

by Owe Ronström.

OUVERTURE

In the premises of the Yugoslav association "Sutjeska" in Solna, in the northern part of Stockholm, Zoran Sibinovic is playing, together with his band. Here dances are organized almost every weekend and Zoran and his fellow-musicians often provide the music. They know almost everybody here, and everybody knows them. Mostly young people have come this evening, but there are also some middle-age couples, living in the neighbourhood. When people start to arrive, the musicians have already begun to play. The room, a former restaurant, is filled with the intricate trills and leaps of Zorans accordion accompanied by the electric guitar, bass and drums of the band. The volume is high already, and it will be even higher later in the evening. All the lights are on, and through the smoky air you can read the slogans on the posters, look at the portrait of a partisan painted on the wall. The smell of cevapcici and somebody smoking Yugoslav cigarettes, the tables without covers, the loud music, all this confirms the Yugoslav character of the evening. The women are dressed up as where they directly emerging from a page in *Burda*, the German fashion magazine. The young men are also very "à la mode", but the middle-aged men seems to care less about the way they are dressed, wearing jeans and sweaters.

The dancing has already started. People are dancing kolo in two lines, in front of the orchestra. Many of them are good dancers and they display their abilities to those who are seated around the tables. If you don't like to dance right now, you can take a seat anywhere. But girls and boys must not share tables, unless they are engaged, close friends or relatives.

The evening is a social event which is structured and organized according to principles which are implicit and inherent in the situation, and which covers every aspect of the event, from the spatial to the auidial, visual etc. It is structured and organized in such a way that it becomes a plausible "Yugoslav" evening in every respect.

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Then the orchestra takes a break. After 10 minutes and a beer, Zoran, the bandleader and accordeonist, gathers his musicians and begins another set. But this time he turns to the new Yamaha synthesizer and leaves the accordeon at a table.

All the musicians, except the drummer who is seated, change their positions on the small stage. They reorganize themselves spatially, mentally and musically to be able to play what is known as "modern music", Western European hit music. When they start to play, the lights are faded and a "disco spotlight" turns everything red, green, and yellow. In the room, as were they directed by a conductor, everybody change their places and reorganize themselves according to a different set of principles. The music is another, the dancing is also changed. A very simple form of "onestep" is danced by a few couples, in a style completely different from the the style of the kolo-dancing. Now the bodies are leaning against each other, hanging and dragging themselves around in small circles, with very loose and unaccentuated movements.

Signalled by the switch from the accordeon to the synthesizer, the whole situation changed radically in just a few seconds. Zoran was now, both literary and metaphorically, playing in another key, placing the whole event in another frame of reference. This change was immediate and affected all levels of the performance: the way of producing the musical sounds and movements of dancing, as well as melodies and patterns of steps, the organization of the participants, especially the relation between men and women. Leaving the "yugoslavian" world in just a few seconds, a whole new world was staged. All the participants knew the rules of the game, the ways to act and to cast their roles. Implicit in this new world are cognitions, values and experiences which are to a considerable extent different, sometimes even contrasting.

1st MOVEMENT.

Introduction.

This article addresses a central topic in the field of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology: the interrelations of music, dance and society. Based on material gathered during fieldwork among Yugoslavs in Stockholm, Sweden, I am trying to build a theoretical model concerning the roles of music and dance in the construction of social, ethnic and personal identity. In this model the concepts

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of "sound" and "movement-gestalt" are central. These focus upon the level of production of musical sounds and movements of dance, rather than melodies and steps. Taking my point of departure in theories about the social construction of reality, as advanced by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, the concept of "lifeworld" from the works of Alfred Schütz, and Goffman's useful concepts "framing" and "keying", I try to analyze two types of social events comprising dancing and music-making among the Yugoslavs in Stockholm. When focusing upon the level of production of sounds and movements in these events, and how the sounds and movements are used and perceived, it becomes possible to analyze how the Yugoslavs in Stockholm use all the resources of the past in the present situation to build a new future.

The Yugoslavs in Stockholm. A brief survey.

There are about 38000 Yugoslav citizens in Sweden, in Stockholm about 70001. In the official Swedish terminology another broader term is used, "person with a Yugoslav background", i.e. including the Swedish-born second generation. However, there are also a growing number in the third generation, without any parent born in Yugoslavia, who consider themselves "Yugoslavs". It can be estimated that about 55 000 persons that could be considered as Yugoslavs now live in Sweden. In the county of Stockholm there are about 10000-12000.

Statistically the Yugoslavs in Stockholm show the same main characteristics as in the rest of Sweden: they are rather young, they are workers in heavy industry or in service occupations. They arrived between 1965 and 1973 and most of them have stayed for 15 years or more in Sweden. They came here as labour migrants with the objectives to earn as much as possible as fast as possible and return to Yugoslavia. Only a few came as political refugees. Not many of them have returned, and of those who did return, many left for Sweden. Most of the Yugoslavs in Stockholm are Serbs from rural parts of southern and eastern Serbia, Serbian speaking Bosnians and Montenegrins. They thereby create a definition of the concept "Yugoslav" which all other people in Sweden of Yugoslav origin have to take into consideration.

"Yugoslav" as an ethnic category.

What is "Yugoslav"? As all humans, these people live complex lives and it would be a serious mistake to reduce this complexity to one category only, such as "Yugoslav". To be sure, they are fathers and

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mothers, they are shopkeepers, factory workers, citizens and more, thus occupying different social roles where ethnic labels often have a limited importance. Being a "Yugoslav" is to display a specific type of social identity in specific situations. Ethnic identity then, is situated performance, a contrastive process constantly creating and recreating a "Yugoslav" identity. The question is not who are the Yugoslavs, but rather when and where are the Yugoslavs (Moerman 1965).

The lifeworld (Schlitz 1962, Berger & Luckman 1979) of the people here studied is located in homes, clubs, restaurants, workplaces in Stockholm with its surrounding suburbs, forming a loosely knit social structure. But from the beginning of June to the beginning of September, the social life of the Yugoslavs in Stockholm ceases to exist. Instead, old social structures are reestablished and developed for a short, but intensive, summer vacation spent in Yugoslavia.

This lifeworld can be divided into four main zones. The first is the private and individual zone ("the bedroom zone"). The second is the zone of the family, friends and kins ("the living room zone"). The third is the local public zone ("the zone of the near outer world"). The fourth is the distant political zone ("The zone of the citizens") (cf Dahlström 1982:143):

It is in the local public zone, in the near outer world, you can find the main contrastive processes that makes ethnicity a strong cohesive force, creating and shaping a feeling of being "one of us, but not one of them". It is in this zone the ethnic organisations and institutions are working, it is here you can find the situations and events these people themselves define as "Yugoslav" (cf Schierup 1984:8f).

In the activities in the local public zone, the most important ethnic category used is "Yugoslav". Only among some of the Yugoslavs themselves, and under special circumstances other ethnic labels are relevant, such as "Croat", "Slovene", and when visiting the old home country, "Svedjanin", "Svedjanka". Sometimes the categories "jugovic" or "jugge" are used, referring to the Yugoslavs in Sweden, but these labels are not in public use to the same extent as for example "Jugoschwaba", denoting the Yugoslavs in Germany.

The Yugoslav ethnic organisations and institutions in Stockholm.

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To live a "Yugoslav" life in Sweden depends on the possibilities to create and maintain formal and informal ethnic institutions². By far the most important of the Yugoslav institutions are the "Jugoslovenske udruzenija", of which there are over 130 in Sweden. The oldest of these in Stockholm was founded in 1969, and served as a model for the others. This association, named after the former Yugoslav ambassador in Stockholm, Vladimir Rolovic, (killed in 1971 by Ustasa terrorists), is open to Yugoslavs of all kinds. There are 12 such associations in Stockholm, and 4 other, which organize Yugoslavs of a certain kind (Macedonians, Slovenes, Serbo-Croat teachers). The associations are united in a district organisation, "sreska organizacija", and in a national organisation, "Jugoslovenski savez"³.

The associations were built around folkdance groups or football teams, started by one or two enthusiasts. They were formed spontaneously on the initiative of individuals, only later administrators from already existing associations, as well as from the Yugoslav Embassy, took part in this work (cf Magnusson 1984). The Yugoslav associations in Sweden could be seen as the answer to a deeply felt need for a type of formal organisation that could provide the necessary conditions to "preserve our culture" as the Yugoslavs put it. When asked to qualify this statement, most of the Yugoslavs say that preserving Yugoslav culture means to speak the mother language, to dance folkdances, and to organize big manifestations and parties, "zabave". But the organisations must also be seen as the answer to a need of the Swedish authorities to create a counterpart on the institutional level, that could negotiate and speak for the Yugoslavs, receive subsidies etc⁴.

2nd MOVEMENT.

The activities of the Yugoslav associations.

It can be estimated that between 5000 and 7000 of the Yugoslavs in Stockholm participate with some regularity in the communal life of the associations. For these people the associations have two main functions (Hlund 1985):

- 1) A defensive function, serving as a "wall of protection" against the surrounding Swedish society, as well as in relation to other ethnic groups in Sweden.
- 2) An offensive function, to provide a base for political and cultural struggle.

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The main activities of the associations are folkdance ("folklor") and football, organizing public dances ("zabave") and cultural manifestations on important holidays. The activities emerging from the members themselves are of a non-verbal character, whereas the more verbally oriented activities sponsored by administrators and intellectuals among the Yugoslavs, such as poetry reading, literature evenings, exhibitions, receive little interest. This may be interpreted against the fact that most of the Yugoslavs in Stockholm come from rural parts of Serbia and Bosnia, while the intellectuals and administrators come from the big cities in northern Yugoslavia. But I would suggest also another interpretation, my working hypothesis being that non-verbal communication, especially music and dance, becomes exceedingly important to people who do not have full access to the language of their new country. This becomes even more accentuated in a society which is dominated by written communication, such as Sweden (cf Hanna 1979, Klymasz 1973).

Most Yugoslavs do not master the Swedish language to the extent that they can compete successfully with the Swedes. There are also language difficulties within the Yugoslav community. Many different languages are spoken; there are many different dialects; and there are sometimes great differences between the standard languages taught in schools, used in radio, TV and newspapers, and the vernacular languages that are spoken in homes (Magnusson 1986). Instead, dancing, singing and playing can be used as means to establish positive selfvalue and selfesteem among the Yugoslavs, since these activities are defined as not important in the Swedish society, and therefore no competition is going on with the Swedes.

The dancing and music-making.

Dance and music among the Yugoslavs have two forms of appearance, "folklor", and "zabava". I shall briefly survey both these types of events, before I turn to the theoretical implications of my research project.

Folklor.

"Folklor" is a word, which in Serbo-Croat refers to the dancing of specific folkdances, the dressing in special types of folk costumes, a selected number of tunes performed on a limited set of instruments, and the stories that are told about the dances and the music, placing the whole activity in a common historical frame of reference

All associations have, or have had, their folklor-groups. The folklor is often the center around which all other activities circle. But there are only a few recognized folkdance teachers and folklor musicians to serve all the associations. These expressive specialists are prominent persons in the life of the Yugoslavs - and they know it.

Folklor is predominantly a female activity in Sweden. The girls begin to dance when they are 8-9 years old, in the "mala grupa", the group for children. When they are about 13-14 they go on to the "velika grupa", the group for grown-ups. They usually quit before they are 20-22 years old. A small number of boys participate in the folklor, and as a rule they are less than 13-14 years. This leaves folklor to the girls as a "safe" activity, in a period when their lives become more and more restricted and controlled by their parents. Since boys are scarce, the repertoires of the groups consist mainly of dances without significant male parts.

The groups rehearse one or two times a week. The participants are arranged in the room as if it was the stage of a theater, and as if there were an audience, thus establishing notions of fronts, sides and backs of the dances. The dancers are arranged according to principles of length, sex and skill. It is obvious that length and skill to a certain degree depend on the age of the dancers. Therefore the longest, best and oldest girls are placed first in the line. Shorter, younger, but skilled dancers, are placed in the middle and in the end of the line. However, if there are boys in the group, they tend to end up in the beginning of the line, even if they are shorter and not as skilled as the best girls. The most important principle involved seems to be sex, although not at any price. All the folklor teachers are aware of the problems involved in having folklor groups in Sweden. They would have liked to have the same number of boys and girls, they would have liked them to be older, they would have liked to be able to stage the most spectacular choreographies and to dismiss uninterested and lazy dancers, as they certainly would have done in Yugoslavia. But they know that all this is out of question in the Swedish context, that everybody who wishes must be allowed to participate.

The dances are arranged in suites or sequences, which are given geographical labels. Very few know the names of the separate dances, instead they use names such as "Hrvatska", "Makedonija", "Istocna Srbija" etc. These suites are taken over from choreographers such as Olga Skovran of the "Kolo"-

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ensemble in Beograd and Ivan Ivancan of "Lado" in Zagreb and they have been established as a tradition in themselves in the folklor repertoire⁵. Very few of the folklor teachers in Sweden, even in Yugoslavia, compose new such suites. The suites are 5-7 minutes long and consist of 4-5 different dances. To every dance there is a special melody, which must not be exchanged for another. The music is provided by an accordeonist, or, if there is no musician available, a taperecorder with accordeon music on cassettes.

The teaching is done almost without words. The teachers show the dances in the beginning and then go on to point out how things are not to be done, rather than the opposite. Few comments are made upon style and steps, all attention is given to the choreography, i.e. how the space of the imagined stage is used.

The meanings and functions of the folklor are complex. In the life of the Yugoslavs, folklor has an important representative function, much in the same way as the "national literature" of other countries, referring to a glorious past. Another obvious function is to attract and socialize the new generations together with their parents, into the Yugoslav community. In the words of Ervin Goffman the folklor could be seen as having different frames of interpretation, all of them which are keyed in special ways. Many of those frames can be working simultaneously. For example, with the exception of relatively few public performances, folklor is a part of the world of sports-wear, sweat, showers and gyms. It is to a great extent an integral part of the world of sports, and as such folklor can be used for competitions, the skills of the dancers can be measured and evaluated in the same terms as football players etc. Another frame is theater: the pretended audiences, the stage, the folk costumes worn during performances give the participants opportunities to act and to cast roles which they sometimes would have been punished for, outside the world of folklor-theater. An important symbolic representation, always present when folklor is performed, is a portrait of the late president Tito and the Yugoslav flag hanging to the left, and the Swedish king and flag to the right. This representation serves as a background and a frame for the dancing, both as real and symbolic objects. The frames can be moved from the foreground to the background by intricate and fastworking processes of keying, making the whole phenomenon of folklor multifaceted and complex (Goffman 1974, 1982).

Zabava (pl. Zabave).

"Zabava" or "drugarsko vece" or "igranka" are words which in Serbo-Croat refers to events including dance, music, drinking, eating and socializing. The zabave are organized by an association in their own or rented halls. The zabave are open to everybody. Some of the associations organize zabave only a couple of times in a year, others have dances every week. In Stockholm there are at least one or two zabave every weekend. Those organized by associations in the suburbs attract mostly people from the neighbourhood and they often have a distinct family character. The associations in town attract a younger audience from different parts of town. It seems as though the Yugoslavs have taken over the old traditional social borders in Stockholm, dividing the town in a workingclass dominated southern part and a middleclass dominated northern part. Therefore Yugoslavs living north of town seldom come to socialize with those living in the south and v.v.

The zabave take place in big halls, without dividing walls and sections. A key word for the whole event is "together". As a rule there is strong light, a lot of smoke and very loud music. There is a small place for the musicians in front of a open place for the dancing. In the rest of the hall tables are arranged in rows. The rooms are poorly decorated, there are no covers on the tables, food is served on paperplates, beer and coca-cola is drunk directly from the cans.

The audience consists mainly of Serbs, Bosnians and Montenegrins from rural parts of Yugoslavia. Slovenes, Croats and Yugoslav intellectuals often reject the zabave on the grounds that there is too much, too loud and too bad music, too much dancing and too much smoke. Instead they sometimes organize their own zabave in overt opposition to the common ones. For example, the "Vojvodjanska noc", which is held annually, gives the more educated people from Vojvodina and other parts of northern Yugoslavia a chance to socialize, while sitting and talking, listening to unamplified tamburica music.

The audience starts to arrive when it is dark enough, which means at about seven in wintertime, but considerably later in spring and autumn. Since the rule seems to be "no party before sunset", the zabave in Sweden tend to be very late affairs during the warm season, not ending before 3 or 4 in the mornings⁶. First to arrive are families with small children, then the young girls, often together with

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their parents. For the Yugoslav girls of 15-16, the zabava are important since it provides them with opportunities to go out dancing under "safe" circumstances. Later in the evening the young married couples without children arrive, and last, often when the evening is about to reach its peak moment, the young men arrive. Often more women than men take part in the festivities; therefore the arrival of the young men is met with interest and enthusiasm. The big zabave count several hundred participants and the small around one hundred.

The ingredients of a zabava are music, dance, a little talking, drinking and eating. The non-verbal character of these events is underlined by the fact that the music is amplified to such an extent that talking is altogether impossible. Only in the short breaks and in the lobbies and toilets is it possible to exchange words. People often sing along with the musicians, but since the volume of the music is so high, you cannot hear anything, only see the lips moving.

The music.

There are few musicians in Stockholm At present only about 10, in 2 orchestras, operate in the area and there are only two more orchestras within 200 kilometers. Singers and musicians are therefore often imported from Yugoslavia to perform on one or two zabave. In the 1970's it was considered sufficient with a taperecorder and some cassettes, but today it will be impossible to attract an audience without live performances of well-known artists. Since there is a considerable competition among the associations, this leads to the development of an illegal market of brokers and managers, serving the associations with popular Yugoslav artists.

The orchestras consist of an accordeon, when possible a second accordeon, an electric guitar, an electric bass and drums. The zabava is directed and staged by the musicians, notably the band leader. The success of the evening lies entirely in his hands and he knows it. All the accordeonists boast their capacity to "read the audience", to understand what they want and need. There are no written programs, no planning in advance. The musicians play in sections of about 30 minutes, with short intermissions. The first section is always dedicated to well-known songs, songs that the audiences are likely to know. After one or two such sing-along sections, the orchestra plays an instrumental set of "kolo"-melodies, for about 10 minutes. Now everybody rushes to the dancefloor. After a short break, the dancing continues throughout the evening, sometimes with another section of songs in between.

The dance.

The first dances are always Kolo, Moravac, and a dance which is known as "Makedonija".. It is a rather slow dance in 7/8, which in Yugoslavia is known as Pravoto oro or Lesnoto oro. This is the only dance in which the traditional division between songs and instrumental dance melodies is broken. It is danced to popular melodies of the day, "Jugoslaviju" and the like. All other songs are sung, or listened to, while sitting and all dancing is done to instrumental melodies. Later in the evenings the orchestras continue to play also "vlasko kolo", a variation of "cacak", sometimes a polka and a waltz, and as the evening approaches its peak, the orchestras will raise the volume and play tunes in syncopated 4/4, with melodies in a semi-oriental style. The dance is called "Sota" and is the favourite dance of the young women, allowing them to display a very specific type of movements, which are considered to be feminine.

During a zabava not more than 5-6 different types of dances are danced. The most common is "Kolo" and "Moravac", which can be considered a close relative of the Kolo. Many also dance "Vlasko kolo" and "Cacak". These dances have been spread in Sweden in variants that differ from those danced in Yugoslavia. There are many different styles of dancing, from which you could discern at least two different female and male styles. However all the styles have a great deal in common, such as a rather stiff torso, the shoulders and arms relaxed, the upper part of the body leaning a little forward etc.

The very old traditional concept "kolovodja", i.e. danceleader, is still relevant in some respects. Not everyone will take up the dancing and not everyone is allowed to place himself in front of an already established kolo-line. Some middle-aged men, some women, especially former members of folklor groups, are more likely than others to be accepted as kolovodja. The concept "kec", "ace", a term traditionally referring to the last dancer in the line and the second in importance, seems to have lost its importance. Another traditional rule still strongly adhered to is "start the dancing when you wish, leave it when you may!" (Mladenovic 1980). This implies that the dancing is in important respects subordinated under the music and the musicians receive considerable power to organize and direct the emotional outlet of the evenings.

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Another type of dance and music, known as "commercial dancemusic", "modern dancemusic" or "disco" is sometimes introduced in one or two sections in the middle of the evenings. Then simple forms of foxtrot, onestep and "disco" are danced to the latest hit-songs from Western Europe and Yugoslavia.

When the evening reaches its climax, a process which takes from two to four hours, the music is stopped. Now the time has come for the lottery. Almost everybody have bought lotterytickets throughout the evening and now the lottery procedures are watched with the utmost interest. The first price is always a flight ticket to Yugoslavia and the second a ticket to Yugoslavia by bus. Other prices are valuable technical goods, videos, taperecorders and the like, goods conected to the modern world. It is tempting to interpret the lottery as a symbolic representation of the life the Yugoslavs live in Sweden: the peak moment of the exodus comes when you are able to return to the home country. The chances to win this first price in the lottery of life, is about the same as winning the flight ticket in the lottery of a zabava. The winners of the lottery are enthusiastically applauded, as are the winners in the lottery of life.

The zabava is an event that can be framed in many different ways, thus bearing different meanings at the same time. To be sure, one important function of these evenings is that boys meet girls. Yugoslavs tend to look for partners within the ethnic group, and since the total number of unmarried men and women is small in the Stockholm area, the zabave are the only place where Yugoslav boys can meet Yugoslav girls. But I would like to suggest that the most important aspect of a zabava is that it constitutes a finite province of meaning, an event where an intricate weave of menain is created by interlocking of all the senses. The evening has a definite smell, it looks, sounds and feels in such a way that it can be recognized as a reality in it self. In the creation of a structure of plausibility the dancing and music-making seems to be the most important elements. In a sense you could say that the Yugoslavs go out only to come home and that they go home from the events only to come out again, to the reality of everyday life (Berger & Luckman).

3d MOVEMENT

Theoretical discussion.

Throughout this paper I have used the words "dancing" and "music-making" instead of "dance" and "music". This is not a mere play with words, but implies an important shift of focus. It is the processes I am concerned with, therefore the concepts have to be processual. When reflecting over the semantic differences between the words "dance", "music" and their processual counterparts, it seems to me obvious that all the aspects of music and dance can be studied as music-making and dancing, but that the opposite is not the case. Simply put, I am not only studying the dance and music as such, but what is happening when music and dance is being made. This focus must be reflected in the terminology. The working hypothesis here is that the dancing and music-making of a given group of people expresses central beliefs, cognitions and experiences, and that non-verbal experiences about social relations, ethnic and social identity are communicated, provided and internalized while dancing and making-music⁷.

Central to the analysis are the concepts "sound" and "movement-gestalt". These are defined as the experienced totality of all parameters of music and dance, respectively, as they are perceived during a short period of time. Sound and movement-gestalt focuses upon the level of production of sounds and movements. The concept "sound" is borrowed from the language of popular music, where it is used much in the same way as here, meaning not the parameters of music which are time dependant, such as melodies, rhythms, harmonic progression etc, but how instruments are used and put together to create a distinct and easily recognizable musical whole (e.g. "the ABBA sound" "the Tamla-Motown sound").

Sound and movement-gestalt are theoretical and analytical tools that make it possible to study how music-making and dancing organize and structure social relations in space and time. To play music and to dance dances is to treat the the surrounding world in special ways, ways that are prestructured, ordered and given as something objectively existing, before and after those now living. To be able to create sounds that could be considered as "good music", movemnets that are recognized as "good dancing", is to understand and make use of many different values, cognitions and rules, which can be separated analytically into three different levels:

- 1) the level of performance of sounds and movements, in terms of timbre, nasality, volume etc. resp. energy, postures etc
- 2) The level of interaction: how the sounds and movements are put together, how space and time is used, how the different roles of a performance are used.
- 3) How music and dance is perceived of, the central values of a performance.

While the two first levels can be studied as objectively existing "out there", the third level has another ontological status, and must be abstracted by the analyst. With their three different levels, sound and movement-gestalt are parts of the symbolic universe of a given group of people. To be socialized into this universe, or "culture", is to internalize the ways of creating music and dance, knowledge of the type "I do" rather than "I can" (cf Merleau-Ponty 1974). When turning to sound and movement-gestalt instead of melodies and steps, it seems possible to uncover the basic principles and components of music-making and dancing of a given group of people. While melodies and steps change all the time, the ways of producing and perceiving sounds and movements seem to be much more stable, a kind of "longue durée" in the history of music and dance.

In another study, dealing with the changes of musical behaviour in Southeastern Europe, I found evidence suggesting that radical changes have taken place during the 19th and 20th centuries. These changes have affected all the three levels of sound, that is, one musical world has been confronted with and given way to another, which is radically contrasting in important respects (Petrovic 1963, 1968 give a short summary of these processes). Interestingly, while people in Yugoslavia perceive the material aspects of cultural change as a part of a continuum, the expressive behaviour is either "staro", old, or "novo", new, suggesting a perceivable borderline between two different ways of doing things (Dunin 1984:20).⁸

What I am suggesting as a hypothesis is that, through a revolutionary process of change, an older way of making, using and perceiving music has declined in favour of a new. I will call these the "world of the bagpipe" and "the world of the choir and orchestra". These labels are not chosen at random, rather I consider them to be summarizing symbols that, in the words of Sherry Ortner, "are seen as summing

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up, expressing, representing for the participants in an emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated way, what the system means to them. (...) They operate to compound and synthesize a complex system of ideas, to "summarize" them under a unitary form which, in an old-fashioned way, "stands for" the system as a whole" (1973:1339f).

The bagpipe is a symbol of the past, not only the musical past, but the life in a distant past as a whole. It is made from a goat or a sheep, it is primitive and "natural", it is even hairy and smelling. The bagpipe is central in the old world as a musical instrument and as a symbol of the peasants. It is central in the modern world as the only generally recognized instrument out of a whole group of instruments which were commonly used once, and as a symbol of the primitive, uncultivated and peasant-like life of the preceding generations. That is, most of the basic components of music-making, what I have called sound, are present in the construction of the bagpipe, the bagpipe music, where and when it was used and in the abstracted values of musical performances connected to the bagpipe.

The choirs and orchestras are central in the modern musical world. They are symbols of cultivation and civilization. They are located in a clean world, without the odors of animals, but with deodorants and soap. In this world planning and order are central concepts (Elias 1982). The music produced is considered to be the property of composers and conductors, they are the persons who symbolize the order and planning in advance, which makes the choirs and orchestras "highclass" and civilized. Here another set of basic components of music-making are present, in all the three different levels.

In the world of the bagpipes the music is thought of as a process with a specific location in time and place: The music is created by musicians playing at the same time, but each in his own musical niche, with a high degree of independence, since one of the central values is that the different parts of the music is not to blend. In the world of the choirs and orchestras music is thought of as objectively existing products, pieces of art, independent of time, place and sometimes even performers. The music is created, or rather, recreated, by musicians playing together to create a musical whole. One central value here is that the different parts are to blend into one colorful instrument, and this instrument is to be handled by particular qualified persons.

FINALE

Conclusion

In the lives of Yugoslavs in Stockholm dancing and music-making are central. The two types of events, folklor and zabava, are the most important explicitly ethnic activities of the Yugoslav community. Both these types of events must be interpreted against two different horizons: the present life, as labour-migrants in a new country, and the old life, as workers or peasants in Yugoslavia. Every folklor-performance, every zabava is staged against these two horizons of meaning simultaneously.

The folklor and the zabava are important as mediators of a common view of the history and the present, of sex-roles, age-roles, of the borders between Yugoslavs and non-Yugoslavs etc.

The zabava is a part of the "folk-culture", what Robert Redfield has called the "little tradition". The performances of music and dance during a zabava can be interpreted as restricted codes, which are simple and redundant and entirely non-verbal. They are oriented towards social relations, reduce individual differences and give prominence to collective feelings of group-belonging. They stress the present and the concrete, the "here and now".

The folklor is a part of the "great tradition" of Robert Redfields. The folklor could be considered as an elaborated code, which lends itself to the sending of symbolic messages. It is a complicated code, comprising both verbal and non-verbal elements, which must be learnt by formal training. The folklor stresses the absent and abstract, the "there and then" (Bernstein 1964).

The folklor is thought to be a faithful representation of the old life of the different nationalities in Yugoslavia. Through the folklor is expressed a wish to maintain the ties with the past. The zabava, on the contrary, is explicitly a part of the modern society, be it Swedish or Yugoslav. When analysing the ways in which things are being done during these events, the ways of producing music and dance, conceptualized as sound and movement-gestalt, it seems to me that a kind of symbolic inversion has taken place.

On the level of sound and movement-gestalt it is the zabava that is connected to the past, while the folklor is a part of the modern world. In the zabava, as in the world of the bagpipes, dancing and

music-making are conceived of as processes. The products of these processes are not really very important or interesting, and they are certainly not thought of as pieces of art that could be judged and measured outside the context of the event. In the folklor, as in the world of choirs and orchestras dances are danced, tunes are played. These are objectified, or reified, products, they are pieces of art and they are evaluated as such.⁹ While the dancing and music-making in the zabave are indeed very popular activities, they are considered to be "lowclassed", and treated with contempt and sometimes disgust by the intellectuals, administrators and politicians of the community. This "cultural elite" are the spokesmen for and bearers of a new way of producing musics and dances, more "civilized" and "high-classed". The folklor is the result of superimposing this new way of producing on the old, thereby recreating the past for the purposes of the present.

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1. In my research the concept "citizen" is of limited importance. It is true that the Yugoslavs in Sweden have remained Yugoslav citizens to a very high degree, but it is also true that not all those who consider themselves "Yugoslavs" are citizens of Yugoslavia.
2. According to the sociologist Raymond Breton (1970:60-62) three factors are relevant here: 1) The perceived cultural distance between the immigrants, the natives and the other immigrant groups. 2) The access to a sufficient number of specialists in the ethnic group: politicians, administrators, expressive specialists and so on. #) The total number of persons interacting in the ethnic institutions and whether they migrated individually or in groups under a short period or during a long span of years.
3. Other important institutions in Stockholm are the "Sveti Sava" Serbian-orthodox church, the Catholic church, several restaurants, a few public clubs. There are also Yugoslav newspapers, Tv-programs, radioprograms, a small publishing house, but the importance of these are rather limited. There are also some schools with Serbo-Croatian classes, but most of the Yugoslav children go to mixed classes and receive education in their mother tongue only a few ours a week.
4. The associations are a kind of umbrella organisations for all types of activities, much in the same way as the cultural organisations of schools, factories and the army in Yugoslavia, and in the same way as the religious institutions in USA serves as nucleouses for all kinds of specifically ethnic activities. The normal Swedish association on the other hand, is organized around one or two activities, therefore Swedes are likely to be members of many different associations, while Yugoslavs are members of only one or two.
5. One of the folk dance teachers in Stockholm was among the first to be employed in the state supported "Kolo"- ensemble of Beograd. She danced in this ensemble as for 22 years. Many of the younger folkdance leaders in Sweden have been her pupils.

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6. In Stockholm it will be dark from about 16.00 hours in midwinter, but not until 23.00 hours around midsummer.

7. Pierre Bourdieu has expressed the same idea beautifully in his Outline of a Theory of Practice: "Collective dancing or singing, particularly spectacular cases of the synchronization of the homogenous and the orchestration of the heterogenous, are everywhere predisposed to symbolize group integration and, by symbolizing it, to strengthen it." Quoted in Schierup 1984.

8. The same difference, between music in "old" and "new" style, is conceptualized in the terms for different types of music in many other languages too, e.g. Hungarian, Swedish, English.

9. For example at the big folklor contest for all the Yugoslav folklor groups in Sweden, held annually in september.

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