified and individual ownership of it was claimed. All these dramatic changes over time created what I call »experiential tension«, especially for those who were in some sense left behind at the local level. This tension was the price, metaphorically speaking, of national identity formation between the local and the global.

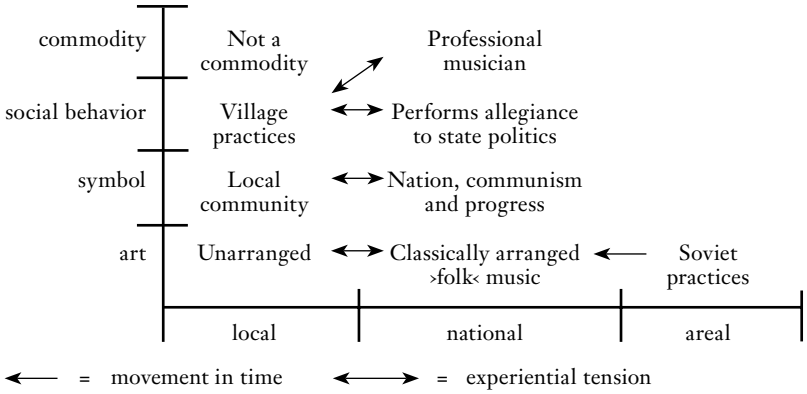

Figure 1: Music and National Identity (Communist Era)

The second case concerns new developments in music in the post-communist period. These developments are located between the local and global in three conceptual locations: the national, the areal defined as ›the Balkans‹, and the areal defined as ›Europe‹ (figure 2). In about 1994 a new genre of music, commonly called popfolk or ethnopop, developed as a synthesis of Bulgarian song lyrics, pan-Balkan and Turkish musical elements, and ›European‹ (or modern) performance conventions including dress and the use of electronic instruments. The new genre affected identity construction in numerous ways. Its extraordinary commercial popularity, coupled with diminishing state support for the older ›national‹ music, caused many musicians in the latter category to give up their professional ›identity in music‹ for other professions. Roma (Gypsy) identity, which had been peripheral at best at the national level and nonexistent in European musical genres, was central, indispensable, and valorized in this new genre of music. The music implied and celebrated a kind of Balkan, even Ottoman, identity for Bulgarians that had been suppressed during the communist period in favor of a national and European identity. An aesthetics of the popular replaced classical aesthetics, which proved difficult for Bulgarian intellectuals to reconcile with their self-identity as sophisticated, cosmopolitan members of a modernizing society.

The third case involves the movement of Bulgarian ›national‹ music in the form of choral arrangements of *narodna muzika* (folk, national, people's music) from the local to the global

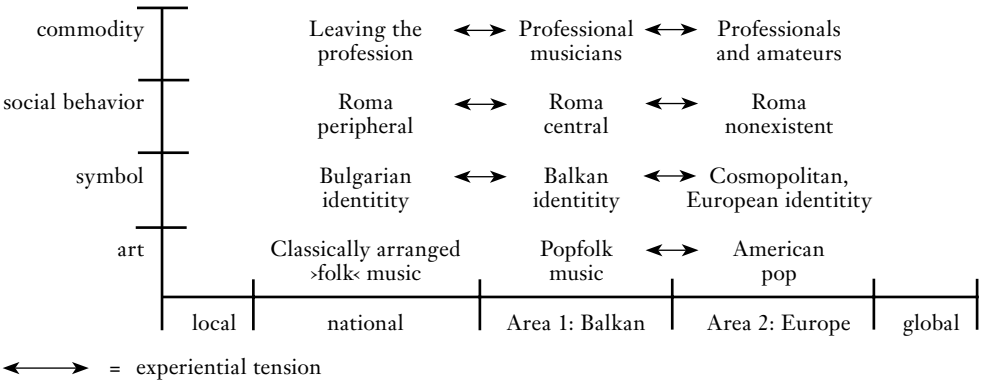

Figure 2: Competing Bulgarian Identities in the Year 2000

during the second half of the 20th century (figure 3). Because in Bulgaria commodification occurred at the national level, the local in this case must be reconfigured as the national. The music industry, the media, and the consequent commodification of musical practice at the national level made this movement possible. At the same time, much of the identity work that Bulgarian music does or did in Bulgaria was effectively erased at the global level.[10] Except for a shared understanding at the national and global levels of the music as ›Bulgarian‹, the idea that this music was created to perform and symbolize (1) allegiance to the state and its communist politics; (2) a strong sense of progress and modernity; (3) an art with classical pretensions; and (4) specialization of labor and professionalism was completely blocked from view at the global level. This blockage enabled those who could pull commercial products from a globalized market into new localities, in this case Americans and Western Europeans, to use this choral music for their own identity-formation purposes.

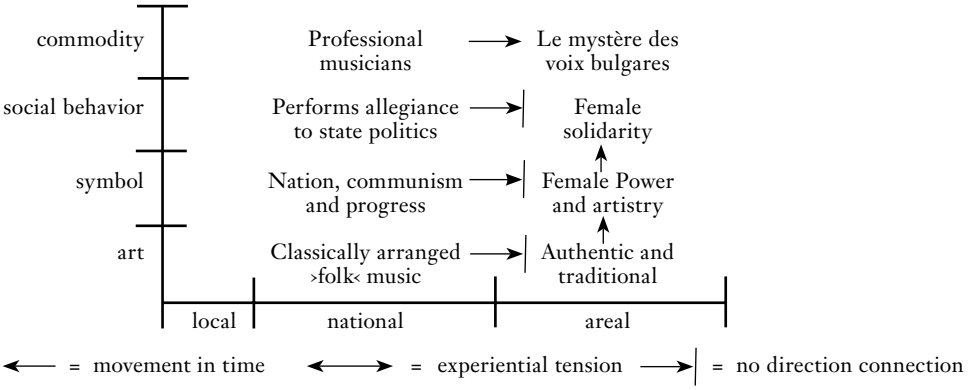

Figure 3: Global Construction of Identity in Music

10 See also Donna Buchanan, »Dispelling the Mystery: The Commodification of Women and Musical Tradition in the Marketing of *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares*«, in: *Balkanistica* 9 (1996), p. 193–210.

One of the most striking moves in this regard was its use to symbolize a particular form of gender identity: the powerful, independent female. Based in part on the loud, focused, powerful manner of singing employed by professional Bulgarian choirs, young women in the U.S. and Western Europe have found that performing these choral arrangements also performs and models a powerful type of female identity.

V. Why Music for Identity Construction

To conclude, I want to suggest why music is such a good vehicle for the construction of musical identity and why people so frequently and effectively use »music in identity«, as Hargreaves puts it. I argue that music is so effective in the construction of self-identity and the experience of self-identity because music possesses many of the same qualities as self-identity. Music is, in its complexity, a perfect homology for identity and thus a perfect expression of it. That homology has three aspects.

First, music and self-identity are both social behaviors. Music models and contributes to social relationships, social structures, and social identities. Moreover, music provides a socially framed, ritually marked location or place where new or alternative or emergent identities can be tried out, experimented with, and adjusted during the course of performance. These new musical identities can then be generalized to other types of behavior, kept strictly within the domain of musical performance, or discarded if not appropriate or efficacious in nonmusical contexts.

Second, music, like identity, is multi-faceted and complex. These facets and this complexity can be used to mirror, express, and symbolize the multiple, even fragmented, nature of individual self-identity. The multiple dimensions of music as a sign vehicle or symbol include its structural elements as art: for example, its melody, rhythm and meter, harmony, polyphonic texture, timbre, and dynamics.[11] Each of these elements can point symbolically in different directions in a way that reveals the multi-faceted nature of self-identities in the modern world.

Third and finally, self-identity is constructed and understood through time, as is music. Music can trace this evolution in self-identity at many temporal levels: from historical period to historical period, from piece to piece in the life of a composer, and, perhaps most importantly, from musical event to musical event within a given piece or performance.

Thus, I would like to suggest that music is such a powerful, successful, and often-used vehicle for the expression of new, constructed, emergent, and experimental identities because there is a very precise structural homology between self-identity as understood by social psychologists and music as understood by ethnomusicologists.

11 See Thomas Turino, »Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music«, in: *Ethnomusicology* 43 (1999), p. 221–255.