IRISH SCENE AND SOUND
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Identity, Authenticity and Transnationality among Young Musicians

Virva Basegmez

Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 57
2005
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Doctoral dissertation

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Cover design by Helen Åsman and Virva Basegmez
Cover photo by Virva Basegmez

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ISBN 91-7155-084-4

Printed by Elanders Gotab, Stockholm 2005

This book is distributed by
Almqvist & Wiksell International
P.O. Box 76 34
S-103 94 Stockholm
Sweden
E-mail: order@akademibokhandeln.se
To Tilda
and Murat
# CONTENTS

Acknowledgements  

1 **INTRODUCTION: SCENES IN THE SCENE**  
   Irish national identity: past and present dislocation  
   Anthropology of Ireland, rural and urban  
   Fields in the field  
   Media contexts, return visits and extended ethnography  
   The Celtic Tiger and the Irish international music industry  
   Outline of the chapters  

2 **GENRE, SOUND AND PATHWAYS**  
   Studies of popular music and some theoretical orientations  
   The concept of genre: flux, usage, context  
   Genre, style and canonisation  
   Music genres in Ireland  
       *Irish traditional music and its revival*  
       *Irish rock music and indies*  
       *Showbands, cover bands and tribute bands*  
       *Folk rock and Celtic music*  
       *Fusions, world music, modern dance music and the survival of traditional music*  
   Bricolage and the bringing down of musical categories  
   Talking about sounds, influences, meanings and moods  
   Musical pathways, worlds and genres  
   Familiar routes, networks of perspectives and culture  
   Individuality and contested pathways  
   Pathways in urban life and translocal music scenes  
   Changing pathways and biographies  
   Interaction or separation: mix or clique  
   Taste games in style and lifestyle  
   Age, generation, class and gender
3  MAKING THE MUSIC SCENE:
   DUBLIN AND GALWAY 91
   Scenes, places and identities 92
   Urban scenescape and soundscape 99
   Dublin's music scene: a springboard 104
   'There's a party going on' 110
   Galway's music scene: a playground 116
   Influential musicians and favourite pubs 128
   Spontaneous house sessions and experimental recording sessions 130
   Changing scene and sound 136

4  MUSIC PERFORMANCE:
   SESSIONS, GIGS AND AUDIENCES 141
   Performance studies and the politics of music scenes 141
   Uniqueness and repetition 146
   Pain and pleasure 148
   Flow, vibe and the evaluation of performance 150
   Getting sessions started 154
   Traditional sessions: informal, open and regular 156
   Staged traditional sessions 166
   Session culture: etiquette, egalitarian ethos and hierarchy 168
   Getting rock gigs 172
   Dublin - Original rock music in Eamonn Doran's 174
   Galway - Cover rock in King's Head 179
   Mix of music in Galway's Róisín Dubh 181
   Audience: regulars, tourists and fans 182
      Traditional music audiences: the local Irish and the tourists 182
      The crowd and different kinds of fans and regulars 185

5  NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS
   OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS 193
   The ideal image of Irish traditional music 199
   Irish traditional music of today - a living tradition 202
   Discourses between the 'purists' and the 'open-minded' 206
   Ireland as the authentic Other 211
   Commercialism, technology and authenticity 214
Discourses of authenticity: cover bands, original bands and world music 217
Emotional authenticity 221
National identity and Irishness 225
Contemporary musical discourses of Irishness 234
'Irish Ireland' versus 'global Ireland' 246
Paddy's Day: a celebration of Ireland's national day in a global way 251
Rehearsals and events leading up to the big parade 256

6 THE FIFTH PROVINCE:
   IRISH POPULAR MUSIC AND THE WORLD 264
The global and the local, centres and peripheries in the Irish music scene 269
Media, tourism, festivals: the marketing of Irishness in a global context 275
A new awareness of the dislocated Irish 278
The Irish diaspora, foreign and travelling musicians 281
Young traditional bands and Irish music abroad 289
Postcolonialism and multiculturalism 294
The fusion between DJ, Delos and De Jimbe 302
   Temple Bar Music Centre, 3 March 1997 303
   The ultimate fusion gig in Da Club 307
   Some afterthoughts: a temporary crossover 309
Transnational connections and craic 311
Conclusion - The making of a transnational popular Irish music scene 314

References 318

Index 338
Acknowledgements

First of all, I have to acknowledge all the musicians I met! This PhD thesis in social anthropology would not have been the same without the helpful informants and talkative interviewees I engaged with. The eloquent musicians and their analyses of life and work in Ireland have been very useful to me. They were often to the point. Whatever they thought of me, they will have a precious place in my heart. They gave me many moving stories about the Irish music scene. I should point out that I have kept the original names of the bands in the text, but changed most of the names of their members in order not to reveal individual identities. It has been important to maintain the names of the bands since they often illustrated characteristics of the music they played or certain features of the players' lifestyles.

Financially, I have mainly been supported by the Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN, Forskningsrådsnämnden), as a part of their programme 'Global processes from a European perspective'. I was also funded by the Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, and to some degree by John Söderberg's foundation. Both FRN and the Department of Social Anthropology have arranged inspiring seminars where I have had the opportunity to share my thoughts and analyses of my material.

This study would not have been possible to accomplish without my supervisor Helena Wulff and her enduring encouragement and engagement in my project. Her own interest in Ireland, Irish Studies and especially Irish dance has been invaluable throughout the whole process of analysing, writing up and finishing. I also want to express my gratitude to other people at the Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University: to Ulf Hannerz for being my supervisor in the beginning and for commenting on the manuscript towards the end, and to Gudrun Dahl for reading my first project outlines and for assisting me with some of the practical issues in turning the thesis into print. I am very grateful to friends and colleagues at the Department, such as Peter Frick, Eva-Maria Hardtmann, Hasse Huss, Marie Larsson, Åse Ottosson and Per Stählberg among others. Lena Holm was always helpful and took care of
the economic side of the project. Ann-Charlotte Krus took a kind interest in my work.

I would also like to thank the staff at the Department of Anthropology, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, especially for allowing me to read some undergraduate theses about Irish music and musicians, but also for welcoming me to participate in seminars there. In Dublin, personnel at the Irish Traditional Music Archive was very helpful and I appreciated the comprehensive collection of materials at the archive.

My thanks also to the IASPM (International Association for the Study of Popular Music) for arranging interesting conferences in Sydney, Oslo and Turku where I presented papers about my project. I have been an active member of NU (Nätverk för Ungdomskulturforskning), which is a Swedish national network for researchers studying youth culture. The friendship of colleagues in this interdisciplinary network has been as significant as the seminars and conferences have been important. Before starting my project I was inspired by a course arranged by Johan Fornäs at the Department of JMK (Journalism, Media and Communication), Stockholm University, called 'Popular Music in Media Studies'. The course and the subsequent seminars made me decide to go ahead with my study of the Irish music scene. Hillevi Ganetz, Göran Bolin and Hasse Huss were some of the participants in the popular music course and seminars at JMK. I also have to mention that I have been encouraged in particular to undertake this study by some musician friends in Sweden who thought that it was certainly better that a study of musicians was conducted by a non-musician rather than a musician!

I am also grateful to the Swedish-Irish Society for all the pleasant activities and parties they arranged. I have had a great time, especially at the annual St Patrick's Day parties in Stockholm. Thanks to everybody at the Swedish-Irish Society who have been helpful with advice, about the Irish music scene both in Ireland and in Sweden. Thanks also to the Irish Embassy in Stockholm for information about Ireland when I was first planning my fieldwork.

I very much appreciated the work of my English language editor, Margaret Cornell, in England. My gratitude goes also to Helen Åsman, in Stockholm, who assisted me with the layout of the book. She was also an artistic adviser for the cover of the book.

There are several friends I want to thank. ' Ankorna' (Annica Thomas, Annika Finn Nordlander and Kristina Björkegren) gave me much needed
breaks from my work; I certainly enjoyed all the good times - *craic* - with them in the Irish pubs in Stockholm. Tina Runa and Eva-Marie Dahl are great friends who helped me when things were not going too well. They also shared my good times. Thanks also to Niina Kallio in Dublin for her company in the music pubs and for drawing pictures for me. Karolina Nilheim is another good friend of mine, who visited me in Galway and even went along to my field there. Veronica and Heike in Galway certainly gave me unforgettable memories!

And, of course, my family has been patient and helped me to get through this time-consuming work. Special thoughts for my dear mother who never had the chance to see me finish this thesis. I should also mention that I have changed my surname recently, from Vainikainen to Basegmez. I was born with a Finnish surname but my married name is Turkish.

Stockholm 2005
Virva Basegmez
INTRODUCTION:
SCENES IN THE SCENE

Ireland has long been famous for its rich traditional music. Yet the recent global success of Irish pop, rock and traditional music has transformed the Irish music scene into a world centre attracting musicians, tourists, fans, and the music industry from both Ireland and abroad. This study offers a story of the life and work of young Irish musicians in the late 1990s. Through an ethnography of the Irish music scene, it discusses questions of identity, authenticity and transnationality in contemporary Ireland. Since it is mainly a study of urban music-making, Dublin and Galway are the central places. Even though there are translocal connections and musical links between them, these cities provide different local contexts for how young folk and popular musicians construct, maintain and change their individual and collective lifestyles, identities and musical genres.

The last forty years have witnessed a world-wide upsurge of interest in all forms of folk and popular music, accompanied by the expansion of the media and recording industry, all facilitated by improved communications and transport. In Ireland today the music scene is thriving all over the country, in rural as well as in urban contexts. It is especially busy in Dublin and Galway. Irish musicians are occupationally mobile both in their own country and internationally, and Irish music has in many respects a transnational audience. Not only Europe but also Japan, the US and Australia

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1 Dublin is a city with almost 1 million inhabitants and Galway is a smaller, but rapidly expanding city, growing from a population of 22,000 in 1960 to 57,000 in 1996 (census of population from Principal Statistics, 1996, Central Statistics Office, Dublin).
have recently experienced a greater interest in Irish music, in the many Irish-influenced pubs and concert halls as well as on TV and radio.  

Dublin has been labelled 'the city of 1000 rock bands'. There is, for example, U2 from Dublin, the globally renowned rock band, which has contributed to the city's rock aura. The 1991 movie *The Commitments*, based on Roddy Doyle's (1987) book, has also conferred international rock musical glory on Dublin. Furthermore, Ireland is internationally associated with a lively traditional music. Many tourists travel to the Galway area to listen to what they perceive to be an 'authentic' music scene, as well as to attend the city's music festivals. And, of course, probably the most successful thing that happened to Ireland and Irish traditional music during the 1990s was *Riverdance*, the Irish dance show, which had its origin in the 1994 Eurovision Song Contest (cf. O'Connor 1998; Wulff 2003 and in preparation). *Riverdance* accentuated this renewed interest in Irish traditional music by taking it all over the world. It seemed to be Ireland's turn during the 1990s to be discovered by the world, and the Irish people appeared to enjoy their position as 'world-beaters'.

There was also in the early and mid-1990s a controversial economic boom; Ireland became the so-called Celtic Tiger. Even though it was criticised, Irish people often argued that this led to the growth of a positive spirit, improved confidence and decreased emigration. The boom has recently been on the decline, but there is no doubt that the Irish tourist industry, the breweries, the pubs and the music industry have together turned Ireland into a valuable commodity on the world market. The impact of the Celtic Tiger probably led the Irish government and music industry representatives to invest more in music, since it tended to generate a lot of money. In late 1996, the FORTE report came out, prepared by representatives of the Irish music industry, with the aid of the Minister for Arts,

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2 Well-known Irish artists originate both from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, for example, the Chieftains, the Dubliners, Rory Gallagher, the Boomtown Rats and Bob Geldof, Van Morrison, Thin Lizzy and Phil Lynott, Gary Moore, Stiff Little Fingers, the Undertones, the Pogues, Chris de Burgh, the Waterboys, Clannad, U2, Sinéad O'Connor, Hothouse Flowers, Therapy, the Commitments, Enya, the Cranberries, the Corrs, Boyzone, Ash, Bwitched, Westlife, Altan, Sharon Shannon and of course Johnny Logan and all the other Eurovision Song Contest winners from Ireland.

Culture and the *Gaeltachts*.\(^4\) Even if Irish music is successful on the international market and brings in considerable export income, the report identifies certain deficiencies in the industry's way of promoting indigenous musical creativity.

Music-making in Ireland tends to flourish on its own, independently of an industry, organisation or formal education system. Most of the young musicians in my study told me that music-making was something they had to do in order to survive mentally and socially. Economic survival appeared to be a secondary consideration.\(^5\) My aim is, however, not to stereotype young people as unemployed, unskilled and more interested in music-making than the older generation. There are huge variations among the young, but my focus is on those who make music as amateurs, semi-professionals and/or professionals in the music scenes. For the Irish musicians, music-making may well be an integral aspect of what it means to be 'Irish'.

The lively music scene fascinated me when I first came to Ireland in the early 1990s, and I decided later on to direct my PhD research to that scene. Popular culture, youth culture and music are areas that had not received much attention in the Irish social sciences (see e.g. Curtin, Kelly and O'Dowd 1984; Curtin and Wilson 1989; Bell 1991; Gaetz 1993). This was peculiar in the light of Ireland's demography, with almost half the population under the age of 25.\(^6\) Richard Jenkins' (1983) and Desmond Bell's (1990) studies are still the prominent ethnographies carried out in Northern Ireland about young people. I studied the youth, however, not simply because of the officially recognised young population in Ireland or the lack of similar studies, but because of the vast presence of young people playing music.

Irish cultural life is thriving and has an international arena that should be taken note of in the social sciences: 'There is enormous life and vibrancy in

\(^4\) The *Gaeltachts* ('Gaelic entity') is the Irish name for those rural areas that are supposedly still Irish-speaking. Most are in the farther parts of the west of Ireland, such as in Co. Donegal, Co. Galway and the Aran Islands but also in parts of Co. Mayo, Co. Kerry and Co. Cork.

\(^5\) Sara Cohen (1991) also noticed this in her study in Liverpool, where full or part-time life as a rock musician was considered to give meaning, self-respect and a positive identity, perhaps more than it contributed to the musician's livelihood.

\(^6\) 1,543,000 of the total population of 3,526,000, according to the census of population in 1991 (see Central Statistics Office, 1995). In 1996, the Republic of Ireland's total population was 3,626,087, and there were 1,492,314 people under 25 years of age (see Central Statistics Office, 1996). Thus, the young profile of Ireland is decreasing, but the overall population is still very young.
the arts, publishing, in painting, in music. Irish actors go abroad and are acclaimed to a degree that has almost become a cliché' (Coogan, n.d.:9). The great popularity of Irish traditional music, inside and outside Ireland, among young people as well as adults and the elderly, is recognised as a major development in Irish social history (cf. Brown 1985). Bell (1991:88) has called for studies of Irish popular music: 'No substantial studies of popular music, its production, exchange and consumption, exist, despite the acknowledged importance of this cultural arena in Ireland today.' There are still not many in-depth ethnographies on the everyday life of the Irish popular music scene.7 Shannon Thornton (1999:45) wants to broaden Irish ethnomusicology and refers to Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin's (1981) claim that equating 'Irish music' with 'traditional' has involved a 'tribal' definition that marked an ethnic rather than a musical category. 'Irish music' should instead be defined as encompassing all creative music-making in Ireland.

When I arrived in Ireland in 1996, my first impression was of a turmoil of musical life; a lively music scene, many young people, different styles and genres from various parts of the world, and crossovers side by side with the traditions. There was complexity, creativity and flux in the Irish music scene. There appeared to be a 'healthy' crossing; various music genres were tried out, influencing and impacting on each other. One common argument was that this 'healthy' crossover environment contributed to the endurance of the lively music scene in Ireland. But below the surface, I sometimes noted controversies and debates, which challenged this ideal of harmony and interactions between musical genres and musicians.

As I have already indicated, it is the people behind the musical activities that have been my focus, rather than extensive musical analysis, which is less relevant for the questions with which I am concerned. I am interested in the meanings the musicians construct for themselves in the cultural context, rather than in the formal elements of music. I saw the musicians as 'actors and producers' (cf. Finnegan 1989; Stokes 1994a). In my description of genres and styles of music in Ireland, I have tried to follow, as much as possible, the musicians' own renderings.

It seems that most studies of musicians have been undertaken by people who are musicians themselves. This seems to be a necessary criterion for making a convincing study, in order to get to know musicians and to enter their musical worlds (cf. Thornton 1999). I am not a musician myself, and my stance is that analytical understanding does not necessarily come with

7 In general, ethnography tends to be lacking in popular music studies (see e.g. Cohen 1993).
playing music. I am a persistent music listener and I did find myself as a participant in various performances, most of the time as an active part of the audience. Moreover, the ability to be part of musical processes without always being at the centre of the participants' attention allowed me to enter and exit without disturbing the ongoing activities.

As I have said, the Irish music scene nowadays is very youthful. My informants were mainly between 18 and 30 years of age and they played different kinds of music: Irish traditional music, rock music, Celtic rock, fusion, world music, 'new and strange music', dance music (DJs), jazz and so on. Whatever they called their music, they fitted into the broader academic and commercial categories of either folk or popular music. A few older musicians were also interviewed and consulted about change over time and relations between younger and older musicians. The history of Irish traditional music and the change in the music scene are important topics of discussion for many older traditional musicians.

The fact that I was studying an Irish music scene did not mean that all my informants were of 'Irish' origin. I met many foreign musicians who came from different places around the world, from England, the US, Australia, Germany, Finland, France, Spain, Japan and Cuba. Many of these foreigners had moved to Ireland simply because of their love of Irish music, but also because they viewed Ireland as a good and creative place in which to be. These people were often interested in discussing their different experiences of Ireland and of 'Irishness'. During the 1990s many young people spent time in Ireland, and many in the Irish diaspora were thinking about moving back. This was when emigration started turning into immigration. Twenty years ago, young people did not always feel at home in Ireland, since their dreams, values and lifestyles were not appreciated there. Their elders were not thinking and talking about the same issues as the younger people. This view, among the young, of an insular, narrow Ireland has, however, changed into a view of a more open and progressive nation.

**Irish national identity: past and present dislocation**

In order to understand contemporary meanings of Irishness, we need to look at constructions of Irishness in a historical perspective. Irishness is not a static quality, but is redefined in different historical settings. From a historical perspective we can see how important nationalism and construc-
tions of national identity have been, and still are, in Ireland, but with varying implications. I mostly deal with the period after independence in 1921, and I have tried to keep the description as close as possible to what most Irish musicians knew about their history, what they thought was important and what they mostly talked about. Irish history or the myths of Irish history (including its uses and abuses) are seen as highly relevant in Ireland today. Irish history strongly affects contemporary events and actions (cf. Walker 1997).

The recurrent theme of dislocation appears to be central to Irish history and the development of national identity. The Irish seem to have experienced a kind of 'spiritual dislocation' in the past and a new 'dislocation' in the present, according to their history. Before independence in 1921, they were not allowed to be wholly Irish, because of the English suppression of Irish tradition and culture. Many English people ridiculed things Irish and it happened that Irish people participated in this view of themselves as inferior. Along with the colonisation of Ireland in the sixteenth century, the Irish were often viewed as 'uncivilised' and were coerced by the English. In the seventeenth century and during the Penal Laws, Irish Catholics were not allowed to practise their religion, to get an education or to own land. This treatment has contributed to the maintenance of Irish traditions, concealed from the English, but preserved as underground resources to retrieve if the opportunity appeared. The Gaelic League, founded in 1893, was one of the foremost institutions to advance nationalist ideals in Ireland. It initiated a Celtic revival and its aims were to 'reconstruct a Gaelic past, build a national identity, and keep the Irish language spoken in Ireland' (McCarthy 1999:72). To the Gaelic League, traditional music as practised in the idealised west of Ireland was an important part of the ideals of peasant community life, as was dance (see Wulff 2002). Singing in the Irish language (Gaelic) was especially valued for reviving the language (cf. McCarthy 1999).

In the aftermath of independence, postcolonial Ireland experienced an identity crisis, and a period of cultural protectionism began in which freedom became equated with cultural nationalism. Éamon de Valera, during his administration from 1932 to 1959, emphasised the rural, Catholic and

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8 See e.g. Kevin Collins (1990) about the cultural conquest of Ireland. Liz Curtis' (1996) book *Nothing but the Same Old Story: The Roots of Anti-Irish Racism* shows English misconceptions of the Irish in a historical perspective and how these have been conveyed by the media and agents in power.
Gaelic-speaking Ireland as a national ideal.\textsuperscript{9} It was an essentialist national identity that took shape (cf. Geertz 1975; Brown 1985; McCarthy 1990). The policy in the new nation state was deliberately intended to achieve cultural unity and homogeneity. Indigenous language, religion and a rural mentality were regarded as central components of Irish identity.

The west of Ireland and the Gaeltachts became the main ideal locus for the building of a national identity (cf. Brown 1985).\textsuperscript{10} This was a construction of the west 'as the bearer of the authentic quintessential Irish identity, encoded in a landscape different to the industrialised, modernised landscapes of contemporary Britain' (Whelan 1993:42). This idealistic image of the west was thus exclusive, initially élitist and created by an urban intelligentsia, but capable of appealing to the mass of the population which was not Protestant and/or unionist (cf. Graham 1997). The new Irish urban elite wanted to keep a rural and romantic image of Ireland because it was part of their perceived cultural ancestry, of their 'authentic Ireland', and a complete opposite to the more urban and industrial society of England. Here again, the Irish nation appeared to be an imagined community defined in contrast to the 'English Other'. Diarmuid Ó Giolláin (2000:78) has also described this urban creation of Irishness as located in the west of Ireland and in the Irish-speaking parts of the country: 'Those who idealised rural landscapes tended to be members of the urban middle class. The inhabitants of the countryside, the peasants, conversely saw the landscape in practical rather than aesthetic or "national" terms.' In reality, de Valera's idyllic rural west was also a world of poverty and mass emigration. The perceived homogeneity of the national narratives concealed diversities, such as regional inequalities in wealth and opportunity (cf. Graham 1997). Recently, local studies in historical revisionism have contributed to more heterogeneous images of Ireland.\textsuperscript{11}

The curriculum changes that were introduced in the schools after independence were especially inspired by the ideology of cultural nationalism (cf. Clancy 1986; McCarthy 1990, 1998, 1999). According to this ideology, schools ought to be the prime agents in the revival of Irish language and

\textsuperscript{9} Éamon de Valera was head of Government 1932-48, 1951-4 and 1957-9, and President of Ireland 1957-73. Sean Lemass took over in 1959 to 1966 as the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland (cf. The Department of Foreign Affairs 1995).

\textsuperscript{10} See also Curtin, Kelly and O'Dowd (1984), Gibbons (1984), Ó Drisceoil (1993), Whelan (1993), Graham (1997) and Johnson (1997) about nationalistic images of the west of Ireland.

\textsuperscript{11} See Silverman and Gulliver (1992), and Brady (1994).
Gaelic culture. All songs in the singing classes were to be Irish-language songs. A Catholic, Gaelic-speaking, rural-loving educational system was the ideal. Thus, after independence the Irish should be exclusively and uniformly Irish, a situation which in fact was unattainable and led to a new internal oppression that inhibited cultural creativity.\footnote{See Brown (1985) about the Catholic Church and its role in a nationalistic agenda excluding a lot of cultural creativity in Ireland after independence.} For example, John Waters (1994) argued that the rejection of everything English, together with everything else from outside, involved a denial of what the Irish were (see also Boyce 1991). This denial led to a form of dislocation in matters of Irishness. Much of the censorship in Ireland up to the 1960s was directed at 'foreign' popular cultural forms such as the cinema, comics, magazines, popular literature and even popular dance and music (cf. McLoone 1991). Everything the censors associated with Irish traditions was encouraged, whereas everything else was more or less prohibited. During this period, many 'cultural artists' (in literature, art and music) were denied doing anything that was inappropriate to the Irish image promoted by de Valera and the Catholic Church. One solution for artists was to move to another country and to continue with their creativity abroad.

In spite of this cultural protectionism, Irish traditional music was quite unpopular and suffered a low status as late as the 1950s. The twenty-six counties of the Irish State had been politically independent since 1921, but no substantial practical efforts were made to re-establish native Irish music until the post-World War II years. Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ) was launched in 1951 as an organisation for traditional musicians in Ireland. It managed to revive the music, which also received strong support from musicians and bands that enjoyed great popularity and appreciation in the 1960s and '70s, such as Seán Ó Riada, the Clancy Brothers, the Bothy Band, Planxty, the Chieftains and the Dubliners. However, these artists changed the traditional music slightly, making it more attractive to a broader audience. Seán Ó Riada made the music more respected as an art form, the Clancy Brothers focused on ballads, and the Bothy Band, Planxty and the Dubliners combined fast singing with lively music influenced by rock. The Chieftains, along with the other groups, introduced the possibility of creating bands, collectives of traditional musicians who played together on a more regular basis as in the rock music scene.

In the 1960s, de Valera's rural ideology was progressively replaced by a more urban-anchored ideology during the administration of Sean Lemass.
By joining the European Economic Community in 1973, Ireland was gradually transformed to approximate the ideal of a modern European state. Lemass promoted foreign investment and sustained what he regarded as economic progress. After the 1960s, a reorientation was experienced in the education system as well; it became more adjusted to the new economic needs of industrialisation, technology and internationalism. The decades since the 1960s have also seen a remarkable flowering of interest in traditional music among Irish youth (cf. Brown 1985). This interest must, of course, also be related to international developments in youth culture and the media. But significantly, narrow nationalist ideology became less important during these decades (see e.g. Breathnach 1977). Contemporary youth cultures were no longer perceived simply as threats to 'cultural traditions'. The Catholic Church continued, however, to guard Catholic morals and Irish tradition, claiming that youth cultures had no indigenous roots in Ireland. At least in the 1960s, youth cultures were thought of as foreign profane imports challenging Irish Catholic traditions. Bell (1990:216) found that:

In mid-1960s Dublin the Church tried to close down a number of the newer rock clubs which had emerged in the city as they had in Belfast. This move provoked a protest march of rock enthusiasts through the city in 1966 and from then rock music became identified with the youthful crusade against clericism and conservative nationalism.\(^{13}\)

Nevertheless, Ireland's musical image abroad was boosted during this period by both rock and traditional musicians. Essentialist formulations of Irishness were now under scrutiny from the external pressures of global trends (cf. McLoone 1991). Marie McCarthy (1990:445) noted the change in definitions of Irish identity in the 1960s:

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\(^{13}\) However, Bell (1990) points out that youth cultures in Northern Ireland have often supported traditional ethnic identities. But he also shows a very optimistic view of the potential of rock music to encourage non-sectarianism in Ulster.
The twin marks of Irish identity since the 1920s – Catholicism and the Irish language – were redefined in the 1960s and came to be subsumed under a more pluralistic and realistic definition of Irishness, one which responded to the heterogeneous nature of Irish society.  

In the late 1960s, musical artists began to experience the freedom and confidence necessary in order to do something different and new with traditional music. There was a revival of folk music, and fusions between traditional music and rock surfaced in the form of folk rock in such groups as Planxty and Horslips. In line with the folk rock spirit of the 1970s, the choice was no longer between a supposed internal or external culture. This music was in a way more representative of what it meant to be Irish, since most of the young people had already experienced the outside world and been influenced by different styles of music.

In particular, the 1990s have shown a movement away from cultural purism and national insularity towards cultural pluralism and global consciousness. Irishness turned out to be more open to innovation. Some purists in traditional music reacted against this tendency, fearing that Irishness would be subsumed in the globality. They wanted to retain some limitations on what traditional music ought to be and to preserve this sort of music, since it was important for their Irish identity. If traditional music in the past was kept alive as a resistance against English dominance, it was now preserved because of global dominance. On the other hand, we have all the young musicians who gladly wanted to embrace foreign influences. The cultural oppression of the past was probably in their minds, enticing them to be interested in everything new in order to enhance their creativity. They wanted to embrace the novelties, but still be Irish.

In the 1990s, the rural character of the old romantic images was very much questioned by the new urban elite, the so-called 'Dublin 4' (not necessarily restricted to the postal district from which its name derives). This designation is commonly used as a nickname for the Dublin intelligentsia, many of whom live in the prosperous residential areas of Ballsbridge and Donnybrook south of the city centre, where the RTÉ radio and television studios and the University College Dublin (UCD) campus are located. Waters (1991) and Ardagh (1995) have noted that 'Dublin 4' has been used to denote the 'modern, liberal élites' – those who shared Mary Robinson's

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views and were critical of *Fianna Fáil*, the Church and old-style nationalism.\(^{15}\) 'Dublin 4' people were often cosmopolitan, condemned 'rural Ireland' and wrote for the *Irish Times*. In the 1990s, according to the official ideology, everybody was going to be modern, urban and part of a progressive nation. At least, this led to new discourses about expanding the notion of being Irish, as Waters (1991, 1994) and many of my informants suggested.

Jim Mac Laughlin (1997a,c), however, an Irish researcher in political geography, has criticised this new hegemonic cosmopolitanism, and warned the Irish not to throw away their 'authenticity' as Irish in the global arena. For the Irish, the 'past' should still be important to maintain in the 'present', whatever that might mean. Incidentally, this was true for the purists in traditional music, as well as for the open-minded traditional musicians who wanted to keep in touch with their old traditions, although not as rigidly as the purists. Yet, Mac Laughlin has argued that the Irish State's notion of the nation is created more in accordance with ideas of modernisation, a capitalist economy and globalisation than on the basis of history and tradition. He noted that traditions were only valuable if they were able to generate money for the Irish State.

Ireland has definitely undergone social change during the last few decades and especially during the 1990s. Questions of Irish identity have certainly come to the fore, particularly in the Irish media and literature. Important ingredients in the construction of Irishness in the twentieth century have been Catholicism, rural Ireland, the Irish language, Irish sports, Irish traditional music and dance.\(^{16}\) However, the situation today is that religion has lost its footing among young people, rural Ireland is becoming more urban, and the promoters of the Irish language are struggling hard against the more popular English language among young people, and will probably lose the fight. But the playing of Irish traditional music has become quite trendy. Again, when the whole view of traditional music started to change in the 1970s, the music became more attractive to young people. Traditional music had an image problem earlier, since it was associated with 'boring' Gaelic classes in school. Young people had to listen to traditional

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\(^{15}\) *Fianna Fáil* ('Soldiers of Destiny') is a political party originally launched by de Valera in 1927, and hence strongly republican and nationalist in character (cf. Ardagh 1995:28).

\(^{16}\) Irish sports like hurling and Gaelic football have been important for Irish identity and are still quite popular. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in Ireland aims to encourage and regulate 'native' sports.
music in order to learn the Irish language, which made them regard it as something narrow, old-fashioned, Catholic and nationalistic. Simultaneously with the revival of traditional music in the 1970s, there were, paradoxically, the troubles in the North, which compelled some young traditional musicians to hide their instruments from their peers in order to avoid hassle. However, by the 1990s, this association of traditional music and nationalism had almost vanished. A young traditional musician from the band Delos in Dublin stressed that:

Nobody I know under 30 years of age who plays traditional music has that in their head. They don't think about that aspect of the background of Irish trad music or the background for Ireland. It would ruin the music. There are people who sing songs of the rebels of 1916 and that era, but the whole history around it is very bitter. We don't think about it and we should not think about it in that way. It only brings a violent aspect to it.

He emphasised that it was important to know the violent history, but to draw this into the music was damaging. Politics in the context of nationalism was particularly despised by many of the younger musicians I met in Ireland. They were not especially politically engaged, and were often opposed to the idea of using their position as musicians in a political and manipulative way. Moreover, politics is perceived as creating divisions and arguments amongst people, thereby diminishing the potential number of music listeners and buyers. One traditional singer told me that he did not sing rebel songs because the history behind them and the nationalism connected with them were very complicated issues that could not be appropriately incorporated in a song. According to him, rebel songs tended to provoke sectarianism, especially in the North, and led to a 'freak atmosphere of hate, stereotypes and misunderstandings'. Moreover, politics in Ireland was often surrounded by conceptions of nationalism and narrow-mindedness. One may be inclined to think of the Irish as especially interested in political questions because of their controversial history of conflicts and famines. But many are tired of the problems and just want to get on with their everyday lives and avoid political involvement. Interestingly enough, foreign musicians living in Ireland were often more engaged in the conflict in the North than the Irish-born musicians.

In rock music there was a general trend during the 1990s not to show any involvement in political issues. As an example, the members of the
rock band Therapy from Northern Ireland are known for their distance from everything political. They are tired of the conflict and the division between Catholics and Protestants and do not want to address this issue in their music or outside it. Coming from Belfast, they wanted to stress that music crosses all borders of gender, race, age, religion and politics. However, in distancing themselves from politics, from the situation in the North and from nationalism, they were in fact being political. Musicians who did not want to create divisions through their musical activities were making political statements, even if they did not see it in that way. Many who argued that Irish music belonged, and should belong, to everybody were, in fact, adopting political positions, even if they thought of their music as non-political (cf. Mac Póilín's point in McNamee 1992).  

The new openness in questions of Irishness also coincided with new political solutions for Northern Ireland at the end of the 1990s. The aim was to end the violence in the North and to bridge the sectarian divide. Even though the talk about a 'global Ireland' has not reached the North to the same degree, some of the changes in the South are inevitably affecting the North as well. There are tendencies to openness even in the North. Thus, the new definitions of Irishness in the South have implications for the sectarian divide in the North. The unionists' Otherness of Catholic republicanism is no longer as encompassing. As Brian Graham (1997:9) pointed out, 'the deconstruction of Irishness into a multicultural and multivocal diversity has many obvious – and as yet unaddressed – implications for unionists in Northern Ireland who have largely been content to define themselves in opposition to the Otherness of Catholic republicanism'. Graham argued that conceptualisations of a heterogeneous plurality of Irishness challenge the definition of Northern Ireland by what it is not, the Republican, Catholic Ireland, as well as the concept of the Republic as a homogeneous nation-state.

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17 Yet, young people tend to listen more to rock stars and what they say than to politicians. The international Live Aid gala in the 1980s was a good example of this. Sinéad O'Connor, Bob Geldof, U2, Van Morrison, Hothouse Flowers, the Pogues and Christy Moore are well-known musicians in Ireland who quite overtly have campaigned for their political views (see e.g. Denselow 1989). In Ireland this is also common in connection with various charity events for disabled, old or unemployed people, and musical performances often take place during these events.
One of the first ethnographic studies in Europe was carried out in Ireland by Conrad Arensberg in the 1930s. His fieldwork took place in the countryside in Co. Clare and in the small town of Ennis. Interestingly, James Fernandez (1988) has described the way that one place, which is part of a much larger area - whether a province, a region, or a nation - metaphorically represents the whole area. In Ireland, Co. Clare on the west coast, south of Galway, is one of the places where Irish traditional music finds its expressions of 'authenticity' as a national construction, despite its variations. Music emanating from Co. Clare is regarded as more authentic for the nation than perhaps music coming from urban Dublin. As an anthropologist in Ireland, I broke the standard pattern of anthropologists searching for Irishness in the rural west. I situated myself in urban settings where authenticity was not taken for granted, but discussed and debated. Such places were more interesting; where the old and new ways interacted, and where traditions and modernities were challenging each other. In these places the ideal images of authenticity were questioned and new ways of being authentic emerged, ways that were more attuned to the musicians' lifestyles in urban Ireland and that made sense in their current contexts.

Arensberg (1937; 1940 with Kimball) was a pioneer, since at that time anthropology was still focused on distant foreign societies (cf. Anderson 1973; Cole 1977; Cohen 1990). Up until the 1960s, anthropological studies in Europe were mainly confined to so-called marginal and peripheral societies, in the Mediterranean area and 'the Celtic fringe' consisting of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Brittany and Cornwall (cf. Silverman 1993). The latter was acceptable because of its perceived 'remoteness', although it may have come to appear more exotic through ethnographic attention (cf. Macdonald 1993). Other anthropologists have criticised Arensberg and Kimball's static and harmonious rural model and instead focused on change, and on what some of them have portrayed as a 'dying society' (see e.g. Messenger 1969; Brody 1973; Scheper-Hughes 1979).

18 Cf. Mart Bax (1976) on how Ireland's location has meant that the country has missed many influences from continental Europe. Adrian Peace (1989:91) famously argued that Ireland has been treated as an 'archaic' society, constructed by anthropologists as 'the category of the non-Western Other'.

19 Peace (1989:89) has looked at 'the influences which had led anthropologists to caricature Ireland as a dying society, a culture in demise, a social system characterized by pathogenic tendencies'. See Elizabeth Sheehan (1993) about how early American anthropologists have
"fringe' is no longer so peripheral, if it ever was. There are now a number of researchers who see Ireland as a West European country exposed to globalising processes much like other regions (see e.g. Wickham 1986; Conway 1989; Kockel and Ruane 1992; Keohane and Kuhling 2004). In my study, it was certainly not relevant to treat Ireland as peripheral; Irish music and its musicians are very central in the global world of folk and popular music.

I have not conducted a traditionally bounded 'community study'. Instead, I have tried to grasp interesting processes of change and conflict in urban places that turned out to be very much interconnected with other urban as well as rural places. I chose Dublin and Galway, since they are central places (both in Ireland and internationally) with lively music scenes, well connected to each other, but also to parts of a European and global Irish music scene. Movements between Dublin and Galway are quite common, which made it necessary to include both places in my fieldwork. Moreover, I have travelled around and visited various places in Ireland, which may be musically well-known in some ways, such as Cork, Killarney, Co. Clare, Sligo, Donegal, Letterkenny, Westport, Waterford, Tramore, Inishmore, Connemara, Ballina, Dingle Bay, Derry and Belfast. I noted that the sub-music scenes were connected with each other, which in fact made my research quite translocal, and not only multilocal (cf. Marcus 1995; Hannerz 1998). By following Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997:35), the focus has been on 'shifting locations' rather than 'bounded fields'. Anthropological knowledge has become a form of situated and strategic intervention. Because of recurrent interactions between different field sites, our fields can no longer be regarded as bounded entities. As George

misrepresented the Irish. Arensberg and Kimball's (1940) idyllic model of a rural 'stem family' has also been re-evaluated by other studies of Irish families, such as those by David Symes (1972), Damien Hannan (1982), David Fitzpatrick (1983) and Clair Wills (2001). There are other later studies of a changing Ireland, in anthropology as well as sociology (see e.g. Gibbon 1973; Clancy, Drudy, Lynch and O'Dowd 1986; Phádraig 1986; Curtin and Wilson 1989; Gulliver 1989; Tovey 1992; Silverman and Gulliver 1992; Curtin, Donnan and Wilson 1993; Ó Drisceoil 1993; Taylor 1995; Gibbons 1996; Mclean 2004).

20 There are not many anthropological studies of urban places in the Republic of Ireland, apart from a few studies in the cities of Limerick, Cork and Dublin (see e.g. Humphreys 1966; McKeown 1986; Komito 1989, 1993; Bennett 1984; Gmelch 1977, 1980, 1989; Varenne 1993; LeMaster 1993.) Most Irish urban ethnography emanates from Northern Ireland (see e.g. Feldman 1991; Aretxaga 1997; Jarman 1997; Lanclos 2003; Kelleher 2003). Life in towns and cities in Ireland occupies the everyday lives of the majority of the island's people. Thus, urban places should be studied in order to understand how Irish people actually live (cf. Curtin, Donnan and Wilson 1993).
Marcus (1995:97) has pointed out, 'empirically following the thread of cultural process itself impels the move toward multi-sited ethnography'.

My first seven months in the field were spent in Dublin and the remaining five months in Galway. This one-year field study ran from October 1996 to October 1997. (But since then I have made many return visits.) I was able to use my contacts in Dublin to get to know people in Galway, where the cultural competence I had acquired in Dublin was also useful. Thus, to do multi-sited fieldwork did not present any major problems for me. The Galway musicians appreciated the fact that I knew about the music scene in Dublin and had met some of their musical friends there. Furthermore, for me as a field researcher, attending various pub sessions and gigs was a good way to be introduced to the music scenes. I met regular musicians and locals, people in the pub who used to go to sessions for a good *craic*. *Craic* means having a good time in general, making jokes and drinking; during sessions or gigs it includes playing or listening to music.

I want to avoid a crude compartmentalisation into distinct urban and rural worlds. City and countryside must be seen in mutually dependent relationships, if either is to be adequately understood (cf. Leeds 1988; Tovey 1992; Curtin, Donnan and Wilson 1993; Waters 1991, 1997; Eagleton 1999; Peace 1997, 2001). The closeness between a rural and an urban Ireland is something that Irish people tend to stress. For example, even though traditional music is more often played in towns and cities than in the countryside, it still appears to hold on to a relaxing rural ethos and is often played at inclusive social occasions. However, people in Ireland often discuss the way the times are changing, between the rural and the urban. Like other Europeans, they possess all the new things: mobile phones, computers and the Internet. But it is as if the Irish do not want to wipe out their traditions in order to become modern, but to incorporate them into their new society.

**Fields in the field**

It is possible to find various kinds of musical lives and scenes in Dublin and Galway. There are interactions and conflicts taking place that are part of living music scenes and that contribute to intensified debates about authenticity, change, globalisation and national identities. Debates are
common between traditional and rock musicians, purist-minded and open-minded musicians, cover bands and original rock bands. My movements in the field led a few musicians to express their exclusionary views to me, such as that the various types of music and musicians were completely different, that they could not mix. They were different kinds of people with different ideas about creativity, originality and money. However, mainly the young musicians did not become particularly offended by what I was doing, since they were themselves moving between different 'musical pathways' in their everyday lives (cf. Finnegans 1989). Nevertheless, I was aiming for an ethnographic depth, even though I was moving around and carrying out multi-sited fieldwork or 'multi-locale ethnography' (Marcus and Fischer 1986; Clifford 1997; Wulff 2002). My fieldwork was not only multi-sited as between Dublin and Galway, it was also multi-sited within those places. There were fields in the field, or scenes in the scene.

My fieldwork in Dublin and Galway was based on participant observation, more or less informal interviews with key informants, and studies of performances. It involved being present when the musicians were rehearsing, recording and performing, as well as following them in their everyday activities outside the immediate musical contexts and in their meetings with fans, audiences and other music lovers. I have participated in traditional sessions in several pubs, studied live rock music in rock clubs and other venues, visited music festivals, observed music classes, studied musicians in studios and in their own homes, during music video plans, music parties and so on. The social contexts for the musicians' activities are, of course, very important to note. Where they play, with whom and why, have implications for their constructions of identity in the music scenes. Irish traditional music is often said to be inherently anti commercial/exploitative, but it has recently entered the music industry and the pub music scene in Irish cities as well as abroad. Thus, the new contexts for Irish traditional music - the music industry, pubs and cities - have to some degree replaced the familiar music-making in houses out in the countryside.

Importantly, as Andrew Bennett (1997) argues, pub performances as instances of socially accessible and small-scale music-making are common in many different genres of music.

Studies of different kinds of performances, in various contexts, have been important in my field research. I have attended both 'ordinary' and

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21 Cover bands are pop or rock groups playing versions of popular music composed by someone else.
'extraordinary' (cf. Malkki 1997) events in the music scenes. I not only focused on the everyday routines, but also on extraordinary events, such as festivals, spectacles and bigger events. In fact, some extraordinary events were very illuminating concerning contemporary issues in Ireland. Some of them recur every year, such as the St Patrick's Day parade, the Galway arts festival and *Fleadh Cheoil*.\(^{22}\) Musicians plan and rehearse for these events months or weeks in advance, so eventually they become more like ordinary events.

I limited my study to a smaller number of musicians, because I wanted to dig deeper into the analysis of their everyday lives. I made about seventy longer, tape-recorded interviews with musicians and other key people in the Irish music scene. Most of the interviews were conducted with only one musician present, but in particular rock bands preferred group interviews. It was often an occasion for them to get to know each other better, and to discuss controversies and perhaps some previously unrevealed aspects of their musical lives. The interviews were mostly carried out in places the musicians suggested, for example, in cafés, pubs or private homes. I have inserted quotes from the interviews in the text, firstly because I wanted to let their different voices, values and attitudes be highlighted and heard, secondly because my informants were often eloquent and to the point; they offered good conclusions and analyses. I have tried to preserve the informants' integrity and not to reveal identities in the text. Participant observation and extended informal interviews require a 'respectful encounter' between the researcher and the informants (cf. Dahl and Smedler 1993).

Many of the interviews were life history interviews. This I found useful in order to get a biographical view of change in the musicians' lives or musical pathways in the Irish music scene. The idea of pathways fits with a time perspective, including the past (how and why they started to play), the present (what they are doing in music now and why) and the future (what they want or would like to do). The interviews revealed information about how the musicians related to various genres and styles, and how they changed style and went from one style to another in individual ways or together with other people. They also revealed geographical pathways, where they had played, in what places, and how the places are connected with each other in musical matters, locally, nationally and transnationally.

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\(^{22}\) *Fleadh Cheoil*, literally means 'feast of music' in Irish, but is commonly used to refer to festivals and competitions of traditional music, arranged by CCÉ.
INTRODUCTION: SCENES IN THE SCENE

I followed some forty musicians more intensively in their musical activities and everyday lives. Other musicians, fans and music lovers have also been part of my study when I have been talking to people in pubs, venues, cafés, homes, parties, streets and parks. Others I have called key people in the music scene are music journalists, music teachers, people in music organisations, owners of recording studios, music agents, music instrument makers and other music scholars. The music organisations in Dublin that are included are CCÉ, Piper’s Club, Ronanstown’s Music Programme, the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Temple Bar Music Centre, Ormond Multimedia Centre, the Arts Council, the Contemporary Music Centre and Ballyfermot Rock School.

CCÉ started in Ireland, but now has branches all around the world, mostly catering for the Irish diaspora, in countries like the US, Canada, Britain, Australia, Japan, Italy, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Germany and Hungary. Its aims and objectives include the promotion of Irish music, song and dance, and the fostering of Irish 'culture' in general, with special emphasis on the Irish language. The association organises festivals, music classes, summer schools, competitions, recordings, tours and tourist shows with dance, music and song. Most of its music activities are directed at getting younger people interested in Irish traditional music as an alternative to new popular music. A whole range of services and activities are provided for young people. In its leaflet Eolas, published in 1993, CCÉ claims that these efforts represent one of the most successful youth movements in the world. Young musicians are considered very important for the survival of Irish traditional music in the future. However, not all of the younger musicians I met were especially happy about CCÉ's activities, such as the music competitions and their 'nationalistic' inclinations.23 One young man from Delos, a fast-playing traditional band, found that the concept of CCÉ was very backward in its use of one standard, developed in the 1950s, for all kinds of music-making in traditional music. His musical friends were generally not members of CCÉ because they all wanted to play in their own different ways. Another man from the same band said that he was against CCÉ's purism and that he wanted to play a living music that was changing all the time - 'I'm not an archaeologist, I'm a musician!'

23 Edward O. Henry's (1989) ethnomusicological study of CCÉ offers interesting views on its links with nationalism. CCÉ's competitions functioned as a medium for standardising national values and were also central to the transmission of music (cf. McCarthy 1999). Competitions may produce feelings of conformity, unity and nationalism, facilitating the transmission of a certain musical canon.
CCÉ's current direction is, however, familiar with Ireland's 'new' cosmopolitan character. In 1997, CCÉ's music director Séamus MacMathúna, at the headquarters in Belgrave Square, Dublin, was not at all worried about young musicians mixing styles, because, according to him, most of the innovators had traditional music as their first music before they took in new musical influences. Nevertheless, some musicians saw CCÉ's political, national and Catholic interests as a hindrance to developing a lively music scene and opening up the music to a broader audience. They believed that there would be even more variations in traditional music, and that the music would be more attractive to younger people, without CCÉ's involvement.

CCÉ and Piper's Club in Dublin are the two main music organisations in Ireland (and abroad) for Irish traditional musicians. Galway differs from Dublin in that there is not a great interest in various music organisations. Perhaps the need for music organisations (as well as others) is not as urgent in smaller (urban or rural) places. University College Galway (UCG) occasionally organises some kind of music collective. Galway had a Music Centre in 1995 and 1996, but it closed down, mainly because of financial problems and waning personal commitment (cf. Thornton 1999).

Media contexts, return visits and extended ethnography

Ruth Finnegan (1989) and Sara Cohen (1991, 1993) may be right when they criticise studies of popular music for having been mostly media-orientated, focused on well-known and professional musicians, and for not using ethnography.24 Interestingly, Sarah Thornton (1995), in her study of British club cultures, tried to bridge the gap between media studies and ethnography. In my study, music magazines, such as Irish Music (mainly about Irish traditional music), Hot Press (mainly about Irish pop and rock) and some local magazines in Dublin and Galway (such as In Dublin, Galway Advertiser, The Event Guide, The Horse's Mouth and The List) have illuminated current musical discussions. Many of the journalistic interviews with musicians in magazines reveal discussions about Irishness, tradition, change,

24 For example, the acclaimed studies by Simon Frith (1978, 1983, 1988b and 1996a) on the sociology of pop and rock, by Dick Hebdige (1979, 1987, 1988) on subcultural styles, identity and Caribbean music, and Timothy Taylor (1997) on global pop, world music and markets, may have contributed to these more mass media-focused and sociological examinations of music.
authenticity, and global contexts with marketing, promotions and tours. Apart from magazines informing about the various kinds of music, there is also an expanding popular literature about Irish traditional music, pop and rock. While I believe that we should not rely too much on journalistic studies, since there is a risk of somewhat superficial accounts, there are some journalists in Ireland who are very intellectual in an anthropological way, such as John Waters, a creative writer, playwright and columnist for the *Irish Times*, who became both an informant and a colleague.

Various media contexts have been important for me in order to keep in touch with the field and to be updated about what is happening in Ireland. This resembles what Hugh Gusterson (1997) called 'polymorphous engagement'. Consequently, the field has followed me to my home. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) argued that, in an interconnected world, we are never really 'out of the field'. We are reminded of it perhaps daily, in newspapers and other forms of media, such as TV and the Internet. My fieldwork has continued since 1997 when I finished the main part. I have kept in touch with some informants via letters, phone calls and e-mail. I have also made a few return visits to the island to meet with informants and friends, and to do follow-up interviews. In this way I have had a chance to keep up with what has happened to certain musicians, bands and music scenes. In fact, I have not regarded it as necessary to exit from the field, not completely at least. My fieldwork has not been the traditionally constructed 'liminal' period of access to a field, fieldwork, exiting the field and returning to 'real' life. Nevertheless, I did somehow exit the field in mid-October 1997, since I was probably not going to return to Ireland to live for a long period again. But I had become used to life in Ireland and had enjoyed it most of the time. It was quite painful to leave and there was a kind of 'departure scene' (cf. Wulff 2000a).

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26 Liisa Malkki (1997) regarded it as unnecessary to separate journalism and anthropology as completely different, seeing actual connections between them.

27 See also Helena Wulff (1998, 2000a) about the problems of exiting from the field.
The Celtic Tiger and the Irish international music industry

The term 'Celtic Tiger' was attached to the Irish economy on 31 August 1994, when the investment bank Morgan Stanley compared the economy to the East Asian 'tiger' economies (cf. O'Hearn 1997). The name 'Celtic Tiger' emerged because Ireland's rates of growth, in the 1990s, were sustained at levels close to those of the four 'Asian Tigers' - South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore (cf. Sweeney 1998). But Waters responded critically (1997:133) that 'there are no tigers in Ireland, other than in the zoo!' The economic miracle was a fiction, according to him (ibid:142), since 'it is estimated that there are now some 34 per cent of Irish people with incomes below the poverty line, an increase of about 12 per cent on a decade earlier'. The Celtic Tiger has apparently not led to an equal distribution of income and welfare. During my fieldwork, very few of my informants seemed to encounter the economic boom in their everyday lives. They were still low-paid workers, not profiting personally from the boom. Inflation was getting higher, prices were getting higher and in particular house prices were rising (see also Slater and Peillon 2000).

Yet, there was a kind of buzz, a vibrancy and commercialism in Ireland during the late 1990s. I noticed that Dublin's Temple Bar area and Galway City centre were rapidly becoming commercially viable cultural and economic centres. There may be multiplier effects in that if the multinational companies are doing well, then that success will be conveyed to other economic and cultural spheres in Ireland. The Irish tourist industry was also profiting, which led to the increase in the number of viable pubs and venues with live music. Moreover, there was supposed to be another kind of 'feel-good factor' in Ireland (cf. Sweeney 1998). There was a positive atmosphere, supporting young people in believing in themselves and in viewing music-making as a possible way of earning a living.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Celtic Tiger (whether it is a fiction or a reality, whether it has led to real economic growth for everybody or just for a few) is that, together with cultural successes, it boosted Irish self-confidence and contributed to a positive view of the future. Paul Sweeney (1998) argued also that the arts, culture and entertainment were not just growing industries, but that they could have multiplier effects in the overall economy as well. However, Raymond Deane (1997) was hesitant about the success, referring to the fact that the Irish were evaluating works of art on mercantile premises and on how others saw...
them, that is, on how commercially successful they were internationally. The arts are celebrated if they feed Irish self-esteem, provide jobs and attract tourists, all part of 'marketing hype' (cf. Deane 1997). This 'feel-good' aspect was repeatedly stressed. It could be an instance of proving one's abilities in front of the neighbouring country England or in front of the world around. There is probably a postcolonial angle involved. Deane (1997) argued that people who genuinely 'feel good' about themselves, people who are truly self-confident, have no need to keep reminding themselves of how universally beloved and admired they are.

Some critics of the Celtic Tiger argue that, when the English colonisers left, and the national agenda of de Valera failed, the global market took over the oppression (e.g. Ardagh 1995; Eagleton 1999; Mac Laughlin 1997a; Waters 1997; Deane 1997). On the other hand, this contested economic boom would not have been possible without the revisionism that moved away from narrow nationalistic ideas about uniting the Irish nation by only supporting rural Ireland, Catholicism and certain Irish traditions. After the 1960s, de Valera's rural ideals often became associated with backwardness. Critical voices in the music scene have also argued that in the global market a new kind of 'staged Irish' appeared, exemplified by staged sessions and cover bands in live music.28 This 'staged Irish' is an adaptation to the view tourists in general have of the Irish and Irish music, such as when musicians play tunes and songs in ways that suit the tourists' expectations. According to some critical musicians, this creates a 'false authenticity', without letting the audience know about it. The tourists think of the music as authentic when they listen, for example, to covers of Christy Moore or the Dubliners. Although my intention is not to criticise staged sessions and cover bands for being commercial phenomena adapted to tourists, I just want to engage here with the ongoing discourse and, hopefully, to nuance the debate. Moreover, despite the important role of cover bands in the popular music scene, musicologists and other scholars have not been inclined to study these kinds of reproductions of original music (cf. Bennett 1997). The canon of originality in music has been more persuasive for them.

There are probably more opportunities in the Irish music industry now. It has developed with more recording and rehearsal studios, more record

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28 I am not really talking about the same kind of 'staged Irishman' as Declan Kiberd (1996), which is more like an older English malicious portrait or stereotype of the 'theatre Irish' as a comic figure.
companies and better educational facilities, which in turn have been sustained by enhanced communications and media. All of the major international record labels, such as Warner, Sony, EMI and Virgin, have offices in Ireland. They all see Ireland as one of their major territories for distributing and promoting recordings. Major labels, such as Sony Music and Virgin/Atlantic, now promote even Irish traditional musicians (cf. Vallely 1997a). But most of the record companies in Ireland are so-called minor or independent labels. In 1984 the *Hot Press Yearbook* listed the recording studios in Ireland; they numbered just 26. In 1997, the figure topped the 100 mark for the first time (cf. *Hot Press Yearbook* 1998); in 2000, there were about 130 of them.

Again, there is no doubt that the tourist industry and the music industry, together with the expansion of Irish theme pubs in Europe, have used Irish music as a way of marketing themselves and, hence, have constructed Ireland as a commodity. One example in Dublin is Smithfield village on the North bank of the river Liffey - a £60 million hotel and tourism development with traditional music at its heart. In 1999, a new multimedia traditional music museum, called *Ceol*, was set up in Smithfield, offering the visitors an Irish music experience through an interactive music encounter. Another example of commercial interests in contemporary Irish popular music is 'The Hot Press Irish Music Hall of Fame', - an entertainment complex, located in the heart of Dublin, on Middle Abbey Street. Visitors are provided with an audio-visual tour through the history of Irish music, incorporating a film, an art venue, a restaurant, a bar and a merchandise store. It is, however, both educational and entertaining, and is designed as a permanent institution with the aim of continuing to record the creative and commercial successes of all kinds of Irish music, from traditional to hip-hop.

It is often argued that the Irish music industry is an international industry.29 Alex, a staff member of the Irish Music Rights Organisation (IMRO), pointed out that the music industry is one of the biggest industries in Ireland.30 She also said that Ireland is the fifth biggest provider of international hit music - a noteworthy achievement for such a small country.31 The Irish government has recently shown an interest in

29 The US is probably the biggest market for Irish music (cf. Caren 1997).
30 IMRO administers music rights in Ireland for its members - songwriters, composers and music publishers - and for members in similar organisations abroad.
31 The four other countries are the US, the UK, Australia - and Sweden!
supporting the popular music industry.\textsuperscript{32} It has become a part of the government's economic concerns, since popular music generates income and attracts tourists, as is certainly expressed in the title of the FORTE report \textit{Access all Areas: Irish Music an International Industry}. FORTE, the most prominent government report on the popular music industry, tried to identify barriers to the industry's development, and to recommend measures that could accelerate its expansion. Above all, it considered issues of employment, export potential, education and new technology. A viable music industry, according to FORTE, will be achieved through enhanced infrastructure and international marketing, but also through providing a creative educational environment for musicians. The contributors to the report recognised that Ireland's music industry was a valuable source for the tourist industry. It is clear that Irish music attracts tourists. Another study carried out in the Dingle area of Co. Kerry in 1991 revealed that 82 per cent of the tourists considered traditional Irish music and the delightfully titled 'singing pubs' as their preferred entertainment (cf. Simpson Xavier 1994).

Apart from the already established music organisations in Ireland, such as CCÉ and Piper's Club, various other organisations that promote music have emerged, such as Music Network, Music Base (now closed down), the Contemporary Music Centre, the Irish Traditional Music Archive, Temple Bar Music Centre and numerous music collectives.\textsuperscript{33} In fact, the music industry has become the most significant employer of all the so-called culture industries (cf. Kennedy 1997). There is also an expanding number of commercial companies and brands sponsoring Irish music both at home and abroad, such as Heineken, Guinness, Levi's, Drifter Bars, Coca Cola, Paddy, Allied Irish Banks, Murphy's, GPA, Bacardi, Wrangler, Smithwicks, etc. (cf. FORTE 1996). Guinness breweries are promoting music and sponsoring festivals and music events, such as the Cork Jazz festival, the Dublin Blues festival, the Temple Bar Fleadh, In The City Live and the Dublin Rock Trail together with the magazine \textit{Hot Press}. Heineken is

\textsuperscript{32} See for example, the Simpson Xavier report 1994; the Stokes report 1994; the PLANO report 1996; the FORTE report 1996; Clancy and Twomey 1997.

\textsuperscript{33} Music Base provided information about the music industry in Ireland. It was a consultative and advisory body, which aimed to assist Irish bands and musicians in becoming more knowledgeable about the music business. It also offered an 'Irish Music Employment Register', a database or directory containing lists of musicians, writers, composers, technicians, administrators and management people.
encouraging new talent, and sponsoring the *Hot Press Yearbook*, as well as various music events.34

There are also well-known people active in promoting the music scene, such as Dave Fanning from the radio channel 2FM and Paul McGuinness, the manager of U2, who confidently decided together with the band to base their operation in Ireland.35 This decision probably led to the improvement and development of the Irish music infrastructure, all inspired by U2's continuous success. In the popular music scene, U2's success has been pivotal in the way Irish rock music in general has become interesting for the world around, and has inspired other young people to become rock musicians. Catherine, the studio manager of Windmill Lane Studios in Dublin, agreed about U2's major impact on the music industry in Ireland: 'U2 have brought an amazing focus on Ireland and on the talents that emanate from Ireland. Musically they have put Ireland on the map.'36

Paradoxically perhaps, modern media, such as LPs, tapes, and CDs, and new technology such as synthesisers, video, multiple track recording, digital sound as well as the subsequent commodification and marketing of various types of music, have even contributed to a revival of traditional music. This has, however, created an unsettling crisis for certain ideologies concerning 'authenticity' and 'tradition', to which the *Crosbhealach an Cheoil* (the crossroads conference), for example, held at Temple Bar Music Centre, Dublin, in 1996, was a response. The music industry is sometimes accused of destroying the 'true' Irish traditional music. Traditional musicians entering the industry have to adapt to its requirements, which often means creating something new, fresh and exciting for a broader audience. The musicians may be urged to enter a crossover territory, because that tends to be more profitable for the music industry than so-called 'hard core' traditional music. Crossovers or fusions are thought of as beneficial in order to attract a broader audience. 'Everybody' is supposed to find something interesting in crossover music, since a bit of 'everything' is

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34 Music events, such as the Heineken Hot Press Rock Awards, Heineken Weekenders, Heineken Green Energy, Heineken Demo Marathons, Heineken Rollercoaster tours, Heineken Rhythm Guide, Heineken Rhythm Buses and Planet X (radio channel).

35 Dave Fanning started a rock programme in 1979 on RTÉ (Radio Telefís Éireann). He has supported and played music of 'unknown' Irish bands.

36 Windmill Lane Studios is well-known internationally among musicians and fans, since U2 recorded their albums there. Nowadays, the studio even attracts famous musicians from abroad who want to do their recordings in Dublin.
INTRODUCTION: SCENES IN THE SCENE

included in different musical styles. Deane (1997) critically discusses this Irish phenomenon of 'desperately seeking fusion' for not only being praised because the Irish want to be European or global or to have a modern identity, but also because there are economic benefits. Many listeners who are not very familiar with the 'hard core' of traditional music may find it too introverted and difficult to understand. This is something that the industry has figured out. Thus, if traditional musicians want to break through into a bigger music market, they more or less have to make changes in their music and face the same requirements as pop and rock artists are accustomed to.

There is mainly informal music education taking place in the music scene (cf. Herron 1985; Doyle 1997; O'Conor 1998; McCarthy 1999). Traditional musicians perceive it as more appropriate to learn to play traditional music in informal settings: to learn 'by ear' and not from 'written material'. However, the formal side of musical education improved during the 1990s. In Dublin there are many organisations arranging music classes, but private teachers are also easy to find. Besides learning how to create music, there are some courses in the music business in Ireland, for example, courses about how to become a band manager or how to get involved in record companies and similar issues. Such courses are held in Ballyfermot Senior College in Dublin. Thus, the courses train people who are going into the industry as well as those who are going to create music. Ballyfermot Senior College has also specialised in so-called 'career support for young musicians', by setting up *Ceoltoire* in 1996. This is an ESF-funded (European Social Fund) innovation in traditional music education and training, which aims to bring young traditional musicians or bands with 'good ability and potential' into the professional and international music market. This project has been open to all 'promising' young traditional musicians and singers, and some of my informants have been involved in it.

Nevertheless, we may wonder why many Irish artists are successful internationally. There seem to be several reasons; for example, the English language is an advantage and the close connection with large UK and US markets - a connection sustained in part by the existence of a large Irish diaspora in these major markets. Moreover, the international trend or fashion in all things Irish or Celtic has been important. But, to repeat, there

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37 According to Deane (1997), the Irish jazz musician, Louis Stewart, originally coined the phrase 'desperately seeking fusion'.
is both a thriving creativity and diversity in the Irish music scene, which have been useful in developing a successful music industry. The strong tradition of traditional music in Ireland has reverberated into other genres of music. There is now a broad range of diverse musical influences available, and a kind of open-mindedness that has inspired young people to explore various musical paths.

In this Introduction I have tried to present an overall picture of the development of the Irish music scene and industry. This has included a view of the various music organisations, the international and national aspects of Irish music and the debates surrounding the Celtic Tiger. I shall come back to it to discuss the popularity and transnationality of Irish music. But I shall mainly turn my attention to the musicians and the music scenes in the following chapters.

**Outline of the chapters**

The book is organised as follows. In Chapter 2, I discuss the development of studies in folk and popular music, and point out that studies of popular music are nevertheless lacking in the anthropology and ethnomusicology of Western societies. I also address the concept of *genre* by broadly referring to the genres of folk and popular music in order to include their various sub-genres. Primarily, this chapter looks at how such concepts are concretely constructed and used by various musicians. Moreover, a general description is presented of the music genres in Ireland, such as traditional music, folk music, folk rock, Celtic music, rock music, indie rock, showbands, cover bands, tribute bands, fusions, world music and modern dance music.

In Chapter 2, I also elaborate Finnegan's (1989) concept of *musical pathways*. The pathway concept is suitable for displaying the continued interactions between different musical genres and between various young musicians in a translocal and urban way of life. Consequently, musical pathways will be used to describe the different routes individual and collective musicians carve out in music, identities and lifestyles, across time and space in the continually changing music scenes.

In Chapter 3, I approach *Dublin and Galway* as central places for the Irish music scene both in Ireland and abroad. These cities are continually exposed to movements in the meetings between various travelling and more locally based musicians. Dublin and Galway are frequently compared and
contrasted with each other, in terms of identity and authenticity. They will be described as urban and as musical spaces where the musical activities are taking place in pubs, homes, rehearsal and recording studios, music organisations, music classes, at parties, in parades, on the streets and so on.

In Chapter 4, I discuss performances. In Ireland music takes place very much in a live music scene. By considering a few case studies, it becomes clear that the live music scene contains different performances for different audiences, depending on whether it is a cover band or an original rock band, a staged session or a more informal traditional session. Thus the audience of fans, regulars and tourists is an important part of the performance. Moreover, performances are often evaluated as either 'good' or 'bad'. There are also specific (and contested) rules that the participants in performances are required to follow. Change of performance situations will also be considered, as in the case of young traditional bands performing on stage for money and not always following the 'tradition'.

In Chapter 5, I deal with the concept of authenticity, and how it has been applied in anthropological analysis and in popular music studies. I shall describe how young musicians in Ireland conceptualise and construct authenticity, rather than attempting to define some 'objective' authenticity. A search for authenticity inevitably leads to the area of tradition, which turns out to be more or less invented and constantly changing. Dublin and Galway are often referred to in terms of authenticity among the musicians themselves. It is, however, noteworthy that cover rock bands and traditional musicians who do new things often present and legitimate their music-making in terms of authenticity.

I shall also discuss another central and recurrent theme in musical discourses among Irish musicians - Irishness. This is yet another common topic in the Irish media and among intellectuals in Ireland, not least as a reaction to the recent transnational interest in things Irish. There is a risk of essentialism of national Irish identities, but in the local Irish music scene Irishness is constructed and perceived in many different ways. For example, St Patrick's Day has become both a celebration of a national Irishness and of the recognition of Ireland as a multicultural society. The big St Patrick's Day parades that feature various musics of the world reflect a more inclusive definition of Irishness than used to be the case.

In Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, I come back to the issue of transnationality, since it is another central theme in the Irish popular music scene. It is evident when we consider the Irish economic boom, the tourist in-
dustry, the global Irish festivals and parades, and the issues of democracy, censorship, national identity and multiculturalism. There is a new kind of transnationality for Irish musicians, and many younger musicians are now able to earn their living from playing abroad. There are Irish pubs all over Europe and also in other parts of the world, with an interest in bringing over Irish musicians for sessions and gigs. The current globalisation has contributed to the popularity of Irish music and in the making of a popular Irish music scene, but globalisation has not completely directed its pathways.
GENRE, SOUND AND PATHWAYS

I begin this chapter by discussing the study of folk and popular music, and some theoretical orientations. The concepts of genre and style are addressed, but I shall mainly be pointing out the necessity of looking at how such concepts are used and constructed by the various musicians in question. Young musicians in Ireland often criticised musical categories; musical influences, sounds, meanings and moods were more important issues for them to talk about. A portrayal of the various types of Irish music will be offered, from traditional music and Celtic music to the new interest in world music and musical crossovers, which in fact has contributed to the survival of traditional music. Secondly, before going into the general and specific characteristics of music scenes and performances in Dublin and Galway, the issue of musical pathways has to be considered. Apart from the conceptual issue of pathways and its relation to genres and 'musical worlds', a closer look will be taken at the social and cultural life surrounding musicians and their individual developments of music styles and lifestyles according to age, gender and social background.

Studies of popular music and some theoretical orientations

The increased global interest in Western popular music has not received corresponding attention in the anthropology of music or in ethnographic studies (for a few exceptions, see, for example, Finnegan 1989; Cohen 1991; Bennett 1980 and Stokes 1994a,b). Finnegan (1989) and Cohen (1991) both noted that studies in the anthropology of music have shown a predilection for folk music. Ideological considerations have tended to restrict the areas of inquiry in the anthropology of music, and in other
Some studies have concentrated on attempts to preserve, collect and transcribe traditional musical cultures before they vanish. Cecil Sharp's collections of folk songs and folk music at the end of the nineteenth century 'were seen as springing from national or regional roots over the ages, remembered especially by the older people, and pertaining essentially to unlettered country folk' (Frith 1987b:66-7). This view among the collectors still tends to affect the conceptions of 'folk music'.

The urban music scenes have often been considered as not so authentic as the rural ones. In this context, popular music with its commercial associations was often regarded as a threat to the survival of the more 'authentic, rural, and unchanged' music. Ethnocentric notions have been prominent in ethnomusicology, as Bruno Nettl (1964:181) remarked in the 1960s: 'The nonauthentic material today usually bears the characteristic of Western cultivated or popular music, and thus music which shows no or few Western traits is assumed to be authentic.' Nettl was exceptional in criticising ethnomusicology for being narrow-minded because of its focus on non-Western music or to some extent on European 'folk cultures'. His 1978 book also presented the first studies of urban music cultures and an emerging urban ethnomusicology. Various cities in Iran, India, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mexico and the US were included in the contributors' studies of urban musical cultures, which interestingly show that cities are able to accommodate and put together various musical styles and genres. Urban studies also required that modern technology and the mass media were seen in relation to different music cultures. Krister Malm (1981) was among the first to widen music anthropology in his comparative studies of urban and rural music cultures in Tanzania, Tunisia, Sweden and Trinidad.

Studies in musicology, on the other hand, have mostly focused on classical music in Western societies, and that music has often been perceived to be qualitatively better than popular music. Musicological studies of classical music have also provided 'models' for analytical studies of musical elements in popular and folk musical genres. However, these models are now regarded as insufficient, because the musical structures differ in various genres and are not always suitable for the musical notations as developed in

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38 For a more exhaustive account of these orientations in scholarly approaches to music, see e.g. Nettl (1964, 1978), Merriam (1964), Ronström (1990), Guilbault (1991) and Middleton (1990).
Moreover, folk and popular music are often orally transmitted and not via written scores as in classical music.

The end of the 1970s marked, however, a beginning in terms of bridging the gap between the anthropology of music and the study of popular music, although mainly for non-Western contexts (cf. Nettl 1978; Malm 1981). Popular music has also been incorporated recently into the curriculum of various academic music studies. The International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) was created in 1981 to promote efforts to get popular music on to the academic agenda. Yet, influential studies of popular music have mostly been conducted by non-anthropologists, such as Frith (1978, 1983, 1988b, 1989 and 1996a), Middleton (1990), Wicke (1990), Roe (1990b), Shepherd (1991) and Negus (1992, 1996). These musicologists, sociologists and media researchers have accordingly studied 'music', rather than 'musicians' and their everyday activities. According to the IASPM's annual conferences and the orientations of some of the participants, there seems to be a recent upsurge in studies of popular music in the anthropology or ethnomusicology of Western societies.

Earlier divisions in the study of music have, however, lived on in current orientations. What the music researcher, Bruce Macleod (1979:15), remarked twenty-five years ago still appears to be relevant, although to a lesser degree: 'There seems to be a tacit understanding that the study of Western popular music is the sociologist's domain, whereas the ethnomusicologist studies all non-Western, folk and traditional musics and the musicologist treats Western art music.' This division has recently been questioned in, for example, Finnegan (1989) and Middleton (1990), as well as in the present study. The ethnomusicologist John Blacking (1977) was one of the first to recognise the need for a sociology of folk music in Ireland (see also White 1984). Different musics are all part of an interactive field of music, and should be equally important in whatever study of the meanings

39 T.W. Adorno, from the Frankfurt School, contributed one of the first theories about the sociology of popular music already in the 1930s and 40s. His studies were probably resounding in other musicology studies, because he was rather pessimistic and ethnocentric about popular music, whereas he was positive about classical music. According to Adorno, the industrial production of popular music led to standardised musical forms, standardised listener reactions and to a pseudo-individualisation. See e.g. Björnberg (1991), Manuel (1993) and Middleton (1990) for a more comprehensive account of Adorno's work.

40 See also Nettl (1985), Waterman (1990) and Manuel (1993). Waterman made an extensive study of Jùjù, a West African popular music, and Manuel studied the spread and impact of cassette technology in Indian popular music.
and practices of musicians. Richard Middleton's (1990:7) open-ended view is appropriate: 'Popular music (or whatever) can only be properly viewed within the context of the whole musical field, within which it is an active tendency; and this field, together with its internal relationships, is never still - it is always in movement.' Even Alan Merriam (1964) and Nettl (1964, 1978) critiqued static and geographically bounded studies of music cultures and stressed that musical change and interactions between musical styles were important to recognise.

**The concept of genre: flux, usage, context**

In a study of interactive music scenes it appears to be unavoidable to discuss the meaning of different music genres. Here, I shall refer to the genres 'folk music' and 'popular music' broadly to include all their various sub-genres. I agree with Bernard Broere (1989:102) who, in his study of music genres in South Colombia, argued that they 'are not labelled and distinguished from each other according to formal musical characteristics but in terms of use and context'. Malcolm Chapman (1994:43) similarly remarked about the category 'Celtic music': 'I have written as if "Celtic music" exists. It is a point of view, and one which many practitioners and listeners, folklorists and enthusiasts, accept without comment...Nevertheless...it is often much harder to defend the existence, on strictly musical grounds, of any such category.' It is accordingly not easy to separate folk music from popular music. There is no general agreement on precisely what is meant by these terms. Middleton (1990), Waterman (1990) and some other researchers in the field of popular music have tried to loosen up the definitions, to include folk music and art music in the concept of popular music.

Many of the musicians I met were connected through their music, playing together in sessions, special gigs, fusions and in St Patrick's Day parades. They played different kinds of music, such as traditional music, rock (original bands and cover bands), pop and Celtic music. Some were singer-songwriters, some made fusions and crossovers with, for example, Afro-Cuban drums and world music, some played what they called 'new and strange music', experimental music, modern dance music, such as DJs doing techno, jungle, house, drum 'n' bass, rap and so on. Thus, in the Irish music scene, different musicians might interact with each other (cf. O'Connor 1991). I often heard that Irish music had a distinct sound, which
was especially appropriate for mixing with other kinds of music, and that it made a good sound in crossovers. The importance of interaction and mixing would have been lost if I had restricted my study to only one music genre. Instead, I have been looking at how the musicians related to music genres, which was actually an issue they were very interested in discussing. Some of them played different kinds of music at the same time, were members of different bands or just enjoyed experimenting with music. Others were more restricted to one genre of music. My standpoint was to be as open as possible in matters of musical styles, in order to note change, and collaborations as well as controversies. Again, this is a study of musicians rather than of the music itself.

The musicians played in public, in pubs and during other social gatherings such as festivals and parties, but I have also followed musicians playing in homes, at rehearsals and in recording studios as well as on radio, television and records. Nevertheless, various kinds of folk and popular music play a greater part in Irish public social life than classical music has done. Probably, the state of classical music in Ireland is still affected by the efforts of the Gaelic League and the old Irish nationalists who repudiated such music in the late nineteenth century because of its association with the English occupation (cf. White 1998a,b). Classical music may still be regarded as something difficult to understand and mainly attractive to the upper classes. Yet, it may influence popular music, as well as folk music is renowned for influencing classical music, but I do not have many concrete examples of classical music influences in the Irish music scene of the late 1990s. However, Ó Súilleabháin (1998) argues that musicians, such as the blind itinerant harper Turlough O'Carolan (1670-1738), the traditional fiddler Tommie Potts (1912-88) and the composer Seán Ó Riada (1931-71) all shared an interest in the mixing of European classical music and Irish traditional music. My main argument is that the characteristic of popular music is the 'borrowing' of elements from various musical styles, and this appears to be especially relevant in the Irish popular music scene. Irish music is very much a mix of folk and popular music, and importantly, Irish traditional music is so popular today, mass mediated and commercialised, that it is probably more like a popular than a folk music.

The conceptions of 'popular music' have varied among music researchers and have often been unsatisfactory and ideologically diluted (cf. Birrer 1985; Middleton 1990). My point is that, instead of trying to define popular music in a definitive way, we should focus on studying how conceptualisa-
tions are used and made meaningful in the activities and discourses going on in music scenes (cf. McClary 1991). Following Michel Foucault (1969), discourse is not simply a matter of words. To analyse discourse is to show that to speak is to do something; it is a current practice. What is said has a meaning not only emanating from the words, but it also has to be interpreted in its context and in action. Discourse has a political dimension, since meanings are often contested and negotiated (cf. Milton 1993). This may be a process whereby some meanings acquire precedence over others.

Whereas this introduction to the musical genres in my study points to some descriptive accounts, the aim is not to view them as fixed entities with certain definable characteristics. The genres will be approached as part of a wide field of practices and meanings, and not as categorical properties. Genre rules are produced, systematised and changed in everyday social practice. Nevertheless, genre labelling is inescapable, and Frith (1996a) talks, for example, about genre categories that organise the sales process, the playing process and the listening process. Genre distinctions also serve ideological values, such as those concerning authenticity, tradition and modernity. Keith Negus (1992:66) noted that: 'Different genres of music have become associated with and signify different images, which in turn connote particular attitudes, values and beliefs. At the same time the visual images denote particular sounds.' Thus, different genres of music may develop different codes in dress, bodily posture and performance in a way that what you see is what you hear.

Genre labels and images may be helpful as a way of distinguishing between different music forms in the overall musical mixture. Yet, genre categories and their boundaries are, again, no longer as clear-cut, owing to increased contacts between the world's musical styles and increased crossovers. There is also a continued increase in genres and styles, since new types of music keep being created that have to be distinguished from each other for various reasons of organisation. For the practitioners, the principal genres of popular or folk music are too broad, including so many different sub-styles and sub-genres that they are rather meaningless or clumsy to use in everyday speech. I try to describe these minor styles in the major categories according to how they are labelled, used and made meaningful by the people who do the labelling. The point is that the ways the concepts are used perhaps say more about the people who make the conceptualisa-

\[41\] See also Paul Ricoeur (1981/1995) about contextualising the meanings of discourse.
tions than about the music itself. Thus, musical differences are ideological and are socially organised (cf. Blacking 1976).

To belong or not to belong to a specific 'genre' may be of importance for the young musician's identity and musical taste. The concept of 'genre' itself, however, often has a negative meaning for musicians, being associated with the music market's efforts to categorise music for commercial purposes. Musicians are not always interested in being categorised, even though they engage in discussions about musical influences (cf. Cohen 1991). Finnegans (1989:105) also noted that the general categories of rock and pop were very seldom used by the local musicians in Milton Keynes: 'What interested them was the particular form of music they themselves engaged in and its style.' Thus, when these musicians were going to describe themselves and their music, they preferred to use more specific terms like punk, heavy metal, soft rock, light rock, new wave and so on. In many cases, certain bands and musicians were acclaimed as influential, even if they did not want to adhere to certain musical genres. As I noted in my study, various 'popular' musicians wanted to make their 'own' music and not be restricted to certain genres or styles, which does appear to be a common value and characteristic of many 'creative' artists in general. The musicians in Ireland wanted to have as much as possible of the musical field of genres available for influences and to be able to change from one style to another without being accused of making inappropriate transgressions. The musical field was, however, not completely open, since some musical mixes were more common than others, and there were some disagreements. I shall come back to this.

Genre, style and canonisation

It is often more meaningful or relevant to talk about different styles than about genres. The Swedish sociologist, Erling Bjurström (1997) makes a distinction between genre, which is only collective, and style, which may be both collective and individual. He refers to Ricoeur's (1973/1977:146) definition of style as an individual configuration of a genre's overall rules. According to this, the genre generates the style of the individual's work. It is possible to talk about individual styles, but not individual genres. I would also add that one genre on its own does not necessarily generate individual styles. Instead, a style is often an individual 'bricolage' of one or more
genres (see below). The genres may also change, and it is the individual styles that contribute to changes in the genres' overall rules. The various individual styles make the boundaries of genres more floating, more possible to transcend and to change. Bjurström follows Michail Bachtin (1986) and Ricoeur in arguing that genres and styles should not be understood as completed products, but as in a continuous process of producing meaning. Consequently, it is not possible to fix and detect once and for all their structures and meanings. According to Bjurström, musical, verbal, visual, ritual or ceremonial elements of style also define and demarcate musical genres. In a Foucauldian (1969) sense, Bjurström puts forward that, like other cultural artefacts and symbolic expressions, popular music genres are included in the formation of a discourse, which both reflects and gives expression to power relations, and which classifies, defines and interprets them from different starting points. It should also be possible for popular music genres to challenge and change power relations. Thus, they are not completely determined by hegemonic power structures. As in my study, some musicians were more concerned about maintaining certain power relations, while others were more interested in questioning or experimenting with them, and yet others were trying to condemn and change them.

When discussing the concepts of genre and style it seems necessary to consider canonisation, which has to do with questions of evaluation, taste, distinction and aesthetics. I am not stressing absolute canons or trying to establish canons as related only to one kind of music, but, in line with Rob Drew, I prefer to focus on how canons are made - the processes, the conflicts and the pitfalls.\textsuperscript{42} Drew (1997:22) says that 'canon' is a slippery concept, which he defines as 'a collection of cultural objects that a society takes to be valuable and worth of lasting attention and influence'. This resembles, however, the idea of 'tradition', and may not pay enough attention to the formational side of canonisation and to the controversies involved in all kinds of evaluative work. It is problematic to use a strict and rigid definition of a canon, since it may connote the reification of an authoritative list of items (cf. Garofalo 1997). What is tasteful is often characterised as a canon, but even the tasteless may be canonised (by somebody else). Clearly, all kinds of music may be part of canonisation. It all depends on who the evaluator is, since taste is always relational and situational, even though there are taste hegemonies. In my work it has been important to analyse

\textsuperscript{42} Here, I refer to an article from 1997 in The Review of Popular Music, in which Rob Drew, William Echard and Reebee Garofalo discuss the canonisation of popular music.
the musicians' own canonisation, and all the controversies included in these activities. Despite the slippery nature of the concept of canons, I agree with William Echard (1997) that, as long as people keep making canons (explicitly or implicitly), we need to keep studying them. Everyday value-judgements are an integral part of musical experience.

**Music genres in Ireland**

*Irish traditional music and its revival*

The record producer, radio presenter and music writer PJ Curtis (1994) refers to the definition by the International Folk Music Council in his review of Irish traditional music, a definition that seems to be widely accepted and which highlights the distinction between traditional and folk music. According to this definition traditional music is:

A product of a musical tradition of a community or region which has evolved through a process of oral transmission. Simply put, traditional music and song is the music of the people played by the people and transmitted orally from one generation to the next. It can also be termed folk music, though there is now a very clear distinction between what is termed folk and traditional music. Folk can refer to ballads and contemporary songs, usually accompanied by guitar (ibid:8).

The distinction between traditional and folk music is specific to the Irish music scene. The musicians themselves commonly uphold it. Folk music has to do with what happened in the 1960s when ballad groups, such as the Clancy Brothers, started to sing Irish and international folksongs, which tended to be more commercially orientated and sometimes rather nationalistic in their lyrics. However, ballad groups do often use traditional instruments, such as fiddle, accordion and guitar combined with the singing. Essentially, ballad groups present music in a staged fashion for consumption, rather than as something shared in the circle of a session. The differences between traditional music and the ballad groups are no longer so manifest, with many traditional groups now performing on stages. Never-

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theless, folk musicians and traditional musicians seem to make up two different groups of people. The traditional, mostly instrumental music is more popular today and has developed a large community of young followers. Folk music, such as ballad groups, can be found in a few pubs, engaging mostly older people and perhaps some American tourists.

The fundamental characteristic of oral transmission in face-to-face contacts, the custom of passing on traditional music by mouth and by ear, not by written word or musical notation, has changed recently. Today, the media and recordings often transmit traditional music. Firstly, it is not only transmitted via live performances of other singers and players. Secondly, the 'original' communities no longer control traditional music. New local, national and transnational contexts are continuously created for and by Irish traditional music. This also means that regional styles are not as pronounced as before. People travel more and new communication systems make styles more merged. Places where the music was played in the past are no longer so isolated. Yet, now it is possible to hear recordings of distinctive regional styles, without having to travel to the different regions. These recordings are much appreciated, since some of the recorded regional styles are now seldom played in sessions. Today, traditional music is played in places that did not have much music forty years ago. Co. Clare and Co. Kerry are still prominent music places, but there are more players in Dublin and Galway, even though the music is found almost everywhere in the country. In Irish traditional music, variation and improvisation in performance are encouraged to a certain degree. Performance is about catching the music by ear together with other players in a creative atmosphere. The ideals are changing, however, since there are now more formal educational music classes, more professionalism, more media interventions, all of which may fix tunes, texts and styles, and work against individual versions and variants.

Irish traditional music consists of two broad musical fields - instrumental music and song. The instrumental music is often associated with dance music and includes reels, jigs, hornpipes, polkas, slides, highlands and sets. There is no total agreement about what a 'traditional Irish instrument' is. Some instruments are, however, more common in traditional music today, such as uilleann pipes, fiddle, flute, tin whistle, accordion, concertina, harp,
mandolin, banjo, guitar, bodhrán and other percussion instruments.44 String, wind and free-reed melody instruments, such as pipes, fiddles, flutes and boxes, tend to predominate in traditional music. But discussions continue among the musicians in my study about what is meant by the term 'traditional' (see Chapter 5). Clearly, 'tradition' is constantly changing, as is the rest of society. If musical family backgrounds and regional styles were important for holding on to traditions before the 1960s, recordings and the electronic media have partly replaced these aspects today when young people or new generations are often the innovators. The music seems to need this tension between tradition and innovation in order to flourish - an issue I shall come back to.

The song category of traditional music is mostly unaccompanied solo singing in Gaelic, called sean-nós (meaning old-style), or in English, although it is now possible to hear traditional singers with various accompaniments. Irish history is often reflected on in the songs. Singing and storytelling about current events were, however, more common in the nineteenth century before the introduction of new communications and media. Television, radio and magazines seem on the whole to have replaced the function of lyrics in traditional music. But there is a renewed interest in traditional singing, in both rural and urban places. The lyrics of the older songs may, however, be somewhat out-of-date for the new singers, who instead try to make new lyrics for old or new melodies or tunes, while still retaining a sort of traditional core.

In the late nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, Traveller musicians were important when it came to keeping traditional music alive.45 In the 1930s, the Sunday outdoor gatherings were strongly discouraged, mainly by the Church. The crossroads dances vanished and the house dances were also considered immoral.46 These changes affected

44 Uilleann pipes are bellows-blown bagpipes with chanter, three drones and keyed melody pipes. Bodhráns are small drums made from goatskin drawn over a wooden rim and played with a double-ended baton or with the hand, creating a very distinctive sound.
45 I am thinking of the indigenous Irish Travellers, although abroad travelling musicians have also been important for the development of Irish traditional music (see Chapter 6). In the 19th century, Irish emigrants took their music, dance and songs with them. In the US, the music was recorded in the early 20th century and then sent back to Ireland, thus influencing the styles of traditional music in Ireland. For example, the recordings of Michael Coleman and James Morrison in the US had a big impact on traditional music in Ireland. They were fiddle players from Co. Sligo who emigrated to America in the early 20th century and made influential recordings there during the interwar period (cf. O’Connor 1991).
46 'House' is the same as 'home', but the Irish tend to say 'house'.
the ability of Traveller musicians to perform their music and to pass on their skills. The need for musicians diminished during this period. The relationship between Irish musicians and the Catholic Church has often been problematic (see e.g. Wulff 2003 on dance, morality and the Catholic Church in Ireland). Bruce, an older traditional musician in Bray, told me:

Irish traditional music and religion have never really been great friends for hundreds of years. Religion came down on Irish music because they said it was doing damage; people going out and enjoying themselves and playing music and dancing...And priests used to go along and break up the dances at crossroads and sessions with big sticks...and pick out the people and send them home.

In the 1930s and '40s, the music was not played in pubs, but in houses and at various social functions, such as weddings and at harvest time. In the early 1950s, a few older traditional musicians noted that it was quite unpopular to play traditional music; these accomplished musicians therefore got together in reaction to this and created the organisation CCÉ. They wanted respect for the music and to pass on the music to the younger people who were growing up with new media and communications. A new extended network of musical contacts was established in the 1950s, and in four or five years it spread all over the country and the music received an enhanced respectability. CCÉ organised the first festival of Irish music, Fleadh Cheoil, in the summer of 1951 in Mullingar. This was a direct response to the perceived low ebb in the tides of traditional music. The aim of the Fleadh was to restore Irish traditional music at a time when popular music seemed to be taking over. The Fleadhs have become central for CCÉ, and take place on three levels: province, county and All-Ireland. Mainly, they organise music competitions on various instruments; both for solo acts and for bands. The best ones from the provincial competitions go on to the county and finally to the All-Ireland competitions. However, these competitions have become a controversial issue among young musicians, some of whom enjoy them and others are against them. The competitions may be an important social function at which people get together for a common goal, and children may get inspiration to continue to develop their playing. But they may also lead to unhealthy competition, low confidence and random rankings that risk destroying the music's social and enjoyable function (see also Wulff in preparation, on competitions in Irish dance).
CCÉ has set up smaller branches around the country, and has asked proficient players to give classes in musical instruments like the fiddle, accordion, concertina, flute, whistle and banjo. The educational side of CCÉ has been important for the growth of interest in traditional Irish music. Paradoxically, the more recent upsurge of interest in traditional music was in fact due to the new media interest and developments in television, radio and recordings as well as the increased mobility of people, products and ideas. Thus, CCÉ was not alone in its efforts behind the revival of traditional music, and CCÉ was perhaps unnecessarily worried about the media and popular music in their initial years. Seán Ó Riada is also one of those influential musicians who helped to restore the popularity of Irish music and to save it from extinction. He made Irish music more acceptable to a broader audience with his band Ceoltóirí Chualann, even though he thereby changed the direction of Irish traditional music somewhat. From the mid-1970s up to today, traditional music has more young players under 30 years of age than older players. The 1990s faced a revival of traditional music, which made it quite trendy to start playing it. There was also a revival in the 1970s, but it was different from the more recent one - centred around ballads, folk songs and rebel songs, with a wave of folk rock prominent.

Most of the young musicians in the traditional scene were not concerned about 'nationalism' in the same way as many of the older musicians. In the 1960s, traditional music had an image problem and was often associated with 'narrow' nationalism, Catholicism and conservatism. It was even occasionally perceived to be an anti-British and pro-IRA sort of music. Tim, in a young traditional band in Dublin, stressed this:

The biggest problem Irish music has had is an image problem. People would associate Irish music, not so much nowadays, but especially 20 or 30 years ago, with old people, a sort of conservatism, a sort of staged Irishness, which they didn't want to be part of. They didn't understand it, they saw it as 'diddeliai, diddeliai'.

In the 1970s the whole view of Irish music started to change, which made it more attractive to young people. New traditional groups like the Bothy Band and Planxty became very popular and made traditional music interesting to a broader audience. Young traditional musicians in the 1990s experienced a huge interest from the surrounding world and this global awareness has been more important than indulging in a 'restricted' view of
Irishness. 'Narrow' nationalism was not relevant for them, because they were interested in different musical ideas and influences and they realised that the various musics of the world are very much interconnected. They played traditional music primarily because they enjoyed the music in itself and the social life around it, rather than because of its possible attachment to exclusive nationalism. To be Irish in the late 1990s meant for many young musicians being a part of the world around them, and being 'open-minded' to what was going on in music in other parts of the world.

Irish rock music and indies
Rock music of the 1950s and '60s, emanating primarily from the UK and the US, had a big impact on the Irish music scene. In the early 1960s, a number of Irish beat groups, like Bluesville, were created. Apart from the popular showbands, they probably represented the first Irish rock groups.

Within rock music distinctions are made between opposition and mainstream, minor (indie) and major record companies, real and unreal music. Some rock musicians are opposed to the mass industry while others enjoy it and exploit its potential. What rock music consists of exactly is difficult to pin down, and, to repeat, it is not my aim to contribute to analyses of formal elements of music. When it comes to rock musical instruments, roughly the same basic arrangement prevails - lead guitar, bass guitar and drums - but these can be complemented by keyboards, synthesisers, wind instruments, etc. The vocalists and mainly the lead singers play an essential role in the rock musical sound. 'Rock' in this initial description embraces numerous sub-genres, such as pop, rock 'n' roll, hard rock, trad rock, progressive rock, punk, oi, post punk, indie rock, trash, speed and death metal.

Independent recording labels have made it possible for more bands to make recordings and to distribute them. These independent labels also experienced the upsurge of new bands taking on the path of playing rock music. The indie rock band Nirvana, from Seattle in the US, was an inspiration for young bands at the beginning of the 1990s. Negus (1992) has written about the indie industry; its origin, impact, spread and development. Indie music is supposed to be 'alternative' rather than 'mainstream', clinging on to an attitude of authenticity, creativity and non-commercialism, as well as being associated with a special kind of rock music or rock sound. The indies try to produce records as inexpensively as possible and with small projected sales. They are often critical of major labels for their alleged commercialism, manipulative tendencies and ad-
justments to standardised ideas about audience preferences in musical taste. But some of the indie music is actually promoted by major labels, and some of them turn out to be major items later on. The music may even become 'mainstream' in that it features strongly in the national and international charts (cf. Cohen 1997).

Thus, 'independent' tends to be a misnomer, and Negus talks instead of minor labels, and shows that major labels often buy up indie labels when they become successful. The minor labels are in a sort of symbiosis with the major labels. According to Negus, the major labels need the minor ones in order to find promising new acts; the minor labels function as a talent pool for the major ones. Moreover, the major labels do not have to take risks and invest a lot of money in new acts, before they are commercially successful and have made their name on an indie label. Thus, there is a web of major and minor companies. Peter Manuel (1993:22) argues in a similar way to Negus, and points out that the 'indies tend to be small companies catering to specialized markets, with which they are more in touch on a grassroots level than the majors are willing or able to be'.

The young Irish rock scene in the 1990s, in Dublin and to a lesser degree in Galway, was characterised as very indie in the style and sound of its music, in its production as well as in the attitudes of the musicians. Some rock bands wanted to stay indie in order to remain small, independent and authentic, whereas others were more involuntarily indie because they had not succeeded in getting a recording contract with a major label. The latter indie bands often preferred the major labels, because they thought these offered better economic rewards, marketing and promotion networks and greater security. Moreover, Dublin's indie rock scene was a suitable reservoir for major labels looking for promising new acts. Dublin also represented a 'springboard' for young musicians, partly because of the presence of big recording companies, such as EMI, Sony, Warner Music and so on in the city (see Chapter 3). In the late 1990s, the major labels did not follow the music scene in Galway, since that place mostly hosted cover rock bands.

Showbands, cover bands and tribute bands
The showband boom in Ireland began in the late 1950s and came to a halt in the early 1970s (cf. Power 1990). The contextual change from house parties in kitchens to huge dancehalls was due to urbanisation and the availability of cars. However, many young people cycled to the local dances
in the 1950s and '60s. The dancehalls embraced large audiences, which sustained the development of professional showbands. The showband boom turned into a large business involving a lot of people, at least on the local and national levels. The showbands of the 1960s were a sort of cover bands. The music was often country and western (which is still very popular among people in Ireland's rural areas) or covers of popular US and UK songs.

Like the showbands, the cover bands of the 1990s in Ireland were mainly there in order to entertain on stage, and to present lively performances. They were not successful on an international level, since they did not make original music and did not enter the recording-studio business of international distribution and marketing. Thus, they failed to establish an export market, and were sometimes accused of lacking originality and creativity. However, they were obviously good *craic* for young people including students, and in the 1990s for the expanding tourist industry.

There has also been an upsurge recently of tribute bands. These bands do their best to imitate and recreate the atmosphere, style and sound of the original bands they are impersonating, trying to sing and play like the original bands and even to talk, dress and move like them. The fans who never got to see the original bands, or maybe just want to relive the moment when they did see the real thing, may get what they remember or expect at a lower price. They do not have to travel long distances to huge arenas and spend a lot of money when they choose the tribute bands. Like the cover bands, the tribute bands can be good fun for partying people visiting local pubs. The attraction of tribute bands is, thus, their accessibility and sociability.\(^{47}\) It seems as if large numbers of people prefer to hear cover songs by bands they like, rather than risk going to a gig with an unknown indie band. Despite criticising them for being uncreative and unoriginal, many people want to hear live music that resembles what they hear when they put on a record at home. Some of the tribute bands are well-known, however, even abroad and go on tours. For example, those Irish and non-Irish tribute bands which do covers of famous groups, such as Abba, Pink Floyd and the Beatles, appear to have followings in different countries. Tribute bands were emerging in both Dublin and Galway, and some of them were actually playing in quite large arenas, like the Olympia in Dublin. In Galway, the Quay's pub almost solely featured tribute bands, such as those

\(^{47}\) See also Bennett (1997) and his study of a Pink Floyd tribute band in Newcastle upon Tyne in north-east England.
trying to be like Bob Marley, Tina Turner, Abba, Queen, Paul Weller and so on.

*Folk rock and Celtic music*

In many ways Irish rock music, perhaps like all rock music, is a combination of various types of folk music with more electrified guitars and typical rock sounds. Even though it is customary to distinguish rock music from folk rock, it may be possible to call Irish rock music a kind of folk rock. Nuala O'Connor (1991:121) describes this mixture in Irish rock music: 'The black tradition of blues singing and instrumentation, white folk song, and old-time country music was surfacing in popular music. Mixed up in the cocktail of rock 'n' roll it arrived in Ireland, and met an indigenous music culture of traditional music and ballad singing.' However, folk rock, as it is commonly referred to, was a popular genre in Ireland during the 1970s, in which characteristics from traditional music were combined with peculiarities from rock music.

Sweeney’s Men was a folk musical group that by the end of the 1960s probably took the first steps to incorporate more electrical instruments into folk music. At the beginning of the 1970s, a band called Horslips developed a variant of what has since been called 'Celtic rock'. Horslips was successful in mixing the Irish sound with 'global' rock 'n' roll. It was a symbol of the 'new' Ireland taking shape, in which the global met the local in Dublin. The popularity of Celtic rock led to a new interest among young people in both traditional music and fusions with traditional music as an ingredient. Many musicians stressed that this could work well if the players were familiar with traditional music and just put in a more rocky sound, but rock musicians without a deep knowledge of traditional music often did not succeed in making this mix. This is a common view, which June Skinner Sawyers (2000:3) also stressed in her book on Celtic music: 'In order to change the tradition, you must first be thoroughly a part of it; you must live and breathe it.'

Folk rock or Celtic rock was not especially popular in the 1990s. Most of the pubs in Dublin and Galway preferred traditional Irish music, original indie rock or cover bands. However, the Saw Doctors in Galway were making a kind of music that they sometimes labelled as 'trashditional'.

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48 Blues and jazz music probably also had a bigger following in Dublin and Galway in the late 1990s than folk rock had. For example, there was a well-visited Irish Blues Club on Aungier Street in Dublin, and Galway hosted different jazz sessions in pubs, especially on Sundays.
John, the drummer in the band, characterised their music as follows: 'We used to call it trashditional instead of traditional because it's heavier than traditional music...It's very hard to put a title on Saw Doctors music because it varies...Traditional music as well as Bruce Springsteen...or the Sex Pistols type of music.'

The label 'Celtic' tends to be used for marketing some Irish music, especially abroad in countries with interests in everything associated with 'Celticism'. Record companies and those marketing music may put the label 'Celtic music' on music from Ireland in order to reach a bigger international audience. Irish music is a part of the Celtic trend. But there is no consensus about the definitions of the concept. Skinner Sawyers (2000:4), a lecturer and journalist, broadly defines Celtic music as including 'both songs and music – traditional and contemporary – of the English-speaking Irish and Scots and their Celtic cousins as well as the Celtic-speaking Gaels and their Celtic cousins, whether in their native lands or in the broader Celtic diaspora'. In Ireland, the term Celtic is often used about music that has some kind of crossover or fusion with an Irish or Scottish ingredient. But on the whole, according to the traditional musicians, there is no point in describing Irish traditional music as Celtic music, since it already has its own label. Susan, a musician in Dublin, put it like this in an e-mail to me:

I think the word Celtic is just another marketing tool that means very little. I suppose it's handy when you want to include Irish, Scottish (and Breton?), but there isn't a type or style of music that is Celtic as such. What seems to happen very often is that it's used as a vague term for vague music, you know, all middle of the road but not sure where it's going. Sure the Celtic tribes travelled all over Europe.

The concept 'Celtic' was disliked by many of the musicians in my study. They saw it as a commercial strategy and a way of surfing on the trend of Celticism in order to attract consumers. However, it has become quite common to use labels such as Celtic fusions, Celtic magic, Celtic fog, Celtic passion and Celtic moods in advertisements of new recordings. Thus, the Celtic music marketers are supporting popularised versions of Irish music, selling it by attaching something magical and mystical to the product. Part of the message of the Celtic image is that by listening to Celtic music your life will be enriched with an Irish ambience or Celtic spirit.

Kila, from Dublin, is a band that may be described as Celtic by some media and marketing representatives. It may also be described as 'tribal'
and in line with the world music craze. Celtic music may well be an element in world music, and its popularity is partly due to Irish-Americans' search for an Irish identity. The manager in a recording studio in Galway explained to me:

The word Celtic is very misused at the moment for getting into the American market…but I think you are running on a very thin line of being tacky…You have to be careful when dealing with ethnic and original sounds and you stick them into the area of the metronome and the drum machine. And these types of rhythms are very human, having evolved for many years, and then you only slap them into a rock format or a four-four format.

Celtic music is also often marketed within the category of New Age music. There are even people making clear distinctions between what they label as Celtic music and what they label as Irish music. Celtic music is more attached to something magical, mysterious and spiritual than Irish traditional music. On the other hand, from a broader point of view, Irish traditional music can be included in the category of Celtic music. But most of the Irish traditional musicians would not call their music Celtic. It is far too much associated with a trend - New Age, bland music - and it is for people who are not Celtic themselves or who only have a marginal connection with 'Celtic people', whatever that means. There is no uniform sound that can be described as New Age or Celtic, although it is often accused of being computerised music without a true heart, such as synthetic panpipes doodling away in the background in health stores. There are many books, events and festivals that use the word Celtic in order to attract attention. Recently, the increased interest in harp instruments has become part of this Celtic revival. But the harp is very much on the periphery of Irish traditional music, since there are not that many people playing it in public. It is not really a suitable melody instrument for the Irish traditional music played in noisy pub sessions.

Again, Irish traditional musicians often thought of Celtic music as removed from authenticity, finding it sterile, synthesised, like crossover varieties of the music they were making. However, some foreign musicians in Ireland were interested in Celticism; for example, Pierre from France, who lived in Galway, moved to Ireland because of his Celtic interests and found that as an aspiring musician, he liked the way of life in Ireland.
Fusions, world music, modern dance music and the survival of traditional music

Some young musicians in Ireland were into making musical fusions or crossovers, but again they stressed the importance of having a good knowledge of the different musical styles they put together. A musical fusion could quickly become a musical confusion if things started to go wrong (cf. Ó Súilleabháin 1998). Thus, 'fusion' may be a negative word for some people who imagine musical genres being clumsily matched together or forced upon each other, as opposed to being put together with some sort of style and originality. The fusion lovers, however, may think of themselves as 'innovative' or 'ethnically challenging'. Some other musicians despised what they perceived to be a Celtic techno fusion, such as the sound of uilleann pipes and programmed rhythms, churning away in perfect disharmony.

The modern dance scene exploded during the 1990s in Ireland. As a consequence, some live bands were playing modern dance music in dance clubs. Jazz, fusions, techno, ambient, house, drum 'n' bass, jungle, traditional and rock were mixed together for the clubs. Even techno DJs were mixing with live musicians doing fusions with traditional music as well as other types of music. In the winter of 1997, I followed the ups and downs of a fusion project mixing different types of music for the modern dance stage (see Chapter 6). Fusions may be seen as a consequence of increased globalisation, and the fusion project in Dublin appropriately exemplified this.

DJs in modern dance music, such as techno, jungle or drum 'n' bass, often work like creative musicians today. They mix, experiment and create music for the moment at dance parties, or they make recordings. A DJ and sound engineer in Galway also pointed out that DJs in particular had to make connections between kinds of music from various places:

I think nowadays music is becoming more global. One bunch of people who have to think about that are DJs, because a lot of people have record collections of music from all over the world and they're fused together in the same mix of music from all over the world, especially as regards dancing.

The upsurge in modern dance music and DJs in nightclubs probably had consequences for live rock bands. Some original rock bands explained that it was not as easy to get gigs in the 1990s as it had been ten years earlier. In order to create a new interest among young people, some rock bands were
experimenting by incorporating modern dance music into their own music. The leading band in this respect is perhaps U2. Mixing with modern dance music tended to make the bands' music more attractive to a broader audience. Another prominent example of this is Afro Celt Sound System, which has also given Irish traditional music as well as African music more recognition. The members of this band come from Senegal, France, Belgium and Ireland. They blend West African and Irish music with techno, and are influencing other musicians to take the same path. As one traditional musician put it, when discussing Afro Celt Sound System: 'That's not an insult to different cultures to combine them.' Some traditional musicians were really interested in African music and declared that: 'Celtic music stems back from Africa.' They were able to see interconnections between that continent and their musical styles. African drums and djembes were quite popular among young musicians in Ireland. I often saw young people in Dublin and Galway carrying their djembes around, and occasionally sitting together with other drummers busking on the streets. Djembes were also used in some traditional pub sessions in Dublin.

The fact that some of my informants were playing world music was partly due to the larger number of available recordings, but also because musicians and bands travelled much more and created new influences and contacts. Most of the musicians in Ireland who were interested in world music had been searching and exploring the music themselves, and had not simply heard it on radio or seen it on television. This was the case when the bands I knew in Dublin, such as Yemanja and De Jimbe, were tracing out their musical paths by making crossovers between African, South American, Cuban, Egyptian, Balkan, Middle Eastern and Irish or Celtic music. Their music-making was part of their aspirations to broaden images of Irishness and to be open to what was going on in the music of other countries. The issue of why some of my informants played world music will be addressed later on, for example, in Chapter 5 about authenticity and Irishness, and in Chapter 6 about transnationality.

Taylor (1997), musicologist and musician, has discussed the new global interest in world music, asserting that it has also led to a new interest in traditional music from different countries. Accordingly, the trend of world music contributes to the survival of traditional music, although perhaps in

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49 Busking is a musical or artistic performance carried out on city streets and sidewalks mainly in order to get money from passers-by.
a different style and context, such as in fusions and on new markets. Thus, the trend of Western interest in world music has also contributed to a growing interest in Irish traditional music. Taylor (1997:3) notes that 'world music has become an umbrella category for the musics of the world that are folk and/or traditional'. Listeners or consumers of music tend to want to hear new sounds, new music, which partly explains the popularity of world music.

The popular term 'world music' emerged from a 1987 meeting of eleven independent record labels that decided that it was a definable and viable style category (cf. Frith 1996a). Thus, world music was from the beginning an industry-sponsored term. Today, however, it is more widespread in its use. Before the late 1980s, world music also had an academic meaning in ethnomusicology referring only to non-Western musics (see, for example, Nettl 1985). Recently, it has also been used to refer to non-Western music in contact with Western music and/or technology. Mass-produced world music has undoubtedly affected the musical lives of cultures around the world.50 Steven Feld (1991:134) has said that world music is now most commonly positioned as a commercial marketing label for 'music of non-Western origin and circulation, as well as to all musics of dominated ethnic minorities within the Western world; music of the world to be sold around the world'. Apart from the commercial development of styles like reggae, blues, zydeco and salsa, Feld includes musics from places like Ireland and Bulgaria. Irish traditional music may be included in world music categories, but this is most common in countries outside Ireland, and moreover, Irish music is in that case often (not always) mixed with other folk musics. Here again we see the problem of musical categorisation that the music industry is concerned about. Irish traditional music is quite often labelled as world music in record shops when it leaves Ireland, whereas it still has its own shelves under 'Irish Music' in Ireland.

Negus (1996) noted that world music is variously judged. There are judgements 'divided between those who celebrate it as an indication of new forms of "global culture" and those who argue that this is yet more of the same imperialist exploitation' (ibid:175). However, in general world musics made in Ireland, by the musicians I met, can hardly be judged as part of imperialist exploitation, owing to the fact that Ireland is still recognised as

50 See Wallis and Malm (1984, 1990) as well as Ingemar Grandin (1989) regarding these global processes of change. See also Veit Erlmann (1993), Reebee Garofalo (1993) and Jocelyne Guilbault (1993) for some more recent theoretical accounts of world music studies.
one of the countries that have suffered from imperialism and colonialism. In a way, the world musicians in Ireland are in a different position from, for example, white middle-class people making the same music in England. It is accepted more as a celebration and a harmless experiment when Irish musicians make world music than when white middle-class young people from other Western countries make that kind of music. Moreover, most of the time, Irish musicians use their own traditional music in the crossovers. Irish music may be a part of world music, but the outcome is not as controversial as when musicians from other countries are making world music that does not originate from their 'own' folk music.

The young musicians in Ireland were celebrating different musics; even though commercial interests were involved, they tended to stress the artistic side, and the importance of showing that the Irish were a part of the rest of the world just like any other people. There are, of course, specific historical reasons at stake in view of Ireland's relations with England. The young musicians who wanted to be 'open-minded' often tried to extend current images of Irishness, for example by letting Irish music fuse with world musics from other countries. The interest in world music may also be interpreted as a way of showing one's respect for other traditional musics of the world.

Yet, as with the instance of Celtic music, the musicians in my study were somewhat doubtful about using the label world music. Eric, an experimental musician in Galway, was sceptical about world music and musical categories:

World music is a marketing category invented by the companies so that they can have sections in record shops for selling it. I don't think it has a meaning. All music is world music. Ha, ha. It's an artificial marketing category, it doesn't have a meaning for me...All pop is world music. African rhythms, bluegrass styles and pure technology beats and Islamic singing, you can find all of those simultaneously in a dance track these days...As a category it cuts out music, it's less world music. I hate musical categories. It's always, always an industry invention.
CHAPTER 2

Bricolage and the bringing down of musical categories

The 1990s brought down many musical barriers in Ireland and elsewhere. Musical experimentation and crossovers were themes very often discussed in the Irish media during my fieldwork. The media sometimes seemed to be more engaged in discussing these changes than the musicians themselves. Magazines like *Irish Music* and *Hot Press* often mentioned musical categories and where the various bands and musicians did and did not fit in. The magazines addressed discourses that they thought were going on between 'purists' and 'open-minded' musicians (see Chapter 5). The terms 'purists' and 'open-minded' are not my own categorisations of musicians, but emanate from the practitioners themselves; they are so-called folk models. Folk models are 'thought models', and thus in line with 'what people say and think'. These dichotomizations may, however, appear as too exclusive, when people are ambivalent about them. In reality it is difficult to put people into certain categories in line with their folk models, since they never follow and live in complete accordance with them. Of course, some do follow them more than others, since it is possible to be more or less of a purist or open-minded. Besides, folk models may be followed in different ways. It is possible to stress some kind of purism, but at the same time be open-minded on other issues. The folk models do, however, stress what is recognised or regarded as important by the people in question, even if they do not always follow the rules of purism or open-mindedness.

The meaning of 'tradition' was also scrutinised in the media, together with the ongoing changes when it came to new incorporations of instruments and styles. Musicians sometimes objected to descriptions of controversies in the music scene, and stressed that they were media creations. They wanted to point out that relations between all kinds of musicians were good, between young and old, rural and urban, and between different musical styles and genres. In their view, the media and the music industry had a vested interest in categorising music and musicians, and thus stressing differences rather than similarities, all in order to facilitate the sale of music. The media were accused of creating certain identities, with clear

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51 The term 'innovators' was also used as an opposite to 'purists'. The term 'open-minded' is broader, because not all of the open-minded musicians were making substantial innovations, but were often interested in making them in the future or were simply interested in different kinds of music.
characteristics that were assumed to differ from other musical identities, so that fans, audiences and music buyers were able to identify with them.

Musicians tended to talk about the whole music industry as being restrictive and obsessed with categorisation. The fact that many bands did not really care about categorisation might present difficulties for the music industry. Bands wanted to have the possibility of drawing influences from across the broad field of music, such as folk, trad, pop, world and dance musics. Yet, the music industry was striving to find new categories all the time, and recently, even to celebrate fusions and crossovers.

For example, Simone, a French musician in Galway, made what she called 'new, strange music' with the help of a hammer dulcimer and her voice. She was opposed to thinking in categories, because she held the view that people should be open-minded and that music should be for everybody. In fact, most musicians do not work in one category only. Van Morrison, from Belfast, is one of the mega famous Irish musicians, well-known for his mixture of Celtic, folk, blues, rock, jazz and classical forms of music. Van Morrison's music cannot be easily categorised; nor can that of many other musicians who want to be regarded as creative artists. Arthur, a guitarist in Galway, told me: 'I don't call myself a rock musician, but a guitar player, because that leaves the horizon open.' He is another example of those don't-categorise-me's.

It is possible to detect the spirit of the times in musical mixtures, particularly since the Irish have experienced rather rapid social and cultural changes recently. Tradition and modernity are often fused together and represent sources for both individual and collective identities. The various musical styles and genres that are combined may represent a kind of bricolage, since musicians draw on available resources, reshape them into new syntheses, re-evaluate them, and then start all over again. Musicians build musics day by day, by following strategies and adapting to changes. Bricolage in this sense does not necessarily mean something very challenging and remarkable. It even concerns traditional music when it is being attuned to contemporary realities, at least in terms of a 'living tradition'. Perhaps the concept of bricolage tends to accentuate uncontrolled activity, or that things are put together randomly. But there are restrictions, since the music

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52 The concept of bricolage as developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1983) draws attention to this reorganisation of objects, signs and styles, taken from one context to another where they are given new meanings. Hebdige (1979) is well-known for using the concept of bricolage in the analysis of subcultural style. Iain Chambers (1985) also describes how 'black' and 'white' musics have influenced each other.
has to be attuned to the musicians' everyday life and preferences in musical pathways, which is something I shall come back to.

Bricolage is about various kinds of mixing – intermingling, combining, fusion and crossover - similar to the ideas of hybridity and creolisation. But the idea of hybridity tends to give an image of two 'naturally' different styles mixed together to form something 'unnatural'. Writing about creolisation, Ulf Hannerz (1996:67) emphasises, however, that formerly separate cultural currents have not in themselves been 'pure', 'homogeneous' or 'bounded'. There was already creolisation earlier, but that creolisation is increasing in a more globalised world. In my view, bricolage refers to the meeting and mixing of meanings from disparate sources, but not from pure sources, since all sources are already mixed. Bricolage is now happening at an accelerating pace, due to increased interconnections and traffics amongst cultures. Renate Rosaldo (1995) argues that the confused essentialism in discourses of hybridity or creolisation, and the 'original purity' position, may be countered with the notion of hybridity all the way down. Similarly, I would say that there is 'bricolage all the way down'. But this is an analytical standpoint, which does not always correspond to indigenous discourse. Importantly, all musics are mixed, but musicians are sometimes questioned in terms of authenticity when they make musical crossovers. And sometimes they are valued for musical creativity - for contributing to the repertoire of popular music. Thus, we have to consider the conditions of mixing, and the frameworks and paths that restrict possible mixing.

This discussion of bricolage and crossovers inevitably leads us to consider the units which are bricolaged or crossed over. When we want to describe the music that is made, we need words for this, and these words tend to be like categories, even if we are trying to avoid categories. Kila is one of those interesting bands from Dublin that are considered hard to define. The music journalist, Andy Ryan (1997:18), quite amusingly put Kila's music into these words:

Kila are a hard band to define and impossible to ignore. Young, unkempt, jungle-veggies, streetwise, ragamuffin minstrels, unplugged but rocking. This seven piece band is rhythm driven like no other trad band in Ireland. Definitions often resort to references, of the 'they're a bit like' variety...a mighty dollop of jungle...Latin and African drum beats are the pulse of this music, even the homely bodhrán gets the treatment.
A number of my informants were friends of the players in Kila, and I saw them hanging around together. The band was often described as representative of 'new Irish music'. In fact, these seven energetic young musicians were in a long line of groups interested in innovation and radical experimentation. They had a strong grounding in traditional music, but managed to fuse this with different voices and sounds, from rock, tribal rhythms and African chants. Again, it can be a good marketing strategy to make bricolage of the most popular trends in music, such as world music, Celtic music and modern dance music. Many people find something they like in them, but not everyone.

Talking about sounds, influences, meanings and moods

To repeat, musicians often describe their music in ways that do not always suit genre labels. Instead they tend to talk about sounds, influences, meanings or moods. They may just say that they make music that means something to them, or that they compose their own music. Moreover, the musicians seem to value music according to the sounds in instrumentation, melodies or voices. My informants were often talking about sounds, rather than genres, when describing the music they played and enjoyed. The concept of sound appears to give an overall impression of different musical genres or styles. Simultaneously, sounds are often connected with emotions and experiences of music, which also have to do with extra-musical contexts. Padraig, from a cover band in Galway, chose songs according to his view of pleasant sounds:

The sound inspires me. Some songs and their sounds. It gives me great joy to hear a sound I like. I feel inside me that this is a sound I like and I must listen to it. Turn up the radio and listen. Buy the record and think about how this musician is doing this. I must learn this.

Padraig did not get inspiration so much from specific genres, but more from specific sounds that could develop into whatever genre. This is, again, a question of the musicians' unwillingness to think in categories or to be restricted to them.

Don, a traditional musician in Dublin, had difficulties describing whether he was playing according to a certain style. Instead, he was very keen to discuss his musical influences and he gave me a long list of musicians
he admired and listened to or even sometimes had the opportunity to play with. He also told me what instruments they played, if they had made any recordings and whom they in turn were influenced by. It all ended up in an interesting list revealing a network of influences. Musical influences can also be more or less subconscious. All the types of music a musician hears can in some way get into his/her music-making, even though he/she is not completely aware of it. The musical environment of one's childhood and youth, and other music one has been exposed to, inevitably have some kind of impact on the music one is going to make and play. The young traditional band Delos in Dublin are supposed to have jazz and rock influences in their way of playing traditional music. They have been exposed to these musics, which have followed them, more or less consciously, in their ongoing music-making. Mary, a black singer-songwriter in Galway, told me that her musical influences came from most people, but especially from honest and passionate people, as well as from personal experiences of living in Irish society.

Snowblindwaltz, an original rock band in Galway, discussed sound rather than musical genres when they were rehearsing together or were trying out new songs. Clive from the band said that their collaboration worked well most of the time and that they understood each other when they tried out or talked about sounds. Hogan from the band talked about the feeling in sounds, especially how he 'tried to get a cold wintry feel to the sound'. Simone also tended to describe her rather improvisational music according to feelings and moods, for example, if it was a happy or a sad song. She used her hammer dulcimer and expressive voice (without ordinary language) to create specific sounds. Most of her music, in her view, was coming from 'God', she said, although she liked the music of Dead Can Dance, Brendan Perry, Cure and Peter Gabriel, and some influences could be detected in her music. Instruments have their specific sounds, and Simone had her rather personal view about the sounds of different instruments touching parts of the human body, such as:

The hammer dulcimer has such a pure sound and so rare that I feel it touches the heart, and I believe in the vibes of instruments. And I believe some instruments are going to touch a physical part of you...The drums for example are going to touch all the parts...from the stomach to the legs, and you want to dance. The sound of the violin is going to touch directly the heart. The sound of the flute will touch not the brain, but the third eye.
Thus, again and again, creative and original musicians tend to be sceptical about musical categories. They try to describe their music in other words. They want people to listen to their music and make up their own minds about sounds, influences, meanings and moods. I shall come back to some of the problems with the concept of genre, and to its overlapping and changing character in the discussion about musical pathways, which also points to the necessity of looking at musical practice in its social and cultural context.

Musical pathways, worlds and genres

Finnegan's concept of musical pathways is a development of Howard Becker's idea of 'art worlds'. Becker (1982:34) identified the collective understandings among people engaged in the production of art. Finnegan (1989:305ff.) has developed the concept of art worlds by stressing the possibility of change and transgressing in musical pathways. The 'pathway' concept tends to give a more dynamic view than that of 'world', and is more suitable for displaying the interactions between different musical genres and between various young musicians in a mobile urban way of life. 'Musical pathways' is thus a useful concept for illustrating interactions and movements, as well as for clarifying the crystallisations these processes take in concrete contexts. Some musicians talked about 'paths' when they described their own musical backgrounds and directions.

In Finnegan's study of music-making in Milton Keynes, England, a comparative approach was used to cover all musical genres, illuminating their differences and similarities, and how they influenced each other. Again, what characterises popular music as a genre is precisely that different musical styles interact with and influence each other (cf. Middleton 1990). Moreover, to restrict one's analysis to one isolated genre may be an ideological undertaking (cf. Stokes 1992). The risk is that one's research will strengthen boundaries and put up models of genres that will serve the purposes of some people's values of authenticity and purity, while it will not offer the whole picture of the fields of struggle in the scene of popular and traditional music. 'Musical pathways' is an adequate concept for the study of the Irish music scene, including many different kinds of musical styles or genres. But it is not only about genres, since different lifestyles, values and identities are constructed in the pathways, which are more like
'lifeworlds', but not demarcated 'worlds'. Moreover, I am not abandoning the concept of genre completely and replacing it with pathways, but trying to problematise the issues by relating them to the discourses and concrete practices of musicians.

Again, musicians often use, mix and even cultivate different genres in their musical pathways. Irish rock and traditional musicians may listen to jazz music, modern dance music and other types of folk music or world music, and relate to them in their music-making. Young musicians are particularly involved in reflections about what kind of music they will invest in, and actively try out musical pathways likely to suit them. In recent decades we have experienced an amazing growth in the differentiation of musical subgenres and styles from all over the world. They are not as easily categorised as before, which has led individuals and groups of musicians to choose more actively and to relate to the huge number of possible musical genres and tastes. Some young musicians in Ireland whom I met even had aspirations to discover what they called 'new and strange music' that did not fit into any prevailing categories. They perceived this music as being something that came from themselves as human beings, something authentic and untouched by society. This is, of course, something I do not consider possible, but it is a common idea, especially among young artists.

Familiar routes, networks of perspectives and culture

Mark Slobin (1993) criticises Finnegan for not giving elaborate explanations of the concept of musical pathways, but simply descriptions which tend to be thought of as too flexible and spontaneous. But Finnegan did try to make sense of the fragmentation in urban life by pointing out that musicians follow some familiar routes, which they may have chosen themselves or have been led into. The movements in pathways are not totally undirected, since they can be restricted by factors such as age, gender, class, education, religion and family background.

In a similar way, Hannerz (1992a:65) discusses another distributive model in his account of diversity: according to different perspectives, 'things look different depending on where you see them from'. Like the metaphor of pathways, perspectives appear to have a biographical structure: 'As perspectives are built up more or less cumulatively, they reflect previous involvements and experiences as well' (ibid:66). Interestingly, Hannerz
(ibid:67) explains that 'with perspectives go horizons', which 'draws attention to the "reach" of a perspective, and to the fact that especially nowadays, people can see quite variously far'. For example, there are those musicians who are more limited to a specific genre of music, thus 'from a large world of meaning, they carve out something smaller' (ibid.). And there are musicians who use a more extended source of possible genres and ideas in their perspectives. Moreover, since perspectives are perspectives towards perspectives, they are developed in contacts and contrasts with other people. According to Hannerz, culture as a social organisation of meaning, can be seen as a network of perspectives. The idea of perspectives may create a powerful engine for the diversity of cultures, encompassing both consensual as well as controversial voices.

The concept of culture is central to my discussion of musical pathways. Hannerz' approach to culture is the core of my thinking. For example, he says: 'Culture goes on everywhere in social life, organized as a flow of meanings, by way of meaningful forms, between people. But it does so along rather different principles in different contexts' (1991:111-12). In the Irish music scene, culture flows along the conventions and controversies of different musical pathways. My focus is, thus, on the music-makers in cultural processes who 'are constantly inventing culture or maintaining it, reflecting on it, experimenting with it, remembering it or forgetting it, arguing about it, and passing it on' (Hannerz 1992a:17). Culture could be thought of in terms of different pathways of meaning, depending on one's perspectives and horizons, from where you look and how far you look.

**Individuality and contested pathways**

Like Slobin (1993), Vered Amit-Talai has pointed out that Finnegan was more concerned with collective actions and frameworks than with individuals. Amit-Talai (1994:188) elaborated further Finnegan's concept of pathways as collective frameworks, by including individual strategies of creativity, resistance and social role-taking in cities. In my view a pathway can be one person's, or the outcome of one individual's, specific experiences. It is this idiosyncratic idea behind pathways that I want to develop, since all individuals have different sets of collective affiliations and they belong to different worlds concurrently. Thus, Finnegan's conception of pathways can be further elaborated to include individuality, which also is
Cohen's (1993) stance. Interestingly, some pathways are more individual, whereas others are more familiar and there is the possibility of leaving and returning.

At first glance, the collectivity of Becker's 'art worlds' concept does not appear to suit very brief and idiosyncratic relations, such as when musicians from different musical styles are involved in individual recordings. For example, when those musicians who make their own music use other musicians only to add an instrument to their compositions. But on a second look, Becker's view is quite appropriate, because the individual musicians would not be able to use other musicians if they were not already familiar with the collective conventions of music-making and recording. Thus, the collective conventions should not be dismissed either. Another obvious example is the circumstance that traditional musicians, playing in pub sessions, are able to play together despite the fact that they may never have met before. The answer is simply, but significantly, that they all share certain conventions and codes which make the playing together possible without too much interference (cf. Becker 1982).

Musical worlds or pathways may differ, but they are not totally self-contained. Some players tend to belong to one world, but some individuals belong to a couple of worlds concurrently. To move from one world to another is also something that happens as time goes by during the course of one's life, and the various musical choices one makes according to the possibilities one encounters. The concept of pathways can include jumping between different musical genres or styles. It can also include different stages or steps in one's music-making. David, a traditional (mostly) musician in Galway, tried to emphasise the individuality:

Individuals do what individuals do. They might play four or five different styles of music in the week. Each individual will participate in as many different communities as that individual participates in...Like I myself have an interest in trad, rock, jazz, opera and classical, right across the board.

Finnegan (1989:180) does mention that the plural worlds may have established systems that are taken for granted, but that these can be contested. There may also be misunderstandings, as well as serious controversies that produce new musical pathways in the various scenes. I am inclined to reflect on what happened when traditional music was perceived to being taken over by conventions from the pop and rock
scene. Some of my informants saw problems in the fact that staged sessions, young bands, touring, record-selling and television shows were invading the scene of traditional music. The playing of traditional music had become something performed for an audience and adapted to a music market. Thus, the traditional music scene has recently developed in different ambivalent pathways of canonisation. For example, with the more 'purist' musicians on one side and the so-called innovators or 'open-minded' musicians on the other, or the more amateur musicians (who play purely for enjoyment, regarding it as a social activity) contrasted with the more commercialised musicians (who are pushing themselves forward and competing in a market). David in Galway described what happened when clashes in conventions arose between what he thought was a traditional music pathway and a popular music pathway. He talked first about two kinds of musicians: the commercially-orientated versus the part-time amateurs who respected the music and enjoyed the creativity. Then he explained what happened when traditional musicians wanted to become full-time commercial musicians:

Once they do that they choose to put themselves in the music industry. Choose to produce CDs and choose to produce commercially and artistically viable gigs, which is something they have to do if they decide to go into that market. They have to produce something that is new, a new sound, because in the popular music market the whole question of having a completely new sound is the most important thing.

David meant that traditional music was undergoing changes of sound when it became a form of popular music and entered the commercial scene of CD-making. This was a way of making the music easier to listen to for a broader audience unfamiliar with the 'hard core' of traditional music. He also found that people were not playing socially for the music's sake, since, in popular music and media, individuality and image were the important things. The popular media may also misrepresent and trivialise traditional music by approaching this type of music in the same way as rock music. Thus, some traditional musicians are against the popular commercialisation of the music and want to keep it as part of an 'Irish' way of life. But many young traditional bands are, however, welcoming the better prospects of earning a living from playing music.

Steve, another traditional musician from Dublin, also stressed the clashes that took place when the scene of traditional music appropriated
conventions from that of popular music. He exemplified this with the modern phenomenon of young traditional bands. They have to promote their music in a different way, which has not been common in the traditional music scene. He understood the popularity of recordings, but argued that it was the live sessions that kept Irish traditional music alive. Sessions are not as predictable as recordings, since people do not know which tunes will follow one another. Sessions are also appreciated as a learning experience; they are socially close, but not performance-related in the same way as rock gigs. Musicians interact, change tunes and sit in a circle, playing for each other in a more relaxed way. Steve stressed that trying to transform a session into a staged performance made it very different. Traditional music had to undergo quite a few modifications in order to become popular on stage. Many young players did, however, enjoy playing on stage and putting more work into the arrangements. Staged sessions produced more connections between the audience and the musicians. But the informal sessions were, at least ideally, more open and unplanned, and other musicians were welcome to join in.

The degree or the kind of co-operation was not always the same in the scene of traditional music as in that of rock music. Again, young traditional bands had to follow much the same rules as rock bands, if they were going to enter the conventions of popular music-making. But the traditional musicians were not always familiar with these conventions; they were not so organised, and thus found it hard to follow the guidelines. Seamus, a young guitarist in Dublin, had experiences of the various scenes, since he played in circles of traditional music, jazz and rock music. He was also interested in mixing the musics and exploring what could be made out of this. He played in the young traditional band Delos and in the band Smokey Dog, doing a mix of jazz, traditional and rock music. According to him, Smokey Dog was more collaborative than Delos. In the traditional band, everybody just turned up and left as they wished, and expected to get some money out of it. They had a more easy-going lifestyle and took it for granted that there were always paid sessions and gigs available.

The same tended to happen in some traditional sessions in Dublin; everybody was satisfied when the money was handed over. They did not care so much about what other people thought about the music. For unknown original rock bands, on the other hand, it was much harder to obtain money, and it was therefore more important that they got on well. The entire Delos band did not play together very often, once a month
maybe. Some of the members did, however, play together more regularly, but it was not a full-time commitment and consequently there was no substantial pressure to collaborate. Seamus found this rather sad, especially since he thought Delos could be a very good band, and he would have enjoyed more collaboration and, perhaps, to really feel that they were a 'band'. Smokey Dog, on the other hand, practised once a week, and was more like a committed band. The eight members of Delos were often busy with other things and, since there were so many of them in the band, it was hard to get them all together for a rehearsal. For example, Seamus told me once that they were having a gig in a week's time and they had not been practising for the last few months, not since the last gig. They had planned for one rehearsal before that, and were hoping that this would be enough. This was the usual way, just one rehearsal before a gig, once a month.

Interestingly, Finnegan (1989:326) argues that pathways are continuously being elaborated: 'Some paths go out of use, others are kept trodden only with a struggle, some seem for a time effortlessly open. But all depend on the constant hidden cultivation by active participants...' There are power relations, hierarchies and processes of canonisation going on in the various musical fields that tend to generate conflicts, which should be incorporated in the analysis. Musical collaboration does not always work smoothly, as the case of two musicians in Galway can exemplify. On the one hand, there was Simone, the French woman singing and playing 'new and strange music' on hammer dulcimer, and on the other hand, there was Shane, an Irish bass player and rock musician living in Galway. They were planning to work together, but since they were not into the same kind of music and did not share the same conventions, things did not go very well. Simone was very serious, spiritual and original, whereas Shane was lazy, into alcohol, drugs, cover bands for easy money and pub life. The point is, however, that many young musicians try to collaborate and make cross-overs and fusions, but they do not always succeed. It is more like a learning process for them, in developing and getting to know what can be mixed and what not. To collaborate with different kinds of musicians also appears to be a way of learning more about oneself, what one wants to do in music and what musical conventions to cultivate - in short, what kind of musical pathways one will develop.

My aim was to explore not only what the musicians had in common, but also in what ways they differed. There were clashes between their ideas and ideals. They had different ideas about what they were doing in music, in
style and for what reasons. They also had different preferences when it came to issues such as Irishness, authenticity and transnationality. Some musicians appreciated the 'rural and traditional' Ireland, others the 'cosmopolitan and modern' Ireland; yet others again were combining some parts of rural and urban Ireland. These are matters I shall come back to.

**Pathways in urban life and translocal music scenes**

Most researchers of popular music seem to be familiar with the concept of pathways, but not many of them have used it in their own studies. It has, however, been used in other kinds of studies. For example, Amit-Talai (1994) developed the concept by applying it to urban pathways of youth peer relations in and out of two schools in Montreal and western Quebec. The concept of pathways necessarily draws attention to the fact that urban lives do not converge in one place with one group of people. Many urbanites interact with a variety of people, which leads to a complexity in matters of individual organisation and in developing 'routine practices' (cf. ibid.). No pathway is completely collectively shared or completely individual in the case of urban lives, but resides mostly somewhere in between these extremes. The plurality of pathways matches the heterogeneity of urban life, of the complex and changeable lives in cities. But the concept could also be used in rural contexts. Rural places are not totally isolated, unchangeable or very different from urban places. Even though this study is mainly urban, I do take rural creativity into account, not least because in Ireland rural places and lives are quite close to urban contexts and they keep being compared with each other.

To a large degree, Finnegan (1989:3) offered a local study, geographically, of the music scene in Milton Keynes, highlighting 'grass-roots music-making as it is practised by amateur musicians in a local context'. These activities have been 'hidden', since they have not received much attention in the sociology or anthropology of music. The lively music-making in Milton Keynes, or in other local places, is also hidden because it has been taken for granted. Irish music is not so hidden; it is played in many pubs all around the country and abroad. Perhaps because of this, Irish music is taken for granted by many Irish people.
In anthropological culture theory, demarcations and boundaries have been problematised for some time. As Stokes (1994b:98) says: 'Musicians often live in conspicuously translocal cultural worlds. They travel; their social skills are those of people capable of addressing varied and heterogeneous groups, and their value in a locality is often perceived to be precisely their ability to transcend the cultural boundaries of that locality.' For example, Delos has experiences of translocal pathways, which in fact are quite transnational. This very young band, playing fast traditional music, has connections with people in France and Germany. One of the members asserted: 'To make it big, to be successful, you have to go abroad.' They have been in these countries many times for gigs and sessions, and some of the members have girlfriends over there. They also know some foreign record companies that are interested in their music. Delos experienced a greater interest in their music from people abroad than in Ireland, perhaps because traditional music is not as prevalent abroad as it is in Ireland. The members of Delos were proud of being Irish, but were very anxious to discover what was happening in the rest of the world and were interested in other folk musics. To play abroad and to go on tours was also a way of enhancing one's status as a musician in Ireland. To be able to show translocal pathways could be good for one's professional status. Frances from England is another traditional musician living in Galway, who stressed the necessity of translocality for working musicians:

Most professional musicians have a strange kind of a lifestyle, in that they would travel a lot. They get jobs here and there. They're not just living in the same place and going to the same place to work and coming home and socialising in the same place. It's kind of scattered. You have to follow the money if you're going to live.

As Stokes explains, musicians tend to be a very mobile occupational group, both internationally and nationally. Again, because of the 'familiar routes' of musical pathways, certain patterns develop that enable the musicians to feel at home in unfamiliar places. When Irish musicians encounter musical situations and other musicians playing Irish music in foreign places, they know how to communicate with them. The concept of musical pathways can be useful for describing and analysing how musicians orient

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themselves in new places and in contacts with other musicians, particularly on their tours. Musicians develop occupational cultures, which they use when they travel and play in other parts of the world. They have some common codes, canons and conventions, which they recognise, handle and change to suit the various contexts. Even if it is different playing in different places, it is not completely different. The familiarity of the pathways makes it possible to collaborate transnationally in producing and consuming music. The musicians find like-minded people in the pathways or trajectories across space. They can bridge quite large distances without too many obstacles and misunderstandings. The musical pathways can be extended through the town, the country and the world. Finnegans (1989:184) gave examples of Irish music pathways in England and talked about how folk music enthusiasts 'could feel "at home" in their familiar world wherever they went into a folk club'.

**Changing pathways and biographies**

Different kinds of musicians relate to each other, by influencing each other, or distancing themselves from each other as a way of trying to purify styles. But they are exposed to changes anyhow, which provides a historical perspective on the issue of music's reciprocal relationships. However, only those changes that have developed in new collaborative networks will succeed. Thus, the musicians need other musicians with similar ideas about the music, and they may need an audience. For example, the contemporary changes in the Irish music scene, with staged sessions, mass tourism and young traditional bands, have led to new performance situations, new audiences, new productions, distributions and communications. In addition, in music-making there are always minor changes taking place; nothing is ever repeated in exactly the same way. Pathways are not predestined routes for the musicians, but, again, are actively constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed.

One American musician living in Dublin emphasised that a lively music scene was a 'natural' part of the culture and history of Ireland, whereas in the US music was more part of a professional career and for making money. Music in Ireland seemed to have its own values, and was not there only for personal careers. In fact, most of the musicians in Ireland were not able to earn their living by music-making; instead they had other part-time
or full-time occupations or relied on the dole. Many musicians told me they were playing full-time or were professionals, whereas they were actually living on the dole, and got some extra money from gigs.\textsuperscript{54} Some of them were able to make a good living by combining the dole with gig money. No one admitted that they played music because they were unemployed; it was something they would be doing anyway. However, some of them thought that they probably were not able to do anything else. Maybe they had tried other occupations and failed, or they had not been successful at school. Michael, from one of the cover bands in Galway, could not see many options in his life other than to carry on with music. He described his everyday life as immersed in music-making, guitar teaching and playing music on a radio station. This was his sort of musical pathway and the lifestyle connected with it:

I'm not good at anything else. Like in school I wasn't a success at all...Some people would say I'm obsessed with music, I'm sure I am. I have this walkman with me always. I've been immersed in music in my jobs, record shop, radio stations, playing with the band, doing recording, teaching...and I'm very happy doing it. I see friends of mine with big jobs, earning great salaries, having lovely big houses, expensive new cars...But they're not interested in talking about their job with me...They don't have a great love for their job.

Nevertheless, without the dole the music scene would not be as lively as it is. This is a controversial subject and many musicians did not want to talk about it openly, because without the dole they would not have the same opportunities to play music. In addition, they were afraid of being regarded as not good enough if they revealed that they were unable to live on what they received from music-making. There is, however, no guarantee that musical quality and money go hand in hand. However, the unemployment situation in Ireland has had an impact on the music scene, as well as on the economy of the musicians. Roy, a traditional musician in Galway, saw both good and bad consequences:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{54} In Thornton's (1999:94) study of music in Galway, one musician informed her that as many as 80\% of the musicians in Ireland were on the dole. Thornton argues, however, that this statement may not be entirely accurate, but it reflects the dubious 'professional' status of musicians.
\end{quote}
Unemployment has meant that a lot of musicians have a lot of time to play music, socially and at home. It has also meant that musicians find it more difficult to go out and play without getting paid for the music. So a lot of the music that was normally free in pubs, is now paid for by publicans.

Many young musicians want to be paid for playing today, and this in turn may lead the publicans to charge the audience. This is a situation that can result in changes in the lively music scene, if it increases. As things are now, most of the time you can go in and out of pubs and listen to different kinds of music during one night without paying any entrance fees.

It is a quite new situation for many contemporary Irish musicians to have the possibility of earning a living from playing. But to take on a professional path, they have to adjust to other professional requirements: they have to be reliable, on time for meetings and gigs, not be drunk when playing and be able to entertain people. All musicians do not invest in their musical lifestyles to the same extent. Some live on the music more professionally, while others are doing it more as a hobby in an amateur way. Debbie Skhow (1997), a musician and music journalist in Dublin, pointed out that one of the most important things to consider as a professional musician is being reliable. She demanded a kind of common sense, and advised rock bands not to believe what the media were saying about the wild life of the players in the famous Oasis, since they are always reliable when they have to be. Skhow (1997:59) also said that:

It's very easy to say 'it's an Irish thing'; 'the sound check starts at 8.00, we'll show up at 8.30'. It's a lame excuse to use the laid-back Irish image and it's an insult to every other Irish musician…If your goal is to play on a truly global stage, excuses won't get you there.

A pathway is like the history of a musician's life. It is a kind of biography that, importantly, is connected with processes of identity. Pathways inform about where the musicians come from, what they have done, where they are now and what they are doing, and what they would like to do in the future. As an example, Snowblindwaltz, an original rock group from Galway, who have been working together since 1987, were quite eager to discuss their various musical influences and how these have changed over the years. They described for me their musical biographies by using the word 'path': 'To follow the same path [as the bands they like] because it's
natural for us. I mean the music we listen to is a constantly changing thing, it has always been.' Snowblindwaltz meant that they were not alone in changing their musical influences and directions, but at the same time it was important for them to hold on to their style and not to follow the musical directions of other influential bands completely. Brendan, a traditional musician, also pointed out that music was a personal journey, along with various musicians exchanging tunes with each other. Accordingly, musical pathways may be like 'personal archives', which resembles what Brendan meant by musical journeys. The styles change when you move to new places or fall under the influence of new musicians. However, not all musicians celebrate change. John, the drummer in the Saw Doctors, thought that the music they were making was popular enough and that there was no reason to make changes, which would only threaten their popularity. His answers were often very commercially orientated, since changes in style could be good only if they helped the sales of records.

The different cover rock bands that I had a chance to follow in Galway were in different stages of their so-called musical pathways or biographies, and had diverse experiences and ideas about music-making. They had been playing together during varied periods of time. Kif was the youngest band, with the highest expectations, even though they did not know exactly what they would do with the band since they had not yet worked out an agreement. They had a few original songs, but mostly played covers on their gigs, since that was what the publicans wanted them to do. They did not have enough of their own material for a whole gig, and to play live as a cover band was a way for them to gather valuable stage experience that could be useful later on in an original band.

However, Kif did not have time to develop their original pieces, because they played live gigs almost every night. They were quite active, anyhow, in the sense of always trying to bring in new cover songs for the gigs. They were still young and energetic and had not adopted a lifestyle of drinking and partying to the same degree as the other more mature cover bands in Galway, at least some of whose members were quite laid-back in this sense, while others lived a day-time working life and had families or girlfriends to think about. The cover band Full Trousers were somewhere in between, with some of the members still having musical dreams about the future. Most of them had tried out their own musical material, but had not yet received much attention.
Of the cover rock bands I followed, Pyramid had the oldest members, most of whom were rather pessimistic and had decided to invest their energy in the cover band, since they were not able to see any other chance of making it in the music business. They had tried, but without any real success. Some of the members were very negative about the music industry in Ireland, partly because there was not much support for rock bands.

Age 35 seemed to be a 'magical' threshold for rock musicians, and if they had not succeeded before that age, it was supposed to be more or less too late; they should have made it already or be holding quite secure positions, for example as studio musicians. If nothing of this sort has happened, then the path of cover bands could offer a way of playing music and earning a living from it. There is also the risk for younger bands that they find the gigging with cover bands so comfortable and offering enough money for a good living that they give up the idea of making it as an original rock act.

With Kif I also noticed more discussions and controversies about musical tastes, influences and directions. They were still in the learning process of working out their pathways. The more mature bands had passed this initial phase and appeared to be more in agreement, with more elaborate ideas about what they wanted to do in music, even though they were still changing their paths. They seemed to work well together without too much controversy, which was due to the longer period they had been playing together. Thus, the concept of pathways incorporates movements in time. The past, the present and the future are important issues for musicians in their development of pathways.

The reason why one starts to play music, may be because one wants to achieve a positive and respectable identity. A young female rock singer who played with the original rock band Odd Man Out simply said: 'I always wanted to be in a band.' Similarly, one of the young men in the Dublin-based rock band Black Sheep told me: 'I fancy the idea of being in a band.' Many young people start to play guitar or drums because they want to be members of rock bands, and they have their idols in the pop and rock world and want to be like them. Some of them want to be rock stars and live a glamorous life. This is something a guitar teacher in Galway noticed, although the young musicians themselves did not always confirm it. He himself started to play in a band because of its sense of community; it was something cool and respected by his peers and he wanted to be popular with the girls. Respect seems to be an important aspect of it, and to show
other people that you can play an instrument. One young musician put forward that he wanted to show his classmates his success in the future, because they did not respect him at school. The guitar teacher met many young people with these ideas, attracted by imagined and glorified lifestyles as rock musicians. They had dreams about travelling around the world and performing in front of big audiences, but sometimes they were just 'big egos', he told me.

For many musicians, playing and singing are important in order to develop a biographical identity. For example, traditional music may be a way to maintain a link with grandparents. There is a generational aspect to it, in maintaining a link between generations and with deceased relatives. Identity is also considered to be an intimate part of creative music-making. It is possible and desirable to communicate with other people through music. Music-making may be about 'sharing', which is a point put forward by many musicians. For songwriters in original bands and for singer-songwriters, the lyrics are often important and connected with their identities and life experiences. Ellen, a female songwriter in Dublin, revealed to me that all her songs were about herself: her place of origin in the US, what happened there and what had happened to her in Dublin. In short, they were her biography. Eric, in Galway, talked interestingly about popular music-making as a way of communicating and helping young people to get on with their lives. He did not want to separate himself from what was happening in 'real life', as he put it.

Most of the musicians' ideas about success in the future were connected with their desire to be respected as musicians. To become famous was not so important; they even found it alienating. Very young rock musicians, in their initial years of playing, did sometimes express ideals about fame and money, but realised quite soon the difficulties and all the hard work that had to be put into it. Some of the musicians were also critical of the competitiveness, commercialisation and inequality they had experienced in the music industry. There were inequalities, since some musicians or bands received more support from the industry than others did, owing to differences in gender, age, appearance, musical styles, contacts, money and places of origin. Most of the time, there is a lot of hard work behind a musical success. The singer-songwriter Mary stressed the long road for her in the music scene, and she was still struggling:
A star of today may have worked very, very hard to get where they are. You don't get to hear about the hardships they had to go through. There's a myth out there, they're seen on stage and picked up and brought into fame. That's not the reality...It's like this well-known Irish director came and heard me singing and said: 'How come you started very late in your life, didn't you?'...I've started already, and 12 years down the road since I started.

Musicians who do not succeed in the major music industry may be looking for alternative paths, for example by setting up recording studios and record labels or trying to get contacts with indie labels. For them, it was also more important to make 'meaningful' music that was attuned to their ideas of authenticity, and to be respected as musicians, than to cling on to dreams of becoming rock stars. To become rich was something the youngest might believe in, but after a few years even they grew more modest and were satisfied if they were able to attain a nice, comfortable level where they no longer needed to think so much about money. But most of all, they all wanted to enjoy the music-making, live a happy life and make nice musical connections with people.

**Interaction or separation: mix or clique**

Slobin (1993) puts forward the claim that *interaction* among subcultures is rarely studied, and he even criticised Finnegan's musical pathways for not including sufficient interaction patterns. On the contrary, I think 'pathways' is an appropriate metaphor, which makes room for musical interaction and mixing. Musical pathways mean co-operating or competing with each other for attention. At the same time, there are *separations* in that they may represent different co-existent viewpoints about how the music should be played and in what contexts.

Yet, in order to be able to move between various musical contexts the musicians in my study had to do it appropriately - following the rules, and sharing the same values and canons about music. The borders were not closed, since the musicians were able to jump over them so long as they did not disturb the contexts too much. Jim, a brilliant young banjo player, mostly played in traditional sessions, but listened to rock music. He was quite special in that way. I first met him in Dublin where he sometimes played with the men from the young traditional band Delos, at White
Horse Inn's Sunday night sessions. He fitted in very well with them. During the winter he was carrying on his studies in Dublin.

Then I met Jim again in Galway, the first time in the pub Taaffes during a session. He was still playing quite frequently with the bodhrán player from Delos. Rick, a flute player in Galway, agreed with me that Jim played in a very fast, Dublin style, but said that he had control over it, since he did it in a fluent and appropriate way. Jim seemed to be accepted in the young traditional circles in Galway as well as in Dublin. He worked in the Irish Theatre in Galway during the summer, where they had Irish music and dance shows, mainly to attract tourists. Jim worked in the ticket office, but also played during the shows. It was rather strange, to see him in traditional sessions in both Dublin and Galway, in rock music circles, in the nightclub and techno disco GPO in Galway, in tourist-orientated Irish music and dance shows, and even on *fleadh cheoil* in Ballina in 1997.55

Jim seemed to jump between different communities without difficulty. I would not say that he was typical, but interestingly he showed his open-mindedness by mixing with different kinds of musicians in different social contexts. Seamus, from Delos, did the same, jumping and mixing between jazz, rock and traditional. He was also one of the participants in the fusion project together with the world music percussionists De Jimbe and a techno DJ. Seamus and Jim were not restricted by musical categories and were able to play in different styles and contexts, although they found it difficult sometimes because of other commitments and lack of time.

Eric, the experimental musician in Galway, stressed, however, that musicians did not mix as much in Galway as they did in other places. They did not do many musical crossovers or similar projects that he was interested in. But that may be a matter of individual preferences. Eric explained:

Galway is very compartmentalised. There's no proper arts community in Galway, they don't mix. The DJs don't really know the trad musicians, who don't know the rock musicians, who don't know the video makers...It makes no sense. It's a tiny place...There are specific pubs for specific people. You know where to find the trad people, you know where to find the DJs...It would be good if there was a place where they all meet up.

55 Every summer the major popular All-Ireland *fleadh* is held in different localities. Informal sessions take place alongside the competitions in music, song and dance that are mainly for young people.
There are, of course, different degrees and kinds of interaction and mixing. Eric was probably very experimental, and it may be difficult to find like-minded people in a smaller place like Galway. In contrast, Arthur, who played in both original and cover rock bands, was positive and held the view that jazz musicians, rock musicians and so on did mix:

Mix of musicians in Galway, yes. At a party, Tony Macdonalds, me, Full Trousers, trad musicians, classical, rock, jazz, reggae. Everyone is interested in what everyone is doing...Dublin is too big, Galway is getting too big, but it's a healthy scene here, open here. A lot of them are open-minded.

The degree of mixing and interaction between musical pathways varied. Some musicians were active in making distinctions and avoiding mixing. Ricardo, a Spanish traditional musician in Galway, noted that:

It's a kind of high class with Irish music. People who don't like to mix with special musicians. Mainly they're extremely good musicians, played for a long time...It shouldn't be, but some people like the separation...But you have to have a certain level, you have to be respectful at the sessions, you have to let people play. There are certain rules you have to know about the sessions.

José, another Spaniard, a friend of Ricardo and a traditional musician in Galway, continued:

I think there are cliques or groups of certain types of musicians in Galway. They don't mix with other musicians...It's not only related to the standard of music...They're very conservative in their ideology...narrow and have very standard jokes...They probably go to mass every morning...They don't want to mix with other types of musicians who are more liberal. The cliques come from these differences in personalities...Different lifestyles and standards of living...Sometimes people are playing in styles that you like to play more with them.

José addressed the controversies between the so-called purists and the open-minded musicians, which tended to create different communities of musicians in the traditional music scene. Ricardo also noticed that some narrow-minded people reacted, because they were Spanish and were playing Irish traditional music; 'people see us and think we have a different quality'. However, José argued that 'when you play good music, people will
respect you anyway, no matter if you're a gypsy or the son of the King of England!'

Bridin, a somewhat purist traditional musician in Galway, talked about those she preferred to play with. She made a distinction between those who played music because they thought it was something 'cool' and those who had music in their family background, saying that she liked 'to play with people who have a sense of culture...who have got the background'. Bridin especially appreciated playing with 'people who have been playing for years, who have it in their family'.

David also discussed the different communities and cliques of traditional musicians and rock musicians in Galway that did not mix all that much. He talked about the traditional singing community, of which he was a part: 'communities that were spread across the whole country and traditional singing is one community, unaccompanied traditional singing. And though people only meet a few times a year, it's a very strong community, it's friendship.' It is very common to talk about 'cliques' of musicians, the cliques exemplifying the separation of pathways in the music scenes. The concept does, however, have a negative connotation by being associated with a closed community of people. There is something exclusive, and sometimes trendy, about it, as if the cliques were more prestigious than other people. Cliques may develop a know-how and mutual understanding that other people do not possess.

Kif, the young cover rock band in Galway, knew about cliques of rock musicians in town, but did not hang around with them. They were not yet part of that scene. Snowblindwaltz, the original rock band in Galway, did not want to be part of the cliques of rock musicians in Galway either. In fact, this was a common view among many rock bands. It was almost always something that 'other' rock bands were allegedly part of. Snowblindwaltz had been playing for ten years, and had probably formed their own cliques, but were reluctant to admit it. The members of Snowblindwaltz wanted to be individuals and not to become members of certain rock cliques. The cliques tended to be more relevant for some of the cover rock bands in Galway, but even they did not want to hang around just with musicians. The kind of exclusive separation Becker (1966), for example, experienced in the popular dance music scene in the US cannot be found in the Irish music scene. There were, of course, some individuals who wanted to be different and only to hang around with a special section of musicians, but they were rather few. Most of the young musicians were
quite interested in what other musicians were doing in terms of musical ideas and inspiration. It was also very important to them to meet different kinds of people, non-musicians as well as musicians. They did not regard musicians as better people.

**Taste games in style and lifestyle**

Studies of musical *taste* have often been related to Pierre Bourdieu's (1984, 1993) theories. For example, Keith Roe (1985, 1990a) approached the study of musical taste in a structural and cultural sense. Mats Trondman (1989, 1990) studied rock taste as a kind of symbolic capital. Again, I am inclined to emphasise processes and not to look only at *what* kind of musical taste can be connected with specific categories, but also at *how* musical taste emerges and changes. Taste should not be categorised in a static way according to certain cultural characteristics or social groups, but be regarded as a field in motion. By using the concept of musical pathways, it is possible to see this process in the course of the musician's lifehistory.

Bjurström (1997) interestingly coined the term 'taste game' for showing how young people position themselves in musical taste. Following Bourdieu, Bjurström suggests that taste can only exist in relation to other people, and individuals or groups of people mark out what they consider to be 'good' and 'bad' taste. Moreover, taste can be embodied, and become a part of one's habitus. Despite the current increase in musical styles and their mix, the borders of taste are still important. The taste game is becoming more intricate and complex, and requires more and more know-how and 'reflexivity' on the part of the participants.\(^{56}\) Moreover, it is not possible to set up clear and unambiguous homologies. There are no simple answers to why people belong to certain musical pathways and not to others.

The music one likes may be good for the activities one prefers. The musical styles one dislikes are often part of lifestyles one dislikes or finds uninteresting. Most of the young pub musicians did not like Irish country music; nor did they like techno since it was associated with discos and raves. It was not always the music that was thought of as bad, but rather the context around it. On the other hand, Irish country music and techno

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were the most popular musical styles among Irish music buyers. However, musical styles do not determine musical lifestyles, but they may be correlated with each other in quite intricate and complex ways. People's perspectives on music-making can be connected with other values and ideas in ways that uncover lifestyles. Musical taste is elaborated, which in turn is related to constructions of identities and self-images (cf. Frith 1996a,b).

Rock musicians tended to ponder more about their image and appearance than traditional musicians. On the whole, musicians in Dublin were often more interested in clothing styles and hairstyles than musicians in Galway. Of course, they all had their individual dress styles, even if most of the time they wore ordinary jeans, sweaters or shirts and comfortable shoes. One quite common style among male musicians was to have long hair, in a ponytail, which suited their often thick and curly hair. There are not many obvious differences in clothing styles between the generations, although young traditional musicians do not have beards so frequently nowadays. Young women traditional musicians did not wear short dresses, high heels or makeup like other young Irish women might do. This was regarded as more or less unsuitable for traditional pub sessions. Instead, they tended to have the same kind of dress styles as the men. The latest fashions usually did not interest them, since they were so immersed in their music-making and in living a simple life without modern accessories. It was possible, of course, to find a few exceptions, Liam, a traditional and world music lover, enjoyed wearing so-called 'ethnic' clothes and experimenting with different hairstyles and colours. He knew that people in traditional circles might not always like his changes in style, but he did not care much about their views, since he preferred to be a bit different from everybody else. Liam's style was perhaps related to his interest in world music.

Age, generation, class and gender

Musical pathways are more or less voluntary, but still constrained. Finnegan (1989:316-17) explained that there are constraints and opportunities, which 'help to draw individuals towards or away from particular paths, or shape the way they tread them, chief among these the influences of gender, of age, of stage in life-cycle, the link to various other social groupings and – the point that recurs again and again – family musical background'. She examined from a comparative perspective how these
factors were involved in guiding the musicians into particular pathways, but she did not find any consistent or static homologies.

From my first impression, Ireland did appear to be a rather unbounded society in that different ages, social classes and genders socialised freely with each other. In the pubs, young people were sitting beside older people, women beside men, and farmers beside yuppies, in a quite relaxed and comfortable way. But after a while, I noticed that generational as well as gender and class differences were to be found even there. From what I have seen and heard there appears to be both inclusiveness and exclusiveness in the Irish music scene. The social life surrounding the music varies according to the different musical styles, contexts and situations.

One reason why most of the musicians in my study were between 18 and 30 years of age, was because of the focus on the pub music scene. The gigging scene was not appropriate for people under 18 years of age, although I did meet them in music classes and competitions and as buskers on the streets. They were normally not allowed to play and drink in pubs. Up to 16 years of age, many traditional musicians are caught up in a competition circuit, which they may enjoy for a while. They are more often engaged in CCÉ's activities. At the age of 16, they are in a sort of liminal period: too young for the pub sessions and too old for CCÉ's activities. Some of them go to the pubs anyway or may practise in their homes. Some pubs allow in younger players during nighttime. For example, the pub in CCÉ’s headquarters in Dublin and the Irish club in Galway welcomed all ages. The older musicians, over 30 years of age, did not always enjoy the pub life, at least not as much as the younger ones. They might have families, and did not like the smoke and drink all the time. The older generation of traditional musicians were often living in the countryside, or had moved to more rural places and played there, whereas the younger generation were living in the cities or had moved, for example, to Dublin or Galway in order to play there. The older players preferred arranging sessions in their homes and played during house dances and at céilís rather than regularly in pubs. Some of them showed up in informal pub sessions during fleadh cheoil in the summer time.

In general, the older players were not attracted to a lifestyle of earning a living by playing music every night and travelling around. This lifestyle was more suited to young energetic people. Besides, the older players did not think that the styles played in pub sessions were any longer the same. They

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57 Ceili is an evening of traditional dancing accompanied by a ceili band.
were not always able to follow these styles, and they thought that the young players were often very proficient, but that they played too fast. Even though older musicians may have accumulated a large number of tunes in their memories, there are many whose repertoire is smaller than that of the younger ones. The older musicians did not grow up with all the recordings that the young now have access to. In the old days, players learned more from each other, by playing together and memorising the tunes. Today, with the huge amount of recorded music and all the pub sessions available, it is much easier to pick up the music and to learn it more quickly. In addition, the younger musicians' playing was thought of as technically good, but maybe not as emotionally varied as that of the older musicians. The young players did express feelings, but perhaps in other ways than the older ones.

Younger musicians are probably more anxious to launch themselves, to put on solo acts in order to prove that they are accomplished musicians. The older musicians are often considered to have an easy-going attitude towards the music; they play it more for pure enjoyment and are not interested in competing for money and attention. Thus, commercialism and competition are accompanying the changing opportunities in music and its popularity. Nevertheless, the competition may have enhanced the quality of the music, at least in traditional music, as Sonia, a traditional musician in Galway, suggested:

If you want to get somewhere you have to be very good, because there's a very high standard...It has improved an awful lot. Because the older people never did music full-time, except for a few there...Now people are doing it full-time and take years out for playing music, and playing every night in the week, so there's much more practising going on there.

Thus, since there were more young people in the gigging scene, the older musicians' styles of playing were not suited to the ways of playing in the pubs. There was a new generation of musicians in Ireland during the late 1990s, with new styles, instruments and ideas about music. However, it is important not to generalise about a generation, as if they all behaved in the same ways and shared common values and tastes in music. Especially in traditional music, different age groups appear to communicate with each other, to influence and learn from one another; they tend to respect each other much more than in the rock music scene. The older traditional players can be praised for being great storytellers and respected for passing on the music and the stories of tunes to the younger players. They may be
appreciated for having another understanding of the music. It is not guaranteed, however, that the young players will pick up the music in exactly the same way, since if a tradition is to live it has to embody changes and to be attuned to the everyday lives of contemporary musicians, as the young players kept emphasising.

There is now a revival of traditional music, and when it comes to revivals and trends it is often the young people who are involved. The older musicians tend to continue to play in their own styles and on the same level as before. Moreover, in contrast to older people, young people in Ireland are seldom thought of as national, traditional and purist. Young people may still be looking for something and trying out pathways that will suit them. They are probably more anxious to find their own identities, to make their own music, to do something different, and not just copy what musicians have done before them. They are experimenting more, and consequently new musical styles evolve. The generations have grown up in slightly different societies. The older generation saw more threats to traditional music from popular music in the 1950s. In the 1960s traditional music was more associated with IRA music and political songs. This extended 'narrow' nationalism into the 1970s, also culminating in the violence in the North during that period. At the end of the 1990s, the young musicians were not willing to follow this path; they were critical of exclusive political nationalism, and tired of the conflict. The younger generation were more interested in the larger world around them. And they did not perceive much in the way of threats to traditional music, since it was hugely popular. Young people in the 1990s saw that there was an opportunity available to make a living out of playing Irish music. The recording facilities had improved and they were able to get paid gigs, to tour and to go abroad. There were even other opportunities for musicians, such as taking on a job as a recording engineer or teaching how to play an instrument. These different opportunities in the music industry encouraged young people to invest in music-making.

In general, age is not a hindrance to being a successful musician in the scene of traditional music. Rock musicians, on the other hand, face a rather different situation. There are perceptions in the music industry that a successful rock musician should not be too old, since then the fans would not be able to identify with the players. Mary had noticed that at the age of 35 she was probably too old for the popular music industry, where she did not
see much mixing between ages. On the whole, rock music is targeted at a younger audience, whereas traditional music tends to attract all ages.

*Social class*, which otherwise may be a controversial topic, turned out not to be relevant in Finneghan's (1989) study, because the musicians' backgrounds varied so much. This was so, despite the fact that England is recognised as being a much more class-segregated and class-aware society than, for example, Ireland. Finneghan argued that there was a lack of homologies between musical styles and class. But the issue of class can be used in other ways. I do agree that it can be difficult to make homologies like that in the music scene, especially in contemporary societies where there is almost universal access to each other's music. Yet, from what I have seen and heard, it is usually a middle-class option to start playing music, even in Ireland. Young people from the poorer areas in Dublin and Galway or from unemployed families rarely saw music-making as one option in their lives, unless they had some role model in their family background.

Finneghan noted in her study that social class was not as important as a family background of music-making. This was the same in Ireland. Nevertheless, the 'poorest' people do not tend to play instruments and their musicality is limited to listening to radio or television. The young girls there might dance and sing to popular boy and girl groups, such as Boyzone, Westlife or the Spice Girls, and some of the young singers and dancers had dreams of being discovered by managers or people from the music industry. Young people from these areas were able to dance and sing, since these activities did not require much money for instruments and equipment. If they played music, they were often from so-called musical families, or they had a musical Traveller background. It is not necessary, however, to come from a musical family, but then one's class background may matter. Even though we can find many musicians from the working-class in Ireland, the middle-class tends to be more convinced about supplying the support and money necessary in order to start playing and to continue on that path.

Undoubtedly, there is a need for certain economic conditions in order to be able to play, since instruments and equipment can be quite expensive. This is even more relevant for rock than for traditional musicians, unless the instruments are inherited from family members. The rock musicians also have to pay more for rehearsal rooms and recording studios, whereas the traditional musicians are able to practise at home or just by bringing their instruments to sessions in pubs. Despite this, there is a predominant
ideology in rock music that the best players come from humble back-
grounds, which leads to a commitment and hunger that the better off
people may not possess. A recording studio owner in Galway emphasised
this:

People who have less to start with are more hungry and committed to
what they want, than people who have been a bit more spoilt in their
youth. And I always think that the best rock 'n' roll has been made by
rebellious people… I will say the more dispossessed make better music,
more hungry music.

Relationships between class and music are historically specific and are
changing. For example, Irish traditional music, in the 1950s and '60s, was
not normally for middle-class people in urban areas. It was supposed to be
good only for the countryside and for rural people (cf. McNamee 1992).
Now, traditional music has become a middle-class activity even in the
cities. Consequently, the status of the music has been raised. As Ciarán
Mac Mathúna (1992:66) expressed it: 'Traditional music has now become
fashionable. The class thing has gone. In Dublin, especially, all the yuppies
have gone into Irish traditional music… People are now boasting that their
grandparents played Irish music.'

The musicians' family backgrounds sometimes had an impact on what
styles of music and what ideas they were going to develop. For example,
those traditional musicians with a family background of traditional music
were often more concerned with maintaining traditions than those who did
not have that background. They wanted to transmit their parents' or
grandparents' traditions, and they did not want to mix the music too much
with other kinds of musical styles or to destroy its perceived authentic and
traditional styles. Musicians from musical families were probably more
purist than those who did not have this background of traditional music.
Instead, these other musicians were more interested in mixing styles and
bringing in new styles than in maintaining and passing on traditions. There
are, of course, other paths. Seamus, a young musician in Dublin, was inter-
ested in introducing new styles to traditional music, even though he had a
family background of traditional music.

Those musicians who mix musical styles and genres may in general be
young, urban-living, urban-born, foreign musicians (but they might be
more purist if they want to prove that they know the conventions), open-
minded musicians, non-nationalists, without a traditional music family
background, Protestants, secular Catholics and Dubliners (since there is not one regional style). Those who do not mix may be rural-living and rural-born, with a traditional music family background, purists, nationalists, Catholics, Galwegians more often than Dubliners, Irish people, Irish people living abroad or who have returned to Ireland, and those who prefer regional styles.

It is also interesting to observe that there are differences between actual and imagined class. For example, the folk music world in Finnegan's study, which was middle-class, defined itself as working-class. Musical styles can be regarded as belonging to different classes and tastes, which in fact are not always congruent with actual classes. Even traditional musicians in Ireland pointed out that most musicians probably had a middle-class background, but that many traditional musicians wanted to stress that traditional music was a working-class thing or rather something for more rural people, as it was in the past. Moreover, even if there are actual social classes in Ireland, they seemed not to be important to people in general. Almost always when I raised the question of whether there were class distinctions among musical genres and tastes in Ireland, my informants became perplexed and told me that they had never thought about it or noticed it. However, this does not mean that Ireland is a classless society. One of the reasons why the Irish do not regard class as something important may be that the all-encompassing concept of nation has functioned to hide class differences in Ireland. They have been so eager to build a national unity, and to stress that they are all Irish, irrespective of social class. They are also opposed to thinking in terms of class, because they are defining themselves against the English. Class does not occupy the whole of Irish society as it does in England. It is, however, important to note how class is conceived of, since it will impact on the whole actual class system. Eric, the experimental musician in Galway, argued why class was not important in Ireland:

Because we had the English to hate...People don't define themselves in class terms...We had all fought for independence and we were all Irish together, and the identity that was constructed after independence was a monoculture...de Valera's constitution saw Ireland as a unit, a Catholic nation of equals. Even if everyone wasn't Catholic, even if everyone wasn't equal, that was our constructed identity after independence.
When it comes to gender, the music scene in Ireland (like almost everywhere else) is very male-orientated. Only around 10 to 20% of the musicians are women, at least of those who play in pub sessions and gigs. On the other hand, many male musicians often insisted that the women amounted to around 40% - a figure I was not able to agree with after counting all the women I found in sessions and gigs. In general, men tend to talk about equality in the music scene, while women tend to emphasise the opposite. More and more girls and women are, however, entering the music scene. The international success of Riverdance and Sharon Shannon (female accordion player from Galway) in the 1990s has partly contributed to a new trend among girls (and boys) to play and dance to Irish music. The female role models have increased in numbers, but they are still in a minority.

Older women very seldom play in traditional sessions in pubs; they mostly play in their houses. Younger women feel they are more welcome at public sessions and they can manage to participate in these contexts as long as they are not married and do not have children. Frances, a traditional musician in Galway, was very aware of the gender differences. However, she had noticed that it was the quality of the music that was most important, irrespective of whether you were a woman or a man, although in pub sessions inequalities were not unusual:

Of course there are inequalities that will always prevail, in the sense that women would not feel so comfortable going into a pub on their own. That they may not be so interested in drinking and being in a pub. Of course it's a huge mix of people, but it still carries that kind of male environment...So I think the fact that most of it happens in pubs, probably in the broad sense does discriminate against women...If you look at people under 15, I'm sure there are as many girls, probably more girls than boys.

Nevertheless, young women seem to be more interested in singing and dancing than in sitting in pubs, drinking and playing music. There are, however, more women playing traditional music than rock music. The rock music scene is even more male-oriented, and children often learn early on that it is appropriate for boys to play in rock bands, but not girls. Ellen, originally from the US, told me that this view was even more common in Ireland than in the US. Many people seemed to be surprised at seeing a woman on stage, especially with a guitar in her hands. She also stressed the
fact that rock music tours can be hard for women. Life on tour buses with no toilets, showers and comfort she found very difficult, and she needed her own space. Women musicians, more than men, have to consider questions about combining working or making a living from music-making with having children and relationships. To combine music-making and families still tends to be easier for men, but even they had problems.

Cohen (1991) and Becker (1966) suggested that marriage and relationships were bad for the bands, since they threatened their existence and male co-operation, the image and the music-making. But most of the male musicians in Ireland found that it was bad for marriages and relationships to be a musician, because of the travel, the late gigs and all the drink in the pubs. They expressed it in the opposite way; they were not against the idea of relationships, but they were afraid that the irregular life of music-making would not fit in with family life. Male musicians would like to have families, but they had seen many of the older musicians with broken marriages behind them and drinking problems. This way of describing their situation can perhaps be related to the view that the family is still something highly valued in Ireland, more so it seems than in many other Western countries.58

The building of a comprehensive national ideal in Ireland has also concealed gender differences that were not heterosexual, or has at least projected a strong image of how a woman or a man should be. However, this image of Irishness has changed recently and there are other ways of being an Irish woman or man, without being excluded from possible versions of Irishness.59 Many young musicians have tried out these new possibilities and have been role models (or vanguards) for other young people. Sharon Shannon has played an important part in remodelling the roles of Irish women in the music scene. It has become more appropriate for women to play instruments and be in pubs. The well-known rock musician, Sinéad O’Connor, is another model, who refuses to be the mediocre, normal Irish woman (cf. Negus 1997). Both Sharon and Sinéad are challenging and changing traditional roles for Irish women. Sinéad is also questioning the

58 Wills (2001) discusses the ideological construction of the Irish family as intimately bound up with images of Irishness. There is a symbolic image (however contested) of Ireland as ‘mother’ or the nation as family. See also Tom Inglis (1993) book Moral Monopoly about the power of the Irish Catholic Church on family issues.

59 In an interesting article, Catherine Nash (1997) looks at the role of gender in constructions of Irishness. National identities are also gendered identities. The changing roles for men and women have had an impact on gendered Irishness.
austere version of Catholicism in relation to child abuse, abortion, sexuality and the family. She has provided inspiration along the way to Irish women who have felt outraged by the old-fashioned gender roles in Irish society and the control exerted by the church and state over their lives.

Gender is probably more of a guiding principle than social class in music, as even Finnegan noted. In her study, young women often played classical music in the schools, whereas young men played rock music outside them. Accordingly, the various musical pathways developed gender-influenced roles. Cohen (1991, 1997) illustrates how the production of an extremely male way of life in rock music in Liverpool was worked out, but it would have been interesting to see how the very few women rock musicians handled this situation. I found questions of femininity interesting, since it is still more controversial to be a female musician than a male musician in Ireland. The situation for women is, however, dependent on the situation for men, since what is considered to be an unquestioned activity for men, is something questioned for women. The women often felt left out and were thus able to see and experience what was actually going on. Cohen’s (1991) chapter about gender issues is called 'The Threat of Women'. The women are 'polluting' in the eyes of the male rock players. Cohen even noted an absence of women in the audience! Of course, the men were outnumbering the women, even in Ireland. One of the most important questions for women players was to note their situation in the Irish music scene. They argued that women did not work under the same conditions as men in the music industry. A woman had to be extremely proficient, be playing and practising for years and also be good-looking in order to be able to make it. Women were not always taken seriously in the music scene.

A number of the bands I met, such as Shakti, Yemanja, Fatal Flower, Odd Man Out, Black Sheep and Purple had women members. Fatal Flower had a female drummer and some of the bands had female guitarists, but otherwise it was more common to have female singers. Women in the traditional music scene also tended to prefer different instruments from men, such as concertinas, fiddles and flutes, but not so often uilleann pipes or bodhráns. It was also usual to have two women in the same band, since they thought it was easier to be a young woman in a band if there was another woman already there; they were able to help each other in gaining confidence and respect in the bands.
Those young Irish rock bands that I got to know in 1996 and 1997, which had women members, did not see a danger or threat in having women in their bands. The Irish bands with female members found that it looked good and different to have a woman on an instrument or singing. But to have women members was not only a matter of enhancing the visual image and attaining a 'sex appeal', the women players were also thought of as good instrumentalists and singers.

The women in Shakti and Yemanja were more critical of the male music industry. Yemanja, being an all-female a cappella group in Dublin, was conscious of the fact that they were all women and that it was different working with only women. Susan in Yemanja told me this on e-mail:

> There is a very different work atmosphere with all women. For a start there is no sexual tension or flirting and an awful lot more discussion and compromise when a problem arises. Generally women are better at resolving a difference rather than walking out when there is no communication...It's still harder for women in the industry than men because there are still some misogynistic men in powerful positions. But compared with 10 years ago there are lots more women working at all different levels of music.

It may be a matter of changed gender roles, that it is more appropriate for young women to enter the music scene now, and easier to get respect than it was 10 years ago. However, Ellen noted that many young men enjoyed playing in bands because they hoped to meet more women, but they did not want to have them playing in their bands. Tony, a rock musician in Galway, put forward the importance of bands looking like a unit, and that it could be difficult for women to fit in to that unit if the other members were men. Contrary to the situation in Cohen's (1991) study, I do not think that women were actively excluded from the music scene in Ireland: 'There's no hidden agenda trying to keep women away from the sessions', as one male musician expressed it. Almost all of the men I talked to loved to see women playing, and they had nothing against the idea of having a woman in the band. This is what Nollaig, a young traditional musician in Galway, had to say:
Women talk about the sexism at the sessions and I think it's true like, but for me...I play a lot with female musicians...For younger people there's no sexism...I know as many female musicians as male musicians, and they're all equal as people like...I think females think it's hard, but I think it's changing a lot now...I don't care if you got 10 legs or no legs, female or Jewish or Catholic.

In this chapter, the concept of musical pathways has been used to illuminate the various paths individual and collective musicians carve out in music genres and styles, in identities and lifestyles across time and space in the continually changing translocal music scenes. In the next chapter, I shall describe and compare the music scenes in Dublin and Galway, looking at their interconnections and why they have become centres of the Irish music scene. This will offer a context for the genesis of various musical pathways. Even though the boundaries of localities are more complex today, local places are still important in the study of translocality, both theoretically and empirically. To be active in a music scene involves having a meaning in it, having a 'place' in it and thus an identity as part of it. It is about belonging to a community in a music scene, something it is possible to belong to by being active in the scene, whether as musician or fan (cf. Shank 1994).
Dublin, the 'rock capital' and the capital of the Irish Republic, is located on the east coast, and Galway, the heart of traditional music and a smaller city, is located on the west coast. This chapter depicts Dublin and Galway as centres for travelling musicians from other parts of Ireland and from abroad, and tells how, for young musicians, Dublin is a 'springboard' and Galway a 'playground'.\textsuperscript{60} They are central places, 'translocalities' (cf. Appadurai 1995), by being exposed to movements in the meetings between various travelling musicians and more locally based musicians. In other words, Dublin and Galway are 'communities open to the world' (cf. Hannerz 1998). Hannerz (1992b) also talks about central places, such as cities, as 'cultural switchboards', since they are places where different original and peripheral cultures can meet - an aspect of cultural movements and meetings which probably makes translocalities such exciting places and contributes to the status of Dublin and Galway as centres of the Irish music scene. Dublin has tended to attract Nordic musicians and Galway Spanish and French musicians. In a sense, the Nordic musicians can be said to be following the historical path of the Vikings beginning in the ninth century in Dublin, and the Spanish and French musicians, the Spanish and French invaders in the thirteenth century in Galway. The English influence on the lives of the Irish is not so apparent in the history of the west of Ireland as it is in the east of the country. At least, the west of Ireland has been able to preserve the Irish language for a much longer period.

\textsuperscript{60} By travelling musicians I mean all those musicians who travel on planned tours and those who travel in a more unplanned way for their own enjoyment in order to get gigs or for busking. I do not mean the indigenous 'Irish Travellers', although they are included in their capacities as travelling musicians.
Scenes, places and identities

According to Barry Shank (1994), the definition of a music scene is connected with the performance of identity. His focus was on rock musicians in Austin, Texas, who had not reached stardom, but who continued to struggle through performance. Interestingly, Shank also included the fans in this struggle. He argued that constructions of identity and community were important cultural functions of performances. He looked mostly at local processes of identity in his study, but he also considered the issue of geographical movements and transgressions of the boundaries of rock 'n' roll communities (see also Shank 1988).

The meaning of place and various social constructions of places are related to issues of identity. When musicians stress what they like or do not like about a specific place, this may be a way of conveying what smaller place, part of a bigger place, they feel they belong to. At stake is the fact that some musicians belong, for example, to the traditional scene of Galway or Dublin, but not to their rock scene. Other musicians belong to a specific part of the rock scene, the original one or that of the cover bands, or to both of them, and this circumstance may say a lot about who they are and who they go out with and what their opinions are on various issues. Accordingly, Galway and Dublin are composed of many different music scenes and musical pathways, though there is always the possibility of overlap. The local music scenes are in constant movement in which new and old musical genres, styles, lifestyles and places meet, interact, change and influence each other.

Will Straw's conceptualisation of music scenes is appropriate for what I have suggested about translocalities. By following Shank's (1988) reasoning, Straw (1991:373) avoids the idea of a musical 'community' that is stable and rooted in a specific place, and suggests that a scene 'is that cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization'. Straw also wanted to move away from the idea of bounded subcultures in his development of the concept of music scenes, by pointing out that scenes are looser and more fluid than theories of subcultures. Scenes, in Straw's view, have to be actively created and maintained, and through such practices, boundaries are erected and social divisions drawn. His concept of scenes points out that people
form musical taste groupings around particular genres of music. Yet, as Negus (1996:23) noted, Straw wanted to challenge ideas of homology and locality: 'Straw's concept of the scene has been proposed as an attempt to move away from the ideal of a necessary relation between social location and musical consumption.' I shall develop Straw's view by looking at how scenes emerge and become central, as in the making of Galway's and Dublin's music scenes.

The local scenes are also part of a transnational Irish music scene, which is not necessarily connected with a specific geographical place. The idea of a music scene is useful for local and national as well as transnational contexts. There are Irish music scenes outside Ireland. Thus, the scenes can include smaller as well as bigger units, everything from the local music pub to the global context of MTV. Again, there are scenes in the scene. Whereas I hold this processual and interactive view, the local musicians may have distinct ideas about boundaries and what places are meaningful for them. I have been looking at how they imagined Dublin and Galway, and what kind of connections they saw or experienced between the two places. The concept of a music scene is appropriate to use since the musicians themselves often use it, as do other people in the music industry (cf. Cohen 1997).

I am offering a broad and open-ended definition of music scenes. On the whole, the music scenes constitute the contexts in which meaningful social activities are generated and interpreted. They can be seen as networks of localities or social contexts, sporadic or more persistent ones. What is happening in one locality may impinge upon what is happening in another: there are many connections in the Irish music scene. The networks consist of social interaction between musicians, fans, music journalists, managers, sponsors, music organisers and so on, and these can be extended nationally as well as transnationally.

Some of the musicians in Dublin knew musicians in Galway and vice versa. They had been living and playing in both places, and were therefore familiar with both of them. There is a lot of networking between traditional musicians, and some of them were very translocal in the sense of moving between Dublin and Galway. Danú, one of the brilliant new young bands in Ireland, can aptly exemplify this. The flute player and traditional composer Tom is one of the lead figures of Danú. I knew him as a flute teacher in Dublin's CCÉ. Then I saw him playing with Danú for the first time in Galway. They were playing in Quay's pub and giving
a lively show for the Galwegians, tourists and students in town. The young men from Galway's traditional band Calua were there during one of Danú's gigs, and the two bands were obviously good friends. I also recognised the fiddle player in Danú from sessions in Dublin, since he was a close friend of the young traditional band Delos. Tom had worked with the world percussionist group De Jimbe in Dublin, had composed a piece of music for them and had played with them. Surprisingly, he also showed up with the 'tribal trad' group Kila on stage during their gig in the large venue called Black Box in Galway in May 2000. Tom seemed to be a central figure in the scene of traditional music. One never knows who will be playing with whom in the extended and inclusive networks of young musicians. This is also an attraction for the open-minded traditional musicians; they enjoy meeting and playing with many different people in their musical paths.

Most of the young traditional musicians who played at sessions in Dublin knew each other, as did almost all of the traditional musicians in Galway. They played together and tried out new sessions continuously. Rock musicians tended not to develop as extended networks of musicians like the traditional musicians, and they did not know many traditional musicians. Rock musicians stuck together in smaller groups, and in Dublin many of the younger rock bands did not even have friends among other rock bands. In Galway, however, I found more contacts between different musicians as compared with Dublin, which may be related to the fact that Dublin is a big city while Galway is a smaller town.

The connections I shall talk about here, between Galway and Dublin, concern expectations and experiences of musical, professional and social relationships. Musicians had various reasons for 'choosing' between these two centres, and sometimes because of their expectations rather than of actual experiences of playing and living in both places. Yet, many Dubliners have childhood memories of visiting Galway and the west coast during the summers and weekends with their families. It turned out that most of the musicians seemed to have 'chosen' these places for strategic reasons: they were assumed to be useful for their kind of music-making. Dublin and Galway functioned as meeting-points for musicians coming from different parts of Ireland. To ponder about where to live seems to be especially relevant for people with such a translocal occupation as that of musicians. But in spite of their travelling around
and being influenced by music and musicians from various places, they still needed a home to go to, a place to return to. And this was preferably a place where they were able to play their music and meet other like-minded musicians and friends.

Local identities are not necessarily fixed or rooted. Similarly, Proinsias O'Drisceoil (1993:40) considers regional identity in Ireland to be 'fluid, flexible, unstable in its meaning, formed, reformed and deformed by changing ideologies and perceptions'. The local units such as Dublin and Galway are not given, but can be constructed and experienced in different ways (cf. Appadurai 1995). There are power struggles, concerning related issues of identity and authenticity, in how local places may be produced and reproduced (cf. Strathern 1982). For example, 'true Galwegians' may be seen in contrast to the transient population of tourists and students in Galway. However, most of the people are not Galwegians in the sense of having grown up there with their families. Even most of the musicians came from other places in Ireland and abroad. Those who had lived there for only a couple of years did not speak of themselves as 'true Galwegians', but they regarded themselves as more 'local' than the transient population, since they were at least thinking about staying for a longer time. Similarly, in Dublin it is not as important to be authentic in the sense of being a 'true Dubliner' as it is to play original music and to be authentic in the music-making. Authenticity is a central theme in conceptualised contrasts between the local identities of Dublin and Galway as music scenes. Original rock musicians may regard Dublin's music scene as authentic because there is room for original bands, in contrast with the heavy concentration of cover bands in Galway. However, traditional musicians may perceive Galway as more authentic for traditional music, whereas Dublin is sometimes accused of harbouring traditional musicians who do not respect the 'tradition' and the regional styles.

Interestingly, Cohen (1997) puts forward the argument that there was controversy about the existence of a scene in Liverpool and what it consisted of. The scene is a contested concept, since some complain that there is not a scene because very few bands get signed and there may be very few venues for original music. Thus, the musicians' own definition of music scenes presupposes that they are something creative and alive. I sometimes heard Galwegians declaring that 'there is no music scene in Galway'. They argued that only 'dead' music was played there, such as
old, unchanged traditional music or uncreative cover rock bands playing other people's music. It is, however, possible to find both change and creativity in traditional music and cover bands. It was actually these kinds of music that made Galway and Dublin such lively and interesting places for many people.

The mass media play an important role in the creation of local music scenes, having identified Galway and Dublin as central places for music, and informing, to some degree, about the kind of music or sound that is available there. However, 'scene', in the same way as the concept of 'sound', may highlight the existence of a comprehensiveness and similarity when there actually are many different subscenes of bands, musicians and individuals with different ideas about music. Thus, scene and sound may be media creations in music magazines that people recognise (cf. Cohen 1997). I would also say that scene and sound are concepts that are used to attract tourists, and they are often used by the Irish tourist industry. The role of the media is often missing in other studies of local music scenes, as if the media are only about inauthenticity and not worth being studied in ethnographic accounts (cf. Thornton 1995). The media are in fact participating with the musicians in the defining discourses, even though they sometimes make generalisations and accentuate differences more than the musicians do. Mostly, the media support the more well-known musicians and the bigger venues, and do not report on the everyday music-making taking place in smaller pubs. The media are often directed to a bigger international audience or to tourists, and adjust their musical reports to what they think that audience is interested in.

Since Dublin and Galway are seen as the two most important and liveliest places for music in Ireland, they are frequently compared and contrasted with each other. Cohen (1997:33) also pointed out that 'the identity of a scene is shaped by distinctions drawn between local scenes'. She noted this in comparisons between the music scenes of Manchester and Liverpool. I noticed that Galwegians tended to perceive Dublin as a big, unfriendly, competitive, stressful and trendy city. As one rock musician in Galway burst out: 'There's a hell of a lot ego in Dublin City.' Even the musicians were regarded as more trendy and the traditional sessions as more closed. One musician in Galway complained that 'the image thing is higher', and went on to say that 'Dublin's music scene is very snobbish, closed circles, very cliquish, no outsiders coming in.
Arrogant people and bad sound engineers'. He found the standard of bands and musicians better in Galway, and even that 'people are more honest, and help each other'. He did not like to play in a place like Dublin with 'too much hassle, shit, too cool for the world'. If you want to play in Dublin you have to book gigs six months in advance, he told me, and 'the only thing you get is a bad crowd and bad payment'. Another musician was quite happy about Galway, but could think about living in other places: 'I like Galway and will always come back. It doesn't matter where you're based when you have the phone. The telephone and the Internet is all you need and you can do a lot from here.'

One musician in Galway described the stress in Dublin and how it even affected the music-making: 'People just rush around there and don't do anything.' On the other hand, some musicians liked the 'madness' in Dublin and thought that Galway was too relaxed for them. They also enjoyed the better prospects in Dublin of meeting new musicians every day and trying out new places for gigs or sessions every night. Dublin musicians may appreciate Galway as a holiday resort, but they preferred to live and play in Dublin. Yvonne, a traditional musician in Dublin, had noticed the competitiveness between Dublin and Galway and she had her own views as well:

I like Galway, but there's a cliquishness about it, and pretty much anti-Dublin feeling. Probably goes both ways...I suppose what's happening is that most of the people in Galway aren't from Galway. It is over-populated and it's becoming very tense for the area. People protect what they have and they do have a beautiful city and interesting things happening there, but they're competitive which I don't like and I suppose there is this ego-centrism. Wow, they think they are in the centre of the country.

Yvonne did quite accurately point out that Galwegians seemed to have more to say about Dublin than the Dubliners themselves. Galway may, however, be accused of being too laid-back in the sense that musicians only talked about doing a lot of things with their music, but nothing ever happened. Like Dublin, Galway is a town with a lot of temptations, but according to some musicians it was much easier to fall for them in Galway, since the place is smaller. Friends happen to meet each other on the streets and they go along together and then that day is
wasted, so to speak. Rick, one of the traditional musicians in Galway, gave me his view:

I prefer to live in Galway. Dublin is too big and I don't like big cities...The attitude of the people in the west of Ireland is different. It's my home place and I like the people better here. It's more...friendly. If you walk down the street in Dublin, very few people will smile at you, say hello or something. In Galway you very often nod or say hello to people you don't know as well...It's very relaxed and very easygoing.

This is mainly an urban study, but the urban music scenes are sometimes compared and contrasted with rural ones. The musicians talked about these other places in Ireland as well, especially when they used the rural places for comparison with the music scenes in urban Dublin and Galway. Galway, however, was thought of as a more rural place, but rapidly becoming more urban. The rural places often functioned as mirrors for how traditional music was played in the past before the urban influences became apparent. Rick discerned clear differences between playing in rural and urban places:

In rural areas more of the original styles from that area are preserved, whereas in urban areas a lot of different people from different areas come together so the music is more cosmopolitan...There's more mixing with other types of music and even other types of Irish music in cities...The idea of the session is the same, but sometimes in cities there are more gigs on stages with microphones and stuff like that.

Brendan, another traditional musician in Galway, also recognised differences in the music of rural and urban places: 'The difference is that the music is more in touch with the people in smaller areas like in Galway, and there's more emphasis on the personal musician. In Dublin it's so alien to go into a pub and hop on a green bus on the way home. Dublin is like any other European city.' On the one hand, the rural places could be romanticised as being more pleasurable for music, without the competition over money and status as in urban places. On the other hand, the urban places could be romanticised as being more pleasurable with more young people playing and having fun together, without the urge of restricting themselves to what they see as purism or backwardness.
Most of the contemporary young traditional musicians in Ireland play in cities, and most of the time they want to stay there. Some young traditional musicians did, however, express wishes or dreams of moving to the countryside. However, they were often not able to afford it at the moment or had not decided precisely which rural place would be appropriate, since they still wanted to go on playing music together with other musicians. One region they did think of moving to was Co. Clare. Thus, there are other places and regions in Ireland, apart from Galway and Dublin, that are associated with a particular kind of music scene. For example, Doolin in Co. Clare has become a kind of centre for Irish traditional music, although it is a very small village with only few inhabitants. It seems to attract urban traditional musicians, mainly during the summer, but many musicians live there all the year round (cf. Ryan 1997). According to hearsay, you can find a musician in nearly every house there. Thus, the young urban traditional musicians also travelled to the countryside for gigs or sessions. They did this in order to learn new tunes, regional styles and variations, to experience new influences and to meet musicians who lived in rural places. The point of going to different sessions is to acquire knowledge about what is happening in the various styles of music. Since most of the young traditional musicians valued this, they wanted to choose a place to live where there were many pubs and musicians, such as in Galway and Dublin.

Urban scenscape and soundscape

Apart from the pubs and clubs where the music is played, the urban surroundings that are relevant for the music scenes should also be taken into account. Cohen (1997:25) introduces the interesting idea of a scenscape, saying that 'the scene also has its own look or visual "scenscape". Buildings associated with it are often old and in a state of disrepair…venues for live rock performance are particularly dark, dingy and generally inadequate.' Cohen wanted to highlight the spatial, 'scenic' aspects of live rock music in Liverpool. Similarly, Dublin and Galway are urban spaces with their own characteristic buildings, traffics, environments and atmospheres. The proximity to the sea, the mountains, the

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rivers and the divisions of Dublin into a north and a south part, and Galway into a west and an east part, do affect the urban spaces. The port status of both cities has probably contributed to an influx of musicians and musical influences. Cohen (1991, 1997) also noted that the port status was an important aspect of the music scene in Liverpool, which even promoted the city's masculine image. Even though ports and the shipping industry may not be as important today as they were in the past, due to different transport and communications, the sea and the coastal areas are still regarded as attractive places to visit and to live in.

It may be possible to talk about *soundscapes* here, in the way urban sound spaces can have an impact on musical spaces. R. Murray Schafer (1977) coined the term 'soundscape' to describe the entire acoustic environment, including not only music but also natural, human and technological noise. The soundscape makes up the fields of sounds in whatever situation, and the suffix –scapes draws attention to a spatial dimension. Importantly, the various types of music in Dublin and Galway both influence and are part of the urban soundscapes. The music of the streets, of buskers and during music festivals, as well as the music in stores (muzak) and the sounds of music from the pubs, all add to the characteristics of soundscapes. The sounds echoing from rock clubs and traditional music pubs influence the soundscapes at the same time as they are a part of them. Moreover, the sounds of the environment affect the various kinds of music made in that environment. As an illuminating example, New Orleans is one of the most famous cities in the world when it comes to the development of musical styles. Again, like Dublin and Galway, it is a port, which has contributed to an influx of many cultural influences. It is renowned for being a Creole city where the combinations of various musical sounds have evolved into a New Orleans sound. Berry, Foose and Jones (1986), in their account of New Orleans music since World War Two, emphasised the whole environment and all

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62 See also Waterman (1990) about the port of Lagos and its impact on the development of jùjú music in Nigeria.

63 See also Helmi Järviluoma (ed. 1994), and Schafer and Järviluoma (eds. 1998). Feld (1990) used the concept of soundscape when the Kaluli people in Papua New Guinea made it clear that every sound and every bird song was a voice in the forest. This led Feld to the conception of *Voices in the Forest*, a tape recording depicting a day in the life of the Kaluli and their tropical rain forest home.
its sounds as influencing the sound of music in the city.\textsuperscript{64} Incidentally, I heard some musicians saying that Galway was 'Ireland's New Orleans'.

I shall soon describe Dublin and Galway as urban spaces, but I mainly focus on the musical spaces where the musical activities are taking place in venues, pubs, homes, rehearsal and recording studios, music organisations, music classes, at parties, at parades, on the streets and so on. The urban as well as the musical spaces are both parts of the characteristic scenscapes, which in turn influence the soundscapes. However, one of the important points about local soundscapes is the fact that popular music is a translocal phenomenon. What is happening in popular music localities far away may influence the local music scene more than what is happening next door. Tony, a rock musician in Galway, emphasised this when arguing that it was difficult to discern a Galway sound:

\begin{quote}
If there's no longer a music scene then there's no longer a certain sound for a certain area, because everything is so open. We can get music from Africa, we can get music from Asia, we can get music from everywhere. Therefore bands and people are listening to music from all over the world and the sound is therefore influenced by the entire world and not just by certain areas like Galway...I don't think there is a Galway sound. If you go down to Cork and you see a band and you close your eyes, you can imagine yourself being in Galway and it will sound the same.
\end{quote}

Tony made an interesting connection between local scene and sound. If there is not a lively music scene, then there will not be any local sound either. Besides, it is hard to talk about the characteristic sounds of specific areas when sounds travel so freely nowadays. Tony continued by mentioning the importance of having at least one rock band with a distinctive sound for triggering local music scenes:

\begin{quote}
For a scene to start there has to be one original band with a distinctive sound...that would influence everybody else...My cousin is in Saw Doctors, but Saw Doctors they're not a band that people would like to follow and try to be like. Saw Doctors is almost like a joke, to liven up people...Galway had the Stunning who were very good...What are they doing now? They're on the dole...They don't keep going...Like the Frank and Walters from Cork, they were big in England as well. I heard a
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{64} See also Michael Smith (1990) about New Orleans music. Liverpool is another port city recognised for certain rock sounds and it has been associated with specific local bands, such as the Beatles (cf. Cohen 1997).
friend from Cork say last year: 'Do you wanna see the Frank and Walters?' 'Yeah.' 'Well, go down to the dole office in Cork. And you will see them drinking cans of beer.' That's it, they come and they go.

Thus, local sounds of music in different places are often inspired by influential musicians and bands. Whatever musicians say about scenes and sounds, U2 is the most influential rock band connected with Dublin and the Saw Doctors is the main rock band connected with Galway. But mainly it is the presence of a lively music scene that generates local sounds. The scenes are composed of music-makers who make the sounds, for example, in the making of a Dublin rock sound or even in regional traditional music styles with their characteristic sounds. Of course, the music-makers might be influenced by the whole sound environment in the particular places; by the soundscapes with their specific sounds of nature such as birds, animals, water and wind, technology such as cars, aeroplanes, trains, buses and factories, and other prevailing sounds of music in the areas. As is commonly said in Ireland, rural places are assumed to be more relaxed and closer to nature and thus produce slower and more melodic music, whereas urban places are more stressful and crowded with traffic and produce faster and more rhythm-orientated music. What I also often heard, was that the more or less constant rain in Ireland had an impact on the music scenes and sounds. Seamus Tansey (1996), a controversial figure in the scene of traditional music, is very concerned about how nature affects music. He is definitive about the idea that 'true' Irish music originates from the Irish landscape with its wildlife sounds of nature and animals. He tends to argue that Irish traditional music that is developed in the cities, or abroad, is dislocated from the wilderness of the Irish lakes, mountains, trees, birdsongs, sunrise, rain and wind. Interestingly, he draws attention to the question of 'what makes music Irish?'

It is as if the music, the landscape and the weather are connected in some mysterious way. This is also highlighted in lyrics, such as in one of the Saw Doctors' songs:

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65 See e.g. Maria Anna Harley (1998) about similar connections between Canadian music and identity, between soundscape, art and nature.
The green and red of Mayo, I can see it still. Its soft and craggy
boglands. Its tall majestic hills. Where the ocean kisses Ireland and the
waves caress its shore. The feeling it came over me. To stay forever
more…

This is not the only instance in Irish music where song lyrics address a
close connection with the Irish landscape. Apart from the influences of
traditional music with its common instruments and rhythms, a certain
empathic way of singing the characteristic song lyrics tends to be what
foreigners think about when they argue that Irish music has a distinct
sound. To generalise, it is as if the Irish soundscape (whatever that is) is
in a way reflected in Irish music of all kinds. Another evident example is
the music and lyrics of Enya, and how in her music videos she often
shows the Irish landscape, as if they were linked in some magical way to
each other. When I met Bruce, a traditional musician living in Bray out-
side Dublin, he played one sunny beautiful tune to me on the flute in
order to illustrate his intimate relationship with the Irish weather, the
seasons and nature. He said:

There's one tune in particular…As soon as the sun starts to shine, I play
it. I like to walk up the hills and play it…It's interesting, just by playing I
can hear the sunshine out there…Sunshine makes a sound…When it comes
to Halloween it's the sound of the uilleann pipes…A very seasonal feel-
ing, when the dark evenings draw in…There's a sound in those
drones…These windy instruments have certain atmospheres.

Moreover, traditional music is often valued for its rural character, in
contrast to the anonymity and technicality of urban places. For people
who do not live close to nature, the playing of traditional music may be
an attempt to get closer to nature. Consequently, traditional music that is
mixed with rock music is probably part of an attempt to express an as-
sociation with both the city and the countryside. In Dublin and Galway,
I often heard that the playing of traditional music was real evidence that
the rural was still alive in urban Ireland.

66 The lyrics are actually written by Jarir Al-Majar (born Jerry Mulholland). I met him one day in
Quay's pub in Galway while I was waiting for one of my musician friends. He was planning to
produce more lyrics for the Saw Doctors.
Dublin's music scene: a springboard

Dublin is, again, divided into two parts: south and north of the river Liffey. These two parts are often recognised as two different places. Hervé Varenne (1993) points out that Dublin is bisected into 'a popular, working class North' and an 'Anglo-Irish, pretentious South'. I was staying in the south, renting a house from an Anglo-Irish family who were living in England and had this place in Rathfarnham as a summer house. Thus, the north is assumed to be poorer whereas the south is more affluent. The north of Dublin has more decayed buildings, although some parts are refurbished now with the tourist centre (Ceol and whiskey corner) in Smithfield and new high-tech business buildings. There are more unemployed people living in the north-side suburbs in high-rise blocks or in smaller terraced houses. South of the river Liffey, are the renowned Georgian architecture, the universities Trinity College Dublin and University College Dublin (UCD), big private palaces and exclusive hotels and shops. The more fashionable houses can be found in the south, especially along the coast, via Sandymount and Dalkey down to Bray. In the north the same kind of areas are to be found on the Howth peninsula. Dublin is characterised by a wide bay and the mountains in the south are not far away from the city centre. The countryside is just round the corner, which is one of the attractions of Dublin; city life and countryside life are very close.

During daytime the north side around Henry Street and O'Connell Street, where the General Post Office (GPO) is located, are busy commercial areas with crowds of shopping Dubliners and tourists. The GPO is renowned for having been barricaded and functioning as a headquarters during the Easter rising in 1916. From St Stephen's Green to Trinity College in the south runs the more fashionable commercial and pedestrian Grafton Street. Street musicians and buskers add some charm to this street, which also has boutiques, department stores, bookshops and record shops, as well as the well-known café, Bewley's. St Stephen's Green is a park for relaxation, which hosts open-air music events during the summer. The pedestrian Ha'penny bridge crosses the river in central Dublin, connecting the north with the south of the city, as well as other bridges, like the wide, busy O'Connell Bridge for car and bus traffic. On the south side of Ha'penny bridge, the Temple Bar area begins.
Up to the beginning of the 1990s, the Temple Bar area, which is located in one of the oldest areas in Dublin between Trinity College and Christchurch Cathedral, was very decayed and quiet, with trees and bushes growing in the old houses. When Dublin was chosen as Europe's cultural capital in 1991, funding was provided by the European Union for renovating the area and turning it into a commercial and cultural centre. It is now a youthful, lively and friendly pedestrian area, especially at night, with restaurants, cafés, pubs and nightclubs. Theatres, art studios, small galleries, a Viking museum, film and music centres, hotels, boutiques and record shops fill the area with colour, people, sound and atmosphere. In Temple Bar Music Centre, there are sound training courses, and recording, rehearsal and equipment facilities, as well as a large venue for live gigs. The Music Centre came about as a broad-based resource for contemporary music of all types, in response to initiatives from a number of Temple Bar popular music organisations. It was developed by Temple Bar Properties as part of its cultural policy, and was funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Minister for the Environment.

Not only has the revival of the Temple Bar area drawn many thousands of visitors from all over the world, it has also brought new residents to refurbished apartments, attracted by living in the centre of the city. There is, however, criticism directed against what is regarded as the commercial exploitation of an old area. The musicians sometimes complained that the pub sessions in the city centre were no longer the same. Commercial interests were accused of changing pubs with charm, character and comfortable lived-in interiors into tourist superficiality. In both Dublin and Galway, the interiors of old pubs have been demolished and redecorated to suit some newly constructed cliché image of Irishness. In a forced way, a new 'old' interior is used to recreate a combination of Irish hardships, with images of the famine and the wars, and Irish pleasures, with Guinness, music advertisements and tourist accessories such as flags, road signs, farm tools and leprechauns.67 Only the outside walls are maintained, giving the false impression that the pubs are still the same. These commercial changes have taken place in pubs in the Temple Bar area, such as in the Auld Dubliner and Norseman. This has also

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67 According to the popular notions used in pub decor, leprechauns are jolly, mischievous members of the 'little people', dressed in green and wearing a green hat, sitting at the end of a rainbow, often hugging a crock of gold (cf. Bluett 1994).
happened to pubs outside the Temple Bar area, such as in White Horse Inn, which hosted one of the most popular sessions in Dublin. Old regular customers tend to disappear to other pubs and new customers take their place. Dublin is, of course, like any big city, although it has had the reputation of being more like an 'urban village'. A lot of business-orientated initiatives put their marks on Dublin during the 1990s.

It has probably become a cliché or myth that Dublin is the city of 1000 rock bands, and this is often used in the marketing of Dublin as a lively music scene. The Irish radio channel 2 FM caters for an archive comprising 1000 bands, but not all of them were still active in 1997. Thus, the myth about Dublin as the city of 1000 rock bands emanates partly from this outdated collection. There are, of course, many unknown young rock musicians playing in garages or on the streets as buskers without being registered in this archive. If we were to include all of them, the number would probably exceed 1000.

'Making it' by getting a record deal becomes a reality for very few rock bands. The lives of most of the rock musicians in Dublin are not especially glamorous. They might be able to afford a few studio rehearsals a month, and use simple 4-tracks for demo-recordings in their houses. If they have the courage, they might get a gig in a place like Eamonn Doran's, a venue in Temple Bar mostly for local indie bands. Baggott Inn was another place in the mid-1990s renowned for contributing to Dublin's label as 'the rock music capital of the world'. Young rock bands mingled there with more mature ones. But Baggott Inn has also closed down. Instead of regular gigs in pubs and other venues, many young bands perform on the streets as buskers, which has actually become a good way for them to earn some money and to play in front of an audience. They may earn about IR£20 an hour (this was before the Euro was introduced). If they are lucky enough and do have a good repertoire of songs, they may be noticed by passers-by from the music industry or by managers of venues who are prepared to give them gigs. This is not simply a myth, since it did happen to some of the bands that I got to know.

Cohen (1991) also noticed that Liverpool was renowned for being a city of 1000 rock bands. There seems to be something magical about the number 1000.

Demo-tapes usually consist of three or four songs that bands send to record companies, to music magazines for review or to pubs and venues in order to get gigs. Demo-tapes are often very simply recorded on 4-tracks and are not normally for sale. Different sounds, instruments and songs are recorded on different tracks and can thus be manipulated separately. In most recording studios it is common to use 24-tracks.

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Even though there are many rock bands with original material in Dublin, the city is frequently accused of breeding 'bad' indie guitar bands. Many of the young male bands that played in Eamonn Doran's, Temple Bar Music Centre, Mean Fiddler, the Attic, International Bar or Whelans had adopted the same kinds of shrill rock sounds with two guitarists, a lead singer and a drummer. As one rock musician described it, they are 'just thrashing out the chords'. In a way, Dublin has developed a special rock sound. But Dublin is not described as a good place when it comes to payment, since the venues pay badly. On the other hand, the original bands get the opportunity to play in front of an audience, although often an uninterested one, and to practise performances on stage.

It also happened that traditional musicians complained about getting poor payment for sessions in pubs. It was common for each player to get between IR£5 and IR£25. The payment was, of course, better for more well-known traditional groups playing in bigger venues. Other well-paid gigs were for company parties, and parties at universities, embassies and hotels, where the players sometimes got as much as IR£80 each. Even weddings and other private parties often paid well. There are a couple of agencies in Dublin catering for parties and musicians. When companies have foreign visitors they may want to show them something really Irish, and live traditional music, song and dance tend to be appropriate for that.

The 'Rock 'n' stroll trail' and the 'traditional Irish musical pub-crawl' are tours arranged for tourists as a way of getting to know the music scene in Dublin and the history behind it. The tours show where it all began for Dublin's musical sons and daughters and where it continues to happen. The Rock 'n' stroll trail consists of 16 plaques erected at sites that were significant in the development of the famous artists' musical careers. Dublin Tourism has published a little book called Rock 'n' Stroll that participants can buy from the tourist office. There are personal guides, but it is also possible to buy a Rock 'n' stroll tape, sponsored by Guinness in association with Dublin Tourism and Hot Press magazine. It goes without saying that the whole enterprise around the Rock trail is commercial and a way of marketing Dublin and Ireland through Guinness and rock music. On the cover of the Rock 'n' stroll tape, it says: 'And you too can take up Irish History today, (or for that manner,
any time you raise a glass of Guinness to your lips), by tracing a path through Irish Rock History.'

*Hot Press* has become one of the most important magazines for marketing and writing about upcoming and well-known musicians and rock bands from Ireland. With following in the footsteps of famous musicians and bands comes an acquaintance with Dublin and the Irish way of life in pubs. The Rock trail includes the venues where U2 and the Cranberries played their first gigs, the restaurant where Sinéad O'Connor worked as a waitress, and Bewley's café where Bob Geldof wrote one of his biggest hits – 'Rat Trap'. There are also the musical haunts of legendary artists such as Van Morrison and the Dubliners. Finally there is a chance to make a mark on the U2 wall on Windmill Lane, outside the former recording studios, - a wall covered with graffiti messages to U2 from visitors from various parts of the world. After the rock tour, the tourists are invited to a pub for a pint of Guinness. The tourist industry, the Guinness breweries, the music industry, *Hot Press* magazine, and the publicans are all in favour of these tours.

The 'traditional Irish musical pub-crawl' is another guided tour for tourists to experience Dublin's popular pubs and musical traditions. The pub-crawl is led by skilled traditional musicians who perform while telling the story of Irish music and its influences on contemporary popular and world music. The local musicians who guide the tourists around the city get some recognition and attention in the process. Emer Mayock, who was the tour guide for the traditional pub-crawl I attended in 1993, is now a well-known and respected traditional musician. The singer from Marigold, a local rock band, guided me in the *Hot Press* rock trail in 1998 and sold copies of the band's demo records to the tourists.

In Dublin there is a mix and variety of musical styles, and hence no special regional style of traditional music. Perhaps, regional styles were vanishing and more 'mixed' or 'personal' styles were emerging. Some musicians said that this led to a new 'national' style, while others thought that 'Irish' music was becoming more 'international' or 'cosmopolitan' with all the new outside influences. Traditional musicians in Dublin often played faster than musicians in rural places and did not always care about following the different regional styles. It was not necessary to know about these different styles in order to play in Dublin, but outside Dublin it was more important. Yet, there were young traditional musicians with an interest in getting to know the differences between the re-
regional styles, who travelled regularly to other regions in order to learn more. Many of them had moved to Dublin from other places where they still had relatives or parents with whom they wanted to keep in touch by playing the styles of those areas. Traditional musicians in Dublin often used various percussion instruments, mostly bodhráns, and guitars during sessions.

Traditional musicians in Galway were of the opinion that traditional musicians in Dublin sometimes behaved off-stage like rock musicians and even played like them. The hectic life in the bigger cities may be reflected in the way of playing traditional music. Dublin musicians were sometimes involved in musical fusions, such as incorporating new styles and influences from different parts of the world and making crossovers with Irish traditional music. In the 1990s, crossovers in world and modern dance music were replacing the interest in folk rock fusions originating in the 1970s. Dublin rock faced a minor crisis during the late 1990s when modern dance music became very popular with young people. Live venues for conventional rock appeared not to be commercially viable according to the venue owners. Instead, the club and modern dance scene was taking over. As in Eamonn Doran's, young people were often waiting for the gigs to finish so that they could start dancing in the disco afterwards. Yet, some of the dance clubs had live bands playing modern dance music mixed with, for example, jazz, traditional or rock music.

Nevertheless, there is live music of various kinds every night in Dublin, and there are many different places to choose between. In Dublin, Hot Press and other local papers have long lists every night of live music. Dublin became one of the main rock landmarks in the world during the 1990s. Success breeds success, so to speak, and new recording and rehearsal studios, live venues and musical pubs continue to prosper. Yet, Dublin is not an unquestioned centre for musicians. Again, many people are playing and there are a lot of places for playing, but the economic conditions are not always good; nor are the work opportunities. Before the 1990s, it was common for Irish musicians to have to travel to England, the US or another country in order to make a living out of their music or 'to make it'. This changed in the 1990s, when most of the big international record companies set up local offices in Dublin, with Irish record companies and music presses also close by.
Music agents often travelled to Dublin to look for new 'stars'. Dublin had become a good starting point and springboard for young rock bands.70

Dublin's aura as a popular music world centre also attracts famous musicians from abroad to go and live there. Maria McKee, an American rock singer, moved to Dublin after a visit. Like many other Americans, she has Irish family roots and became delighted with life in Ireland, enjoying going to pubs in central Dublin and meeting other Irish people and musicians. The artist Björk from Iceland has also lived in Dublin for a while and the Spice Girls have property there. According to my informants in Dublin rock bands, many of the famous artists who moved to Ireland legitimised their move by saying they liked the scenery and the relaxed lifestyle, when actually it was all about getting tax relief. At least for some of the famous artists living in Ireland, it appeared to be an economic decision. But many non-famous musicians move to Dublin, for a period of time, just to enjoy it, and they may live under very simple conditions in shared flats. They may also be drawn to the working conditions and the opportunities to be 'discovered' by record companies.

'There's a party going on'

Liam is one of the local traditional musicians and world music enthusiasts in Dublin whom I got to know. In the mid- and late 1990s, he was sharing a flat in central Dublin with other young people. He knew many musicians and was constantly involved in various music projects. One night in the White Horse Inn pub, Liam invited me to a party. After a short chat with him during a break in the traditional session, and before I went off for a meeting with the young traditional band Delos, he told me: 'There's a party going on'. And I replied: 'Yeah, where is it?' Whereupon, Liam explained that it was in his house in Herbert Street and he urged me to 'tell the lads in the band as well!' - namely the young men in Delos. It was a very modest shy invitation, since he was looking down at the floor while he was talking to me. Liam did not give me any more details about time or address; I was probably supposed to ask myself if I

70 Bennett (1997:107) uses the concept of 'stepping stone' instead of 'springboard', but views the pub rock scene in Newcastle upon Tyne in north-east England, not as a stepping stone for bands and artists aspiring to full-time professional music-making, but as an important resource for the production and consumption of popular music in its own right – that is, more as a 'playground' in my terminology.
was interested or to get the information from somewhere else. So I asked Raini, one of the regulars in the pub session audience, and she did at least know more than I did, such as the address and the time, even if the time appeared to be wrong.

So it was Saturday evening and the time was 8.30 p.m. when I walked up Baggot Street until I reached Herbert Street. I looked out for number 9 on the old houses, around five storeys high. I did not know Liam's surname and I did not hear that a party was going on anywhere. Eventually I found a first name that begun with 'L', so I rang that bell from the street. Soon afterwards I heard someone shouting 'Hello!', but I was not able to locate where it came from. I replied with 'Hello, where are you?' At the very top of the house, I saw someone looking out of a window. It was Liam. He ran down the stairs and opened the door for me. He told me that I was too early and the party had not yet started. He was rehearsing with the band De Jimbe at the moment, which he said played a mix of West African, Brazilian, Cuban and Irish music. I found this very interesting, but Liam did not think I would enjoy going up and listening to them so he recommended me to go to a pub nearby where they were all going to meet later on before the party started. This was obviously normal: parties started after the pubs had closed for the night. Somewhat confused, I informed Liam that Raini had told me that the party was going to start at 7 p.m., but I realised that she must have meant that they were going to rehearse at that time. In any event, Liam did in the end let me go up with him to the flat, up all the stairs in this decayed but charming old house.

A group of men and one woman were occupying the sitting room with their various drums and rhythm instruments. I recognised Donal and a man from the rock band Naked George as well as the woman whom I had seen at the White Horse Inn sessions. Apart from them, there were three other men. One black man looked really uninterested and continued reading his newspaper when Liam introduced me. I was silent during the rehearsal, since I was not sure what they thought about my presence. They practised a few songs with Donal singing, accompanied by intense drumming to Liam's technical advice. Donal tried to sing a Brazilian song without sounding too artificial, even though they changed the song to suit his way of singing. The atmosphere was quite relaxed. They were mostly sitting down and wearing their ordinary style of clothes – jeans, shirts and sweaters. Liam, Darren (the man from
Naked George) and Susan (the only woman) were differently dressed, however, in more trendy and African-inspired clothes.

It was interesting to realise, again, that the music scene in Dublin was so interconnected, that the musicians I knew from various networks seemed to know each other, at least the young traditional and world music people. Rock musicians were often more dispersed, and did not normally socialise with traditional musicians. Darren played, however, in both rock and traditional bands, which was not uncommon. His jumping and mixing between styles also contributed to extending his network of musicians.

The young woman, Susan, was standing in the corner of the room and seemed to get on well with the men. They listened to her when she had something to say. She had ideas about the music and how it ought to be played. After an hour the group finished the rehearsal. Donal asked when they were going to meet again to practise more songs. 'Good question', admitted Liam and Susan, but they informed him that they did not yet have an organised time schedule. I was wondering if they were not pleased with Donal, and if this was just an instance of trying out whether he worked well as a singer with their material. I never saw Donal together with De Jimbe again. No new date was fixed, but there were going to be more rehearsals. Liam and Susan appeared to be the two people who managed the band.

After the rehearsal, around 9.30 p.m., the men discussed what kind of beer they wanted and how much for the party. Somebody was going to buy it. They argued also about whether to go down to Liam's local pub, or to another pub, and what they were going to do. I took the opportunity to ask Liam about their musical influences and what the Irish part of the music was. He explained that they played a few Irish traditional tunes with rhythm instruments to which they gave a Brazilian or West African touch. They had played together for three years and had toured in different parts of the world. They were rather young, around 25 years of age. I managed to get a chat with Donal, as well. He was wondering if Raini and Joel were coming to the party. I told him that they were probably not coming, because they were busy moving to a new place in Ranelagh.

Eventually, Susan, Monika who was from Germany and shared the flat with Liam, and her German friend, decided to go down to the pub. Liam and the other men were coming later on. I went with the women.
On our way to the pub I told them about my study and the Germans told me that they had worked for Berlitz in Dublin. It was warm and light in the pub and a lot of people were already there. I talked quite a lot with Susan. She explained that De Jimbe played the music they played because they liked it, and that there was a demand on the market for music like that - for crossovers with music from other countries. She worked also with the administration of the band, arranging gigs and so on. It was demanding work, and since she had not been in good form lately because of personal problems, she found it even harder. But she really wanted to start working again and to do more for music-making. It had mostly been Liam who had worked with the band and its management, but she was going to take it over. Susan told me that, a month ago, there had been some African men playing with them, and that Liam had had to organise everything for them. He had been totally worn-out afterwards.

Susan also said that the world of music was very masculine, and that most of the musicians were 'sexists and nuts with homophobia'. She had found it harder to work with men when she was younger, but she had more confidence now that she was older. She no longer cared much about the foolish things men sometimes said; she just did her piece and continued playing. Some male musicians tended to think that women were not able to play as well as they did, and they did not care to listen to what women had to say about the music. Susan herself, on the other hand, had the opportunity to choose whom she wanted to play with and to object if someone was being annoying. She was a good musician, so she had no problems finding other musicians to play with. She also told me that she had been playing and singing with a group of women recently, which was completely different from working with only men. The whole collaboration with women worked much more easily, there were not a lot of arguments. There are, of course, different kinds of men. She seemed to work well with Liam. Susan and a French woman went on talking about the large number of Travellers in Ireland, and that they were victims of racism, accused of being dirty liars and criminals.

In the pub, I also had a conversation with Sean, a man around 30 years of age, who was a former rock musician. He contended that Irish music was not studied much by the Irish, because they took it for granted as a natural ingredient in their lives. But many Irish people in other countries, such as England and the US, have studied Irish music
there. The Irish diaspora had to work more actively to keep a vibrant traditional music going in their new abodes. Sean discussed the movie *Michael Collins*, which he liked although he found some flaws in it. He wanted to see *The Van*, which is one of the movies based on Roddy Doyle's books.

Around midnight, after the last pints, we finally went to Liam's and Monika's party. A group of men musicians, Susan and I walked together to the place. It was a relief to get away from the by now crowded and smoky pub. Susan was in a good mood and joked with the uilleann piper, whom I had seen a few times in the sessions in White Horse Inn. He told me that he wanted to talk to me about the Irish music scene in Europe, since he had been travelling around in Europe a lot. When we arrived, the flat was completely packed with young people. The party was now indeed going on, and new people were arriving all the time.

It turned out to be a lively music party, and I met many musicians. It became a bit messy and smoky, but interestingly there were groups of musicians playing in all of the rooms. In one room, there were musicians with guitars and an accordion and some of them were singing. In another room there was more traditional music, and in the third room there were African drums and other rhythm instrumentalists. They played fairly well, in spite of all the drinking and partying. I had good *craic* together with two very talkative and alert young men, who sang with the band Anuna and knew Liam from there. Anuna had made a CD and toured around the world. They told me that they were very happy about getting this opportunity to travel so much, which most Irish people of the same age did not have. Anuna had played together for a couple of years. The young men took up the issue of nationalism in traditional music, and I asked if they thought it was a question of generational differences. They seemed to agree and explained that changes were taking place. They also pointed out that they got on well with the English nowadays. They had no problems with them, in fact they had a lot in common with them, despite all the unhappy historical circumstances.

I tried to listen to and follow the musicians all night. There were probably ten musicians passionately playing traditional music in one of the rooms, and contributing to the lively ambience. I saw Donal playing the guitar and singing. Most of the musicians were men, but a few women musicians had found different fruit-shaped maracas, which they enjoyed shaking. I recognised Darren's girlfriend from Galway and
greeted her. She was following the music, sitting on the floor together with other people, who moved rhythmically to the music. There were young people standing and sitting all over the place, and the queue to the toilet was very long. I noticed that Liam had a lot of different drums in his room, both on the floor and hanging on the walls. The otherwise sparsely furnished apartment became rather messy during the party. I wondered how Liam and Monika dared to have such a big party with all kinds of people coming in all the time.

Many people at the party came from other countries and had ended up in Dublin for various reasons. I had a chat in the kitchen with some German girls, who were eating crisps, garlic bread and toasts that were spread out on the sink. I found a bag of crisps that I had bought myself, which I enjoyed while I talked to them. There was also an Irish young woman who came from Galway. I told her that some musicians had warned me about going to Galway because of the changes there. However, she did not think that there were any problems with tourists in Galway, and she had no complaints about commercialism. 'It is a city', she told me. She encouraged me to go there and to study what she thought of as a lively music scene. A young man came into the kitchen and said that he had seen me in the International Bar, on a night when Dave Murphy's singer-songwriters were there. He thought I was American because I had a little rucksack. He told me that he knew many of the musicians who were singer-songwriters, but that the quality during Dave Murphy's nights did vary. The night I was there was brilliant, though, especially since Luka Bloom was performing; he is a brother of Ireland's best-known singer-songwriter, Christy Moore.

On my way from the party, I met Susan outside. She was going to cycle home to 'the north side'. We said the conventional sentence to each other: 'Nice to meet you and see you again soon'. We would certainly meet again, at least in White Horse Inn, I thought. I walked down to St Stephen's Green where the taxi queue was fifty metres long with at least fifty people. There were not many taxis and I stood there tired and cold for over an hour. The people in the queue did not protest at all, but were having a good time together, chatting happily after a night on the town. It was 5.00 a.m. before I was at home and in bed.

A few days afterwards I met Liam and he told me that the police had come in the morning to the party. They had obviously been playing the drums too loud and disturbing the neighbours. I imagine the whole
block was shaking to the drums that night and morning. The police were probably also looking for drugs. At least, they let them continue with the party, but in a quieter mode. The day after the party and a sleepless night, Liam went to a traditional session in Slattery's pub on Grand Canal Street. I just wondered where he got all his energy from.

My network of contacts grew all the time in the field; one person led to another, and after a while I noticed that the networks of people were interconnected and that it was important for the musicians to have these extended contacts. Musicians whom I knew from different contexts happened to show up at Liam's party. Later on, some of them undertook fusion projects together, took part in the St Patrick's Day parades, and played in various sessions and gigging constellations. Again, some people were more central in the networks, and appeared to mix in a number of networks and musical pathways. They were key people who organised events and musical happenings of various kinds. Liam was a key person in that sense. The party showed his large network of people, which also extended abroad, even though he himself probably did not know everyone at the party. The party made me more aware of the translocal character of the music scene in Dublin.

Cohen (1991, 1997) and Shank (1988, 1994) also emphasise the importance of accumulating and displaying knowledge about the music scene, about venues, groups and events, in order to be a part of it. It was important to interact with other people who were involved in the scene. In Cohen's study, Liverpool's rock scene involved nicknames, in-jokes and jargon that discouraged newcomers, and especially women, since these utterances were often sexist. However, Cohen (1997:33) noted that a scene may be 'a rather fragile, unstable or precarious entity that needs nurturing and protecting, threatened by a variety of factors'. She also referred to Shank's (1994) analysis of a scene, by emphasising the temporary nature and the dynamics of scenes: their flux and flow, geographical movements and distribution.

Galway's music scene: a playground

Galway City, pleasantly situated on a fine bay and harbour at the mouth of the river Corrib, is the fourth largest city in the Republic of Ireland and is continually mentioned as one of Europe's fastest growing urban
It has a beautiful old medieval town and is renowned as the 'City of the Twelve Tribes' as well as the 'City of the Musical Vibes'. Galway City incorporates Celtic, Viking, Norman and British traditions through successive invasions down the ages, but, due to its west coast port status, it also has strong Spanish connections. Once, this was a town where twelve Norman merchant families controlled the centre's commerce and kept the ferocious Celtic clans at bay. The name 'City of the Twelve Tribes' emanates from this history. The tribes were actually French, but they did not call themselves that.\footnote{It is questionable if this is true, but the Galwegians often put forward to me and to other visitors that Galway was the fastest growing city in Europe.}

Galway has received a lot of international attention recently, thanks to all the festivals that are arranged, such as the arts festival, the oyster festival and the festivities surrounding the Galway horse races. According to certain journalists and musicians, Galway, again, is Ireland's New Orleans. It also has several theatre groups, a film industry and a vibrant stock of musicians. For every visitor to the west of Ireland, Galway has become a central starting point for trips to the mystical hills and valleys of Connemara, to the Aran islands and to the areas of Gaelic-speaking people.

Galway has changed rapidly from being a small town with families living above their shops to a city of high street stores and international brand names. The change in the economy, from agriculture to industry and manufacturing, has led to reduced migration and continued population growth, especially among the young (cf. Ó Cearbhaill and Cawley 1984; Thornton 1999). The census of statistics in the late 1990s indicated that the majority of the population was between 25 and 44 years old (cf. Thornton 1999). Pubs, nightclubs, restaurants and hotels are fast-growing businesses in Galway. It has become the capital of the west, which probably still retains an ambience of friendliness, relaxation and enjoyment for most tourists. It also shows a blend of old and new, with fishermen, Gaelic speakers and traditional musicians existing alongside a young population of students and musicians playing various styles of popular music. According to Kieran Keohane (1997:281), 'Galway is the Rome of the Irish cultural renaissance...the silicon valley of Ireland's culture industry; home to the Arts Festival, Macnas, Druid...' The Druid...
is Galway's renowned theatre company, and Macnas its street theatre group. Keohane continues to describe Galway as a cultural and youthful place, especially during 'weekends when everyone piles in from Dublin, Cork and the rest of the world. Galway is the place of pilgrimage for the Celtophile equivalent of the à-la-carte Catholic…'

The annual Galway arts festival during the month of July is very important for Galway's (even Ireland's) economy since it attracts many tourists. The festival has become a way for Galway and Ireland to enhance their international reputation. Local Galwegians were sometimes doubtful about it, because paradoxically it has become more of an international festival than a local one. The organisers are, however, delighted to see both locals and tourists. Ted Turton, the artistic director of Galway arts festival in 1997, wanted to believe that the festival had an identity of its own:

Galway Arts Festival has an identity that's evolved over the years. And I think if we ever lose that, the Festival will become just another stop along the way for international acts that drop in and go again. What I want to do is make sure that what happens during the Festival is the kind of thing that can only happen in Galway, that the kind of experiences audiences take away with them are the kind of experiences you can only have in Galway. We're not Edinburgh. We're not Paris. We're Galway, something very special indeed (O'Connor 1997:29).

I attended this twentieth Galway arts festival, which was announced as the most comprehensive international arts festival in Ireland. This year's programme was extended to two weeks. The extraordinarily well-produced Macnas parade was the opening event of the festival on 13 July, also announced as the most popular free event in the Galway Calendar. And I do not doubt this, since almost everybody I knew in Galway was engaged in the parade in one way or another, and the streets were completely filled with people during the day of the parade. The best part for music lovers was probably the finale of the parade outside the Black Box performance space on Dyke Road, with live music, dancing and partying. Various kinds of music and theatre shows were included in the festival. As well as the conventional text-based plays, a range of shows from visual and physical theatre to comedy and street spectacle with exotic flavours from around the world was represented. Variety and globality were the central themes, encompassing jazz piano, traditional
Irish music, contemporary country, percussive sounds from Africa, Cajun, rock, pop, Cuban-style salsa, Bach, Brahms, and a six-piece all-female band from Australia. The leading musical artists were Sinéad O'Connor, Dr John, Ocean Colour Scene, Alabama 3 and Afro Celt Sound System, among others. I read in an advertisement for the festival in the *Galway Arts Festival Supplement with the Galway Advertiser* (1997:4) that:

Shoes go in boxes; music doesn't. So let's mix 'em all up and let 'em fall where they will.

The main theme for the Macnas parade during the arts festival was the 'Seasons'. Each of the seasons was represented by different ancient civilisations symbolising the changing patterns of the year. Winter was under the hammer of the Norse God of Thunder, Thor. Spring was the world of Ancient Greece, with Aphrodite, the goddess of love, as the prevailing deity. Summer was ruled by the Egyptian Sun God, Ra, Autumn by Quetzacoatl, the Mayan Serpent God of the rain forest with his snake men and chattering monkeys. All the elements came together at the end of the parade on a giant stage in front of the Black Box performance space. This representation of so-called 'pagan' gods in the parade did, however, upset some conservative Catholics, just like Aphrodite who, according to these Catholic critics, represented prostitution and perversion, and whom they criticised for symbolising sexual slavery rather than love. In a letter to the editor of the magazine *Galway Advertiser*, someone wrote: 'This worship died out in Rome due to the role of Christianity in identifying these practices as evil' (Curry 1997:24). Michelle Comber (1997:18), another reader, countered the critics of a 'pagan' parade by advising them to 'lighten up': 'Macnas is an Irish word used to describe happiness, enjoyment, laughter, FUN. The parade is not a lesson in mythology, nor morality for that matter.'

The theme of the parade and the above quotes also reflect the controversial and diminishing role of Catholicism in Ireland. The so-called 'traditional Catholics' are reacting against 'secularisation', against those who call themselves 'secular Catholics' and those who are looking for a new spirituality in paganism or other 'New Age' religions.73 Some young

73 Yet it is not actually a question of 'secularisation', rather a search for new or alternative religions.
Irish people were interested in the era of paganism because of its connections with the Celtic era, and the time before the introduction of Catholicism to Ireland. Paganism was even considered to be more 'truly Irish' than Catholicism, since it took place further back in history. It was not so controversial and was not associated with the divide between Catholics and Protestants. Thus, the theme of the parade adequately symbolised contemporary Galway, which very much attracted young seekers and so-called 'New Age travellers' who celebrated sexual liberation and non-Christianity.

One of my closest friends, a music lover who originally came from Germany but had lived in Galway for many years, talked about the 'healing power of Galway'. The town had been good for her and for other people who needed to relax, to heal themselves and to become more attuned with themselves and their identities. Galway attracted people who were looking for something other than the busy life in cities. Many stressed foreigners, for example Germans, adored the natural surroundings, the relaxed way of living as well as the music in and around Galway. Even numerous 'New Age travellers' or 'Celtic' followers, who also agreed about the city's healing power, at least initially, appreciated the way of life in Galway. The German music lover and I talked about the musical connections in Galway and all the music-makers she believed in and followed. I asked her what it was that made Galway such a good place, and she answered:

Because of the music first of all, people would be coming. Galway is in the west of Ireland and seems to have the right energy for that since ancient times, since ages and it's kind of preserved for this kind of arty people, music, artists...Even so it seems it's all going wild and crazy at the moment, there's still much positive energy coming in as well. I just got to know one guy who came from Tibet and he is teaching a new form of yoga, and he mentioned that it took him 14 months to walk to Galway from Tibet!

Galway's beautiful location on the west coast, its Celtic connections, its perceived cultural authenticity, the university, its youthfulness, the small size of the town, its lively music scene and so on - all these aspects tended to attract people from other parts of Ireland and abroad. Thus, Galway is described by many as a cosmopolitan place, which attracts musicians to participate in the musical activities there. In actual fact,
most of the musicians in Galway are not from Galway. They come over to Galway especially during the summer, but many young Irish people as well as foreigners choose to stay for a longer time making friends there. They may enjoy the opportunity to play traditional music every night in different pubs, or to play in the streets as buskers earning money from tourists and other passers-by. Thus, Galway is supposed to be a healthy and creative place, a sort of playground for music-makers, although it is maybe too relaxed for the creativity of some musicians. Many people pass through Galway, so it is fresh and exciting. A singer in a rock group found that: 'It is just the right size. It's starting to be more city-like. Always something happening here, new faces all the time and lots of drinking places.' Nollaig, a traditional musician and originally a Dubliner, liked Galway because 'you go to the supermarket or the bank and you see the people from the pub the night before'. However, I told Nollaig that there were other musicians whom I had met in Galway who were disappointed with it. But he was happy at that time and really adored the place:

I was blown away by the city. This is my heaven, my paradise for music and it still is…It's a great place. Some people come and go and they're not happy, that's their own thing, not everybody can be pleased. It can be hard for musicians here because there are so many good musicians here, and if they come and look for gigs and work, and they get none, and they're like, 'fuck this plot!'

The French original musician, Simone, described the place as being like a 'womb' - a place to grow in to get better prepared for the bigger world. She talked about Galway's energy whirls and musical meetings across borders. For her, Galway was a strategic place since it was located near mainland Europe and London, but without the bad ambience of these places. Thus, initially Galway represented both a playground and a possible springboard for her. Simone gave me a very positive view of Galway in the beginning, but when I got to know her better she revealed a more critical view. Galway had turned out to be 'a waste of time' for her. She did not like the fact that people were like unreliable 'butterflies' in that they never followed up what they promised and they also came and went all the time. The few who stayed, the real Galwegians, were in her view 'incestuous' since there were so few of them and they always hung around together. However, in Galway there is the problem of all
small places, in the sense that some people are constantly avoiding other people. My informants were avoiding people with whom they had a disagreement, or people they just did not like, or people to whom they owed something, such as money or delayed payment for rent.

Patrick, a rock musician, agreed with Simone about Galway's *transient population*, and he was not especially happy about it since people did not stay and develop original music:

> I think it's a damned form for Galway. It's becoming just a *playground*. People come over here for weekends, go out and have a wild side, go from superpub to superpub and listen to bland music. They don't care what they listen to because they drink so much. It's all made up for them...It's a completely *transient population*...Students during the winter and tourists during the summer...Again that's why there's no original musics going on, because there's no strong body of people staying here and living here.

There is a constant movement of people, such as tourists and students who do not stay for any length of time, and who affect the music scene in Galway. Yet, it can be good for the music that different people are coming and going; it makes the scene vibrant, since new personal and musical influences are continuously coming in. But there is a risk that people will not stay long enough for things to grow. Those who played in a rock band with original material often had to leave Galway in order to become commercially successful in a bigger market. The creative acts of young original bands found it hard to get paid gigs in their hometown. The publicans wanted either cover or tribute bands, traditional musicians, well-known original bands or perhaps unsigned original bands from other places. Snowblindwaltz, the original rock band from Galway, complained about this, saying that 'if you're a band from outside town, you're a bigger draw'. The publicans wanted the audience to recognise the music, to sing along and drink a lot. For them, unknown original bands were riskier to hire. One disappointed musician said that Galway's pub scene was a 'dinosaur's graveyard', with large numbers of good musicians and cover bands but nothing creative happening. In the beginning, he was attracted to Galway for its recognised creative energy. In fact, many musicians appeared to be disappointed after a while. Jim, a young traditional musician, said that the music scene in Galway had:
Gone down the last couple of years. Say 5 years ago, Galway was The place to go to for music, it was the trad place in the country like. What has happened in this country is the cover bands. People would rather go up to the Quay's and the King's Head and listen to a cover band, the usual crap. It's really only during the summer that the music scene is good here. The winter is known as the famine because there are so few gigs.

Patrick, one of the disappointed Galwegians, moved to Dublin at the end of September 1997 together with his girlfriend and his rock band. In Dublin they had a studio of their own where they rehearsed and recorded their music. For those who wanted to market original music to a bigger audience, it was probably better to go to Dublin, since there was a more developed organisation for distributing music. Tony, a rock musician in Galway who preferred original music, did not see Galway as a strategic or creative place. To play in a cover band was often an easier or safer option than to play in an original band. Cover bands tended to bring in enough money, so the musicians were able to continue their easygoing lifestyles for a longer time. Importantly, the whole phenomenon of cover bands started around 1993 in Galway. Before that, or around 1990, there were more successful original bands playing and more venues or pubs for them. There was not much of an original pub rock scene in 1997, and the original bands were not able to compete successfully with the cover bands.

A few original bands tended to be created during the autumn when the students at University College Galway (UCG) came back. The university accepts around 10,000 students every year, which is a quite large number for a place with only 60,000 inhabitants. Undoubtedly, it gives Galway a very youthful profile. The university sometimes organised gigs for the students' rock bands at the College Bar. In March 1998, I was there with Tony, who is a 21-year old guitarist. There was a competition between some local and non-local rock bands. Tony was going to start playing with one of the bands that night, if they did not win. Unfortunately, the band won, and Tony, who was a friend of the members, went out with them afterwards to celebrate in one of Galway's popular nightclubs, the GPO, with mixed feelings. The band, named Guava, developed into one of the upcoming rock bands from Galway and Ireland during 1999.
At weekends and holidays in Ireland, many young people from the countryside and other towns went to Galway for recreation and to enjoy the nightlife in the pubs and nightclubs. Young men often stayed in simple and affordable hostels and spent their money on full-time boozing. There were gatherings of young people and 'New Age travellers' busking and socialising in the main streets of the city centre. Simone felt that there were too many young people in the city. She had seen and experienced the dark side of this, with too much depravity, drugs, smoke and drink:

I think Galway is not well-balanced. There's too many young people in Galway. That means too much deprivation in some way because they smoke, and they drink...There are too many people who don't do anything and have no ambition and no guide in life...I live by night.\(^74\) When I play music I have to play music by night...I don't think there are any really good artists because they lose themselves in this social life, which is just drinking and enjoying life. The Temptation town.

'New Age travellers' or 'crusties' (nickname for English young people who were regarded by some locals as lacking in personal hygiene, because of their camping and travelling life) were not always appreciated in Galway. Some locals accused 'crusties' of making a noise on the streets with their didjeridus, guitars and djembes, as well as with their various street performances. They lived in tents or together with friends in overcrowded slum apartments in town, and sometimes used drugs. Yet, some of these 'New Age travellers' did in fact live very healthy lives and had a serious interest in Celticism. Again, Galway has a reputation for being a Celtic centre, and New Age and Celticism sometimes go hand in hand. For example, on the Internet, Celtic music can be available under the category 'New Age'.

There was a drug image connected with Galway, which caused moral panic and police involvement. However, Olaf Tyaransen (1998:12), writing for Hot Press, was fighting for the right to party. He argued that the moral panic was destroying the musical vibes of Galway:

\(^74\) I remember when we were going to Cool Park one morning in order to take photos for Simone's music video plans, she wore dark sunglasses to hide her eyes. She had been awake until 8 a.m. because of a visiting musician friend.
Five years ago, the city was home to a thriving dance scene, with clubs like Wiped and Sex Kitchen packed out every weekend. Police pressure and drug hysteria eventually forced them to close. Having been forced out of legitimate venues, dance culture has now been driven underground, to woods and bogs and beaches. The repression won't ever stop the dance. It will, however, cost the taxpayer a fortune.

Olaf was right when he drew attention to the change in Galway. One of the places my informants used to frequent, the Cyber café, was also closed down in October 1997. The police were not satisfied with the management of the place and how they handled the door and drugs. Cyber café was a special place for more original and creative acts in music, in DJ-ing and also with special nights for gays and lesbians. It had a dance floor, a bar, DJ-equipment and computers downstairs, as well as a café and a small restaurant upstairs, and was a popular 'open-minded' place for rave fans, New Age-styled young people and homosexuals. In November 1997 the management had planned gigs with local, original Galway rock bands. My informants in the rock bands Snowblindwaltz and Cane 141 were booked, but they had to change their plans. Bransky's, outside the Galway City centre, was supposed to cater for them instead. The Punchbag was another alternative late-night venue for live music in Galway for young people who did not appreciate flashy discotheques and techno nightclubs. It was also closed because of troubles with drugs and complaints from neighbouring residents.

Some regulars saw the closure as a part of the cycle of destroying what was left of Galway's 'authenticity', and replacing it with hideous developments and modern bars with no character. They feared that Galway was becoming like any other tourist resort. This was already happening in Salthill, which is an area outside Galway City centre, with amusement arcades, luxurious hotels and go-carting tracks. Galway was really changing, and was repeatedly said to be Europe's fastest expanding city. Superpubs were being built, and somebody told me that every time he went to the Quay's pub, it had grown. The commercial interests, tourism orientations and the expanding city inevitably affected the music scene. The atmosphere for music, according to some musicians, was not as friendly and relaxed as in the past. Keith, a music-maker, instrument-maker and owner of a music instrument shop in Galway, told me:
The centre area of Galway town they're pulling down and rebuilding furiously. So it's changing. I fear that maybe just after the year 2000 the Irish thing will slowly diminish...and it's going to lose its identity as a small rural town. Three years ago it still had a very country feel about it, in the people and in the shops and styles of that. A lot of the shops now are becoming very international in that you can't be as equally at home as in the past.

Old houses have been knocked down in Galway in order to accommodate rich people in new modern flats. Yet, Galwegians mostly talked about the changes without doing anything concrete to counter them. Rita, a traditional musician, was, however, one of the most engaged in this question. She talked about the expanding city and the tourists:

You don't realise how big Galway is before you drive around in Galway, and see how much it is growing...It is a medieval city, and they have planning permission to make these high, horrible apartments...They seem to destroy what people come here to see. At the end of the day, the country is surviving on the tourists.

Ireland is truly surviving on the tourists. There are more tourists passing through than residents in Ireland. The tourists number around 5 ½ million a year, compared with a population of about 4 million (cf. Eagleton 1999). Frankie, a young DJ in Galway, complained about the lack of locals during the summer in Galway:

A lot of the Galway people have gone away to other places to be tourists...I don't think I want to spend a summer here again. It's just too many tourists, it's not like home really...If you're not a tourist you feel like you are outnumbered. If you're from Galway, you're the stranger like.

Thus, during the 1990s, the Galway area has undergone change in the form of urbanisation and industrialisation, and is not thought to be as 'authentic' as before when it comes to music. Many US and European computer and electronic companies such as Compact and Digital have located their industries in Galway. Foreign tourists are still travelling there in their search for traditional music, and this has also had a bad influence on the authenticity, according to many musicians. Galway is now a music Mecca during the summer, with more tourists than anywhere
else in Ireland. The town is mostly renowned for its pubs with traditional music, but the music has become more and more tourist-adjusted. It is played on stages by two or three active musicians who do whatever they can to get the audience interested. They use amplifiers and microphones in order to be heard in the noisy pubs. It is no longer as common to see traditional musicians in informal sessions where they happen to meet and play in pubs, sitting around a table with pints of Guinness in front of them. In staged sessions, they do not have the same amount of time to chat, joke and drink – to *craic* - between the tunes, as they are used to in more informal sessions. For the publicans, staged traditional music has become a way of contributing to a jolly drinking atmosphere, and of attracting tourists and other people interested in traditional music.

Apart from staged traditional sessions, cover rock bands dominate the music scene in Galway. These bands are often quite stationary locally, and are not famous outside Galway or Ireland. They may have a few gigs in places near Galway, but their translocality as working musicians is more restricted. On the other hand, the repertoires of songs for cover bands are quite translocal, since they originate from various parts of the Western world and from famous artists and groups in the field of popular music. Cover bands can choose between favourite songs from various decades or play the latest hits by, for example, Radiohead, Oasis, Blur, Verve or U2. The transient visitors, partying young people and tourists seem to like these cover rock bands, since they recognise the popular international songs, regardless of where they come from themselves. However, there are certain regional or national songs that are popular. For example, Christy Moore's nationally recognised songs are often taken up, like the song 'Ride On' that even the young rock band Kif made a cover of. But Christy Moore is well-known outside Ireland amongst people who have a deeper interest in Irish music, even though his fame is not of the same calibre as that of, for example, U2, the Pogues, the Cranberries or the Corrs. Cover rock bands playing popular songs do not require as much of the audiences' listening capacity as the new songs of original bands may do.

Most of the time, original rock bands have to be quite well-known in order to get local gigs, and they are competing with cover rock bands and traditional bands. The Saw Doctors is a band of this type in Galway, but they no longer play as much locally as they used to do. If the bands are very famous, on the other hand, they may be too expensive for the
publicans and venue owners. During original rock gigs, the audience listens more intently to the music, which may mean that they do not drink much. Easy-pleasing cover bands are a safe solution, attracting a mixture of tourists and locals. This mixture is useful to publicans, since foreign tourists do not always drink as much as the local Irish. Thus cover bands may not require as much attention, they are there in the background, like a live jukebox trying to enhance the ambience. But it is important to remember that many young people play in both cover bands and original bands and that they sometimes mix in a few originals when they are performing covers.

The informal traditional sessions are supposed to be a part of 'old Galway' and the staged sessions and cover bands part of 'new Galway', with commercialism and 'dubious' publicans and musicians emerging. The cover bands also represent what Galway is about today: a translocality with tourists, students and musicians. Galway's local identity is associated more with a playground than a springboard, but Galway is also a good place for learning for rock musicians who, in the beginning of their pathways, prefer to play covers. On the other hand, however, the cover rock bands tend to be very 'professional', at least those bands with regular gigs in crowded superpubs. Some cover musicians are semi-retired and were formerly original musicians. For them Galway is a place in which to settle down.

Influential musicians and favourite pubs

The folk revival of the 1970s triggered the development of traditional sessions in pubs all over Ireland. It also had an impact on the creation of a lively music scene in Galway City. During that revival, the folk music band De Dannan became well-known as a Galway-based group. Sometimes, it only requires a few accomplished musicians or successful bands to initiate the creation of local music scenes. Thus, the history of the music scenes may follow the history of influential musicians. Recently, Galway seems to be attracting accordion players, especially thanks to Sharon Shannon who during the 1990s became one of Ireland's most appreciated traditional box players. Other skilled box players from

75 The 'box' is an abbreviation for 'squeezebox', which includes accordions, melodeons and concertinas.
Galway are Altan's Dermot Byrne who lived there for a while and Alan Kelly who has been there for many years. However, the continuing vibrancy of music scenes requires a good mix of amateurs and professionals. As in Dublin, there are many different music sessions going on in the pubs in Galway. It was always possible to find new musicians with fresh ideas about music or with different ways of playing, which inspired individual musicians to develop their own styles.

It does not take long to get to know regular locals and bar people in Galway. The same people often went out every night visiting their favourite pubs. It was possible to visit many pubs during one night or to look around for a while before deciding which one was the most suitable. The pubs might look the same to an outsider, but their differences appear quite quickly. Róisín Dubh is a popular pub attracting a mix of regulars and visitors; in fact it is one of the most important and renowned venues in the whole of Ireland, catering for both new original acts and established ones. Local cover bands as well as traditional music were represented in Róisín Dubh. There was live music seven nights a week, with big national and international acts later in the week. The stage was used constantly, whether it was a free gig or a paying one. Thus, in the pub scene, a sort of division has developed with regulars who have their favourite pubs for playing and with their own age groups of people who get on well together. They have their distinct styles of playing that match their values about music and life in general. Musicians playing in Galway almost always knew who was playing where every night during the week. They did not want to embarrass themselves by going to a session with their instrument and realising that it was not what they thought it would be and then having to turn back at the door. For, contrary to the belief that traditional musicians do not bother with time schedules, they have to take account of them if they want to play with people they like.

During September, life in Galway is much calmer when the tourists have gone home and the students have not yet arrived. The traditional musicians seemed to enjoy this interval. They were able to play together in more informal sessions, and even heard each other and themselves when they played since there was less noise in the pubs. They were more relaxed and happier in between the tunes, as they talked and joked with each other. Even though the popular Crane bar was noisy during hectic summer nights, it was possible to get the visitors to keep quiet and listen
to traditional singing. I asked Rita, a traditional musician, which place she preferred, and like many other traditional musicians, she answered 'the Crane' since 'it has a good reputation for music and there's a session on every night and always good sessions. And it's also one of the few pubs where you can get people to listen.' The favourite pubs for traditional musicians were those with more informal sessions, such as the Crane, Taaffes, Taylor's, McSwiggan's and Neachtain's in Galway City as well as the Cottage Bar and O'Connor's in Salthill. The sessions at weekends in the Irish Club on Dominick Street were also popular among traditional musicians.

Pubs with staged sessions included Monroe's, Quay's, Lisheen's, Le Graal, Róisín Dubh and King's Head. The so-called superpubs, King's Head, Quay's and Red Square, only had 'safe' music, such as staged traditional music, cover bands and tribute bands. Quay's is Galway's most fashionable superpub and the management have restricted their live music scene almost solely to top-class tribute bands. To repeat, tribute bands concentrate on one famous artist or band, for example David Bowie, Queen, Bob Marley, The Jam, Abba, Tina Turner and so on, and try to be their look-alikes. Original rock music could be heard in Róisín Dubh, Punchbag, Monroe's, Seventh Heaven and Sally Long's, but these places also had cover bands in between. Some of the nightclubs, such as GPO, Warwick and Liquid, had nights with live music, originals as well as covers. GPO was the most visited nightclub and where cover bands, such as Full Trousers and Pyramid, had regular gigs. These gigs were very late at night, however, and hard to take part in for those musicians who had to get up early the next morning to go to work. However, most of the musicians did not have other kinds of work, so they hang around for drinks after their gigs until 4 o'clock in the morning. Monroe's used to be a place for rock gigs, and after that for Kate's showcase of local singer-songwriters. These gigs were more acoustic and of varied quality, but they were good opportunities for anyone who wanted to perform a few self-made songs.

**Spontaneous house sessions and experimental recording sessions**

However, I did not only attend music performances in pubs. Music-making sometimes took place in the musicians' houses as well, but then
mostly in more spontaneous ways. For example, one evening Simone and I went to Katrina's house in Oranmore, a bit outside the city centre. Katrina was not at home, but the German young man Martin was there. We had an interesting chat about Galway and music, and after a while Martin picked up his guitar and started to play. Suddenly he remarked: "The world is crazy. One person from France, one from Finland and one from Germany are sitting in Galway and making music!" Simone and Martin held a sort of experimental rock session in the sitting room. It was dark in the room, with only the light from the fire, which created a mystical, cosy and relaxed ambience. Simone improvised by singing and Martin by playing guitar. Simone used her voice only for making different sounds without following an ordinary language.

Martin was very much into experimental rock because he thought it spontaneous and authentic to do something new all the time. For him, to play live was like performing in a cover band, which means having to play the same songs every night. He also found it rather problematic to make recordings, since that would freeze the music. When the music is recorded, it becomes a finished product, even though it is possible to make changes as long as the recording is not distributed in the market. Simone agreed with this, but had accepted the recording conditions in order to become a recording artist, and adjusted herself to the recording requirements. Thornton (1995) noted in her study of club cultures that recording studios were not considered to be as authentic a context for music as playing live. When recording the music, small pieces of songs are used in artificial ways. Moreover, people who are into making experimental music do not always have clear ideas about what they are going to do when they enter the recording studio, and thus they tend to take up a lot of time just improvising in recording sessions. Experimental music is supposed to be more appropriate for informal sessions or when musicians are jamming together. Simply described, one person starts with a riff or a melody line and the others fill in or follow the flow of the music if they feel like it, or try to change it by suggesting new ways of doing it while they are all playing together. Martin, for example, told Simone that she might find it hard to follow him since he was jumping from reggae to blues and then to rock all the time. This was not a prob-

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76 I was born in Finland, but I have lived in Sweden since I was two years of age.
77 Riff is a repetitive element or a 'musical idea' that often starts a song off and forms the basis of the refrain.
lem for Simone, since she did not want to be restricted to any musical categories. This spontaneous house session was an interesting case of jumping from one musical style to another.

I also attended more planned recording and rehearsal sessions. There are a few recording studios and some rehearsal places in Galway that are relatively cheap to rent, such as the one down at the 'docks' which includes some equipment and only charges £5 per hour. This is a very affordable price, at least compared with Dublin and the prices in the Music Centre in Temple Bar. I visited the Temptation recording studio located slightly outside the city centre of Galway, in Ballybane. This is a 24-track digital recording studio, which is equipped with the latest technology and has catered for modern dance music, including the West's biggest names, as well as supporting the local rock and trad scene in Galway (cf. Walshe 1998). I was there with Simone when she recorded her experimental music together with Kevin, the sound engineer. Another day, I also talked to the manager of the Temptation studios, who gave me his story of setting up a recording studio in Galway:

I played in a punk band and got an interest in studios…I eventually went to London, but all the time I wanted to come to Galway. I used to come to Galway as a child during holidays…As a young fellow I enjoyed the party life here…It was in the back of my mind to come here some day and open a studio…Then there was a small studio set up in Ballybane…I invested some money…and took on some of the original acts, which I was interested in…I took all the challenging projects of young bands that began to bloom out in Galway in the late '80s Stunning and Saw Doctors, Sharon Shannon, Little Fish whom I managed, Toasted Heretic…I like being able to understand what drives musicians to be experimental or creative and I like watching that process and helping out in that process…There is more competition now, recordings have become much cheaper and more viable for musicians to make in their own homes.

Kevin worked as a sound engineer in Temptation studios and before that as a sound assistant in Windmill Lane studios in Dublin. He argued that Windmill Lane studios was 'just one big recording organisation that runs on a highly commercial basis…It's not like around here in Galway.' He seemed to like the studio in Galway. Chris, a traditional musician, explained that traditional musicians or bands did not need very technically
well-equipped recording studios and that Galway could cater for them at affordable prices:

It's great to have those recording studios here in the west of Ireland. You don't have to go to Dublin just to make a tape...If you feel in the mood and in good form to play, you can just go down there...There were really high profile recording studios in Dublin that would be recording all types of music, rock music and the rest, very large and expensive studios. For a trad act you wouldn't need all that, just very simple studios.

One evening I went with Simone and Kevin to Temptation studios. The manager had allowed Simone to use the studio to record three songs, but only during times when nobody else was occupying the studios. He believed in Simone, but wanted to see how her three songs developed before letting her use the studio for more songs. Simone was going to add the vocals to one of her recordings the night I was there. Kevin, who was Simone's sound engineer, had a relationship with her, but it was on the wane, and they were more like friends. We took a taxi to the place which was situated two miles outside Galway City in Ballybane. In the taxi, Simone tried to persuade Kevin to act in her music video; he was to ride a horse and wear medieval clothes. Kevin did not like the idea, since he thought he would look foolish. Simone was persistent and tried with all her female charm and humour to get him interested, but it did not work.

In the studio, however, Kevin functioned very well as Simone's sound engineer, and they seemed to respect each other. Simone used to stress the importance of good relations between sound engineers and musicians. She wanted to have the same sound engineer for all her recordings: someone who was into her music and was able to 'feel the spirit of the music and the soul of the music', as she put it. Kevin was not, however, a big fan of Simone's music, but he thought it was fun and exciting to work with her because there was always something new and unexpected happening. It was an intellectual and psychological challenge for him to work with a musician like Simone doing experimental music or improvisations, despite the fact that it might be very time-consuming to record experimental music. Simone tried at least to concentrate during the recordings and she allowed Kevin to take initiatives and to give advice. Kevin knew quite well how Simone wanted the music to sound and enjoyed helping her with the recording process. She let him play and
choose various drums, since she knew that he knew what she wanted. He was going to do the mixing as well, to decide how the different tracks of songs and instruments were to sound, for example, how loud. Since she knew that he knew how she wanted it to be, there was no need for her to be in the studio when he was doing the mixing.

This night, when they were doing the vocals for one of her songs, was slightly different from her other recordings. They were short of time, and it was also an exceptionally funny song. Her other songs were more deep and grave. Simone was trying to be very relaxed, happy and joking all the time with Kevin and me, and we did our best to follow the *craic*. Simone and Kevin were even happily chasing each other around the control board and throwing pillows at each other. Simone wanted to get into the right mood for the song and to attain a happy sound in her voice. When she was doing the other songs she was tenser and took them more seriously. It was fascinating to see this professional side of Simone and to see her work together with Kevin, not at all boring as they had warned me at the beginning. It appeared to be an interesting meeting between two musicians with different musical temperaments, tastes and backgrounds, but who managed to work quite well together.

It took a while before all the machines and computers were working and the sound was right. Kevin kept explaining to me what he was doing, even if I did not quite understand everything about the technical equipment or recognise all the technical vocabulary. He told me that it was possible to insert the sounds from one machine into the computer. Thereafter you were able to insert and remove different sounds as you wished from the computer. This he argued was good, 'if you are not a musician yourself' (!). Kevin also took the opportunity to tell me more about what he was doing in music. He worked for the Galway Dance Music Festival with information. It was a festival of modern dance music, such as house, drum 'n' bass and jungle. He also worked as a DJ on the radio and in nightclubs, for example in Cyber café and previously in the Punchbag. Kevin said he was self-taught as a sound engineer and that he had just worked with recordings and learned it that way. He had only attended one sound engineering course, because he wanted to do the sound engineering for his own music and he could not afford to pay anybody else.

Simone was improvising the vocals. She had to sing many times before she and Kevin were satisfied. The versions sounded different every
time. The two of them jumped to various parts of the song and recorded the singing, bit by bit. Kevin manoeuvred the technical equipment, and made sound effects, such as echoes and repeating voices. One voice was put upon another, so that they had to record Simone's voices separately. Kevin pointed out that this improvisational manner was not a conventional way of recording, even if Simone did have some lyrics to the song. Kevin and I were in the control room and Simone was in the recording room. We saw her standing in the room through the insulating pane of glass, wearing headphones and with a microphone in front of her. She heard the music through the headphones when she was singing, and joked and flirted with Kevin in between the singing. She joked about his efficient hands moving around the control board, about his co-operation in her music video, about the sandwich she had eaten previously that made her voice a bit strange and about other issues concerned with their relationship.

When they had finished the recording of the singing, they started to discuss putting in other instruments. Kevin wanted to have some string instruments as well, such as guitar or bouzouki, but Simone was a bit doubtful. She wanted to have a pure sound that felt authentic and good for her, and not a lot of disturbing instruments. They agreed on adding some 'ethnic drums' instead, via the sampler. I asked Kevin what they meant by 'ethnic drums' and he said 'all drums that aren't ordinary rock drums like drum kits and drum machines'. We listened to various drum sounds, which Kevin and Simone played on the keyboard connected to the sampler. It gave an artificial impression, however, to do it this way instead of using live musicians. They chose widely between drum sounds from various parts of the world before they managed to make a decision on a conga and a maracas sound. Kevin was the one who finally played the drums via the keyboard and into the computer, but it was Simone who decided where to insert the drums in the song. With the computer they adjusted the drum sections back and forth, so that they ended up in the right places. It was Simone who made the final decisions, even though she listened to Kevin's advice. Simone told me that Kevin was very patient, and I did not doubt that, although, when they started to get tired, Kevin teased Simone by saying that he had another girlfriend whom he was in love with. Simone did not know what to make of that.

Eventually, after almost eight hours work we finished the recording session. In the middle of the night we tried to get a taxi, without any
luck. We had the idea of phoning one of our friends in Galway instead, who promised to pick us up despite the fact that she had already gone to bed. Simone and Kevin, however, were not going to bed, they went on to somewhere else in town. The driver, who was also my friend, just sighed: 'Oh, these music-makers!''

**Changing scene and sound**

Recently, the situation for original music has changed in Galway. A new record company 'Origin' was set up in Galway in 1999. The label was coined by someone working for the radio station Galway Bay FM, who felt that something was missing when it came to original music in Galway. At first, the label produced a CD record with local original acts. The rock bands had to pay for being on the record, which not all of the musicians agreed with. This recording of local acts turned out to produce a special sound, emotionally loaded, and passionate as well as melancholic. It has a youthful energy combined with slots of disappointments about life, which very well represented contemporary Galway. Guava is one of the bands on this record, and since then they have played on MTV. They had a gig in the pub Le Graal in May 1999 that I happened to see. The place was packed with young 'cool' Galwegians. Style in clothes, hair, and looks seemed to be important for these young people; they were really trying out and looking for new identities, also when it comes to gender.

Thus, the CD from Origin gave the impression of a local sound. In particular, the Saw Doctors, and to some degree the Stunning and the (immigrant) Waterboys, were otherwise bands that in the late 1980s and early 1990s contributed to what some people in the media called a 'Galway sound'. These bands made references to local places in their lyrics, which perhaps strengthened the sense of a local identity among musicians, fans and audiences. But whereas the Saw Doctors have a happy, uplifting, entertaining and amusing sound, the CD from Origin has a lower, melancholic and more serious sound. Galway might be associated with fun and parties, but life for most of the musicians there seemed to be quite harsh. Perhaps, this came through more in contemporary rock from Galway.
The Saw Doctors, unlike many other bands, enjoyed the idea of representing a Galway sound, partly as a good way of marketing themselves. However, one key person in the music industry in Galway told me that the music press had put a few other bands such as the Stunning, Little Fish and Toasted Heretic into the same category of a Galway sound as the Saw Doctors: 'Personally I was really upset, all lumped into one genre - No! That's not me, and not what some of the bands wanted.' He did not like it because the bands were so different from each other and were not all interested in this marketing strategy. To my mind, the sound of Origin's first CD more accurately illustrated what could be labelled as a Galway sound. Of course, Galway has developed other sounds, apart from the Saw Doctors' amusing style of music and the new rock bands' more serious outlooks and down-beat music. For example, Simone's music represents Galway very well: it has an ancient, New Age-style, mystical and youthful sound. She is also following the old French Spanish Irish connections in Galway, since she comes from Catalonia.

In the scene of traditional music in Galway, there might be some regional preferences in styles and sound. It is, of course, a question of individualities and personalities what kind of sounds develop, but many traditional musicians in Galway preferred to play according to styles from east Galway, Co. Clare and other parts of the west coast of Ireland. This is because they were from those areas themselves, or because they moved to Galway and the west coast because of their love of the styles played there. I often heard my informants in Galway City talking about east Galway (for example, around Loughrea and Ballinakill) as a musically inspiring place and saying that the styles developed there did influence the styles played in the city. I asked Chris, a traditional musician in Galway, if he distinguished a special Galway sound or if it was more of a mixture, and he answered:

No, there's quite a mixture here...Galway is the capital of the west so it's drawing musicians from Co. Clare, Munster, Connacht and Donegal. Within those regions there are particular styles of Irish music that have survived...Musicians from all these areas here, can still play with each other, accommodate each other. It's possible you walk into a pub and there's a gang from Donegal playing...It's great to have all those styles in town, a great variety.
Galway City is not recognised, however, for having a specific regional style in traditional music, but the musicians playing around town tended to have more knowledge of different regional styles than the musicians in Dublin. It was more common to hear distinct styles in traditional sessions in Galway than in Dublin, and the presence of these styles may in fact have developed into a particular Galway sound.

The live music scene in Galway was however, changing already in 1998, with more places for original acts, such as Queen Street Bar which hosted Guava one night. Later on, the Cuba Bar was set up in Galway, which is a new place for live music. It opened in 1999 with three levels: one level with a stage, a bar and a restaurant, another with a disco, and a third level with a bigger venue and a stage with a dance floor in front of it. The owners of the new Cuba Bar also owned another popular pub in Galway, the nightclub GPO, which was perhaps no longer the trendiest spot for Galwegians and partying young people. But the Cuba Bar is trendy and very well furnished in an old second-hand style with big posters of Cuban and African-American musicians on the walls. The bar often has a jazz and blues audience downstairs, the disco is more of a techno venue, and the bigger venue upstairs is mostly for rock bands. When the local jazz musicians were performing in the Cuba Bar with younger jazz musicians, one of the players even wore black leather trousers! It looked as if he was making an effort to be dressed 'right' for the place.

Even though there were new opportunities for original music in 1999, some of the musicians who had been in Galway in 1997 had left by then. They were bored with Galway and wanted to do something else and to develop, to get away from the temptations of laziness and drinking in Galway. In the Crane bar and the Irish club, many of the young traditional players had moved out and the older ones had taken over by 1999 - probably also a consequence of more pronounced age segregation. Ireland is becoming more and more like other European modern countries, and the Irish do not always mind that, although Waters (1997) and Mac Laughlin (1997a,b) are among those intellectuals who do not adhere to the idea of glorifying Modern Ireland (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Many of the foreign musicians I knew had also left by 1999. One night, I talked to some French musicians in a new venue in Galway. They told me that they had realised after two years in Galway that this was not the right place for 'strange music', and they wanted to move to
another country. Many people interested in 'strange music' happened to find their way to Galway, for the same reasons as many New Age travellers did, but Galway's pubs and bars do not have a real interest in letting them have gigs. The large number of New Age travellers (and indigenous Travellers) was decreasing in Galway, since they were no longer as welcome and did not suit the city's newly aspiring image. Galway was becoming a modern, affluent place for business and young New Age people did not fit into that image. Galway City is increasingly serving as an administrative, commercial and tourism centre for the western region of Ireland. It is becoming the same like Dublin's Temple Bar area - a cultural and commercial centre. There are many similarities: new restaurants, people drinking on the streets, tourism-orientated music and thus masses of tourists and partying young people, although Temple Bar does not have as many cover rock bands as Galway. The shopping centre of Galway is growing every year. The central streets in the city have become pedestrian areas in order to attract more customers to the shops, restaurants, cafés and pubs.

Not even I stayed in Galway, although I was very attracted to the city and made some quite serious plans to settle there and not go back to Stockholm. Simone and I organised a party the last night I was in Galway. It was her birthday as well, so we had a few reasons to party. Simone and I walked around in Galway City and invited everyone we knew. The party took place in the rehearsal and recording studio in the docks. I made a big salad and bought a few birthday cakes. Most of the guests were music-makers or into music in one way or another. So they played, jammed and experimented with music in one of the rooms, where there was a big drum set so all the drummers were pleased. Simone and Pierre from France sang together, and Pierre also played on his guitar. A female American harp busker, familiar from the streets in Galway, was also there. People from different countries came and enjoyed the music sitting on the floor. The DJ Frankie was also there, having brought some records and all the equipment for playing them, which was much appreciated.

Dublin and Galway are central places for the Irish music scene, even if they have produced disappointments for many musicians. Both in Dublin and in Galway, we can see expressions of the Irish 'dislocation', the constant experience of never being at home, which appears to be deeply rooted among the Irish (cf. Mac Laughlin 1997c). For Irish
people seem to be constantly on the move, emigrating or thinking about going to other places, at the same time as they have a deep desire to be at home. They want to be located somewhere, to belong, which, of course, is important for their sense of identity. Young musicians, wherever we find them, are more or less translocal and their identities are partly adjusted to this mobility of music and musicians. Accordingly, local places are not always as important as the possibility of transcending them and being able to communicate with people and music elsewhere.

Again, many changes in Dublin and Galway are due to the increase in tourism. This in turn is also a consequence of the popularity of Irish music abroad, and of the economic boom that has enhanced Ireland's self-image in the international arena. Staged traditional sessions and cover bands are gradually taking over, although a few attempts have been made recently to counter this development. The way tourists impact on the music scenes is more obvious in Galway than in Dublin, owing to the fact that Galway is a much smaller place.

In this chapter I have described the local music scenes, in particular the ongoing activities and discourses making Dublin and Galway central places in different ways: a springboard and a playground in the Irish music scene. This leads us towards the meaning of performances. As Cohen (1997) has pointed out, live performances are crucial for the making of a scene, since it is at live performances that the scene is experienced, negotiated, embodied, made visible and real. All this, I shall elaborate on in the next chapter.
Performance events are useful to study because of their public character and because they often encourage the audience to get involved (cf. Finnegan 1989). The audience may dance, sing, yell, clap their hands, stamp their feet and request particular tunes or songs. In this chapter I am looking at music performances as public events and the role of the audience in relation to different musical pathways. The communication between musicians and audiences in Irish performance events varies depending on the type of band, session and audience - whether it is an original rock band or a cover one, an informal and open traditional session or a staged one, as well as whether the audience consists of regulars, fans or tourists. I am also considering the communication among musicians during performances, and in a wider perspective Irish music performances and globalisation.

Performance studies and the politics of music scenes

Following Richard Bauman (1992:41), 'performance usually suggests an aesthetically marked and heightened mode of communication, framed in a special way and put on display for an audience'. Different performance styles are framed in line with a number of musical pathways. Again, the concept of musical pathways highlights the overlapping and intersecting nature of music genres and music practices. This is why Bauman's view of performance aptly fits into my comparative focus on interactive music sub-scenes. Bauman (1992:46) suggests that 'all performance, like all communication, is situated, enacted, and rendered meaningful within

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78 See also Virva Vainikainen (2002) about music performance in Ireland.
socially defined situational contexts’. Here, performance is importantly viewed as a practice 'in which meanings are generated, manipulated, even ironised, within certain limitations' (Stokes 1994a:4).

Musical performances can also be described as discursive practices of emotional experiences (cf. Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990). In the anthropology of music, Feld (1990) has emphasised the emotional and evocative aspects of musical performances. Among the Kaluli in New Guinea, those who perform 'gisalo' (song, melody or ceremony) are primarily concerned with their effect on the audience's emotional responses. Cohen's (1991) analysis of rock performances or gigs as 'flows of meaning', gives interesting insights into how these acts can evoke and express meanings; thus flow can be both about communicating and managing meanings (cf. Hannerz 1992a) and about attaining 'optimal experiences' (cf. Csikszentmihalyi 1988). Reflexivity is involved in identity processes at music performances, since musicians are continuously presenting themselves in a public arena (cf. Shank 1994). The performing self is an object for itself as well as for others (cf. Mead 1962; R. Bauman 1992).

Yet, importantly Johannes Fabian (1990) reacted against the 'political naïveté' that overlooks power and hierarchies in performances, which may be a tendency in studies that present only joyful and unproblematic communicative aspects of performances. There are politics and negotiations of identity going on in the Irish music scene when it comes to places, pubs and tastes in music. Performances are not events isolated from other everyday realities, and the politics are as relevant in music performances as in other contexts, situations or events. Performances may be affecting and partially constituting identifications that we carry through our non-performance times and spaces. Thus, the context for the music is not only related to the performance situation. It also has to be related to the wider societal contexts of music scenes, their economic as well as political conditions. Larger festivals in Ireland, such as the Celtic Flame Festival in 1997 and the St Patrick's Day festivals do say a lot about Irish society. The choice of performances during these festivals

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79 The relationship between discourse and performance should be elaborated. Performance is a kind of discourse, since it is about meaningful expressions in given contexts. Discourse is language in use or in action (see also Chapter 2). Performances viewed as discursive practices aptly include the different and contested meanings in the music scenes.
represents and reflects contemporary issues and identity processes in the
country (see Chapter 5).

In Ireland music happens very much in a live pub music scene, with
both good and bad consequences. Pubs are a part of Irish life, and
central in the lives of young musicians. It is here they socialise and meet
their friends, more often than in their homes. City pubs are perceived to
be much nicer places to be in, compared with most of the young
people's own flats; they are warm, friendly and lively most of the time.
Small clubs and pubs are often appreciated for encouraging the intimacy
of interaction and communication between musicians and an audience.
Yet, the pubs may restrict the music scene since they tend to sustain
certain soundscapes (see Chapter 3). Those groups of musicians who
find that the local music scene suits their taste and canons in music are,
of course, in a more powerful position locally than those who do not
find this connection. This is, however, not the case for all of the young
musicians in Ireland, and especially not for the original rock bands. For
example, the music scene in Galway represented a negative or bad
soundscape for Tony, since he was not able to find a place to perform
his original rock music. Tony was of the same opinion as, for example,
Simone and Mary who demanded a place where people could go for
serious listening and not just to enjoy themselves drinking with music in
the background. On the other hand, those pub musicians who were
successful and enjoyed the music scene were already attuned to the
soundscaping, since they often played the happy, jolly, lively, fast and
audience-related music that the publicans were looking for. It is
interesting to note that the sounds of pubs, clubs and venues helped to
define and distinguish identities, community groups and territories.

There appear to be more hierarchical, or power, relations between
players and audiences in staged sessions and bigger gigs than in more in-
formal sessions or smaller gigs. There is an egalitarian ethos in informal
traditional sessions where the players sit in a circle round a table. The
players are supposed to be like everybody else in the pub. But even
though informal traditional sessions look very egalitarian, there are in
fact power negotiations going on. The publicans may also restrict cover

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80 Ola Stockfelt (1994:26) has pointed out the same issue concerning power and soundscapes:
'Every group with any sort of power within this community has places, refuges, where their
special music can be a dominating part of the soundscape – a church, a concert hall, a pub or, at
the very least, their own home.'
bands, making them follow the publicans' wishes of pleasing an audience. However, the cover bands did not always want to give an impression of being restricted. They might argue that their choice of songs suited the audience very well without being an audience adaptation. Nevertheless, they often had to think about the songs' popularity with the audience before they were able to perform them. Padraig from the cover band Funky Jam Band thought it was necessary to adjust to the requirements of the publicans: 'When you are hired to play music in a pub, the bar owner wants you to be able to get the crowd going so that they will stay and buy drinks...He who pays the piper calls the tune.' Michael from the cover band Sunday Drivers talked about the possibility of choosing and changing songs, as they wished, in order to be more 'authentic':

There are a lot of songs we get requests for that we wouldn't do because we don't particularly like the songs...Our versions are slightly different or improved...We actually call ourselves 'acoustic, subversive folk music'...we occasionally slip in a song...when the publicans are not watching, and we hope for the best...78 % is stuff we like and 20 % stuff for keeping the crowd and the publicans happy. But I know bands that are the other way around.

In Shank's (1994) study, the key words were identity and sincerity in the analysis of performance. The rock musicians in Austin, Texas, were doing identity work on stage, and since their identities were always incomplete they had to continue exposing themselves for an audience. Magical shows were when they reached 'the chills', that is, 'those moments when the audience re-recognizes and re-turns that identity in their affective gestures of response' (ibid:249). The point is that performed identity depends on the audience response to the musical works. The performers are trying to say something through the music, with their bodily gestures, the lyrics, the sounds, the facial expressions, the eyes and through spontaneous outbursts or utterances. The audience tries to understand what the performers are communicating and may respond by dancing, clapping, stamping, staring, flirting, singing, toasting, requesting and/or buying drinks.

In informal traditional sessions, identity and sincerity are not as important to display to an audience as to fellow musicians and to get their response and respect. In traditional sessions, there are refined communi-
cations going on all the time. Normally, the musicians want to make a good impression, to be respected, and to follow the rules and canons of the sessions. The preferred sessions are those they have chosen because they think they are good for them, i.e. sessions they enjoy and believe in, and get inspiration from. In those sessions, musicians strive to get a response that in some way reflects themselves and confirms their performed identity.

Sincerity and identity may also be displayed by not changing clothes when coming on stage. This may be a way of showing an absence of artificiality. The musicians did not want to be unreachable stars on a stage, and they showed this by wearing ordinary, everyday clothes. There was a sort of sincerity involved in that one's lifestyle and music were supposed to be connected (cf. Shank 1994). It appeared to be a common value for Irish musicians not to be different on stage from the kind of people they normally were. It was about being true to oneself on stage. If they did dress up, it was often assumed to be an adaptation to an audience or to the publicans. Traditional musicians and even professional ones did not normally develop special stage clothing or change their style of dress because they were going to perform. However, for famous rock bands dress style might be an adaptation to image, fashion and trends that they believed they had to follow. Irish rock musicians often accused 'Britpop' of being too much about image and fashion. They did not agree with the fact that many Britpop bands were deliberately constructed as groups with specific clothing and hairstyles. Yet, popular 'boy' and 'girl' groups in Ireland, such as Boyzone, Westlife and Bwithced, not only follow but also create trends.

The world music percussionists in De Jimbe from Dublin might be a peculiar example, although they were appropriately trying to show how lifestyle and music were connected during performances. They were dressed in 'ethnic' clothes during gigs. They demonstrated that they had appropriated a foreign style by their clothes, which revealed where their music came from and constructed a link with the musical styles' 'original' contexts. But Africans in the audience and Cubans who participated during De Jimbe's gigs did not wear those kinds of clothes. Instead, they were dressed in strict Western suits and beautiful dresses, and not wearing so-called ethnic - African or Cuban - clothes.
CHAPTER 4

Uniqueness and repetition

According to the rock musicians in Cohen's (1991) study, every gig was unique. The same kind of idea is prevalent in the Irish rock music scene. How the bands played together varied, as well as the kind of audience they had and their interest in the bands. The interrelationships between audience and musicians were significant in offering spontaneity to live music. Cohen also noted that performance was something happening here and now. It was about being involved, immersed and forgetting other requirements haunting everyday life. Even if it was the same group of musicians that was playing and following very much the same repertoire as the previous week, the experience of the performance was again happening here and now.

Yet, performances are not only valued for their uniqueness. As with all types of recurring performances, there is a recognised repetition. As Edward Bruner (1986:11) has argued: 'It is in the performance of an expression that we re-experience, re-live, re-create, re-tell, re-construct, and re-fashion our culture.' Performance involves recognition and repetition – something the performers recognise and control - at the same time as it involves novelty, insecurity, and the risk of making mistakes. Again, performances are never the same: they keep changing. Even if the songs and movements are well planned and rehearsed between performances, there is always something new happening at the next performance, for better or worse. The same songs never sound the same twice, since it is impossible to perform them in exactly the same way. The songs' sound varies in different places, with different acoustics, musicians and audiences. Paradoxically, there may be a sort of enjoyment involved in doing the same thing again and again, because it will not be exactly the same. There may also be some good songs or parts of songs, or some guitar solos the musicians just love and want to do again, no matter whether they are covers or original songs. The audience may also enjoy the repetition, since they are able to sing along and be an active part of the performance. They perhaps know what songs are coming, and they may prefer some songs and wait for them or they can do some recognised tricks during the gigs. For example, during Pyramid's gigs, people in the audience would shout 'sláinte!' (cheers in Gaelic) to each other or to the band when they were playing a song with the line: 'we don't talk about love, we just want to get drunk!'
Thus, in traditional music, in cover bands and in other recurrent gigs, there are instances of enjoyment. Bruner (1986:12) talks about the 'triumph of re-experiencing when we believe ourselves to be confronted by a continuity'. It is a triumph because the experience of performance is something alive and happening, i.e. performances are part of living traditions. There is an enjoyment in trying to repeat good performances and to be unique at the same time. Both aspects tend to be highly valued by the participants in performances. For the Irish singer-songwriter Christy Moore, performance is the most valuable thing and its essence is about communication and recognition:

I really do believe, in my heart and soul, that when I'm on stage and emotionally affected by a song, in whatever way, that maybe one, ten, a thousand people in the audience are affected the same way (Jackson 1996:47).

Thus, during those magical moments, the audience is assumed to feel 'the same' as the performer. They are totally connected and this is communication at its best. Christy Moore explains it in terms of the shock of recognition, which happens when he quotes a particular story in a song and the audience gets it and they all connect (ibid.). It is similar to Bruner's 'triumph of re-experiencing' in providing an aha-experience. The shock of recognition (which in fact is more or less of a shock) may involve the discoveries that accomplished participants in performances make. Yet, they can discover different things in the same performance. Even though they interpret them in different ways, there is also an element of recognition. Probably, the most important aspect is that the performance says something to the participants and that they are all moved by it. The shock of recognition, when the participants seem to have attained an aha-experience, is perhaps more complex in traditional than in rock music. Traditional musicians can often see by the reactions from the audience whether they recognise shifts in tunes or changes of tunes, notes or chords. When the musicians do something new, they are able to discern if the audience is knowledgeable about the music. The audience may show their knowledge by shouting, yelling, moving their bodies, lifting their eyebrows or clapping their hands in the 'right parts and places'.
Pain and pleasure

During performance, there is always the risk that something, or everything, will go wrong, or the chance that it will go very well, that the musicians will improve, will experience flow or, for example, that the audience will recognise them and their work. Again, there is both tension and nervousness as well as excitement involved. Of course, the more the musicians play the same repertoire every night for months or years, the more those risks and chances diminish, as well as their nervous energy. The performances then appear to be more predictable. There is a kind of ambiguity of pain and pleasure present in performance (cf. Wulff 1998). Apart from the physical pain, there is psychological pain, since to make musical mistakes on stage (even if the audience does not notice them) can be a painful experience. There is always a tension, since no one knows what will happen during live performances. Someone might make a mistake, drop a guitar, break a string, miss the chords, stumble or even fall flat on stage. This tension between bad and good performances makes them truly exciting events, as both something terrible and something fantastic may happen. The singer-songwriter Mary talked about her personal experiences of pain and pleasure involved in communication at performances:

It scares me to go up and communicate with people…but it depends on who the audience are. If they are responding to you and like what you do, it's a huge help…But if it's an audience who are in a chock about what you are saying, that makes it much harder to communicate…Sometimes you may experience rejection, you feel people are not interested…But you always experience the other side of that, they are really into what you like and they acknowledge you by wanting more and more.

Because of the tensions involved, the musicians felt their senses sharpened during performance situations and they tried to do their best. To perform was thus a good way to practise or rehearse. For example, the cover band Pyramid mostly did their practice on the live stage. It was difficult to get the band together during the daytime, because they were working or sleeping after late gigs. They rehearsed only when they had to try out new songs together, but it did not happen very often. Moreover,
the best way to see if the songs worked for cover bands was to play them live for an audience. As Kieran in Pyramid explained:

When we gig we rehearse, you play much better in a live situation than stuck in a room. It sticks much stronger in your head when you play it in front of people. You are focusing more on the sound and how it is going.

Surprisingly, traditional musicians often stressed that they did not practise, even though the new generation tended to have recognised the necessity to do so. Behind the idea of not practising lies an ideology that music ought not to be for a career or to attain something, but a natural and pleasurable part of everyday life. Most of the traditional musicians, however, practised when they were playing in sessions. Nevertheless, the idea prevails that Irish traditional music just comes to the musicians from 'somewhere' and that in their capacity as Irish people they are just intermediaries. As I sometimes heard, 'we don't make music, the music just comes to us' or 'I just picked up an instrument and started to play'. However, I do not think that really is the case, but generally a part of the 'old' ideology of traditional music as something inherent in Irish people.

Bruce Johnson (1994), who is a jazz musician and popular music researcher, argued that the whole soundscape mattered for the outcome of live music. He often enjoyed playing in situations that appeared to be musically mediocre, much more than participating in acts of musical excellence. Johnson is talking here from the perspective of a jazz musician for whom improvisation or variation is very important, just as it is for Irish traditional musicians to some degree. These pleasurable situations are experienced in both scenes as heightened moments of being alive, being immersed in a flow. Johnson argues that the pleasure of performing music is related to the total sensuous environment: 'The taste of the beer, the sound of applause, the approval of other musicians, the presence of friends and loved ones' (ibid:45). Thus, to play in music pubs or other venues is a total acoustic experience, such that the 'non-musical' acoustic environment carries meanings that are necessary for the complete process of music-making and -listening (see also Chapter 3). Every sound brings meaning to the performance. Rock venues may, for example, create a certain 'wall of sound' of very loud indie music and audience reactions filled with a lot of feelings, which I sometimes observed in the rock venue Eamonn Doran's in Dublin.
Flow, vibe and the evaluation of performance

The notion of 'flow' as developed by Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1988), describes the moments in life that reach peaks of involvement producing intense feelings of energy, fulfilment and creativity. These optimal and rewarding feelings of enjoyment produce a highly desirable experiential state, which one wishes to repeat as often as possible, not for any extrinsic rewards but just for its own sake. Flow appears to be something that we in the modern world have too little of, but are constantly aspiring to get without always knowing how to attain it. In music-making, the optimal experience of flow demands complete attention: one's awareness and activities become merged. This is something valuable in all genres of music-making and is probably the nearest we can get to 'true' emotional engagement in performances. These intense feelings of presence in being totally immersed in musical activities contribute to a 'distorted sense of time...hours seem to pass by in minutes, and occasionally a few seconds stretch out into what seems to be an infinity' (Csikszentmihalyi 1988:33). In flow the person 'forgets' his or her ordinary problems and loses for a while the awareness of self that normally dominates consciousness. It is a kind of release.

Flow may happen during both practice (rehearsals) and performance, even though it mainly refers to performance situations in this study. In order to experience a good performance, both the musicians and the audience should experience 'flow'. Flow tends to happen when there is an involved audience present, such as during a staged traditional session. However, this is not necessary in informal traditional sessions where more internal flow may be experienced amongst the musicians, who are communicating and listening more to each other rather than taking the audience into account. A session is sometimes an entity in itself, with its own life. If it works well it can lift the players on to a different plane where they experience a 'great buzz' or a 'great vibe'. Informal traditional sessions are not as planned as staged sessions, since the participants do not always know what the next tune or phrase will be. They may experience flow when they are all actively immersed in the session.

The rock musicians in Shank's (1994:19) study described a good performance as 'magic' and being like a 'physical thing': 'It's heaven up there you know, when it all comes right through and it's effortless.' Musicians as well as the audience may get 'high'. The musicians forget themselves
and who they are and become a unity with the audience. To play can be a way to get high without drugs. Yet, small amounts of alcohol and drugs may contribute to the experience of 'getting lost' and 'relaxing'. Irish musicians also have the reputation of being able to play well after many pints, and sometimes even better.

Performers possess a performative power when they are creating and sustaining specific moods that are intensely absorbing for a responsive audience. But there have to be competent performers as well as involved audiences. An intense sort of presence may be created, a letting go, an immersion when they all 'lock together' in a flow experience, and are drawn away from ordinary realities. This kind of 'communicative competence' is also something relative: some people are better at it than others and may attain key positions as performers (cf. R. Bauman 1992; Hymes 1974, 1975). Certain musicians are assumed to have the right charisma for musical performance. People with charisma tend to connect better with the audience; charisma as personal charm may evoke a flow of energy. For example, a fan in Galway told me that she was able to feel energy flowing to her from one of her favourite players. Charisma may also enhance the experience of a vibe among musicians and audience. The vibe is not easy to describe in words. Those involved 'just know' when it happens. It is a personal experience, of a positive or negative nature. Mainly, the vibe concerns communication with an audience. A good vibe happens when there is a good atmosphere, a lot of energy and a satisfied audience-band interaction and feedback during a gig. A good vibe may also be something happening between the players when they play well together, and when all their various interpretations conform, or are at least compatible, with the same ideal. A good vibe is often necessary for a good performance, which may occur when people are on the same wavelength musically. In addition, the experience of flow is then often connected with positive vibes.

One night in the rock venue Eamonn Doran's, Darren, a drummer, told me that there was a good vibe during his gig. I saw that he was happy playing way with the drums as well as communicating with the audience and the band with his drumming. He seemed to be enjoying it and looked very energetic, as usual. He was obviously speaking with the drums. There were good vibes for Darren, since he felt that people connected with what he was doing on stage. As a consequence, vibe and soundscape are related to, and affect each other. Vibe has to do with the
overall ambience of the place and with relations between people, which may affect the soundscape, or at least the experience of it (cf. Johnson 1994).

Performances can be good or bad; they are evaluated (cf. Fabian 1990). The focus here is on how the participants evaluate the performances. In general, for a gig to be 'good', the crowd as well as the musicians should be in a 'good mood'. Moreover, the musicians should get on well together and play well together. They may do tricks on stage and, if they are all into it, the band feels like a unit. What I often heard was that the way the musicians felt when they were playing was the way their music would come across. If the musicians were bored, their music would come across as boring. The ideal was to be intense and to enjoy the playing. The musicians should also try to convey messages and emotions to the audience. A busker in Dublin once said: 'When you are enjoying what you are doing and it is coming from inside you, people can feel it and there is instant communication.' Even musical mistakes do not have to be wrong. They can be expressions of a player's spontaneity and desire for experimentation or improvisation, as when someone wants to try something new and unpractised, and does not get it right. This failure does not always matter; it may even make the gig more alive. Meaningful performances often go beyond getting the notes or the chords right; it is more a matter of putting on a good show (cf. Shank 1994). Some musicians may be brilliant technically, but they do not possess the ability to connect with an audience, which is important for a good performance. Musicians who show each other that they are having a good time on stage may be enough to provide the experience of a good gig and to connect with the audience.

It is not always the case that the audience reacts to the music in ways that match the intentions and experiences of the performers on stage. Normally this does not matter, as long as they are enjoying themselves. For gigs are experienced in many different ways. The way musicians experience gigs also depends on whether or not they are playing regularly with the same group of musicians. If one plays alone one may feel a greater urge to connect with the audience than when playing with other musicians. It also matters if the audience know the band or the musicians and are familiar with the music codes involved, or if it is the first time they are seeing them. The type of audience matters, whether it is an Irish audience or foreign tourists, whether they are representatives of the
Michael from the cover band Sunday Drivers stressed the importance of having a responsive audience. If there was no communication with the audience, then the players were playing for themselves, and did not get the same 'kick' of connecting:

If the audience are enjoying the gig we do a better gig. If they're not enjoying it, if there's no response then we tend to look at our watches to see how long we have to go before finishing. Some of the best gigs we had have been when we had a lot of visitors and tourists in a place. They like what we're doing and their response is good and their response requires our response...You can never tell if it will be a brilliant night or if it will be dull.

Audiences tend to appreciate when musicians talk to them, and musicians enjoy an audience that is happily answering or asking new questions. It is common for cover bands in Galway to speak with the audience, who often tend to be from other parts of the country or from abroad. Some cover bands also asked for requests, but Pyramid and Full Trousers did not do that. They already had their repertoires of songs. But they sometimes dedicated their songs to people in the audience, for example, if it was somebody's birthday, or if someone was leaving town, or just for the fun of it. Rudeness from the band or the audience was not approved of, unless it was a part of the performance. Moreover, bad comedians trying to make jokes were not popular. The musicians should not do more than is necessary on stage. They should not be too energetic if it does not suit them and their music, unless they have a drunken audience that would enjoy it. As one rock musician in Black Sheep said: 'You feel like an idiot if you jump on stage and no person claps.' It is important to be yourself and 'natural' on stage, and not to do something extra if it does not feel right. The degree of energy and enthusiasm has to appear 'authentic' in relation to one's identity and style of music.
Performances have their own rules and procedures. There are specific preparations, gig or session rules, and specific after-performance activities. There are boundaries of time (during performance) as well as of space (the setting during performance). Musical performances are scheduled and programmed. New technology has, however, changed the live performances, especially for traditional music in Ireland. Apart from changed meanings and messages, traditional music performances now also require more organisation, equipment and planning.

When it comes to getting traditional sessions started, a few musicians may have made an agreement with a publican about playing on certain nights in a pub. For the planning of regular sessions in pubs, the publicans may look for musicians or the musicians may go around and ask the publicans. The musicians may have found a pub where they would like to play. It can be a pub that is favoured by the musicians because it is situated near their homes or because it is a pub frequented by people whom they know and get on well with. The publicans sometimes want players only in order to attract more pub visitors and tourists, and not because they have a real interest in the music. When these dubious publicans have attained a good regular crowd of customers, they may even get rid of the players. Traditional musicians have sometimes faced difficulties finding appropriate sessions, since the competition is tough.

For a couple of months, I had the opportunity to follow the ups and downs of getting sessions started in the pub Robert Emmett's in Dublin. I found out about the sessions there through Raini because her husband Joel was one of the regular musicians. I also knew some of the other regulars. The pub is situated in an area with a somewhat bad reputation, near the city centre, mostly inhabited by unemployed and poor people. This was why the clientele in the pub was different from that of the inner city pubs, like those in the Temple Bar area. There were many drunken men behaving 'badly', harassing the women and disturbing the musicians. I was quite scared every night I had to go to these sessions and walk down the long road through the run-down blocks in the area. In the pub, I stayed close to the musicians and their girlfriends. The sessions were, however, usually very lively and youthful, but not always of the same quality as those in White Horse Inn, which I shall describe later on.
The sessions in Robert Emmett's finished after a couple of months for a number of reasons. First of all, the musicians were only there provisionally. The publicans wanted to change the reputation of the pub and attract new people from the city, and the tourists. But that never happened. They did not advertise the sessions in the local papers as other publicans did. The pub was situated in an area that tourists were likely to stay away from, and no other new people appeared. The musicians did not like the place either, since it was not made for them. The clientele in the pub was not music friendly, but very noisy, making disturbances and dancing madly.

Joel and Mark who became good friends during the sessions in Robert Emmett's found new paid sessions soon afterwards in a pub near where they lived in Ranelagh. Later on, everything seemed to go well for the young men. Raini's and Joel's friend, Roger, started Tre, a traditional band, together with Mark and Joel. Tre got regular gigs in Norseman, one of Temple Bar's most popular pubs. They also made a recording together and had a big party in Temple Bar Music Centre for its release. Thus, sessions are good occasions for getting to know new people, i.e. to network. They represent a network in themselves, since quite extended contacts are developed, which can be used in further musical collaborations.

During open or informal sessions, other musicians than the regulars may be welcomed to join, in and sometimes the regular musicians tell their friends to come and play. It also happens that foreign musicians come in, and this disturbs no one, as long as the foreigners behave well (in a low-key manner) and follow the rules. Mostly, the regular and the guest musicians chat together as if they have known each other for a long time. When they have played a few tunes together, they may introduce themselves. Musicians often considered the act of playing together as the best way to get to know each other. The guest musicians may be from other parts of the country, visiting Dublin or Galway, or just traditional musicians who are looking for new sessions and musicians. Again, to join new sessions is perceived as a good way to learn new tunes and obtain musical influences and inspiration. Musicians may also join new sessions because of conflicts in another session caused by personal clashes or different ideas about traditional music and the style of playing. Inevitably, there is an age segregation taking place, since younger musicians prefer to play in some sessions and older musicians in others. Nev-
Nevertheless, it is possible to see different age groups playing together, which is one of the features of traditional music – to pass it on to the next generation.

**Traditional sessions: informal, open and regular**

The traditional musicians did not find the sessions in Robert Emmett's satisfactory, but they appreciated the sessions in White Horse Inn. On Wednesday nights, around 9 p.m. I used to go to White Horse Inn for the regular traditional sessions. This pub is situated in central Dublin, near the river Liffey. There were always people in the bar, talking to each other and drinking pints. The pub was sparsely decorated with football scarves hanging in rows on the wall behind the bar, old money notes on another wall and a few pictures with framed photos of the Irish liberty fighters from the 1920s. The simple appearance contributed to the relaxed atmosphere in which people were able to feel welcomed. They talked to each other as if they had known each other for a long time, even if they had only just met.

One December night in White Horse Inn, the television was on as usual at the back of the room, near the ceiling. A football match was going on, and the customers watched the match at the same time as they tried to socialise. In the left hand corner of the pub, nearest the main entrance, there was a table with some chairs. This corner was meant for the night's traditional musicians. Pubs with open sessions reserve special seating areas for musicians, which should not be occupied by pub visitors, unless they are invited by the musicians. Some of the musicians had already arrived and had started to take their instruments from their bags and cases, put them together and tune them. They asked each other how the week had been and made a few jokes leading to loud laughs. More musicians came in, asking politely to get through to their favourite places. The regulars had their places that they were accustomed to, and which suited their instruments and ways of playing. It became quite crowded around the table. Just behind the musicians at the bar, friends, girlfriends and a few other musically interested people were gathered. The musicians sat in a ring around the table, with their backs to the other pub visitors, and their jackets thrown down under the table and chairs or on a tiny shelf. They ordered pints of Guinness before starting to test
their instruments. A small microphone hung from the ceiling in the middle of the session, over the table, to allow the musicians to be heard better, but not too loud, since it was meant to be acoustic, and the pub visitors should be able to talk to each other without shouting.

Donal looked up with a serious expression while he was tuning his guitar. He was around 30 years of age and appeared to be the main joker. The other musicians listened attentively to his jokes and comments. Donal was a kind of leader of the gang, although not all of the musicians would agree on that. The ideal was equality and a focus on meeting all the wishes of the musicians. Nevertheless, there are hierarchies in sessions, in that certain musicians more often begin the tunes, some play louder and some may not be noticed at all, or be more or less excluded. Ideally, there is spontaneity and equality in the sessions, but some kind of leadership is in fact involved, for example, in the way certain musicians are 'in the driving seat' (cf. Stokes 1994b). They start the sets of reels, jigs, slow-airs and hornpipes. In general, it is the regular and paid musicians who are in the driving seat.

Declan, the piper, who was also around 30 years of age, picked up his uilleann pipe very carefully and put the pieces together. The other musicians, aged between 20 and 30, played fiddle, bodhrán and bouzouki. The bouzouki player, Joel, came from Finland and had been in Dublin for half a year with his young wife Raini. They were very interested in Irish traditional music and they preferred living in Ireland. At last, the six musicians began playing (five men and one woman on bodhrán - Barbara from the US), and all of them were soon absorbed in the music. One of them started with a tune and the others tried to follow it. They all seemed to recognise the first tune, and most of the time they had no difficulty in following the tunes. This time, everybody was into the music and they all showed it by their various facial expressions; some of them played with their eyes closed to get the right ambience of the tune and its melody. Since there are different tunes with the same names and perhaps the same tunes with different names, it was not common for traditional players to ask each other if they knew tunes by naming them. They usually played a few bars of the tune in the sessions, and the others recognised it or not, and in any case tried to follow the melody. They might also hum the tunes first in order to get the others to recognise what they wanted to play. If the players knew each other very well, they sometimes
named the tunes before they played them, since they had already agreed on the names.

After about five minutes of playing, the first tune faded away. The musicians looked at each other and exchanged a few words, talking about the instruments, the different tunes and introducing jokes in between so that they would all feel at home. Gearóid Ó hAllmhuráin (1998:160) has described the break or the interlude between tunes as 'an important opportunity for conversation, and for learning names of tunes and sources'. The break is also important for resting one's ears and muscles; it is the time for a drink, relaxation and *craic*. Ó hAllmhuráin also rightly pointed out that solo performances are not allowed during these moments.

Solo performers should ask the key people and wait until they are invited to perform. But if someone wanted to sing during the interlude between tunes, this was also an occasion for the musicians to rest for a few minutes longer. Traditional unaccompanied singing (*sean-nós*) in pubs required the musicians to take a break. To insert just one or two songs between the tunes during a session was usually not seen as a problem. A silence was required during the song, both from the musicians and the other pub visitors, which was not always easy to achieve. This was why solo singing was quite rare in noisy crowded pubs. It is more common now, with special meetings for singing only. To get silence was usually not a problem in some pubs, such as the Crane bar in Galway, where the visitors used to respect the singers. It might even be very noisy in the pub, but as soon as someone announced a singer, everybody's attention was given to the song. The majority of Irish traditional singers remain seated, with eyes closed or looking straight ahead, and their bodies erect yet somehow relaxed. There is often a deep concentration engulfing the singers, as they are simultaneously exposing their personalities and expressing their feelings. The singing tends to be a very emotional experience, both for the singers and the listeners, thus involving all the pub visitors.

It was often not possible for the other pub visitors to hear or follow what the musicians said to each other around the table in the sessions. The chatting tended to be specially adjusted to those who were playing and was about internal questions that other people normally would not understand. Not all the pub visitors were interested in the musicians either, but just saw the music as a natural or inevitable part of pub life. In
Galway, traditional musicians were often taken for granted and thus undervalued, although life without them would be inconceivable (cf. McCann 1996). The pub visitors sometimes talked and laughed very loudly, while drinking and smoking cigarettes. But other pub visitors participated in the music-making by taking tin whistles, bones or mouth organs from their pockets, or again they were asked to sing a song. Newcomers were sometimes very enthusiastic about the sessions and wanted to join in by trying the regular players' instruments. Guitars or bodhráns were the most favoured ones. Many beginners thought that these instruments were easy enough for them to join in with, which was not always the case. They took the opportunity to try them out while the owners of the instruments were taking a break, talking to someone in the bar, ordering drinks, making phone-calls or going to the toilet. But the beginners sometimes annoyed the other musicians by not being familiar with the styles and implicit rules in traditional music.

On the second floor of White Horse Inn was another venue called the Attic, where some rock musicians were checking their instruments and sounds this December night. There used to be rock gigs a few nights every week which attracted a lot of young people. In many Dublin pubs it was common to have traditional music downstairs and rock or comedy shows upstairs. On this occasion, a band called Bambi and some other bands were going to play. The audience was a mix of punks and skinheads. The traditional musicians sighed when they heard this rock music start to roar from the second floor. It disturbed them, but they tried to maintain their good mood by joking about it and playing louder themselves. The fiddle player got up on his feet, waved his arm with a clenched fist and shouted 'We want more! We want more!' to imitate and ridicule the rock audience's behaviour.

In order to go to the toilet on the third floor, one had to push one's way through all the cool teenagers hanging around on the narrow stairs. On the way up it was possible to get a glimpse of the rock bands playing and listen to the rock music without paying. Otherwise one had to pay IR£3 to get in. The whole second floor was really shaking with the intense rock music, while there was a more relaxed and quieter sound level on the first floor where the traditional musicians were playing. This night, however, the traditional musicians kept grimacing at the music upstairs, since the sound (or noise) from the guitars and drums echoed downstairs. It was not really appreciated for the people downstairs to
show any kind of interest in the music upstairs. I talked a bit with a German man who was working with homeless people in the northern suburbs of Dublin. He wondered why I had chosen to study both traditional and rock music since they did not fit together in his opinion. This was a question I was used to. Some non-musicians or very purist-minded musicians considered that these two music styles did not fit together, or that they were so different that they could not be compared. But there are crossovers and fusions, and the musics do not have to be the same in order to be compared. That is the point of comparisons – to reveal differences as well as similarities.

Importantly, many musicians jumped between different musical pathways in their networks. If one asked the young traditional musicians for their views, many of them were actually not against musical crossovers, between traditional and other music. At least, they wanted to give the impression of being open-minded. For example, it was possible to bring in other instruments than the usual traditional ones to the sessions in White Horse Inn. One or two men used to come to the sessions with their Afro-Cuban djembe drums and play them together with the other musicians. Sometimes these drums even took over the sessions for a while. They played the drums fast and loud, and the speed and the volume grew all the time. The other musicians and the pub visitors were not able to avoid being drawn into the sound of the drums. Everybody stopped what they were doing and directed their attention to the djembe drummers, and some visitors yelled as if they were at a kind of African drum show. Eventually the drummers reached a sort of climax and soon afterwards the drumming stopped. Everybody in the pub clapped and shouted for more, and they repeated a bit of the drumming, but they did not want to disturb the ongoing traditional session too much.

Thus the sessions in White Horse Inn were quite varied, and the musicians also tried to vary the choice of tunes. Some were more of the usual 'diddeliai diddeliaii' of jigs and reels, while other pieces were more like folk songs. Donal might, for example, sing a few songs in his strong empathetic voice. His whole body and facial expression moved with the songs, and he used to close his eyes in order to feel the emotion of the songs and to avoid being disturbed by the people around him. The visitors often appreciated Donal's singing; at least they respected the rule of silence when somebody was going to sing. The noise in the pubs was something the musicians might complain about. They did not like it
when they were not able to hear themselves playing, on top of the fact that the low degree of interest in their playing was somewhat disheartening. The best occasions for traditional sessions were when there were not so many people in the pub, and when people showed some interest in the music, or at least respected their playing and did not disturb them. Pub visitors did not have to behave like an audience; it was not appreciated to have people around staring at the musicians or clapping their hands in the wrong places.

This night, Donal stood up for a while as he played to check out what was happening in the pub or to watch television in the other corner of the room. The other players found this amusing and imitated him by standing up as well, while they continued to play. These abrupt actions were odd since the playing was usually rather a serious business. Sometimes even drumsticks flew around. Liam enjoyed these jokes of throwing things at other people who would throw something back at him. Occasionally it ended by a pint falling over and spilling on to the floor and over the musicians, or jackets and instrument cases from the shelf falling down on them.

Most of the players regarded it as normal to drink as much as possible during the sessions. 11 p.m. was usually the time for the last orders. The bartenders then flashed the lights in the pub a couple of times or turned them up to show that it would soon be closing time. The curtains were pulled across the windows, and new visitors were not allowed in. The musicians might continue to play for a while and the visitors were allowed to finish their drinks. Some of the musicians went home earlier, to catch the last bus or train or to be in good form for the next day's work, studies or music-making. They looked at the clock on the wall and noted that they had to go. They collected their instruments and other stuff, put their jackets on and said goodbye to the other musicians and those visitors who had shown an interest in the night's music. A few of the musicians were still in the pub, and continued to play or just waited until they had to leave. Sometimes it happened that the music was flowing very well and the musicians were having such fun together that they continued playing until 12.30 a.m. After that they might even go to another place, such as the Music Centre in Temple Bar, that stayed open even later. There they continued to play or just sat down for a while and talked about music, had a few more drinks and enjoyed themselves. Occasionally they were out until 6 o'clock in the morning.
Thus, spontaneous pub sessions did take place now and then. Most of the time, the publicans did not stop a few traditional musicians from arriving with their instruments to have a session together. In some cases the musicians went to somebody's home to continue playing. Organised sessions may also take place in the musicians' houses, although it was no longer all that common. Again, the pubs were often thought to be much nicer and warmer places to be in. A few alternative nights might be organised in private houses without drink, which were often appreciated by women players who had families to take care of. Of course, some of the men also had families, but they did not have the same responsibility for the care of the children and they found it easier to leave their families at home and go to pubs. However, most of the players in pub sessions were young men without families waiting at home. Bridin, a traditional musician in Galway, who had a family to take care of, used to organise sessions in her house and was not particularly pleased that the paid pub sessions were taking over:

The music scene has changed a lot. Once money started to change hands, a lot of musicians started to come in, and it changed the attitudes to music...People are getting paid. People are filling in for someone else if they are not there...A lot of the whole Irish social thing is all in the pubs...It wasn't like that years ago because the music was brought into the homes...everybody danced, played or sang.

To play in homes may have been an alternative for those musicians who did not like all the late nights of drinking in pubs. Older players, women as well as men, also preferred inviting players to their houses instead of going out themselves. This was another reason why so many young players occupied the pub sessions. One accordion player in the White Horse Inn sessions had invited the players to come to his home after Christmas for a little music session. Since he was somewhat older than the other musicians, and had a family, he tended to like the idea of having sessions at home. He lived, however, some distance outside Dublin, in Wicklow town, but the musicians were invited to stay the night at his place. But the pubs have largely taken over the function of offering sessions. As Bridin remarked, it partly has to do with the fact that some musicians receive payment for playing in pub sessions, which of course was not the case in house sessions. In the White Horse Inn sessions, it was the guitarist and the singer Donal, the accordion player
and the fiddle player Philip who were paid every Wednesday night. A few musicians are guaranteed regular payment and they have to see to it that they are always there or that they have found other musicians as 'fill-ins'. Two regular musicians were the minimum for a session to come about, but usually more musicians participated. The paid sessions put more pressure on the regular musicians to show up. It was, however, usually not a problem to find fill-ins, since there were so many musicians around waiting to get paid sessions. But the regulars had to be more 'organised' and the sessions became more like 'work'. It was not always enjoyable to play either, for example when they were tired or in a bad mood. Tim, a very young traditional musician, had noticed the different requirements:

Paid gigs, although you might enjoy them, they are work. You're expected to be there at a certain time, finish at a certain time and provide music constantly during a period. It's different to a session, or festivals where you go with your friends and just relax and play a few tunes. There's no commitment there. You can go for a walk or be totally drunk or whatever. But at paid gigs you're expected to attain a certain level of professionalism.

Occasionally, even visiting musicians got free pints from the bar or at a reduced price, but generally no payment was handed out. The hospitality of the barmen varied from night to night, and from pub to pub. It happened also that the regular players got a few free drinks (or at a reduced price) from the publicans. Visitors buying drinks for the players was also appreciated, but this did not happen very often. The payment for the regular musicians in a session was around IR£10–30 per person. The money was often handed out in a rather discreet manner, after the session was finished and when most of the pub visitors had gone home. To organise regular paid sessions was a way for the publicans to make sure that there would always be live music in the pub. The publicans often put an advertisement about sessions in the local papers, event guides or tourist brochures in order to attract people to the pubs.

The sessions had their own characteristics which were different in different places in Dublin and Galway as well as outside these places. In Dublin, the pub sessions were sometimes accused of being more superficial and with less stable social contacts than in the countryside. In the countryside the sessions were considered more relaxed, more socially important and part of ordinary pub life. These sessions tended not to be
as planned as in the cities, and the musicians were not always paid, which
decreased the competition over money. Thus, the introduction of money
into the traditional music scene has challenged the egalitarian ethos.

Ideally, open traditional sessions are informally organised and
planned. They are often described as gatherings of musicians performing
for their own enjoyment. Nevertheless, there is a lot of planning behind
them, and there are also certain informal rules for the musicians, the au-
diences, and the pub visitors (cf. Hamilton 1999). The audience should
show their appreciation, for example, by nodding, smiling or taking brief
glances at the musicians. But clapping is not necessary and staring at the
musicians is not appreciated. One does not have to listen to the playing
very intently, unless one has some special musical interest or is trying to
learn the music for one's own playing. According to the writer Anthony

> Clapping isn't really necessary. Those in the know mutter 'lovely' or
>'mighty' between tunes. With years of practice you might be able to
>shout 'hup' at strategic points in a tune. Say 'tune', not 'song' or 'piece'.
>Well, tourists clap very often, and you know if it is a tourist by the
>clapping.

The players do not always enjoy applause, since it may turn the ses-
sion into an audience-related performance. They prefer playing and
communicating with each other. Pub visitors may behave like an audi-
ence, but the musicians do not really communicate with them. Even
though the musicians appreciate seeing people in the pub enjoying them-
selves, they do not generally require an audience that listens carefully.
Sitting at the bar, drinking and chatting, with half an ear to what the
players are doing, is considered the most correct 'Irish way' of attending
sessions.

During wintertime, in White Horse Inn and other pubs outside the
Temple Bar area, there were mostly regulars and local people -
Dubliners. However, it was interesting to note that many of the regular
music followers came from other countries, and had moved to Dublin.
They enjoyed traditional sessions, often more than the local Irish people
did. Ireland has become a country that foreigners move to, not
necessarily to get a job but in order to live an alternative life. They were
perhaps dissatisfied with their home countries and were looking for
something else, but not too different from what they were used to. The
lively pub music scene has definitely contributed to Ireland's attractiveness. Many foreign visitors are fascinated by the music scene in Ireland, viewing the traditional sessions as artefacts from the past. More and more musicians from other countries participate in the pub sessions and play traditional music, which also has become a good way for them to get to know local people and the way of life in Ireland. The sound of traditional music has become part of the overall 'soundscape' of pubs, of their total atmosphere. It may be possible to say that this has become representative of Ireland as a country at large. The soundscape of pubs, in which traditional music is included, is important for the way many foreigners perceive Ireland.

Sessions in pubs go back at least to the late 1950s and the 1960s. As Colin Hamilton (1999:345) remarked, 'it seems that the session developed at the same time as the pub became an important feature in Irish social life, this essentially a post-WW2 phenomenon'. The pub scene was boosted around the time of the music revival, 'where the idea of playing music for listening and not for dancing became important' (ibid.). From around the middle of the 1970s, the paid regular sessions developed, but they have never been as common as they were during the 1990s. Fintan Vallely (1999:xv) drew attention to the lively traditional music scene by saying: 'Throughout the island there are more than fifteen hundred music "sessions" weekly, many in some way commercial, with half of them running throughout the year.' This amount of sessions is an amazing number for such a small country. Anthony McCann (1996), a traditional singer and researcher on traditional music, has discussed aspects of the origin of sessions and mentions their relative newness in Irish cultural life. The huge emergence of sessions was, in his words, very much linked to globalisation. He argued that it is possible to find Irish sessions in many different countries, and that they appear to be a sort of 'cultural McDonalds for the Irish diaspora' (ibid:23). Again, there are more pub sessions in Ireland during the tourist months, and many session musicians set up bands and head away on tours around the world. There is an interested audience wherever they happen to go, especially in Europe, the US, Japan and Australia.

McCann (1996) questions the idea that today's sessions really are a 'true piece of Ireland'. They are at least not the same as in the past, when the music was played in kitchens, at crossroads, during cèilís and at house
dances or other informal get-togethers in people's houses. The revival of traditional music during the 1990s has also witnessed an increased separation between 'performance' music and 'dance' music. The dancers and the music-makers flourish more on their own in their distinct scenes, as well as the singers in their singing communities. However, when the pubs have announced that set dancing will take place in an evening, the musicians are aware of the fact that they have to play music that suits dancing. Since many young players enjoyed experimenting with different rhythms, they did not always like the more restricted dance rhythms. They thought they had to adjust their music to the dancing and were not able to get into the same kind of musical flow.

**Staged traditional sessions**

Traditional music is now connected with a global marketplace where the musicians are paid and play in arranged sessions, often on stages. McCann (1996) joined the critique of sessions as conforming to tourist stereotypes and to the Irish diaspora's stereotype of an archaic, but staged, Irishness. Both tourists and the Irish diaspora view the sessions with envy and excitement at the same time; as something they recognise as a part of their people's lives before the devastating effects of industrialisation, urbanisation and migration. The sessions represent *a lifeline to a land* to which some may never return except on holiday. The Irish diaspora are creating 'a home from home' or 'a piece of Ireland' by attending sessions (cf. McCann 1996:23).

Whereas the Irish diaspora, foreigners and tourists often appreciated the traditional sessions, the regular pub visitors, Galwegians as well as Dubliners, sometimes complained. They did not like the fact that the musicians mostly played for themselves; that it was mainly a musician thing going on. They also told me that, if one did not have a great interest in traditional music one would quite soon find the music boring and monotonous. Even the publicans had noted these complaints and had tried to arrange more audience-orientated staged sessions with popular

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81 *Céilís* still take place, although more often in the countryside than in the cities. *Céilís* are, however, organised a couple of times every month in, for example, Belfast, Dublin and Galway. Most of the time they are community dance gatherings, but it happens that people travel from other places to take part in them.
ballads or tunes, or offered live bands doing popular covers that everybody would recognise. Thus, traditional music has become situated in performance situations that are more planned and staged. There is a distinction currently made in the scene of traditional music, between open or informal sessions and staged sessions using microphones and amplification. I often heard the view expressed by traditional musicians that the informal sessions were not performances, but that the staged ones were. Nollaig, a traditional musician in Galway, argued that:

It's more of a performance on stage...I don't like to think the session is a performance. I think it's more normal in the corner of the pub...People in the pub are as much a part of the music as the musicians are...The whole pub is the music, and the whole atmosphere is the music...I even don't like the term audience...Audience is when you're on a stage.

In my view the informal sessions are performances, but of a different kind, and not so audience-orientated. They are more a performance taking place between the musicians themselves and some visitors in the pub. In staged sessions, the audience is involved; they are more about performing for them than having fun and playing together with fellow musicians. The musicians often enjoy staged sessions as well, but they are under more pressure to get appreciation from the audience, and to be good entertainers. The faster styles in traditional music prevailing today are probably also one response to more and more staged sessions being directed at tourists and other people who are not so much into the music. Moreover, including more singing, and especially popular songs, suits a broader audience.

Traditional musicians often moved between open or informal sessions and staged sessions. The two scenes co-exist, and are not always in competition. Again, the informal sessions are usually characterised more by democratic sociability and accessibility (cf. Vallely 1997a). The increase in staged sessions is partly a modern phenomenon, in which people want to see the kind of live performances they are accustomed to in popular music. Concurrently, traditional musicians who often performed in staged sessions tended to form groups or bands that together planned gigs, tours and arrangements of tunes and songs on a more regular basis. They were no longer functioning as individual music-makers, but had to get on well together with a group of musicians, which is also the case in the world of pop and rock music. In an informal session, musicians
might have difficulties with some players in the session, but they have
the freedom to leave without serious complications. They can look out
for new sessions instead, or just go from one session to another.

In addition, the age segregation has increased, since the musicians
playing in traditional bands and in staged sessions on a more regular
basis are often of the same age. It is more important for them to play
with musicians they have much in common with. The age segregation
has also increased because of the faster or innovative styles of playing
(cf. McCann 1996). The skilful and well-paid young players sometimes
threatened the positions of older musicians. Young players were mixing
different regional styles in a way which the older musicians did not fol-
low or recognise. But in general, the older musicians still wanted to
maintain their positions and kept stressing that they should be respected
and should have the first say when it came to selecting tunes. Bluett
(1994) has also noted this and all the personal dramas involved when
veteran musicians and younger musicians are arguing about rules and
positions in the trad hierarchy.

Session culture: etiquette, egalitarian ethos and hierarchy

At the end of Ó hAllmhuráin's book *A Pocket History of Irish Traditional
Music*, he offers a note on session etiquette that seems to be written for a
listening tourist audience or for visiting musicians unfamiliar with con-
temporary traditional sessions. He says correctly that 'each session has its
own internal logic, social code and sense of time, all of which vary from
one setting to the next' (1998:160). Yet, in spite of the varieties, he high-
lights certain general social codes for sessions, some of which I regard as
somewhat outdated, even if most of the younger musicians are familiar
with them. They seldom followed all of them, unless they happened to
be playing with older musicians or purists, or were joining sessions for
the first time and were anxious to make a good impression.

Ó hAllmhuráin (1998:160) stressed the importance of seniority and
seemed to be showing his 'ideal image' of how sessions ought to be,
rather than what they were actually like. Since many sessions in Irish
cities are somewhat age-segregated and most of them are occupied by
younger musicians under 30 years of age, seniority is no longer a
guarantee of authority. Today it is more a matter of charismatic
personalities, skilfulness or one's degree of professionalism in making. Moreover, every session has key players irrespective of their age, and these are most of the time the regulars, those who get paid for playing. It is often these players who decide on the combination of tunes and start the tunes. But they do, of course, welcome new ideas for tunes from regulars who do not get paid or from other visiting traditional musicians, which is also a way for the key players to learn new tunes.

Despite the egalitarian ethos, power relations tend to be debated more and more. Some musicians think that the scene of traditional music has recently become more hierarchical. It has become increasingly important to be a skilful musician in order to get respect and more gigs. In the past it was supposed to be more democratic, everybody was allowed to participate when music was a part of ordinary everyday life. During my fieldwork, it happened that musicians complained about the fact that the status of a musician was related more to his or her ability to play than to his or her personality. The introduction of fees has also contributed to this competitive situation. There were certain cliques or groups of friends who enjoyed playing together who were not always happy about newcomers; they had their own styles of playing and were not especially interested in changing this.

Traditional music is very much about playing live, playing with other musicians in often individual ways, but harmonising with the participants in the session. Transcriptions of traditional music are therefore often assumed to be rudimentary, static and incomplete, and not covering all the individual variations that occur when the music is played in sessions. When learning to play traditional music one is compelled to attend sessions, and to approach the music in its social and cultural contexts. It is considered to be easier to learn to play together with other musicians, by listening and imitating them and applying what one has learnt to one's own music-making. It is also about sharing one's knowledge with other session players. Yet, it is possible to learn to play through the media, recordings and other written materials, but the session etiquette, the musicians behind the tunes and the way the music works in a group, cannot be learnt indirectly. Many foreigners, who are interested in traditional music, get their main exposure to the music through the alternative contexts of recordings, the media and written material.

Again, traditional sessions may look free and easy, informal and spontaneous to an outsider but underneath there is a complex social rit-
Jim, a banjo player, had noticed the tourists' fascination and interestingly described the subtle communication going on between musicians during sessions, that outsiders would not comprehend:

They've never come across music with ten people who have never met each other, sit down and play the same tune. And we all seem to end at the same time and change tunes at the same time and it's just very subtle things like. Rick who plays the flute, if he changes a tune...he leans over a little bit. And if he's going to play the tune again, and because he can't move his mouth, he just looks straight into your eyes...You only know that after playing with him for a while. But it's just a lift of an eyebrow and then go on changing a tune...I think foreigners are fascinated by this, they can't understand it at all. They used to come up to us after a gig and say, 'hello' and 'how long have you been playing together?', and then we go, 'well tonight was the first time we all played together', and they say 'wow, that's amazing'.

The musicians communicate with each other in a way that non-musicians do not really follow. The lift of an eyebrow may mean a lot, or lifting one's instrument in a specific way may be a way of announcing a change in or of tunes, or to repeat the last part of a tune once again. During sessions, there are refined symbolic micro interactions going on all the time, which may be a mystery to outsiders.

The regular musicians know their instruments, songs and the session rules. They are able to communicate and connect properly, and to be immersed in the mutual flow of music-making. If the musicians were in a good mood and partying around, they might invite anybody to join in: strangers, amateur musicians or 'crazy' pub visitors. Now and then, the sessions are really 'open', such as on one occasion when a foreign man sang a song in Spanish, and when visiting Swedish fiddle players were invited to play a Swedish folk tune. The rule is that it is the paid players, the regulars, who set the rules and the character of the sessions. Sometimes the regular players were serious and at other times they enjoyed messing around.

Stokes (1994b:110) has pointed out an interesting aspect of Irish music and its egalitarian ethos, in that non-Irish music can be incorporated into the session repertoire, not as Irish music as such, but as something that can be performed as if it were Irish music: 'It is not uncommon to hear Bulgarian, Romanian and Macedonian tunes (learned from holidays abroad, recordings or other exchanges), and particularly
French and Breton tunes, in bars in Belfast and elsewhere.' When Irish musicians travel abroad for gigs or on holidays, they may take the opportunity of exploring the folk music in other countries. They are joining in or just picking up a few tunes that they then play at home. Often, the Irish musicians' versions appeared to be somewhat different from the original ones, but that did not always matter. Even visiting foreign musicians who joined in sessions in Ireland might bring tunes from their home countries that the Irish musicians picked up and played in their own ways.82

During a session in Galway, a few musicians told me that they were going to play a Finnish tune. They said its name was 'metsän kukka', but they did not know what it meant, so I told them that it meant 'the forest flower'. When my father, who was born and grew up in Finland, came on a visit, I asked the musicians if they wanted to play the tune for my father. They played it and my father recognised it, but told me that they did not play it 'properly'. They played it in their own way, but it was still recognisable. Foreign tunes that are played in sessions are often transformed in order to suit the sound of Irish traditional music. This exchange of tunes between countries is not something new, but it has intensified recently, because of the increased translocality of musicians and the larger number of world music recordings. Irish music has also proved to work well for crossovers with other musical styles, such as Afro-Cuban music, rock music and modern dance music like techno. There is still a distinctively Irish quality or sound, even if it is incorporated into other styles of music.

Again, one important value in sessions is to show respect for the music and the musicians. It is not appreciated to take over sessions with solo improvisations; one should blend in smoothly with the other musicians. A session is something the musicians should create together and in co-operation. Every session has to be taken on its own merits; even the same session can have a very different feel to it from one week to the next, and this is more about learning basic social skills than anything musical. For example, some musicians do not like bodhráns at all and want to have only fiddles and flutes in the sessions. They complain about being disturbed and not hearing themselves well enough. It is thus not appreciated to bang on with bodhráns or djembes in all sessions.

82 Yet, Stokes (1994b) exemplifies with musical exchange and interaction taking place between Turkish and Irish musicians in sessions in Ireland that did not really succeed.
Drummers should acquire the others acceptance if they want to do a small show, like the way Liam and the other djembe drummers used to do and were even asked to do. Ó hAllmhuráin (1998:160) has stressed the session etiquette of bodhrán playing: 'Bodhrán players should use discretion when "sitting in" to sessions. A "quiet" peripheral role is always appreciated by experienced musicians.' Too many bodhrán players may not always be appreciated, but in a lot of the regular sessions that I visited I saw a number of bodhrán players, as well as other drummers and guitarists, playing lively together without thinking about keeping quiet. Various drums were, in fact, quite popular in sessions with many young players. The complaints frequently concerned tourists or other people who bought cheap bodhráns as their first instruments. These bodhrán players were sometimes accused of not taking the trouble to learn the music, the rules and the way of playing properly.

To conclude, traditional sessions in pubs have changed recently. There is now hierarchy as well as equality involved. I have tried to reveal some 'hidden' aspects of traditional sessions and in what way they have altered. Yet, there are many different kinds of sessions, one session may not be the same as another. Groups of friends or cliques develop their own rules and styles of playing that vary from one session to another. The sessions are not always as open as they appear to be, and the introduction of paid sessions has led to competition as well as professionalism.

**Getting rock gigs**

The local Irish music scenes still function as training grounds and talent pools, as playgrounds and springboards. Frith (1988a) argued that the old model of rock music careers was based on a pyramid. The local live scene around pubs and clubs used to be at the bottom, progressing through a regional live scene, on to major recordings, national exposures and touring, and ending up with international hits, touring and stardom at the top. Today musicians who want to make it on the international stage do not always follow this old career model. With improved recording facilities and video sales, the may skip the local gigging scene and become national or international stars quite quickly, without taking the hard way of gigging them up. But Ireland still has a 'healthy' gigging
scene, at least compared with many other countries. For many Irish musicians it is important to keep the music live since they often regard performance as the 'real thing'. For them, recordings are not so real; they regard them as created in artificial ways in sterile studios without the vibrancy of live gigs.

There were difficulties, however, in getting rock gigs. Young rock bands often talked about the 'old catch 22', meaning paradoxes such as 'how do you get gigs without an album behind you?', and 'how do you manage to get an album out without having the gigs to support it?'. The competition was tough, and most of the time the rock bands had to work hard to get gigs and to market themselves. They had to make many telephone calls, visit several places and send in demo tapes. Some of the bands got gigs through their network, through managers of venues or other contacts who recommended the bands to owners or managers. It happened that established bands recommended new bands or asked them to be their support bands during a gig or a longer tour. Some venues were more willing to take in new bands, without knowing them beforehand. They were given a chance to fill in for somebody else, or just to show their abilities, and if they made a good gig, they would perhaps get a fresh chance. Quite often, however, the bands failed to attract the audience or the publicans. They often needed more performance experience before they managed to present a good show.

There was also a 'catch 22' in the sense that the venues or pubs did not normally show an interest in giving bands gigs unless they already had regular gigs in other places. But as soon as they got this it all tended to 'snowball'. In Galway, the very young cover band Kif (ages 18-20) had problems in the beginning, but they managed, quite exceptionally, to get regular gigs in several places in a short time. If musicians or bands obtained regular gigs or a good reputation in popular places, like King's Head or Róisín Dubh, then that automatically helped them to get more gigs elsewhere. As one of the players in Kif explained to me:

At the start it is very hard to get gigs, but once they've heard us, it's much easier. King's Head is the key to many other gigs. I know people in the student union body and have contacts who have recommended pubs for us. One of the barmen liked us. One of our friends works in the bar here. At the start we just filled in for others who couldn't make it, and that gave us other gigs.
Dublin - Original rock music in Eamonn Doran's

One December night at 9 p.m., I entered the rock club Eamonn Doran's on Crown Alley in Temple Bar. Opposite the club, on the other side of the narrow road, was the renowned Bad Ass Café, where Sinéad O'Connor used to work as a waitress before she made it as a rock singer. Eamonn Doran's consisted of two floors. The upper floor had an ordinary restaurant, with a bar and a café, and catered mostly for older people over 30 years of age. Younger people tended to go to the ground floor, which had a bar, a stage and an empty space in front of the stage with just a few tables and chairs along the walls. There was original rock music every night on stage, and entrance was free most of the time before 10 p.m. The place changed in 1996 from Rockgarden to Eamonn Doran's. Rockgarden was more of a rock club on the upper floor as well, with loud rock music from the stereo and the latest music videos on television screens. In Rockgarden you got the chance to see more accomplished rock bands as well as beginners. The young rock enthusiasts did not like the changes in Eamonn Doran's, since the place had lost its rock profile and become a 'mainstream' place. But the live music was often very loud and raw rock, almost punk-style and very indie - a style and sound many young Dublin bands tended to start with before they developed their own styles. They often found it easier to play punk which they were able to play in a more unrestrained way regardless of their abilities. However, some of the bands were really proficient and it was possible to hear that they had played together for a long time.

In the venue, there was a bar on one side of the room, to the left of the entrance. The stage was placed at the very front of the room and the visitors were sitting around small tables a small distance away from the stage or standing at the bar. Many bands did not like this, since it sometimes left an empty space in front of the stage, especially if there were not all that many people in the venue or if those who were there were not very interested in the music. The venue in Eamonn Doran's was not popular enough to collect a regular crowd, such as in Rockgarden. There were often new people in the audience who were there only for the band that night or just people who happened to end up in the place.

This December night I found a table in a corner and sat down there to watch the activities on stage. The musicians were connecting their instruments to the amplifiers, sound checking, controlling the loudspeakers
and the microphones. Sound checking always took place before the gigs, and after the instruments had been set up and connected. The sound engineer walked back and forth in the room to check if the sound was loud enough and rightly adjusted for the whole room. A group of young women sat around the table nearest to mine having real *craic* together, constantly laughing and talking. These girls looked rather 'mainstream', that is, they were not wearing rock outfits. The groups of young men appeared to be there more for their interest in rock music. They talked about the music and about the bands that were going to perform that night. Their clothing styles, hairstyles and quite 'tough' outlooks suggested that they really were there because of the music. Most of the girls in the club were dressed up, as if they were waiting for the live music to finish and the modern dance music to take over. The club turned into a nightclub around midnight or when the last rock band had finished their gig.

The musicians were running around frenetically on stage, arranging the last bits of equipment. Some of them looked really discontented, but at last the first band started to play. They had some problems in the beginning with the sound; they made a few mistakes and there were sound distortions. After a couple of songs, everything was much better and by the end of the gig it was going really well. It was 1960s-influenced music or early 1980s music with an obvious 'Britpop' sound. The audience was not particularly interested in the music, and was probably waiting for the next band out. The players were quite pleased with their gig on this night, however, especially at the end. They did not know many people in the audience, and were not yet confident enough to summon an audience themselves. They had not asked friends or relatives to show up. Some of the club visitors did at least clap their hands and a few were yelling, but it was probably more a fun thing for them rather than a way of showing their appreciation. After the first band's gig, a few members of the band sat down at a table to discuss the gig. They asked friends and girlfriends what they thought about the gig and the sound.

If there was more than one rock band playing on one night, then one of them tended to be the head attraction or the lead band and the others were support bands. The support bands were there to warm up the audience and they did not always receive as good technical backing as the main band. The lights and the sounds were often adjusted only for the lead band. Thus, the order in which the bands played was important. The
best was, of course, to play last as the lead band. There were also more people in the audience by then.

The next band out on this night was more original than the first one, with a combination of hard macho rock and techno. The singer had a pale, fat look; he was wearing gym trousers and a half-open black silk shirt, and was barefoot. This band gave the impression of wanting to be 'super male'. They also had problems with sound distortions for a while; the singer's voice was not loud enough and the instruments were installed on too high a volume. People in the audience noticed this band; there was no chance of ignoring them. After a while the singer took off his shirt. He was sweaty after all the waving about with the upper part of his body. The young women in the audience started to shout with joy and whistled when he showed his pale, fat upper body covered with tattoos. The women were not as impressed by the look of his body, however, as by the fact that he was taking off his clothes on stage. Finally, the singer announced that they were going to play their last song. The girls shouted with joy again, more than before, which confused the singer somewhat. He told them that the song was dedicated to one of his friends. The singer seemed to think that he was cool and attractive, which he was not in the girls' eyes. Rather they considered him to be a big jerk and were trying to annoy him as much as possible.

About two months later, I paid IR£3 as an entrance fee to Eamonn Doran's, and went down to the rock club. The original young rock band, Purple, had already started to play. The sound was all right, but the singing was not loud enough. As usual, there was something wrong with the sound in Eamonn Doran's. Purple continued to play for half an hour. I talked to one of the women singers after the gig, which she was not happy with since she had had to scream on stage. I went along with the band to the tiny room backstage. The three bands that were going to play on this night had thrown their bags, guitar cases and other things into the small, messy room. They helped me to find a chair by removing a bag. The young men in Purple were seated at the back of the room, smoking and drinking. They appeared not to be in a very good mood and were quite drunk by now. The two young women from the band were seated nearest to me and started to chat me, although we were somewhat disturbed by the next band that had started to play furiously behind the wall. The men in Purple continued to sit in the background, discussing music. The singer from the last band out, Blue Daze, inter-
ruptured us by asking what we were doing. He had newly coloured blue hair, which he confirmed was just a performance style. The women joked that he was able to offer intellectual answers about music, but he replied that he did not have his glasses on tonight. They all laughed when he tried to be an intellectual. Other band members were also constantly running in and out of the room. Girlfriends of the musicians looked in as well. The rock bands commented on each other's gigs, often in supportive ways. One man from Blue Daze was looking for a plectrum, but no one was able to provide him with one, so he went out again. There was a constant movement of people in and out of the messy backstage room.

When I entered the club another night, there was a man at the desk in the front room collecting money from the visitors. A very modest IR£1 for a 'battle of bands'! I asked him who the organisers were, and it was not only the Ballyfermot Rock School as announced that was going to perform but also other original rock bands. 15 to 20 bands were performing on this night. The main arranger was obviously the Dublin Institute of Technology and bands that had played there were going to play. At the entrance they even gave me a voucher which entitled me to a pint of beer. Instead of a real entrance fee, they were offering the audience beer at a reduced price. The reason for this was that the bands had to pay for their own performance! But that was not all; they also had to organise and pay for all the transport as well. This night the club was packed with people, more than I had ever seen before. But I assume that most of them were band members who were going to play or who had been playing this night. The event had started at 5 p.m., much earlier than had been announced in the local papers.

I went to the bar, and ordered my cheap pint. Then I tried to make my way through the crowd to a table in the middle of the club and was lucky enough to find a chair. The first rock band I heard was Skywalker. They were proficient heavy rock instrumentalists, but the singer was not connecting with the audience. He was looking down at his microphone all the time. At the beginning of the gig, a hippie kind of person jumped up on stage to help the singer with the show, but it did not enhance the singing. The hippie was drunk and high with other stuff as well, but no one bothered to get him down off the stage. The next band out was more funk rock, very 1970s kind of music. Six guys with long dark hair played guitars, congas and other rhythm instruments. The audience...
seemed to like them, since it was quite packed in front of the stage when they were playing.

The next original rock band was Odd Man Out, a very young band of four men on guitars and drums and two women on keyboard and vocals. They sounded a bit like the band Garbage, although the sound was not well adjusted for them on this occasion. It was difficult to get a good sound when so many different bands were playing one after another on the same night. The crowd was not as interested during their gig as it had been in the previous band. But there were some friends and parents taking pictures. After the gig, the band told me that they were rather dissatisfied. The sound was bad, they did not like the fact that they had to pay to play or that they had been allowed to play only four songs instead of the six they had been promised. Odd Man Out came from Navan in Co. Meath, which is a little town with only 10,000 inhabitants. They had come to Dublin for this gig and were going back home the same night. Despite the setbacks this night, Odd Man Out was very happy to be in Dublin and to have the opportunity to play. They found the music scene in Navan boring, consisting mostly of 1960s and 1970s music, and raves at discos, with not much of the kind of rock they played. Dublin's music scene, on the other hand, was 'brilliant' in their view, with a much bigger supply of different music styles and more venues to play in and to go to in order to listen to the kind of rock music they liked. Odd Man Out knew, however, that the competition was tougher in Dublin than in Navan, but that Dublin was a better place to be in for bands that wanted to 'make it'. However, they thought the Dublin bands were a bit bored and spoiled, and that they were lacking in interest and commitment. This is, in fact, a quite common notion, that bands outside Dublin are more ambitious and committed than Dublin bands. Debbie Skhow, for example, who reviewed demo tapes sent to the *Hot Press* magazine and also hosted a music radio channel, thought so. She told me that she tended to prefer bands that came from outside Dublin, considering these bands to have developed more original styles.
Galway - Cover rock in King's Head

Again, the setting of the pubs may be important for the performance and the whole soundscape of the place. King's Head is one of Galway's central superpubs on the High Street. It is a huge pub, with a medieval-like interior and old stone walls decorated with old traditional instruments, such as harps and other string instruments. King's Head has two floors that are used for ordinary pub visitors and audiences, and a third floor for special occasions, such as parties and small theatre shows. There is a very long bar downstairs, running through the whole entrance hall to the main hall where the stage is located. On the second floor, there is also a bar, since the stairs would be too busy otherwise. The hall down to the backdoor has its walls totally covered with photos of musicians who have played in the pub, such as jazz musicians, cover bands and original bands. There are old wooden floors everywhere, and a big fireplace in the main entrance hall. There is a combination of old and new things in the pub, modern art as well as antiques. At night-time, they have bouncers on the door checking that the people coming in are at least 21 years of age and not totally drunk. From what I had heard and occasionally seen, Irish Travellers were usually not welcome. In the summer about two-thirds of the visitors were tourists and students and the rest (so-called) Galwegians. There was always a long queue outside on the street during busy weekend nights.

One late summer evening, I stepped into King's Head. A huge screen was set up on the stage, because an 'important' football match was going on. There was even a television set in the entrance hall beside the bar so that it was possible to see the match wherever one was in the pub. There was going to be a gig by the local cover band, Pyramid, but it was postponed until the match was over. Some of the visitors were watching the match intently, otherwise it was quite quiet in the pub at this time. It was the end of August, and thus not as busy as in the tourist weeks during Galway's arts festival and the Galway races. The stage was set out with equipment and instruments. When the match finished at 10 p.m., a man from the bar went up on stage and removed the screen. The female sound engineer adjusted the microphones and the instruments. The musicians went up on stage and adjusted the microphones once again to their appropriate heights. After that, they soundchecked the guitars and that the sound in general was accurate for the instruments. A man in the
audience clapped his hands three times trying to get the band to start playing. Some of the people in the audience seemed to be there for the band, while quite a few were there to drink, and hoping to get good music and good company. Pub visitors kept dropping in, while the musicians were still connecting cords to amplifiers, instruments and microphones. Kieran, the bass player, who was also 'the leader' of the band, was the last one checking out the instruments. He had his ordinary leather jacket on and a cigarette in the corner of his mouth. He looked cool as usual, like a 'real' rock musician. He joked a bit with the other musicians and they smiled back at him.

After a lot of finishing adjustments on stage, the band finally started playing when Matt, the drummer, put his drumsticks together three times. They were all quite serious but relaxed in the beginning. Dennis had a guitar solo in the first song. He nodded his head and Kieran smiled back at him. Joe, the singer, welcomed everyone after the applause for the first song and apologised for the delay because of the match. The musicians looked continuously at each other as well as at the audience in order to connect with them. Joe screamed 'Jiiihaaa' after the next song, and a special guest came on stage. This was a man they used to allow to sing a song or two. He had to adjust the microphone, since he was much shorter than Joe. Joe continued to play guitar behind him. The interlude singer had a nasal voice like the singer of Undertones, whose songs he used to do covers of. The next song they dedicated to Anna from Seville who was going back home the next day. They played U2's song 'Staring at the Sun'. The performers in Galway often related to tourist audiences by asking questions such as 'Where are you from?', 'How are you?', or 'Anybody from Dublin here?', or, as a joke, 'Anybody from Galway here?' or from other places, such as England, France or Italy. Then someone was always yelling loudly and happily as well as waving and lifting their arms. During this gig, Joe continued to sing with closed eyes now and then. Dennis was concentrating hard and looking down at his guitar. Kieran raised his bass guitar on this night, whereat a man in the audience shouted: 'raise it!' The guitar is often perceived to be like a phallic symbol in live rock music (cf. Shank 1994).
Mix of music in Galway's Róisín Dubh

Róisín Dubh is a simpler place than King's Head. It is not one of the new superpubs in Galway, even if the place is big enough to accommodate gigs with local, national as well as international acts. To the right of the entrance is a large fireplace. The first two rooms are always open for visitors. The larger room at the back, where the big stage is, was sometimes closed to non-paying visitors. When there were gigs one had to pay for, once or twice a week and mostly during weekends, there was a curtain in front of the door to the larger room, with a bouncer standing there checking tickets. The bar is in the middle of the pub, running through both rooms. Posters announcing previous and coming acts decorate the walls, and there are some old pictures of events and gigs.

The audience as well as the music in Róisín Dubh was more varied than in King's Head. Róisín Dubh was a trendier place, with a mix of rock enthusiasts, students and so-called New Age travellers, many of whom were Galwegians and regulars, and not only non-locals or tourists. There was a real community spirit and some nights were quite packed. King's Head was more for tourists, partying students and 'mainstream' people who were dressed up in the latest fashions. In Róisín Dubh the regulars tended to be dressed in black or in hippie styles, and the crowd was often there for the music, in contrast to the King's Head audience which was there mostly for the drink. Róisín Dubh is the rock musicians' favourite pub and venue, both when it comes to their own relaxation and for gigging. The venue is renowned internationally, since musical acts from abroad on tour in Ireland used to schedule gigs there and tended to return when they were back in Ireland for new gigs. The pub was also popular because it had different kinds of live music every night, such as original rock music, cover rock music, traditional music, jazz music and so on.

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83 Róisín Dubh is Gaelic for Black Rose. The late Philip Lynott, from the well-known Irish rock band Thin Lizzy, was called the Black Rose, and Róisín Dubh is engraved on his memorial stone.
Audience: regulars, tourists and fans

Again, to look at the whole performance context is a matter of including not only the musicians, but also the audience and the fans. The audience activities and the communications between them and the music-makers on stage, around the table or wherever they happen to be performing are all part of the performance. The musicians relate to the audience in various ways and vice versa. I have already pointed out some of the relations between musicians and their various 'audiences'. I did not find any major conflict between musicians and non-musicians (so-called squares) such as Becker (1966) found in his study of dance and jazz musicians in the US. According to Becker, 'the musicians fear that direct contact with the audience can lead only to interference with the musical performance' (ibid:96). The musicians in Ireland were rather striving to interact with the audience during performances. I found only a few exceptions in the traditional music scene and its informal sessions where the musicians' collaboration was the most important thing and the players might show some reluctance in cases of too much audience involvement.

Traditional music audiences: the local Irish and the tourists

At the end of her dissertation on folklore and mythology, Thornton (1999) interestingly stressed the study of tourism and music in Ireland, since that would include an audience analysis. I noted that the local Irish and the foreign tourists were different kinds of audiences, behaving differently during sessions. Some musicians preferred the Irish way, while others preferred the tourist way. Jim, a young banjo player in Galway, who used to play for different kinds of audiences, told me that:

If there's tourists in the pubs, there's a great response. Galway people in the pub they mightn't clap. But they come up at the end of the night and they are passing on that it was a great session tonight and go home. Just a difference there...The tourists go 'Oh my God what music!', which is great...It's always easier to play to a receptive audience. If they're cheering along you're going to get into it and you play better and you concentrate more...If it's a bad audience then I'm tired and might get bored, and trying not to break as many strings as I normally would.

84 Bennett (1997:97) argues that the significance an audience attaches to a particular pub rock event is an essential, 'if not the essential, aspect of that event'.
Frances, a traditional musician in Galway, was not happy, however, about the tourists:

Whenever you're playing in the summer it's cameras flashing all the time. And you're playing away and you look up and there are videos on you all the time...I hate that feeling of being on a stage and being watched...I'm much happier playing when there aren't tourists. I would enjoy it most playing in a pub where there were local people...You want people to be listening and enjoying the music but not to be looking at you as if you were an animal in a zoo!

Many traditional musicians, playing in informal sessions, found that foreigners and tourists, even though they might enjoy the music, did not understand the session culture, the etiquette, the social context of the music and all the variations in the music. Foreigners and tourists were often sitting in the pub, drinking half-pints, staring at the musicians and behaving like an audience during the kind of concerts they might be used to from the scene of pop, rock or classical music. Moreover, they usually did not notice when the musicians changed tunes, when they went from one tune to another, from one reel to the next. Whereas people with an understanding of the music instantly recognised the changes and shouted 'oh yeah!' or whatever. On the other hand, there were also Irish people who did not know the fundamentals of Irish traditional music. There were some locals who had no interest in the music, they did not want to listen to it and did not enjoy it at all, but just thought it all sounded the same. Rick, a traditional musician in Galway, noticed that it was different playing in different pubs. He also complained about people who did not have an understanding of the music and did not know how to behave during traditional sessions:

The tourists, they don't really understand what's happening. It's not much fun to play for them. Especially when they're noisy. Last week I played, and there was a group of young American girls, 20 and 21 years of age, and they were talking very loudly, right in front of the stage...As with any art, if the audience appreciates it, it makes the musicians feel good. There has to be a good communication with the audience and a feedback between the audience and the performance. It makes the music better, it does.
Again, different types of tourists have an impact on the music scenes. Bridin, the traditional musician, gave me her views and experiences of tourists and the music scene in Galway:

Pubs have music seven nights a week and maybe also in the afternoon. Just pumping out the music and it's not necessarily a good style of music...They are playing for the tourists and the style of music will change. Musicians don't necessarily like it, but they are making money. I suppose you have to put on a show somehow. It can get very monotonous with all the tourists, the same pattern all the time. They don't necessarily know how to react around the music...Busloads sometimes come in and they sit down and they actually don't understand the Irish social scene...First of all they go into a pub and they have one drink all night long. We can't understand that at all...Sometimes I've seen forty people waiting for the musicians to arrive and they place themselves all the way around the band in the room they are going to play in, the pub. And once the music starts, there's dead silence and that's not part of Irish music...and the musicians obviously get nervous and when they've finished playing the tune, they all start clapping like, huge applause. It's so unnatural.

Gavin, a traditional guitar player in Galway, talked about Irish tourists:

The worst tourists are the Irish ones, because most of the time tourists have a respect for the country they're visiting, but not the Irish people...They take Irish music for granted because there's so much of it...If I was playing a gig and was told there was forty German people I would be happy. If I was told there's forty Dublin people I wouldn't!

Thus, Irish people are also tourists sometimes, for example when Dubliners travel to Galway during weekends and holidays. Again, the Irish (tourists or locals) do not always appreciate traditional music, for various reasons. But returning Irish-American tourists often visited pubs in order to listen to traditional music. They were not always appreciated by the local Irish, however, who enjoyed having a slägging interaction with them. The Irish way of slägging is part of the craic with friends and non-friends in pubs. It is an activity with quite specific but unspoken rules, in

85 It is interesting to note that the musicians were often talking about forty people in the audience, who were tourists annoying sessions in some ways. Of course, the musicians in Galway do know each other and often talk about these issues between themselves.
which one person is picked on and teased about some aspect of themselves, perhaps their clothes or their lifestyle. The aim is to be as insulting as possible without actually giving the victim cause to be offended. The victim for his or her part must respond to the slagging by slagging back or somehow turning the joke against the attacker. It is not appropriate to lose one's temper or display hurt feelings during these slagging attacks.

One evening I was in Galway town with my Irish-American friend, Barbara, and her father who was visiting from the US. They have Irish roots in Co. Mayo and were going to travel around the country together. Barbara was one of the first musicians I met in Dublin. She was in Ireland in order to study and play music. We went to the Taaffes, a local pub, since they had live traditional music there every night. In the pub, we met an Irish man who told us that he worked in the 'music business' (like 'everybody' else) and that he used to sing. He immediately started slagging about Americans when he learnt about Barbara's and her father's background. He joked about them as if he knew everything about America and Americans. He also teased me by identifying Swedish and Finnish people as shy, quiet and reserved. Barbara and her father managed the slagging about their looks and behaviour quite well. The Irish man accused Americans of wearing white shoes. We replied by saying that the three of us were wearing black shoes that night, whereas the Irish man was the only one with white shoes. He looked down at his feet a bit embarrassed and tried to smile as he said: 'You know, I've always wanted to be an American!'

The crowd and different kinds of fans and regulars

'The crowd' is a common designation for the rock audience, often including the regulars in the music scenes. Some places have better crowds, meaning that the people in the pub or the club are regulars or so-called 'familiar strangers' who respond very well to the music. In Galway this could take place in the venue Róisín Dubh or in the nightclub GPO, since the visitors there often knew each other and saw familiar faces. Feelings of belonging and community were created.

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86 See also Thornton (1995:110) about 'crowds' in dance club cultures, that 'may contain a nucleus of regulars, degrees of integration and clusters of cliques. Unlike the "mass", they are local and splintered. Crowds are the building blocks of club cultures...'
People went out, listened to and enjoyed the same music that was appreciated by people they liked or with whom they tended to identify.

Young original rock bands, which did not play regularly in local places, did not get the same local following or crowds as cover rock bands. It also appeared to be easier to attain regular crowds in smaller places like Galway, compared with Dublin. Mysteriously, in Galway, the crowd kept going to the same cover band gigs. I realised that the important thing with following cover bands was, indeed, the moments of recognition and repetition. The cover bands did, however, display originality in their playing, whether their ideas corresponded with those of the original bands or not (see Chapter 5). There is a remarkable contradiction in the fact that pop and rock bands tend to be thought of as inauthentic when they do covers, whereas when jazz, blues, traditional or classical musicians do covers that follow the originals closely, they are seldom accused of inauthenticity. Michael from the cover band, Sunday Drivers, pointed out the intricacies and unfairness in matters of authenticity:

If you were a folk singer, singing traditional Irish songs, that would be a cover band as well in that you're doing other people's songs. You're doing your interpretation perhaps of other people's songs.

Thus, traditional singers are seldom accused of being inauthentic when they are doing other people's songs. However, several circumstances made the gigs of cover bands in Galway very happy events for the regulars or fans. There was the triumph of re-experiencing the same band many times and recognising all the good parts, which even the performers enjoyed. The good parts could consist of something the musicians said, guitar solos, expressions or jargon. The musicians often looked at the audience, especially at young women, and the flattered young women looked back at them. The form of the guitar is recognised to be both like a woman's body and a phallic symbol. The guitarist may look deep into the eyes of a woman at the same time as he is concentrating on the playing and gently caressing the guitar. The guitarist

87 In a study of pub rock, Bennett (1997) also found it striking to observe how the same people kept coming back to hear the same songs performed in more or less the same way. In fact, they enjoyed the repetitive and predictable character of live music events, due to their familiarity and sociability.
can also direct the guitar neck at a woman in the audience, now using it as a phallic symbol.

Fans and regular followers often danced, which was a way for them to show their appreciation of the band that was playing. Even the audience interacted with one another, especially people who recognised each other, and they danced or sang together to the well-known cover songs. Again, there may be flow happening between the rock band and the audience when they become immersed in each other. They connect in some way and experience a musical journey together during the performance. To achieve flow, is part of what makes performances such exciting events. Flow may be compared with sexual experiences when the players and the audience behave like a unit and feel good together.

Katrina, one of the fans in Galway, astonished me during one of her favourite gigs by saying: 'I feel his sexual energy coming to me.' She continued: 'It's even better than having sex.'

Yet, in some cases the sexual tensions and communication were not always to the liking of all the participants, sometimes what might have been intended as a kind of flirtation was interpreted in terms of a provocation. This was the case in the incident at Eamonn Doran's when the male singer started to take off his clothes and the women only annoyed him. And in GPO, the popular nightclub in Galway, one night during a Pyramid gig, two young women were dancing in front of the stage in a very sexually provocative manner. One of the women pulled up her sweater showing her breasts and the other one pulled up her skirt showing her legs to the men in the band. The women had appropriated a sort of groupie style. They wanted to have a good time and get the attention of the band. I do not know if they really aimed at picking up the men or if they just wanted to annoy them. The rock bands had to handle things like that quite often, whether they liked it or not. Most of the band members in Pyramid had girlfriends or were uninterested, so to pick up the men after the gigs was difficult for these female fans.

Again, a good crowd was important for the rock bands, since they played better with one and they had a better chance of getting more gigs. They had to be on a good footing with their fans as well as with the publicans. Devoted fans might experience good gigs simply by fancying the musicians. If the musicians noticed the fans in the audience, this

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88 Both Cohen (1991) and Shank (1994) noted the same kind of comparisons between rock gigs and sexual experiences in the music scenes.
often enhanced their mutual experience. But not all musicians cared about the audience and their fans. For example, Shane, who played both original and cover rock, wanted to be in the background, which was one of his reasons for playing the bass guitar. He did not think that the audience really had a deeper interest; they were just fascinated because they were musicians. Shane knew he had some fans, but he did not socialise much with them. Most of the time, it was the lead singers who took care of the audience contacts on and off stage. Jake, the singer in the young cover rock band Kif, found that he got much more attention from women in Galway when he started to play more live gigs:

People come up to you, girls, when walking on the street they say hello to you and I don't know who they are. I say 'hello, how are you?' People come up to you after the gig and tell you you're brilliant. It means nothing after a while, but it's very nice. For a start it is very flattering. Now you just say 'yeah, yeah'...You kind of get sick of it.

The crowd of locals often went back to gigs by the same bands, especially if they had positive experiences of them. A good gig can stay with the audience after it is over. They may have experienced flow or something that 'lifted' them up a bit, which made them carry on with their ordinary lives more easily. A joyful gig was often something they discussed with other locals, asking each other: 'Did you see that gig? Wasn't it great?'. For the audience, performances may also be about forgetting or losing themselves. To go to gigs and experience good performances is something addicted fans strive for and want to repeat. The audience may also express emotions of all kinds, such as rage, frustration, love or loss, all in accepted ways since they are often encouraged to be emotional during gigs.

The phenomenon of fans has tended to be denigrated by rock critics and not regarded as a serious topic for academic research. In my study, the fans were active agents, important for the performances and the music scene. The musicians were also significant in the fans' everyday lives. I met some young women fans whom I hung around with for a while, talked to and interviewed. Fans were more a part of the scene of rock music than of traditional music.

But in many ways we are all 'fans', as the contributors in Lisa Lewis' (1992) study pointed out. Even the musicians may be fans of other musicians, when they look for musical inspiration by attending gigs. They
have their own musical idols or role models, whom they are influenced by, admire, try to be like or just like to listen to. Consequently, there are different kinds of fans, as Roy Shuker (1994) and Wulff (1998) have also argued.\(^8^9\) Some fans may be more interested in the music and other fans in the personae, such as the band and the musicians. The 'intellectual' fans or the record collectors often regard themselves as serious devotees of particular musical styles or performers. In this category, we find most of the popular music researchers as well as the music-makers themselves. But as Shuker (1994:243) remarks, 'such individuals would not usually describe themselves as "fans", preferring instead to describe themselves as "into" particular rock performers or genres'. On the other hand, Shuker mentions the so-called 'teenyboppers', who are very emotionally involved in the image or persona of their idols. However, all groups of fans tend to show an impressive knowledge of their preferred musical genres, styles and performers. For example, the fans in Galway acquired an amazing amount of knowledge about the local bands and their members. To make sure that their favourites were playing they used to look in the fortnightly leaflet, *Galway's List*, or in the local magazine, *Galway Advertiser*, which came out once a week, and was sold out already in the afternoon. The music followers had to pick it up very quickly, although most of the people living in Galway received the magazine for free in their houses.

I am arguing against the exclusive view of fandom as deviance, in line with Joli Jenson's (1992:9) observation that: 'The fan is consistently characterized (referencing the term's origins) as a potential fanatic. This means that fandom is seen as excessive, bordering on deranged, behaviour.' Instead, fans may be very important, since, without their respect, admiration and desire, there would not be as much live music. Lewis' (1992) volume focuses on how fan culture relates to popular media contexts, and does not say much about fans in local music scenes. I am here describing the fans in Dublin's and Galway's music scenes, and thus filling the gap in studies of pub rock audiences.\(^9^0\) Even the fans themselves in the music scenes had noted the negative meaning of the label 'fans'.

\(^8^9\) Wulff (1998) noted in her study of ballet dancers that there were balletomanes, ballet fans, followings, and regular theatre-goers or ballet-goers who approached the dancers in different ways.

\(^9^0\) Bennett (1997) argues that there are only a few published works on the production of pub rock, and to his knowledge no studies devoted to pub rock audiences.
As Katrina said: 'I'm not a fan, I'm a believer.' She argued that a 'believer' was someone who encouraged the musicians, connecting and communicating with them. She wanted to be an important part of the musicians' careers. Young women fans may be romantic and develop fantasies about their idols. Yet, fans produce meanings, communities and identities in the music scenes as a source of empowerment in their everyday lives (cf. Grossberg 1992). Shuker (1994) and the Vermorels (1985) pointed out that a strong identification with a star became a source of pleasure for the fans. In the local music scenes, I noticed fans enjoying gigs, dancing at gigs, trying to reach the musicians, and being a part of the musicians' lives and following them in their careers. Katrina told me that her best friends in Galway were the musicians, even closer to her than her boyfriend and her female friends. She did not require much of the musicians she admired, they were perfect friends just by playing for her and saying a few nice words to her after the gigs. In her view, gigs were a 'healing' practice beyond comparison. She also had plans about getting the cover band Full Trousers to play at her forthcoming wedding party. Katrina described what she used to do in order to show appreciation during gigs and she very aptly recalled the hardships and pleasures of being a fan (or a 'believer') in the local music scene. She told me why she fell in love with the cover band LSD (Laughing Sam Dice):

I loved them from the beginning...The music they were playing was my kind of music, as I would have liked, as they played David Bowie...And I was so amazed by the lead singer when he opened his mouth and he could make use of any kind of voice like a big comedian as well. And the other guys are great fun. I felt safe there. I really felt like, hey, they are people I can connect with. They were always very good to me, you know...And I had a great time and I was talking and got to know people around me so easy so I got to love that band...The lead singer, I was in quick time in love with him. I did write a letter...but he didn't answer.

Katrina, very interestingly, seems to be saying that the kind of live music is not always the most important aspect when it comes to fancying a band. The members of the bands and how they performed were often more important. The vibes and the whole soundscape, including the audience, the band and the setting, were all parts of the experience of a good gig. Katrina had developed strong feelings for some of the band
members. During one gig, she gave the men in LSD flowers. She recalled the event:

The audience liked it, the audience was giving me a huge big applause...I was really nervous...I was shaking all night long about giving those guys roses. I needed to do that otherwise I would never have got him to come down, sit next to me and talk to me...And I was really in the drama...I felt like he had been flirting with me and I couldn't understand why he did it when he had been going out with a girl for nine years...That was probably just their way, it's their work, they're working with that event of getting the audience...

Katrina was highlighting a central aspect of fandom: the fans felt that they were part of the music scenes, they felt that they had a place in there and that they were connecting with the musicians. Ideally, there was a community spirit and people were making friends. Katrina worked as a bouncer in one of Galway's superpubs, the Quay's pub, and often told me stories about bands looking for women in the audience. We enjoyed gossiping together about the bands. Katrina wanted to be there for the bands as a helping hand, and she really believed that she was as important for them as they were for her.

Moving towards the conclusion of this chapter, I have said that Ireland is well-known for its lively pub music scene, which has also boosted the Irish tourist industry and reverberated to other countries. Live performances are very much valued amongst musicians in Ireland. Although it is possible to make it today in the music industry without the local gigging scene, most of the bands and musicians do still want to keep it. There are specific values in playing live together with other musicians on a more regular basis. I have drawn attention to the popularity and the driving forces that made musicians continually want to get up on stage and perform in front of an audience. Apart from the money, it is about expressing oneself in a creative way and achieving heightened life experiences. Importantly, it is about feeling the vibes and being immersed in the flow. It concerns being recognised, respected and achieving good communication. First and foremost, performance is a social event, since it is happening together with other musicians and in most cases for an involved 'audience'.

As I shall show further on, music performance may reveal ideas about authenticity, purity, open-mindedness and may relate to the 'modern,
urban and global Ireland' or the 'old rural Irish Ireland'. There are, of course, other options, such as John Waters' (1997) idea that Ireland should be recognised as both rural and urban, and that both the national and global levels are important and interconnected.
During the last few decades, the concept of 'authenticity' has been subject to much anthropological analysis. Authors such as Richard Handler (1986) and Brian Spooner (1986) see the concept of authenticity as a cultural construct of modern Western (industrial or post-industrial) societies. Spooner (1986) argues in his essay 'Weavers and Dealers: The Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet' that it is in these societies that we distinguish between the meanings of handicraft and of mechanical production, as well as between uniqueness and easy replaceability. It is, however, important to remember that 'authenticity is a form of cultural discrimination projected onto objects' (ibid:226). It is not a quality that is inherent in the object itself. Spooner and Handler argue that the quest for this value is enhanced in times of social and cultural change. Spooner explains that the evolving constellation of social relations in our complex society generates a need for authenticity, which leads people to look around for cultural material on which to work out the obsession for distinction. Likewise, a world with increasing translocal and transnational connections heightens the quest for authenticity in objects, symbols, people and performances.

Many popular music scholars have approached the subject of authenticity in music. In Martin Stokes' (1994) volume on ethnicity and music, both Malcolm Chapman and Sara Cohen, as well as Stokes himself, give accounts of the ways in which 'authenticity' is structured,

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91 These ideas resemble Walter Benjamin's (1936/1968) argument in the essay 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'. He argues that in the industrial era originals are robbed of their aura of authenticity, and that only with the age of mass reproduction of symbols does authenticity emerge as a quality to be prized.

defined and employed in discursive contexts. Stokes (1994a:6) claims that authenticity is not a property of music, musicians or their relations with an audience, but he shows 'how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and them, and how terms such as "authenticity" are used to justify these boundaries'. According to Stokes, authenticity functions as a discursive trope of great persuasive power.

In this chapter, I shall illuminate and analyse the musicians' 'own' conceptualisations and constructions of authenticity in the Irish music scene, rather than attempt to define any 'objective' authenticity. For there is not one authenticity in the singular, but rather many 'authenticities' in the plural (cf. Kivy 1995).93 However, many musicians and listeners believe that authenticity is a real thing. For example, Taylor (1997:22), both a music researcher and a player of Irish traditional music, finds it difficult to stand outside the discourses of authenticity. He states: 'I have a firm, inflexible idea about what is "authentic" in that music and attempt to play not merely in an authentic style but also seek out players with similar attitudes and pick as favorites bands that play in ways that conform to my conception of authenticity.'

Discourses of authenticity may appear idiosyncratic at first, but in their social contexts there are, in fact, both material and ideological foundations for them.94 It is essential to look at discourses of authenticity in practice, in performance and in the music scene. The discourses turn out to say something about the society the musicians are living in today. I am interested in 'the politics of authenticity' (cf. Peterson 1997). Authenticity plays an active part in the continuing interplay between taste and power that goes on in the music media, the music industry and among musicians and audiences in the music scenes. However, it is not a question of total authority or control over aesthetic standards or canons in the music scenes. For example, in the scene of Irish traditional music we can see how a model or an ideal image of traditional music is worked out and renegotiated in order to suit a contemporary context. Richard Peterson's (1997:220) view of authenticity supports my argument:

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93 Peter Kivy (1995) and Richard Peterson (1997) refer to *The Oxford English Dictionary*'s examples of meanings for the term 'authenticity'. The *Dictionary* points out the variations and pluralities of 'authenticities'.

94 In fact, Foucault's (1969) discourse concept is close to ideology and paradigm.
...in popular culture, where experts and authorities do not control the particulars of the word's meaning, the definition centers on being believable relative to a more or less explicit model, and at the same time being original, that is not being an imitation of the model. Thus what is taken to be authentic does not remain static but is continually renewed over the years.

Many people in the music industry see authenticity as a rather hackneyed issue to take up, notwithstanding it continues to be a central theme for music-makers and listeners. Furthermore, there are people talking about an authenticity crisis today. It is, of course, true that authenticity is no longer something taken for granted, but often has to be constructed on quite controversial or loose grounds. Thus, due to this crisis, the theme of authenticity becomes an even hotter issue. This is so especially among musicians who want to express 'true' feelings and engagements through their music. It may be important for them to play 'truly' original music, or music emanating from specific regions and historical periods.95

There seem to be at least two general and intertwined themes related to musical considerations of 'authenticity'. Firstly, it is often associated with an ethnic, national or original core in which a specific tradition, place, time or style is celebrated as an ideal. Secondly, it is perceived to have implications for the musicians' search for their 'real' selves, their 'true' feelings and engagements, especially in their musical activities. The first theme is especially relevant for traditional music and for music containing elements of traditional music. But even in rock music, world music and crossovers, national identity and originality are important issues today. Yet, 'old' images of Irish national identity are often negotiated and/or negated in the very varied and translocal Irish music scene.96 The second theme of emotional authenticity appeared to be relevant for all music genres. I shall discuss these central themes in this chapter.

The concept of authenticity is closely linked to that of identity, and thus tends to be mobilised in debates over such issues. One's ideas of authenticity reveal who one wants to be and what values one has of

95 James Averill (1986) argued that when old values have to be abandoned and new standards acquired, a person may face the need to get in contact with his or her 'true' feelings.

96 See also Vainikainen (2000) about negotiations of identity, authenticity and globality in the Irish music scene.
Authenticity, and its core of 'originality', are often conceptually connected with questions of quality (cf. Spooner 1986). To play 'good, old and genuine' music is something that seems to guide traditional musicians. Frith (1987a) has also revealed ideas about quality and authenticity in the field of rock music practitioners and their critics. Bad popular music is often taken to be standardised and commercialised, its creativity and distinctiveness quashed by the music industry (see e.g. Bennett et al 1993). Authenticity is a powerful trope in canonisation, in value judgements about music, but what is good and authentic for one person may be bad and inauthentic for another.

Bourdieu (1984) offers a theory of symbolic battle in different fields of cultural preference or taste. These fields can consist of cultural goods, such as music, art, theatre and literature, and the aim of the struggles is to achieve acceptance of a specific taste as the legitimate one within a particular field of preference. Distinctions are made and musical tastes are developed, often in terms of authenticity and identity. The 'right' taste and lifestyle are symbols of authentic identity, as well as of power and status. However, the Irish musical field of taste is not always that contested and particularised, as Bourdieu's theory about other art forms seems to suggest. Musical genres and tastes in Ireland may be mixed in practice and thereby contribute to change in the musical field of taste. But symbolic battles do exist to some degree, as is illuminated in the debates between the 'purists' and the 'open-minded', representing different ways of relating to music and of making music. I shall argue that it is possible to find 'guardians of authenticity' almost everywhere, since music-makers in all styles are engaged in making music that they enjoy and believe in (cf. Gilroy 1993b:10). Authenticity is not only about purists searching for historical 'truths', it is also very much about being 'credible in a current context' (cf. Peterson 1997).

In discourses about authenticity in traditional music, it seems to be inevitable to consider the concept of 'tradition'. The quest for authenticity in 'modern' societies is often accompanied by the quest for tradition. Traditions are more or less invented, but are not always consciously invented by people in power (cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). They can be emergent customary practices developed over time by people in their

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97 Shank (1994) pointed out that identity in Austin's scene of rock music was most closely associated with sincerity. See Lionel Trilling (1972) and Charles Taylor (1992) about 'self' and 'sincerity' or individualised authenticity.
everyday lives, as we see in the case of Irish traditional music. Traditions are constantly changing; what is a tradition today in Ireland - to play in pubs - was not a tradition 50 years ago. And the instrumental tradition of Irish music is not much more than about 200 years old (cf. McNamee 1992). The sort of 'tradition' I am talking about in the scene of Irish traditional music lies in the field of opinion, which is the locus for confrontations between competing discourses or symbolic battles. What the 'tradition' consists of is something the musicians keep discussing. Some of them discuss it more than others, and it is possible to see debates on tradition in the discourses between the 'purists and the 'open-minded' musicians. Thornton (1999) noted that there has otherwise been a tendency in the existing literature on Irish music to develop a definitive view of 'tradition' as independent of its practitioners, their various practices and views.98

In the scene of Irish traditional music, the concept of tradition is more addressed than the concept of authenticity. There is more talk about following a tradition and passing it on than about being authentic. But authenticity in traditional music does not always mean originality and the maintenance of traditions. It can also mean correspondences between the inner and the outer, between subjective motives and symbolic expressions. Many of the young traditional musicians I met wanted to emphasise this kind of authenticity in their playing of new styles in traditional music. It was something that suited their music-making of today and was appropriate for their experiences and emotions. In order to attain true emotional engagement in the music, the music should represent something about the musicians themselves.

Yet, there was not a complete break with the tradition; it was still important for many, even if it was changing all the time. Tradition and modernity are influencing each other constantly in Ireland. The past is continuously in the present, and there are many indications that this is something typical of the Ireland of today (cf. MacDonagh 1983). Colin Graham (2001) also examines the role of authenticity as a persistent factor in Irish cultural production. Authenticity is claimed as a way to promote Irish culture in a postcolonial context, and in an anti-colonial way. This can be exemplified within the scene of traditional music, from being viewed as exclusively anti-colonial to being viewed rather as inclusively 'global' and postcolonial (see Chapter 6).

98 She exemplifies by using the books by Seán Ó Riada (1982) and Tomás Ó Canainn (1978).
Chapman (1994:6) has argued that 'Celtic music' is created by certain ways of classifying musical experience, and that it is not a residue of authentic 'Celtness'. Similarly, my point is not to try to state what is encompassed by 'authentic national identity' in, for example, Irish music-making. Yet, the musicians themselves often spoke, from different discourses, about 'the national' in their music. Some were embracing a certain construction of Irishness and others were rejecting it, but they were all involved in it in some way or other. Thus, there were negotiations and negations of Irishness in the Irish music scene, which I shall come back to later in this chapter. What I actually encountered in these national (or local) discourses of authenticity were reactions to globalisation. Some were rejecting outside influences and others were embracing or using them as new ways of identification.

Cohen (1994) argues that particular places or 'local music scenes' are still important for artists and their identities, despite the fact that rock music today is frequently presented as a symbol of globalisation. She describes ways in which an 'authentic Liverpool sound' is constructed in Liverpool and notes a series of incidences in which Liverpool's rock musical sound is principally opposed to Manchester's: acoustic-/technological, raw/synthesised and authentic/contrived. As I have shown, Dublin and Galway were often described and compared as music scenes by the musicians themselves, and authenticity was one central theme in these conceptualised contrasts. Contrary to what Cohen (1994) found, there were not such clear-cut ideas about authentic local sounds of rock music among musicians in Galway or in Dublin. The idea of 'local sound' is often used as a marketing tool by the music industry and the media, but musicians tend to view these conceptualisations of 'local sounds' as very generalised. It is often one (or maybe a few) rock band's style of sound that becomes dominant in the constructions of 'local sounds', thus failing to consider all the variations in rock musical sounds that co-exist. Instead, they are all lumped together under the same heading of, for example, a 'Galway sound' (see Chapter 3). There were media constructions of a 'Galway sound' at the beginning of the 1990s, but most of the local rock bands were not able to identify with this. It was not authentic for their styles and identifications. 'Sound' is treated as 'genre' in this case, in being categorisations of musical styles. Again, categorisations are often experienced as restrictive for the ideals of originality, creativity and sincerity of rock bands.
The ideal image of Irish traditional music

I shall first give an account of how traditional music is used in the construction of an ideal image of Irish traditional music. I do not aim at giving the whole picture here, only a part of it, in order to have something to start from. The 'purists' defend the ideal image, but even the more 'open-minded' are familiar with it, even though they do not always follow its model. It is appreciated to have knowledge of the ideal image as a traditional musician, but it is not something they see as absolutely necessary to follow. Irish traditional sessions have different characteristics, and in order to play in them one should have knowledge of the specific canons and conventions in question. One has to know what is required for participating in different sessions in a 'correct' or authentic way, even in sessions that initially appear to look quite informal.

There is a connection between canonisation and the formation of national identities. There is canonisation in narrow national concerns among some purist traditional musicians, in their development of 'ideal models' which do not always take account of what is actually happening in music and identities in current practice. The ideal model is a kind of canon since it highlights music-making according to a rule or an exemplar. There is a risk that the 'ideal model' will be understood as a static, bounded and essentialised object, when even that, in fact, is undergoing changes and constructions all the time. Newcomers are sometimes accused of trying to follow the ideals too strictly, and they may be ridiculed for this. The ideal image or model is a kind of indigenous folk model. Such folk models are outcomes of daily or common habits of valuation, outcomes of processes of canonisation. However, canonisation takes place in various constructions of Irishness, in the narrow ones as well as in the more inclusive ones.

The ideal image concerns ideologies of musical purity. The purists often use arguments of authenticity in their struggle against new influences in traditional music. The ideal image is a target of criticism today and accordingly there are conflicting ideas about what is considered national and traditional in Irish music. The concept of 'image' is suitable here because it draws attention to something imagined and constructed. The purist-minded musicians do not see the 'ideal image' of traditional music in this way, however, and would probably not use the word. For them the described ideal image is something real, not
constructed or imagined, but a kind of historical, unquestioned and natural fact.

To be able to perform traditional music according to the ideal image, it is regarded as necessary to have some knowledge and appreciation of the music's historical background. The musicians may try to establish contact with what they perceive to be an 'authentic' musical life, as it was in the past, and thus keep the traditions alive today. As one folksinger suggested: 'It's like a videotape going backwards in time.' The lyrics of the songs are important in this case, since they tell a story about the history, a 'true' story in the way that they were created by the people from the past, since 'all songs are living ghosts, longing for a living voice' (Dromey 1997:66). Their voices are heard and their stories are told again in a way that seems 'authentic' for contemporary singers and listeners. These singers may experience a sort of 'nostalgia' or 'empathy' when they sing the traditional songs. The most authentic way for them to sing is in the Gaelic, so-called *sean-nós* style, without accompaniment or instruments. In a way, to follow the ideal image of traditional music is like the quest for an authentic 'living history' in a present context.99 Traditional musicians want to re-experience what their grandparents and previous generations experienced in the past.

Some rural regions in Ireland have been musically strong in the past and have developed distinct styles in traditional music. For example, Co. Donegal in the north-west is well-known for its unique fiddle styles. In other words, it is important for traditional musicians to be familiar with these old, regional styles if they want to follow or show knowledge of the ideal image. The regional traditional styles are often acclaimed for being truly authentic. Martin Hayes, a well-respected traditional musician, interestingly points out that regional styles are composites of personal styles. Thus, there is room for personality even when regional styles are played. The music journalist Ronan Nolan (1997a:8) quotes Hayes:

…no one person plays in a standard regional style, each one plays his version of it. All of them retain some of the general elements of the style and at the same time have their own personal voice. The East Clare style, like many other regional styles, cannot be known fully through the playing of any one musician, it cannot be known other than as the sum of its elements.

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99 The notion 'living history' was coined by Jay Anderson (1985) and further elaborated by Richard Handler and William Saxton (1988).
parts. It is something that is in constant flux, defies definition and can only be known by direct experience.

Accordingly, there may be as many distinctive styles in traditional music as there are people playing it. The regional styles are about the people who played in the regions. Their individual ways of playing have created and influenced the styles in the area. Even in one area, such as Co. Donegal, it is possible to find different styles (cf. Feldman and O'Doherty 1979). Thus, one way of legitimating one's authenticity as a traditional musician is to know regional styles and to execute them. Biographical links may be developed, since regional styles emanate from specific musical artists. One has either played with these artists or with other people who have been influenced by them, or one has travelled to the regions as well as listened to recordings of the regional artists. To be able to trace a family heritage of traditional music, from specific regions, is a strong resource for claiming authenticity.

It was the travelling musicians, pipers and fiddlers in the nineteenth century who started to build what is now labelled *Irish* traditional music, including the various regional styles (cf. Vallely 1997b). Music has played an important part in many countries in creating national identities, and Vallely argues that by travelling from community to community, the musicians transmitted and maintained what we now know as Irish traditional music. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, almost the only way for people to get in touch with music was through these travelling musicians visiting houses and crossroads dances (cf. Ní Laodhóg and Collins 1997). At that time, there were no radio, recordings or television to distribute the music.

According to the old ideal image (as developed by the 'purists'), traditional music is a melodic music. Therefore, melodic instruments are perceived to be more traditional. The most authentic thing would be to play what is perceived to be original, native instruments, such as the fiddle, flute, whistle, uilleann pipes, and possibly concertina and accordion. String, wind and free-reed melody instruments predominate, whereas percussion instruments have been of minor importance. The valued emotions and melodies in the music are thought to come out in the greatest detail when one is not playing too fast. The purists are thus distancing themselves from new ways of playing traditional music fast and from using instruments like keyboards, guitars, banjos and drums, which
are regarded as having been brought in from other countries. Old, original instruments are also loaded with histories, genealogies that are inherited. They have a 'cultural biography' (cf. Kopytoff 1986). The more histories are connected with an instrument, and the older the instrument is, the greater its value. These inherited, precious instruments are considered to be very different from new mass-produced instruments.

Again, traditional music is orally transmitted, passed on from one generation to the next, through memory and recurring practices and performances (see Chapter 2). The tradition is independent of writing and print, which means that the way of learning to play is special. According to the 'purists', the ideal is to learn traditional music by listening to and playing together with other (older) people at informal sessions in houses, pubs and at festivals. Learning from different individual musicians is appreciated in order to obtain knowledge of various regional styles and the variations that are accepted within the tradition. A socially relaxed and informal way of learning is appreciated because that is how it is considered to have been in the past. To study traditional vocal and instrumental music involves learning both about the music itself as sound, and about the social and cultural contexts in which it is performed, in the past and in the present. It is important to meet other musicians, preferably older musicians, to talk about music, musical personalities and events in order to learn the informal aspects of traditional music.

Ideally, the session is a social activity, in which people normally communicate and participate in an enjoyable way, and not for making money nor for competing with each other. Of course, this is the ideal image of the session and the image many traditional musicians would prefer, but the reality is often very different. As the sessions are nowadays paid for and planned on a regular basis, there may be a loss of authenticity when money and publicans' interests are taking over. The musicians have to accept more audience and tourist adaptations in their styles of playing.

**Irish traditional music of today - a living tradition**

How is the ideal image of traditional music experienced today? How do young traditional musicians in Ireland construct authenticity today? Again, it is not considered as really authentic to follow the 'ideal image' completely, because one should be 'original' and 'believable' in a current
NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS

context (cf. Peterson 1997). One should do something different with the ideal model. Similarly, Peterson (ibid:208) argues that the 'authentic in this sense may, but usually does not, accurately represent some object, person, or performance in the past'. A tradition becomes living only if it is attuned to the current times and is open to change. Traditional music lives in its musicians and must therefore be relevant for the current generation in order to be kept alive.

The historical background of traditional music and the way it was practised in the past were not always the guidelines for young traditional musicians in the 1990s. For example, one young folksinger and traditional musician told me that he had problems with the historical texts in the songs because 'they lack a kind of relevance, they are more like museum pieces...about the famine, poverty and emigration'. The texts deal with difficulties for people during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and are not about things that are happening today. This folksinger was looking for modern lyrics that were authentic and relevant for him. The old texts are not self-experienced in the same way as the lyrics for contemporary singer-songwriters are. Another problem with sean-nós is that many young Irish people do not know Gaelic well enough to understand what the songs are about, which means that songs are usually performed in English today.

Again, authenticity connected with regional styles is no longer as important. Many of the young traditional musicians were not interested in regional styles or did not have a lot of knowledge about them. Sometimes they even argued that 'true' authenticity was to be found in the Midlands. Life in the rural Midlands was considered more traditional, unaffected by tourism and commercialism. Since tourism was more developed in the coastal areas of Ireland, the Midlands may have replaced the western part of Ireland in terms of perceived authenticity. Even though the Midlands may have taken over the image of the 'true' Ireland, the image is still guided by a rural ideology. Consequently, Irish city life is not included in this definition of Irishness, which is something that many contemporary young, urban-based Irish people reacted against. They wanted to extend the notion of Irishness, which is an issue I shall come back to.

The 'open-minded' musicians often disagreed with purist ideas about musical instruments, and questioned the view that traditional music was purer in the past. One of these 'open-minded' musicians said that those
who thought like the purists should go back to the 'Neanderthals who
used bones and sticks!' Young traditional musicians were often using
'new' instruments, such as guitar, banjo, mandolin, bouzouki, drums,
bodhráns and keyboards. They were also playing faster and with more
focus on different rhythms. Bodhráns are mass-produced and have be-
come popular tourist souvenirs. The purists feared that unskilled
bodhrán players would take over the sessions and mess them up with
various rhythms. The bodhrán has even become a symbol for Ireland; it
is now a 'Celtic drum', and is more prominent than the harp. The
bodhráns are often joked about. I heard this joke from a friend in
Galway who had heard it from one of the local rock musicians there:

What's the difference between a bodhrán and an onion? You won't cry
when you cut the bodhrán to pieces!

Similarly, the late Seamus Ennis (one of the well-respected uilleann
pipers), when he was asked how to play a bodhrán, replied, 'with a pen-
knife'. On the Internet I found a web page about bodhráns, full of other
jokes. Since the bodhráns are controversial, they are the targets of jokes.

The guitar, used in much traditional music, is also accused of not be-
ing traditional enough. This, again, has to do with the argument that
Irish traditional music is essentially melodic and requires no harmonic
accompaniment (cf. Moffat 1997). The purists often argue that melodic
and slow music conveys more emotions than fast and rhythm-orientated
music. Accordingly, some instruments such as the flute and the fiddle,
are thought of as more emotional and melodic. Again, this may be a
question of generation in that younger and older musicians tend to stress
different kinds of emotions. Older purists are more inclined to express
emotions such as 'love and loss' through melodic music, whereas young
open-minded musicians are more inclined to express emotions such as
'excitement and flow' through rhythms. For example, banging on drums
and being able to 'let go' in the drumming may be a very emotional ex-
perience. But all kinds of emotions are expressed through any type of
instrument, depending very much on the ability and the mood of the
player. Drums and guitars do, in fact, also follow the melody lines.

The way of learning music has changed recently. It is still regarded as
important to learn to play together with other people in pubs and
houses, but books, recordings, cassettes, radio, television and video are
also used today. The formal education has increased, with private teachers and various organisations, such as CCÉ, Piper's Club, Walton's school of music, Ballyfermot and Ceoltoire, offering music classes. Many musicians are learning different kinds of music simultaneously: traditional, popular as well as classical music, and sometimes mixing them. Liam, a traditional and world musician, stressed that young people's interest in popular traditional music ought not to be condemned. The popular versions of traditional music often made young people more interested in the older or 'purer' tradition, since they wanted to know more about it after a while. Liam argued that:

As when people hear things like the Pogues and the Moving Hearts, they get them interested in the traditional music. And people do tend to get further back to something pure. I'm sure that what you've heard in Sweden is quite a corrupted version. What you're getting when you go to pubs and hear Irish music...It draws the head back in line for more traditional stuff.

To be authentic in the sense of following an ideal image of tradition may also restrict creativity. Most of the traditional musicians argued that everything that is alive develops and grows, and this includes tradition. Otherwise it is dead. Moreover, spending too much time pinpointing the tradition so that the playing and the enjoyment of music become a secondary occupation, is not appreciated. The purists may be in danger of losing authenticity if they try to imitate and copy the ideal image too much. They ought also to follow the need for individual variations in the tradition in order to be 'true', since simply copying the ideal image creates what is necessarily inauthentic. Other popular musicians or musicians experimenting with different musical styles are sometimes critical of traditional music, identifying it as a boring, 'dead' music without innovations, and thus failing in authenticity as well as in expressing modern individualities.

The idea of innovation denotes new direction or change. In a sense, innovation is happening all the time in music-making. To sum up, in traditional music the limits of innovation are often discussed and tried out in practice. There are limits to the amount of change acceptable as 'traditional', even though Irish traditional music is recognised as a 'living tradition'. As the music journalist Paul Dromey (1999:387) says, 'traditional music thrives on the creation of new tunes, so long as they conform to
accepted patterns of structure and content'. To some degree, innovation is necessary in traditional music, in order to be authentic or traditional. But the community of musicians should accept the innovations. However, it is hard to figure out the rules and limits in tradition, thus making it into something purists and open-minded musicians continuously dwell on, thereby wanting to find out what the tradition is and what it is like to be outside it. It is important for them to keep in touch with what they believe is the tradition, even if they want to stay outside its exclusive versions.

**Discourses between the 'purists' and the 'open-minded'**

The discourses about the limits of traditional music, what may be included and what not, are in fact resulting in the maintenance of traditions. For many musicians, this maintenance of traditions is important, even if they play different kinds of music and do experiment. To be able to experiment, there have to be various traditions and styles to start from. Hence, the more genres and styles there are to relate to and the more the limits for these disappear, the more discourses of authenticity tend to appear. In order to maintain a diversity, even the open-minded are engaged in keeping styles different. They often know what styles and traditions they are using when they are making their musical fusions. The open-minded musicians may even be dependent on the purists for a musical repertory to choose from.

Most of my young informants in the scene of traditional music did not see themselves as 'purists', even though some of them were expressing purist views. Mainly, the purists were from the older generation. The musician Seamus Tansey is one of the better-known representatives of purism who views the label as a desirable quality. He is someone whom other traditional musicians know and think about when it comes to questions of purism. According to Tansey (1996), Irish traditional music is the melody of Ireland's soul, which is a part of his own emotional soul. In a controversial article in *Irish Music*, he dwells on his view of the tradition, which he strongly identifies with. Tansey (ibid:31) is against mixing different nations' musics:
Each tribe, nation and country derive their music from their different environments, their different locations and ethos... They are quite different and are meant to be quite different, just like each nation's culture, dress, history and language is different. Therefore you can't mix them or else you have a mongrel representing nothing and speaking nothing, only a noise, an obscene sound that should never be heard.

Tansey is especially worried that Irish music might be mixed with other music in the name of change:

If that is change, ie, the mongrelisation, the bastardisation, the cross-pollenisation of our ancient traditional music with other culture, then I say we want none of it and I know I speak for thousands of traditional musicians, followers and music lovers across the country today... I would sooner see our music die completely in this generation than see it drip-fed by outside cultures turning it into a monster. A tortured musical zombie treading the length and breadth of this land in the century to come (ibid.).

Tansey's Irish identity seems to be very much connected with Irish traditional music, as formed in the west and north-west of the country. All this is highly emotionally loaded for Tansey who argues against the music being polluted by commercial interests or by being adjusted to tourist demands. Quite interestingly, Tansey has become a controversial figure and is therefore someone other musicians relate to in their debates on purism or open-mindedness. One person was very shocked by Tansey's view, and wrote a letter to the editor of Irish Music:

As a 'foreigner' myself, I was deeply shocked to read Seamus Tansey's article which could easily be interpreted as... racial hatred, which is an offence in most civilised countries...Musical Apartheid? More than that, there are shades of Nazism! (Blake 1996:26).

The writer of the letter was aware of outside influences, from England, France or even China and he had played Irish music for 15 years and had 'quite unconsciously picked up influences from cultures as far apart as Korea and Sweden, and why the f*** not! We're all human after all' (ibid.). He strongly defended the mix.

Vallely (1999) has argued that purism in general indicates criticism and intolerance rather than compliment. Mostly, purism has a negative con-
CHAPTER 5

notation. Yet, even though most of my informants wanted to be open-minded, some of them thought that they were purists in certain ways, and in those cases used it more as something desirable and valuable. This can be exemplified in the case of traditional music enjoying commercial and artistic success in a global arena, which has led to new debates among musicians and commentators about purism. Even some young traditional musicians reacted against popular commercialisation and wanted to stress the importance of following and passing on traditions in playing specific regional styles of Irish traditional music. Neil, a young traditional musician in Galway, expressed these ideas:

Well, Irish music seems to be going through a very new era...It's very popular. I would have reservations about that as well, it's becoming a slightly diluted tradition, it's becoming lighter. It's not as pure as it was, there's fewer people doing what I'm doing, doing what local musicians do…Music has been diluted by making it more acceptable to people who have never heard it before. It's a good way of getting people an interest in it, but it's not real.

Neil also talked about the status of regional styles today:

The regional styles are thought less and less of, and they're less obvious...I think people are becoming more conscious about the whole meaning of one style. I think it's ironic that at a time when everyone is becoming the same and Americanised or whatever, I think we are becoming more conscious of what we are, and I think we react to that.

Interestingly, some of the foreign traditional musicians were more attuned to being purists, perhaps because they needed to prove their abilities in recognising the traditional styles. For example, Frances, a traditional musician from England, who had lived in Galway for the last five years, considered herself a purist:

Yeah, I am a purist because that's what I really like...The really straight playing of one or two instruments together with no backing, no drums. The drums are really recent in the past 30 years...That's what I think you hear, the beauty of music and the meaning that the other things that you add in muddy, that obscure the things that I really like…It just comes down to emotional responses, not really about political views.
NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS

The willingness to preserve the traditional music as 'it is' (or was), as authentic, does not necessarily originate from political views or nationalistic reasons, although it often has that association. It may come about because of a great love for that sort of music, and not because of its perceived Irishness. Not all of the musicians had this ideal of growing up with traditional music as a natural element in their everyday lives. They did not all have a family background of traditional music, but had developed an interest in that music later in their lives.

Again, the ongoing debate between the open-minded and the purists is something that the music industry and the media may promote in their marketing of different types of music. The debates create different scenes and categorical identities that the potential record buyers will be able to relate to. Even though perceptions of authenticity are not completely constructs of the music industry and the media, they are continuously taken up as themes of discussion when musicians are interviewed in music magazines, or on television and radio. The debates existed, of course, before the industry and the media picked them up; they have been part of the musicians' ideas, values, canons and experiences. But the industry and the media have accentuated them, and made them more prominent than they used to be for the musicians themselves. The magazine *Irish Music* is often involved in debates on authenticity and tradition, and its music journalists repeatedly address these questions in interviews with musicians. Readers are getting information about different music categories, which they may relate to and incorporate into their own identities (cf. Thornton 1995). Yet, traditional musicians often wanted to keep controversial debates on purism and innovations on a more personal, intimate level. This was probably a reaction against the debates in the public arena, especially in the media, which they felt had caused conflict and polarisation in the scene of traditional music. Moreover, folklorists, ethnomusicologists and other music researchers are sometimes accused of exaggerating the debates about purism and innovations. There is also the view that it is neither healthy nor productive to spend too much time analysing something you already do 'naturally', and well. But the current debate between tradition and change is a dilemma that all Irish traditional musicians have to face.

There are also certain 'hidden codes' in practice that the musicians recognise, which reveal their ideas about purism and open-mindedness. These 'hidden codes' are communicated in the way of playing in sessions,
in the clothing styles, in the choice of instruments, and in what sessions, bands or musicians are preferred. 'Who do you know?', 'Where do you come from?' and 'Who have you played with?' and so on, are questions that reveal opinions about musical tradition and change. But these questions are not always posed openly, since opinions are often revealed through these other codes, for example, by playing slower or faster, according to a regional style or not, or by mixing different styles or holding on to a specific style. However, there is another informal rule that criticism of personal styles should not be raised openly, but in other more discreet ways. In the long run and for regular session musicians, it is important to show and share ideals and ideas. This matters for managing to play comfortably in a session and to follow the flow of tunes, expressions and emotions.

It may be questioned if the young musicians of the 1990s really were more concerned with open-mindedness than musicians used to be. The conflicts about the boundaries of traditional music are probably as prominent today as they were in the 1950s, '60s and '70s, when the commercial music market was perceived as a bigger threat to traditional music. For example, CCÉ was constituted in the 1950s as a reaction against popular music from abroad. To preserve traditional music was part of a nationalistic project. After the liberation from the English oppression in 1921, the Irish government, the church and the Irish people were enhancing and cultivating what was believed to be their inherent Irish traditions, culture and customs. But the troubles in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and the association of traditional music with Catholic music, and even IRA, led many young people to distance themselves from traditional music in the late 1970s and early '80s. In the 1990s, this connection between narrow nationalism and traditional music had decreased. Many of the young musicians in the 1990s did not want their music to be used for political or nationalistic purposes. They did not want to be associated with the conflict in the North. They wanted everyone to play and listen to their music, but it was not to be used as an IRA kind of music. This is one of the reasons why many young musicians preferred not to be purists in their playing of traditional music. They allowed changes and new influences of music from other parts of the world to come in, and not only in ways that were supposed to be right for a certain narrow view of Irishness. The young open-minded musicians were more concerned about being Irish in a global way than to
keep narrowly defining themselves as Irish in contrast to the English. They were perhaps prouder of being Irish and were able to play traditional music without being associated with 'troublemakers'. This is also one of the reasons why traditional music is so popular today and is played in pub sessions every day all over the country and abroad.

The young musicians were able to take in foreign influences, without endangering their own Irishness. For example, the young traditional band Delos would not be considered authentic according to the ideal image of tradition; they nonetheless thought of themselves as authentic because they reflected contemporary traditional music. They showed that they lived in a world where new influences and changes were impinging on traditional music. It was this world and its characteristics that were more authentic for them than the old imagined traditional world as identified by the purists. Delos expressed their time, the 1990s' mix of musical styles and crossovers, and their place in a globalised Dublin. At the same time, they had a connection with older ways of playing music in their choice of a traditional music repertory, although a faster version with traces of jazz and rock.

Some young traditional musicians even said that they became more interested in Irish traditional music after listening to folk music from other parts of the world, so-called world music. These musicians also had greater access to different musical styles from various parts of the world than was the case with the older generation when they started to play. Young people are often open to what is going on in the various types of music around them. They have not yet decided on a definite path in their lives and are trying out various styles in order to discover what they like best, feel most comfortable with, and what appears to suit their identifications.

Ireland as the authentic Other

We can see how Ireland, as part of transnational cultural processes, has recently attained an aura of traditional authenticity. Ireland has a role in Westerners' search for roots and origins in other countries. This is the case not only for the Irish diaspora, but also for other European people and tourists who are looking for an authentic way of life in Europe. Ireland represents something archaic in Europe, as the alleged last
European resort where folk music is still alive in society. Ireland also represents the 'authentic Other' and attracts what might be called an *imagined nostalgia*, 'nostalgia for things that never were' (Appadurai 1996:77). The mass-market uses Ireland and Irish music to entice Western tourists to miss things they have never lost. The archaic, original Europe that Ireland is imagined to represent has never been a part of the foreign tourists' lives. Arjun Appadurai (ibid:78) calls this relationship *armchair nostalgia*, a 'nostalgia without lived experience or collective historical memory'. There is an element of criticism of their own world, their modern society, when people from abroad are searching for the authentic Other in Ireland. They are romanticising a world that is different socially and culturally from what they are used to. Even tourism entrepreneurs emphasise things 'traditional' in order to attract tourists. They create and stress an image of Ireland as a country with lively traditional music. The traditional musicians, however, do not always play what they would call 'traditional' music for the tourists, or what they would play among themselves. They have to adjust, more or less, though many musicians do not admit that they are adjusting themselves since that would entail an alleged lack of authenticity.

Foreign musicians in Ireland were in a way moving to the country of the 'authentic Other' in order to turn it into an 'authentic We' for themselves. They wanted to play Irish traditional music as authentically as Irish people in Ireland were supposed to do. Those who did that and played with Irish musicians in sessions in pubs and practised very hard were often appreciated and were considered to be able to play *almost* as if they came from Ireland. However, those who only learnt via cassettes, videotapes or from reading music were not looked upon as getting the 'right thing'. They were thought of as making poorer imitations and not getting all the regional variations in the music or not managing to create 'that little extra thing' that made music vibrant and uplifting. Whereas traditional musicians argued for learning the music by being in the 'place', they were emphasising a kind of authority just by 'being there'. Liam noted that:

> There are those who are playing in contexts and bands in the way Irish people learn it...I've seen Dutch guys, Norwegian fellows, Germans. Basically it's about guys sticking around in sessions and drinking pints until 4 o'clock in the morning...People who try to learn it from reading from a book, don't get it at all that way. The best you can hope for from
that is a good accurate imitation that sounds very staid. But to get it to sound lively and get the pace and the speed, they have to play with Irish trad musicians.

The old ideal image of Irish traditional music may echo again when the music is assumed to be a part of the Irish people and the history of their lives, experiences and feelings - of their everyday world. According to this image, belonging to the right ethnic group - the Irish Catholics - gives more authority to aspirations of authenticity in traditional music. Foreign musicians in Ireland may feel that they have to prove their ability to play authentically; for example, by following regional styles and standing up for things Irish, more than Irish people would do. They have to do special 'authenticity work' in order to gain acceptance. Foreign musicians may be following the old ideal image more uncritically. Their authenticity work is in danger of being more contrived, forced or over-done. Stokes (1994a:20) has argued that the Irish music session is a profusion of musical styles and that foreign Irish music enthusiasts 'with their intent concentration on "authentic" repertoires' are rather 'comic figures' in Irish music circles. My informants also argued that when foreign musicians concentrated too deliberately on the ideal image of regional styles, they tended to miss all the variety that is part of Irish music sessions.

This does not mean that the foreign musicians necessarily played a poorer kind of Irish music. Moreover, it is not always possible to hear in the music whether the player is Irish or comes from somewhere else, especially when they all play the same regional styles. For example, a Spanish flute player in Galway played in the east Clare style, and nobody could claim that his playing was different from any Irish person's playing. Nevertheless, one of the directors in Piper's club in Dublin told me that the foreign musicians were not 'really there', some little thing was missing for them to be truly competent Irish musicians. But he was not able to say what exactly that little missing part consisted of. Thus, the discourses of authenticity may be about claiming membership of ethnic groups or of legitimating one's position in such a group – of being as good a musician and member as any Irish person in the Irish music scene.
CHAPTER 5

Commercialism, technology and authenticity

Commercialism is another rather hackneyed theme when it comes to musical authenticity. Authenticity in both folk and rock music is recurrently opposed to commerce and technology. Frith (1983) has addressed this issue, and points out that this folk and rock ideology developed via romanticism, the folk tradition, and the mass culture debate of the 1920s and '30s. In these ideologies technology was often opposed to nature and the community. Technology was thought of as alienating performers from the audience and the 'arts' (cf. Frith 1986). The less there was of technology and its perceived manipulations and falseness, the more authentic the relations in performances were assumed to be. Technological innovations in rock music have thus accentuated discourses of authenticity. Cohen (1991) noted in her study of rock musicians in Liverpool that authenticity as sincerity, spontaneity, originality and creativity in distinctive self-expressions and identities was frequently opposed to technology and commercialism. Music that is created to impress, to obtain a recording deal, to make a CD or to get a gig, is always in danger of losing the importance of self-expression in music-making. Pub musicians in Ireland often argued that they were making music because it was part of their lives, and not in order to impress a commercial market.

The scene of Irish traditional music has recently undergone change, leading to new discourses of authenticity. Young traditional bands are created, that are directed more onto paths as commercially viable full-time musicians. They have to think about the music as a way of making a living and to place themselves in the music industry of popular music. When they are recording they are often pressured to produce a new sound, since that is what the main buyers want to hear. Many music consumers are not interested in the old kind of traditional music, considering it to sound the same all the time. The improved quality of studio recordings and the possibilities of making new, maybe more attractive, sounds in the studio have been helpful in popularising traditional music. But it is argued that the 'true' emotional flavour and the joy of spontaneity are lost in the process of using the more refined technology in recording studios.

The young traditional bands were dealing with this new situation in their recordings and in their contacts with a bigger music industry. When they positioned themselves in the industry of popular music, they often
NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS

had to make something artistically original, because that is the rule of the industry. The core passing on of traditions, mainly unchanged, in traditional music was thereby challenged. This was often considered as a loss of authenticity. According to the traditional musician David in Galway, humility was non-existent in the industry of popular music, which meant that traditional musicians had to present themselves as egos, or as personalities to the industry, and consequently challenge what traditional music ought to be. Steve, a former member of a successful traditional band, argued that traditional music should be alive in a community and not in a commercial popular music market. Traditional bands on tour and performing for big audiences in staged gigs or sessions are modern phenomena, adapted to what the popular media and the music industry are used to. Steve also pointed out that music buyers tended to believe that traditional musicians who only played in informal pub sessions were not as good as those who played as members of bands. A band or a group is the 'standard unit' in the world of pop and rock music, and the players should perform on stage in order to be appreciated as good musicians. Steve had also noticed that people in general believed that musicians were not good enough, unless they were playing music full-time, commercially, and making their living from it. On the contrary, he emphasised, the best traditional musicians in Ireland were not playing full-time.

However, commercialism is not necessarily in opposition to authenticity. For example, rock musicians with their own material often stated that they wanted to retain their authenticity if they entered a bigger market. They considered this to be possible as long as they were able to dictate to the music industry themselves, by doing what they wanted to do and holding on to their own values of originality. Rock musicians in Ireland wanted to be successful in the sense of being economically comfortable, but the most important thing was to be respected and to be 'honest'. Patrick, a rock musician in Galway, argued that rock musicians who achieved success had to be stronger in order to counter the pressures from the media, the market and the music industry. It was also important to stay true to the musical styles one had developed rather than trying to keep up with every new shift in popular music styles. Famous rock and pop groups, such as U2 and the Corrs, are sometimes criticised for making changes in their original musical styles in order to adapt to a bigger music market. For example, U2 were doing conventional rock
during the 1980s, and went over to techno, house, drum 'n' bass and digital samplings during the 1990s. When they abandoned their path of conventional rock in order to experiment with new technology and to use different sampling methods, there were critics who accused their recordings of being inauthentic. The same happened to the Corrs when they did a computerised remix of their album *Talk on Corners* (cf. Nicholls 2001).

Authenticity can also be connected with attempts at being different and not mainstream in, for example, rock music. This is more the case in underground rock or indie labels than in industry-orientated music and major labels. So when smaller underground indie bands get recognition and go over to bigger labels, they are sometimes accused of losing authenticity, difference, and their underground character. This happens when they get bigger audiences and can be seen in the popular media as 'stars'. Honesty is a value that often corresponds with the absence of a 'star aura'. Mary, a black singer-songwriter in Galway, was very disappointed about the fact that it was mostly mainstream music that got recognition from the music industry. She thought that her music was perhaps too controversial and 'real' for the industry. Mary had been working very hard with her music for ten years without getting the recognition and support she hoped for and certainly deserved. Authenticity was one of her key values, but something she thought was missing in the commercial and mainstream sort of bands that fit into the concepts of the popular music industry. Mary identified herself in opposition to the Irish music industry. She was more hopeful about obtaining recognition outside Ireland, for example in the UK or the US. She suggested that her music was too personal and different and did not suit what she considered to be an immature and commercial popular music industry in Ireland. Her music spoke deeply from her heart, since it was important for her that music had something to say. She argued that much popular music was superficial and lacking emotional depth. Perhaps, she was too emotional, passionate and true in her way of singing and playing, which did not suit a broader market of musical tastes. Yet, she insisted on continuing to express emotions in music:

> I am very emotional when I sing because I am singing about myself and I'm singing about issues that affect me...That's why I feel it's not commercial...People are too threatened by that...I have to deal with people who encourage me to be less emotional and to write about songs that are
acceptable in the mainstream, in the music industry…There were times when I wondered if I was doing the right thing by being so real and so personal. If I’d walked their road of what they wanted I would probably not know how to be, because I would lose what keeps me going in the music, what is myself.

Mary did, however, regard herself as a successful artist, even though she did not attain commercial success in the popular music industry. She was a successful singer-songwriter in expressing herself and her experience.

**Discourses of authenticity: cover bands, original bands and world music**

Original musical creativity seems to be one of the highest goals for many popular musicians. Frith (1996) has argued that, since the Beatles, rock bands have been expected to write their own material, and that cover bands have been seen as inferior to their sources. It is considered easier to copy someone, but much harder to make originals. Authenticity tends to be associated with musical styles that were there first, in the original, irrespective of the kind of style. It may also be about adding a bit of originality to the existing styles. For example, a couple of musicians in Dublin did not regard the popular band the Corrs as authentic because 'they sounded the same as the last group'. Christy Moore, the Pogues and the Dubliners, to name but a few, were supposed to be more authentic artists, since they were creating their own styles out of their personal experiences. Contrary to what has often been assumed, I shall argue that cover bands are also looking for authenticity in their musical activities. In some ways cover bands and original bands take different discursive paths, but in many ways their goals do meet somewhere along the road.

In Galway, many rock musicians developed ideas about the authenticity of bands with original material and cover bands. Bands with original material were frequently critical of cover bands in terms of their inauthenticity, since cover bands were accused of working with other people's music and not with their own music. Cover bands were making copies and imitations, and were thought of as non-creative and non-artistic. One female musician with her own material found that the members of cover bands were like parrots and not artists because they played
expected music: 'When someone is artistic the person has to come into the art and to discover, but the artist is not playing something that people expect.' In addition, the cover bands were more commercially orientated to the music scene in Galway and had to pay attention to the wishes of the publicans.\textsuperscript{100}

In Ireland, the publicans sometimes had their own musical preferences and looked for music and musicians in accordance with these, but most of the time they were looking at what the audience seemed to enjoy, as a commercial concern. The pub scene in Galway was not regarded as at all creative by young musicians who wanted to play their own music for an audience. Many chose instead to play in cover bands for the money and to acquire valuable experience from performing. However, a member of a local cover band told me that he preferred to play in cover bands. He had tried to play in an original band, but the songs were so bad that he did not enjoy playing them, whereas, in a cover band, he was able to select the best songs from the whole repertory of popular music. Moreover, he did not see a big difference between performing in an original band as compared with a cover band, since they had to play the same songs every night anyway. Even an original band makes reproductions and repetitions during gigs. It was also easier for the cover bands to pick up new songs continually, so it did not become so boring to perform every night.

In Galway, the cover bands received a lot of attention; they were the most visible in the rock music scene, because they got almost all of the gigs. Accordingly, it was their ideas of authenticity that seemed to be supported in that live music scene. The controversies about authenticity surfaced in arguments between the members of the original bands, and sometimes between the members of the cover bands if they were doing originals as well. Moreover, some of the cover band members were also active in original bands. Occasionally, tensions arose in the original bands, since these members did not always have the same amount of time, commitment and engagement left for the original band. And the cover bands, on the other hand, were reluctant about accepting members with too many engagements with other bands. One manager and recording studio owner in Galway pointed out that managers and people in

\textsuperscript{100} This was also Macleod’s (1979) point in his dissertation \textit{Music for All Occasions}, which is an ethnography of the everyday, Euro-American big city ‘club-date’, musicians’ life in the New York scene. According to Macleod, the payment circumscribed the musician more than the customer.
the music industry were looking for original bands with commitment, dedication, ambition, hunger, drive and 'starvation'. He stressed that 'if you really are serious about being in an original band, fuck, you got to starve for it! You got to be in pain for doing it.' He did not like the idea of original bands playing covers for money; these bands tended to acquire lazy habits.

Some of the cover bands tried to work with their own material, which they often were not able to perform in gigs in Galway. The publicans might not appreciate it if they mixed covers with too many originals. This was something Kif had noticed. As the bass player in Kif said: 'If we did originals the band would mean a lot more to me, definitely. More satisfaction putting out your own songs, much more honest.' The singer seemed to agree: 'More creative than just copying.' I mostly followed three cover bands in Galway: Kif, Full Trousers and Pyramid. Full Trousers' members were between 18 and 29 years of age. They played reggae and ska covers, and some of them played in original bands and other cover bands at the same time. For example, the keyboard player was very active and jumped between different bands and musical styles like rock, jazz, reggae and ska.

Pyramid with the oldest members (ages 24-35) played mainly rock covers from the 1980s and '90s. They were probably the most professional of the cover bands and some of the members had played with quite famous Irish musicians. The bass player and founder of Pyramid was very pessimistic about the music scene in Galway, at the same time as he was trying to enjoy playing in a cover band. He had been playing with original bands before, but had failed to get the recognition and fame the bands aspired to. But he did find authenticity in playing covers: 'In the band we treat the songs as if they were our own songs, treat them with respect, perform them as an original act would perform them.' To him, there was authenticity in respecting the originals and playing them as if they were his own, whereas some other musicians thought of this cover band as non-creative in trying to sound like the originals. The founder of Pyramid was probably holding on to a kind of 'intentional authenticity'. He tried to figure out the intentions of the original songs, the purpose of the songs and what they expressed.

Some original bands did also insert covers when they were performing. These covers were often carefully chosen for the performances, so that they corresponded with the bands' own perceptions of identity and
authenticity. The covers were also a way of showing respect for one's own musical influences and role models in other bands. Mary thought that the covers might be a good break for the audience and for herself. Her own material seemed to require more from the audience; they had to listen very carefully and were often emotionally affected by the songs. The covers were sometimes a way of connecting better with the audience, since these songs were better known. Mary explained this:

I try to strike a balance, especially in Ireland I think they want to have a lot of covers. 3/4 of my performance is my own material and 1/4 others' material. Covers are reggae and stuff that I love, stuff that means something to me. Bob Marley, Van Morrison. I sing stuff that is familiar here, a song called 'Ride On' by Christy Moore but written by Jimmy McCarthy. I like that song very much. And people like it. I use that song to help people to connect...Some people want me to not sing covers...People say you should stick to your own stuff and leave the covers to others, and I find that quite encouraging that people are responding to my work.

Gilroy (1993a:96) has pointed out that globalisation in the context of 'black music' has led to positive evaluations of 'original, folk or local expressions' as authentic, whereas globalised forms of the same music have been approached negatively as lacking in authenticity because of their distance from the origins. The question is what happens to authenticity in crossovers, as in world music, in the context of the Irish music scene. Sometimes authenticity is abandoned in this sense, but sometimes it is achieved anyway from the internal discourse.

Taylor (1997) has argued that the idea of hybridisation as a threat to authenticity is often applied only to non-Western musicians. When Western popular musicians do the same thing in terms of crossovers they tend to be viewed as creative artists making new, exciting music. For example, some experimental musicians in Ireland stressed that music had no nationality, but should be open and accessible to everyone. They made what could be commercially labelled as 'world music', but for them the label was more part of an attitude than a market category. They were simply interested in various types of music from different parts of the world and wanted to try to play and sing to them.

For the world music group, Yemanja, the important thing was authenticity in feelings, engagements and commitments. At the same time
they were aware that a sort of metamorphosis or transformation was involved when they sang other countries' songs, and that this might decrease their authenticity. They were conscious of the fact that they were not able to sing in exactly the same way as the singers in the countries the songs came from. Nevertheless, they wanted to respect and celebrate these singers' music. Yemanja wanted to follow the various traditions, but shifting what was already there into another context inevitably led to changes and new pronunciations. Aoife from Yemanja told me it was like 'Chinese whispers': like when someone whispers something to another person and that person whispers it to someone else, and on the way the message gets distorted. According to Yemanja, they were doing their interpretations of other people's music. Aoife knew she was not able to sing in a foreign language as if it were her own language, for example like a black woman from South Africa, although she could celebrate that language. She tried to keep fairly strictly to the sources, but when something else felt right for the songs, she might put that in. This was not a case of 'destroying' the original songs. Even though her interpretation failed in original authenticity, it might win in emotional authenticity, and both ways could be equally valid.

**Emotional authenticity**

As has already been mentioned, concerns with 'authenticity' often take the form of a search for 'true' feelings and engagement in musical activities and performances. The study of emotions has recently become an important part of socio-cultural theories in anthropology. Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990) demonstrated that a psychological orthodoxy seemed to be prevalent, before the 1980s, even in anthropological approaches to emotions. Emotions were approached as psycho-biological processes that responded to cross-cultural environmental differences but retained a robust essence untouched by the social or cultural. This assumption - that emotions are internal, involuntary, non-cognitive, non-verbal, irrational, and natural - has itself been exposed and criticised in a socially constructionist manner (cf. Shweder and Levine 1984; Armon-Jones 1986; Harré 1986; Lutz 1986; Lutz and White 1986). I tend to

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101 Interest in 'the emotional' has increased since the 1980s, not only in anthropology, but also in psychology, sociology, philosophy, history, and feminist studies (see Lutz and White 1986).
agree with Appadurai's (1996:147) view that 'emotion is culturally constructed and socially situated and that universal aspects of affect do not tell us anything very revealing'. However, indigenous views of emotions, in contrast to this view of emotion as socio-cultural, sometimes stress their naturalness and status of inner truth. For example, as Yemanja put it, music may be perceived as an emotional language transcending cultural and national boundaries. According to Yemanja, it should be possible to understand the emotions in the music, irrespective of social or cultural background. Yemanja sang to Eastern European, Celtic and African tunes, but they thought it was possible to mediate feelings without knowing the languages. Aoife from Yemanja stressed that she was 'very interested in music as a universal language. It celebrates our similarities rather than trying to hang onto this cultural identity thing of it.'

Discourse, as a situated social practice, may be a point of entry to the study of emotions (cf. Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990). I have to state that 'discourse' about emotions is not the same as the emotions, but is a way of making sense of them, making them comprehensible and sharing them with other people. There is also the possibility that music expresses emotions that cannot be verbalised, at least in a corresponding way. Discourse is here situated in emotional communication, for example at musical performances, and it is not something inherently individual and internal, but something social and cultural. Likewise, Feld (1990) has shown that the aesthetics of Kaluli musical expression in performance contexts implied a study of the social construction of emotions. A 'successful' performance often takes place when the musicians are expressing emotions on stage and when the audience is responding to this by feeling in much the same way. Yet, emotions are often part of diverse experiences; for example, Irish traditional musicians playing together may express themselves through the music in different ways, even if they are following the same tune. It depends on their moods and how they feel at the moment.

Music that conveys an ambience of authentic emotion is often seen as reflecting a person's inner identity. In this case, it has to be 'real' music, music with an emotional foundation that means something for the person. Simone was very concerned about authenticity in the way of being true to herself and her emotions: in playing her own music, in being creative and in not following the prevailing musical categories. The im-
important thing for her was to make music that transcended all musical categories created by 'society', a music that was more natural for humans and universal in character. With the help of a hammer dulcimer, a quite unusual instrument (with perceived 'Celtic' origins), she made what she called 'strange' music that had no other musical influences, but came from herself, from inside her in a spiritual way. She normally did not use words when she sang, but just her voice, and she made different sounds with a mystical aura. Simone was a bit puzzling here: she wanted to make new music all the time, music that was not the same as anybody else's, just her own music, but at the same time she wanted to be timeless and universal.

Christy Moore, one of Ireland's best-known musicians, is a good example of someone who really wants to be present 'here and now', when he performs. He wants to give true impressions and expressions on stage and to show that the singing is coming from deep inside him. True emotional engagement on stage is often something much appreciated. It is not always necessary, however, to have real feelings on stage, it may be enough to give a credible impression. To complicate things further, one should give a credible impression without seeking to impress. There is thus something rather paradoxical about attaining emotional authenticity in performance. One should make impressions and expressions without giving the impression of making impressions and expressions (deliberately). It is about faking the truth without giving the impression of faking, since faking is a sign of being inauthentic. However, it does not seem to be all that problematic in practice for musicians to perform. According to Peterson (1997), all claims of authenticity are contrived; they are part of work, and to look as natural as possible is hard work. Yet, the ideal of authenticity is to conceal this work and to appear as natural as possible in order to be perceived as authentic.

Most of the musicians assumed that to be able to express yourself emotionally in music you needed to have the right technique as well. You must be a good musician and know your instrument very well before you can forget thinking about the technique and be able to immerse yourself in the flow and express yourself emotionally. It is not necessary to put an interest in technique in opposition to an interest in emotions in music. But it may be possible to express personalities and emotions without being very technically skilled (cf. Nolan 1997a). Some musicians are also technically skilled but not able to express emotions.
Csikszentmihalyi (1988:32) has described flow in terms of a 'merging of activity and awareness', which is typical of enjoyable activities. Flow is not only about individual experience, but is also part of collective involvement when everybody in the session or gig is playing properly and they are all following each other. This immersion in a musical activity generates immediate feedback from fellow musicians, as well as from the audience taking part in the performance (see Chapter 4 on flow). The participants may even experience a transcendence of self, for example when the musicians feel that, with the instruments, musicians and the audience, they make up 'a unity'. One of the girls in Yemanja explained that percussions are 'feeling instruments' and when she played them she wanted 'to be able to let go, really enjoy it, really be there. It depends not on the style, but what's coming through is "true", expressing yourself…If you are really there in the performance and feel it.' There is also the risk of feeling and letting go too much, which may make the musicians lose their technique and crack up completely. Sinéad O'Connor was aware of this: '…to sing well you have to allow yourself to feel but you also have to be able to ride your emotions very carefully. There are some songs that you've got to feel – but if you felt them too much, you'd crack up and wouldn't be able to sing them' (Graham 1995:19).

Musical creativity, as in the case of improvisations, may result from flow. The musician is fully immersed in the activities and is not really conscious of what is happening or what the outcome will be. This is something many music-makers have experienced when they made new music. Flow was experienced as a creative process of discovering something new in music, it inspired them to continue to 'stretch themselves, to always take on another challenge, to improve on their abilities' (Csikszentmihalyi 1988:30). Yet Simone told me a story of when she reached a peak in creativity together with another musician and forgot herself totally and her bodily and physical needs. She was completely immersed in the music-making for several weeks and did not eat much food. One day she collapsed from exhaustion. Mary also described her music as something that came out of her, in a quite uncontrolled, unconscious, non-contrived, spiritual and natural way. It just flowed out:

Music is not something I do, It's something that comes out from me. I found that extraordinary. It loses the head out of me. I get so excited by this that I can't eat for days… I just feel it's a gift and music can evolve fresh if we're opened…It's almost like creativity has a voice of its own.
Sometimes when I write a song it might take ten minutes and it's there. It's like my mind doesn't cover it. I wouldn't believe it could happen before the tape recorder shows it, when I rewind it and hear it again...Creativity and me working together, I feel that is spirituality, part of who I am, but it's much bigger than that, it's universal.

Thus, Mary would not describe herself as a music-maker, more like a music deliverer. These exciting delivering experiences give a spiritual meaning to the musical processes. Simone felt her music coming out in much the same way. This idea of music coming out naturally and not as something studied, practised and thought about, is stressed by many traditional musicians as well. Authenticity is here perceived as being connected with 'natural' processes inherent in the traditional musicians, and not with something deliberately cultivated. They even seem to have the idea that playing traditional music comes naturally for Irish people. Authenticity as something natural, as standing outside societies' categorisations and as uncorrupted by the artifices of civilisation, is a view that resembles that of Rousseau (cf. Trilling 1972). For Simone, authenticity was about standing outside society and expressing herself', which is a quite original view when we today live in a society where most of us are conscious of being societal persons. For Simone, perfect authenticity would be to be autonomous and to make music that expressed the authenticity of her unconscious self. She wanted to follow an inner natural voice. Simone's approach to self-fulfilment and self-realisation seemed to fit in with the modern ideal of authenticity that Charles Taylor (1992:31) discussed: 'Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, which is something only I can articulate and discover.' These appealing romantic thoughts may, however, be hard to follow when one has to co-operate with other people in music-making.

**National identity and Irishness**

The recurrent theme of authenticity is often connected with the musicians' discourses about national identity or Irishness. What this Irishness is made up of figures also in debates among music journalists, authors, scholars and other intellectuals in Ireland. Irishness has also become something significant to reflect upon because the world is embracing it. It is important not to essentialise constructions of national identity, since
there is no 'objective Irishness'. But there are conceptions of national identity in Ireland that ignore internal variations, such as those produced by differences in ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, gender and culture. Uniform conceptions became especially important after independence in the 1920s, since the Irish were inclined to create an image of 'the other' (the English) in order to reinforce the legitimacy of 'us' (the ideal Irish). In the Irish music scene in the 1990s, new ways of being Irish were worked out. The young musicians often wanted to expand the notion of Irishness because they were tired of being excluded from it or of not fitting in with the narrow, traditional image of Irishness.\(^{102}\)

As a starting point, I use Benedict Anderson's (1983) widely quoted notion of 'the nation' as an 'imagined community'.\(^{103}\) The idea of imagined communities is useful for understanding different views on national identity in Ireland. Anderson (ibid:15) argues that a nation is 'imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'. According to Anderson, newspapers and print culture have allowed people to establish links with parts of their country where they have never been, thus laying the basis for the nation as an imagined community. Recently, modern media, such as radio, television, recordings and the Internet, have contributed to this. The concept of imagined communities can also be extended to cover transnational processes, of people establishing links with parts of other countries. Irishness is to a great degree composed of links with other countries' perceptions and experiences of it.

Stereotypes of national identities are common, but if we dig deeper into everyday realities we shall find 'many conflicting and interlocking definitions of identity which actively compete for symbolic space and public recognition' (Bowie 1993:169).\(^{104}\) The everyday constructions of national identities or the cultural praxis of national identity formation

\(^{102}\) This quest for alternative national identities may be something very common for musicians around the world. For example, Taylor (1997:126) noticed that 'listening to popular musics from Africa, I hear musicians constantly asserting national, local, and international identities, always attempting to get outside and beyond more traditionally bounded identities'.


\(^{104}\) See also Stokes' (1994) edited volume about musical styles and complex creations of national identities. In Martin McLoone's (1991) edited volume, identities in Ireland are seen as contradictory and constantly changing.

226
NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS

and sharing have not been studied sufficiently in relation to Irish contexts. Historical accounts of political ideologies such as Irish nationalism have, however, received academic attention (see e.g. Boyce 1991). Theories of nationalism of the social scientific type tend to leave out the multiple and varied nature of everyday human experiences, of the rich variety of national identity building in Ireland. There are a few exceptions, however, such as cultural geographer Brian Graham's (1997) edited volume.

Since the 1960s, the new generations growing up in Ireland are not only nationalised into an existing heritage but also develop their own versions of national identities. Ireland is currently undergoing major changes that are addressed in ongoing discourses. In general, 'national identity' becomes important for countries undergoing major changes, during competition with foreign powers and when national borders are threatened. The notion of nation requires a presence of other nations, and contacts with other nations often accelerate constructions of national identities. Increased transnational connections make nations see themselves as more distinct. National dichotomisation is nothing new for Ireland; it has for a long time been central to the relationship between Ireland and England (as well as between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland). Ideas about national identities are changing in Ireland around the idea of a 'global Ireland' and Ireland's participation in the world. Roland Robertson (1991:88) has argued that the 'discourse of globality is thus a vital component of contemporary global culture'. This talk about 'global Ireland' does not mean that Ireland is completely global, it is an expression of something that is imagined, it is part of a new consciousness of the globe as such and its relevance for Ireland and Irishness today.

Consequently, reflections about national issues in music take place through contrasts with other nations and their so-called national music, or when people want to let their music be heard in a more global context. They may wish to construct and preserve their own profile, and not be totally submerged within a global culture. It is possible to reach musical cultures in various parts of the world without leaving home, and these musical styles can be used in one's own music-making. There is an expanding field of musical opportunities and different ways of relating to musical styles and genres of the world. The national and the global tend to merge or go hand in hand when we talk about Irish music and musi-
cians in the world. These two processes have to be acknowledged together.

Again, the Irish music scene encompasses a translocal and transnational field of social relations and flows of ideas. The musical and extra-musical elements are not exclusively of Irish origin and character, since musical influences and musicians travel between different countries. Irish musicians on foreign tours may extend the Irish music scene. The pubs and venues where they perform become part of the Irish music scene, although perhaps only temporarily. Yet, there are Irish musicians living and playing more permanently abroad with other musicians, who contribute to the development of small Irish music scenes in these places. For example, there are Irish music scenes in New Orleans, Stockholm, Helsinki, Sydney and London. The Irish music scene is in constant interaction with other music scenes in the world. Irish music is influenced by musics from many nations, and Irish musicians play different kinds of music, including what would not always be considered 'truly Irish'.

Foreign musicians living and playing in Ireland are a part of the Irish music scene, even though they have their own specific experiences of Ireland. Some of the foreigners found that they had much in common with the Irish or that they had become more Irish themselves. Irish people who have lived abroad and returned have also brought their experiences of other countries back to Ireland. Irishness for these returnees and foreigners can thus be connected with memories from other countries as well as with historical and contemporary experiences inside Ireland's borders.

The foreign musicians did not regard themselves as 'truly Irish', but some of them believed that they had been living in Ireland in a prior life or that they had some kind of ancient roots in Ireland. Most of the foreign pub musicians were interested in Irish traditional music and had moved to Ireland because of their love of this music. Famous foreign rock and pop artists have also lived in Ireland for shorter or longer periods, but often, again, for economic reasons, for getting tax relief. But they did not always admit this themselves, and talked instead of their love for the Irish countryside or that it was easier to live in Ireland where famous people tended to be treated like ordinary people. A few of these are Maria Mckee, Björk, the Spice Girls and the Swede Joey Tempest from the rock band Europe. Some of the foreign rock and pop musicians living in Ireland had Irish roots as well, for example Elvis Costello.
He did not want to exhibit the Irishness in his family background, however, because he did not enjoy the current hype surrounding the Irish and that it suddenly became so 'cool to be Irish' (cf. Edwards 1999).

However, foreigners playing Irish traditional music were sometimes questioned about their interest in the music. Frances, a woman from England who was playing traditional music in Galway, said:

> It's very much a notion amongst all the people that you must have Irish blood in you because you play...Even though I don't know it, I must have some Irish blood in me somewhere, in other words for being able to do it...A lot of people would find it strange that an outsider would have an interest in the music, so they can only see it in terms of being an interest because it has to do with identity.

Even though some Irish musicians found it strange that outsiders wanted to play Irish traditional music when they were not Irish, they (the Irish musicians) most of the time rejected the notion that Irish traditional music was something exclusively Irish. Yvonne, an Irish-Australian traditional musician in Dublin, suggested: 'I don't think traditional music is Irish, if you go down to Miltown I would say that maybe 15 or 20 % of the people are English who play Irish music. It's not an Irish thing. It's Irish music, but it's not Irish.' She thought it was important to know where the tunes came from, and to know the history of Irish traditional music, 'because you realise then that it's not Irish at all. Ha, ha.' Whereas some musicians studied history in order to find what they thought was 'true' Irish music, other people studied history in order to confirm the lack of Irishness in the music. They represented two different standpoints in the debates between the 'purists' and the 'open-minded' musicians. Yvonne continued:

> It's good to be aware that it's kind of taken on Irishness. Most instruments aren't originally Irish, a lot of the tunes aren't Irish, like the reels are Scottish, hornpipes are English, jigs are Irish but even that has Italian influences. I think it's important to be aware of that, to have it in context.

She mentioned the Italian connections that I also heard other musicians talking about, as well as Egyptian, African and Indian links. But mostly musicians talked about English and Celtic connections. Yvonne even said: 'One theory of many is that the Celts came from India
originally and travelled across. Even in the music you can actually hear a lot of similarities; while they are playing quick, some of the instruments sound very much like Irish music.' Rita, a traditional musician living in Galway, but who grew up in England, told me:

When I was living in England there was a big Muslim population in Bradford and I listened a lot to their sean nós singing...I used to live next door to a family who were from Pakistan and some of their music sounded so similar to the sean nós singing I was used to. I know work has been done to explore how music travelled to Ireland. It hasn't developed in Western cultures, it comes more from the East.

The members of Afro Celt Sound System were also aware of connections between countries in the world. At one point, Simon Emmerson, producer and guitarist in the band, elaborated:

I think there was an Irish documentary made in the '70s about the links between Celtic, Egyptian and North African culture. I know two brothers who live in Wales who are Somalis, Welsh-speaking Africans, who've written a book called *The Black Celts*, about an ancient African civilisation in Britain and Ireland (Murphy 1997:18).

There are various stories, speculations and theories about historical connections between countries and continents. One such story during my fieldwork reported that the Celts migrated from the Middle East, through Africa and finally into Europe. Most of the time, my informants kept talking about Africa as one continent without making specific distinctions between different African countries or ethnic groups and their musics. Many who used influences from so-called African music did it because they had discovered what they perceived to be connections between Irish and African musics and instruments. The banjo and the bodhrán, for example, are supposed to have roots in Africa. Simon from Afro Celt Sound System did not see a big difference between Ireland and Africa, since both places have historical experiences of war, colonialism and famine in common. Liam in De Jimbe had similar ideas about connections, and he wanted to follow these links:

The African stuff too, it's nice to be linking with different contexts from where the drums come from. I didn't feel proper enjoyment of congas and djembes in playing them rather than in actually going to Africa and
NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS

Cuba and finding out what the contexts are…Now when I play the djembe and hear it I'm thinking in terms of the people I saw playing it and the kind of attitude they had to it.

The traditional group Chieftains is well-known for its musical travels and collaborations, both in combining musics from different countries and playing together with musicians from other countries. Paddy Moloney in the Chieftains has been described as the Marco Polo of world music and is said to be equally at home whether piping in Ireland, China, Japan, Spain or the Wild West. Galicia is the most recent discovery for him and again he finds connections:

Truth is, it's easier to spot the common ground than the differences between the musics of Ireland and this essentially Celtic haven in Northwest Spain. And that's precisely what The Chieftains have done: stitched the traditions together seamlessly, woven the two tapestries into one (Long 1997:63).

The Chieftains are definitely undertaking a never-ending quest to unearth new and old musical cultures and styles for their inspiration. They are, in fact, conducting comprehensive musical research and exploration; from the use of Cavaquinho (Portuguese ukuleles) to the Gaita (Galician bagpipes), they continue their musical pathway recorded on the CD Santiago. Thus, often when musicians explain their choice in picking up some kind of influence from the music of other countries, they say that they see connections in musical styles, cultures, histories, dances and so on. Moreover, like Ireland, Galicia has a tradition of emigration, but in their case to Cuba where there are Galician people. In the city of Santiago de Cuba it is possible to find musicians playing a kind of Cuban Celtic music (cf. Nolan 1997b). Paddy Moloney made a kind of Galician pilgrimage, which charted the influence of Irish music in countries as far away geographically as Cuba. At the same time he showed that the countries were not so far from each other musically. They have not been completely separated historically either, but there are increasing connections now. Nolan (1997b) met and spoke to the piper, Carlos Nuñez, who plays according to the Celtic music of Galicia and features on the Santiago record. Again, they both agreed on connections between Ireland and Galicia: 'Ireland and Galicia have much in common: both are on the western edge of Europe, both have a Celtic past, although that of Galicia
was dissolved into Spanish culture a long time ago, and both know about emigration and have a strong love of music' (ibid:8).

Thus, the musicians tended to have various ideas about the origins of Irish music, even though they were aware that they did not possess enough knowledge about its 'real' origins. They did, however, hear similarities in musics from other countries and were often interested in them. Thus, it is the musicians' ideas and experiences that receive attention here as a repository of Irishness, and not just the music itself. As Negus (1997:189) argues about the meanings of Irishness and music: 'In referring to music as signifying Irishness I do not mean to imply that the Irishness is somehow "in" the music, as an essential element. Rather, I mean to suggest that certain musical codes (instrumental, vocal and lyrical) are deliberately used to signify "Irishness".' Sounds are acknowledged by listeners to communicate certain accumulated meanings, and some of these meanings may be about Irishness, as in Negus' analysis of Sinéad O'Connor's music, involving her sounds, words and images.

Although I have mainly been concentrating on constructions of Irishness in Ireland, it is important to note that constructions of Irishness in other countries, outside Ireland, also have an effect on how Irishness is perceived in Ireland. What the Irish diaspora think about their Irishness and how they are imagined by others in the countries they moved to, have an impact on how the Irish imagine themselves in Ireland (cf. Nash 1997). What it is like to be Irish in the US, England, Australia or even in Sweden may influence what it is like to be Irish in Ireland. Returning Irish-Americans are bringing their views of Irishness when they meet Irish people in Ireland. The Irish are, however, constantly making distinctions between themselves and these US returnees, sometimes slagging them off (as I showed in the case when Irish-American Barbara and her father were on a visit to a Galway pub). When it comes to music, other countries become even more relevant, as Irish musicians travel abroad through the media and on tours, and bring their experiences back home. To play Irish music abroad is often recognised as being different from playing at home. However, this foreign kind of Irish music, with staged amplified sessions and popular ballads, has recently come back to Ireland, and has developed into an attractive form of music in tourist pubs. Even the Irish themselves appear to like it. In some way, new cliché notions of Irishness have evolved that have an impact on what the Irish musicians are doing with music in Ireland, at least when they are
pressured to, or sometimes want to adapt to what the audience and the publicans demand.

My informants often viewed 'nationalism' as something negative and not important for them. On the other hand, they were engaged in constructions of 'national identity' in their everyday lives. They were opposed to everything connected with 'nationalism' or 'patriotism', because they were tired of the violence and bitterness associated with these notions. Instead, they were looking outwards and beyond national borders and were interested in musical styles from different parts of the world. This desire to be 'global' or 'European' seemed to be strong among many Irish people in the 1990s. The old binary 'Irishness' and 'Britishness' was questioned: the Irish did not want to be regarded as a part of England or as dependent on the English. Nationalism was associated with a political movement or ideology of narrowness and negative exclusion of other nations, and with the troubles in Northern Ireland. The notion of a national identity or of different forms of Irishness appeared to be less controversial, as well as being associated with open-mindedness, freedom, confidence, community, positive feelings, authenticity and dignity. Thus, nationalism and national identity were assumed to be two different things. There are, of course, differences in the uses of these concepts in academic and in popular discourse. The Swedish ethnologist, Orvar Löfgren (1989:9) has approached this issue which is in line with what I have found:

If there is a certain chameleonic vagueness about the concept of nationalism, it is still usually contained within the field of meanings denoting ideology, doctrine or political movement. The use of the concept of national identity is, however, more ambivalent, and it is probably in the development of this that ethnicity theory can make its most fruitful contribution, namely in the focus on identity as a dynamic process of construction and reproduction over time, in direct relation or opposition to specific other groups and interests.

National identity, as in the case of 'being Irish', is a kind of experience that is activated in the Irish music scene, for example in the parades during St Patrick's Day, in 'slagging off' other nations, on foreign tours, in playing for tourists and in other various encounters with Other

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people. But being Irish today is a different experience from being Irish in the 1920s or in any other epoch, and being Irish is not the same thing for all the Irish in Ireland, nor for the Irish diaspora (see Chapter 1).

**Contemporary musical discourses of Irishness**

Folk and popular musicians in Ireland see themselves as Irish in a variety of ways. The practices and ideologies of young musicians have, in fact, contributed to a complex vision of national identity building. Here, I shall nuance the idea that Irishness has to emanate from traditional music by looking at different musical genres or pathways of musicians. There are ongoing discourses that deal with negotiations and negations of Irishness. Some musicians embrace certain forms of Irishness while others reject it altogether, but in any case and most importantly they all seem to be preoccupied with it. In trying to negate a national stereotype, the deviation from the conventional is, in fact, emphasised. Thereby, both become emphasised, the stereotype as well as its deviation or negation.

Again, within the Irish traditional music scene, there are debates between the 'open-minded' and the 'purists'. It seems to me that open-mindedness is the position taken by most of the contemporary young musicians in Ireland. However, what is currently understood as open-mindedness was not the same in the past and might well change in the future. Indeed, even today there is not total agreement. Traditional purists state that only 'authentic and native' traditional music is Irish and that they are doing everything to embrace that kind of Irishness. For traditional purists are interested in preserving what they regard as the established traditions in Irish music and passing them on to coming generations. This approach was, however, less common among young musicians, who often connected it with what they called 'odd' and elderly people. The innovators in traditional music or the open-minded musicians preferred to incorporate other influences and make new music within Irish traditional music, since they saw it as something constantly changing. The young traditional bands from Dublin, such as Delos, Tre, Danú and Kila, exemplify this. However, most of the innovating traditional musicians stressed the importance of learning the traditions in Irish music properly before moving on to other kinds of music or cross-
overs. Yet, there are traditional musicians who deny that music has a nationality and argue that music is for everyone. They see the danger of narrow nationalism. Young traditional bands, such as Tre and Delos, took this view. They argued that they could have been playing other kinds of music, but they preferred the scene and sound of traditional music. The band members of Delos were proud of being Irish, but did not want to invoke narrow nationalistic ideas to legitimate what they were doing in music.

Dublin bands like Yemanja and De Jimbe incorporated Irish or Celtic music into their 'world music'. They became more interested in their national identity and traditional music after having been exposed to folk music from other countries. One musician from De Jimbe argued that his sense of Irishness was not about superiority but about curiosity. He saw his nationality as a standpoint from which he could move ahead. An acknowledgement of his own nationality had given him an interest in other cultures and nationalities. Aoife, a member of Yemanja, rejected the Irish inferiority complex and said that 'by looking at other cultures I get to celebrate my own as well'. De Jimbe and Yemanja found it important to recognise the different national origins of the musical styles that they were assembling. Accentuating the idea of nationalities may still be important in world music. De Jimbe and Yemanja functioned almost as symbols for the 'new globalised Ireland'. They were confident in their own Irishness and wanted to explore world music. They expressed a 'global identity' at the same time as they wanted to maintain a local diversity. The musics of the world were like a toolkit they picked from. In addition, they contributed to the break-up of 'old ideal images of Irishness', and made new identities available. An interest in Irish traditional music seemed to be more compatible with an exploration of folk music from other countries, rather than sticking exclusively to rock music and following the familiar path of folk rock. It was regarded as more interesting to look for something new and exciting, and the new thing may even be modern dance music. For example, the popular group Afro Celt Sound System, which has made recordings on Peter Gabriel's label 'Real World', performs Afro-Celtic music for the modern dance stage.

If rock bands happen to reflect certain traditional music influences or use so-called traditional instruments, then these are often regarded as expressions of their Irishness. To emphasise one's Irishness as something different from mainstream rock may be useful for rock bands that want
to launch themselves internationally and be heard on the mass market. One's homeland and biography are aspects that can be illuminated in the music, through the lyrics, musical styles with an Irish touch, or by using traditional instruments like fiddle, flute, accordion, uilleann pipe and bodhrán. The Saw Doctors, the well-known rock band from Galway, and the internationally successful Corrs, exemplify this interest in traditional music in their approaches to rock and pop. Like the Pogues, they have incorporated traditional influences, but adjusted them to a contemporary context. The sociologist Kieran Keohane (1997) has described the Pogues as influenced by traditional Irishness, yet committed to experiences of everyday contemporary Irishness. In Keohane's view, the Pogues are not working on creating borders for Irishness, but rather aiming at keeping it open, vibrant and self-reflexive.

To seek some kind of Irishness in rock bands may be a dubious exercise, however, according to many of the young rock musicians. Nevertheless, they were inevitably affected by the experiences of growing up or living in Ireland, and this emerged in their music in one way or another. Many rock musicians feared that narrowness in national issues of music-making could be constraining, generating borders and perhaps patriotism with negative effects. My informants in young rock bands, such as Black Sheep, Purple, Odd Man Out and Cane 141, were of this opinion. Thus there are rock bands that do not see national identity as an important issue in their music-making. To them rock music is global and not the property of any specific country, except perhaps originating from the US or the UK. Hogan from the rock band Snowblindwaltz in Galway suggested that, 'if you play our CD for somebody and you ask them where they think we come from they would probably not say Ireland. They would probably say Britain.' Clive from the same band continued, 'I think it's because most of the stuff we listen to is British or American. You tend to pull out influences whether you like it or not. It's just a natural thing. Global pop.' Many young original Dublin rock bands had no background of traditional music and were not stressing their Irishness. This was also the case with cover rock bands in Galway. One young jazz musician in Dublin explained that, 'I am Irish, but my musical influences come from outside Ireland. I'm a traitor.' He did not see anything Irish about his way of playing jazz with drums, and did not understand the craze for Irish traditional music. He thought jazz music was much more interesting, and he was not enthusiastic about the music
scene in Ireland. He was thinking about moving somewhere else, preferably to the US.

On the other hand, certain rock musicians insisted that their way of playing rock was very Irish, even though they did not incorporate any deliberate influences from traditional music. U2, as well as some of my informants, argued for a new and expanded definition of Irishness that included foreign influences and musical mixtures. For example, Eric and Mary are two different musical artists who criticised certain existing models of Irishness and wanted to broaden them. There are, of course, problems with official definitions of ethnic Irishness, as in the old ideal images of 'Irishness', in that they are often defined from above. Many people do not fit into the definitions when they are studied from the ground, from their point of view and empirically. As I have shown, Ireland tried for a long time, following independence, to hold on to one exclusive definition of Irishness. But even in the 1990s the old ideal image tended to haunt the country, and many young musicians were engaged in trying to expand the definition. Yet, it is not possible to figure out where exactly the boundaries for the new images are drawn; the only thing we know is that they are wider and more inclusive. The question about how open-minded the new images actually are, may still be relevant. The representatives of openness, new influences and foreign elements were at least powerful enough to obtain recognition. Obvious examples are the members of U2 who represent the Irish-English mix, or Sinéad O'Connor who challenges the Catholic religion.

Another problem with Irishness for the Irish has to do with the fact that Ireland has been comparatively homogeneous: most of the people look like one ethnic group and are Catholics. So when someone is treated as an outsider, or looks different from the 'ordinary' Irish, the gap tends to be large. In Ireland it is not always a matter of different ethnic groups or minorities that want to be included in new Irishness, it can also be about young musicians wishing to change the definition of Irishness. They might say that it should be possible to play rock music or mix traditional music with other music and still be Irish. On the other hand, not all of the young musicians wanted to expand or change the Irishness to suit themselves. Some of them condemned the whole notion of Irishness, seeing it as irrelevant. They said, for example, that there was

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106 Sinéad O'Connor never stops surprising people, such as when she decided to become a Catholic priest!
nothing Irish in their music, although they certainly were from Ireland in the sense of having grown up there and lived there. Instead, they argued that their music was influenced from the outside, without any clear roots. What is true, anyway, is that the idea of one Irish nation-ness is no longer so convincing and certain, and this is probably why Irishness is discussed extensively today. This also concerns the debate about a 'global Ireland'. Writing about transnational connections, Hannerz (1996:90) noted the appearance of a growing number of people with more varied experiences and connections interspersed among the most committed nationals:

Some of them may wish to redefine the nation; place the emphasis, for example, more on the future and less on the past of which they happen not to have been a part. Of such desires, and their clash with established definitions, cultural debates may be made…Others again are in the nation but not of it.

Eric, a musician in Galway, was one of those who wanted to expand the notion of Irishness. He did not identify himself as a member of a Catholic, rural, conservative, Gaelic-speaking population playing traditional music. He was interested in experimental music and challenged the view that you had to play traditional music in order to be Irish. For Eric 'tradition' was something modifiable according to personal experiences, and it had to be appropriate for Irish people today. In a way, the young musicians' reflexivity has led to constructions of new, competitive traditions that are in need of a new legitimating authenticity. The notion of creativity in tradition-building appeared to be a value for the new, expanded notions of Irish identity. Eric gave me his interesting critical points on what ideally was included in the Irish tradition:

I'm interested in Irish people who expand the notion of Irishness, who force Ireland to recognise that the definition of Irishness is far too narrow. The definition has been a big flaw in the Irish State in the first 60 years…So you have people who are Irish who almost had to fight to be included in the definition of Irishness, which is absurd…I want to expand the definition of being Irish in the arts, very important for me, but not through traditional music. It just doesn't interest me; it's a closed form for me. You don't have to play traditional music to be Irish. Traditional music is not my traditional music; when I grew up, when I was in Tipperary, the first music I was aware of was David, fucking Bowie. And
that's my traditional music! It would be totally artificial for me to claim a bodhrán as my traditional musical form, because I never saw a fucking bodhrán...Traditional Irish music is a sham for me; it's a fake tradition in most parts of the country. Most kids whom I know, they grew up with glam rock or '80s disco, that was their tradition, what influenced those children...Whatever other definition of tradition can there be for an individual? Most Irish traditions are made up. They were invented in the whole national revival at the end of the last century. Basically a bunch of bishops and Catholic lawyers inventing a tradition out of nothing.

So Eric argued that you do not have to play bodhrán or some other traditional instrument in order to be Irish. Even Bono from U2 once said that playing tin whistle did not make one more Irish (cf. Waters 1994). The discussion with Eric continued and we kept coming back to the question of Irishness. Eric talked about the creative and popular arts in general in Ireland:

I think good written work comes full line between a couple of cultures. If you're in the heart of a culture, there's not enough artistic tension going on, but in the front line between two cultures it generates fabulous artistic tensions. Which helps increase something good, new, fresh from both of the cultures. I think popular culture, or all comes from cultural collisions...My theory is that Irish writers work in the line between Irishness and Englishness, and that's where it all comes from. Yeats, Wilde, Synge, Shaw, Becket, Joyce – they're all Irish but struggling, often rejected by Ireland and often happening to be abroad, to work abroad and write about the Irish...And the same thing happens in pop, you find them working on the front line between Englishness and Irishness and most of the great lyricists are people in English pop who actually are Irish or with Irish parents or have that Irish Catholic diaspora thing.

It is not a very new idea to stress that cultural or ideological clashes may produce creativity and innovation. But it is interesting to note that some of my informants thought that their creativity emanated very much from their mixed backgrounds, from their experiences of growing up somewhere in-between. Accordingly, their creativity was supposed to emerge from the feeling of not being fully accepted as Irish or of not fitting the ideal description of what an Irish person should be like, that is, an ideal image or stereotype that specified what kind of music an Irish person should make.
My informants used the labels Irish-English or English-Irish instead of Anglo-Irish, probably because they did not want to be associated with the Anglo-Irish ascendancy or the old Anglo-Irish ruling elite during colonial times. Those Anglo-Irish were nearly all Protestants and loyal to the Crown (cf. Ardagh 1995). But Ó Giolláin (2000) has also pointed out that this category was a result of social mobility or assimilation to a dominant ethnic group. Thus, my informants were not part of these 'social climbers', since they had no aspirations to belong to an English group or to attain a higher status as Anglo-Irish. They talked about their Irish-English backgrounds when they had experiences of being Irish in England, but had returned to Ireland again. They still wanted to be 'Irish', but to be able to include other experiences from abroad into this category. I asked Eric if this English-Irish mix had been relevant for him and his creativity, and he answered:

Oh, yeah. English-Irish, that's my cultural clash, because I come from Ireland, absolutely the key inventing it. When I was in England I was an illiterate gang leader in a London Catholic school, mixing with Greeks and Irish, English and everybody, and never thought about cultural ethnicity because London is too cosmopolitan for that and you just don't think about yourself in those terms. I came to Ireland and was suddenly in a monoculture. I arrived into a very, very Republican, insular, rural community…I was going to a tiny little country school. And I was getting beaten up every day for being English, which I've never thought about myself as English, before when I was a kid…I don't see myself in terms of Irishness or Englishness, these stupid limited labels, very unhelpful. They're not real. If you want to fit yourself under the labels of Englishness or Irishness you have to cut off things from yourself to fit. Rural Tipperary in the 1970s had a very, very limited view of what it meant to be Irish. It's very inland, and you know how inland communities tend to be much more cut off and bigoted than coastal communities. So it was quite a cultural shock…But Ireland has had a nice decade and expanded the definition of itself wonderfully, I think. It is seen in European terms now. Before, because it was so locked into our relationship with England, it always defined itself in opposition to England…Now it has been given a role in Europe so it's been given an inclusive identity: It's part of Europe, which is massively important. And that change in people's mental view of themselves, of Irishness, has, I think, totally liberated this country. It's very, very positive. We are now Europeans so we now have an identity that is bigger than just Ireland and there is no definition in opposition to Englishness and that's great.
Really good, we can stop think about England, we can stop worrying about it.

The black Irish singer-songwriter, Mary, was yet another advocate of this new, expanded view of Irishness. She had similar experiences to Eric of growing up in Ireland and of not being accepted as truly Irish. Therefore they both wanted to expand the notion of Irishness. Whereas Mary was just reflecting on and discussing the fact that she was not included, Eric was more consciously propagandising for a new more inclusive Irishness. Mary grew up in a very religious home and had bad memories of that upbringing. She did not fit easily into the Irish Catholic mould because she was black, nor did she know who her parents were, having been sent away to an orphanage as a child. What I am saying about religion was, however, not only valid for Eric, Mary, U2 or Sinéad O'Connor, but also for many other musicians. They were not practising Catholics. This is very peculiar in a society where Catholicism is assumed to be so strong, 80 or 90 % of the population are said to be Catholics. Yet, the reality is that 50 % of them are not practising and do not go to mass every Sunday (cf. Poole 1997). The young Irish musicians had often grown up in Catholic homes, but did not practise Catholicism after they had left their parents' home. Mary revealed her ideas about Irishness when we talked about musical influences and her relation to traditional music:

The bodhrán rhythm I play on the guitar is Irish because I am Irish and it interests me that it is coming out this way. I've never felt Irish because I've never been allowed to be Irish. It's just that everybody who is not white couldn't be...you have to come from somewhere else. I have been growing up with that feeling of not being Irish. Though I've never been to Africa, I have more connections with African people than I have with my own Irish people because that is what I've been conditioned to. It actually surprises me when I start with rhythms that sound like a bodhrán. So I hope that will develop. Because that is a part of me being Irish, my ancestors are Irish, my mother's side - my grandparents. And I'm sure my mother's side goes back a long, long way...I think there is an Irishness in me.

Chichi Aniagolu (1997:51) has written about similar experiences of being black in Ireland:
...black people born in Ireland of mixed Irish and African parentage experience a quite different form of racism. Their biggest problem is lack of identity. Being completely raised as Irish children, yet constantly being reminded that they are not fully Irish, they are left with a serious identity problem.

Mary talked about her experiences of being a black Irish person growing up in a completely white community in Ireland. She envied black people who had grown up with other black people, but still she wanted to be Irish because that was the only way she knew. We discussed all the tourists coming to Galway in the summer, and Mary replied that she loved to see people from other countries:

I love to see more black people coming in and more Asian people coming in. For me as a black Irish person it's just such a relief to see other than white people...Even if I've been growing up as a black person I've never been part of a black culture.

Even though there is a perceived broadened Irishness now, it may be part of image-making and marketing, and does not always include everyone. There are still people in Ireland who face a kind of racism, even if the country has welcomed more immigrants. This is Mary's experience:

I feel that the times are changing. On one level I'm more accepted but not on another level, not as a black person. At a racism level, it's not better. It's actually what's coming out now that was under the surface...I've always known there is racism because I've always experienced it...I am engaged in politics, because being black is political...I think the Travelling community is becoming much more organised now than they would have been before, which is really good...There is a lot of racism against the Travelling community. They are so despised in this country.

Eric stressed very interesting points that are in line with what Waters (1994) put forward about U2 and their Irishness in his book Race of Angels: Ireland and the Genesis of U2. Waters discussed a new, more inclusive way of looking at Irishness. Again, it is not regarded as tenable to hold on to definitions of Irishness only in opposition to Englishness,

107 For an interesting and critical discussion of Waters' book, see Joe Jackson (1994) and Bill Graham (1994).
particularly when many people who live in Ireland, in fact, have mixed Irish-English backgrounds or similar connections. Waters argues that U2's national success has to do with their mixed backgrounds and that they express new ways of being Irish through their music. A number of categories of people have been excluded from the old stereotypes of Irishness, for example, urban people, non-Catholics, the English, foreign people, Travellers, minorities, the blacks and those who do not play traditional music in a purist way. These people have sometimes struggled to be included and this has to a degree been their driving force in making music and other creative work. According to Waters (1994:133), 'U2, like many of the recent generations of Irish people, came to be interested in their Irishness through trying to escape it. Having been force-fed the clichés, they threw them up. Suddenly they felt hungry.' Waters is thus one of those who point out that U2 is an Irish rock band, and he even seems to think that their success has a direct relation to that fact, to their Irishness. He (1994:130) argues that Ireland is a mixed country in the same sense as U2, and that it should be recognised as such: 'I prefer to see the mixture of U2 as a symbol of what modern Ireland is – a mixture of things which have perhaps been inadequately labelled or understood.' Waters' (ibid:24) view is that 'we are all angels now, rootless, restless, horizontal, homeless and free'. He may well be accentuating the rootless character of the Irish too much. Nevertheless, what is included or excluded in Irishness is continually negotiated, re-negotiated and sometimes negated. Waters (1994) has also argued that U2 did not fit into the ideological construct of Ireland and Irishness comprising the Lemass era, the Catholic Church and the *Late Late Show*. They were in a way 'dislocated' from the standard models, yet still wanting to be Irish.

Waters himself grew up in Castlerea, a rural town in Roscommon. However, for him, the media – radio, television and magazines – provided images of other possible lives. In a way, he was already part of the world outside Castlerea while he was still living there. He was as urban as any urban Dubliner could be (cf. Waters 1991). The everyday life for Waters and U2, as well as for everybody else, appeared to be different from the old standard images. This is also something that the author

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108 The *Late Late Show* is a popular television chat show, broadcast on Ireland's state-run channel RTÉ. Gay Byrne, who has been the host since the 1960s, often brought up Irish taboo topics in the shows, such as marital break-up, homosexuality, atheism, and the vanishing value of the Irish language. The show is on every Friday night and features a mix of celebrities, music and discussions.
Roddy Doyle has approached in his books. The north side of Dublin's urban working-class areas was very far from the ideal image of a rural west of Ireland. The families were not particularly religious; Catholicism was not all-embracing. The outside world was not far away since they watched television, received news from the outside world, listened to the radio and got to hear all kinds of music. Waters' (1994:39) everyday life consisted of various places and he contends that 'and yet I am Irish, as U2 are Irish. The outside world did not make me less Irish; it simply altered the flow of that Irishness…' He also claims that, 'while the Ireland of the ideological constructs may have had difficulty integrating with the outside world, the reality of Ireland did not' (ibid.). The members of U2 have shifting backgrounds with a mix of working-class, middle-class, Catholic, Protestant, Irish and English. According to Bono in U2:

...there's so many traditions, whether they be middle-class, English, Irish, working-class – it really is mixed-up. And in a way that is where Ireland is. And I think that's probably the most interesting aspect of U2, sociologically speaking, that in fact it's kind of the way it is. That there is no pure Irishness anymore, and that there shouldn't be. And that it has to be allowed to mutate and cross-breed, and that what you get is a new kind of Irishness that comes out of it (ibid:130).

Waters (ibid:131) argues that 'a modern Irishness will by definition contain not just elements which are recognisable as Irish, but also elements which are not'. So the members of U2 have contributed to the journey of finding new ways of being Irish and to reflecting upon what it is all about today:

They have suggested to us, the Irish, ways of liberating ourselves from stereotyped ideas of what we are or what it was possible for us to become. They give voice to what it is to be Irish in the modern world (ibid:133).109

Thus, Waters means that U2 is truly an Irish band since they originated from the 1970s in Ireland, and that they are as 'authentic' a repre-

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109 Perhaps Waters is exaggerating U2's contribution to the Irish in the modern world. But the discussion is quite interesting and it resembles what my informants said about new definitions of Irishness. Waters (1994:212) tells us that: 'Only in popular music is the true nature of the modern world being acknowledged or reimagined. U2...are unquestionably the most important new artistic voice to come out of Ireland in the past twenty years.'
sentation of Ireland as anything else. Waters also argues that Ireland is the hardest place in the world in which to express such views. U2 will therefore, in line with Waters' arguments, be more authentically Irish than what traditional purists or cultural nationalists ever managed to accomplish in their urgent search for Irishness. Waters explains that U2's popularity emanates from the fact that they have been so spontaneous about expressing their everyday Irishness. U2's dislocation, rootless character, mixture and loss of identity reflect the situation of modern Ireland, and this has driven them to make music. This Irish situation has been insufficiently understood before, in Waters' words. Bono seems to agree that 'we Irish are misfits, travellers, never really at home, but always talking about it' (Waters 1994:146).

U2's creativity probably grew out of their experiences of marginality in relation to the old ideological constructs of Irishness. Although they represented the common newness, they were outside the strongly Catholic society. Eric and Mary simply extended Irishness by doing what they did in music, and still stated that they were as Irish as anybody else. They engaged in a subtle form of criticism of 'narrow' ideas of Irishness and represented a sort of vanguard for a more 'global Irishness'. Vanguards are a kind of anticipators of progress; they are, in the forefront or a step ahead. Perhaps Eric and Mary were not part of the mainstream, but were at least pointing to what the mainstream might look like in the future, if the same trends of secularisation and globalisation continued in Ireland. Traditional reports of Irishness are of decreasing relevance in an ever more secularised age in which church attendance is declining. The European Union and the growing global economies have also contributed to the processes of secularisation. Nevertheless, Ireland is still a very Catholic place, although the numbers of practitioners are drastically diminishing. Mary Robinson, the president of Ireland 1990–97, made an enormous impact by being a vanguard herself in stressing the importance of a new Irishness, opposed to moralists and religious fanatics. In a blurb in Waters' (1991) book she says:

There are no overall certitudes in Ireland any more. There's a lot of diversity of thinking, a lot of uncertainty, a lot of trying to assimilate to other cultures. It's a time when we need to take stock, to look into our hearts and find a sense of Irishness, to find a pride in ourselves that will make us sure of where we are.
Mary Robinson's presidency represented, embodied and gave voice to a new, more confident, more open, more tolerant and more generous vision of Ireland and its people.

'Irish Ireland' versus 'global Ireland'

The Irish in the 1990s were in general more inclined to think in global terms rather than simply in opposition to the English. Membership in the European Union, the Celtic Tiger, Riverdance and musical successes for artists like U2, Enya, the Cranberries, the Corrs, Boyzone and Westlife, are often considered to have contributed to a more positive Irish self-image. Concurrently with the celebration of globality in the music scene, there were apprehensions expressed among some local, traditional musicians that traditional music would be distorted, popularised and commercialised in a global arena. Even some younger musicians expressed such fears and sought to stress the importance of traditions in the form of the regional styles of Ireland. On the other hand, there was this open, globalising and innovative view in which musical influences were incorporated in order to expand the traditions and to provide new inclusive images of Irishness. These musicians wanted to combine a cosmopolitan identity with a sense of national belonging. Underlying all the variations there were in fact two overall reactions to globalisation in Ireland. They represented two pathways that appeared to be different, and could be regarded as a tension between advocates of a 'global Ireland' on the one hand and of an 'Irish Ireland' on the other. The globalisation of the Irish music scene encompassed contradictions that actively stimulated nationalistic and purist reactions at the same time as they entailed transnationality and open-mindedness. Yet, quite often musicians were standing somewhere in between these extremes.

Mac Laughlin (1997a) talks critically about Ireland's new 'dislocation' in a global arena. He asserts that Ireland is now officially treated as a rootless society in movement, which is part of a progressive European image (a new hegemony) that exists outside national time and place. The contributors in Graham (1997), however, stressed the need to decon-

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110 International cultural successes for Ireland are not only in music and dance, but also in literature, such as Heaney who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1995, Muldoon, Banville, McCourt, Doyle and Bolger, and in film, such as Jordan and Sheridan.
struct exclusive identities in Ireland in favour of diversity, inclusiveness, hybridity and fluidity. They may, in fact, be part of the new hegemony Mac Laughlin is discussing. But the supposed inclusiveness of 'global Ireland' as an alternative to the exclusiveness of 'Irish Ireland' has led to controversies. New questions have appeared about what will happen to Ireland and whether it will disappear and its characteristics will drown in the global flows. Will Ireland's distinctiveness survive only in the form of commercial goods and lose out completely in authenticity? There are new discourses and questions about the meanings and consequences of a 'global Ireland'. Will Ireland appear only in the tourist industry, in marketing, in economic progress, in artists' successes, or will it have relevance for Irish ordinary everyday lives? Global Ireland has, however, already contributed to secularism, new musical styles, new goods, new values and ideas. In Graham (1997), the contributors are addressing the question about the consequences of the deconstruction of traditional structures of identity for Ireland, since there will be a more secularised, materialistic and urbanised society. This deconstruction has led to a new freedom, which, in fact, has contributed to the growing popularity of Irish traditional music, since young people can allow themselves to be proud of their nationality as Irish today. The Irish are more inclined to be active in a modern successful state than in a periphery in the backwaters of Europe. New exclusive houses are being built and new goods have entered the Irish market. Ireland has its own Spice Girls and Take That in successful girl- and boy-groups like Bwitched and Boyzone.

The growth of Irish theme pubs all over Europe and other parts of the world has definitely helped the Irish music industry. However, critical voices talk about 'pseudo-Irish' pubs proliferating, mainly financed by breweries trading on the image of the cosy Irish pub, with a fireplace and a group of traditional musicians near it. According to some critics, this is a commercial gimmick and not about spreading and expanding Irish culture; they claim that the only cultural expansion emanating from this activity is the culture of profit for the breweries and other drink entrepreneurs. These theme pubs exploiting the Irish atmosphere are often foreign (or Irish diaspora) innovations, since they are more about their view of an Irish pub than anything else. Furthermore, these pseudo-pubs are now coming back to Ireland, for example to Temple Bar in Dublin and to Galway's inner city. These are of course very tourist-orientated pubs and the publicans have figured out that what might sell abroad
might even sell in Ireland. They have also figured out the kind of music
the tourists are looking for. Critical voices in my study, often from purist
traditional musicians, did accept music that was part of living traditions,
but did not accept the selling of 'false, manipulated or constructed' tradi-
tions in tourist pubs. The so-called constructed traditions were thought
of as too market- and tourist-orientated and did not emanate from 'au-
thentic Irishness'. David in Galway also argued that traditional musicians
were sometimes participating in the image-building of Ireland, together
with the tourist industry and the publicans. Many tourists come to
Ireland with the purpose of finding a special image of Ireland and a part
of that is a lively traditional music scene. The publicans contribute to this
by enticing tourists into pubs with the aid of traditional music. Even
though the musicians may be in the pub for their own enjoyment, at the
same time they are participating in this image-building of Ireland and in
promoting the tourist industry and the publicans. They are drawing
tourists into the pubs for drink, music and to spend money.

According to Mac Laughlin (1997a,b), Irishness is only emphasised if
it can generate money, for example in 'heritage centres', and in selling
Irish history and culture in a global arena. De Valera's image of the rural
west is today used in marketing Ireland as an Eiredisney to tourists and
foreign companies.111 In the 1990s, narrow nationalism became some-
thing to conceal, something embarrassing, and not suitable to display to
the world when Ireland wished to be seen as a modern European state
and to attract more tourists to the culture industry (see, for example,
Kelly and Rolston 1995). Some Irish intellectuals do criticise musicians
for riding the wave of a new inclusive Irishness, as a marketing strategy.
Although it may not be a conscious strategy for the musicians in ques-
tion, it can have implications for the selling of their music if they present
their Irishness as something special, yet inclusive. For example, the au-
thor Hugo Hamilton is uncomfortable with the title 'Irish' writer. He
talks to Cathy Dillon (1997:51) in Hot Press about his scepticism regard-
ing the 'hype' that currently surrounds the Irish music and literary scene:

This is the last era of the Irish – we 're gone after this...We 're just going
to be Europeans...And the idea that we have suddenly become more
Irish than we ever were before...we 're just announcing our own extinc-

111 The notion of 'Eiredisney' was coined in a blurb in Crowley and Mac Laughlin (1997), for the
phenomenon that Ireland itself is becoming a huge hotel and ethnic theme park.
NEGOTIATIONS AND NEGATIONS OF AUTHENTICITY AND IRISHNESS

Irish culture is exploding, but what is it? It's Riverdance – the worst possible thing...It's consumer Ireland. We've become a part of Europe and nobody can stop it. So in a way, calling people Irish writers is strange. It's very much a marketing strategy... Although I write about Ireland, I am cynical about the whole notion of Irishness and the fact that people are so happy about Ireland at the moment just makes me sick...I think it comes from the old inferiority...Nobody in his right mind in the '50s would have listened to Irish music. We didn't want to know anything about Ireland. We were coming away from poverty, but now that we have achieved some kind of prosperity - or for some, at least - we're all terribly, terribly happy...And the Irish have been described as a cultural race with great literary...and musical awareness but the prosperity is going to kill that. It's going to be all Riverfluke in the future.

The Riverdance phenomenon is often described as a symbol of what Irishness is about today. In Hamilton's words, it is a marketing device. Cynical voices may be heard from intellectuals and artists who condemn the obsession with Irishness and see it as constructed out of insecurity and/or marketing. Not only the material products, the music in its packages, are distributed and marketed, but also images and narratives of Ireland and the Irish music scene are dispersed around the world. I found a highly illustrative example in the magazine In Dublin (1997:78-79), including an advertisement for the Celtic Flame Festival in 1997. The festival was sponsored by the Guinness breweries and financially assisted by the European Regional Development Fund. The Celtic Flame Festival is described as a national festival of music and song, but I suppose the advertisement was aimed at international readers and possible visitors. It is a very romantic and mystical image of Ireland and Irishness that is presented. Irish music is one important part of this portrait of Ireland and its main cities, in which Dublin and Galway are featured. The use of the word Celtic in the name of the festival is undoubtedly a strategy to attract as many people as possible from abroad. Here are some extracts from the advertisement:

Ireland is a land in love with life. A love that's reflected in a nation's passion for music and a total dedication to having a good time...No matter where you go, there'll always be music, a buzz of excitement in the air...From the bustling streets of Dublin's Fair City – now Europe's hippest tourist spot – to the scenic western delights of Galway, the heartland of traditional Irish music...The Celtic Flame Festival embodies all
that joy and wonder, the sheer celebration of life that is uniquely Irish… You can join in this magical musical mystery tour of Ireland, enjoy the unspoilt beauty of this island, while taking in a mind-boggling variety of musical styles and genres that reflects the modern, but still mystical, Ireland of today… The line-up for the Galway leg of the Celtic Flame Festival not only reflects a city steeped in traditional Irish music, but also its cosmopolitan outlook.

Cork and Limerick also experienced this Celtic Flame Festival, but I continue by quoting what is said about Dublin in the advertisement:

Fittingly, the Celtic Flame Festival reaches a kaleidoscopic climax in Ireland's capital, the Fair City of Dublin… Effortlessly urbane and good-humoured, Dublin would be best described as being the craic capital of the universe. And on the nation's national holiday, Saint Patrick's Day, the city is soaked in a colourfully hectic carnival atmosphere all its own. For the entire weekend, Dublin is truly alive, alive-oh with the sound of music and the celebration of life. The theme of this year's festivities is Myths & Legends and the highlights of the weekend include the annual parade through the city centre, a celebration of World Music, the Guinness Temple Bar Fleadh and enough street happenings to keep the most energetic body occupied for an entire year. As well as the multitude of organised events, there's always going to be an impromptu session happening somewhere, another call for another creamy pint. The miracle of it all is – where do the Irish get the energy to get up the next morning and do it all over again?

The Celtic Flame Festival was held during the months of February and March, and the project co-ordinator Pat McCann (1997:6) described the event as 'a tangible contribution to the seasonality issue in tourism in Ireland'. He wanted to do something to attract tourists during other seasons than the summer. This is, undoubtedly, an example of how the tourist industry, music industry, Guinness industry and European funding are co-operating in order to get as much profit as possible in their various areas. This advertisement for the Celtic Flame Festival is representative of the new ways for Ireland to model and imagine its Irish identity, landscape and culture (see also Duffy 1997). The recent 'Celtification' of Ireland is often thought of as a marketing device and tourism-orientation. Ireland is now highlighted as one of the central places for the Celts in Europe. This Celtification reveals a lot about contemporary constructions of Irishness. Now, they are all going to be
Celts and go far back in history, to archaic Europe. The history of the Celts is, perhaps, not so controversial to refer to as the history of the troubles in the North.

**Paddy's Day: a celebration of Ireland's national day in a global way**

It is somewhat perplexing to note that St Patrick's Day was celebrated concurrently with the Celtic Flame Festival, since there are some popular tales claiming that St Patrick extinguished Celtic traditions. However, many seem to think that he did not extinguish them totally, as Tony Gray (1997:32) argues: 'Patrick did not attempt to persuade his converts to abandon altogether the heroes and heroines of their myths and legends, nor did he require them to revise all their ancient laws and practices.' There are a lot of myths and legends surrounding St Patrick, which makes it hard to figure out who he was exactly, when he arrived in Ireland and what he really did there. Until quite recently, every schoolchild learned that Patrick was the national apostle who converted the Irish to Christianity. What they also learned was that he was a 'Romanised Briton who came to Ireland first as a captive, lived here for years as a herdsman and domestic slave before escaping, and later returned as a missionary in 432 AD, "sent by Pope Celestine"' (Fallon 1997:12).

Scholars disagree on various issues concerning St Patrick; for example, where he was born, if he had any powers to drive out snakes and if there were Christians in Ireland before him. St Patrick is one of the most popular and contested figures in Irish history (cf. Walker 1997). Whatever the truth, we cannot ignore the fact that the myths and symbolism surrounding him have been of value to Irish people in creating their image of Ireland and Irishness. Even if there were other priests before him trying to convert what they thought were 'pagan' Irish Celts, none of them made as much impression as Patrick. One legend has it that he used the three-leafed shamrock to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity (Father, Son and Holy Ghost), but the Irish seem to regard it more as a

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112 I have also heard that St Patrick killed a lot of people according to these tales. What the truth is, probably no one knows.
113 See also Nick Constable (1998).
symbol of the Cross. Today it is a quite secular national symbol for Ireland, frequently used by the tourist industry. Appropriately, the theme of St Patrick's parade in Dublin in 1997 was 'Myths and Legends'.

On the one hand, Ireland is marketed with the notion of Celticism, and on the other hand, with an emphasis on the celebration of the Irish national day as making room for all nationalities. St Patrick's Day on 17 March exemplifies the celebration of nationality.\textsuperscript{114} At the same time, the big parade in Dublin in 1997 was more of a celebration of transnationality, of being a part of the world and an exploration of the musics of the world. This was probably the reason why De Jimbe and the other Afro-Cuban drummers were specially invited to participate in the parade on the main day. They did very well and even won the title of best entry.

I shall come back to my experiences in the field while I was attending the drummers' rehearsals and the events during the week when St Patrick's Day was celebrated.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1998) has written about a multicultural 'mosaic' taking shape in the independence celebrations in the pluralist society of Mauritius. During these celebrations 'composite cultural shows' were demonstrated with performances from different ethnic groups collaborating within the same show: 'The aim was to display and encourage "unity in diversity": among other things, the object was to accustom spectators to the traditions of ethnic categories other than their own' (ibid:144-145). It was also an instance of future-orientated Mauritian nationalism, as the 1990s heralded an economic progress which clearly inspired sentiments of pride and loyalty in the population. Authenticity in roots and purity was no longer the issue, as hybrids and individualism became the ideals of 'multiculturalism' (cf. Eriksen 1998).

Some parallels can be drawn between Mauritius and Ireland, but Mauritius is much more mixed ethnically than Ireland. However, the number of 'cosmopolitans' is growing in Ireland: people who see the experience of cultural diversity as a value in itself (cf. Hannerz 1990, 1996).

It is possible to analyse the St Patrick's Day celebrations as examples of a multi-ethnic nationalism or multiculturalism, similar to the cultural

\textsuperscript{114} Brian Walker (1997) points out that from at least the seventeenth century, 17 March has been observed as St Patrick's feast day. But it was not until the early 1900s that the Gaelic League started to promote St Patrick's Day as Ireland's national holiday. In the 1970s, the celebration of St Patrick's Day changed, especially in the Republic since the organisation of the parade was taken over by Dublin Tourism, thus giving it a new touristic and commercial aspect (cf. Walker).
shows in Mauritius. Paddy's day also epitomises the new inclusive definitions of Irishness, in opposition to the old image of Irishness where those who did not belong to the right ethnic group did not fit into the narrow definition. Thus, the new Irishness does in many ways represent a multi-ethnic nationalism, but not always, since not everybody is really included if we look at the everyday life of the Irish.\textsuperscript{115} For example, the Irish Travellers did not always suit the image of the 'new Ireland – the global Ireland'.\textsuperscript{116} This was an issue I sometimes heard discussed, but my informants were mostly opposed to such exclusiveness. Those with such exclusive views might also argue that foreigners could be good as tourists, if they could make money out of them, but not good as Irish inhabitants. Thus, the global openness should not be exaggerated. There are still exclusive views, purist-minded people who want to preserve one ethnic national identity. It is probably a general problem for modern states that there is a tension between ideologies for a united ethnic and a multicultural nation. Moreover, national identity does not necessarily encompass one ethnic group. There is not just one ethnic group among Irish musicians, but sometimes discourses of Irishness appeared that were in favour of one exclusive ethnic group. Yet again, I found that most of the young musicians in the 1990s were more enticed to a broader and more inclusive Irishness in which Catholics, Protestants, Irish, English, blacks and whites were all embraced.

The organisers of the St Patrick's Day parades in Dublin in 1997 and in Galway in 1998 tried to feature multiculturalism. Even the Paddy's Day parade and celebrations in Galway in 1998 tended to express the mix and complexity of contemporary Ireland. Different community groups, organisations, Travellers, unemployed people, companies, local businesses, foreign participants, as well as young people playing different kinds of music were represented. The organisers in Galway wanted to celebrate the kind of differences that are to be found in international cities. As they say in the local magazine \textit{Galway Advertiser} (1998:16), 'all contribute to our realisation that the city now embraces a wide diversity of people and interests which contribute to the unique atmosphere that

\textsuperscript{115} See Chapter 6 for a more critical discussion of 'multiculturalism'.

\textsuperscript{116} Interestingly, Jane Helleiner (1993:197) quotes Margaret Sweeney, a spokesperson for the Traveller Committee in Galway, who claimed that the Travellers' traditions represent the 'true Ireland': 'I think that the Travelling People are the true Irish people of Ireland and no Travelling person should be ashamed of what we are.'

253
makes Galway an interesting place to live'. Marie Claire Sweeney, executive director of the 1998 Dublin St Patrick's festival, similarly claimed that 'what we're trying to achieve is a multicultural festival by taking a lot more street theatre from Europe. In fact, we'll have performers coming from places as diverse as Trinidad and Canada as well as all over Europe' (Long 1998:8). But also, black African people living in Dublin put on performances together with Irish people.

Paddy's Day is celebrated all around the world where the Irish diaspora can be found, especially in England, the US and Australia, but also in Irish pubs all over Europe and in countries like Japan and Thailand. It is even considered to be more important in the US than in Ireland. It has thus become a way for people abroad with Irish roots to cultivate their heritage as well as a celebratory day for people with no Irish roots. Yet, the celebrations in Dublin in 1997 were immense, perhaps even exaggerated. This Day was marketed all over Europe in order to attract tourists. There were, for instance, announcements on MTV and NBC, saying that Dublin was the right place to be in Europe on St Patrick's Day. 120 different acts involving around 1500 performers appeared in the parade and in the street performances. Thus, this has become a day when Irish people around the globe and even non-Irish people celebrate Ireland and Irishness. Mr Enda Kenny (1997:3), the Minister for Tourism and Trade, noted the potential of attracting people from all over the world to Ireland during St Patrick's Day: 'it is no surprise that every year more and more overseas visitors come to Ireland to join in the celebrations. St Patrick brings out the Irish in everyone!'. Michael Colgan, director of the Gate Theatre and chairman of the St Patrick's Festival board of 1997, had a vision of a great gathering of the Irish diaspora in Dublin during the Millennium year:

By then, we will have retrieved our own national day from Moscow and New York and Chicago. Dublin will be the place to be for the party, doing what we do best – the craic and good humour and fun, celebrating our identity and our culture and where we come from and what we are (Sheridan 1997:10).

In a way, the exhilarating St Patrick Day parades in Ireland are American inventions. As has been common in many (not all) of the US parades for a long time, the parades in Ireland are now taking on a multi-ethnic nationalism. Immigrant groups, foreigners and tourists can wear
'Kiss me, I'm Irish' hats, wave Irish tricolours and eat green candy floss, because this is the day when 'everybody' is celebrating the Irish. This is what I was told and in a way experienced myself. Thus, the parade was a way of bringing people together. They were overriding differences in social class, time, ethnicity and experience. Again, multiculturalism was the ideal, where all were welcome to participate. The celebration of Irishness by non-Irish people is, however, more like a masquerade, or perhaps a 'cool thing to do'. They may be following the trend of demonstrating the coolness of being Irish in the world today. Thus, not everybody was Irish, but they were all able to experience moments of being staged as Irish, which may be more like a spectacle than part of any deeper feelings of Irishness.

The St Patrick's Day parade may thus be viewed as a kind of 'spectacle' as defined by Frank E. Manning (1992:291) in terms of 'a large-scale, extravagant cultural production that is replete with striking visual imagery and dramatic action and that is watched by a mass audience'. Manning exemplifies with sports, festivals, public entertainment extravaganzas, exhibitions, civic and political ceremonies, and special religious events. Apart from the festivals during St Patrick's Day, the Galway arts festivals and the Celtic Flame Festivals may be other examples of spectacles. They are often large-scale and take place outdoors. Yet, spectacle often has a negative association and sounds like something that is commercialised. Manning (1992:296) points out that 'most spectacles are, among other things, tourist attractions, a factor that accounts for a great deal of their extravagance, publicity, and commercialism'. Festivals, spectacles and performances in Ireland are not only important as ways of putting local communities and smaller towns on the tourist agenda and developing local identities, but are also valued for their potential of bringing people of differing cultural identities together and developing transnational identities. Recently, festivals have become a way to market Ireland for tourists as a multicultural place.

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117 Slobin (1993) gives an example from Moscow's St Patrick's Day parade in 1992, which was organised by Irish merchants, as part of a marketing device to make the Russians aware of the Irish. The parade was accepted since it was not controversial, and they were all able to be Irish for a day.

118 See Jo Anne Schneider (1990) about group identity in Polish and Puerto Rican ethnic parades in Philadelphia. See also Vera Mark (1991) about a French festival mixing styles of ethnic groups from France with those of Europe and more distant places, as well as interweaving elements from folk/popular culture, mass and elite culture.
emphasising fusions and world musics. At the same time, all those popular cliché images of the Irish are stressed, as being friendly, *craic*-ful and partying people. Again, local, national and transnational identities are used simultaneously in these events.

**Rehearsals and events leading up to the big parade**

One Saturday afternoon, a month before St Patrick's Day in 1997, I went to the pub White Horse Inn, where drummers were gathered for a big audition workshop or rehearsal for the Paddy's Day parade. Susan and Liam in De Jimbe, and at least thirty other drummers, were making a great deal of noise. The pub had let them use the upstairs room for this workshop and the publican was counting on a few pint drinkers afterwards. De Jimbe had found quite a lot of drummers through networks of musicians and friends. But Liam told me that there were a great many drummers out there in Dublin and outside whom they did not know about. He enjoyed meeting all these new drummers. Liam and Garcia, a visiting Cuban musician, were going to select the drummers, and they also needed more drummers who would be able to continue playing with De Jimbe after Paddy's Day for other paid gigs and tours later in the year. Most of the drummers were between twenty and thirty years of age, mostly men, but I saw five women as well. They were all sitting in a circle along the wall with their various drums in front of them. Liam and Garcia directed the workshop and taught certain rhythm sections; Susan took care of the management and wrote down the names of the participants. I recognised a number of the drummers, as well as other instrumentalists who I did not know were able to play the drums. It was interesting to note that the parade was for everybody who wanted to join in, as long as they had been accepted by the board. Again, you did not have to be Irish or have Irish roots to celebrate the National Day.

The drummers were going to perform in two sections of the parade, one with African drumming directed by Liam, and the other with a Cuban section directed by Garcia. Both types used traditional patterns, which involved several drummers playing related parts simultaneously. The drummers' task was to hold their own parts in their proper places in the rhythms. There were very few improvisations and solos required, and
the director of the pieces had the last word on these. The organisers regarded it as difficult enough to play the planned pieces correctly.

Rehearsal commitments were for two sessions a week, on average, between February 14 and March 17, most of them in another place called 'Jendor', located on South Circular Road. The organisers stressed that they did not allow habitual lateness or non-attendance at rehearsals. Nevertheless, they looked forward to a lot of fun and a good learning opportunity for anybody interested in percussion. There were a great many djembes for sale in Ireland, and the price was around IR£150. The participants on Paddy's Day were expecting to be paid IR£50-£80 per drummer.

Later, I attended the rehearsals in Jendor, where the practice for the Paddy's Day parade was unfolding. Again, the drummers were making loud noises resonating out through the thin walls to the streets. The place looked like an old abandoned shop, located beside another shop. I met Padraig Breathnach, the promoter and organiser of the event at the door and he let me in. Padraig was known in Ireland for being the man who started the acclaimed theatre group Macnas in Galway. From the beginning, it was his idea to have sections of drummers in the parade. He had asked Liam if he wanted to do something during the parade and told him that he was looking for 100 drummers. Liam told me that Padraig did not take no for an answer, so he had to accept.

Jendor was a quite small place packed with music-makers. A few people were dancing and playing on cowbells in front of everybody else. There were musicians on ordinary drums and all the other Afro-Cuban drummers with their djembe drums. At the back of the room was a brass section of trombone, trumpets and saxophone. The drummers were banging very fast and loudly but following the same beat all the time. The brass section enhanced the session and gave it a jazzier sound. The African drum section led by Liam was going to practise out-of-doors the following weekend. Since the parade and the gigs were taking place out-of-doors, it was important to test how the section worked in that soundscape. Liam proposed different places in town: Grafton Street, Temple Bar Square, outside the Central Bank and Thomas Street. They decided to meet at 12 noon on both days and to continue till at least 3 p.m. on the Sunday. The Cuban brass section was going to rehearse at 3.30 p.m.

\[\text{119 The organisers gave me a leaflet with some instructions for the rehearsals and their requirements of the participants.}\]
on the Sunday. Liam asked the brass players if they had got blood on their mouthpieces. 'Not yet!', they replied, and went on with a bit of *craic*. A guy on trumpet asked me what I was writing about. I told him about my anthropological study. He replied, somewhat relieved: 'At least it is not psychiatry.' Typically Irish, I thought, to joke about everything. But he turned out to be French. He said that he had begun to meet people in Dublin when he started to play his trumpet together with a few people. He was getting new contacts all the time through the music-making, which he was not able to do before. Thus, playing an instrument happened to be a good way for foreigners to get to know people in Ireland.

The Cuban section was going to continue with its brass and rhythm section. Garcia was the musical director now, and he started to give instructions to the musicians. It was quite messy at the beginning as he walked around giving individual instructions to all the participators. After a while the musicians had picked up all the various parts of the musical pieces and started to play together quite well. Garcia stood in the middle of the room and the other musicians surrounded him in a ring. They kept on rehearsing different sections for a while. Barbara, the Irish-American woman, and a black man danced very well together to the dance-orientated music the musicians were making.

'Paddy's Big Day Out' - The weekend before the main Day with the parade was filled with events in central Dublin. The buildings in town were covered with small green flags and balloons. A lot of people were in town to watch and enjoy the various performances and happenings. A monstrous dragon, pumped up with air, was walking around in the main streets to horror and amusement of the children. I read in a leaflet that all kinds of busking, competitions and musical performances were going to take place, such as dance, street theatre, art, pyrotechnics, marching bands, comedy, circus, sport, water events, funfairs, roundabouts, fashion, crafts, history, heritage, literature and drama. Thus, there was probably something for everybody's taste. Delos was going to busk during the weekend and to play gigs in Quay's pub in Temple Bar. The area around Dame Street and Westmoreland Street down to the river Liffey was closed to cars and open for pedestrians to walk around. On Temple Bar Square, I recognised a busker from Derry, a man who won the busking festival there in 1993. He was still as proficient, and the audience seemed to enjoy his performance. The city centre became quite packed with
people and it was sometimes hard to get through. I watched some sports exhibitions and a motorcycle show performed by policemen.

Then I walked up to the Central Bank on Dame Street where Liam, Susan and the African drummers were playing. They called themselves 'Bang On' and were sponsored by Philips Consumer Communications and promoted by Padraig Breathnach. They had just finished one performance and were having a break, but were going to start up again soon. I saw many familiar faces, not only musicians but also other friends, such as Monika, Barbara and Sean. Monika, the German girl who lived in the same apartment as Liam, advised me to go and see Tecnogue the following night. It was a band playing a mix of Celtic music and hip-hop, 'very 1990s music', Monika said. The Afro-Cuban drummers, the brass section and the dancers were dressed up for the day's events. The musicians wore striped costumes in yellow, pink and blue. The women dancers wore glittering dresses in various colours and danced in a lively and graceful way. They picked up children from the audience to participate in the dancing. After the show, the audience clapped their hands cheerfully and some of them were shouting with joy. After the show I went along with Monika and a fellow from Dublin to the Oak's pub for more live music.

At last, it was St Patrick's Day - the day of the big parade in town. I hurried into town with my family. The whole thing was going to start at 12 noon. The bus driver took a strange route because roads were blocked around the inner city, which was totally packed with people; it was hard to find a free space along the road where the parades were going to happen. The parade started behind the Christ Church and continued to the end of O'Connell Street. The north side along O'Connell Street was totally packed with people, but from there it was possible to see at least something of the parade, such as the heads and upper parts of the participants' bodies. A man, dressed up as St Patrick himself, walked on high stilts in the first part of the parade. Stilts were a good idea for making oneself seen above the heads of the audience. Many of the music bands used lorries for their performances. People in the parade were dressed in various colours, but most often in green and the Irish tricolours. Some of them represented different Celtic myths and legends, according to the theme of this year's events, but Vikings, bulls, dragons and death's-heads also showed up. Galway's much appreciated theatre group Macnas was engaged with the overall theme of this year's
parade and manoeuvred a 'Bull Run' to celebrate the myth and power of cattle. There were representatives of other religions as well, since Dalai Lama and Hare Krishna were in the parade. There appeared to be no restrictions as to religion. St Patrick's Day is obviously not an exclusive celebration of the introduction of Christianity to Ireland. According to Cathal Liam (1998:25), St Patrick 'is not the sole property of any one particular religion. St Patrick belongs to all communities living on the island of Ireland.'

Eventually, the Afro-Cuban 'Bang On' drummers passed by in the parade. There were about 50 drummers, dressed in green and displaying their sponsor's name on their flags. They managed the parading quite well and were heard from a long distance away. The whole parade went on for about two hours and offered a lot of fun and fascination. The monstrous dragon appeared at the end of the parade to all the children's enjoyment and excitement. Even though there were many drum and brass bands, they did not only perform marching music, but were quite varied musically. A lot of traditional music, different rock and pop bands, as well as Afro-Cuban drumming, were represented. It appeared to be more a celebration of world music than of anything exclusively Irish. This was probably the idea behind the parade, not to be limited to an old model of Irishness in the choice of themes for entertainment, music, dresses and religions. Even though most of the acts were in the Irish colours, they wanted to give an open-minded impression.

A few days later, I met Liam during a traditional session in Slattery's pub on Grand Canal Street, where he gave me his view of how the parade had gone. He was quite pleased and wanted to do the same the following year, but making it a bigger event and using the whole week for musical performances. He thought that people liked their contribution and it had paid a lot of bills for the participants. Another day, I was chatting with Barbara in Bewley's café about our experiences of the St Patrick's Day celebrations. She had been with Garcia, her boyfriend, most of the time and had taken a lot of photos of him and the other musicians. She wanted to have copies of my photos of the rehearsals and the events before the parade, and I was going to get some of her magnificent photos of the parade and the happenings around it. After the parade she and Darren, one of the drummers, appeared on the cover page of the *Sunday Times*. She had sent copies of this and other photos to her parents in the US. I also received an e-mail in January 1999, from
Susan, the only woman drummer in De Jimbe. She spoke about the globalisation of Ireland and their representation of this during the Paddy's Day:

I think Ireland is getting globalised and the Cuban participation in Paddy's day was a good representation of this. Although not necessarily a good representation of the acceptance of foreigners. Yemanja will be involved again this year in Paddy's day and Liam...(with the Paddy's day committee) is organising a big event for around the same time called 'The Drum' or something. Maybe there'll be some participation from Africans in the community. I'll keep you posted.

In this chapter about authenticity and Irishness, in traditional and popular music in Ireland, I have shown how they are part of contemporary discourses and activities at the same time as they are changing with the times. Authenticity was certainly an important issue in music-making: when musicians wanted to play only certain kinds of music, when they wanted to be expressive and creative on stage, when they were only listening to a certain kind of music and when they preferred to play with people who shared their ideas and ideals. Their ideas and canons about authenticity tended to impinge upon what they did musically, sometimes in restrictive ways, for example, in not playing covers, in only doing it in their own way, in not being commercially driven, in only playing what was encompassed by a perceived tradition in music, in being true to regional styles, and not making innovations, in traditional music. Yet, many young musicians wanted to be quite open-minded; even cover bands and traditional musicians doing new things were often presenting and legitimating their music-making as authentic. But they were often doing it in ways other than the original rock bands and purist traditional musicians would. The young innovators in traditional music wanted to express an authenticity by being attuned to a contemporary living tradition.

On the one hand, there are the old ideal images of Irishness, and on the other hand, there are the newer images that are more open to influences from the outside world. Yet, there are also market images of Irishness in which Irish music is included. There are even other images of Irishness that we may be familiar with. Apart from the cliché image of a national ideal à la de Valera - as being rural, Catholic, Gaelic-speaking and playing traditional music - there are a few others. For example, one rather negative and unpopular stereotype of the Irish Catholics is that
they are 'drunken Paddies', backward, and perhaps aggressive IRA terrorists. We also have the old staged Irish version as mainly developed in the US and the UK. The 'staged Irish' has been a common scurrilous portrait among the English. In this view the Irish are rather comic figures, speaking with a funny accent. There is also a more popular version of Irishness, as being friendly, open, easy-going as well as talkative, literary and musical. This may be part of the tourist industry's versions. Then there is the version, perhaps suiting 'Dublin 4' and the Modern Ireland, which is part of the cliché image of a global market, a prosperous Ireland and a Celtic Tiger. This image is critical of the rural, backward Ireland and regards de Valera's image as old-fashioned. However, this more intellectual image may be close to the image of tourist Ireland as well, since the global market and the Celtic Tiger are affecting the tourism market and its so-called *craic* image of Ireland. There are also combinations of the diverse images and stereotypes, and the Irish may handle all these in various contexts. In my work I have tried first and foremost to grasp the musicians' images of Ireland and of themselves, as viewed from the inside, from their discourses, and not solely as imposed on them from the outside hegemonic discourses, such as de Valera's image, the English image, the tourist image or the Modern Ireland image. The musicians do, however, relate themselves to the above images and may view, for example, de Valera's rural image as restrictive, conservative and backward, but not necessarily condemn it totally. The current generation of musicians is handling a more modern rurality, which is part of Irish society's urban-rural contacts, tourism and the global music market. The musicians often wanted to extend Irishness, to negotiate it or even to negate its relevance.

I have tried to figure out why national identity has been of such concern for many musicians in Ireland. For the traditional purists it has been a matter of keeping a link with Irish history, preserving traditions and resisting changes in them. The purists represented a narrow, ideally defined and static national identity. For those who wanted to expand the notions of Irishness, such as Eric and Mary, it has been a matter of belonging to a more inclusive imagined community, which was more pertinent for the present situation. They stood for a more heterogeneous, democratic and open-ended identity stressing that everybody had the same right to be Irish. Both Eric and Mary had had negative experiences of growing up in Ireland, which emanated from their position of being
excluded from Irishness, Eric because of his English childhood and Mary because of the colour of her skin and of not knowing her parents. According to Waters, U2 also represent this new search for Irishness, since they have not taken on a clearly bounded Irishness. Waters argues for how Irish U2 actually are, since they so well express and represent the Ireland of today with its greater mix and multitude of musical styles and lifestyles.
In this final chapter, I shall discuss the issues of transnationality and globalisation, since they run throughout the whole of this book. Some of this has already been dealt with, especially in Chapter 5 about authenticity and Irishness. First, I shall present a theoretical background and then put the various sub-themes together in order to show their relevance for my study of the Irish music scene. I shall position my study in relation to previous work on cultural globalisation, especially studies of the globalisation of music.\(^{120}\) There are also discourses about globalisation among Irish intellectuals that need to be taken into account.\(^{121}\) Contemporary and contested issues of postcolonialism, multiculturalism, hybridisation, diaspora and dislocation are related to hegemonic as well as subordinate discourses and activities of various folk models, such as that of an Irish Irland, a global and modern Ireland, of purism and of open-mindedness. There is no doubt that the Irish tourist industry, the marketing of Irishness, the music festivals, the world musical trend of fusions and crossovers and all the foreign musicians in Ireland have had an impact on the music scene. I shall end this chapter and thesis by some reflections about the transnational popularity of Irish music.

One of the most prominent globalisation theorists, Anthony Giddens (1990), argues that modernity harbours inherently globalising properties, and that there is a dialectical process between the local and the global. He defines globalisation as 'the intensification of worldwide social rela-

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\(^{120}\) For work on cultural globalisation, see Hannerz (1992a, 1996), Appadurai (1996), Clifford (1997), Hall (1991a,b) and Tomlinson (1999) among others. The field of globalisation studies is rapidly growing. For work on musical globalisation, see Wallis and Malm (1984, 1990), Slobin (1993) and Taylor (1997) among others.

tions which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (ibid:64). Both people's openness and closure to the world are related to the current period of globalisation. Localising strategies may be globally generated. John Tomlinson (1999:1) tries to develop Giddens' approach by offering a broader perspective on *culture* in relation to globalisation by saying that 'globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization'. Globalisation, although often driven by economic and technological forces, is, above all, a cultural process. Consequently, I am mainly talking about *cultural globalisation*, even if the cultural is structured by and structures economic, technological and political globalisation. This is evident when, for example, we consider the recent economic boom, the tourist industry and the issues of democracy, censorship, national identity and the politics of multiculturalism in Ireland. Public and academic debate about cultural globalisation has often circulated around a double process of global homogenisation as in the case of mass culture (popular music, such as Boyzone and the Corrs), and of heterogenisation as in the growth of a multicultural society (and world music). However, both are accused of having eroded the historically specific national identities that in the past have functioned as unifying models. The new unity is, anyhow, broadened under the label of *multiculturalism*, which is marketed by the tourist industry in the global Irish festivals and St Patrick's Day parades. Again, multiculturalism is often associated with open-mindedness, and opposes the purism of the old models of national identities.

According to Appadurai (1986, 1988a, b, 1996), a conceptualisation of globalisation is the key to avoiding impossible demarcations of territorial or spatial units. He is also looking for a new kind of ethnography, which is not as localising as before. James Clifford (1997) recommends a move away from the traditional approach in anthropology of doing ethnographic fieldwork in a 'localized dwelling'. One part of this direction is the thinking of culture as mobile rather than static and treating practices of displacement as constitutive of cultural meanings. Thus, cultural meanings are equally generated by people on the move and in the flows and connections between 'cultures'.

The various conceptualisations of globality, internationality and transnationality seem to be confusing and sometimes overlapping. Moreover,
academics and practitioners use them in different ways. I tend to agree with Hannerz (1996:6), who, instead of using the term global, prefers the term *transnational*, since it is:

…a more adequate label for phenomena which can be of quite variable scale and distribution, even when they do share the characteristics of not being contained within a state. It also makes the point that many of the linkages in question are not 'international', in the strict sense of involving nations – actually, states – as corporate actors. In the transnational arena, the actors may now be individuals, groups, movements, business enterprises, and in no small part it is this diversity of organization that we need to consider.

Hannerz (1990) develops a view of the world as a network of social relations, and between the different regions of centres and peripheries there is a flow of meaning among people and commodities. He speaks about a cultural world system or a 'global ecumene', which is composed of a field of continuous social interactions and movements between cultures.

The first studies of global cultural flows in music seem to have been initiated by Roger Wallis and Krist er Malm (1984) in their influential book *Big Sounds from Small Peoples*. Wallis and Malm studied the international phonogram industry's relationship with 'small countries'.

They were perhaps pioneers in analysing the impact of international media on national and local music industries, that represented both problems and possibilities. According to Wallis and Malm, hybridisation appeared to be one consequence of the global diffusion of music and the growth of transculturation or acculturation. They pointed out that it was possible to sell the same kind of music almost everywhere in the world, but that political and traditional reasons, such as nationalism and segregation hindered the development of a uniform and homogenous culture of world music. They looked at what happened when transnational music influences met local and national ones, and showed both how local music scenes changed after the contacts and how the local types of music re-

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123 ‘Transculturation’, according to Wallis and Malm (1984:300-301), is 'a two-way process whereby elements of international pop, rock, and rhythm and blues are incorporated into local and national musical cultures, and indigenous influences contribute to the development of new transnational styles'.
sisted foreign influences. Wallis and Malm presented an analytical openness to different options, homogenisation as well as heterogenisation, in cultural encounters.

Some of the earliest theories of cultural globalisation were critical theories of cultural imperialism. The critics of globalisation often saw it as a kind of cultural imperialism, coming from the US, which allegedly was trying to homogenise cultural creativity. The critics viewed globalisation as very market-influenced and mass media-sustained. Of course, this is still one aspect of it, but cultural globalisation is much more varied and complex. It is often contradictory and has uneven effects (cf. Appadurai 1996; Tomlinson 1999), sometimes reinforcing and sometimes obliterating cultural, regional, religious, gender and ethnic divisions (cf. Hall 1991a; Clifford 1997). Critical discourses of global homogenisation reverberate in Ireland, for example, when certain Irish people talk about Ireland becoming a kind of Disneyland - an Eiredisney. But the critics often miss the aspect of active adaptive cultural appropriation, which may in fact lead to something new and different from its original sources in the US. This is the idea of hybridisation or creolisation that has been quite dominant in other theories. Hannerz (1987:555) argues, for example, that another diversity may be created since 'the world system, rather than creating massive cultural homogeneity on a global scale, is replacing one diversity with another; and the new diversity is based relatively more on interrelations and less on autonomy'. Yet, an ideology of multiculturalism and globalisation may be a part of a new hegemonic discourse. Multiculturalism may also have other more unpleasant consequences, since it might lead to a reinforcement of the stereotypical views of ethnic groups rather than to a celebrated openness or broader awareness of complexity.

Current globalisation and multiculturalism are taking place during a period in Ireland's social and cultural history when the younger generation is experiencing a relief from de Valera's visions, perceived as narrow nationalism that hindered cultural creativity from flourishing in Ireland. Globalisation, as a kind of heterogenisation, is regarded by many young Irish people as liberation from previous exclusion and conservatism. Yet, a less exclusive definition of national identity in hegemonic media discourse can also be seen as part of an economic strategy in favour of the European Union and the global economic system (cf. Kelly and Rolston 1995).
Richard Kearney (1997) aptly argues that Irishness is not confined within the geographical outlines of Ireland. The huge Irish diaspora may challenge essentialised, inherited definitions of state nationalism. It is possible for Irish people today, indigenous or exiled, to imagine alternative models of identification. One such model, as suggested by Kearney (ibid:99), might be that of the ancient fifth province where the local and the global find reciprocal expression. The old Irish term for province is coicead, which means 'fifth'. There are four geographical provinces in Ireland: Ulster, Connacht, Leinster and Munster. The fifth province is more like a 'state of mind' or the swinging door that connects the local and the global. Kearney (ibid:100) argues that the fifth province: 'may be re-envisioned today as a network of relations extending from local communities at home to migrant communities abroad. The fifth province is to be found, if anywhere, at the swinging door which connects the "parish" (in Kavanagh's sense) with the "cosmos".'

Waters (1994:189) also captures the idea of a fifth province, for example, when he quotes the newly elected President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, in her first address to the Irish people in December 1990: 'The Fifth Province is not anywhere here or there, north or south, east or west. It is a place within each one of us – that place that is open to the other, that swinging door which allows us to venture out, and others to venture in.' Mary Robinson became a symbol of this 'reconciling and healing fifth province', and hence also a symbol of 'Modern Ireland' (cf. Peillon 2000b). Waters also exemplifies by saying that the fifth province is an island without frontiers and that U2 is a part of it. It is not a geographical place, but a place within each one of us – the place that is open to the Other. Again, we get an image of dislocation, since the swinging door opens both ways. But we have to hold back a bit, since Ireland is not completely open. For example, there are still marginalised groups of people, such as the Travellers and some immigrant groups that experience difficulties in entering this 'Modern and global Ireland'.

The idea of a 'global Ireland' tends to be part of a new hegemonic discourse, creating new clichés. According to Mac Laughlin (1997b) it is the new middle-class in Ireland, the so-called intelligentsia, that is against narrow Irish nationalism and in favour of the idea of being Irish Europeans. He says that, in the new hegemonic media discourse, Ireland is composed more of markets, cyberspace and financescapes than of real places. The idea of dislocation and diaspora fits well into the global
capitalist economy, since it tends to require movable, flexible people (cf. Gray 1997). There are, however, several reasons why narrow nationalism is avoided in the new hegemonic intellectual, media and political discourses in Ireland. It may be a postcolonial reaction in that they want to forget their distressing history in order to be 'global and modern' and to build on their greater self-confidence, which only seems to be possible by abandoning an exclusive national identity.

Most of the time, the musicians in my study thought that more openness was beneficial, despite its connection with dubious marketing and political interests. They were happy about this new supposed global openness and sometimes even exaggerated it, for example during the St Patrick's Day festival in 1997. One of my informants from Yemanja told me that 'Ireland has been so closed for such a long time from outside influences, and it's a great relief to see all these world music things coming in and making Ireland more open'. Although recently, Yemanja has expressed more ambivalence on questions about Ireland's trans-nationality; the group was more aware of dubious interests promoting world music, and as a reaction was more concerned about developing its 'own' traditional music rather than continuing to do versions of other countries' folk music. Thus, the multiculturalism of, for example, the St Patrick's Day festivals in the 1990s, which represented and celebrated the new global openness of Ireland was supported (and partly created) by marketing and political interests, a circumstance which the musicians became more aware of later on.

The global and the local, centres and peripheries in the Irish music scene

I have tried to employ a parallel focus on the local use of the global and the global use of the local (cf. Giddens 1990; Hall 1991a), in other words, what the world means to the Irish (or Ireland) and what the Irish (or Ireland) mean to the world. For example, the foreign musicians in Ireland have their stories and experiences about this process. The travelling Irish musicians on tour in the world have their stories, such as the young traditional bands experiencing the world outside Ireland. Even though I spend more time on the global in the local than on the local in the global, globalisation is not a one-way process. It affects localities in
different ways, and each locality makes its own contribution to the shape of global forces.

The local and the global may appear to be opposite tendencies and even emerge in confrontation with each other. For example, when the world around tends to be too big and intrusive, one may react by withdrawing to the local and national, such as was the case with some purist-orientated musicians in Ireland. But in many other cases, another reaction may be prominent. For example, when the world one inhabits appears to be too small and intrusive on the local level, one may want to broaden it to the national and transnational level. This tended to be relevant for the new generation of musicians in Ireland who wanted to be open-minded and embrace a kind of transnationality.

In this study I have mainly been looking at transnational processes more locally, in Dublin and Galway, in order to discern in what ways 'local' musicians were dealing with the new forms or rhythms of globalisation as they were manifested at the end of the 1990s. Yet, Irish traditional music has become internationalised and its survival has partly depended on this. Today, many traditional musicians want to earn a living from playing traditional music, and this is for the most part made possible by gigging outside Ireland. Most of the local musicians in, for example, Dublin or Galway are not only grassroots musicians. In fact, the term 'grassroots' seems to be no longer appropriate when local musicians are more like translocal musicians. But even though they travel, they are not rootless. They have some kind of origins and traditions in their minds and experiences to rely on and go back to. Moreover, they often profile themselves as Irish on the global market. However, grassroots playing is still important in the sense of being played in local pubs, small places, homes, houses or whatever. This is the reality even for musicians who play abroad, since they tend to end up in pubs.

The term 'local' is often used in different ways and contexts without being described or defined. There may, in fact, be a point in being careful not to determine its implications \textit{a priori}. The local often tends, however, to be part of recognised patterns or 'standardised' places. Despite its changing character, it is often associated with familiar situations and repetitive events. It can, however, be both about something that is taking place 'here and now' and about something one recognises from the past in perhaps more nostalgic ways without a strict anchoring in a particular
place. Even for musicians touring the world, different places may constitute local, familiar places, such as the bus, the plane, the hotel, the stage as well as the backstage, in an otherwise foreign environment. Normally, minor changes or novelties appear on stages around the world. In order to make global movements smooth, the musicians need a 'setting' they recognise and are familiar with, such as a stage or a table to sit around and play, sound amplifiers, an audience, a sound mixer table, sound engineers, instruments, and so on. Regardless of where they are in the world, they need this performance setting for their professional identity and activity (see Chapter 4). 'The local' may be what the musicians take with them from their homes when they travel, and what they recognise in the new places or countries, or in the contacts and experiences they get there. There is a sense of the local, of feeling at home, also abroad.

Again, this idea that global processes are shaping Ireland today, has to be contextualised in local structures and processes. This is what the contributors in Slater and Peillon (2000) argue. In the chapter 'When the local goes global', Slater (2000) is concerned with how an Irish pub has become part of the global flow of commodities and images. The Irish theme pubs around the world exemplify how the Irish are globalising something local. They are exporting a cultural object to be consumed on the global market. But what is perceived and called local here, is to a high degree constructed on a global basis or mixed with foreign elements, and in fact consumed locally, in another locality. Nevertheless, the Guinness breweries are trying to build what they perceive to be 'authentic' pubs abroad. This multi-million pound export industry is partly surviving on an uncomfortable myth (or reality) about the drinking Irish (cf. Waters 1997).

When Irish musicians travel abroad, they often try to avoid the Irish theme pubs or Guinness pubs. They are often critical of the foreign Irish theme pubs for selling a pre-packaged image of Irishness that does not give the 'true' or entire image in their opinion. Those musicians who want to be more like 'true cosmopolitans' want to see something else abroad, to hear other kinds of music, to obtain musical influences and to meet other kinds of people in order to get to know their 'cultures'. Musicians who only travel abroad in order to work and earn money from their existing music are not cosmopolitans to the same extent. Some of the musicians took in influences only if these happened to appear, with-
out making any attempt to find them. Others tried as much as possible to expose themselves to new influences when they were abroad. The most cosmopolitan musicians are perhaps those who choose to live in other countries for shorter or longer periods of time in order to learn something new. It may appear as if cosmopolitanism is an option people can choose, but this is not always the case. Some people would like to be more cosmopolitan, but are unable to accomplish this. Liam, in Dublin, told me that he really wanted to meet other people when he played abroad. For him it did not matter how attractive a place was, since it did not become alive if he did not meet someone from the area who could show him around a bit. There was not always time for this, as Liam said:

Sometimes you don't, sometimes you do. You arrive and go to your hotel, then you play the gig and go back to your hotel and get up next morning and you fly home again. It's a disaster if that happens...it doesn't feel right unless you...have made some contacts, made some friends over there. One time we went over to Germany, only for two gigs and we literally got on the plane in Dublin and one and a half hours later we were in Frankfurt and then I was in the hotel and then the thing was the next gig and then I was on my way home, he, he. Completely surreal, people would see me one day and see me two days later and not know I've been in Germany in the meantime.

Liam also enjoyed getting musical influences from abroad, as much as possible:

Yeah, I watched the Flamenco in Madrid, I was going to that. Yeah, Galicia, they got an instrument that's not million miles removed from the bodhrán. They have their own pipes as well, the Galician pipes. They had sessions in the way that we have. And there are good spoon and bones players that really surprised me. Well, Africa and Cuba, I went there to get influences.

I agree with Hannerz (1996:111) that 'today's cosmopolitans and locals have common interests in the survival of cultural diversity...Which is to say that there can be no cosmopolitans without locals.' There is thus a similarity in how cosmopolitans need locals, and the open-minded musicians or the innovators need the purists, since the locals and the purists keep the sources and the styles separate and traditional. They maintain a reservoir of different styles, a toolkit, which
the open-minded can use, mix and do whatever they like with in their musical experimentations and explorations. The open-minded musicians need the purists and the locals in order to have something to draw on for their inspiration and travels. Thus, there is a continuing importance of locals as well as purists in the world. There is, however, a tendency to overrate the prominence of cosmopolitans and their activities, engagement and virtues, whereas the locals acquire a minor part in contemporary issues. For example, cosmopolitanism has almost become a virtue in Ireland. It is part of the celebratory open-minded image of Irishness (cf. Smyth and Cairns 2000).

The theoretical development of centres and peripheries is not simply about spatial phenomena or geographical localities. For example, Hannerz' (1996:153) discussion of this relationship involves the social organisation of culture, 'of the power bases of cultural process, whatever they may be in each particular relationship'. He also says that 'they become centers and peripheries by being differentially influential with respect to one another' (ibid.). Thus, Hannerz' centre-periphery model very accurately points out that there are unevenly distributed power relations in cultural flows on the global scene. The power relations are never stable, but are always changing and involved in struggles. The previous centre is not always the sender and the previous periphery is not always the taker, and the centre is not only the active and the periphery not only the passive. There may be a tendency to exaggerate the differences between peripheries and centres, for example in treating rural and urban or small-scale and complex societies as separate entities. Yet, with the aid of ethnography and concrete examples, it is possible to illuminate the complexity of cultural processes and their entanglements along centre-periphery relationships. Hannerz (1996, 2001) also writes about such exchange in the flows and counter-flows between centres and peripheries. The so-called peripheries or rural places in Ireland may, in fact, involve musical influences for the more central places or the bigger cities. This has especially been the case for some (mostly older) traditional musicians who have regarded the musical influences and the music-making in the countryside as more important and desirable. For them, these rural places have been more central than Galway or Dublin.

Thus there are competitive ideas among individuals and groups about what may be centres and peripheries. Dublin may be a centre for many Irish people, but for people in other parts of the world it may not be a
centre at all. Recently, however, it has become a centre for many lovers of rock music and folk music enthusiasts from other countries; it has become one of Europe's lively hot spots for trendy young people. Cultural centres, such as Galway and Dublin, are created and sustained through continuous contacts and movements of people and things. In other words, as central places they are a kind of 'translocalities' (see Chapter 3). Musicians from many different places in Ireland and abroad have tended to end up in these places in order to play music.

Yet, the fact that Ireland is a small island and has a peripheral geographical position in Europe may have contributed to the maintenance of old traditions in Ireland. Increased globalisation is not the only way to cultivate Irish traditional music. The traditional musician, Donal Lunny, points out:

There are arguments for and against having outside influences in the music. Because of its history and because of its geographical location, Ireland's traditional culture survived, or a large chunk of it survived. Unlike, say, France or Britain or mainland European countries, where the tradition was constantly being diluted by influences coming in, and therefore is practically invisible. Ireland was lucky to have a culture which was undisturbed for many years. And it's still alive and thriving (McGovern 1994:16-17).

Accordingly, peripheries may function as cultural reservoirs. During the folk revival in Europe and the US, Ireland became one of the places in Europe where folk music was thought of as still alive. It became therefore and thereafter the place to go to for folk music enthusiasts in Europe. However, now seems to be a great time for experimentation and cross-fertilisation with traditional music, which seems to keep the various types of music vibrant in Ireland. Thus, Irish music has moved from being preserved because of its peripherality to being preserved because of its centrality and popularity abroad. Ireland is no longer on the cultural and economic periphery of Europe, but quite central in many respects.
Media, tourism, festivals:  
the marketing of Irishness in a global context

The 1990s have been labelled the era when 'everybody' wanted to be Irish, at least according to some media and marketing discourses (see Chapter 5). Irish-Americans and Irish-Australians were accentuating their Irishness. Yet, the idea that it is 'cool to be Irish' is primarily projected on foreigners abroad, on the Irish diaspora and on tourists; it is not something Irish people in Ireland think about every day. But even they have noticed that they are sometimes marketed as 'cool': culturally and economically successful with greater confidence and a positive Zeitgeist now, which they are presumed to celebrate in various ways, for example, by playing music and constantly having *craic*. Undoubtedly, stereotypical constructions of identity form the essence of tourism, which also has its reverberations in the music scene leading to more staged traditional sessions and cover bands. Tourism offers economic benefits by providing jobs and money, but the reasons for the expanding tourist industry should also be related to the people who do the travelling. Most of the time, the tourists in Ireland appear to be looking for something to fill their lives and experiences with. They are not tourists just in order to sustain Ireland's economy, but to sustain something important in their own lives, to generate adventures, to experience beautiful landscapes, to find new ways of living, or to find their roots and a living tradition. Tourists in Ireland are not there because of the weather or of possible sunbathing. Ireland has something else to offer these foreign urbanites and travellers.

Tourists keep tradition alive when they look for local traditions. It may not be a popular statement, but without the tourists in Ireland, there would not be as much music played in the pubs. So, in a way, the tourists support Irish traditional music (as well as the cover bands). At the same time, quite a number of young Irish people have become curious about their rediscovered traditions and have developed an interest in them. Nevertheless, there are different camps, some people are reacting against the expanding tourist industry and its perceived negative consequences, whereas other people enjoy and use the new possibilities that emerge in the process. This is one view, put forward by the Spanish musician José in Galway:
There's nothing wrong in making money from the music if the music is alive. It's only good for the musicians who can make their lives from it. There's something wrong if you try to sell traditional music and a traditional life if there is no traditional life anymore. If you try to sell traditions to tourists when there are none, it's bullshit.

For José, the selling of Irish musical traditions was acceptable, since he thought that the traditions would be alive and authentic anyway. But, to sell 'fake' traditions, only to make money, was not so acceptable. In fact, tourist arts have generally been dismissed as inauthentic and have therefore not received much scholarly recognition (cf. Phillips and Steiner 1999). Paradoxically perhaps, tourists are especially concerned with authenticity and are seeking it in other times, places or peoples (cf. MacCannell 1989). But the idea of authenticity the tourists carried with them in their heads did not always resemble what could be found in those other times, places and peoples, at least not until the tourists arrived (cf. Graburn 1999). Thus, the Irish music scene is liveliest during the summer months, and most of the festivals take place then.

In the early 1970s many localities in Ireland initiated various festivals: 'Attracting tourists or even weekend visitors emerged as a routine strategy of community development. Any town worth its salt organised a festival, any kind of festival' (Peillon 2000a:135). In this way, the festivals supported local trade and put the town on the map. They also supported the cultural marketing of Irishness in the world. The Irish Tourist Board (Bord Fáilte) now keeps an up-to-date list of festivals on its web site. The festivals seem to represent the celebratory mode of a confidence-seeking Ireland: 'An Ireland which takes its place in the world; an Ireland which leaves its mark; an Ireland which wants to make a lot of noise' (ibid:136). Moreover, the festivals are ingredients in the so-called Irish craic of having fun, playing or listening to music, dancing, making jokes, slagging and drinking. Fleadh cheoil, the Galway arts festival, the Celtic Flame Festival, St Patrick's Day and its parade are the main festivals I participated in, but there are many smaller festivals as well as music competitions taking place in between these bigger events. The arts in general and especially live music are important ingredients in these festivals around Ireland.

There are also festivals taking place abroad, with interests in bringing over Irish musicians. The festivals are often beneficial for the bands' profiles, and for exposing their music to bigger audiences. Some of them are
especially focused on Irish or Celtic music. The Inter-Celtique festival in Lorient in Brittany is one of the most well-known and well-visited festivals. I often heard it mentioned as something all people interested in Irish music had to visit.

In the summer of 1993, the Stockholm Water Festival included an Irish music festival in the garden of the Modern Museum. The Saw Doctors was one of the attractions. This was one example of the new popularity of Ireland and Irish music in Sweden that emerged in the early 1990s. In 1998, Kila played in the Stockholm Water Festival, starting their late gig immediately after the popular spectacular fireworks. The introducer, Pekka Heino, presented Kila by saying that 'Kila is for Irish music what Riverdance has been for Irish dancing'. Kila was featured as representing modern Irish musicians, who were not afraid of combining traditional music with foreign Caribbean rhythms. Kila has also been referred to as 'tribal trad dance music', and is famous for singing so-called tribal songs in Gaelic. The players used various instruments, such as bodhrán, drums, djembes, maracas, fiddle, saxophone, acoustic guitar, bass guitar, uilleann pipes and flute.

Kila's transnational connections came up in other unexpected contexts as well. Late in August 1998, I was in Dublin and decided to go on the 'Hot Press Rock Trail' in the company of two Irish men and a Dutch woman. Derek, one of the Irish men, lived in Holland with his wife, and was in Ireland to visit friends and relatives and to play some music. He was, of course, a bodhrán player, and played sometimes with some Dutch musicians in Holland. We talked about the Irish music scene and what it was like to play Irish music in Holland. It turned out that he knew Kila very well and was even a relative of one of the members of the band. The same day as I went to see Kila play in the Stockholm Water Festival, Derek told me, he got a phone call from one of the Kila musicians telling him that he was not able to come to a family meeting since he was in Stockholm. We all thought this was an odd coincidence. Irish people appear to have relatives everywhere. Derek was also a relative of Paul, who was our tour leader on this occasion. Paul played in Marigold, an original rock band in Dublin, and he took the opportunity to sell CDs to the tourists. As Mart Bax (1976:184) has said about Irish people, 'an Irishman sees his world around him as a vast network of personal relations. It is through this network, and those of others, that he knows much about the world.' The Irish know about other countries
in the world, not so much from magazines, maps or geography books, as from relatives living abroad: 'for him each is a country where a brother, a sister, aunt or uncle lives and who writes and tells him about life there' (ibid.).

A new awareness of the dislocated Irish

Robertson (1992:8) has defined globality as a duality of objective and subjective processes: 'Globalization refers both to the compression of the world and to the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole.' There is both an increase in global interdependence and an awareness of that interdependence. This seems relevant for Ireland, although an awareness of the world and the Irish people's dependence on other countries are not novelties. However, this awareness and compression of the world do look rather different today, and are perhaps more manifest. The Irish diaspora has been in existence for a long time, but the current discussion about the so-called global Ireland and its dislocations has its specific characteristics. Thus, I have mainly been looking at musicians' personal encounters with globalisation, an aspect that has often been neglected in transnational studies (cf. Wulff 1998).

Ireland was globally affected long before the term 'globalisation' was invented. Yet, in the Ireland of today, there is a new awareness of transnationality. In the past, the Irish emigrated from Ireland and had experiences of transnationality in this respect. Those who stayed behind received letters from their friends and relatives abroad and thereby attained a kind of awareness of other worlds. But today, Irish people in Ireland are experiencing that the world is coming to them, much more than ever before. Five million tourists visit Ireland every year and numerous foreign students enjoy Ireland while they learn English. Peillon (2000b:112) also argues that there are other influential strangers in Ireland, such as 'EU nationals' who 'participate in a global exchange which brings Ireland into a European political and economic framework'. But also foreign companies, the media, immigrants, refugees, and an increasing number of non-EU nationals and Irish people returning from the diaspora are finding their way to Ireland.

Tomlinson (1999:9) suggests that the paradigmatic experience of global modernity for most people 'is that of staying in one place but ex-
periencing the "dis-placement" that global modernity brings to them'. This resembles the frequent reference to 'dislocation' in the Irish experience. There are both the experience of dislocation in Ireland, in terms of not fitting in and continually looking for something else, and that of being dislocated as Irish abroad, as in the case of the Irish diaspora. The Irish are often perceived as having 'inherited' a kind of restless attitude, of being on the move, or as being 'a race of angels', as Waters (1994) pointed out. Waters was building on Frantz Fanon's (1986) argument that people who do not resist outside expropriation of their cultural identities are individuals without a place and an ideal: they are colourless, stateless, rootless – a race of angels. Tomlinson (1999:149) emphasises that 'deterritorialisation' is a prominent cultural condition of globalisation, but that it cannot mean the end of locality, 'but its transformation into a more complex cultural space'. This is linked to his central argument that the impact of globalisation is mainly felt not in travel but in staying at home.

However, as Mac Laughlin (1997b:200) notes, the devaluation of nationalism and the deterritorialisation of power and local identities are not peculiarities of the Irish, but part of wider phenomena. These (cultural, social and economic) phenomena influence the way modern Ireland sees itself in the world system. Waters (1997) and O'Toole (1994) did not really take this into account, which Mac Laughlin (1997b) also noticed. They were more inclined to slip into discourses that described the Irish as dislocated 'traditionally' - that it was part of a specific Irish experience - without recognising the larger picture of more world-wide processes. Nevertheless, the Irish have, of course, their specific relation to dislocation, which should be considered.

O'Toole (1994), among others, argues that Ireland is disappearing under the pressures of global economics, of geography and of the collapse of the Catholic religious monolith. Interestingly, he points out that the only fixed Irish identity, and the only useful tradition today, 'is the Irish tradition of not having a fixed identity' (ibid:14). This may even have its echo in the scene of traditional music. It is positively valued among many young musicians to push the tradition forward, to put one's own stamp on it, to be open-minded or to extend the tradition by making something new out of it. Most of the time, they did not want a fixed identity connected with traditional music.
The theme of dislocation is a reality for many, even if one ought to be careful not to essentialise it. Kevin, a studio engineer in Galway tended to stress this theme when he said that 'everybody in Ireland seems to travel, Irish people travel a lot, they do. A travelling type of race.' Andy, a young jazz musician in Dublin, dreamed about leaving Ireland in order to develop musically. He told me: 'I love the idea of actually moving out, starting afresh somewhere else. It's very appealing.' Thus, some Irish people still regard Ireland as too small and insulated and think about leaving the country.

In the past, it was more common with a coerced transnationality and dislocation for young Irish people. They had to emigrate in order to survive and to find a job. Bruce, instrument maker and flute player in Bray, talked about the experiences of having to leave Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Interestingly, and perhaps sadly, he put forward the idea that people in remote rural areas knew more about New York and London than about Dublin:

We weren't so well-off in this country. The early part of this century and from the middle of the last century it was only bad, I think. In Mayo and places like that they were more or less cut off from the rest of the country. Persons living in Mayo would have more contact with somebody in New York and would know more about New York than they would know about Dublin. They knew more about London than they knew about Dublin. Because Dublin was only a stepping stone to get to another place because there wasn't much for those people in Dublin. A lot of people left and went to America and a lot of people left and went to England. There was work available.

Liam, the 'world musician', was also aware of the different historical conditions for the Irish as a travelling people and as emigrants:

I love travelling. You get a kind of laugh going to the airport. There's all these songs and stories about emigrants and all these stories in newspapers about the emigrants and the plight of the emigrants that they had to go away from home to work far away. I'm doing it several times a year and really enjoying it, no tears for the goodbyes at the airport. A lucky bastard yourself (ha, ha). Slinging around the world again!

Now there is another awareness of transnationality, at the same time as more and more people are able to stay in Ireland. Despite the recent
decline of the Celtic Tiger, the economy is still better than it used to be and there are more jobs. Thus, simultaneously, another kind of identity of being 'global' has developed among the Irish. It comes from the better living conditions in Ireland, the new communication technologies and the interests in music from other countries.

The Irish diaspora, foreign and travelling musicians

The increased use of the term 'diaspora' since the 1970s partly has to do with extended globalisation and the decreased importance of nation-states. This was perhaps also accompanied by lesser aspirations for homogenisation, since it happened during a period when it became much more accepted to be different. In Ireland, it started in the 1960s during the Lemass era, following de Valera's reign. Diaspora became antithetical to the nation-state and its homogenising aspirations. Crossovers and hybridisation received more attention during this anti-nationalistic era. The nation-state became the enemy when people ought to celebrate movement, to value diaspora as something good, to sustain ambivalent subjects instead as sources of pride.

As David Lloyd (1999), among others, explains, the word diaspora derives initially from the Greek word for the scattering of the Jews after the first century AD. But it has recently been used to cover the various experiences of, for example, Africans, Asians, Arabs and Irish people living in different places around the world. In the Irish case, however, it is mostly relevant in the 'English-speaking world' of the former British settler colonies. In most cases, the term encapsulates not simply scattering, but the survival of cultures (cf. Lloyd 1999). The growing field of diaspora studies has received a corresponding attention in identity studies, cultural studies and postcolonial studies. However, these studies are often non-empirical and do not really take the social and cultural contexts fully into account.

For example, Noel McLaughlin and Martin McLoone (2000) write about hybridity and Irishness in Irish popular music only in relation to the music of well-known Irish rock musicians. They also apply the concept of diaspora as one kind of experience, and neglect gender and class

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differences. In fact, there are many different diasporic experiences as well as different 'imagined homelands'. The Pogues is one of the well-known bands that are included in the discussions (see also Keohane 1997). In general, the Pogues are assumed to be performing diaspora music for the Irish who were/are 'on the move'. They are described as having offered a way of being Irish in Britain. For example, by means of parody they were criticising Irish stereotypes such as 'drunken Paddies, sentimental Paddies, homesick Paddies, pathetic and nostalgic Paddies in tandem with representations of an Ireland collapsing under the weight of tradition and economic peripherality' (McLaughlin and McLoone 2000:191).

The term 'diaspora' may give the illusion that Ireland and the Irish are 'everywhere and nowhere', a borderless nation or a fifth province, which tends to conceal injustice and inequality in Ireland. The diasporic identity as understood by Gilroy (1993a) is created both by 'where you come from' and 'where you are now'; thus it is formed by many places and histories. Diasporic identities should be related more to various 'imaginary homelands' than to something essentialised, since they are continually created and recreated. Identity is here a continuing story about imaginary places, places we have been to, we are in at the moment, and the positions we take in relation to those places.

The contributors in Mac Laughlin's (1997c) volume address diaspora in discussions of the current 'new wave emigration' (in the past it was simply emigration) of the Irish. They criticise this new wave emigration for often being framed in the narrow logic of cost-benefit analysis of a global economy. Moreover, they counter the widespread notion that emigration is something natural and traditional for the Irish. Instead, Ireland has functioned as an emigrant nursery in the world economy. They argue that the recent hegemonic devaluation of 'home' and 'nation' has sustained the view of young Irish in 'new wave emigration', which is assumed to be voluntary and individual. They also argue, accurately, that the Irish diaspora is not simply a cultural tradition or behavioural trait of the Irish, but a social class and gender response to structures operating in Irish society and in the global economy generally. The experience of dislocation is not something unique to Ireland and the Irish, as the obvious case of North America illustrates (cf. Lloyd 1999). Moreover, the term 'diaspora' is often used in multicultural accounts as something liberating, which may depoliticise actual Irish circumstances. It is not as
simple as that they cannot all live on one small island or that they have so much to offer the world (cf. Lloyd 1999).

During the great famine of 1845-47 and the decade following it, over two million people departed from the Irish shores, mainly to North America and cities such as Chicago, Boston and New York (cf. Curtis 1994). Of course, music, dance, songs, poetry and stories went with the emigrating Irish people. In the 1920s it was common for Irish musicians to make a living by doing the vaudeville circuit of concerts and tours around North America (cf. O'Connor 1991). This was a sustainable profession for them, because of the large number of Irish people in the US who together with other people went to the performances. Today, there are about '44 million people of Irish descent in the United States' (Curtis 1994:47). According to the FORTE report (1996:50), 'there are estimated to be 62 million people of Irish descent scattered around the globe. 18 % of the US population claim Irish ancestry.'

For the Irish abroad, rebel songs have played a more prominent part than for the Irish in Ireland. It has been crucial to maintain 'Irishness' in the new countries. The diaspora may have left because of oppression and famine, suffering from the loss of their loved ones. Ballads and song texts have, in fact, often been more important to the diaspora than for the Irish who stayed in Ireland. Of course, Irish people in Ireland also experienced hard times and loss, which they addressed in songs. The ballad group, Clancy Brothers, first became popular in the US, and many tourists from the US want this music when they come to Ireland. I noticed, for example, that Barbara’s father, who came from the US on a visit to Ireland, preferred staged sessions where some older musicians played and sang old Irish ballads, to traditional music played in open sessions. He was really transformed into a completely different person during these staged sessions, smiling happily and singing along. Not only did he know all the texts of the songs, but he knew them much better than many other Irish people in the pub. He was familiar with this music from the US and the Irish theme pubs there. Thus, Irish diaspora music often developed differently from the kind of Irish music mainly played in Ireland. In Ireland, the 'real Irish traditional music' was more often associated with the instrumental music of jigs, reels and hornpipes as opposed to the Dubliners or Clancy Brothers type of ballads. Ballads were commonly said to be about a completely different scene. In the ballads, the lyrics are more important; they often appear to be nationalistic, and
thus offer a way for Irish people abroad to keep in touch with their roots.

Consequently, the Irish diaspora are sometimes more purist-minded than Irish people in Ireland. They are perhaps more often so-called *retro-nationalists*, since dislocation or exile may bring about such reactions. They may be more anxious than the Irish in Ireland to maintain some imagined authentic, old traditions. But they have also been important in keeping traditions alive. For example, Irish music as maintained abroad has been significant for its continuity in Ireland. Puzzlingly enough, one reason for the survival of Irish music can be traced to the huge emigration from Ireland since the famine in the mid-nineteenth century (cf. Curran 1996). The popularity of Irish music among the diaspora enhanced its value and popularity in Ireland itself.

Much Irish music was recorded in the US between 1900 and 1950. Michael Coleman (1891-1945) was probably Ireland's most influential traditional musician in the twentieth century, primarily because of his early recordings in the US. He brought Irish music to a wider audience. Born in the Irish countryside, he had emigrated to North America in 1914 where he started a career on the vaudeville circuit. Coleman's playing style, which originated from Sligo, had a tremendous impact on the tradition as a whole and on Irish fiddle-playing in particular: 'Coleman's recordings created a norm which threatened the survival of other regional styles…' (Varlet 1996:22). As it were, Coleman was in the process of nationalising traditional music from Ireland and taking it out to the world market. Then he was also bringing it all back home, as Catherine Curran (1996:57) found out; 'paradoxically, Irish music was returning to Ireland via the emigrant communities of the United States and elsewhere'. In Ireland, however, the climate for music was not so pleasant, paradoxically again, because of the era of cultural nationalism from the 1920s to the 1960s. It was outside influences that restored Irish music in Ireland, especially the ballad boom and the folk revival in the 1970s, which largely emanated from the US and the UK. There was a greater demand for Irish music abroad, accompanied by a rise in emigration in the 1950s.

But also initiatives from music organisations have helped to restore a place for traditional music in the world, as the case of CCÉ shows. CCÉ has over 400 branches all over the world, with diverse activities that continue to spread knowledge and appreciation of Irish cultural
THE FIFTH PROVINCE: IRISH POPULAR MUSIC AND THE WORLD

traditions. CCÉ has been especially important for the Irish diaspora. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the activities are not confined to Irish people, since many non-Irish also are active participants in the movement. Importantly, the popularity of Irish music has been maintained because of its adaptability to current circumstances, both abroad and in Ireland. The music has changed in order to accommodate different Irish and non-Irish experiences, lifestyles and styles.

Nevertheless, Ireland's economic boom during the 1990s has provided opportunities for more Irish people to stay in Ireland. Young people are not under the same pressure to emigrate and some of the previous emigrants are now returning to Ireland. In the past, famine, unemployment and poverty generated a coerced and unhappy transnationality for many Irish people. Nowadays it can be more of a positive transnationality, at least in the case of young musicians who are able to go abroad on tours and come back again to Ireland. They can distribute their records around the world much more easily today, playing them on radio and television. The outside world is more like a market to exploit or a source of new musical influences than a place one has to emigrate to. Yet, there also seems to be another immigration wave to Ireland with the turn of the millennium. Partly because of the decrease in unemployment, people from various parts of Europe as well as non-Europeans are moving to Ireland to work. It is now possible to see more people of African descent in Ireland.

As I have already shown, Ireland attracts many foreign musicians from abroad. Those who regarded themselves as Celts wanted perhaps to know more about their connections with Ireland. Japanese musicians often wanted to know more about the characteristics of Irish traditional music and Finnish musicians sometimes felt a kind of affinity with Ireland. De Jimbe, the Afro-Cuban drummers in Dublin, also brought with them to Ireland a Cuban musician, Garcia, whom they got to know during their visits to Cuba. He had no problems in finding new friends in Dublin, thanks to his proficient music-making. Some of the foreigners were living in Ireland mainly in order to draw inspiration from the atmosphere rather than to play traditional music or to be influenced by it. It was the environment, the people, the way of life and the lively music scene in general that inspired these foreign musicians. Ireland was more like a musical playground than a way for foreign musicians 'to get signed' or 'to make it' as professional musicians - to get a recording contract.
and/or well-paid regular gigs. Some did, however, think that they really could make it in Ireland, and for them the place was more like a springboard. But they quite soon realised that it was not an easy option, since the competition was very tough, the payment for gigs was bad, and Ireland is, in fact, a rather small country with a limited music market. Most of the time, the musicians had to look outside Ireland if they wanted to make it in a broader music market. On my return visits to Ireland I noted that some of the foreign musicians had moved on to other places in Ireland or abroad, due to failed musical projects and disappointments. Some of them had moved back to their home countries, or were thinking about moving again. One young musician from France who was living in Galway was even thinking about moving to Sweden since she was not satisfied with her results in Ireland and thought that musicians in Sweden might be more interested in her music. She went, however, to Glasgow for a while, but then returned to Galway.

New experiences and influences often inspire musicians, and cultural creativity may develop from the meetings or the clashes between different pathways, such as between foreign and Irish-born musicians. Apart from the more obvious cases of foreign musicians and their experiences of Ireland, I have taken the example of Mary's controversial story of being black Irish. She is, of course, not a foreign musician, but seems to face the same kind of circumstances of clashes or meetings in everyday life, in her case between being a 'black Irish' and a 'white Irish'. In addition, Eric's story about his Irish-English background also revealed this ambivalence and its significance for musical creativity. Many of the musicians I met had, in fact, this Irish-English background, like Susan - 'world musician', Rita - traditional musician, Donal - traditional musician and folk singer, Snowblindwaltz - original rock group, Patrick - rock musician, and Greg - jazz musician.

Many had experiences of living and growing up in England, and of being part of an Irish diaspora in England more often than in the US. This has to do with the fact that England is geographically closer, and that the Irish diaspora may find it easier to return to Ireland from England than from the US. To imagine a return to the homeland is not so relevant for Irish-Americans, except as tourists visiting relatives or tracing their genealogy in heritage centres. Most of the young Irish-English musicians had to live in England because their parents had moved there to get work. The rock band Snowblindwaltz in Galway told
me that they were all born in the UK of Irish parents, and that their parents had moved back to Ireland because they no longer enjoyed life in England. There were perhaps various reasons for returning to Ireland, such as feelings of inferiority in England, including being called 'Paddies', but also because there were more work opportunities now in Ireland. This diaspora experience of people in Ireland - of having lived in England for some time and returning to Ireland - seems to have been overlooked in research. This experience should be considered; it was important for activities in the Irish music scene.

Again, the issue of Irishness may be especially loaded for Irish-English musicians, although not always in similar ways. For Rita, a traditional musician in Galway, playing was important in order to express her Irishness:

Yeah, I think the fact that I was born in England, I was brought up in a very Irish way. When I was in England people said, you are Irish, in a kind of way, and when I used to go on holidays to my relatives in Mayo, they said, 'the English get around'. I think I had a problem with that, I always think of myself as Irish. I suppose one of the ways I express my identity is through music.

Rita had grown up in a very Catholic home in England. The reason for parents' strong Catholic commitment may also be derived from the experience of living in England as Irish people. It was perhaps a way for them to hold on to their Irishness, and they acquired a strong community of friends through their religion. Irish people living in England tended sometimes to nourish a stronger version of Catholicism and nationalism than those living in Ireland. Rita's way of life in Galway was not always to her parents' satisfaction, as she let me know:

My parents have a problem with me and the fact that I haven't got a job. They moved to England and worked all their lives, a hard life and saved money and went to Ireland to make sure we had a good education. And now I'm living in Galway on the dole and I'm out late playing music. They have a problem with that. It's really an alternative lifestyle.

However, Rita had a quite positive view of the organisation CCÉ, which probably had to do with the fact that she grew up in England of Irish parents. To join CCÉ was one way for her to play Irish music and to maintain a connection with Ireland.
There were important differences in the experiences of Irish-English musicians. For example, Eric who also grew up in England was not at all into traditional music and the national aspect of it. He was more into pop, musical crossovers and creating new kinds of music. Eric appeared to react differently, perhaps because he moved to Ireland at a younger age and during a tense period for Ireland in general with the troubles in the North, whereas Rita moved later on when she was older and when the troubles in the North were not so prominent. Patrick, another musician with Irish-English experiences, was born to English parents, and like Eric had bad experiences of being labelled English in Ireland. Yet, to be English, or appear to be English, in Ireland during the late 1990s was probably easier than in the 1970s and 1980s. Patrick developed a very anti-nationalistic posture:

I'm very anti-nationalist, very different to a lot people...I hate nationalism...I live in the modern world and I'm exposed not only to a general Western culture but also to all the Eastern, all is coming to me. How can I say I'm Irish when what I do, in the way I'm thinking, in the way I'm talking is all influenced by all cultures rather than one national culture?...They always blame the English for being so different, the English trad music is so similar to the Irish.

Foreign musicians were sometimes able to impress the local musicians with their musical backgrounds. For example, the two Spanish musicians, Ricardo and José, influenced certain musicians in Galway, making them interested in Spanish music. Ricardo and José also guided Galway musicians, when they were going to Spain, to the 'best' places there and provided them with good contacts. Thus, the foreign musicians sometimes helped the Irish musicians with international contacts and networking. José came to Ireland when he was 25 years old, and in 1997 he had been there for eight years. He had been travelling around in Europe, but got stuck in Galway. He became interested in the Irish uilleann pipes and enjoyed the Irish music scene, which enticed him to stay much longer than he had planned. José and Ricardo liked Irish traditional music because there was always something new to discover in its complexity and richness. They found the variety and beauty of the melodies very attractive, and when they had time they went to the countryside in order to hear other tunes, rhythms, composers and styles. They admired the
way people tended to respect and live with the music in Ireland and the fact that the tradition was very much alive.

Pierre, an aspiring singer-songwriter from France, moved to Galway because of its perceived Celtic connections. Yet, there were other reasons as well, which had to do with the English language. He wanted to improve his English in order to be able to write his own songs in English. (The English language is probably one important explanation of the global success of Irish music and song.) He played a few songs for me during the interview in his home. The title of his last song was 'I Wanna Move', which he wrote for a girl he had met in France just before he moved to Ireland and he knew he had to go to Ireland for his music. It is interesting to observe that in the past Irish people wrote songs about leaving Ireland. Now people from other countries are writing songs about leaving their homelands and beloved friends in order to go to Ireland! Simone, from the French part of Catalonia, once told her musician friend Tony, 'I'm not a traveller. If I travel I do it for my music.' She wanted to be strategically placed, which was also the case for Pierre.

**Young traditional bands and Irish music abroad**

The revival of traditional music during the late 1950s partly happened because of Sean Ó Riada's work and his creation of the first traditional music groups. Before that, it was not usually groups, but rather individual musicians, who played together with other musicians, on a more occasional basis. The upsurge of traditional music groups, from the 1970s onwards, led to a popularisation of the music and contributed to the expansion in recordings and greater media attention (cf. Saunders 1997). Young Irish traditional musicians started to travel abroad much more than before. Instead of working as individual musicians they had to get together and organise bands if they wanted to go abroad. They became more like the rock musicians of today who have to arrange tours and handle close relations with other musicians for longer periods. The musicians may be lucky in the sense that they can travel a lot, but the problem is that they are often *forced* to work abroad if they want to earn a good living from playing.
Moreover, most young traditional bands live a hard life on tours, and it is almost a necessity to be young in order to appreciate it. This does not apply to the very well-known bands, since they can arrange more comfortable tours. But for many of the travelling young traditional bands, tensions, stress and tight schedules define the touring, which may come as a surprise to Irish musicians who prefer to be quite relaxed. Even though they do enjoy meeting a lot of people, they often still miss not having a space for themselves. The tours can be great fun for younger energetic people, but to live on little sleep because of too many late nights is exhausting for older people. Tommy Hayes, former bodhrán player in a folk rock-orientated band, Stockton's Wing, looks back at his experiences between 1977 and 1983 saying that:

We were all young lads and it was great fun, we had a ball. Mind you I couldn't do it now, one hundred thousand miles a year in the back of a van, it's a young person's life (Laffey 1997:16).

Moreover, young people under the age of 30, without families and other commitments in Ireland, are often more interested in travelling and touring than the older more established musicians. Thus, it appears to be especially appropriate to talk about young musicians living in translocal worlds.

International tours may also raise the status of the musicians in Ireland. I was especially astonished to hear Declan's (an uilleann piper in Dublin) list of places he had been to in the world, in particular, since he remembered almost all the places he had been to in Sweden and was able to pronounce names, like Stockholm, Uppsala, Malmö, Trollhättan, Gävle, Umeå, Kungsbacka, Göteborg and Halmstad without difficulty! Hence, to be able to present a long list of places where one has been playing abroad might be good for one's career. This is not necessarily true, however. There are traditional musicians who do not like travelling abroad at all, holding the view that these cosmopolitans think too highly of themselves. There is even the argument that it is better for traditional music to stay in Ireland and not travel, since there is a risk that the music will lose its essence, that it will change because of other musical inputs. There is no such argument in relation to other popular music forms. Original rock bands often talked about gigging in different places and where they would like to go. Thus, various places are important in a transnational context, but some places are more popular than others.
Apart from various idiosyncratic interests and possible musical interests, it can be a matter of knowing good venues and people abroad who can help the musicians to get over and perhaps book the gigs for them. Mary, the black Irish singer-songwriter, had written down all her international contacts in her personal information brochure in order to promote herself. She found a bigger interest for her music abroad than in Ireland:

I was in the States for three weeks. I was performing there in New York for two weeks. That was really good, I was really welcomed there. I think I was a new thing because a lot of the places I played in were Irish places. They got a bit affected by the fact that I was a black Irish all the way from Ireland! They were supportive and really looked after me. It was a great experience. I had about 6 gigs when I went over and when I performed some places asked me back again so I had about 11 gigs. So it was successful for me.

Irish musicians may also stay abroad for a while, and some of them choose to live there in order to play Irish music with foreigners. Nollaig, a traditional musician, talked about the bonds that music created on an international circuit, and the fact that he found this one of the attractions of the music:

There's a bond and you can go to Africa and play the same tunes to someone and they play the same tune. So I go to Boston and play music with people I've never met before. 'Hello, how are you doing, I'm from Dublin, do you wanna have a tune?' And we sit there for 5 hours, and have a few pints and enjoy the company. That's the beautiful thing about Irish music...You can share the music very quickly, provided you learn the same music.

In Stockholm, there was a group called Dublin Fair, which played once at the Water Festival in 1993. I attended the gig that took place in the Opera square in central Stockholm. The group consisted of Swedes, but the singer was Irish. They had a strange repertoire of songs. They performed an old Swedish song called *Flottarkärlek* (the floaters' love), originally well-known from the Swedish artist Snoddas (Gösta Nordgren). They even tried to perform more popular songs, such as U2's 'I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For'. It seems to be common for so-called foreign Irish bands that play regularly abroad, to add a mix
of different popular songs to their more traditional repertoire. However, Dublin Fair performed all their songs in a way that conveyed an Irish feeling, although more in the Dubliners' style. The grounding was similar for all the songs, so that all the other popular songs were put into this familiar folk music sound. This came about also because of the sound of the instruments and their way of playing them. With tin whistle, fiddle and accordion it was possible to retain a kind of Irish ornamentation of sound. But instruments, such as acoustic guitar, bass guitar, drums and harmonica, were also handled in ways that suited this sound pattern, despite the fact that ideally these instruments are not considered to be part of original traditional music. There were quite a few Irish-influenced bands in Sweden during the 1990s. Some of them did something different with the music to give it a Swedish touch and to appeal to a Swedish audience. For example, the band Wild Rover was making Irish folk music in a 'Swedish way'. They used Swedish lyrics, addressing typically Swedish experiences from the countryside in the early twentieth century (such as local markets, dances and alcohol, midsummer events, fishing and farming) set to familiar Irish melodies.

It is possible to hear live Irish-influenced music in Stockholm's inner city, and also in more remote suburbs. There are Irish theme pubs or pub nights of Irish music arranged in the north suburb of Täby as well as in the south suburb of Skogås. It is common to have so-called Irish bands in these pubs, composed mostly of Swedish and some Irish musicians. Thus, it is not only people in the Irish diaspora who play Irish music abroad, even though they probably have inspired local musicians to play Irish music and passed it on to them. Many Swedish musicians have been to Ireland and learnt about the music there; some have only listened to recordings in Sweden of Irish music. They tend, however, to develop and imitate certain styles that follow the music they have heard on sound recordings, mostly styles of traditional music by well-known Irish bands or individuals that they admire, such as the Bothy Band and Planxty. Thus, it is not only a question of having an Irish diaspora present for the emergence of Irish music in other countries. It is about other issues as well; for example, the Swedish players may just like the sound of Irish music, and perhaps find the music more lively and uplifting than Swedish folk music. Again, they may also see Ireland as something archaic, as part of their own 'imagined' past.
Interestingly, many Irish people in the diaspora have found out about Irish music while they were abroad. Ann-Marie Riley from Arklow found her way to Irish music through Germans in Germany. She was surprised to find so many Germans playing Irish music: 'There were people who knew Ireland and its music better than me; it was a great feeling for me to come there as an Irish person' (Moll and Moll 1997:24). She goes on to say: 'I have had less contact with music at home than over here. It's ironic that I have found my way to Irish music in Germany' (ibid.). The most ironic, of course, is that she found out about it from Germans abroad, and not from other Irish people abroad. Tony, a rock guitarist I met in Galway, lived in Germany for a couple of months and played Irish traditional music in pubs there, which was something he never did in Ireland. He would not get that kind of gig in Ireland, but in Germany he was in demand to play Irish music, and was considered brilliant. Again, in Ireland the competition is tougher, and the quality is often better among traditional musicians. In Ireland, Tony played his rock music, which he in fact preferred.

The fact that Irish music has become popular abroad has contributed greatly, apart from a few exceptions, to the so-called open-mindedness amongst younger traditional musicians. They see many more opportunities in going away on tours and playing abroad, than the previous generation did. The open-minded musicians often obtained a good response from the audience abroad, which boosted their confidence to keep performing their kind of traditional music. They also had the opportunity to meet other musicians abroad and to get musical influences from them. Yet, the traditional musicians and groups sometimes experience the foreign scene as different from playing at home in Ireland. Irish traditional music tends to change abroad. As Liam told me:

To play abroad is completely different...There are groups playing on big stages and they play what smaller groups play in pubs...I have to play the songs that people know, like the Wild Rover and all these ballads, Pogues songs, and that's what people expect to hear when they go out to hear Irish music. They expect the guys talking to the audience and getting everybody standing on the tables and jumping around and every-

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125 Slobin (1993) has a similar example of Turks in Sweden who started to play Turkish music, for the first time, when they came to Sweden. This has often been the case with the Irish diaspora: some brought the music with them, whereas others picked it up in the new countries, which has accentuated different ideas about Irishness and authenticity.
thing. They don't see that they haven't got the real thing. The Irish musicians coming over are told they have to be able to play these songs and to be able to do this. They're not taking over musicians from Ireland who play like that, they're rather telling musicians to play like that. And even some of that is coming back to Dublin now, because down in Temple Bar now there are bars for tourists and people playing there are playing abroad Irish music...Yeah, it's very strange that this particular kind of Irish music was invented abroad and now it's being marketed here. It would be interesting to see how much of an effect it has on trad musicians here. It's going down well with the Irish now as well, so it's gonna take over now, the foreign Irish music.

Irish music on its journey out in the world tends to return home in an altered form, and this form is attaining popularity, amongst both tourists and natives. This case of Irish music abroad and its journey back to Ireland accentuates the rather complicated and perhaps reversed centre-periphery flows.

**Postcolonialism and multiculturalism**

Stuart Hall (1996) argues that *postcolonialism* refers to a general decolonising process that has had as huge an impact on the respective countries as the era of colonialism had. 'Post' does not mean a total break historically. The prefix 'post' is, however, slightly controversial. For Northern Ireland, 'post' in relation to colonialism is not seen by everyone as totally accurate. For the postcolonial thinkers, it is, however, the effects of colonialism that are in focus. Moreover, the different societies in question are not necessarily postcolonial in precisely the same ways. The advantage of the concept, as Hall also noted, is that it directs us to recognise the fact that colonialism did not leave the colonial powers unaffected. The era of colonialism is still affecting them as well as the ex-colonised societies.

To raise questions of Ireland's colonialism or postcolonialism is not always popular in contemporary academic and public debate, in the media or even in official discourse, because of its inevitable political implications. Waters (1997) pointed out that words like 'colonialism' and 'postcolonialism' are not encouraged in the discourses of a Modern Ireland, partly because they are over-used in the Republican movement, but also for other reasons. There are, for example, Irish people who do
not want to accept the fact that Ireland was a colony, because of its attributes of inferiority and subordination. Instead, they may want to forget the history, in order to dissociate themselves from that unpleasant past. Waters also noted that there are people who do not think that Ireland has been a colony of Britain, but rather a province of Great Britain. However, Waters (1997:26) argues against this:

In the 75 years since its notional independence, Ireland has in fact manifested all the symptoms of the post-colonial disease, including low national self-esteem, the urge to destroy all the aspects of itself which the coloniser has deemed 'shameful', and the development of an indigenous ascendancy to carry on the cultural, political and economic project of colonialism after the coloniser has departed.

Lloyd (1999) states that Ireland is (in the case of Northern Ireland) and has been a colony (in the case of the Republic of Ireland), and has recently shown tendencies of neo-colonialism by following the agenda of global capitalism. Ireland has become newly colonised by global market forces. The question is thus - in what way is the Republic of Ireland postcolonial and how is this related to current globalisation? Ireland has its postcolonial history, reflected in, for example, de Valera's political agenda of creating a united, essentialised national identity in opposition to external elements in order to repair damaged confidence. Later on, however, this was experienced as a new kind of suppression. As a reaction to this, a multicultural constructive perspective on national identities took shape, aiming to embrace the world through more openness, and in the process to enhance confidence.

Chris, a traditional musician in Galway, suggested that the lack of interest in traditional music among many Irish people had to do with post-colonialism:

I think it's a postcolonial thing. People have hang-ups about their own culture, which I think is very sad…They take the piss out of it, excuse the expression. They don't listen to it. I think it definitely is a postcolonial hang-up. I suppose if your culture has been suppressed for 2 or 300 years, you lose the value. They tend to look towards Britain and now they tend to look towards Europe…Oh Europeanisation!

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126 Diane Negra (2001) argues that advertisements of the Irish Tourist Board inviting American tourists to travel to Ireland may take part in re-colonising Ireland in their construction of a past, romantic Ireland à la de Valera.
However, Chris's view of the Irish audience may be somewhat misleading. If we compare the interest in traditional music in Ireland with the interests of other European countries in their folk music, there is undoubtedly greater interest in Ireland. Moreover, it is difficult to know if the interest in Ireland would have been greater without the postcolonial situation. Yvonne, an Irish-Australian traditional musician in Dublin, gave me her view on Ireland's postcolonial reactions. She wanted to point out that there was a greater interest in traditional music now, due to enhanced confidence among the Irish:

Before there was a kind of lack of confidence in the Irish, generally. A sense of no pride in being Irish...Anything that was kind of modern or came from somewhere else was admired and the Irish things were seen as kind of backward...It's quite different now, there's a pride developing...more people are confident about their nationality...It took a long time, it was still a very poor country, it was struggling. People were going away to places like the States and England where the attitude was 'Paddies', stupid drunkards...But I think now with tourism a lot of people are interested in the culture and economically the country is doing better. Yeah, it's just that people's social and economic status changed so I think that brings confidence too.

Interestingly, Yvonne stressed that all those larger structures affecting Irish society also had an impact on the music scene. The Irish were in general more proud of playing their own music now and being able to do crossovers. Yet, even in the deliberate mixing of the traditional with the modern, the colonised mind is reflected. Waters (1994:87) argues that 'we were obsessed with 'Irishness' – either with utterly embracing it or utterly rejecting it. Neither way left us with a truly spontaneous method of expression.' Questions of Irishness and authenticity are continually scrutinised, as well as facing external threats. There tends to be a preoccupation with the issue of Irishness in music, for example when U2 and Riverdance are evaluated in terms of their contribution to Irish identity and confidence. This is so, because the notion of Irishness is still in the making and, thus, under intense debate. Celebrated cultural artists such as U2 in Ireland have become a kind of antennae for what it means to be Irish in the modern world (cf. Waters 1994). There is also the idea that Irish traditions cannot be good enough if they have not been popular abroad first. This lack of confidence is again, perhaps, part of a postcolonial reaction. In analysing the popularity of Riverdance, it tends to be...
important to note its Irish-American connections and combinations (cf. O'Toole 1997). The confidence and the size of the US definitely have a part in Riverdance's success.

Thus, to defend mixing and hybridisation may be a postcolonial strategy. There are some parallels in Taylor's (1997) presentation of the African popular musicians N'Dour and Kidjo, and the Irish musicians in my study. The African musicians, as well as the Irish, did not want to be part of a periphery, of exoticism, outside the modern Western world. They did not want to stay and make traditional music, since 'N'Dour and Kidjo are concerned with becoming global citizens and do this by showing that their countries and their continent are neither backward nor premodern, that they can make cultural forms as (post) modern as the west's' (ibid:143). I suppose this reaction emanates from the postcolonial situation that people in both Ireland and Africa are experiencing. The Irish have also grown up with music from different parts of the world, and want to draw this into their music-making, and become 'world citizens' in the fifth province.

The discourse of multiculturalism tends to be a form of 'identity politics' in which the concept of 'culture' becomes merged with that of national or ethnic identity (cf. Turner 1994). For example, multiculturalism regarded as something produced by globalisation appears to be a new interest supported by the Irish state. De Jimbe, in its capacity as a world-drumming group, suited the government's multicultural policy very well. The band played multicultural music and was therefore especially welcome to participate in Paddy's parade and even won the title of best entry. Yet, the policy of multiculturalism does not always reconcile differences, but sometimes also obscures actual ethnic and class inequalities. The idea of multiculturalism may convey a bland, misleading image of tolerance and equality aimed at achieving a new kind of national unity. Ayse S. Caglar (1997) discusses labels such as hybridity, creolisation and multiculturalism as normally being used against essentialism. 127 Yet, she points out that these concepts are in danger of embracing the very reifications they seek to overcome, if they hold on to

127 Hannerz (1996:67) has developed a rather inclusive and creative view of creolisation by arguing that 'what is at the core of the concept of creole culture, I think, is a combination of diversity, interconnectedness, and innovation, in the context of global center-periphery relationships'.
a view of disparate 'cultural wholes' being combined or hyphenated (see also Turner 1994).

In this context, it is important to be clear about the kind of multiculturalism that is at stake, whether it is an indigenous or an analytical multiculturalism. Cultural differences are often stressed, constructed and thus maintained in various multicultural projects and celebrations, not least in artistic work. The week after St Patrick's Day in 1997, there was an anti-racist gala in Temple Bar Music Centre, which can be seen as another instance of multiculturalism. In fact, this gala was called 'True Reflection Gigs in Temple Bar Music Centre' and it was like an extension of the St Patrick's Day events. It was also part of the celebrations for the 1997 'European Year Against Racism'. Its aim was to demonstrate that Dublin was a lively and open-minded place for world music and dance. There was a good mix of Irish people and foreigners, both on and off stage, who enjoyed playing, singing and dancing to music from various parts of the world.

I arrived at Temple Bar Music Centre on the Sunday evening around 8 p.m. to attend the anti-racist gala. I paid IR£8 at the counter, and immediately I met Raini, Joel, Mark, Sarah and two other guys at the entrance. Raini seemed to be very happy about her new-found friends who also had musical plans together with Joel. However, they invited me to go with them into the main hall where the stage was. It was quite crowded already, but we found a space near the stage, where we sat on the floor. I recognised one of the young men who joined us, since he played bodhrán and drums in the traditional sessions in Robert Emmett's pub.

After a while the arrangers came on to the stage. A black man was presenting the gala and he announced that we were all going to experience a musical journey around the globe and that the world had become a much smaller place this night. The hype around 'world music' had obviously hit Dublin. The first band out was the Collective, which was a sort of multicultural group singing and playing guitar, fiddle and tin whistle. They played East European folk music, but apart from Romanian features, there were also Irish and Scottish influences in their music. After that, a young Vietnamese girl came on to the stage wearing a glittering dress and a black hat, her dark curly hair hanging down over her face. She had come to Dublin two years earlier, and one of the arrangers informed the audience that she was very 'cute'. Many of the
Irish in the audience were dressed in 'ethno' style on this night, with African-inspired clothing, whereas the foreigners and the blacks in the audience were in ordinary suits and glittering dresses. There was the same difference in clothing styles between the Irish and the foreign performers. When the Vietnamese girl had finished playing her guitar and singing, one of the arrangers interrupted to read some anti-racist sentences written by the well-known Irish singer-songwriter Christy Moore. Next out was a group of Travellers, two young men and a woman, playing traditional Irish music with fiddle, accordion, guitar and banjo.

The performance after that was by the newly formed group of women in Yemanja, who announced to the audience that they had been together for only four months as a singing group. They sang a cappella and clapped their hands to the rhythms. One of the singers recalled the stories and origins behind the songs. After Yemanja's show it was time for De Jimbe who were presented as a world percussion group based in Dublin. Susan from Yemanja was there again on stage, but now together with men. At this point some people in the audience connected to the vibes and started to dance. After a while they inspired the rest of the audience to move to the music, and not just sit on the floor. De Jimbe finished their show with a woman called Yasmina on stage doing her oriental dancing to the drumming. Garcia, who was introduced as having been playing drums since he was nine years old, was then at last on his own on stage. He announced that the musical piece he was going to perform next was for all his musical students. It was an experimental and improvisational show and Garcia seemed to enjoy the attention. Barbara was there with her camera, taking photos all the time, especially of Garcia. They were very much a couple by now. The arranger went up on stage again after Garcia's piece, and reminded the audience that they were celebrating the end of the anti-racist week in the heart of Dublin with music and dance from the whole world.

The events surrounding the days around St Patrick's Day had this anti-racist flavour. The whole week involved transnationality in the choice of activities and performances. However, we wondered if the 'true reflection gigs' were going to have a lasting impression, or if they were...

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128 I thought about what Hall (1991b:56) said about not wanting to dress like the cliché image of a Jamaican just because of his black Jamaican origin: 'The last thing I am going to do is to dress up in some native Jamaican costume and appear in the spectacle of multi-culturalism.'
only part of a marketing strategy to attract more tourists to Ireland. The
last band out for the night was Latin Soul, and by now the audience was
having a party with the musicians on stage. Even De Jimbe and the other
drummers went up on stage together with Latin Soul, mixing and mess-
ing it up a bit. After the show, Liam came down to us in the audience.
He was in good form and was quite pleased with the gig. Outside the
main hall, on my way out, I met Susan who also thought that the show
had been good, even though she had become quite exhausted. She told
me that Yemanja was going to have a gig in Ferryman pub on Saturday;
otherwise, she was going to play with De Jimbe in different places in
Ireland during April. Donal, a traditional musician, was also there,
slightly drunk but joking and chatting all the time, with Raini and Joel
listening to his stories. Raini found the end of the gala too messy with all
the different musicians on stage with their different styles of music. But
the audience was in a good mood and danced wildly.

The celebration of multiculturalism in Ireland has different reasons
and directions. On the one hand, it is a marketing strategy, economically
viable as well as fashionable, such as in the case of world music. On the
other hand, multiculturalism demonstrates Ireland's new openness in
matters of ethnic and national identity and presents an Ireland that is no
longer so rigid, Catholic and moralistic. The new multiculturalism attests
to the fact that England is no longer Ireland's counter-definition. Now it
is the world's multiculturalism that helps to define Ireland and Irishness,
as is evident from the fact that the musicians in Ireland have more styles
to choose between and relate to, and are no longer so censured. In fact,
it applies to the arts in general as well as to other cultural activities.

Kearney (1997), like some other intellectuals in Ireland, seems to
celebrate openness and inclusiveness. He argues that cultural creation
comes from hybridisation not purity, contamination not immunity, and
from polyphony not monologues. He welcomes all who remind us that
the Irish are a hybrid, mongrel and mixed-up group of people. Of the
musicians in my study, Eric would be one of Kearney's reminders of the
mongrel nature of the Irish:

There's nothing that is particularly genetically unique about the Irish. We
are just as mongreled a breed as the English or the Americans. There's
stupid racism I feel at the heart of too much trad music. The core trad
music is too much corrupted by the bigotry. Best music is open to eve-
ryone, accepted by everyone, trying to be for everyone…You can hear
elements of the Beatles in music coming out of Africa…What's wrong with that? Cultures have to be changed to be alive. That's what pop music does, travels all around the world so that everyone gets it, it sells in every country. That's why pop music is so democratic.

Kearney (1997) wanted to show that the greatest Irish thinkers, scientists and philosophers were cosmopolitan, migrant minds, criss-crossing national frontiers in order to make their intellectual mark on the map of the world. This may also account for 'cosmopolitan' artists emanating from contemporary Ireland (see also Chapter 5). As Hannerz (1996:103) usefully says about cosmopolitanism: 'It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity.' Somewhat optimistically, Kearney considers the Irish to be 'world citizens', and celebrates movements beyond exclusive national identities (see also Gibbons 1996). Thus, in a way, Kearney adopts another standpoint in discussions of globalisation, as compared with Mac Laughlin, in seeing its positive ends, more than its negative consequences. Kearney (1997) interestingly argues that cultural pluralism and openness in the South may lead to openness and acceptance of differences in the North, and perhaps to a postnationalist Ireland.

The contributors in Graham (1997) also support an interpretation of contemporary Ireland that stresses the diversity and fluidity of Irish identity. Hybridisation and pluralism are the key words that they use for countering simple sectarian stereotypes in the North, as well as narrow nationalism in general. Graham et al. view open-mindedness, together with a certain political flexibility, as a solution to the conflict in the North. Many of my informants among young musicians in Ireland would probably agree with this. Thus, even if they did not always regard themselves as political, they were political in stressing open-mindedness. This could be a way of criticising the troubles in the North, as well as the narrow-mindedness in issues of nationalism in the South. Yet again, open-mindedness and the celebration of global Ireland and multiculturalism may be interpreted as a part of postcolonial reactions.
The fusion between DJ, Delos and De Jimbe

The interest in world music, crossovers and fusions in Ireland can partly be understood as a response to a transnational interest in such music, especially in the West. But there are specific reasons for Ireland, partly emanating from its history as well as its contemporary situation. I have already touched on the former restrictive censorship and the new openness that is celebrated now. Some of the young musicians in my study were into making musical fusions or crossovers, at the same time as they stressed the importance of having a good knowledge of the different musical styles before they were put together. Again, even though multiculturalism is enacted, the differences are accentuated. I had the chance to follow a group of musicians who, as beginners, were trying to mix different kinds of music for the modern dance stage. They rehearsed together and it all turned into a fusion gig in the venue Da Club, with Billy Scurry (techno DJ), Delos (young traditional band) and De Jimbe (world percussion group) on stage. They were not completely satisfied with the result, but seemed to be planning to carry out new collaborations with other musicians and musical styles. One of the problems they had to handle was the risk of being 'messy', as they put it. They were worried about the gig, but they managed to do it without damaging their credibility too much.

The idea behind this fusion came originally from Ronan who was also the promoter. He lived on a boat near Grand Canal Street in Dublin and was an agent for traditional bands and pubs. Sometimes he was involved in raves and he conceived the idea of making a crossover between techno and traditional music. Then he saw De Jimbe playing and realised that he could find common ground with them. Ronan liked the percussionist group and believed in a fusion between techno and De Jimbe. They found out about Delos, which they thought was a really good young traditional band, experimental and fast-playing, and whose members might be interested in doing something different. Billy Scurry, the DJ, played a very fast kind of techno, about 130 beats per minute, which is fast for traditional music, so they had to find a very fast-playing band. In addition, Ronan was a friend of Liam in De Jimbe, which was perhaps the reason why they did not charge fully for the fusion project and hence did not earn any money from it.
This case will demonstrate that arguments and tensions are not unusual in musical fusion projects or during rehearsals. It will also show that communication and commitment are important and are required of the participants in order to get something done. This fusion project is representative of the late 1990s in Ireland where world music and various crossovers were celebrated. But these transnational celebrations did not always last; they seemed to be celebratory as an idea or in theory, but not always in action or in practice. The musicians in question were carrying out an experiment and no one knew how it would all turn out. It could become something amazing – an ultimate dance fusion – as was announced. There was perhaps the possibility of recording as well, and that they would end up following the path of Afro Celt Sound System. Again, this case will exemplify that network connections are important between musicians and bands, since otherwise the project would not have been possible. Moreover, the case demonstrates not only the more spectacular or evident transnationality of the music scene, as in this musical fusion, but also an everyday kind of transnationality in Ireland where people from various parts of the world end up being friends and mingling with musicians. This case is from Dublin, but there are fusion projects and world music followers in Galway as well. Still, in Dublin there are more musicians around with different ideas, which may produce more chances of finding like-minded people with whom to create music together.

*Temple Bar Music Centre, 3 March 1997*

After a few phone calls to Liam, I managed to find out that they were going to rehearse on this day in Temple Bar Music Centre. Delos, De Jimbe and the DJ Billy Scurry were working on the fusion project. I arrived at the music centre in Temple Bar at 12.30 p.m. I went down the stairs to the basement where the rehearsal room was, and entered the room, which was full of musicians. It was a modern room with new carpets, mirrors along the short side of the room and walls painted in grey and orange colours. The room was scheduled for rehearsals and had no other technical equipment. The sound insulation worked very well, since it was not possible to hear any sounds from the outside. The musicians were discussing what to do, the timing, and so on. Liam was standing in the middle with his djembe tied round his hips and the drum between his legs, talking to the DJ. The DJ was into techno and had all the techno
sounds programmed; he played some of them, making a rather monotonous sound. It was techno music made from programmed synths or drum machines. This whole fusion was going to be completely instrumental. The participants gave the impression of not being very happy during the rehearsal. The fusion project did not turn out well.

I counted them all, thirteen men and one woman, all between 16 and 30 years of age. Four young men from Delos were there: on guitar, uilleann pipes, flute and bodhrán. Seven players from De Jimbe were there. One man was checking the sound and another person just seemed to be listening. The musical styles that were being mixed were Afro-Cuban drumming, traditional Irish music and Western techno, and the instruments used were djembes, bodhrán, other ordinary drums, synthesizers and drum machines, guitar, uilleann pipes, flute, and maracas. This was an example of the global in the local, and initially it seemed to work. It was an interesting meeting between different countries’ musics, instruments and styles. As far as I know, the musicians were all Irish or at least Irish-English, apart from Garcia who was from Cuba.

At last, the DJ played some techno sounds. Soon afterwards, Delos started to play and Liam added the drums. After a while, the other drummers joined in. When I closed my eyes, and listened to the drummers, it was almost as if we were somewhere else, in Africa, and not in a modern sound-insulated rehearsal room in central Dublin. When I opened my eyes, I saw that no one was dancing, and there was no party going on. Even though I was sitting very close to the traditional musicians, I noticed that it was hard to hear the traditional instruments properly. The sound from the drums was too loud. The DJ stood in a corner, behind a table, mixing with his decks, record players and recording machines. A few musicians dropped in later, unpopular ’late-comers’.

In between the playing the musicians discussed pitch, and different keys, minor and major. They had a problem with the decks, which a sound engineer tried to solve. The players were sitting in a ring along the walls, with Liam in the middle. The drummers were sitting or standing on one side of the room and Delos on the other. The atmosphere was very serious, not at all as relaxed and cheerful as it was during sessions in pubs with Liam and his friends. I was sitting a bit behind the ring, but between the young men in Delos, more precisely between the brothers on flute and guitar. Liam and the DJ were discussing various issues. Tim on the uilleann pipes commented now and then. Liam in De Jimbe and
Tim in Delos were the spokesmen for their bands. It was a kind of compromise to act in this way in order to get the work done. They could not all talk to each other, since there were too many participants; it would be more like a cacophony then, and nothing would get done. There was enough controversy anyway, I noticed; I felt the tensions in the air. Liam looked more worried than usual. After a while, they tried to get the two loudspeakers working, and after that it sounded much better. Another man came in and helped them with the sound; I recognised him from the pub session in Brady's pub. He was a flute player. It must have been Ronan, the promoter, who came up with this idea to do a fusion.

The traditional musicians had to play very, very fast in order to follow properly. They discussed intently who was going to enter when, the speed, the number of phrases before someone was going to join in this otherwise rather improvisational flow of sounds. Thus, it gave an experimental impression, even if they were trying to organise the playing. They worked out some sound phrases in between playing together. Delos was taking care of the intro for a change. The sound engineer was sitting on the floor and trying to keep a good sound level so that everyone would be heard. It seemed to be a good idea to have an external professional person for this, instead of someone from the bands arguing about it all the time. The DJ was mostly sitting in the corner with his headphones on and listening, since he already had all the sounds and music programmed. The drum machines were doing the work for him now. They took a short pause. Again, it was important that everyone was as quiet as possible in between the playing, at least to rest the ears from the drumming sounds. It was also necessary to have everybody's attention when the playing was discussed and organised.

They rehearsed a tune again, first the drum machines, monotonous drumming, then the traditional instruments, then Liam on djembe, and then the other drummers joined in. They were all concentrating very hard and doing their best. It was important that they all used their time optimally in the rehearsal room, since they had to pay for the rehearsal time. Moreover, many of the players were busy with other jobs and studies, which made it difficult to find a time that suited everyone. Later on they speculated about how it would all turn out during the gigs. Da Club is quite a small club, which meant that they were going to occupy a large space for a stage on the second floor. The place would be packed with musicians and not much space would be left for a possible
audience. They were joking about this, saying 'packed on stage and
empty on the floor'. Anyhow, they agreed to try to do their best to get
the audience dancing, since it was supposed to be 'The Ultimate Dance
Fusion', according to the marketing advertisement.

The players did not want to mix the different styles too much, and
not all the time. They wanted to keep the character of the three styles. I
understood from their discussion and from their playing during the re-
hearsal that they wanted to play some parts separately during the gig and
some parts more like a fusion. This was partly because they needed to
rehearse more if they were going to do more fusions. Moreover, they
were all somewhat reluctant to do too much of the fusion idea. I began
to wonder why they had agreed to do it at all. It was not for the money,
since they were not getting paid. The promoter only paid a part of the
expenses. Some of the problems the players faced had to do with a
situation in which so many strong-willed people with different opinions
were going to co-operate. The DJ was the one who seemed to be most
dissatisfied, which was something that was discussed after he left. He
was, perhaps, disappointed with the other players for not following his
idea of having a prominent techno sound. The DJ did not give the
impression of being especially open-minded or interested in having
traditional music as a part of the fusion. When he had gone, they started
discussing everything even more intently than before. Finally, Liam took
on the job of leader of the fusion project. He was probably more
talented and more musically experienced than the DJ, and knew more
about how traditional music and world drumming could be mixed with
techno. Moreover, three leaders were two too many, at least since they
represented three completely different musical styles.

I was also wondering why they had planned gigs before they had
properly rehearsed the pieces they were going to play. They seemed to be
somewhat stressed by the fact that there were only two weeks left before
their first gig, and that they were not able to rehearse much before that.
Initially it had appeared to be a matter of just starting to play to some
DJ's techno drums, but things turned out to be more complicated than
that. Even though they were all very proficient young musicians, they
had never done anything like this before, and were not totally aware of
the problems. It was not only the musical parts that had to work well;
they also had other problems, for example, problems of co-operation, of
time scheduling and of different personalities with different ideas about
the music. The players from the different bands were not close friends or even acquainted with each other before the fusion project, which probably contributed to their difficulties in collaborating. There were perhaps even more tensions involved, since this fusion was not the musicians’ idea initially, but Ronan's. The fusion had, however, the potential to be a good recording if they all had the time, energy, interest and commitment needed. But they were worried about how this was going to work on stage.

When they finished the rehearsal at around 3 p.m., Ronan distributed some free tickets and posters that they were all going to post around the city to advertise the gig. Their first performance was going to be on a Wednesday. Billy Scurry's name was the largest on the poster, since he was probably the most well-known, at least in modern dance circles. He was one of the hottest DJ's in Dublin and had regular nights in the trendy nightclub Kitchen, located in Temple Bar. Finally, after they had fixed the dates for further rehearsals, we all left. I happened to leave at the same time as the young men from Delos, and Tim asked me what I thought about the whole idea. I was quite modest and uncertain in my reply. Tim was not very happy about the rehearsal, but wanted to keep doing this anyway. The groups of players split up for their respective undertakings for the rest of the day.

The ultimate fusion gig in Da Club
I found an advertisement in Dublin's The Event Guide (1997:21) about the fusion gig:

JENDOR, The Da Club, Clarendon Market, Dublin 2, Wednesday March 19th. 10 pm – 2 am. £6. A collision of tribal rhythms and dance beats. Frenetic trad is provided by Delos, a collection of young Dubliners who have played all across Europe. De Jimbe provide some rhythms and drums of a World music persuasion while Billy Scurry is on the decks mixing up house, techno and whatever suits the tribal atmosphere. There's also a selection of drum 'n' bass DJs as if things weren't eclectic enough for you.

I passed by Da Club at Clarendon Market around 9 p.m. this evening and noticed that it was dark inside, no people around, and that they were not going to open before 10 o'clock. I decided to go down to White Horse Inn for a while to enjoy the regular Wednesday session there. But
when I arrived at the pub, there were railings and scaffolds around the building blocking access to it. No more Wednesday or Sunday sessions, I thought, and continued my walk up to Temple Bar's Quay's pub from where I heard music. I recognised the banjo player and the uilleann piper from one of the pubs I used to go to in Temple Bar, called The Auld Dubliner. But that place was also knocked down now and on its way to being rebuilt in order to make it more attractive in this tourism-orientated area of Temple Bar. A lot of change and reconstruction had taken place during the late 1990s in central Dublin. One did not know from one day to the next if the pub one used to go to would still be there. Not even the musicians who played there always knew. But this night in Quay's pub was not a big surprise for me, and, as was usual in more tourism-orientated pubs, they had an older singer on guitar, singing ballads and other popular drinking songs.

I went back to Da Club at 10.30 p.m. On the first floor there was a stage, a bar, and small groups of tables and chairs. The second floor, where tonight's event was to take place consisted, in fact, of two floors, one with a bar, wardrobe, tables and chairs and the other with the stage and the possible dance floor. First of all, I met Sean, the former rock musician, Monika, the German young woman who was sharing a flat with Liam, and Barbara, the Irish-American woman. Barbara and Monika told me that they were going to rent a house in Killarney over the Easter weekend, which seemed to be something special. Then I met Susan and she told me about their gig on Sunday and gave me some information brochures. Both De Jimbe and Yemanja were going to perform that night, in this anti-racist gala in Temple Bar music centre. I asked Liam what was going to happen to White Horse Inn, but he seemed not to know either. He had been there a couple of nights before with the drummers, and was as surprised about it as I was. Liam and his friends had been obliged to put up small notices everywhere, around the railings, about the drummers meeting somewhere else. Then I said hello to Seamus who told me that their gig with Smokey Dog in Eamonn Doran's had gone well. He assured me that he would inform me the next time they were going to have a gig. Otherwise, the members from Delos were sitting around a table with a few friends and seemed to be quite occupied. The drummers in De Jimbe were at another table, and the DJ was busy playing records and DJing in the corner of the stage – on his own. Since the musicians were making themselves ready for the gig, I
realised that I had to join the audience, where some of my friends were. Barbara showed me some photos of Paddy's parade. Next, Barbara and Garcia got up to dance, moving very rhythmically and close to each other.

Eventually at 11 p.m. they started to play. Delos were first on stage and played a few well-chosen tunes. The sound from the bass was taking over a bit, however. After that, the drummers from De Jimbe came on the stage and then the DJ. Delos were playing nearest the microphones, De Jimbe behind them and the DJ in the corner. Delos were most in need of the sound amplifiers; they would not have been heard otherwise. After a couple of pieces, Delos left the stage. Their friends in the audience booed, since they liked Delos and did not want them to stop so soon. We were all a bit disappointed with the short performance. Even the drummers stopped playing soon afterwards. They had been playing for only about 30 minutes. The impression was that they had not rehearsed well enough, that they had not yet managed to attain a good repertoire and that the fusion was not working out very well. Instead, it was more like three separate gigs in one. They were perhaps afraid of making a disaster if they mixed and perhaps messed around too much, so they only contributed these few attempts at a mixture.

The DJ was the only one left on stage, and he took care of the music for the rest of the night. Darren in De Jimbe, on the other hand, seemed to be in top form and as energetic as ever, so he continued to play on the drums with the DJ's techno music. Barbara and Monika danced to the music, despite the fact that they found it rather monotonous. Most of the musicians had moved to the other room. They were not particularly impressed by the techno performance. Since most of the audience were friends of Delos and De Jimbe, or were more interested in the fusion gig, the DJ had to continue his playing in front of a smaller group of young men and only a few dancers. There was an odd, mixed or somewhat multicultural assemblage of people in the audience: traditional music enthusiasts, world music followers and modern dance music lovers. One member of Kila was there, who appeared to be a good friend of the young men in De Jimbe.

Some afterthoughts: a temporary crossover
What was supposed to be a fusion became more like a crossover. It was not a true mixture of different musical styles, but more like a temporary
meeting between them, which ended in separation. In crossovers it is common for different styles not to become fused together, but rather to meet for a while and then separate again. The differences between the styles are not abolished, but perhaps become even more pronounced. There is, of course, still a need for various local styles and peripheries after finished or unfinished crossover projects. The end results are more often unfinished than finished, but they perhaps open up new possibilities for the future. The paradox of multiculturalism also surfaces: crossovers and world musics may in fact result in strengthened stereotypes or an essentialism of various styles or ethnic groups.

Later, during a session in Slattery's pub on Grand Canal Street, I talked to Liam about the collaboration in the fusion project. He told me that the young men in Delos had problems getting everyone to the rehearsals. Nevertheless, Delos and De Jimbe worked very well together musically and sometimes it even worked between the DJ and De Jimbe. But the DJ was actually not very interested in the experimental side of the fusion and not very committed during the rehearsals. De Jimbe was probably the most enthusiastic of them all about the project. Delos, on the other hand, did not want to mix with techno music and the DJ did not want to mix with traditional music. Liam was not totally dissatisfied with the outcome, but he realised that they could have done more to it. Despite his general open-mindedness, he became somewhat purist-minded and argued that techno and traditional did not always mix well, which he admitted not having been aware of before. He said that they might well be each other's opposites, since techno is more for a computer generation and traditional music is completely acoustic and originates from an old tradition that ought not to be mixed with something utterly new. The main problem with the fusion project was, however, that they had not practised enough. In addition, the DJ did not have his own decks so they had to rent them, and they were expensive and difficult to get hold of. Then we discussed the fusion gig in Da Club. Liam found it a bit messy, but it had gone better than he had expected at the beginning. One problem was that the gig took place just after St Patrick's Day, when they already had several performances each day during the weekend on the streets. They were all rather exhausted and had seen too much of each other during the last few days. In fact, the expectation of disaster had been enormous.
I asked Liam if he was prepared to do more fusion projects. He told me that Da Club on Monday nights had jungle music, which he thought could suit them better than mixing with ordinary techno. This would mean following the same path as Afro Celt Sound System. We talked about Afro Celt Sound System's upcoming gig in Olympia on Saturday night, which we had both planned to go to. Liam did not know exactly what he thought about them before seeing them playing live. He liked their recording, but was not sure if they would really manage to accomplish this in a live context. We were both looking forward to seeing the dancing and the visual side of the show on Saturday. Liam contended that there were possibilities of doing more crossovers like that in the future.

Another day, I talked to Seamus, the guitarist in Delos, about the fusion. We sat in the park, St Stephen's Green, one sunny afternoon and Seamus told me that he thought it was interesting doing the fusion, since he liked trying out new things. He enjoyed the rhythmic experience of playing with a drum band like De Jimbe. To mix with a DJ or with modern dance music could be interesting as well, if the traditional music was able to add the melodies. But he considered modern dance music on its own to be very boring with the same drumbeats all the time. Seamus thought that the musicians in De Jimbe were highly proficient and professional, but that their music tended to become monotonous since they did not play melody instruments. Nevertheless, the mixing of their drumming with Delos' melodies could work if it was properly done. Seamus was not really satisfied with the outcome of the fusion, since Delos was not heard well enough together with the drummers and in the noisy nightclub. But he enjoyed mixing with different kinds of music, and told me that they were even trying to get a night in Eamonn Doran's with the rocky jazz band Smokey Dog playing together with the traditional music of Delos. He said: 'We are going to do that but I don't know when.'

Transnational connections and craic

Transnational connections often involve quite ordinary everyday events, and not only spectacular festivals and parades or multicultural events and fusion projects. One winter night in Temple Bar, when I had good craic
together with some friends and musicians, illustrates such connections. I was on a return visit to Dublin in 1998, and I rang Raini one evening and we decided to meet in Norseman's pub that night, since Joel, her husband, was going to play there with his new traditional band Tre. Normally, Norseman is a very tourist-orientated pub, with a lot of foreign visitors. However, during the winter, it tended to be more mixed with locals, which was probably the reason why I met so many familiar faces that night. During the tourist season, the locals prefer not to go there, since the place is too crowded with people and gets too 'tacky', as they say. Raini and Joel had moved from Ranelagh, an area in Dublin, to Temple Bar and had a flat opposite the pub. Raini told me it was on the third floor, nice and warm, and with a washing machine that worked. The flats in Temple Bar are often very expensive, but they were able to afford it now, since Raini was working full-time as a nurse in central Dublin and Joel was busy gigging every day and night. They were even quite well paid in Norseman, about IR£40 each, at least on Fridays when the pub was filled with people. Joel earned almost more than Raini now.

I went there around 9 p.m., up to the second floor. I found Raini at a table near the stage with a small bottle of red wine. We chatted for a while, and I gave her salted candy from Sweden and a *Hot Press Yearbook*, since I had two of them. Raini loved salted candy, but was not able to get it in Ireland; she always wanted me to bring some from Sweden. Joel came, later on, together with Mark and their instruments, bouzouki, guitar, bodhrán and djembes. Quite soon afterwards Roger showed up with flute, tin whistle and his voice. A friend of Raini, another Finnish woman, sat down with us. Her name was Maija and she worked for IBM in Dublin; she tried to sell a computer to me by promising a lifetime guarantee. Maija had taken over Raini and Joel's old flat in Ranelagh and seemed to be very happy about it. She had lived in Sweden half her life, so we spoke a little Swedish.

Then to my surprise, Aoife and Susan arrived. I had planned to ring them for a meeting, but now there was no need. They had a lot of things going on with Yemanja, and were also rehearsing for this year's Paddy's Day events. Even De Jimbe was working with that. Since I met them previously, Yemanja had played in Limerick and performed on television! Suddenly, Aoife took out her pocket computer with telephone numbers, addresses and a diary. She talked about the importance of borrowing and sharing music transnationally, and Aoife showed me a map she had made.
of Yemanja's routes and plans for the future. They wanted to get more international contacts and to expand their ways of getting funding. They also wanted to organise new workshops, recordings and gigs, and were wondering if I knew any singing workshops in Sweden that were part of community work or similar projects. The only one I could think of was Eric Bibb who had a singing group in Rinkeby, an immigrant suburb in Stockholm. They called themselves Rinkeby Kids and several immigrant groups were represented and involved in this. Eric was going to Ireland that summer with his blues band so I suggested that they got in touch with him then. Aoife and Susan were very anxious to swap addresses, which I did not mind, since I wanted to keep in contact with them; they gave me information about Yemanja and De Jimbe, and I helped them with Swedish musical contacts. Aoife told me that the whole singing group was collaborating with Kila now, which sounded very interesting.

Liam's sister joined us. She told me that she was trying to play some harp, but it was not a suitable instrument for sessions, since it was too awkward, sensitive to tune and too quiet for pubs. But she really wanted to play more with other people. Sarah, Mark's girlfriend, showed up as well, and another young Finnish woman and a girl from Australia. These so-called foreigners were in Ireland to live and work there.

It turned out to be a great night of music and craic. The young traditional band's session that night in Norseman was staged as normal. Mark also sang for a while, but mostly he played the drums or the djembe and the guitar. They were sound-amplified, and had an interested and listening audience. We chatted, drank, listened to the music and had a good time. We stayed in the pub, together with the musicians, until the place closed. Eventually even we had to leave, but we then went on to a club in Temple Bar that was open until later. Roger in Tre had lived in Finland for 8 years. He was married to a Finnish woman, but they now lived in a house in Howth, with a sea view. He was also able to speak Finnish. Raini, Joel, and Roger had met in Finland. Roger told me how difficult it was to be back in Ireland. He found it harder to adjust to the way of life in Ireland again, more so than to get used to the way of life in Finland. The first time in Ireland, he was irritated by people who would not leave him alone. For example, at the bus station there was always someone trying to chat to him. He missed the quiet Finnish people, which to me seemed rather peculiar since Roger appeared to be a very sociable and talkative person. Roger said he was tired of people asking...
him why he had lived in Finland for 8 years. He also played Irish music in Finland, in various places. He suggested that I should ring him to arrange an interview, since he had a lot to say about Ireland, Irish music and transnational connections.

Later on in the club, Aoife, Susan and Roger started to make music business plans together. It was quite astonishing to see how energetic they were in the middle of the night, arranging and organising musical events for the near future. Yet, it was perhaps a good idea to get the work done at the same time as they were having a good time. As they did not have any managers, they had to do everything themselves. This great night out ended very late (or early in the morning). I was going to meet Raini again, the next evening in our favourite coffee place in Temple Bar. I just wondered how she was going to manage it, since she had to go to work in the morning. Finally, I went back to my hostel in the middle of the night.

**Conclusion - The making of a transnational popular Irish music scene**

The word 'popular', in the making of a popular Irish music scene, means at least three things. Firstly, the Irish music scene is popular among people in general, it has many musicians and a broad audience. Secondly, it includes popular music as a broad genre, including various music styles, Irish music is very much a mix between folk and popular music. Thirdly, it means that traditional music in Ireland is so popular that it is a popular music rather than a folk music. This also means that traditional music is facing the same kind of rules and values as have been common for pop and rock music, in being media-transmitted and marketed in the music industry.

In this concluding section I shall make a few reflections on the national and global popularity of the Irish music scene in the late 1990s. Irish music is acknowledged to have entered a new era in the 1990s, as an internationally viable music genre. Although this was already evident in the late 1960s and '70s, it was not so encompassing globally. There is no doubt that Ireland has a lively music scene with many music-makers. I have asked different musicians and representatives of the music industry to explain the vibrancy and popularity of music-making in Ireland.
They gave me various answers. Some of them were essentialising and identified the Irish as having a special kind of character. These indigenous ideas were important to consider, since they contributed to keeping the music-making alive. For example, they would stress music-making as being part of an Irish tradition, something genetic, or that the Irish constituted a 'musical race'. According to Paddy, a folk singer and historian in Dublin, the playing of music was assumed to be part of the character of Irish people, because they enjoyed expressing themselves and being extrovert: 'I think Irish people are somewhat less inhibited when it comes to performing music and going out and playing - generally less inhibited than more reserved Europeans.' Others pointed out that music-making was something they had to do in order to feel well, and to keep their sanity. It was thought of as something natural, like eating and breathing. One of the singers from Yemanja put it like this: 'I wouldn't be alive without it. It's like breathing. I've always done it, it's my soul, my genetics…All Irish people adore music, adore music. Our own music is a totally integrated part of what we are.' While many of the young traditional musicians were reluctant or openly critical with regard to questions of narrow nationalism, they did tend to regard traditional music as part of a contemporary Irish identity, as an 'extension of an Irish person'. Younger people from musical families could argue that the playing was a way for them to pass on the Irish tradition of music-making.

Some traditional musicians pointed out that music is strong in Ireland because of the history of English oppression, the famine and so on, and sometimes because of the oppression from the Catholic Church as well. The musicians also talked about an identity crisis that Ireland experienced when the British ultimately left after centuries of oppression. One traditional musician stressed that the music 'promotes Irish culture. Ireland tries to tell stories about itself and tries to build up a kind of identity, and just to build that all the time.' Many traditional musicians were rather anti-clerical in their approach to Catholicism; they liked to make jokes about priests during sessions. This has partly to do with the restrictions on traditional music that the Church introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, the Dance Halls Act was instituted because Catholic bishops were against dancing in private houses and at crossroads, seeing it as connected with immorality. To play music during the daytime was not supposed to be an appropriate activity.
The players should be out working at something 'decent' instead.\(^{129}\) The folksinger and historian even told me that 'if we had had more freedom we wouldn't be as creative and as mad as we are'. He went on to say that Irish music was a party music grown out of desperation, slavery and a poor opinion of ourselves:

For many years we lived with an inferiority complex. For a long time we weren't as good as other people and that comes from being ruled for so long by a big power. Now when we're becoming a popular, liberal democracy, a nation in our own right, not only as a name, but as a reality, we are embracing things that all of the world has been embracing. We are not better than anybody; we are as good as everybody. There is a stamp of Irish culture now. We are not in second place anymore. Irish music is popular because of that.

Importantly, the current revival of traditional music in Ireland is due more to its popularity abroad and its open-minded character than to narrowness in issues of nationalism. Thus, the present globalisation has not led to a weakened traditional music scene in Ireland, rather the contrary. Moreover, a lively traditional music scene seems to generate interest in other kinds of music as well. Even Irish pop and rock bands have experienced international success. Above all, there is a presence of music-makers in Irish everyday life which provides role models for young people in Ireland. Music-making has mainly flourished outside the formal educational system, for instance, in pubs where sessions and gigs have been easily accessible and inclusive.\(^{130}\) The playing of music is a social activity, part of enjoyable moments of flow and \textit{craic} in pubs, at parties and at festivals. Ireland's young people are often attracted to this lifestyle, and music-making has become something they can imagine themselves doing and wanting to try out. The popular Irish music scene is a self-perpetuating and constantly growing phenomenon.


\(^{130}\) McCarthy (1998) noted in her study of musical education in Ireland that the fine reputation and success that Irish traditional and popular music and musicians have earned abroad are not based on formal musical education. However, she does not say much about other educational contexts outside the schools. She only mentions the role of the media, but rarely touches on the role of 'informal' music-making and education in other public contexts, in pubs, homes and festivals.
Even if traditional music is appreciated for its attractive melodies, energy and passion, the reason for its contemporary popularity cannot solely be derived from the music's intrinsic qualities. It is also part of transnational marketing and commercialism. As one singer told me about the music: 'It has a haunting quality, a mystery, a beautiful sound, there's definitely an attraction there, but there's also a market to exploit.' The musicians are exposed to Europe's view of Ireland as a green archaic island with ancient traditions, at the same time as they are assumed to be in the forefront of modern rock and dance music. Irish music is not only something that concerns Ireland. The musicians are very much aware of other countries and the music scene's transnational connections. The European Union has probably facilitated the travelling, at least for the musicians in these countries. In addition, the sessions in Ireland are often mixed. Musicians from different parts of the world can come and join in the playing. Thus, this study has included 'cosmopolitan experiences' (cf. Hannerz 1996; Clifford 1997). It has not only taken 'native informants' into account, but also tourists, diasporas and foreigners. They have all been recognised as important in the making of a transnational popular Irish music scene.

This study has analysed transnational processes of the Irish music scene in the late 1990s and the beginnings of the twenty-first century, primarily by looking at its effects on local and national processes. Recent globalisation has contributed to the popularity of Irish music, but it has not directed its pathways completely. For in Ireland the past is still in the present, and most probably well into the future.
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334
REFERENCES


REFERENCES


Index

Adorno, T.W., 33 n 39
Afro Celt Sound System, 51, 119, 230, 235, 303, 311
Age, 5, 12, 290
   Age segregation, 138, 155-56, 168-69
   Generation, 3, 114, 200, 202, 204, 206, 211, 227, 234, 262, 267, 270, 293
   See also Musical pathways
Amit-Talai, Vered, 61, 66
Anderson, Benedict, 226
Anglo-Irish, 104, 240
Appadurai, Arjun, 67 n 53, 91, 95, 212, 222, 226 n 103, 264 n 120, 265, 267, 281 n 124
'Archaic' society, 14 n 18, 211-12, 251, 292, 317
   And 'armchair nostalgia', 212
   And 'imagined nostalgia', 212
   And Ireland as the authentic Other, 211-12
Ardagh, John, 10, 240
Arensberg, Conrad, 14, 15 n 19
Art worlds, 31, 59-60, 62
   See also Crowd; Regulars
Authenticity,
   And identity, 95, 195-96, 218-19
   And tradition, 195-97, 200, 202-03, 205-06, 209-10, 238-39, 248, 261
   Authenticity crisis, 26, 195
   Authenticity work, 153, 213, 223
   Authentic national identity, 14, 7, 198
   Central themes of, 195
   Emotional authenticity, 195, 197, 204, 216, 221-25
   'Guardians of authenticity', 196
   In anthropological analysis, 193
   In commercialism and technology, 196, 214-17
   In contrasts between Dublin and Galway, 14, 95, 198
   In crossovers and world music, 56, 220
   In original musical creativity, 195-96, 217-19
   In popular music studies, 32, 193-94
   In regional styles, 200-03, 208, 213
   In the Midlands, 203
   The politics of, 194
   See also Ideal image of Irish traditional music; Purism; West of Ireland
Ballad groups, 8, 39-40, 43, 232, 283-84
Bauman, Richard, 141-42, 151
Becker, Howard, 59, 62, 77, 87, 182
Bell, Desmond, 3-4, 9
Bennett, Andrew, 17, 23, 110 n 70, 182 n 84, 186 n 87, 189 n 90
Bjurström, Erling, 37-38, 78
Blacking, John, 33, 37
Bluett, Anthony, 105 n 67, 164, 168
Bodhrán, 40 n 7, 88, 109, 159, 171-72, 204, 239, 241
   As targets of jokes, 204
Bothy Band, the, 8, 43, 292
Bourdieu, Pierre, 78
Bricolage, 37, 55-57, 55 n 52
See also Hybridisation
Brown, Terence, 4, 7, 8 n 12, 9
Bruner, Edward, 146-47
Busking, 51, 51 n 49, 80, 91 n 60, 100, 104, 106, 121, 124, 139, 152, 258
Canonisation, 38-39, 63, 65, 68, 74, 143, 145, 194, 196, 199
See also Taste
Career, 68, 149, 290
In rock music as a pyramid, 172
Catholicism, 6, 8, 10-13, 20, 23, 43, 88, 119-20, 210, 213, 237-39, 237 n 106, 241, 244-45, 253, 279, 287, 300, 315
And the Catholic Church, 8-9, 41-42, 243, 315
Céilís, 80, 80 n 57, 165-66, 166 n 81
Celtic Flame Festival, 142, 249-51, 255, 276
'Celtic Fringe', 14-15
Celtic music, 34, 47-49, 51, 57, 198, 231
As New Age music, 49, 124
Celtic rock
See also Folk rock
Celtic Tiger, 2, 22-23, 262, 281
As a 'feel-good factor', 22-23
Celticism, 48-49, 124, 250-52
Census of population, 3 n 6
Of Dublin, 1 n 1
Of Galway, 1 n 1, 117
Of Ireland, 3 n 6
Central places, 1, 15, 28, 91, 96, 139-40, 273
Centres and peripheries, 91, 99, 109-10, 139, 266, 273-74
Peripheries as cultural reservoirs, 274, 310
Reversed centre-periphery flows, 294
Chapman, Malcolm, 34, 193, 198
Charisma, 151, 168-67
Chieftains, the, 2 n 2, 8, 231
Clancy Brothers, the, 8, 39, 283
Clare, Co, 14, 40, 94, 137, 213
Doolin, 99, 99 n 61
See also West of Ireland
Clique, 76-77, 96-97, 169, 172, 185 n 86
As separation, 74, 76-77
Clothing style, 79, 111-12, 136, 145, 175, 299, 299 n 128
Cohen, Sara, 3 n 5, 4 n 7, 20, 31, 37, 45, 62, 87-89, 93, 95-96, 99-100, 101 n 64, 106 n 68, 116, 140, 142, 146, 187 n 88, 193, 198, 214
Coleman, Michael, 41 n 45, 284
Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ), 8, 18 n 22, 19-20, 19 n 23, 42-43, 80, 210, 284-85, 287
Competitions in music, 19, 42, 75 n 55, 80, 123
Cool Irish, 229, 255, 275
Corrs, the, 2 n 2, 127, 215-17, 236, 246, 265
Cosmopolitan, 11, 20, 98, 108, 120, 246, 252, 271-73, 290, 301, 317
True cosmopolitans, 271-72
Craic, 16, 46, 114, 127, 134, 158, 175, 184, 250, 254, 256, 258, 262, 275-76, 311-14, 316
See also Slagging
Creolisation, 56, 100, 267, 297, 297 n 127
A temporary crossover, 309-10
Crossroads dances, 41-42, 165, 201, 315
Crowd, 152, 154, 185-88, 185 n 86
Csikszentmihalyi, Mihalyi, 142, 150, 224
Culture, 265
As pathways of meaning, 61
The concept of, 61
Curran, Catherine, 284
Curtis, PJ, 39
Dance Halls Act, 315, 316 n 129
Dancing, 6, 11, 19, 41-42, 45, 50, 80, 83, 86, 144, 165-66, 166 n 81, 187, 190, 201, 259
Deane, Raymond, 22-23, 27, 27 n 37
de Valera, Éamon, 6-8, 7 n 9, 11 n 15, 23, 85, 248, 261-62, 267, 281, 295, 295 n 126
Diaspora, 5, 19, 27, 114, 165-66, 211, 232, 254, 267-68, 278-79, 281-87, 292-93, 293 n 125
As retro-nationalists, 284
As returning Irish-American tourists, 184-85, 232
Diasporic identity, 282
In new-wave emigration, 282
About emotions, 142, 222
Dislocation, 6, 8, 139-40, 243, 245-46, 268, 278-80, 282, 284
As a 'travelling type of race', 280
As deterritorialization, 279
As spiritual, 6
Djembes, 51, 124, 230-31, 257
In traditional sessions, 160, 171-72
DJs, see Modern dance music
Dole, 69, 69 n 54, 101-02, 287
Doyle, Roddy, 2, 114, 244, 246 n 110
Drew, Rob, 38, 38 n 42
Dublin,
As a 'rock capital', 2, 91, 106
As a springboard, 91, 110, 110 n 70, 140, 172
As 'the city of 1000 rock bands', 2, 106, 106 n 68
'Dublin 4', 10-11, 262
Dublin sound, 102, 107
'Hot press rock'n'stroll trail' in Dublin, 21 n 25, 25, 107-08, 277
"Traditional Irish musical pub-crawl' in Dublin, 107-08
Dubliners, the, 8, 23, 217, 283, 292
'Dying society', 14, 14 n 19
Echard, William, 39, 38 n 42
Education, 8-9, 25
Informal music education, 27
In Irish language, 7-8, 11-12
Music classes and formal music education, 27, 205, 316, 316 n 130
Eiredisney, 248, 248 n 111, 267
Emotions, 57, 81
Anthropological approaches to, 221-22
Indigenous views of, 222
See also Authenticity; Discourse
English oppression, 6, 6 n 8, 10, 210, 315
As colonisation, 6, 23, 53, 294-95
'English Other', 7-8, 85, 210-11, 226-27, 233, 240, 242, 246, 288, 300
Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, 252
Ethnomusicology, 4, 32-33, 52, 209
Fabian, Johannes, 142, 152
Fanning, Dave, 26, 26 n 35
Fans, 92, 182, 186-91
As believers, 190
As deviance, 189
Different kinds of, 189
Feld, Steven, 52, 100 n 63, 142, 222
Fernandez, James, 14
Festivals, 18, 25, 42, 117, 142-43, 249-55, 255 n 118, 265, 269, 276-77
See also Celtic Flame Festival; Fleadh Cheoil; Galway arts festival; St Patrick's Day; St
Patrick's parade; Stockholm Water Festival

*Fianna Fáil*, 11, 11 n 15

Fieldwork, 17, 265
   And exiting the field, 21, 21 n 27
   And return visits, 21
   As a respectful encounter, 18
   As extended ethnography, 21
   As multi-sited, 15-17

Fifth province, the, 268, 282, 297

'Fill-ins', 163


*Fleadh Cheoil*, 18, 18 n 22, 42, 75, 75 n 55, 80

*Fleadh*, 42, 250

Flow, 149-51, 187-88, 204, 223-24
   As communication and management of meaning, 61, 142, 266
   As creative process, 191, 224-225
   As optimal experiences, 142, 150
   *See also* Performance

Folk music, 10, 31-36, 39-40, 47, 52-53, 68, 85
   The collectors view of, 32

Folk rock, 10, 43, 47, 47 n 48, 109, 235

Foreign musicians, 5, 12, 49, 138, 155, 171, 208, 212-13, 228-29, 269, 285-89
   As 'comic figures', 213
   As Spanish musicians, 76-77, 91, 137, 213, 275-76, 288

FORTE report, 2, 25, 283

Foucault, Michel, 36, 194 n 94

Frith, Simon, 20 n 24, 32-33, 36, 52, 79, 172, 193 n 92, 196, 214, 217

Fusions, 10, 26, 47-48, 50, 52, 55-56, 65, 109, 160, 206
   As musical confusion, 50
   'Desperately seeking fusion', 27, 27 n 37
   Fusion project, 50, 75, 302-11

Gaelic, 3 n 4, 6-8, 11, 41, 117, 238, 261

Gaelic League, 6, 35, 252 n 114

*Gaeltachts*, 3 n 4

Galway,
   As a 'Music Mecca', 126-27
   As a playground, 91, 110 n 70, 121-22, 128, 140
   As 'City of the Twelve Tribes', 117, 117 n 72
   As 'dinosaur's graveyard', 122
   As fastest growing city in Europe, 116-17, 117 n 71
   As 'healing power', 120
   Galway arts festival, 18, 118-19, 255
   Galway Music Centre, 20
   Galway sound, 101-02, 136-38, 198
   Macnas parade in Galway, 117-19, 259-60

Geldof, Bob, 2 n 2, 13 n 17, 108

Gender, *see* Musical pathways

Genre, 31-32, 34-38, 47, 50, 54-55, 57-62, 85, 141, 189, 196, 206, 314
   As categories of music, 31, 36-37, 52-57, 59-60, 75, 78
   Concept of, 37
   Sub-genres, 34, 36, 44, 60
   *See also* Style; Sound

Giddens, Anthony, 78 n 56, 264-65, 269

Gilroy, Paul, 196, 220, 282

Global ecumene, 266

'Global Ireland', 227, 238, 246-47, 253, 268, 278, 301
   Versus 'Irish Ireland', 246-47

Globalisation, 165, 198, 220, 245-46, 261, 264-70, 278-79, 301
   As cultural, 264-67
   As cultural imperialism, 267
   Awareness of, 278, 280, 317
   Personal encounters of, 278
Graham, Brian, 7, 13, 227, 246-47, 301
Guitar, 72
   As a phallic symbol, 180, 186-87
   In traditional music, 39, 109, 159, 172, 204
Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson, 15, 21
Hall, Stuart, 264 n 120, 267, 269, 294, 299 n 128
Hamilton, Colin, 164, 165
Hammer dulcimer, 55, 58, 65, 223
Handler, Richard, 193, 200 n 99
Hannerz, Ulf, 15, 56, 60-61, 91, 142, 226 n 103, 238, 252, 264 n 120, 266-67, 272-73, 281 n 124, 297 n 127, 301, 317,
Harp, 35, 49, 139, 204, 313
Hegemonic discourse, 11, 38, 246-47, 262, 267-69, 282
Hidden codes,
   Revealing ideas about purism and open-mindedness, 209-10
Horslips, 10, 47
Hot Press, 20, 21 n 25, 54, 107-09
   'Hot Press Irish Music Hall of Fame', 24
   Hot Press Yearbook, 24, 26, 312
Hybridisation, 56, 220, 247, 252, 266-67, 281, 297, 300-01
   'Hybridity all the way down', 56
Ideal image of Irish traditional music, 168, 194, 199-202, 205, 211, 213
   See also Purism
Identity, 37, 70, 72-73, 92, 142, 144-45
   In scenes and places, 17, 90, 92, 95-96, 118, 126, 128, 136, 140
   See also Authenticity; Irishness; National identity
Imagined community, 226, 262
Indie bands, 44-45, 106-07, 149, 174, 216
   See also Record companies
Informal, open and regular traditional sessions, 64, 127-28, 130, 143-45, 150, 155-72, 182-83
   And the break or interlude of tunes, 158-59
   Getting sessions started, 154-55
Innovation, 41, 54 n 51, 57, 168, 205-06, 209, 214, 234, 239, 246, 261
   In cultural collisions, 239
Interviews, 5, 17-18, 21, 209
   Life history interviews, 18
Irish government, 2, 24-25, 297
Irish Music Rights Organisation (IMRO), 24, 24 n 30
   As a popular music, 4, 314
Irishness, 5-13, 166, 198, 225-56, 261-62
   Contemporary musical discourses of, 234-46
   Global Irishness, 10, 245, 268
   Historical perspective of, 5-6
   In marketing, 242, 248-49, 271, 276
   New inclusive definitions of, 9-10, 53, 87, 237, 240-43, 246-48, 253, 262
   See also National identity
Irish theme pubs, 24, 247, 271, 283, 292
Johnson, Bruce, 149, 152
Kearney, Richard, 268, 300-01
Keohane, Kieran, 117-18, 236, 282
Key people, 18-19, 116, 137, 158, 169
Kila, 48, 56-57, 94, 234, 277, 309, 313
Late Late Show, the, 243, 243 n 108
Lemass, Sean, 7 n 9, 8-9, 243, 281
Lewis, Lisa, 188-89
Liverpool, 3 n 5, 88, 95-96, 99-100, 101 n 64, 106 n 68, 116, 198, 214
   'Living history', 200, 200 n 99
Lloyd, David, 281-83, 295
Local,
INDEX

Locals, 16, 126, 128-29, 183-84, 188, 272-73, 312
The term, 270-71
Lutz, Catherine A. and Lila Abu-Lughod, 142, 221-22
Lyrics, 39, 41, 73, 102-03, 136, 200, 203, 283, 292
Löfgren, Orvar, 233
Mac Laughlin, Jim, 11, 138-39, 233 n 105, 246-48, 268, 279, 282, 301
Macleod, Bruce, 33
Major labels, see Record companies
Malm, Krister, 32-33, 266-67
Manning, Frank E, 255
Manuel, Peter, 33 n 39, 33 n 40, 45, 266 n 122
Mauritius, 252-53
McCann, Anthony, 159, 165-66, 168
McCarthy, Marie, 6-7, 9, 19 n 23, 27, 316 n 130
McLaughlin, Noel and Martin
McLoone, 281-82
Media,
And journalism, 209, 225
Creating 'scene' and 'sound', 96, 136, 198
In debates of purism and open-mindedness, 54, 209
In polymorphous engagement, 21
In studies of popular music, 20, 32-33
See also Hot Press
Merriam, Alan, 32 n 38, 34
Middleton, Richard, 32 n 38, 33-35, 33 n 39, 59
Minor labels, see Record companies
Mix,
As interaction, 34-35, 59, 74, 76
Of musicians, 75-77, 116, 137, 317
Modern dance music, 50-51, 57, 109, 125, 134, 175, 235, 302-03, 306, 311
DJs, 50, 75, 125
See also Techno
Moore, Christy, 13 n 17, 23, 115, 127, 147, 217, 220, 223, 299
Morrison, Van, 2 n 2, 13 n 17, 55, 108, 220
Multiculturalism, 252-55, 265, 267, 269, 282, 295, 300, 302
As identity politics, 297
As marketing strategy, 299-300
As multi-ethnic nationalism, 252-54
Indigenous or analytical, 298
Paradox of, 302, 310
Musical analysis, 4, 44
Musical pathways, 59-74, 79-90, 141, 234
Age and generation, 39, 41, 43, 72-73, 79-83
And gender, 80, 86-89
And individuality, 61-62, 66, 79
And social class, 80, 83-85, 88
As biographies, 18, 60, 70-71, 73
Contested pathways, 62-66
Familiar routes of, 60, 62, 67-68
Family musical background of, 41, 77, 79, 83-85
In urban life, 59-60, 66
Music Base, 25, 25 n 33
See also FORTE report
Musicology, 31-33, 33 n 39
Classical art music, 32-33, 33 n 39, 35, 88
Music organisations, 8, 19-20, 25, 27, 205, 284
See also Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (CCÉ)

Music scene, 90, 92-143, 165, 167, 172, 191, 198, 228, 314
As scenescape, 99, 101
Concept of, 92-93, 95-96, 116
Scenes in the scene, 17, 93

National identity, 5-7, 85, 87 n 59, 195, 198, 225, 227, 233-36, 253, 262, 267
As essentialised, 7, 9, 10 n 14, 29, 225, 232, 295
Everyday constructions of, 226, 233, 236, 245
Negotiations and negations of, 195, 198, 234, 243, 262

See also Identity; Irishness

Nationalism, 5-6, 9, 11, 279, 287
And traditional music, 12
As cultural, 6-7, 284
As narrow, 5, 9, 12, 23, 43-44, 82, 210, 235, 248, 267-69, 301, 315-16
As political ideology, 12-13, 227, 233
The informants' view, 12-13, 43-44, 82, 114, 233

Nation-states, 13, 281, 281 n 124
Negus, Keith, 33, 36, 44-45, 52, 87, 93, 232
Nettl, Bruno, 32-34, 32 n 38, 33 n 40, 52
Network of perspectives, 61
New Age travellers, 119-120, 124-125, 137, 139, 181
As 'crusties', 124
New and strange music, 55, 60, 65, 138-39, 223
Newcomers or beginners, 116, 159, 169, 199
New Orleans, 100-01, 101 n 64, 117, 228
Northern Ireland (and the North), 3, 9 n 13, 12-13, 15 n 20, 82, 210, 227, 233, 251, 288, 294-95, 301
O'Connor, Nuala, 34, 47, 283
Ó hAllmhuráin, Gearóid, 158, 168, 172
As folk models, 54
As innovators, 54 n 51, 63, 272
See also Innovation; Purism; Hidden codes

Organised sessions in houses, 80, 162
Ó Riada, Seán, 8, 35, 43, 197 n 98, 289
Origin record company, 136-37
Ó Súilleabháin, Micheál, 4, 35, 50
O'Toole, Fintan, 233 n 105, 279, 297
Paganism, 119-20, 251
Paid pub sessions, 70, 107, 162-66, 172, 202
Peace, Adrian, 14 n 18, 14 n 19
Performance, 141-91, 215, 218-19
And communicative competence, 151
And respect, 144-45, 161, 168-68, 171, 184, 189, 191
And uniqueness, 146-47
As discourse, 142 n 79, 222
As pain and pleasure, 148-49
As sexual experiences, 187, 187 n 88
Evaluation of, 152
Hierarchies and power relations of, 142-43, 157, 168-69, 172
Identity and sincerity in, 92, 144-45
Politics of, 142-43
Recognised repetition in, 146
Rules and organising procedures in, 145, 154-55, 159-60, 164, 168, 170, 172
Shock of recognition in, 147
Triumph of re-experiencing, 147, 186
See also Charisma; Flow; Spectacle; Vibe
Peterson, Richard, 194, 196, 203, 223, 194 n 93
Planxty, 8, 10, 43, 292
Pogues, the, 2 n 2, 13 n 17, 127, 205, 217, 236, 282, 293
Politics, 12-13, 82, 142-43, 194, 242, 269, 295, 297, 301
Rebel songs, 12, 283
See also Nationalism
Popular music,
As a musical field of interaction and change, 33-34, 37
Conceptions of, 34-37
In anthropology of music or ethnographic studies, 31-33
Three meanings of a 'popular' Irish music scene, 314
See also Music industry
Postcolonialism, 6, 197, 294-97
Postcolonial reactions, 23, 269, 295-96, 301
Protestantism, 7, 13, 120, 240, 244, 253
Publicans, 70-71, 122, 127-28, 143-45, 154-55, 163, 166, 218-19, 247-48
Purism, 19, 54, 98, 265
And purists, 10-11, 54, 54 n 51, 63, 76-77, 84, 160, 168, 196-97, 199-211, 229, 234, 248, 253, 261-62, 270, 272-73, 284
As cultural, 10
See also Ideal image of Irish traditional music; Tansey, Seamus; Hidden codes
Race of angels, 279
Record companies, 23-24, 44-45, 109-10, 136
Major labels, 44
Minor or independent labels (indies), 44-45, 74, 216
Recording session, 132-36
Recording studios, 23-24, 108-09, 132-36, 139, 173, 214
Temptation recording studios, 132-36
Regional style, 40-41, 95, 99, 102, 108-09, 137-38, 168, 200-03, 208, 213, 246
As composite of personal styles, 200-01
Regulars,
In the audience, 125, 129, 154, 185-87, 185 n 86
Regular and paid musicians, 155-57, 159, 163, 169-70, 210
Rehearsal, 65, 105-06, 109, 111-12, 132, 148-49, 256-58, 303-07
Ideology of not practising, 149, 225
Religion, 6-7, 11, 42, 119, 119 n 73, 237, 241, 244-45, 260, 287
See also Catholicism
Revival, 10, 165
Of folk music, 128, 274, 284
Of traditional music, 12, 26, 43, 82, 166, 289, 316
Ricoeur, Paul, 36 n 41, 37-38
Riverdance, 2, 86, 246, 249, 277, 296-97
Robertson, Roland, 227, 278
Robinson, Mary, 10-11, 245-46, 268
Rock gigs, 128, 130, 142, 146, 172-80, 290-91
'Old catch 22', 173
Rock music, 44, 47, 63-64, 83
INDEX

Rosaldo, Renate, 56
Rural Ireland, 6-8, 10-11, 16, 23, 66, 98-99, 103, 200, 203, 244, 248, 262, 273
See also West of Ireland
St Patrick's Day, 142, 251-60, 252 n 114, 269, 298-99
Myths around St Patrick, 251-52
St Patrick's parade, 18, 252-60, 252 n 114, 255 n 117, 265
Saw Doctors, the, 47-48, 71, 101-03, 103 n 66, 127, 132, 136-37, 236, 277
Schafer, R. Murray, 100, 100 n 63
Sean-nós, 41, 158, 200, 203, 230
Secularisation, 119, 119 n 73, 245, 247
Session, 154-72, 199, 202, 316-17
   And egalitarian ethos, 143, 157, 164, 169-70
   As 'cultural McDonalds for the Irish diaspora', 165
   As 'true piece of Ireland', 165-66
   'Hidden' aspects of, 172
   Session etiquette, 168-69, 172, 183
   Symbolic micro interactions in, 170
   The origin of sessions, 165
      See also Informal, open and regular traditional sessions;
      Organised sessions in houses;
      Paid pub sessions; Spontaneous house sessions; Spontaneous pub sessions; Staged traditional sessions
Shank, Barry, 90, 92, 116, 142, 144-45, 150, 152, 180, 187 n 88, 196 n 97
Shannon, Sharon, 2 n 2, 86-87, 128, 132
Showbands, 44-46
Shuker, Roy, 189-90
Skinner Sawyers, June, 39 n 43, 47-48
Skhow, Debbie, 70, 178
Slagging, 184-85, 232-33
      See also Craic
Slater, Eamonn and Michel Peillon, 22, 271
Slobin, Mark, 60-61, 74, 255 n 117, 293 n 125
Sound, 57-59, 63, 96, 99-103, 136-38, 149, 214, 232
   Feelings and moods in, 58
   Instead of genre, 57
   Local sounds, 96, 101-02, 136-38, 198
   Of Irish music, 34-35, 171, 232, 292
      See also Dublin sound; Galway sound
Soundingcape, 100-03, 143, 149, 151-52, 165, 179, 190
Spectacle, 255, 299 n 128
Spontaneous house sessions, 130-32
Spontaneous pub sessions, 161-62
Spooner, Brian, 193, 196
'Staged Irish', 23, 23 n 28, 43, 262
Staged traditional sessions, 63, 127-28, 130, 140, 150, 166-68, 215, 232
Stockholm Water Festival, 277, 291
Stokes, Martin, 4, 31, 59, 67, 142, 157, 170, 171 n 82, 193-94, 213, 226 n 104
Straw, Will, 92-93
See also Regional style
Sweeney, Paul, 22
Tansey, Seamus, 102, 206-07
Taste, 37-38, 78-79, 93, 134, 143, 194, 196
   Taste game, 78
Taylor, Timothy, 20 n 24, 51-52, 194, 220, 226 n 102, 297
Temple Bar, 22, 104-07, 139, 247, 258, 294, 308, 311-14

346
Temple Bar Music Centre, 19, 25-26, 105, 107, 132, 298, 303
Therapy, 13, 2 n 2
Thornton, Sarah, 20, 96, 131, 185 n 86, 209
Thornton, Shannon, 4, 20, 69 n 54, 117, 182, 197
Tomlinson, John, 265, 267, 278-79
The Irish tourists, 184
See also Audience
Tradition, 38-39, 41, 54, 82, 84, 95, 274-76, 279, 284
In media, 20, 54
See also Authenticity; Traditional music
Traditional music, 8, 39-44, 51-52, 169
As living tradition, 55, 205, 248, 261, 275
As melodic music, 41, 201, 204
Irish traditional music defined, 35, 39
Traditional music instruments, 40-41, 201-04, 236
See also Ideal image of Irish traditional music
Transculturation, 266, 266 n 123
Transient population, 95, 122, 127
Translocal musicians, 67, 94, 116, 140, 171, 270, 290
Translocalities, 90-92, 128
Transnational, 93, 211, 226-28, 238, 246, 255, 265-66, 270, 277-78, 303, 317
Instead of the term global, 265-66
Transnational connections as ordinary everyday events, 311-14
Traveller musicians, 41-42, 83, 91 n 60
Travellers, 113, 139, 179, 242-43, 253, 268, 299
Travelling musicians, 41 n 45, 42, 67-68, 80, 91 n 60, 91, 94, 109, 114, 269-71, 288-90
Pipers and fiddlers in the 19th century, 41-42, 201
Tribute bands, 46, 122, 130
Turner, Terence, 297-98
Uilleann pipe, 50, 88, 41 n 44, 103, 288
Urban places, 66, 98-103, The study of, 1, 14-16, 98
Vallely, Fintan, 24, 165-67, 201, 207
Vibe, 150-51, 190-91
Walker, Brian, 6, 251, 252 n 114
Wallis, Roger and Krister Malm, 52 n 50, 266-67, 266 n 123
Waterman, Christopher, 33 n 40, 34, 100 n 62
Waters, John, 8, 10-11, 21-22, 138, 192, 239, 242-45, 263, 268, 271, 279, 294-96
West of Ireland, 3 n 4, 7 n 10, 6-7, 14, 91, 98, 117, 120, 133, 137, 203, 207, 244, 248
Windmill Lane Studios, 26, 26 n 36, 132
Wulff, Helena, 2, 6, 17, 21, 21 n 27, 42, 148, 189, 189 n 89, 278, 316 n 129
Young traditional bands, 63-64, 234-35, 290
In the industry of popular music, 64, 214-15
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