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“Somebody’s gotta try and go forward”: Musical Identity and the (Re)Construction of Authenticity in Hawai‘i and Mongolia

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Musical Identity and the (Re)Construction of Authenticity in Hawai‘i and Mongolia

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Abstract

Based on thirty-seven interviews with musicians and performers in Mongolia and Hawai‘i, this ethnography explores the complex relationships between nationalism, cultural imperialism, hybridity, and conceptions of authenticity in the colonial context through the lens of folk music. Engaging with theories of practice and postcolonialism, I argue that within contemporary contexts of globalization and cultural imperialism, musicians and performers have formed a sense of musical and cultural identity dependent on nationalist conceptions of tradition, yet the notion of cultural authenticity no longer depends on the absence of Western influence, but on the cultural sovereignty of the artist and the agency of self-representation. I found that such evocations of a nationalist conception of cultural tradition following periods of colonization or political subordination reflect the subjugated group's attempts to reclaim certain elements of the once taken-for-granted, pre-colonial past. However, since these societies can never return to the unquestioned truths of this pre-colonial, pre-globalized past, self-conscious attempts to evoke, or invent, such a past within the present cultural and geopolitical context represent what Pierre Bourdieu describes as the orthodoxy, which can only exist as a counterpoint to the constant change and competing possibilities of the colonial situation. I argue that by establishing this imperfect orthodoxy of invented tradition as a vital form of cultural identity, these groups reckon with the feelings of loss inherent to the experience of political subordination and cultural imperialism while asserting a new form of cultural and political sovereignty within a globalizing national framework.

Keywords: folk music, tradition, identity formation, nationalism, colonialism, postcolonial theory, practice theory, Hawaiian music, Mongolian music

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Introduction

"You know, I mean, *we've lost so much*" (emphasis mine). It is mid-September of 2023, and I am sitting comfortably in my living room in Saint Paul, Minnesota, looking into my laptop screen and listening as singer, slack key guitarist, and musical icon Kaleo tells me about his life, from beginning to play music as a young child on the island of Hawai'i to writing the first book of methods for the slack key guitar in 1971 at the age of just twenty years old. He speaks slowly and softly, but there is power behind his voice, an inherent authority that compels one to listen. Kaleo, a good friend, mentor, and personal hero of my own father, descends from one of Hawai'i's most prominent musical families, from which he is the sixth generation to make his mark on the Hawaiian music scene.

In early August, just over a month before our interview, a series of wildfires ravaged the town of Lahaina and its surrounding areas on the northwest coast of the Hawaiian island of Maui. Noted as the most lethal blaze in the United States since 1918 (Oatis 2023), the Maui wildfires of 2023 killed more than one hundred people, destroying thousands of structures, and displacing an even greater number of Maui residents. Kaleo, who grew up on the Big Island but has lived in Lahaina with his family for many years now, could be considered one of the "lucky ones." He and his immediate family are safe, and his home did not face permanent structural damage, yet even for the "lucky," the Maui wildfires marked just one more moment of loss among so many others as a consequence of American colonization. His voice becoming strained, but still steady, Kaleo recounts,

> In the early days, Lahaina was a beautiful garden. There was taro, and big beautiful *mālas* or gardens, irrigation, and everything was green. And then the sugar plantations came along, and they started diverting the water, and they started assuming ownership of lands, and pretty soon all our water sources were

> diverted to sugarcane plantations. And the stuff that individual farmers had left was not enough to produce crops. So Lahaina began to dry, and Hawaiians got this reputation in those days for being lazy. And the reason was, here they are faced with the stress where I can go fishing, I can catch fish, I can harvest my garden, I can have delicious food, healthy food, that I produce myself, and now you want me to work for this sugar cane company and buy stuff in their store. It doesn't make any sense. So the Hawaiian families didn't work for their plantations, but the more power and the more land that these plantation owners began to seize and develop control, the more difficult it was to retain our own agricultural integrity. So then the plantations went out of business in my recent history, and all of a sudden, all that land was fallow for invasive species. Wild grasses came in. And that's why Lahaina burned down. It wasn't random. So this…concept of water management is super important. That was–those sources of fuel for fire, with a hurricane five hundred miles away, eighty-five mile-an-hour gusts, and our town was literally incinerated, they say, in about seventeen minutes. These huge gusts of wind collecting embers and just throwing them out there. They put out one spot here, there's twenty more spots. It melted two fire trucks. The guys fighting the fires, you know, thirty of them lost their own homes while they were trying to protect other homes. It was…an ungodly, horrific situation.

Of course, the damage incurred in Hawai‘i either directly or indirectly at the hands of American colonization did not end with failed land and water management, or even with forced dispossession and the imposition of a capitalist economy. Rather, deeply intertwined with these physical forms of loss is a more internal, quieter consequence of colonization: the disconnection to cultural identity, particularly in relation to music. I shall, once again, allow Kaleo to explain this phenomenon for himself:

> You know, I mean, we've lost so much. When you look back through the culture, we lost our lands, our religious system, our organization as a people, as a culture, and so a lot of things went underground because people began to feel, 'Hey, if I share this with somebody, they'll take it away from me.' I remember as a boy sitting in church and the reverend talking about, you know, these lofty ideas of God, and you know, compassion. And while we were looking up at the Christian God, they were stealing our land. The missionary families ended up being some of the wealthiest citizens on the planet Earth, because they took advantage of our culture. Anyway, a lot of things went underground because of that. Slack key, hula, the language. Colonization is this process where the colonizer uplifts his or her values, and demeans the values of the colonized. So the Hawaiian language wasn't allowed to be spoken in any place. And the hula was viewed as being lewd and suspicious by the missionary overlords. And so the culture was severely

> depressed while their culture was raised. Over the years, successful colonization is successful when the colonized are so colonized that they don't even realize it anymore.

Listening to Kaleo describe the deep sense of loss created by American colonialism, I was reminded of the many conversations I had with musicians and performers in the nation of Mongolia, which experienced seventy years of Soviet socialist influence between the 1920s and the early 1990s, almost immediately following a centuries-long period of cultural isolation and political subordination by the Manchus of China's Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). As I spoke with these musicians, many reminisced about Mongolians' inherent cultural connection to nature, nomadism, and the animals of the steppe while remarking upon the lack of freedom in artistic expression during these eras of political control, particularly through cultural isolation and the censorship of any stylistic and musical decisions that did not align with state ideals of modernization and progress.

Two core differences between Mongolia and Hawai‘i in this case, however, are the timing in which such moments of political subjugation first occurred, and who can most easily be held accountable for them. Hawai‘i, for example, was first colonized by Protestant Christian missionaries from the United States in 1820, before being annexed as an official territory of the United States in 1898 and as an American state in 1959. Before the official overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by American colonists in 1893, the islands of Hawai‘i had existed as a politically sovereign kingdom since the late 1700s (D'Arcy 2003), and as separate but sovereign communities since 1000-1200 C.E. at the latest (Kirch 2011). In this case, although British explorer James Cook is credited as the first European to arrive in Hawai‘i, it was American settler colonists who overthrew the

kingdom and advocated for Hawaiian annexation, and it was the United States that introduced capitalism, disrupted the local ecosystem, and created the notion that locals were "lazy" when they refused to conform to colonial expectations.

The Mongol Empire, on the other hand, was conquered by the Manchu-led Qing dynasty in the 1600s, and remained under Manchu political control until the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 (Heuschert 1998). Although Mongolia declared its independence under the Bogd Khan, the third ranking member of the Tibetan Buddhist hierarchy and the leader of the nation's new theocratic government, in 1911, only Tibet acknowledged Mongolia's political sovereignty, and the Bogd Khanate lasted only until 1919 before the Republic of China sent troops to occupy Mongolia (Ewing 1980). Two years after the return of Chinese governance, and as a direct result of the ongoing Russian Civil War between the Bolshevik Red Army and the anti-communist White Army, White Russian forces with local support entered Mongolia and defeated Chinese troops in what is now the capital city of Ulaanbaatar in 1921. Unwilling to allow its rival to gain additional power from this move, Bolshevik Russia sent its own troops to defeat the White Army and drive out the remaining Chinese forces in Mongolia, after which the state declared its independence from China once more and the Bogd Khan was allowed to rule until his death and the subsequent establishment of the Soviet-influenced Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 (Ewing 1980). Although the Mongolian nation was technically sovereign, it remained under harsh Soviet influence until the Democratic Revolution of 1990.

It is not my intention here to attempt to provide a complete history of either Mongolia or Hawai‘i. The historical and political contexts of both regions will be

explored in greater depth in later chapters. Rather, I have provided this information because it highlights some of the fundamental differences between the colonial contexts of Mongolia and Hawai‘i. It is clear that in Hawai‘i, American colonists were to blame for the relatively recent loss of political and cultural sovereignty. Until the Democratic Revolution, however, Mongolians had not, in any real sense, been truly sovereign since the 1600s. Even when Russia ‘freed’ the Mongolians from Chinese rule in 1921, the Soviet Union continued to exert great influence over Mongolian cultural expression, from the Stalinist purges of Buddhist monks and destruction of monasteries in the 1930s (Broughton 1994, 1930) to the formation of Western-styled orchestras, redesigning of harmonic solo instruments such as the *morin khuur* to function in group settings, and the reprocessing of anything that the government viewed to represent unacceptable past traditions or differences to fit Soviet standards of modernization and progress (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 127). As such, it is not uncommon, I have found, to place full responsibility for the cultural isolation and loss of political sovereignty in Mongolia on the centuries of Qing political control, and, therefore, to view the influence of the Soviet Union during the nation’s socialist period as fundamental to the restoration of political sovereignty and ‘cultural development.’ Even so, Mongolia’s unique geographic position between two global superpowers interested in interfering with the nation for their own political gain has made the allocation of responsibility for Mongolian political and cultural subjugation a far more complicated, longstanding, and geopolitically-charged question than that of Hawaiian subjugation to the United States.

A final difference that must be noted, of course, is that Mongolia currently exists as a sovereign nation, while Hawai‘i’s political sovereignty was deliberately revoked

during the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Moreover, Hawai‘i and Mongolia experienced two different kinds of colonialism, Hawai‘i from a settler-colonial model that emphasized capitalism and the marketing of culture for monetary gain, and Mongolia from a culturally-involved but slightly less politically-involved imperial power that emphasized modernization and development of culture. Even with these differences, however, both states experienced intentional cultural interventions by their colonizers in relation to religion, music, and performance. Moreover, and perhaps most notably, there is an ever-present theme of cultural loss and disconnection as a direct result of such colonial interventions within both locations, and it is this sense of loss upon which I build my argument.

Examining the ways in which the loss inherent in political and cultural subjugation is often invoked in the postcolonial era through the particular lens of ‘national’ or ‘folk’ music, I will explore to what extent the cultural impacts of Soviet and American political hegemony were imposed upon the musical practices of performers in Mongolia and Hawai‘i, and to what extent these new practices were adopted and indigenized. I ask how the fundamental interconnection of ‘Western’ and ‘local’ elements within contemporary musical production is understood by musicians and performers, and how such ‘globalized’ elements have been mediated to create new forms of meaning. How do musicians and performers in Mongolia and Hawai‘i conceptualize “Mongolian” or “Hawaiian music,” and what do the differences in these perceptions reflect about the impacts of foreign political influence on individual and national identity in these locations? Finally, what can the study of music and identity in these different regions

reveal about the complex interplay of nationalism, political subjugation, cultural hybridity, and conceptions of authenticity in a so-called 'globalized world'?

Engaging with theories of practice and postcolonialism, I argue that musicians' ideological responses to foreign political influence in Mongolia and Hawai'i reflect the complex relationship between doxa, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1977) within the contexts of globalization and cultural imperialism. Within these contexts, musicians and performers have formed a sense of musical and cultural identity dependent on nationalist conceptions of 'pure' tradition, yet perceptions of a truly 'authentic' "Mongolian" or "Hawaiian music" are varying and complex, and the notion of cultural authenticity no longer depends on the absence of Western influence, but on the cultural sovereignty of the artist and the agency of self-representation. Drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory, I argue that such evocations of a nationalist conception of cultural tradition following periods of colonization or political subordination reflect the subordinate group's attempts to reclaim certain elements of the once taken-for-granted doxa of the pre-colonial period. However, since these societies can never return to the unquestioned truths of a pre-colonial, pre-globalized past, self-conscious attempts to evoke, or invent, such a past within the present cultural and geopolitical context represent what Bourdieu describes as the orthodoxy, which can only exist as a counterpoint to the heterodoxy of the postcolonial situation. By establishing this imperfect orthodoxy of invented tradition (Hobsbawm 1983) as a vital form of cultural identity, these groups reckon with the feelings of loss inherent to the experience of political subordination and cultural imperialism while asserting a new form of cultural and political sovereignty within a globalizing national framework.

Methodology

The primary field sites for my research were the Mongolian town of Sainshand in the Gobi Desert and the nation's capital city of Ulaanbaatar, where I spent the fall semester of 2022 through the SIT Mongolia: Nomadism, Geopolitics, and the Environment program, as well as the Big Island and Maui, Hawai'i, where I conducted ethnographic research in August of 2023 with funding from the Spradley Summer Research Fellowship. In Mongolia, I chose to conduct research in Sainshand and Ulaanbaatar because, as the respective capitals of the Dornogovi *aimag*[1] and of the nation, both cities are places of great religious, historical, and cultural significance. Particularly relevant to my research in Sainshand was the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater, which drew many successful artists to the city during Mongolia's socialist period. Even now, although the theater struggles to attract young musicians without the incentives that had been available during the socialist period, Dornogovi is known for its artistic prowess. Ulaanbaatar, meanwhile, was particularly pertinent to my research given its status as the center of government, and thus its proximity to socialist and now post-socialist influences, as well as to its musical relevance. Conducting interviews in Sainshand and Ulaanbaatar allowed me to capture the perspectives of both rural and urban musicians and performers, thus providing a more complete understanding of my research questions.

In Hawai'i, I had initially planned to conduct research primarily on Maui and the Big Island of Hawai'i, as both islands have a thriving local music scene, and many of my participants either lived on one or the other or had been planning to travel to Maui for an upcoming benefit concert in late August of 2023. August of 2023 was, of course, the time

[1] '*Aimag'* is the Mongolian term for the nation's largest level of administrative subdivision, equivalent to that of a province.

of the Maui wildfires, which started less than two weeks before I was scheduled to begin my research, so many of the initial plans of my project had to change. Thankfully, I was able to confirm early on that all of the people I had planned to interview were safe, but several of them had been at least temporarily displaced by the event, and for this reason, as well as the severe emotional distress that accompanies the experience of such a traumatic event, many of my participants requested to postpone their interviews to a later date. Because my father is a member of the board of the nonprofit that was hosting this benefit concert, which had previously been for the purpose of raising money to support musical education for school-aged children in Bhutan but was repurposed in mid-August to raise funds for recovery efforts in West Maui, he was still planning to travel to Hawai‘i at this time. After consulting with several of the musicians who were able to be interviewed during this time, I decided to go with him. As a result of all these changes, however, exactly half of my interviews were conducted virtually through Zoom, which is not ideal in comparison to in-person interviews, but was necessary, and still extremely valuable, given the tragic and unforeseen circumstances of the fires.

In both locations, ethnographic interviews were the primary form of data collection for this project, although I also used participant observation in the form of attending rehearsals, performances, and benefit concerts. I conducted library research through the Macalester Library and databases, as well as through the suggestions of my advisors here and in Mongolia, before and after my ethnographic fieldwork, both to contextualize my findings and to ensure that I had appropriate knowledge of the historical context and relevant past ethnographic research that has been conducted in these locations. In total, I interviewed thirty-seven musicians and performers throughout my

research process: twenty-five during my research in Mongolia, and twelve during my time in Hawai‘i. In Hawai‘i, all of my interviews were conducted in English, while in Mongolia, the majority of my interviews were conducted in Mongolian with the assistance of a local translator. Although I am confident in his skill and accuracy– previous experiences working with a translator have shown me the difference between a good and bad translation–there is always the possibility that slight inaccuracies occurred in the translation process, and the fact that a translator was used at all means that any direct quotes or vocabulary choices analyzed from these interviews may have slightly different meanings and connotations in Mongolian than they do in English.

I chose interviewees based on their experience as either musicians or performers in both locations. Because my primary interest was speaking to artists who were trained and have career experience during various periods of political and cultural shift, nearly all of my interviewees were over the age of forty, and none were under the age of eighteen. Given the interconnected nature of musical and performance networks in both locations, a large portion of my participants knew each other. In fact, it was through this close-knit network that I found the majority of the musicians and performers with whom I spoke. At the recommendation of people such as my own father, with his connections to the Hawaiian music scene, the advisors of my study-abroad program, and the translator that I used to conduct my research in Mongolia, I was placed in contact with a small group of potential participants. Upon completion of my interviews, I then asked these participants for recommendations of other musicians and performers who might have been interested in speaking with me. To avoid revealing the names or personal information of my participants, I chose culturally appropriate pseudonyms for each in consultation with

local advisors. On average, interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and one hour, with the shortest interview, which took place during one performer's fifteen-minute break from rehearsal, lasting only ten minutes, and the longest interviews lasting more than two hours. Participants were asked a collection of pre-arranged, open-ended questions about their lives, histories and experiences with music, as well as their opinions about the impacts of either American or Soviet political and cultural influence on local musical practices and identity.

Although their careers and musical specialties varied greatly, and some did not even currently classify themselves as professional musicians or performers, all of my participants were connected to music and performing arts in some way, and all of them had valuable insights about the impacts of foreign political influence on music, as well as music's role in the creation of a national identity. In Mongolia, all of the musicians I interviewed were native to the country, and most had led their careers in the nation, while in Hawai‘i, all but one of my interviewees, who was adopted into a Hawaiian family, had been born on the islands and identified as Native Hawaiian. I conducted interviews with both male- and female-identifying musicians, although approximately seventy percent of my interviewees were male, perhaps due to differing expectations and opportunities surrounding gender in both locations.

While the musicians and performers with whom I spoke shared many similarities, several key differences must also be noted. In Mongolia, a large portion of my participants held positions of relative social, political, and often economic prestige in relation to most of the population. Several held state-assigned titles of honor, and many were employed by major cultural institutions both during and after the socialist period.

Not all of my participants in Mongolia held such positions of political and intellectual prestige, of course, but at least seventy-five percent did, and those that did not expressed to me that this was likely because they either performed certain artforms that did not align with socialist ideals of modernization or because they lived in rural *aimags* and were never able to participate in the intellectual and economic opportunities available only in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. For the most part, however, Mongolian musicians benefited from upholding the cultural ideals of the state, even if, as I later discuss, they lamented the lack of artistic freedom that once accompanied such ideals. Conversely, while the Hawaiian musicians who participated in my research were certainly well-respected and held positions of relative intellectual and social prestige, they were not politically or economically rewarded by the state. In fact, upholding the cultural ideals of the state has historically only periodically guaranteed that musicians make enough money to survive, and has never guaranteed freedom from mistreatment. I note these differences in status and state support in Mongolia and Hawai‘i because they shed necessary light on the effects of different colonial structures–socialist authoritarianism in the case of Mongolia and free market capitalism in the case of Hawai‘i–on both the lived experiences of and moments of cultural revitalization brought upon by the musicians and performers who experienced them, all of which I have considered in the formation of my thesis.

Positionality

As a white, female-identifying undergraduate student from the mainland United States, a nation with a long history of democracy, market capitalism, and cultural imperialism, my positionality as the researcher for this study is important to note. Given

these features of my identity, although I have several years of classical musical training, I do not have a lot in common with the life experiences of most of the musicians and performers with whom I spoke, who are all over the age of forty, predominantly male (approximately seventy percent), and largely come from communities that have been on the receiving, rather than perpetrating, end of colonial practices. On this end, I can foresee concerns among potential readers of this study that, as a citizen of the United States, I may either intentionally or unintentionally overlook the violence and ongoing impacts of American settler-colonialism in Hawai‘i, or that I may be too harsh on Mongolian socialism and its cultural policies due to the nation's proximity to the Soviet Union, particularly given my upbringing and early education in a rural, largely conservative part of the United States, although I personally do not adhere to such beliefs. For this reason, I have taken great care throughout the duration of my research to be aware of any inherent biases that may be at play and to continue to educate myself about viewpoints and experiences which differ from my own.

I do believe that it could be extremely valuable for someone who has lived under more similar circumstances as my participants to conduct this kind of research, but I also feel as though there is some merit to approaching this study without any past experiences or memories that could potentially impact data analysis. Of course, approaching a study of postcolonial identity formation as an outsider in an ethical and fruitful way is only possible as long as the researcher is willing to continually examine their own positionality and the power dynamics inherent not only in the relationship of the United States to other politically marginalized regions, but also to the research process itself.

While these power dynamics can never be completely eliminated, I have attempted to be as self-aware and non-extractive as possible over the course of my research and analysis.

Aside from the more macro-elements of my identity that could potentially relate to the implementation of my research, I will note that this study would never have come to fruition if not for the unique experiences and relationships that preceded it, such as being one of six students on the very last study-abroad program offered in Mongolia by the School for International Training, or growing up in a musical household with a father who, for reasons I still don't fully understand, decided to pick up a Hawaiian slack key guitar (see Figure 1) one day and now only ever begrudgingly puts it down. If not for the specific focus of this program and the opportunities for research that it provided, I would not have been able to complete such extensive fieldwork in Mongolia, nor would I be completing an honors thesis so heavily based on nationalism, foreign political influence, and identity. Additionally, this research would not have been possible without the influence of my father, whose passion for Hawaiian music led him to form relationships with several prominent members of the local music scene, many of whom were gracious enough to speak to me. It is precisely this culmination of experiences that has guided my research, determining where I have gone, who I have spoken to, and the direction of my analysis.

Figure 1 depicts Jeff Cook and Tom Lunneberg playing the Hawaiian slack key guitar. Slack key is a fingerstyle genre of acoustic guitar playing thought to have originated after Latin American *vaqueros* who had been sent to the islands to show Native Hawaiians how to ride horses and herd cattle left their Spanish guitars behind on the islands without teaching the Native Hawaiians how to play them. Slack key generally differs from the standard EADGBE guitar tuning by "slacking" or lowering the tension of several of the guitar's strings. Originally, the physical body of the guitar used for slack key would not have differed from the "standard" Spanish guitar, but in the current era, slack key guitars like those pictured above may be specialized to accommodate various aspects of the sound and playing style. For example, they may be built with wider necks to facilitate fingerstyle playing and have alternative sound hole placement and internal bracing for better sound production and resonance and to accentuate overtones and harmonics. Photograph by Maria Ellis, August 27, 2023.

Chapter One: Connecting World Music, Authenticity, and Cultural Revitalization

Establishing the Orthodoxy: Pierre Bourdieu's Outline of a Theory of Practice

Through his 1972 book *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, translated and published in English in 1977, Pierre Bourdieu became one of the first social scientists to coherently advocate for a more action-based approach to the study of human cultural and social structures. Responding to the structuralist school of thought that had dominated much of anthropological scholarship during the 1960s, Bourdieu concedes that social actors are indeed shaped by the structures within which they live, but he argues that they, in turn, can shape these structures through strategic action. According to Bourdieu, "objective structures" are products of historical practices, which constantly reproduce and transform them as a very product of those same structures (1977, 83). Bourdieu defines practice as anything people do, and "the structuring structure" (1977, 72) known as the *habitus*, or the deeply internalized thought and behavioral patterns which guide everyday practice. Also the product of historical events, the *habitus* is the mental representation of the external structures with which social actors interact on a daily basis.

All of this, then, leads me to the topic of the doxa, which Bourdieu describes as "the naturalization of [an established structure's] own arbitrariness," in which "the natural and social world appears as self-evident" (1977, 164). When there is a nearly perfect correspondence between "objective order" and the "subjective principles of organization," these subjective principles of societal organization appear as the normal way to be in the world (1977, 164). A key characteristic of the doxa is its unquestioned and taken-for-granted nature. As such, for a society to exist in a so-called 'doxic' mode, it must not be aware of any other ways of being that challenge it. Once a society is

introduced to such conflicting or heterodox ideas, its doxic, taken-for-granted nature disappears, replaced by the self-awareness of the orthodoxy. Bourdieu explains,

> Orthodoxy, straight, or rather *straightened*, opinion, which aims, without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of doxa, exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy, that is, by reference to the choice–*hairesis*, heresy–made possible by the existence of *competing possibles* and to the explicit critique of the sum total of the alternatives not chosen that the established order implies. (1977, 169)

It is through this framework of the *doxa*, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy that I examine the impacts of both Western colonial influence and postcolonial periods of cultural revitalization on national and cultural identities in Mongolia and Hawai‘i.

World Music, Authenticity, and Globalization

Although my research is based on the anthropological analysis of musicians and performers in Mongolia and the islands of Hawai‘i, it is worth considering what a study of the production of national and folk music can contribute to a broader understanding of globalization, nationalism, and identity that cannot be provided through a different theoretical approach. Notably, music is one of, if not the most, accessible forms of art. With the ubiquity of audio technology and the endless algorithms of music streaming platforms, consumers have the ability to engage with musical recordings not only as a form of active entertainment, but as a passive background presence throughout their everyday lives. Moreover, particularly in the last several decades since the proliferation of world music as a popular genre among American and European listeners, music has arguably become the most “visible” form of cultural production. As a result, it has become increasingly common for nation-states to self-consciously invest in multicultural art programs, music, and dance in the effort to cultivate the international profile and flow

of capital characteristic of "global cities" (Stokes 2004, 64). As such, the production of music often reflects not only the interests and identities of its performers, but the material and political priorities of the governmental and financial actors of the state. Simply put, "music continues to remain a core expression of and means for performing cultural identity both within groups and to a broader world" (Curran & Radhakrishnan 2021, 103). The coexistence of these potentially conflicting forms of meaning within one medium is precisely what makes the study of music so fruitful in the examination of the cultural impacts of globalization, capitalism, and foreign political influence on the lives and identities of a nation's citizens.

Expanding upon the dual-purpose of music as both an individual meaning-making process and a self-conscious cultural performance, linguistic anthropologist Paja Faudree (2012) presents the role of music in terms of subject-making and object-making, noting that music must be studied holistically to understand its full cultural and societal relevance. Introducing music's role in the subject-making process, Faudree draws upon the work of Alessandro Duranti (2010) to stress the importance of learning about, listening to, and performing music in the formation of intersubjectivity, which Duranti characterizes as "the most basic quality of human existence," a precondition for human interaction, and a mode of participation in the natural and material world that serves as a baseline for multiple levels of human experience (2010, 1). In other words, the creation and discussion of music, similar to the instruction and practice of spoken language, is an interpretive experience that allows an individual to make sense of his or her relation to the surrounding world, differentiating between the Self and the Other. As such, the music with which humans interact works to form the very thread of their lived experiences,

which, in turn, are used in the creation of new music. Conversely, discussing the role of music as an object-making process, Faudree draws attention to the political dimensions of musical aesthetic production through the work of scholars such as Jonathan H. Shannon (2003). In his study of Syrian sacred music and dance, Shannon uses the concept of the "world stage," which he defines as "a representational practice…through which we can understand the global mediation of 'local' musical styles" (2003, 274), in order to examine the ways in which musical practices that are represented as "authentic," "local," or "spiritual" obtain this status specifically through their enactment of international, public performance. In essence, Shannon argues that within modern conceptions of the 'world music' genre, it is only through the reflexive awareness of the "hybrid," "global," Other–what Bourdieu would describe as the heterodoxy–that the concept of an "authentic," "local" Self can exist. Globalization then, for these purposes, can be understood as the global processes of interconnection that have allowed for the creation of the self-conscious dichotomy between the authentic local and the hybrid global. Through globalization's, and in this case colonialism's, introduction of heterodox elements, the previously taken-for-granted doxa transitions into the orthodoxy, which must define itself, and is defined by others, by its 'authentic' rejection of heterodox practices. Within this context, my research will examine the ways in which these so-called authentic, local practices of Mongolia and Hawai'i have been, and continue to be, performed on the "world stage" and made into symbols of national and political identity which not only influence international understandings of these cultures, but the ways in which members of these groups have come to view their own cultural identities.

It must be noted, of course, that these distinctions between authentic and hybrid, as well as global and local, have been socially constructed not only within the broader cultural context (i.e. by musical producers, listeners, and political actors), but by anthropologists and ethnomusicologists themselves, and should not be taken as concrete, unquestionable categories. In fact, French ethnomusicologist Laurent Aubert (2007) notes that even the label of 'world music' as a genre contains the implicit assumption that any form of music that is non-Western in origin must be classified as fundamentally other, and in its non-Western-ness, inherently alike. As such, the creation of this strict dichotomy between Western and 'world music' assumes the position of the West as the Self and all other groups as a uniform Other, thereby reinforcing the conception that Western music is the baseline to which everything else must be compared. Contrary to what this framing may suggest, world music as a genre is not equated to the concept of the 'global'. Rather, within the context of globalization, the 'global' is understood as the Western forms of meaning and ways of being that have spread to the rest of the world through the increased interconnection of international flows of capital, people, ideologies and technology (Appadurai 1996). Ethnomusicologist and anthropologist Martin Stokes (2004) asserts that within scholarly discussions of world music, "Like the modern, the global is perceived as being more encompassing in range if not depth, as conforming to capitalist disciplines of labor and commodity exchange, and as being tied to notions of development, civilization, and universality" (2004, 57), while "locality was conferred in a language of place, roots, and opposition to the global" (2004, 59). In other words, world music is conceptualized as a collective of locals, held together only by their opposition to the global West. Within these discussions, the concept of hybridity has often been framed

in direct opposition to that of authenticity, with the idea that when a 'local' cultural form encounters and begins to display any elements of 'global' influence, it automatically surrenders its status as 'authentic' in favor of that of the 'hybrid,' ignoring the rich histories of "mediation, exchange, and interaction" (Stokes 2004, 60) within these 'local' groups, and categorizing them as static and primordial.

In agreement with a growing number of contemporary world music scholars (Stokes 2004; Frith 2000), I reject the framing of authenticity in opposition to hybridity as something purely 'local' and devoid of 'global' (i.e. Western) influences, with the understanding that all forms of music are inherently hybrid and that the perpetuation of this false dichotomy is "one of the means by which world music discourse continues to mediate Northern metropolitan hegemony" (Stokes 2004, 60). I engage with terms such as authenticity and hybridity throughout this ethnography not because I agree with the ways that they have so frequently been presented within scholarly and consumer discourse surrounding 'world music,' but because they are the terms and concepts that have shaped the ways in which the musicians and performers with whom I spoke have come to understand themselves, their music, and its position in the world, and for that reason, I refute the notion that these terms have no place in contemporary 'world music' studies. In response to foreign political influence and rapid political and cultural change, musicians and performers in Mongolia and Hawai'i have begun to form their own understandings of what authenticity can mean within the context of globalization. As such, my usage of the terms authenticity and hybridity in this ethnography seeks to examine both how the perpetuation of such outdated concepts has impacted these musicians and how they have begun to redefine these terms in the process of creating

new forms of national and cultural identity. By examining these ideas through the lens of Bourdieu's doxa, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy, I attempt to separate them from their previous connotations of being 'objective' musical categories and draw attention not only to the inescapable dynamics of power that are inherent in the creation and assignment of labels such as these, but also to the strategies employed by the actors living within these structures as they vie for political and cultural sovereignty in the postcolonial context.

Nationalism, Postcolonialism, Revitalization Movements, and the Invention of Tradition

I position this ethnography within contemporary scholarship surrounding nationalism, postcolonialism, revitalization movements, and the invention of tradition. Of particular importance to these discussions is the work of political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson (1983), who defines the 'nation' as an "imagined community" which has become a necessary form of group identity in the modern era as the sacred languages, monarchs, and cosmological understandings around which group identities were once structured have become irrelevant within the modern context. In conversation with Western Marxists, Anderson attributes the need for new forms of imagined community to the invention of print and capitalism, which, together, standardized certain dialects while suppressing others and created a common readership base whose firm lingual boundaries helped to define the 'nation'. Arguing against primordialist claims such as that of Clifford Geertz (1963) that situate national identities and nationalism as a natural and long-standing force that is passed down relatively unchanging through generations, Anderson asserts that the creation of the modern notion of the nation and the forms of nationalism which now govern it were never predetermined, but direct products of the modern ubiquity of the printed word. This mass media, made possible by capitalist processes, has

helped to create, shape, and channel ways of thinking about the Self and Other, creating a sense of cultural commonality among the people of such nations, even though the majority of these people will never have the chance to interact with one another.

This understanding of the nation and nationalism not as unchanging, 'natural' categories, but as a particular historically situated and socially constructed response to the spread of mass media and capitalism is fundamental to the construction of my own research, in which I examine Hawai'i, whose particular brand of contemporary nationalist aspiration has been heavily influenced both by the media and the capitalist economic system, but is notably no longer a politically sovereign nation, and Mongolia, which is a politically sovereign, capitalist nation, but whose contemporary mode of nationalism was closely adapted from that of its Soviet-influenced socialist period, in which the state was, notably, not capitalist. Of course, I am certainly not the first to attempt to complicate Anderson's claims–see (Chatterjee 1993, McDowell 1999, and Hastings 1997) for respective critiques of Anderson's failure to address the limits to nationalism that have been imposed by European colonialism, his masculine vision of nationalism, and his emphasis on nationalism's modernist nature, which therefore overlooks the national sentiments that have been noted before the eighteenth century. It is also not my intention to invoke the qualities of modern constructions of Mongolian and Hawaiian nationalist sentiment that do not fit within Anderson's framework as an attempt to disprove his theory. Rather, I take Anderson's theory of the imagined community for exactly what it is: a useful, but perhaps overly simplistic account for the ways in which modern conceptions of the nation-state and the nationalist principles which govern it have come to be, not as primordial, predetermined processes of group identity, but as socially

constructed categories of belonging that emerged in direct relation to specific historical and cultural circumstances.

Also revolutionary to scholarly approaches to nationalism is the work of Ernest Gellner (1983). While Gellner agrees with Anderson that nations and nationalism are social constructs of modernity in which "it is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members" (Gellner 1983, 7), he emphasizes that such constructs are necessary within the current context of modernization and industrialization. Within this context, the 'nation' performs the vital work of uniting the social and political boundaries of a region, which Gellner argues must occur to maintain the conditions of industrialism following a state's transition away from an agrarian structure. In other words, the works of both Gellner and Anderson can be understood as efforts to explain the construction of the 'local' versus the 'global' in the modern context, as individual groups define what it means to be "us" in opposition to what it means to be "them."

Two additional points at which Gellner's work becomes most relevant to my own are his notion that nations are conceived and actively perpetuated by social elites, not as a selfish abuse of power, but as an act of cultural standardization necessary in fabricating an ideologically homogeneous, self-ruling unit, and the idea that within groups attempting to demand political autonomy, folk traditions are collected and processed to form a 'pure' national culture. The role of a group's social and political elites in fabricating nationalist ideals is of particular importance to my analysis both of the particular forms of nationalism put in place during periods of political subordination in

Mongolia and Hawai‘i, and of the ways in which current political and social elites in these locations employ similar nationalist frameworks of cultural production to create new forms of identity. Throughout this ethnography, I build upon Gellner's ideas to examine nationalism within the specific contexts of globalization, political subordination, and cultural imperialism, particularly in its intentional relationship to systems of governance and power, through which social and political elites have wielded musical cultural production as a powerful tool of identity-formation.

When examining the ways in which social and political elites wield musical production to shape national identities, however, it is crucial to include the perspectives of political scientist Walker Connor (1994). Critical to Connor's understanding of nationalism is the concept of an ethnic kinship which draws a nation's citizens together through the ties of ancestral relation. While Connor concedes that most nations contain a wide variety of genetic strains, and that "the sense of unique descent, of course, need not, and *in nearly all* cases *will not*, accord with factual history" (1994, 202), this sense of kinship is precisely what defines a nation, and is therefore the ideological base of all forms of nationalism. With this understanding, Connor asserts that in most cases, nationalist speeches and proclamations are not simply political propaganda in which the leadership does not truly believe, but "a mass phenomenon…to which its inciters are true believers" (1994, 198) appealing to the nature of a collective instinct. It is this idea of ethnonationalism as a mass phenomenon in which even its inciters are often also believers that brings Connor to the point that is most relevant to my own research: "that the national bond is subconscious and emotional rather than rational in its inspiration," but that it can be triggered by successful nationalist leaders through strategic appeals to

emotion and “to the blood” (1994, 204). In particular, Connor notes that the nonrational core of the nation has most often been triggered through national symbols such as the rising sun, swastika, and Brittania, which speak to a nation’s members beyond the use of words; nationalist poetry, which expresses deep emotion beyond classical logic; familial metaphors, which transform what was once simply a national territory into a ‘motherland’ or ‘sacred soil’; and finally through music, which is “perceived as reflecting the nation’s particular past or genius” (1994, 205). It is not through such rational explanations as economic deprivation, rational choice theory, or cost-benefit considerations, he argues, that such strong senses of national identity emerge, but through these nonrational appeals to a kinship-based ethnonationalism. While I do not agree with Connor’s focus on the ethnic basis of national identity, nor with his dismissal of the other ways in which the nation has functioned and been strategically formed and justified through time, I agree with his assertion that the analysis of nationalism must account for its emotional depth and the passion that it so frequently evokes. It is precisely this emotionality in the creation of nationalism that makes room for consideration of the role of music in the ideological formation of the state, an idea to which I later return in my discussion of music’s role in the invention of tradition. In the chapters that follow, I attempt to hold space for both the rational, political, and historically-based understandings of the nationalist evocation of tradition in postcolonial Mongolia and Hawai‘i, and for the ways in which the experience of political subjugation and the social responses that arise from it are inherently nonrational and emotional.

A core feature of my initial interest in conducting this research has been the examination of cultural change within the context of political subjugation. Mongolia, for

example, experienced vast political and cultural changes just in the last century, from the adoption of a Soviet-influenced socialist political and economic structure in the early 1920s to the democratic revolution of 1990 and all of the cultural changes that took place in between, while Hawai‘i experienced widespread cultural revitalization during the 1960s and 1970s, bringing renewed interest in Hawaiian music, arts, and political sovereignty even though the state's political status had not changed. For both regions, I sought to discover how the experience of political subordination and cultural imperialism, and the experience of change, may have impacted the lives and identities of the musicians and performers who experienced them. To answer this question, I will turn to the field of postcolonial theory.

Postcolonialism, whose ideological roots are often attributed to Edward Said's (2003) 1978 book *Orientalism*, but can also be traced back to several other prominent scholars of the twentieth century (Fanon [1952] 1967, [1961] 1965; Spivak [1988] 2010; Bhabha 1994), is not to be confused with decolonization, or the 'undoing' of colonialism in the form of political independence and self-determination–if this were the case, this field of thought would be quite irrelevant to the state of Hawai‘i, which remains firmly under American political control. Rather, Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins (1996) define postcolonialism as "an engagement with, and contestation of, colonialism's discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies" (1996, 2). In other words, postcolonialism is not necessarily the absence or aftermath of colonialism, but an examination of its cultural, economic, and political legacies, whether or not colonialism itself is still ongoing.

Central to scholarly understandings of the cultural legacies of colonialism is the work of psychiatrist and philosopher Frantz Fanon (1965), whose powerful book *The Wretched of the Earth*, analyzes the deeply dehumanizing impacts of colonialism. In this work, Fanon notes that the constant political, economic, cultural, and spiritual oppression that is both structural and intimate has the impact of depersonalization on both an individual and national level, depriving the colonized of a sense of cultural identity. This depersonalization, Fanon asserts, is but another form of the inherent violence of colonialism, one which assaults the individual and cultural integrity of self, leading to increased psychopathology on the individual level and intense feelings of dislocation on that of the group. In the chapters that follow, I use Fanon's understandings of colonial subjugation to examine Mongolia and Hawai‘i, where these feelings of dislocation and loss that are characteristic of colonization and political subordination combine with the inherited understandings of nationalist identity formation from these periods of political subjugation to create an ideal environment for revitalization movements and the invention of tradition.

Anthony F.C. Wallace (1956) defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1956, 265). As a phenomenon of cultural change, Wallace argues that the individuals involved in the process of cultural revitalization must view their current cultural system, or at least some major aspects of it, as unsatisfactory, and work with the clear intent to modify it. Wallace contextualizes this claim through the definition of what he describes as "the mazeway," or "nature, society, culture, personality, and body image, as seen by one person" (1956, 266). When individuals within a given culture are placed

under repeated conditions of stress, as is often the case within the colonial context, and find that their current mazeway is no longer leading to actions that reduce this stress, Wallace asserts that these individuals must choose between maintaining the present mazeway and tolerating the chronic stress that accompanies it, or changing that mazeway. The decision to change one's mazeway, in turn, often leads to changes within the cultural system itself so as to more effectively reduce such feelings of stress, and the collaboration of multiple members of a group to achieve this goal is known as a revitalization movement. In other words, revitalization movements are collective efforts of cultural stress reduction. While revitalization movements can take many forms, the most relevant to both Mongolia's and Hawai'i's experiences of political subjugation and cultural revitalization is the "revivalistic" movement, which emphasizes "the institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present" (1956, 267). Essentially, the feelings of disconnection and stress brought about by colonial encounters create a sense of loss, or a cultural hole of sorts, which can only be filled through a revival of the past.

As Eric Hobsbawm (1983) notes, however, a core feature of these revivals of the past is that the 'past' that is being invoked is often invented. Hobsbawm uses the term 'invented tradition' to broadly describe any set of ritual practices with set rules that are meant to pass on specific values and behavioral norms through repetition, automatically implying a sense of continuity with a past that its practitioners deem suitably historical. What makes these traditions invented, however, is that the continuity they claim is often artificially created. Hobsbawm notes that these attempts at continuity with an established past "are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations,"

serving as a "contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant" (1983, 2), often in response to the disruption of previous social systems through rapid societal change. Separate from customs, which Hobsbawm argues dominate 'traditional' or 'doxic' societies (to use Bourdieu's term), invented traditions are notable in their unvarying nature. While customs must always, to a certain extent, adapt to the changing conditions that even doxic cultures inevitably experience, tradition's constant reference to a real or invented past requires a fixity in practice that is not realistic to most societal practices, but extremely powerful in creating a linkage to an imagined past. Although invented traditions have been invoked in many different cultural and societal contexts, Hobsbawm argues that scholars "should expect it to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated" (1983, 4-5). In sum, the invention of tradition is a way for groups of people to feel as though they have a sense of control and stability in response to the feelings of loss, as well as the desire for national respect and cultural sovereignty inherent to the ever-globalizing world of "modernity." However, because these groups can never return to the unquestioned doxa of the precolonial past, they invoke the nationalist frameworks of 'pure' culture in order to establish a new orthodox form of cultural identity created in opposition to yet based upon the heterodox influences of a globalized world.

Chapter Two: Self-Representation and Sovereignty in Post-Renaissance Hawai‘i

In 1820, Christian missionaries from the United States entered the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, introducing a particularly harsh version of New England Protestantism to the rapidly changing political and cultural dynamics of the newly formed mercantile capitalist society, which was still reeling from the introduction of European guns, ships, and military technology (Merry 2000). In the years that followed the arrival of American Protestant missionaries, some, though notably not all, of the Hawaiian *ali‘i* (nobility) began to convert to Christianity for the political and religious opportunities that it provided, and by 1838, after a failed rebellion by the young king Kauikeaouli in 1832, the *ali‘i* began efforts to adopt a Western governance and legal system (Merry 2000, 41). As the natural resources that drove the mercantile economy began to dwindle, policies of land stewardship began to change and new industries such as the sugar plantation economy emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, encouraged by the Protestant missionaries who were eager to introduce the "discipline of capitalist labor" (Merry 2000, 43). In the wake of such rapid cultural and economic changes, as well as a mass influx of foreign residents, Hawaiian adoption of Western law, whether Christian, as in the first political transition from 1825 to 1844, or secular, as in the second transition from 1845 to 1852, served as an attempt by the *ali‘i* to end the disorder and uncertainty of the time period and retain the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom through a government and legal system that the leaders of European and American nation-states would respect and recognize as familiar (Merry 2000). As the anthropologist Sally Engle Merry notes, however, although the introduction of a state and legal system legible to the Europeans "permitted claims of sovereignty in the nineteenth-century global order, they also

deepened dependence on foreigners to run them" (Merry 2000, 47). All of this, then, set the stage for the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, engineered by American settlers and sugar planters living in Hawaiʻi and made possible by the "energetic support" of the U.S. consul and troops, eager to take full advantage of the economic opportunities provided by the islands (Merry 2000, 7). After establishing first a "Provisional Government" of the kingdom followed by the independent Republic of Hawaiʻi, the American rebels approached the United States government to solicit the republic's annexation as an official American territory, a request which the federal government granted in 1898, just over sixty years before legalizing Hawaiʻi's annexation as a state in 1959.

Alongside these political transitions came several cultural shifts, beginning with the introduction of Western melodic structures and the ban of the traditional language of *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* from public instruction in 1896, and culminating in the strategic creation and usage of music by American settlers, tourist agencies, and mainland record companies seeking wealth, political relevance, and power to create a consumer-friendly image of Hawaiʻi as an exotic, tropical paradise. As I later examine, however, in the 1960s and 1970s, local musicians, performers, and cultural figures spearheaded a movement known as the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, which brought increased attention to reviving a fundamentally Hawaiian culture and identity through renewed interest in music and political anti-imperialist action (Lewis 1984, 42).

In the pages that follow, I analyze to what extent the constructed style of Hawaiian music was imposed upon musicians and performers, and how it has been adopted and indigenized. What aspects of traditional Hawaiian musical practices are

reflected in this constructed genre, and what aspects of the genre are reflected in the musical practices of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance? What is the perception among Hawaiian musicians and performers about the role of American colonialism in shaping contemporary musical practices, and what does the term "Hawaiian music" actually mean to these performers?

When reflecting upon the impacts of American colonization in Hawai‘i, there was no single prevailing belief that each participant shared. Some defined the period following the entrance of European missionaries as one of great loss, several acknowledged the intentional repression of the Hawaiian language, and many highlighted the complexities of capitalist commercialization of cultural practices. Most, however, held complex and occasionally contradictory views of colonization and the American annexation of Hawai‘i, morally opposed to the violent history of Western colonialism on the islands and the inauthentic "tourist music" that arose as a result, yet seemingly unable to fully separate their art either emotionally or practically from certain elements of American and Western introduction. More than fifty years after the beginning of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, such conflicting understandings of colonialism, "tourist music," and cultural authenticity among musicians and performers in the islands of Hawai‘i reflect the deeply complex impacts of political subordination and cultural imperialism on cultural practices, beliefs, and identity.

Impacts of Western Involvement

From a historical standpoint, the musicians and performers with whom I spoke generally defined the beginning of Western involvement in Hawaiian musical practices with the arrival of the missionaries and the fall of the monarchy during the nineteenth

century. Cliff, a self-taught slack key guitarist, music instructor, and former professor from Maui, Hawai‘i who has contributed to multiple Grammy-winning recordings, defined the first shifts in Hawaiian culture from the arrival of Americans by the influences of the first Protestant missionaries in 1820. He explained:

> The missionaries arrived about the 1820s, I believe. So they brought Western instruments...And before that time, music was mainly–there weren't many melodic instruments, it was more *oli* or chant. And there were the ancient forms of prayer and the ancient type of *hula*, that is now referred to as *kahiko*, or the ancient *hula*, *hula kahiko*. But when Western instruments arrived, there was a shift with church hymns being–with the missionaries really pushing that culture and trying to shun the old practice. It led to–just from a standpoint of music–then a lot of the melodies, the harmonies, the way that the music sounded changed. And so probably the first big step that happened musically was a translation of a book of church hymns into the Hawaiian language. So then a lot of people would grow up singing and hearing these melodies and chord progressions that influenced the way that people thought about music, and started to compose music.

As the introduction of melodic church hymns took root, Cliff noted that more and more native Hawaiians began to think about music differently. By the 1850s and 1860s, some of the most prolific Hawaiian composers of the nineteenth century, including the last sovereign monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen Lili‘uokalani, had received their education from missionary-affiliated institutions such as the Royal School. At the Royal School, musicians of the late monarchy incorporated the information that they were taught into the composition of a new style of music that "balanc[ed] Western harmony and melodies based on church hymns with the poetry of the old language" in a way that was legible to Western audiences (Cliff). As a result of this new style, "a lot of the traditional language was still there, but it was now sung in a completely different way. The overtones of the melodies of *oli* and the structure are still there, but the harmony completely shifted to more of a Western sound" (Cliff).

Although several of the early impacts of Western involvement on Hawaiian cultural practices noted by musicians did come directly at the hands of American missionaries, this was not always the case. Cliff noted, "Another thing that I think really influenced the music wasn't only from colonialism and from the people who colonized, it's the people that they then brought in to sort of work the plantations." The most influential groups from this influx of people employed to work the land were the Portuguese, who immigrated to Hawai'i to work the islands' newly founded sugar plantations, and the *vaqueros*, the cattle ranchers who had been sent to the islands from Mexico and the United States to show Native Hawaiians how to ride horses and herd cattle. When Portuguese families began arriving in Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century, they brought instruments that "became fundamental parts of the music" (Cliff), including the 'ukulele and the five-string "taro patch guitar" known as the *rajão*, and they introduced steel strings, which eventually led to the Hawaiian invention of the steel guitar. Only a few decades earlier, the arrival of the *vaqueros* has also been credited with the contribution of what is perhaps Hawai'i's most well-known melodic instrument, the slack key guitar. Although the exact history of the genre has not been clearly documented, Cliff asserted that the common understanding among most guitarists in Hawai'i is that slack key, a fingerstyle genre of acoustic guitar-playing which has in recent years become the poster child for so-called "Hawaiian music," originated from these *vaqueros*, who brought Spanish guitars with them when they arrived to work on the islands. Gary, a prominent slack key guitar player in Maui who has been active within the recording industry since the 1970s, explained to me that when the *vaqueros* eventually left the islands, many of them also left behind their guitars, without ever teaching any

Hawaiians how to play or tune the instruments. As the story goes, Hawaiians began playing the guitars as they found them, often with multiple strings significantly looser than would be appropriate for "standard tuning." As Hawaiians adopted the instruments, they formed their own versions of appropriate tunings, eventually creating the style that is now known as slack key. As a result, Cliff noted that "[Music] had more of a sound from Mexico–coming from Mexico–but with Spanish influence coming through Mexico" (Cliff).

Of course, the arrival of American missionaries and the subsequent creation of a plantation economy in Hawai‘i was not a neutral process of benevolent cultural exchange. Echoing Merry's (2000) exploration of the legal and cultural colonization of Hawai‘i, Charles, a gifted steel guitarist and the son of a former United States senator from Hawai‘i who became inspired to play the instrument during the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, explained that American colonists were not interested in simply co-existing with Hawaiian forms of society and governance, but felt the need to exert political, social, and perhaps most consequentially, economic control. Following the 1893 coup d'état staged against Queen Lili‘uokalani by a group of thirteen Caucasian businessmen with the explicit goal of annexing the islands to the United States, which occurred just five years later (Merry 2000), Charles explained that:

> The monarchy ended, and colonialism started with Hawai‘i becoming a territory. It became like anywhere else in the United States with the Native Americans, for example, or you know, you could say even with what the Japanese did to the Koreans before World War II. I mean, everywhere, the Russians, you know, with parts of the former Ukraine…Or even Mexico or Central America with the Spaniards, you know. Whatever government comes in, they're gonna make everybody conform to that style–that style of government, that style of society, and so on. So as far as music is concerned, you can hear the changes in the music over time. And it pretty much mirrored what was happening in the States.

One of the first steps in this process of forced political and cultural conformity that the government of the Republic of Hawai‘i took during the process of Hawai‘i’s annexation to the United States was the ban on teaching and learning through the Hawaiian language *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i*. Kaliko Beamer-Trapp, a prominent instructor of *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* who gave me permission to share his identity, explained to me that in 1896, just three years after the fall of the monarchy and two years before Hawaiian annexation, the Republic of Hawai‘i passed a law that legally required every educational institution in Hawai‘i to teach only through English. Although the bill through which this law was passed left room for the authorization of the use of other languages by the Department of Public Instruction, it was explicit that “Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this Section shall not be recognized by the Department” (Legislature of the Republic of Hawai‘i 1896). Those who had already been taught *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* when this law was passed chose not to pass the language on to their children in fear of the problems that doing so would cause for them as they entered Hawaiian schools. James, a prominent slack key guitarist and singer from the Big Island of Hawai‘i told me, “People were discouraged from speaking the language when the Western influence came, so my grandfather was fluent, but he never spoke to my dad.” Faith, a talented *hula* dancer and master teacher, or *kumu hula*, who is married to and often performs alongside James, added, “Those days they really didn’t want the children to speak [Hawaiian] because then it’d be problems. So we never learned to speak. Which is really sad...”

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i did not disappear entirely at the hands of this oppressive policy, but it did change spheres. While in the past the Hawaiian language had been the official medium for education, chanting, the recording of history, and casual conversations

between friends and family, following the changes of the late nineteenth century, *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* transformed out of necessity into the carrier of melodies. Before American colonization, James explained that "It was basically chants. No instruments. Everything was chants. Stories were passed down through chants. Family legacy was passed down through chants." When, in the 1890s, Hawaiian language was no longer an acceptable medium of communication, Faith told me that people instead began to use *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* for singing:

> They wouldn't have you speak the Hawaiian language. So what the Hawaiian people did was they sang in their own language. They sang in their language, and they presented it to the English people. It was part of trying to tell them that the Hawaiians will use our power. We are going to use it in this way, musically. And that way, that's how people got to do *hula*. That's how our language got to go forward. That's what it was. It was just like bringing flowers wrapped in the newspaper to Liliʻuokalani, letting her know what's going on around the palace, or wherever she lived. So, you know, that was something to learn, what had happened to our queen. She also made it a point not to fight back when she was held. Not to fight back. Or all our Hawaiian people will be no more.

As James and Faith explained, when the Hawaiian language was no longer allowed to be used in the ways that it had been practiced in the past, through chanting and education, it was adapted as a form of resistance by Hawaiians to mediums deemed more acceptable to Western listeners, in the melodic models introduced from the West. It was through this melodic medium that *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* persisted in limited capacity, surviving through song lyrics until its revivification during the Second Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s. This cultural shift to melodic forms was also at the root of the creation of *hula ʻauana*, the "modern" style of *hula* that is set to the music of instruments such as the ʻukulele or slack key guitar, as opposed to *hula kahiko*, an older style of *hula* that is set to chants and percussion instruments.

This adaptation of historically oral and percussion-based practices such as *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* and *hula* to Western melodic forms was not a formal imposition of the American government, but a strategic decision and an act of everyday resistance, to use political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott's (1985) term, made by speakers and performers to covertly maintain the long histories and family legacies passed down by these practices within a rapidly changing, colonial society. Within this context, I believe that it is necessary to emphasize both the structural influences being exercised by the United States government and the individual agency of the musicians and performers resisting such influences in the limited ways that they could. The adoption of the melodies of church hymns into spoken language and the performance of *hula* was, indeed, a decision made by practitioners of indigenous cultural forms, and most, if not all, of my participants were involved in and exhibited great respect towards the artforms such as *hula ʻauana*, for example, that were created or impacted by this decision. Even so, as is typical of Scott's (1985) everyday resistance, this decision was undeniably made during conditions of extreme duress, during which Native Hawaiians faced the loss of an entire language, and the legal and economic influences being exerted by the U.S. government at the time cannot be separated from such a decision. Like bringing the late Queen Liliʻuokalani flowers wrapped in newspapers so that she could remain informed when she was barred from the outside world, adapting *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* and *hula* to Western musical forms was a way of quietly undermining colonial power and continuing to pass on vital knowledge while avoiding direct confrontation, pushing back against the systems at hand while accommodating to a new life within them.

The Invention and Reception of Hapa-Haole

Moreover, discussions of culture, adaptation, and resistance are also fundamentally related to such issues as authenticity, hybridity, and what it means to be "traditional." Which aspects of Hawaiian music are considered to be 'authentically Hawaiian,' and at what level of interconnection with non-Hawaiian forms do certain practices become less Hawaiian? What does it mean to be "traditional" when all of the musical forms that exist today have been touched, at least in some degree, by Western influence? It is through these questions that one must consider the next step outlined by my participants in the process of Western influence on Hawaiian musical practices: the invention of *hapa-haole*. As Cliff walked me through the long history of American involvement in Hawaiian musical and cultural practices, from the arrival of the missionaries to the modern day, he explained that as the twentieth century began, the explosion in popularity of ragtime and jazz alongside Hawaiian adaptation to Western string instruments and styles led to the invention of *hapa-haole*, a style of music known for "mixing English lyrics with Hawaiian concepts and sounds" (Cliff). As jazz and swing became more popular across the United States, the melodic styles of Hawai'i developed in turn, adopting what is known as a "vamp," which Cliff described as a "little turnaround where the singing stops" at the end of each music phrase, followed by a musical break for a few measures of music. In combination with the implementation of English lyrics, the adoption of vamps in the Hawaiian melodic structure, originally introduced by the missionaries of the nineteenth century, translated to a jazzier, more "modern" sound that was accessible to a greater variety of audiences.

As I will later explore, the genre of music known as *hapa-haole* carries with it the connotations of being "tourist music," something that is less pure, less fundamentally Hawaiian, connotations which largely derive from how the genre was created. Many scholars, including Cliff, trace both *hapa-haole* and the emergence of Hawai‘i as a tourist destination to settler Hawaiians' portrayals of Hawai‘i in large international exhibitions known as World's Fairs, particularly the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, also known as the World's Columbian Exhibition, and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of San Francisco in 1915, where presentations of 'Hawaiian culture' began to gain traction in the mainland United States through daily performances and the constant engagement of the millions of visitors who attended each fair. These massive expositions, which often lasted almost half a year, were designed as venues where "the commercial, colonial, and industrial accomplishments of the world's 'advanced' nations could be classified, displayed, and most importantly, compared" (Krasniewicz 2015, 7). Although the fairs' designers would likely say that the tone of these exhibitions was meant to be celebratory of different cultures, their inclusion of cultural and often living ethnological displays served the purpose of reinforcing the early anthropological paradigm that certain cultures could be ranked as either more or less 'civilized,' thus legitimizing a world order in which these 'advanced' (i.e. Western) nations had the right to politically dominate and control the resources of less 'civilized' nations (Krasniewicz 2015, 10).

Cliff's highlighting of the exposition of 1893 is particularly notable in this regard because the Chicago World's Fair was not actually the first time that Hawai‘i had been represented at a global exhibition. In fact, the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom had been present at both the Exposition Universelle of Paris in 1867 and the Centennial Exhibition

of Philadelphia in 1876, organizing and displaying items related to culture, commerce, and education in the attempt to "resist Western characterizations of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an 'other' culture," fashioning "their own modernity through visual presentations of 'culture,' 'history,' and 'nation'" (Kamehiro 2011). Temporarily putting aside all of the previously addressed problems of the World's Fairs, as well as the essentialization and simplification inherent in the structure of their cultural exhibits, Hawai'i's participation in the events of 1867 and 1876 was, at least, voluntary and under the nation's own terms. The same cannot be said of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, which one might recall is the same year that white settlers illegally overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy. Instead, the Hawaiian exhibit of 1893 was organized by settlers of the islands attempting to encourage tourism and increased white settlement as a part of the American annexation movement through their own very curated designs, including a cyclorama of the Kīlauea volcano, a "twenty-five foot statue of 'Pele, the Goddess of Fire,' seated on a lava flow wielding a torch in one hand with her other hand ready to pitch a mass of lava…, a clear gesture towards the eroticization and trivializing of Native Hawai'i and its declining power to represent itself," and a *hula* troupe which portrayed Hawaiian culture as overtly sexual (Kamehiro 2011). All marked a clear deviation in Native Hawaiian exhibits in World's Fairs "from sovereign, historically-situated, and modern self-presentation to feminized, exotic, tourist curiosity" (Kamehiro 2011).

This time period, during which Hawai'i was aggressively marketed through international exhibitions as a feminine and exotic paradise, perfect for settling, vacationing, and annexing, coincided exactly with the development of *hapa-haole*'s melodic structure. These two worlds collided at the large "Hawaiian Pavilion" of the

Panama–Pacific International Exposition of San Francisco in 1915. As described by Cliff, the Pavilion featured daily performances of *hula* and *hapa-haole* music, whose English lyrics referencing the beauty and culture of Hawai‘i combined easily with the familiar melodic structures of jazz and swing, played on newly Hawaiian instruments such as guitars and *‘ukuleles*. As *hapa-haole* evolved, popularized by the exposure it received advertising Hawai‘i at the World’s Fair, it was picked up by the conglomeration of industry powers known as Tin Pan Alley in New York City, who, seeing the great potential for profit in the new genre, began to write and produce their own versions of *hapa-haole* with their own versions of ‘Hawaiian lyrics’ romanticizing the islands, a practice which quickly spread to other mainland musicians and producers. See the writer, composer, and alleged rights-swindler Johnny Noble’s *hapa-haole* song from 1934 about a vendor of *leis*, the traditional wreaths or garlands of Hawai‘i that are typically worn around the neck, below:

> In Honolulu whene’er a ship is sailing/You’ll find lei vendors all over the town/You’ll see them rush up and down the highways as you come along/You’ll be hearing their song/Leis, Leis/Leis, I’ve got sweet leis for sale/All kinds of leis for sale/Won’t you buy some today? Say!/Paper leis/In all the colors too/I'll sell them cheap to you/Just a quarter for two/Gardenia leis, sweet ginger leis/I tell you true/When your sweetheart starts to depart she’ll whisper/Dear, I love you, yes I love you/Leis, I’ve got sweet leis for sale/And when you buy my leis/All your dreams will come true. (Noble, 1963)

Lyrics such as these further reinforced the image of Hawai‘i as a quaint cultural paradise, a place where exotic, flower-bearing women were just waiting for the economic and romantic opportunities presented by the white man’s arrival. As the development of recording technology allowed for the continued marketing of this ideal to American consumers, “Hawaiian music actually became one of the most popular types of music

around the world" (Cliff) due to its simultaneous proximity to the popular genres of the time period and its association with an 'exotic other.'

In essence, *hapa-haole* became an accessible avenue for pro-settlement political forces to advertise the Hawaiian territory through the newly emerging recording industry and for Western audiences to engage with the 'foreign,' and the ramifications of the genre's legacy can be felt in Hawai'i even now. Cliff explained that *hapa-haole* and hybrid versions of Hawaiian music "branded Hawaii in a very distinct way":

> You think of beautiful beaches and palm trees swaying. A lot of the songs are about the beauty of the islands, and, you know, people falling in love. It didn't get deeper into *kaona* [the hidden meaning instilled in creative artforms] and all the poetry that was what Lili'uokalani[2] was writing, and the *oli* [chants] and everything before that was all pushed to the side. It just became a way to promote tourism in the islands. Although really beautiful music that's still a major part of the repertoire came from that era, it was definitely for a different purpose than what *oli* and, you know, the ancient traditions began as. It was all for marketing for sure. But also, musicians found a voice, in a way, and local musicians started having success and developed careers as entertainers, so it became a profession. So people could make a living, whereas before they would never make a living playing music."

Cliff's statement exemplifies the complexity that most of my participants felt surrounding *hapa-haole* and the impacts of American involvement in Hawai'i more broadly. On one level, *hapa-haole* and American involvement brought tourism to the islands. *Kumu hula* Faith described the impacts of the near-constant tourism near her home on the Big Island of Hawai'i as, "People come to travel to Hawai'i…but they don't respect us and they don't respect the culture. Sometimes they don't respect the people." At the same time, however, the tourist economy brought many opportunities to Hawaiian musicians that had not been present before, including the ability to develop a professional career in

[2] Queen Lili'uokalani was the last sovereign monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as well as a talented composer. The writer and composer of such notable pieces of music as "Aloha 'Oe," Queen Lili'uokalani was known for her poetic skill.

one's preferred artform. It must be noted, of course, that the necessity of developing a professional career as is understood within the American cultural context would not have been necessary before the colonial imposition of the capitalist economic system in Hawai'i, but, as explained by Emma, a *'ukulele* player, *hula* dancer, and singer of a prominent jazz and *hapa-haole* duo on Maui, "you need the work" to survive within this capitalist system, and the global interest in Hawaiian music and culture cultivated by the tourist industry has, at least, allowed performers to be compensated for their craft. Even with this compensation, however, several of my participants noted a long history of exploitation of Hawaiian musicians within the recording industry, particularly by large producers such as Johnny Noble, who sought out Native Hawaiian artists who in many cases would not have had the financial means to reject his advances. These producers recorded Native Hawaiian artists' work and sold it for profit, often creating contractual agreements that personally claimed rights, songwriting credits and ownership of these artists' music. Cliff, whose late relative worked with Johnny Noble during the 1940s and 1950s, informed me that artists were often coerced out of the need for money into signing contracts before they truly knew what such contracts would entail, explaining that many songs that were credited to Johnny Noble and other American producers of this period were likely written by another artist.

Even as time passed and Hawaiian artists became more familiar with the complexities of the profit-driven recording industry, Cliff explained that songwriters would often agree to give away the rights of their music just to have the exposure and promotion of a major label. Although conditions appear to be improving, Hawaiian artists continue to face the corruption and financial pressures of the industry even now. Edward,

a second-generation professional *'ukulele* player who has been "mishandled and screwed over" by record companies multiple times throughout his long career as a musician, described the simultaneous joys and difficulties of working with such labels while getting to do what he loves:

> I mean, when the…when the job starts coming, and you get paid and you're starting to make a living just being a full-time musician, I mean, it feels great because it feels like I'm accomplishing something in my life. Well, that's how it felt back then. And then the stress level of knowing, 'Wait, no one's calling me for work.' You know, that's part of it. The performing side, recording side—to me, it comes with the territory. I think if you're an artist, you need to record something, you know, it's like–it's like your calling card. People make recordings to make money. That's hardly the case, unless you're Michael Jackson or Bruno Mars or Madonna or Taylor Swift…So the recording side of it is like, 'Okay, I have to make a recording.' And that's another stress level because I hate recording with a passion. Because it's finances, right? You have to pay for a studio, you have to pay for your engineer, you have to pay your graphics person, you have to pay your photographer. And then if you record someone else's songs, then you have to pay royalties to composers and publishing companies. I mean, and then on top of that, if you're going to do it yourself, then you're going to have to do your own accounting and keep track of what sold and what didn't sell and how much you have to pay royalties. You know, and all of that…But I think the most important or the most significant downer would be not knowing when your next paycheck is coming. Yeah, and that's, I think that's something that my father didn't want me to experience. But I think for me, as long as I'm doing what I love doing, it doesn't matter.

As can be seen in Edward's description of his experiences as a recording artist, Hawaiian musicians today face great challenges in dealing with their art as both a personal expression and a commercial endeavor, attempting to do what they love while turning a profit. Musicians within the recording industry, particularly in genres that do not typically find themselves among the Billboard Top 100 lists, must essentially work as independent contractors, marketing both their music and themselves in order to maintain an active audience. To do so, artists must record music frequently, the costs of which fall entirely onto the individual musician. As such, each musician must personally strike a balance

between creating art that speaks to their own artistic expression and producing a product that is palatable to consumers and tourists, who have their own ideas of what Hawaiian music should or should not be, to survive within the heavily tourist-influenced, capitalist economy of Hawai‘i.

It must be noted, however, that some of my participants felt that Hawai‘i’s unique cultural context within the American music industry means that it is actually easier in some ways to achieve professional success as a musician in Hawai‘i than in other parts of the country or the world. Kawika, a slack key guitar player in Las Vegas, Nevada, who began playing music with his father Gary on Maui when he was just eleven years old, explained that his father had been able to maintain a steady musical career since the 1970s because young children in Hawai‘i grow up with the advantage of being surrounded by music and musicians in a way that most children do not.

> Here in the islands, on Maui, and Oahu, I found–and being now that I live in the mainland–it would be tougher there to do what he’s doing here. The music that he grew up with–you know, like how he was saying they had no choice to have to go and watch my grandpa and his friends play every weekend–without him even knowing, the music was being instilled in him. So when [aspiring Hawaiian musicians] got to be, you know, in high school, a little after high school, they were a lot more advanced than a lot of their classmates because they were exposed to more music more often. And so there’s stuff, you know, things that you pick up and you don't even realize that you’ve picked up. You know, when they started to play music, they were playing all the old tunes. Tunes that were probably sought after, but they’ve never–a lot of people don’t find anywhere where they can, you know, hear it enough to remember it and play it. The same with me. I’m able to play a lot of old songs and a lot of songs new guys my age sometimes have never even heard before. And that’s because Dad’s been playing it for me my whole life. These are songs that I grew up with.

On one level, because music became such a powerful marketing tool in the attempt to create a consumer-friendly image of Hawai‘i as an exotic tourist paradise during the twentieth century (Schroeder & Borgerson 1999), there was extremely high demand for

Hawaiian musicians and performers. Even as more "traditional" forms of Hawaiian culture were being pushed aside due to American restrictions on *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi*, many Hawaiian artists made their careers in music in the early 1900s, and even more played music casually within their own homes, creating a large population of children in the islands who grew up around the types of music that had been so sought after at the height of *hapa-haole*'s popularity. As such, both Gary and Kawika felt that they and Hawaiian artists like them had a greater advantage entering the music industry than most.

The other side of this perceived advantage for Hawaiian artists is that successful, profitable careers are largely available only to those musicians who produce what consumers want to hear. In other words, there is both a proportionally high demand for Hawaiian musicians compared to those of other forms of 'world music,' and a proportionally high supply of Hawaiian artists willing and able to fill this demand, but this demand is contingent upon artists' ability to conform to consumers' ideas of what "Hawaiian music" should be. Kawika explained:

> You know, like I said earlier, the reason why Dad was able to sustain–and it's just Hawaiian music and *hapa-haole*, you know, the stuff like *Blue Hawaii* and *Blue Hawaiian Moonlight*. These are things that the tourists want to hear. As long as you perfect these songs, you can have a long career. It can be never-ending. You can go, heck, until you die. Because these are the songs that people want to hear when they come here. Tourists, even some of the locals–they want to hear *hapa-haole* tunes because it reminds them of their youth.

Even in Las Vegas, the city in which Kawika now spends most of his time as a gigging musician at casinos, hotels, slot tournaments, and *lūʻaus*, he spoke of the constant need to "read the room," always prepared to transition between *hapa-haole*, traditional slack key, island contemporary, or mainstream pop, depending on what his audiences are looking for, stating, "Sometimes we got to do stuff that's not always Hawaiian, so it's nice to be

kind of well-rounded." Kawika's experiences here highlight the complex requirements placed on Hawaiian musicians and performers of the current day, who are expected to act as comprehensive representatives of Hawaiian culture. As de facto cultural representatives, it is not enough for Hawaiian musicians to have honed one very specific style or skill, nor does it necessarily matter if what an artist is doing is personally meaningful to them. They must constantly cater to how their consumers, many of whom are tourists who maintain some version of the image of the exotic island paradise of Hawai‘i that was first put forth at the World's Fairs so many years ago, define Hawaiian music.

Although the Hawaiian artists with whom I spoke have grown accustomed to these unjust expectations, the constant prioritization of profit over meaning and personal satisfaction for survival in a state with the highest per capita cost of living of the entire country (Rothstein & Jennings 2024), takes its toll. Describing his frustration at the continual navigation of styles and client expectations that is necessary to book jobs in both Las Vegas and Maui, Kawika lamented, "You know who you're calling, right?…They've got to know that we're known for Hawaiian music." In this instance, when Kawika stated that he was known for "Hawaiian music," he was referring to the classical style of slack key that he learned from his father, Gary, who learned the style from his high school music teacher, an older man who taught him "the old way." For the majority of his clients, however, "Hawaiian music" is not just the old style of slack key that had been passed from generation to generation, often in secret, since the arrival of the *vaqueros* in the nineteenth century, out of both pride and fear that it could be taken away (Kaleo), but every popular genre of music that has been associated with Hawai‘i

since the early 1900s. Kawika is, of course, aware of this. To be a "Hawaiian musician" in the twenty-first century is to bridge the conceptual binary felt between the authentic versus the profitable.

One might assume, and reasonably so, that Hawaiian artists would feel negatively about hapa-haole and other forms of "tourist music" that many are essentially sentenced to play in exchange for a sustainably profitable music career, but among those musicians with whom I spoke, perceptions of their role were often more complex than mere anger. Frustration such as Kawika's was, of course, quite common. When reflecting upon his own experiences performing on the Big Island of Hawai'i, James told me, "I never did really care for the *hapa-haole* music…They wrote that for the tourists. They wrote it for the tourists. And the tourists like that, but I don't particularly like it. It's not real. It's a show of Hawai'i." But not everyone felt this way, at least not completely. Steel guitarist Charles expressed to me that although he did not always appreciate *hapa-haole*, the genre came to hold a certain sentimental value and history in its own right.

> So, what I didn't care for was *hapa-haole*. I thought, 'Oh, that's tourist music. Yuck.' But it was when I started playing with some of the old-timers, you know, those who were in *Hawaii Calls*[3]–the *Hawaii Calls* radio broadcast, that I realized how beautiful *hapa-haole* songs are. The chord progressions, the lyrics, the poetry. And yet, you know, in studying *hapa-haole* music, I could see where, in many cases, the form, style was exactly the same, but the language was different. Or even the use of metaphors was basically the same idea in the English language as you would have done in the Hawaiian language. I thought that was really deep. So, you know, at that point, I started to admire and love *hapa-haole* music.

Clearly, Charles did not view *hapa-haole* as authentic Hawaiian music, and the genre's association with the tourist industry certainly did not help its case. As Charles grew older and had the opportunity to connect with the older generation of musicians who helped

[3] Hawaii Calls was a live radio broadcast from Waikiki Beach on the island of O'ahu that ran from 1935 to 1975. Although the stated goal of the broadcast was to showcase authentic Hawaiian music played by Native Hawaiian performers, the lyrics were sung only in English.

pioneer the genre, however, he began to see *hapa-haole* as something more than simply "tourist music." Although *hapa-haole* is not "traditionally" Hawaiian in its form, many Hawaiian artists hold a certain attachment to it, particularly given the historical and political context of the islands. "Old-timers" attempting to make a living as a musician during the prime of *hapa-haole*'s popularity in the early-to-mid-1900s would have had relatively few other options than participating in the genre, but that did not make them 'less Hawaiian.' Moreover, for many people living in Hawai'i and interested in Hawaiian musical culture in the present day, *hapa-haole*, with its English lyrics and Western melodic structure, is the most culturally legible medium. Although considerable attempts have been made in recent years to revive *'Ōlelo Hawai'i* through public education and private immersion programs, the impacts of the English-only law of 1896 persist to this day. More and more people have gained an interest in Hawaiian music inside and outside of the islands, but very few people speak the Hawaiian language. As a result, much of the poetry and metaphors present in the early Hawaiian-language compositions from the 1850s and 1860s, such as those written by Queen Lili'uokalani, are not accessible to listeners of the present day. Although most of my participants agreed that *hapa-haole* does not contain the same level of metaphor or poetic complexity as more 'traditional' Hawaiian musical forms, several, such as Charles, felt that in an effort to increase interest in Hawaiian music and culture when the majority of potential listeners do not speak the language, *hapa-haole* was a good place to start.

Charles also commented on the value of *hapa-haole*'s ability to adapt existing artforms to an ever-globalizing world: "Plus, you know, for *hula* dancers, if you call one up and say, 'Can you dance this song?' if it's in English, it's easier for them. You know,

if it's in Hawaiian, you know, they may not know enough Hawaiian to figure out a *hula* on the spot." Similar to those of *'Ōlelo Hawai'i*, extensive efforts have been made to revive *hula kahiko*, the ancient form of *hula* that is set to Hawaiian-language *oli* (chants) and percussion, but even so, *hula 'auana*, a newer form of *hula* set to modern musical instruments and lyrics, has become quite prevalent, particularly within a modern capitalist context. The form became particularly ubiquitous during the tourist boom of the twentieth century, in which *hula*, or Western interpretations of it, which were often overtly sexual (Lewis 1984, 42), became one of the predominant markers of the newly commercialized state, and thus one of the most popular forms of 'Hawaiian entertainment,' present at bars, clubs, restaurants, and tourist attractions all across the islands. Even now, in order to make money performing, many dancers dance *hula 'auana*, often within tourist-populated areas, and the ability to easily understand the lyrics to which they perform greatly increases the ease with which they can choreograph and perform routines. In other words, to make a profit dancing *hula,* it is common for dancers to perform *hula 'auana,* and dancing to English-language *hapa-haole* allows these performers to choreograph and perform much more easily than if they were to attempt to choreograph a routine to a song whose language they did not speak.

It must be noted that none of my participants saw the invention or popularity of *hapa-haole* as an overwhelmingly positive force within Hawai'i, nor did they present the genre as the ultimate form of "Hawaiian music." In fact, nearly all expressed the desire to revitalize older forms of Hawaiian music and culture that have suffered from American colonial involvement on the islands, but that desire did not preclude them from accepting and even appreciating *hapa-haole* for the cultural accessibility and financial stability that

it has provided. Although the genre is not considered to be ‘authentic Hawaiian music,’ most of my participants acknowledged that as one of the most visible impacts of American colonization and commercialization on Hawaiian musical culture, *hapa-haole* embodies a fundamental aspect of what it meant, at least until very recently, to be a Hawaiian musician. Most of the musicians with whom I spoke noted that times have indeed changed since their parents and grandparents attempted to enter the Hawaiian music industry. Playing “tourist music” such as *hapa-haole* is no longer the only option for Hawaiians attempting to make a living as musicians, but this period is not so distant to be fully disconnected from the lives and experiences of present musicians. Even if they could not relate to it themselves, nearly every musician that I spoke to, whether through familial connections with former musicians or word-of-mouth transmission, was at least minutely familiar with how the industry used to be. Moreover, as previously discussed, the pressures of complying with the desires of mainland American consumers, including those of *hapa-haole*, have far from disappeared, yet perceptions of the genre remain far more nuanced than simple resentment. As such, the acceptance of *hapa-haole* by many Hawaiian artists as both a foreign-made tool of American colonization and commercialization efforts in Hawai‘i, and a fundamental aspect of the lived experience of so many musicians and performers of the twentieth century is deeply representative of the complexity with which American political, economic, and cultural involvement within Hawai‘i has impacted music, cultural practices, and the very definition of what it means to be a Hawaiian musician.

The Second Hawaiian Renaissance and the Meaning of "Hawaiian Music"

Thus far, I have detailed what my participants did *not* consider to be Hawaiian music, but not the genres or styles of music that Hawaiian musicians do consider to be authentic, and why that may be. As previously discussed, while the genre's cultural significance was noted by my participants, they were clear that *hapa-haole* is not considered to be authentically Hawaiian, implying that there is some instrument, genre, or style that is, at its core, indisputably Hawaiian. But why, and how, did this come to be? Within a political and cultural landscape which has faced more than a century of attempted reinvention by the United States, resulting in the near loss of *'Ōlelo Hawai'i* and the complete reorganization of musical culture around Western melodic structures, which elements of Western introduction are considered to be authentic, and which are not? Where is the line between acceptable and unacceptable amounts of Western influence drawn, and why? In the following paragraphs, I will outline some of the cultural forms that Hawaiian artists of the present day do acknowledge as traditional or authentically Hawaiian by exploring the period of nationalist cultural revival during the second half of the twentieth century known as the Second Hawaiian Renaissance.

Coming to fruition in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the period of cultural resurgence now known as Second Hawaiian Renaissance[4] was, as historian, author, and activist George Kanahele described in a 1977 speech to the Honolulu Rotary Club (as cited in Lewis 1984, 41), "a 'psychological renewal,' a purging of feelings of alienation

[4] During the 1970s and 1980s, the Second Hawaiian Renaissance was frequently addressed within some circles simply as the Hawaiian Renaissance, although the First Hawaiian Renaissance is now commonly used to refer to the period in which King Kalākaua attempted to revive nationalist sentiments in the wake of increasing colonial involvement in the late nineteenth century. Unless explicitly stated otherwise, references to "the Hawaiian Renaissance" or "the Renaissance" in this thesis will refer only to the Second Hawaiian Renaissance.

and inferiority," "a reassertion of self-dignity and self-importance," and "probably the most significant chapter in [Hawaiian] modern history since the overthrow of the monarchy and loss of nationhood in 1893." Although the movement reached its peak in the 1970s, Cliff explained to me that its roots can be traced as far back as the 1950s to the efforts of activists such as Mary Kawena Pukui and Aunty Nona Beamer, who fought to have *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* and *hula* recognized as legitimate aspects of Hawaiian culture. Cliff, who was only a child when the Renaissance began, explained that through their work, activists such as Pukui and Beamer worked to reintroduce Hawaiian cultural studies, including those of *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* and *hula*, back into Hawaiian schools. Although he was unsure if the motivations for these early actions towards political and cultural sovereignty were overtly political, Cliff stated, "I think that their work led to people realizing that they could be proud of their culture and celebrate it." As a result of these changes, art forms such as slack key, *hula kahiko*, and *ʻukulele* gained new prominence, and *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* began to re-emerge within the local population through the creation of Hawaiian immersion schools.

It must be noted, of course, that periods of cultural revival do not simply occur within a vacuum. Rather, concerted efforts to 'reclaim' a tradition occur most frequently "when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed" (Hobsbawm 1983, 4). In other words, a society or culture does not need to reclaim or revive a tradition unless there is a sense of nostalgia for the past, or a feeling on a grand enough scale that something has been lost. This is certainly the case for many Native Hawaiians, who, in less than one hundred years, lost political sovereignty, land rights, and the ability to make free choices about what

constituted appropriate cultural production and reproduction. I return now to Kaleo, a close family member of Aunty Nona and one of the most influential slack key guitarists of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, whose story I used to begin my thesis. When I asked him to describe the enduring impacts of American colonization in Hawai‘i, Kaleo expressed the constant pain of cultural and material dispossession:

> You know, I mean, we've lost so much. When you look back through the culture, we lost our lands, our religious system, our organization as a people, as a culture, and so a lot of things went underground because people began to feel, 'Hey, if I share this with somebody, they'll take it away from me.' I remember as a boy sitting in church and the reverend talking about, you know, these lofty ideas of God, and you know, compassion. And while we were looking up at the Christian God, they were stealing our land. The missionary families ended up being some of the wealthiest citizens on the planet Earth, because they took advantage of our culture. Anyway, a lot of things went underground because of that. Slack key, hula, the language. Colonization is this process where the colonizer uplifts his or her values, and demeans the values of the colonized. So the Hawaiian language wasn't allowed to be spoken in any place. And the hula was viewed as being lewd and suspicious by the missionary overlords. And so the culture was severely depressed while their culture was raised. Over the years, successful colonization is successful when the colonized are so colonized that they don't even realize it anymore.

These deeply ingrained feelings of hurt and loss of culture were not unique to Kaleo. Nearly all of my participants spoke with great sadness about the disconnection they felt from the Hawaiian language, or the privatization of formerly public lands now owned by billionaires such as Oprah Winfrey and Jeff Bezos, as explained by *kumu hula* Kamuela. Kamuela also spoke of the complexity of maintaining his own Catholic faith with the awareness that Christianity was not indigenous to the islands, but brought by the first missionaries of the nineteenth century, expressing the importance of practicing his own beliefs without denying the beliefs of his ancestors, as to deny their beliefs would be to deny the validity of their existence.

Notable in all of this, however, is that most of the conditions of loss described by my participants are not new, nor were they new at the time of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance in the 1970s. Language practices had been repressed for nearly a century at this time, and the seizure of public land for private use had been a common practice even before the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893. If such feelings of loss had existed long before the onset of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, what, then, was so notable about the 1970s and the years leading up to it that created the conditions for a social movement such as the Second Hawaiian Renaissance? Referencing David Aberle's theories of deprivation as applied to collective movements (Aberle 1962), George H. Lewis, a prominent scholar of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, wrote, "Social movements arise not only in response to conditions of inequality or injustice but, more important, because of changing *definitions* of these conditions. Those involved must recognize and define their plight as an injustice, and one that is intolerable to live with, rather than just passing it off as the result of luck or a cruel twist of fate" (Lewis 1984, 39). In other words, the creation of a social movement does not only require conditions of loss and injustice, but changing perspectives of such conditions on a larger scale so that regular citizens are no longer "so colonized that they don't even realize it anymore," (Kaleo) but instead believe that they have the power to make real changes.

When I asked performers what they defined as the catalyst for these changing perspectives, and thus, for the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, the most common answer I received was the realization among Hawaiian musicians that if they did not make concerted efforts to begin passing down the traditions of the past to newer generations, these traditions would die along with their aging practitioners. Faith explained, "Most

musicians started to pass away. A lot of the really old-time players in slack key or singing, when they started to pass away, people got concerned. What are we gonna do about it? Somebody's gotta pick up, somebody's gotta try and go forward and see if they can still keep the Hawaiian music together." In essence, the Second Hawaiian Renaissance occurred precisely when it did not because of some great increase in political inequality or cultural commoditization during the 1970s, but because of a shift in understanding of this inequality. This is not to say that conditions were necessarily improving: *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* was still illegal to teach in public schools until 1978, artists were expected to perform *hapa-haole* music in order to succeed within a tourist economy that was actively displacing local people from their homes due to the rapidly increasing costs of property and living, and the land of a once-sovereign nation was still being governed largely by non-Hawaiians. Edward explained to me that Hawaiians were not, in general, pleased about Hawaiʻi's addition as an American state in August of 1959, but even so, the land had been under the control of the U.S. government since the late nineteenth century. On a structural level, my participants did not point to many great changes that would have driven the cultural revival efforts of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, but nearly all pointed to a changing consciousness surrounding the political and cultural conditions of the island and the growing fear that without a conscious and widespread effort to revive Hawaiian culture, it could disappear forever. Hawaiian language instructor and professor Kaliko Beamer-Trapp elaborated upon this sentiment, remarking:

> But I think that emotion and emotional connection to language and all the aspects of culture–whether it be *hula* or making crafts or singing or paddling or whatever aspects of Hawaiian culture, or any culture–that I think it's something very deeply seated in people's hearts, so that cannot be discounted. So then, when a culture

> undergoes some sort of event that causes it to be diminished or to be under stress, then people get sentimental about it and get very energized to preserve it. Especially when the number of practitioners in that area, whatever that area is, diminishes to a small amount, then there's that last gasping breath of a vaporizing reality. Like, it's going to disappear. It probably will. But there's that last breath of realizing that it's vaporizing before your very eyes, whereas one generation before everybody thought, 'Oh, we're fine. We all know how to do this. We all know how to carve this. We all know how to do Hawaiian martial arts. We all know how to do, whatever, you know, Hawaiian song–singing, writing. We all know how to speak Hawaiian. Everybody does.' Yeah, one generation later, then they're all crying, because they realize, 'Oh, all those *kūpuna* [grandparents or honored elders] just passed away that knew how to do it.' And, 'Oh, we forgot they weren't teaching the next generation.' And therefore, the next generation isn't teaching the next generation, and therefore, it's broken.

There were certainly many people in Hawai‘i who cared deeply about the loss of musical and cultural practices long before the wave of consciousness brought upon by the Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s, but the fact that such cultural shifts occurred when they did, and that people saw significance in the fact that members of the older generation were dying at this time is precisely linked to the sense of continuity of the dispossession and loss felt by Hawaiians in the aftermath of American colonization. Before the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, the political and cultural impacts of American colonization still existed, largely to the same degree, but people's perceptions of them were different. According to Kaliko, it is that these impacts were novel enough that most people felt as though they did not yet have to worry. Although the restrictions placed on *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i*, for example, were almost certainly devastating from the outset, there is a decidedly different mindset between practitioners of a newly restricted language that most people's parents, teachers, and relatives still know how to speak than those of a language that has, with time, met the consequences of its restriction. It is precisely because the Hawaiian language and cultural restrictions were so long-lasting that the final members of the generations who had experienced life before these changes were dying

that the 1960s and 1970s became such a prime moment for social change. As Anthony F.C. Wallace (1956) explains, such periods of so-called cultural revival occur only when individuals of a given culture begin to view their current cultural system as unsatisfactory, and work with the clear intent to modify it. When individual efforts of cultural stress reduction begin to occur at a collective level, as occurred among Hawaiian musicians and performers during the 1970s, revitalization movements occur. As the remaining members of the last generation fluent in Hawaiian language and traditions began to pass away, Charles explained that "the language was fading, and so was the culture," and people realized that something needed to change. This sense of realization was only fueled by the islands' annexation as an American state in 1959; although the islands had not been sovereign since the late 1800s, their official status as an American state only increased the perceived gravity of the impacts of American colonization in Hawai‘i. As a newly recognized state in which nearly all the people who had experienced "the old way" of life were dying, and without the systems in place to further cultural knowledge, Hawaiian musicians of the 1960s and 1970s found themselves face to face with the possibility of the complete loss of all of the ways of life that this generation carried. In a manner deeply reminiscent of Lewis' (1984) prerequisites for social change, as well as Wallace's (1956) definition of revitalization movements, with this realization, people began to reframe the unequal cultural and political context of the state not simply as a new way of life to be accepted, or a temporary setback on the way to regaining national sovereignty, but as real, tangibly unjust conditions, and, most importantly, conditions that Hawaiians themselves had the power to change.

It is nearly universally accepted in the present day that the Second Hawaiian Renaissance functioned as a necessary period of nationalist cultural revival, in which the 'authentic' Hawaiian traditions that had suffered at the hands of American colonization in Hawai'i experienced a new era of recognition and appreciation through the collective action of Hawaiian musicians and political activists. Less commonly established, however, is how these traditions were initially recognized, and the impacts of the recognition of some cultural forms as authentic over others on Hawaiian national and cultural identity. Describing her role and motivation in establishing a Hawaiian Club at the Kamehameha School during the 1950s, Aunty Nona Beamer explained the role of choice in an interview for the 1978 publication *Da Kine Sound* (as cited in Lewis 1984, 41):

> I coined the word Hawaiiana in 1949. The word 'ana' is a very important word to me, because it means to measure, to evaluate, to glean the very best of the Hawaiian culture. This is what we choose to teach, the very best of the culture. So it wasn't chosen idly. I think Kamehameha was the first to pick Hawaiian Studies as a cultural program for students, and then the University of Hawaii picked it up for their summer sessions.

The element of choice within the cultural revivalist efforts of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance is critical to note, particularly given that one of the most damaging impacts of American colonization on Hawaiian music and cultural practices was the lack or extreme limiting of choice imposed upon Hawaiian musicians, performers, and citizens more broadly. Before the imposition of the English-only law in 1896, many Hawaiians had been learning English anyway through missionary-affiliated institutions and programs such as those attended by composers during the late monarchy. The element of choice versus coercion within these scenarios certainly warrants discussion, but it is notable that on a structural level, the educational systems were still in place for

Hawaiians to legally learn either *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* or English. As American colonial power advanced in Hawaiʻi, the freedom of choice of cultural expression decreased dramatically. Whether through explicit censorship measures taken by the state such as the ban on teaching the Hawaiian language, or through more covert approaches such as the invention and promotion of *hapa-haole*, which completely reinvented the global image of Hawaiian music and culture and essentially forced working musicians to participate in its expansion in exchange for economic security, Hawaiians of the pre-Renaissance world were essentially stripped of the choice to participate in non-Western cultural expression. Within this context, "Hawaiiana," or evaluating "the very best of the culture" (Beamer, as cited in Lewis 1984, 41) to teach young people, and the ability to choose what to teach and how to represent Hawaiian culture, signifies a new form of resistance and agency in cultural expression that had not previously been possible. In other words, the fact that Hawaiian artists and activists were choosing their own forms of cultural expression during and leading up to the Second Hawaiian Renaissance was meaningful simply in the action of choosing. The importance of the element of choice within this movement also manifests within the specific artforms and aspects of cultural expression that were chosen as "the very best of the culture" (Beamer, as cited in Lewis 1984, 41), and in how these artforms have functioned as tools of identity-creation. To understand how the cultural forms furthered during the Second Hawaiian Renaissance have impacted the creation of an authentic, traditional cultural identity, separate from Western impositions, one must examine the ways in which Hawaiian musicians of the present day define "Hawaiian music."

When I asked my participants to describe what "Hawaiian music" meant to them, I received a fairly wide range of responses. Although guitarists Gary and Kawika named slack key as "the most traditional form of Hawaiian music there is," and *kumu hula* Faith and bassist Thomas noted the importance of *hula* as the historical root of Hawaiian musical culture, most of the musicians with whom I spoke did not necessarily name a specific artform as an emblem of Hawaiian music. Instead, participants stressed the wide range of cultural forms that Hawaiian music can take, explaining that what sets Hawaiian music apart from other genres is its storytelling and lyricism, connection to physical place, and an emphasis on the people and history that came before. Edward, who plays *'ukulele* professionally, told me that Hawaiian music must be from the heart. He explained that "if you love Hawai'i," the music that you write and the stories that you tell will reflect this love. Not everyone will understand authentic Hawaiian music, but they are not meant to. He stated, "I write a song and I know for a fact that I'm not writing it for the general public. I'm just writing it for a handful of people that may understand what I'm trying to say." Steel guitarist Charles told me "Hawaiian music is a portrayal of our culture, of society at that time," reflecting the current values and priorities of its practitioners such as the worshiping of specific gods, love and romance, appreciation for the environment, and the awareness of social movements and events. These values could be expressed either directly or through the use of metaphor. He explained, "Americans are very direct. Hawaiians are not. They use a lot of metaphors. They're very indirect in saying things. I'm talking about, like, in the Hawaiian language and in Hawaiian poetry. Very indirect. Anyway, that is Hawaiian music to me. And you know what, to me, Hawaiian music is about the beauty of the islands, you know, no matter what." On the

importance of the physical location to the authenticity of Hawaiian music, Native Hawaiian slack key guitarist and singer James stated, “I think, and I’m speaking only for myself, Hawaiian music is any music that is written by someone who’s been here in Hawai‘i and can connect to some part of the culture or the elements. A song that refers to Hawaii in some way, I call that Hawaiian music because that’s how I write, you know? I don’t write in Hawaiian, but I try to include in like ninety percent of my songs something about Hawai‘i.” Emma echoed this sentiment, telling me that within Hawaiian music, “our appreciation of place, and all of the elements, is everything.” Finally, when describing his perceptions of Hawaiian music, Kaleo told me, “I think that the music is kind of the engine, a vehicle, and the occupant is this beautiful concept of *aloha*. So, Hawaiian music is real because of that. I mean, it’s real places, real people, real flowers, real ocean. So it’s authentic because it speaks to the human heart.”

From slack key to *hula* to the importance of *kaona* and metaphor, conceptions of Hawaiian music all reflect an element of connection to, or even a revival of, the people and culture of a previous era. This emphasis on tradition and connection to the past is perhaps best described by Cliff, who explained that although Hawaiian music is “almost impossible to describe,” the most basic element is that it needs to be grounded in tradition:

> If you’re grounded in the tradition, you understand the values of the culture and the artists that came before. And a lot of the repertoire I think, regardless of where you go…I think if you have that grasp of the history, the culture, the connection, the meaning behind the music, then you can still express the music in a very personal or modern way. So I think as long as the roots are strong and can reach out to the sky in any direction you want, so I think Hawaiian music still needs to have that understanding and a connection to the past, but it can also move forward in many different ways.

The importance of tradition in the construction of authentic Hawaiian music during and after the Second Hawaiian Renaissance perfectly aligns with what Anthony F.C. Wallace (1956) describes as a "revivalistic" movement, a subtype of revitalization movements more broadly which invokes customs and values thought to have been present in the "mazeway," or ways of being, of previous generations, but are not currently present, at least not in the way that they once were. A core facet of such periods of cultural revival, however, is that the elements of the past that are being "revived" are, in many cases, invented. Eric Hobsbawm (1983) defines an 'invented tradition' as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (1983, 1). Particularly relevant in the case of the cultural revival of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance is Hobsbawm's point that, often, such attempts at continuity with an established past serve as a contrast between the constant change and uncertainty of the present day and "the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant" (1983, 2), which becomes necessary in response to the disruption of previous ways of being through rapid societal change, in this case, American colonialism. In other words, the invocation of certain formerly doxic elements of Hawai'i's pre-colonial musical culture in present-day conceptions of traditional, authentic Hawaiian music allows musicians and performers to reclaim a sense of agency and stability of cultural production in the aftermath of the indescribable loss inherent to the colonial experience.

For Hawai‘i in particular, the invention of tradition functioned during the Second Hawaiian Renaissance to create a sovereign identity within a deeply unequal settler colonial state. In many cases, however, as implied by the name, the invented traditions that are used to create these new forms of identity were not necessarily as old or traditional as they have been claimed to be; Hobsbawm wrote, “Where the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented” (1983, 8). This is, of course, not to say that the traditions used by these social movements are completely fabricated. Some form of continuity with the past often exists–the forms of *hula* that are practiced today, for example, would likely be recognizable, though in most cases far from identical, to the *hula* of the past. The same is true for the prevalence of the *kaona* and metaphors present in contemporary Hawaiian lyricism; although the language is not the same, the content and lyrical structure remain fairly consistent. Without this continuity with the past, such invented traditions likely could not be so easily accepted as representatives of an authentic identity. In most cases, however, these cultural forms are chosen and adapted as invented traditions specifically to fulfill the unique needs of the current moment. This adaptation becomes relevant in discussions of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance because, as previously posited, there have been almost no Hawaiian cultural forms that have not been touched in some way by Western colonial efforts. Thus, while the cultural forms that were put forward as traditional during the Second Hawaiian Renaissance do not necessarily represent a pre- or non-colonial form of Hawaiian tradition, they serve as a new representation of Hawaiian authenticity for a new, self-identified era of Hawaiian existence and practices.

In the current era, conceptions of musical and cultural identity are dependent on the inherently nationalist conceptions of tradition based on aspirations of both political and cultural sovereignty put forward during the Second Hawaiian Renaissance. Even so, in a culture that has been subjected to as many heterodox influences and experienced as much hybridity as that of Hawai‘i, understandings of cultural ‘authenticity’ no longer depend on the absence of Western influences, but rather on a connection to history and the ability of self-representation. Among the musicians and performers with whom I spoke, Hawaiian cultural identity and the musical forms through which it is expressed need not be fully doxic or pre-colonial, and in fact, as Bourdieu (1978) would argue, to return to the unselfconscious doxa of the pre-colonial period would be, by its very nature, impossible. Rather than an emphasis on the pre- or non-colonial, Hawaiian musical and cultural identity of the present day focuses instead on the ability to freely use such hybrid, or even previously imposed cultural forms as a medium for the sharing of history and self-representation. In sum, by invoking an orthodox form of cultural identity based on the invention of tradition, musicians and performers on the islands of Hawai‘i manage the extreme loss characteristic of the colonial experience while defining a new form of cultural and political sovereignty within a highly unequal, ever-globalizing national framework.

Chapter Three: Progress and Past in Post-Socialist Mongolia

In 1921, after having defeated invading Chinese forces with the help of the Russian Red Army, Mongolia followed Russia to become the second nation in the world to convert to a communist regime (Embassy of Mongolia, 2018). Aside from the rule of Chinggis Khaan, this period is generally considered to be the beginning of Mongolia's global relevance. It is, of course, the time during which Mongolia's modern geopolitical relationships with its powerful neighbors China and Russia truly took root, but it was also a time of great transition for the citizens of Mongolia. In the decades between 1924, when the Soviet Union essentially took control of Mongolia's new governmental structure, and the early 1990s when the nation's democratic revolution occurred, nearly every aspect of Mongolian life and culture was impacted by the newly formed communist regime, shaped by the influence of the Soviet Union.

Aside from the collectivization of livestock herding, in which control of herds was taken away from individual herders and given to the government (Broughton 1994, 190), some of the most notable impacts of the socialist government were its changes to culture, particularly musical performance, which, in a nation known for throat-singing (*khuumii*) and the horse-head fiddle (*morin khuur*), is arguably the most visible form of cultural production, and therefore the most important to manipulate. During the Great Purge of Mongolia in the 1930s, Buddhism, the predominant religion of the nation, was greatly repressed: all high- and mid-ranking lamas were either killed or imprisoned, their instruments were seized, nearly all monasteries were destroyed, and folk-religious rituals were banned (Broughton 1994, 190). Although music itself was not banned, the mediums and locations in which it could be played were widely regulated as the national

government attempted to redefine Mongolia's cultural identity to fit Soviet modernist ideals, "reflecting Lenin's vision in which each nation had its own music that could be systematically collected, studied and used as a basis for composition" by enriching 'national music' "in numbers and types of institutions, art forms, instruments and professionals (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 123).

Mongolian anthropologist Baatarnaran Tsetsentsolmon notes that, in the time following Mongolia's democratic revolution of 1990, which occurred approximately seventy years after the beginning of the socialist period, great emphasis has been placed on rebuilding pre-socialist national cultural values, especially in relation to Mongolian music. This has manifested in several ways, but perhaps most notably in the creation of a new State Morin Khuur Ensemble in 1992. A resounding symbol of the nation's cultural revival, the ensemble was formed in the same manner as a Western chamber orchestra, with the same instrument design, technique, and tuning as was imposed during the Soviet cultural policies of the socialist period (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 128). As of 2011, the State Ensemble has prided itself upon its ability to perform the work of international composers such as George Gershwin, Michael Jackson, and Louis Armstrong during its commercial concerts, with co-founder Jantsannorov stating that the ensemble had been experimenting with the ability of Mongolian instruments to successfully perform "more complex international music" (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 131). Although in this case, the desire to perform international, mostly Western music likely stemmed from the capitalist desire to profit from the cross-culturalization only possible during post-socialist Mongolia, it is, in practice, quite similar to the promotion of European classical music fundamental of socialist-era Soviet cultural policies.

Although post-socialist Mongolia has tried hard to differentiate itself from the cultural practices imposed upon the nation during its socialist period, notably through its promotion of national folk music, the musical culture of the current era can easily be traced back to Soviet cultural policies. National music, especially that of the *morin khuur* (see Figure 2), has been imperative to nationalist sentiments of a post-socialist identity, with Mongolia's first democratically elected president Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat declaring the *morin khuur* to be the *Töriin khan khuur*, or State Sovereign Fiddle, on April 20, 1992 (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 120), but the ideal of a national, historically-based folk music was essentially invented by the MPRP only during the last century. Furthermore, while it was subjected to great revision both in tuning, shifting from 432 Hertz to 440 Hertz, as has been the standard for most musical tuning since the mid-twentieth century, and in physical form, standardizing regional differences in the instrument's appearance and shifting the base material from leather to wood in order to mimic the Western violin or cello (Batsaikhan), the *morin khuur* was actually promoted during the socialist period, as Carole Pegg describes, "first [as] a symbol of ethnicity and then of a national socialist identity" (Pegg 2001, 287). Although it has evolved, national folk music is still wielded as a state-funded tool of identity promotion, and its practices maintain the same Western influences as were introduced through Soviet cultural policies. As such, even in the most optimistic sense, post-socialist state-sponsored initiatives such as these can be understood as both a sign of progress in artistic freedom and as a sign of the long-term impacts of the Soviet Union on Mongolian national music.

But in what ways are the Soviet-influenced cultural policies of modernist advancement and collective identity during the socialist period still prevalent in the

current day, both in the present opportunities and institutions that remain, and in the attitudes and memories of the musicians and performers trained during the socialist period? In the current era of Mongolian history, the constructed binaries between Western classical music and traditional folk music are far less concrete. For this reason, current musicians can experience much more variation in the music that they play and the ways in which they can express themselves, but what are the real differences between the institutions, practices, and overall zeitgeist of Mongolian national music that existed during socialism and those in the present day? What was it like to be a performer during socialism, and what is it like to be a performer now? What kinds of factors, either calculated or not, have influenced aspiring musicians when choosing their craft or genre of music, both then and now? Although much is known about the concrete impacts of the Soviet influence on art and culture in Mongolia, many of the human aspects and details of this era are missing, and this study aims to find and examine them through a critical lens.

Using ethnographic methods to critically examine the impacts of the socialist period on the lives and experiences of Mongolian performers and musicians, this chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of how these Soviet cultural shifts have influenced the creation of a national and cultural identity in the post-socialist era. How do musicians identify themselves and the music that they play? How do they pass on their legacy to future generations of musicians? More than thirty years after Mongolia's democratization, enough time has passed to achieve a greater understanding of the long-lasting impacts of socialism and Soviet cultural policies on Mongolian folk music performers, yet the examination of these musicians' perceptions of the impacts of socialism, their views of post-socialist 'development' and 'progress,' and the meaning of

“Mongolian music” yields a profoundly complex image of the long-standing impacts of Soviet political subjugation on both national and cultural identity-formation.

Figure 2 depicts author Heather Cook playing a modern version of the *morin khuur*. Also known as the horsehead fiddle, the *morin khuur* is said to have been created by a mourning herder who made an instrument from the body of his deceased horse. Before the socialist cultural policies of the Soviet Union, the strings of the *morin khuur* were made from horse hairs, and the frame was covered by the skin of a camel, goat, or sheep. As a result of Soviet efforts of standardization and climate versatility, many *morin khuurs* today use nylon strings and are covered by wooden frames. Photograph by Anna Poledna, September 1, 2022.

Impacts of Socialism

> I think because the socialist period was so glorified through all of the movies, music, and literature, this whole industry is used for propaganda purposes. So even nowadays, people talk about the artists and musicians of the Golden Age, and when they refer to the Golden Age, it's the socialist period. (Enkhbaatar)

As alluded to by Enkhbaatar, a professor at the National University of Mongolia, when asked about their perceptions of the impacts of the socialist period, most participants spoke highly about the artistic changes that occurred at the hands of the new government system. Although opinions of the overarching impacts of socialism were, in most cases, quite complex, and nearly all avoided presenting their opinions quite as explicitly as some did by stating "I prefer socialism" or "I like democracy" (Ganbold), many felt that socialist policies had "a really positive influence" (Otgonjargal) on musical culture in Mongolia, and several even felt that the musical culture of the socialist period was of a higher quality than it is in the current era. Themes of progress and cultural development were common as my participants confronted the impacts of Russian political involvement on musical and cultural practices throughout Mongolia.

To fully gauge collective understanding of the impacts of socialism on art and culture, I asked the musicians and performers with whom I spoke to recall their perceptions of pre-socialist musical culture. Two of the most common threads that emerged from this line of questioning were the remembrance of pre-socialist religious and folk musical practices and the concept of development, or lack thereof. Several participants mentioned the importance of Buddhist chanting and instruments in the history of Mongolian musical practices. According to Erdenebat, a professional musician and teacher of the *limbe*, a side-blown flute common in Mongolian folk music, religious

music and dancing were extremely common, as was "folk art." Before the socialist period, Erdenebat noted that every family owned a *morin khuur* and *limbe*, and *urtyn duu* (long song) was present at every celebration or event. Although the genre that my participants described as folk art did not face overt repression in the way of Mongolian Buddhist practices during the Great Purge, it did not emerge unscathed from Russian socialist influence. In fact, the conception of Mongolian folk music as traditional and inherent to the national and cultural identity that is present today is actually a direct product of the socialist nation-building process, in which the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) worked to appeal to specific national traditions while overcoming the perceived cultural backwardness of the nation and attempting to construct a new, inherently socialist culture (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 122).

In a manner quite similar to Ernest Gellner's (1983) model for the creation of a "national culture," to establish a common socialist culture during the socialist era, the MPRP resolved to promote the well-being of what it considered to be Mongolia's most ancient, vulnerable traditions through the state-funded "collecting, redefining and reconstructing [of] musical instruments," especially the *morin khuur*, or horse-head fiddle, and the *huuchir*, or two-string fiddle (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 123). Moreover, a series of cultural institutions was established to proliferate and promote the practice of folk music throughout the nation, increasing the amount of attention that the music, as well as the national identity that it represented, received from the public audience (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 123). At the same time, in an effort to "advance" what the MPRP called "multiethnic art," the socialist party sent musicians and performers from all backgrounds to every corner of the nation in order to collect "folk songs as 'raw'

materials to be processed," "developed," and "enriched" through classical musical methods (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 124). With clearly emphasized traditional backgrounds, but revised and "modernized" methods, the folk music of Mongolia's socialist period truly exemplified the popular ideal of "national in form, socialist in content" (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 137).

Although many of the attempted changes to Mongolian folk art during the socialist period were quite subtle, many musicians felt as though they had no other choice than to alter their craft if they wanted to remain employed by the state. As such, musicians of less "modern" or processable forms of Mongolian folk music such as Narantuya, a famous *urtyn duu* (long song) singer from the central region of the Gobi Desert, carried complex memories of the socialist period. Although she managed to forge a successful musical career, folk music practices such as *urtyn duu* that were considered too long and "primitive" for the modern socialist culture were not supported by socialist institutions, and Narantuya was frequently asked to shorten or revise the songs that she sang. Even so, she believed that the level of artistic expression in Mongolia drastically improved from the level of art development present before the socialist period. Although folk and religious music existed before socialism, Narantuya felt that the government "answered the instrumental needs of the artists," providing opportunities and techniques that had previously been impossible.

The notion that the socialist government of Mongolia provided necessary opportunities and techniques that the nation had previously lacked was quite common among my participants. Dugarjav, a former actor and organizer at the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater in Sainshand justified this idea that socialist cultural policies were necessary for

cultural progress due to the nation's history of ideological control by the Manchus during China's Qing dynasty. He noted that, although performances of folk music at small events and festivals were frequent before the socialist period, and the first spectacle performances in Mongolia had actually originated during the pre-socialist period from the combination of Buddhist and European influences made possible by the artistic freedom and intellectual exchange brought by the Silk Road, Mongolia found itself in a position of cultural isolation during its subjugation by the Manchus.

Although the Manchus did not gain complete power over the various Mongolian kingdoms until the mid-eighteenth century, the first Manchu laws for the Mongols date to the early 1630s (Heuschert 1998, 310). It is commonly thought that the people of Mongolia were introduced to Tibetan Buddhism by the Manchus as early as the thirteenth century in order to promote pacifism under the idea that, "one Lama = minus one armed man" (Szilágyi 2010, 121). Once under Manchu rule, the legislative and judicial powers of Mongolian rulers were greatly restricted. Mongolian noblemen were excluded from the legislative process as early as 1633, and a Manchu agency known as the *Lifan Yuan* was given the responsibility of drafting Mongolian law as early as 1638 (Heuschert 1998, 313-314). The distribution of a "statute-book" of rules and regulations that all Mongols were to follow in the early 1640s attempted to put an end to the legal differences among the Mongols, thus "binding…all Mongols under the authority of the Manchus" (Heuschert 1998, 314). With the loss of agency over the law-making process, Mongol kingdoms were subjected to statutes based on the imperial Chinese law code, and "by the second half of the Qing era, Qing legal statutes were being applied to the Mongols without modification" (Heuschert, 1998, 316).

Dugarjav did not clarify exactly which aspects of Manchu control had been so ideologically repressive, and it is unclear to me how much of Mongolia's history under the Qing dynasty has been taught to the average person raised in socialist Mongolia or has been absorbed societally. It is clear, however, that at least among some Mongolian musicians raised during the socialist period, the centuries of religious and political influence from the Manchus of the Qing dynasty function as a form of justification for the cultural transitions that occurred during the socialist period. Dugarjav explained to me that in the early 1920s, due to centuries of Manchu control, Mongolia found itself in a state of intellectual isolation, in need of a change in ideological and technical surroundings. This, he said, is why socialism was "necessary for future progress." This notion of "progress," both personal and cultural, was quite prevalent among musicians.

Otgonjargal, a singer who spent the majority of her career at the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater in Sainshand, also spoke very highly of the socialist period, specifically in its ability to connect rural provinces with the opportunities of the urban capital. Having grown up in one of these rural *aimags*, far from the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, Otgonjargal credited the start of her career to the pervasive nature of the Ministry of Culture, a branch of the socialist government that visited even the most remote *aimags* to conduct exams and recruit artists. After being recruited and trained by the ministry's programs, she spent the rest of her career at the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater in Sainshand. Although Otgonjargal did not think that the art and music of pre-socialist Mongolia was "poor or primitive," she felt that "everyone experienced cultural growth and development" from the opportunities provided during the socialist period. For Otgonjargal, this conception of progress during the socialist period largely stemmed from

the ability of individual artists from across the nation to pursue training and career opportunities in art with the support of the national government, but it is apparent that from her perspective the progress promised by socialism applied to more than the talents and opportunities of individuals, but to society and culture as a whole.

Otgonjargal was not unique in this belief; in fact, the concept of cultural development was an exceedingly common thread throughout many of the interviews that I conducted, and it was often tied to the idea of Soviet and European involvement. Tsegmed, a teacher of piano, accordion, and *morin khuur* at the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater in Sainshand who graduated from the University of Art and Culture in Ulaanbaatar, felt that during socialism, music "progressed" in many positive ways at the direct hand of the Soviet Union. During his education, he recalled that most of his teachers were either Russian or had graduated from musical schools in Russia before returning home to Mongolia. To Tsegmed, Mongolian musical culture is solidly based on Soviet culture, even today.

As I noted in this chapter's introduction, the ways in which music could be played were altered dramatically during Mongolia's socialist period. In order to redefine the cultural identity of Mongolia so that it fit the Soviet ideals of 'multiethnicization' and modernism, Western-styled orchestras were formed, harmonic solo instruments were redesigned to function in a group setting, and anything representing past traditions or differences was reprocessed to fit Soviet standards of modernization and progress (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 127). Although these changes, when listed in this way, may suggest ideas of cultural repression on a systemic level, they are not framed as such by musicians such as Tsegmed. Rather, the integration of Russian musical forms and

teaching styles into Mongolian musical education, whether through the introduction of Russian-style conservatories such as the Children's Palace or the frequent education of Mongolian artists in Russia and other socialist nations, ushered in a new era of possibilities for the nation's musicians and performers.

Buyandelger, a *morin khuur* player and teacher who spent most of his career performing at the Sainshand Theater, was yet another musician with positive impressions of the progress of the socialist period. He stated that "quite a high jump of development happened" when "Mongolia met European culture" through the introduction of elements of Western classical music during the socialist period. While Buyandelger did not say anything negative about the musical practices of pre-socialist Mongolia, he felt that the nation should continue to "learn from the world level" of European music by developing national art and European classical music side by side. Buyandelger's statements, and the ubiquity of the belief among musicians that Mongolian musical culture largely benefited from the Western influences of the socialist period, indicate just how successful the state-building policies of that period truly were, even more than thirty years after its end.

Anthropologist Baatarnaran Tsetsentsolmon addresses the legacy of these cultural policies, arguing that the musical culture of Mongolia's post-socialist period can be recognized as the "continuation, transformation and, in some cases, the amplification of the state-socialist culture-building process, designed to be 'national in form and socialist in content', so as to become *nationalist in form and commercial in content*" (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 118). During the era following the democratic transition of the 1990s, attempts to reclaim Mongolian musical culture have continued to follow the same guidelines of instrumental changes and Western orchestral form set forth by the socialist

government in its attempt to overcome 'cultural backwardness' and construct a socialist culture. Rather than socialist pride, however, these post-socialist cultural shifts have emphasized capitalism, democracy, and historical national pride, therefore classifying current Mongolian musical culture as "nationalist in form and commercial in content" (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 137). As such, post-socialist musical culture and ideals of "progress" are not at all dissimilar to those of the socialist period. Both equate Western styles and ideals with the concepts of progress, viewing 'developed' folk music as a fundamental representation of a globally respectable national culture.

Although most of the musicians with whom I spoke during my research in Mongolia felt that the Soviet influences of the socialist period ushered in an era of cultural development, several had more complicated views about the process through which that development occurred. Born in 1940, Dugarjav is a university-educated, state-honored worker of art and culture who spent twenty years working as an actor and organizer at the cultural palace of Dornogovi *aimag* before founding the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater in Sainshand. As a self-proclaimed artist of the Golden Age, he felt that the nation made significant progress in Western classical art during the socialist period. According to Dugarjav, this era brought "one hundred percent educational progress among the whole population," increasing national literacy, knowledge of Western classical music, and theoretical techniques. Like Buyandelger, Dugarjav credited socialist cultural policies with bringing Mongolian art to the "world level," but he noted that the other side of this coin of development was the lack of artistic freedom allowed by the state. Similar to some of my participants' perceptions of Mongolia's control by the Qing dynasty before the socialist period, Dugarjav felt that, "Society was blocked, isolated in

one big box" under the ideological control of one uncompromising political party. While Dugarjav recognized that the socialist period had introduced musicians to new practices and ideas that had previously been unavailable to them, musicians only had access to those practices and ideas that had been condoned by the Soviet Union. International relationships with nations outside of the Soviet Union's socialist bloc were forbidden, and artists would be punished for thinking differently from the government standards of appropriate socialist culture (Dugarjav).

The difficulties of conforming to the government's standards for this appropriate socialist culture were particularly prevalent among folk artists of the musical forms that did not easily fit within such standards. Lkhagva, for example, was born in 1938 and grew up playing the *aman khuur*, or jaw harp, Mongolian national instruments such as the *yochin* and *yatga*, and the Russian mandolin before spending her career singing at the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater. Having spent the entirety of her career in Mongolian folk music, Lkhagva believed that development of art did occur during socialism, but was less enthusiastic about that development than the majority of the musicians and performers with whom I spoke. She felt that national songs were developed and that opportunities for musicians increased, but that folk art such as long song, or *urtyn duu*, was "almost lost" because anything that was connected to old religion or ways of thinking was repressed by the government, either explicitly or implicitly.

Quite frequent among the recollections of participants was the concept of *cenzur*, or censorship. Under the socialist regime, stylistic and musical decisions were met with the harsh scrutiny of the national government. Bolortuya, a professional poet and author who received her education during the last decade of Mongolia's socialist period,

explained that, while the government encouraged the expansion of Mongolian performing arts, the content of the art needed to meet extremely stringent criteria in order to be deemed appropriate for public consumption. Although *cenzur* was mostly mentioned with regard to public performances, socialist censorship of musical content began as early as childhood for students in professional training. Batsaikhan, a *morin khuur* instructor at the Children's Palace, a prominent socialist-era art institution for children, recalled that during his own childhood education, all students were compelled to learn the piano and all boys learned Western acoustic guitar. Outside of these requirements, children were allowed to explore a variety of Western and Mongolian instruments and styles, as long as they did not contradict socialist ideology. Although Batsaikhan assured me that many people broke this rule, he noted that any students who were caught playing rock music, for example, were expelled from the institution. In any context, artforms such as poetry that allowed the ability to directly express the individual thoughts of its performers to a public audience were strictly censored, but Bolortuya noted that all forms of art, particularly folk art such as *urtyn duu*, were affected by state *cenzur*.

Beginning with the fourteenth Congress of the MPRP in 1959, the Mongolian state began to impose new cultural policies with the stated goals of "raising the cultural level of the working people, indoctrinating them in the spirit of communism, and fighting against the vestiges of old thinking" (Magban, as quoted in Marsh 2009, 51). The problem with *urtyn duu*, then, in the eyes of the socialist government, was its affiliation with "old thinking". Perhaps the most obvious reason for the long song's association with "old thinking" is the content of its lyrics. As suggested by Bolortuya, the socialist government's strict censorship policies for what constituted an appropriate socialist

culture meant that only certain songs were considered to be suitable for public performance. Ethnomusicologist Sunmin Yoon (2011) notes that this is because the lyrics to many long songs were either religious in content or presented a history of Mongolia that did not align with current cultural constructions of it; for example, through the invocation of Chinggis Khaan (2011, 243-244).

The second reason that folk traditions such as the long song may have been associated with "old thinking" during the socialist period is its affiliation with minority-status, or non-Khalkh, ethnic identities, and therefore its disruption of the state's attempted creation of a centralized Mongolian identity. *Urtyn duu* developed as a solo tradition in the countryside, where it was often performed at local feasts and at *Naadam*, a three-day festival in mid-July featuring parades, performances, and sporting events, recognized as one of the most important holidays of the Mongolian year (Yoon 2011, 14, 122). As a truly pre-socialist, 'doxic' artform, deep histories and styles of long song have evolved across the nation, a fact which is evidenced even in its various names. According to Carole Pegg (2001), the genre is known in the Övörkhangai, Arkhangai, and Bayankhongor provinces as *suman duu*, or "songs of the sum[5]," and in some eastern, southern, and central provinces as *töriin duu*, or "state song," and *tör hurimyn du*, which can be translated to "celebration song" (2001, 44).

Yoon suggests that one of the fundamental aspects of the Soviet socialist process in Mongolia was the construction and concurrent centralization of the Khalkh ethnicity. Pegg writes, "The exact meaning of the term 'Khalkha' depends now upon individual perspectives and contexts. It can be used to refer to the land, that is, as synonymous with

[5] The *sum* is the second level of administrative division in Mongolia, directly under *aimags*, or provinces. *Sums* are comparable to counties in the United States.

North or ‘Back’ Mongolia or to one of the groups of Eastern Mongols. It can be used as an umbrella term to include about four hundred former tribes and clans or to refer to the majority ethnic group within Mongolia” (Nyambuu 1992, cited in Pegg 2001, 22). ‘Khalkha,’ as a descriptor, now possesses a multitude of meanings because it was, in many ways, a construct of the socialist state. Sociologist Rogers Brubaker writes, “From a cognitive perspective, ethnicity, race, and nationhood are not things *in* the world, but perspectives *on* the world” (Brubaker 2009, 32). As a political and social construct, ethnicity, through the naming and classification of groups of people into specific, tightly bound groups, has the ability to transform “the self-understandings, social organization, and political claims of the populations thus classified,” therefore helping “to *construct* and *constitute* the groups they ostensibly *describe*” (Brubaker 2009, 33). In other words, the unification of a diverse conglomerate of former tribes into one major ethnic group, the Khalkh, even if at first only in name, did more than simply name an ethnicity. As political scientist Walker Connor argues, the concept of ethnic kinship draws a nation’s citizens together through the ties of ancestral relation (1994), thus creating a unified ethnic identity that could be more easily transformed by the nationalist political ideology of the socialist government. Although Yoon asserts that the nation’s centering of the Khalkh ethnicity can be traced as far back as the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire, he suggests that “Soviet-era Khalkh centrism” was not the result of the Mongol Empire’s military and political history, but of the “Sovietization and de-Mongolization” efforts of the socialist government (Yoon 2011, 105-106). When, for example, Mongolia adopted Russian Cyrillic as the official script of the nation, the Khalkh dialect was adopted as the main language to be converted to Cyrillic (Yoon 2011, 106). Moreover, individuals

descended from other ethnic groups, if they dwelled in Ulaanbaatar or were unsure of their cultural origin, would be registered as Khalkh, and, beginning in the socialist period, family names were dropped in favor of using the father's name as one's surname "so that Mongolians could not trace their ancestors' roots, even to Chinggis Khan," thus stripping Mongolian citizens of any relation to the non-dominant ethnic status as Khalkh-centrism "developed into a Mongol centrism under the pursuit of a united, socialist Mongolia" (Yoon 2011, 106-107). Describing the power of these initiatives, Inner Mongolian historical and political anthropologist Uradyn E. Bulag stated, "To be a Halh [Khalkh] means one is a proper citizen, a real Mongol, and to be [a non-Khalkh ethnicity] means to be peripheral" (Bulag, as quoted in Yoon 2011, 106).

Although Yoon notes that *urtyn duu* followed the same trend as Mongolian naming and language, adapting so that the Khalkh ethnic and regional style became the prominent style of the Mongolian long song tradition (Yoon 2011, 108), the fact that folk musicians such as Lkhagva and Narantuya experienced such harsh restriction during the socialist period suggests that the genre's assimilation to Khalkh forms was not enough to spare it from Soviet censorship of "old thinking." This is almost certainly related to long song's association with Mongolia's rich and ethnically diverse cultural and political history, which would have been anathema to a socialist government seeking to Sovietize and de-Mongolize the local population. Yoon writes,

> Mongolia is one nation state, but it consists of diverse ethnic groups, which is revealed in the musical styles of long-song. Just as long-songs have specific regional and ethnic styles throughout Mongolia, Mongolian people also consist of diverse ethnic groups. Those went through severe changes in the socialist period. This is interestingly connected to the concept of dualism that was created under socialism in Mongolia; countryside vs. urban, professional vs. amateur, and us (generally meaning central/Khalkh ethnic groups) versus others (minorities). (Yoon 2011, 104)

As much as the style of long song may have attempted to claim its relation to the modernization, development, and Khalkh-centrism of socialist cultural policies, the genre's specific regional and ethnic relations to minority identities meant that, through the lens of the conceptual binary of "us versus others," *urtyn duu* would always be classified as foreign, and therefore antithetical to the ideals of unity and progress, in the eyes of the socialist government.

As a result of the socialist government's strict censorship practices, many artists of the socialist period felt as though they lacked the ability to express themselves and their culture in an authentic way. Erdenebat, a professional musician of the *limbe* who is currently working to pass on the UNESCO-certified skill of circular breathing to young musicians of rural Mongolia, recognized that the socialist period had positive impacts on the development of classical musical methods in Mongolia, but felt that socialist-era artists lacked artistic freedom. During socialism, public concert programs needed to be approved by a commission of the communist party. These commissions, which Erdenebat was quick to note had not even been educated in music, encouraged political songs while prohibiting any expressions that contradicted Soviet-based socialist ideology from reaching a public audience. He stated, "Society lived in a vacuum, blocked by *cenzur.*"

Although all of my interviewees possessed their own, often complex memories and perceptions of Mongolia's socialist era, impacted by their age, experiences, and artistic values, several consistent themes emerged from our conversations. Perhaps most striking in participants' perceptions of the impacts of socialism on musical culture were the concepts of development and cultural progression. Although many recalled that there "wasn't any choice" (Uranchimeg) due to the harsh censorship that they experienced at

the hands of the state, musicians felt that the final result of the often-difficult socialist cultural policies was positive. Most did not believe that the music of pre-socialist Mongolia was necessarily bad, but they credited the socialist period for elevating national music to a "world level" (Buyandelger, Dugarjav).

The word 'development' was mentioned in relation to the influence of socialist cultural policies in twenty out of twenty-five interviews. It is important to acknowledge once more that a translator was used to collect these interviews and that interviewees' responses were originally in Mongolian; it is therefore possible that participants' original wording did not carry the same connotations as its English counterpart. Even if this is the case, however, the meaning behind the word remains. While it may, on a surface level, appear simply to be an innocuous piece of vocabulary used to describe the changes to music that occurred during the seventy years of socialist leadership, the word 'development' implies an innate statement of value. With the use of the word 'development,' the broader implication is that, although Mongolian musical culture existed before the socialist period, the influence of socialism somehow increased its value, developing Mongolian musical culture into something greater, more complicated, and more fit for a "world level."

Today, the word 'development' is almost always used in the context of some external, generally wealthy nation or organization deciding that the culture, economy, or lifestyle of another nation is, in some way, unfit and in need of improvement and believing that they can "improve the lives" of that country's citizens through "sheer goodwill" (Doane, 2014). Although in many cases, these external groups believe that they have the best intentions in mind, viewing a nation as either culturally 'developed' or

‘undeveloped’ not only severely oversimplifies every aspect of the so-called ‘undeveloped’ nation, but places the ‘developed’ savior nation in a position of fabricated moral superiority (Doane, 2014). Within this dynamic, the savior nation then obtains the power to impose its own ideas of development onto the ‘undeveloped’ nation without any self-awareness or concern for cultural compatibility (Doane, 2014). I do not mean to claim that the participants of this study were intentionally disparaging pre-socialist musical culture and practices in any way. Rather, the widespread usage of the word ‘development’ in relation to musical culture is, in itself, a relic of the cultural hegemony, or the dominant moral, political, and intellectual ideals (Gramsci 1971), imposed by the policies of the socialist party. During the socialist period, the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party “incorporated goals and objectives into the program directives, which would have resulted in building ‘an equal classless society’ through breaking ‘the vestiges of the past,’ i.e. basic principles of socio-political and economic system of Mongolia during the feudal epoch” (Rodionov et al. 2018, 1). Under the influence of the Soviet Bolsheviks, the socialist government attempted to ‘modernize’ the culture of Mongolia by introducing cultural practices such as Western classical music and European opera, and “eliminating negative aspects of human nature” by repressing cultural practices such as Buddhism that did not fit with the ‘developed,’ modern society that they were trying to create (Rodionov et al., 2018, 1).

Of course, the impacts of the socialist period are much more complex than simple cultural repression or forced modernization. It is true that the changes that occurred during the seven decades of socialist control have allowed Mongolian musicians and performers to receive international training and recognition. According to some

musicians and performers, it is even true that the musical techniques provided during the socialist period are precisely what have allowed Mongolian artists such as The HU to introduce Mongolian folk music to an international audience. In many ways, Mongolian musical culture has evolved since the beginning of the socialist period, and many of the changes that occurred can easily be interpreted as positive. The ubiquity of the concept of cultural development in the minds of the musicians and performers of the socialist era, however, is highly indicative of the lasting impacts of socialist hegemonic ideals of modernization on Mongolian musical culture and self-identification, even after more than thirty years of democracy, as well as of the current values of musicians living in the post-socialist state.

Post-Socialist Changes

> "Just on the border between socialism and democracy, training happened on inertia. Society was bankrupt. Teachers became very poor, and they just worked to survive based on the old education system. Moving into a new society happened slowly" (Dashnyam).

There is a common assumption, especially among audiences who have never personally lived through something as potentially life-altering as a political revolution, that such a massive political and economic shift would completely and immediately overturn a society. It is easy to assume that, as soon as the direct control of the Mongolian socialist government was dissipated, a new, post-socialist culture of freedom and cultural reclamation would immediately have replaced the outdated teachings of the previous era, but, as noted by composer and contemporary folk-rock musician Dashnyam, change in the new democratic era happened slowly and was not always positive, beginning with a decrease in funding and career opportunities in the arts, followed by a

decrease in the quality of musical education, and eventually, on a more positive note, an increase in artistic freedom.

Although he did not begin his formal musical training until 1989 and the democratic revolution occurred while he was still studying, Dashnyam did not feel as though his professional training differed strongly from that of musicians who had graduated in the years before the transition. Of course, young musicians were strongly impacted by the "explosion of information" brought about by the end of the socialist period, but change to the culture of professional music in Mongolia happened much more slowly (Dashnyam). In fact, the earliest changes to post-socialist musical culture were not initiated by a desire for musical freedom or cultural reclamation, but, rather, by the lack of funding and human resources caused by the national economic insecurity brought about by the burgeoning market economy. Davaa, the head of faculty of singers at the Mongolian State Conservatory, a public artistic and musical teaching institution for students between six and eighteen years old, recalled that the initial period of transition between 1990 and 1995 was one of the most difficult periods for Mongolian musicians and artists, as well as for Mongolian citizens in general, in modern history. Society was on the verge of bankruptcy, and many musical schools were forced to close because they could no longer financially support themselves (Davaa). With the economic future of the nation appearing bleak, many professional musicians and performers left their craft in favor of commerce, hoping to be able to provide a comfortable livelihood for themselves and their families (Davaa).

Even now, thirty years after Mongolia's democratic transition, Mongolian artists and institutions are still reeling from the sudden revoking of national financial support for

the arts. Erdenetsetseg, a pensioned musician who spent her entire career at the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater and continues to work part-time at the institution due to its lack of employees, noted that although the state continues to fund Mongolian artists and institutions, rural theaters and artists have had a particularly difficult time adjusting to the transition between socialism and democracy. During the socialist period, musicians were given subsidized housing and appropriate salaries from the government to live in Sainshand and work at the theater (Erdenetsetseg). This policy allowed even rural institutions such as the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater to attract the nation's top musicians, but with widespread funding for the arts being a privilege which the newly capitalist nation can no longer afford, Erdenetsetseg noted that all the best musicians go to Ulaanbaatar, where they can receive a more adequate salary for their work. Because of this, the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater, which boasted a staff of twenty-six musicians during the socialist period, now has only seven working musicians. Although she felt that the ending of the socialist period brought more freedom to musicians across the nation, Erdenetsetseg was adamant that the sudden political transition brought great financial turmoil, particularly to rural artists.

According to *morin khuur* player and teacher Buyandelger, after democracy, "everything in Mongolia lost direction." Buyandelger and Erdenebat, both music teachers in Mongolia's new democratic era, mentioned a decrease in the quality of musical education after the end of socialism. Although folk art has achieved a level of attention and development that was not possible under the socialist government, Erdenebat noted that institutions have become much more lenient in their standards of acceptance. Under the capitalist system in which schools accept direct payment from their students, he

asserted that it is easy to graduate as long as one pays. With this change, more and more students are graduating at a lower level of skill and appreciation for the technical expertise of socialist musical styles (Erdenebat).

Although none of the above testaments were exactly optimistic, each expressed hope for the future. Erdenetsetseg predicted an increase in folk art opportunities, while Erdenebat asserted that education and school programs will only improve with time, and Davaa was adamant that the nation "did not lose the conditions for future development." While many of the artists educated and employed in the socialist period have expressed frustration with the changes that have occurred in the last decades since Mongolia's democratic transition, most also expressed threads of optimism and hope. Garidmagnai, a *morin khuur* musician and *khuumii* singer at the State Morin Khuur Ensemble who graduated from the Mongolian University of Arts and Culture in the 1990s, believed that the acceptance of democracy brought a necessary awakening of folk art. Although he believed that the continued studying of classical music is necessary to develop other styles of music in the future, he asserted that this awakening of folk is what "makes culture more colorful today."

One positive change that several of my participants noted was the notable increase in artistic freedom since the ending of the socialist period. Born in 1960, Bayarmaa is a state-honored jazz and contemporary singer who began professional training at the Children's Palace when she was only eight years old. At the Children's Palace, she was enrolled in what she described as a "communist-oriented ideological program" that specialized in songs about the socialist party, the nation, and Vladimir Lenin. Although she possessed fond memories of her socialist-era career, she recalled that every concert

program needed to be approved by the Ministry of Culture, and that she was not allowed to deviate from the Ministry's list of approved songs. When speaking about the democratic transition, Bayarmaa told me, "freedom for artists became like fresh air for everybody." With the freedom to choose, artists could finally find their own voice (Bayarmaa).

Although their perspectives about the decades since the ending of the socialist period had been mixed, when I asked my participants about their perceptions of the future of Mongolian folk and national music, their projections were unanimously positive. Perhaps the most prevalent goal for the future among the participants of this study was the hope of international recognition of Mongolian culture. Ankhbayar, a former assistant flutist at the *Saran Khukhuu* theater in Sainshand felt that, before the democratization of Mongolia, the international community did not know about the *morin khuur* or *urtyn duu*. With the expanse of information and technology now available to Mongolian musicians, however, Ankhbayar noted that these folk art traditions have become "Mongolia's name card." In the future, Mongolian folk music will only gain more popularity as it enters Western radio stations and films, and the rest of the world realizes its value (Ankhbayar). For Ganzorig, a teacher and director of national arts at the Mongolian University of Arts and Culture, the future of Mongolian folk music will usher in a new era of international involvement, beginning with contemporary folk-rock band The HU. Ganzorig felt that the future of Mongolian music will be positive precisely because Mongolia possesses the European techniques and styles left over from socialist cultural policies that are necessary to explain national folk music to the rest of the world, whether through more "traditional" world music ensembles, national orchestras, or, in the case of the HU, folk-rock fusions.

With their combination of traditional Mongolian folk instruments and singing and Western instrumentalization and styles, The HU "gave folk music a chance to survive" (Ganzorig).

It is impossible to analyze the cultural impacts of the ending of the socialist period on the lives and identities of Mongolian musicians and performers without a deeper understanding of the political impacts of such a transition. It must be noted first that the nation's geographical standing is unique in the current era. Mongolia, whose population just exceeded 3.4 million people in the year 2023, sits between Russia, with a population of approximately 144 million, and China, whose population nears 1.5 billion (Worldometers.info 2024), making it the only nation in the world to be completely landlocked between two "great powers." Therefore, although Mongolia's democratic transition in the early 1990s marked the first time in recent history that the nation was politically sovereign, its newly formed government still had to consider its location between these two international superpowers. As a result, the nation's newfound political freedom was accompanied by deep anxiety over whether the nation could remain politically sovereign or if its location between Russia and China destined it to an eternity of subordination. This sense of precarity led the Mongolian government to pursue what is now known as the Third Neighbor Policy, a term coined by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker during a visit to Mongolia in 1990 that refers to the intentional positive relationships that the Mongolian government has attempted to create with powerful nations aside from Russia and China in order to cement its own independence while promoting national development (Asia Society 2013).

The internal geopolitical forces behind Mongolia's Third Neighbor Policy are, at least at a surface level, fairly clear. As noted by Mongolian anthropologist Dulum Bumochir, the invitation of Third Neighbors into Mongolia's economic and political landscape was justified by politicians early in the nation's new era of democracy "by considering the independence of Mongolia to be weak or at risk of loss and therefore needing constant protection" (Bumochir 2020, 25). Feeling unable to balance the power of Russia and China without the help of other powerful nations, Mongolia turned to the United States, Australia, Turkey, South Korea, Japan, and the European Union (Asia Society 2013). Although continued political sovereignty at least initially served as the main motivator for this policy, it quickly became clear that economic development was also a significant driving force. With the understanding that these nations would be much more likely to work to protect Mongolia if they had financial stakes in its success, Mongolia planned to boost industry and the burgeoning market economy, as well as secure its political alliances, by attracting the urge for profit of its Third Neighbors. Mongolian anthropologist Munkh-Erdene Lhamsuren, for instance, "argues that the precarity of Mongolia's political independence between Russia and China in making the third neighbour policy is an 'ideological construct'" (Bumochir 2020, 25). According to Munkh-Erdene, in a worst-case scenario, the simple fact that neither Russia nor China would let the other take over Mongolia serves as the only protection that the nation needs to maintain its independence (Bumochir 2020, 25). From this perspective, anthropologists such as Bumochir and Lhamsuren have come to view the Third Neighbor Policy as an unnecessary and "politically constructed ideology" between Mongolia and largely Western nations that has been used "to justify the establishment of a particular form of

capitalist markets and increases the influence of states, such as the United States" (Bumochir 2020, 25).

Regardless of whether Mongolian politicians of the new democratic government were motivated by anxieties over political sovereignty, the desire to open its doors to the Western neoliberal agenda, or both, the previous thirty years of foreign policy emphasizing the importance of securing Mongolia a place on the international stage has clearly taken a toll on the nation's post-socialist economic and cultural policies. This, in turn, has impacted the ways in which Mongolian citizens understand themselves and their country. One of the ways in which Mongolia has attempted to gain global relevance is through its investment in the local mineral extraction industry in the hopes of creating jobs, boosting gross domestic product, and increasing international business collaboration and interest. Bumochir notes that "embracing the liberal economy and free market principles of capitalism were political tactics to entice third neighbours and international donor organisations to fund the nation-state and to consolidate political independence" (Bumochir 2020, 31). Essentially, by investing in mining, a sector that is, at least for now, an undeniable necessity, Mongolia was enabling the possibility of not only the independent economic growth that it felt was necessary to ensure its continued political sovereignty, but of positive international relationships with powerful countries.

Another prominent way that the ideals of the Third Neighbor policy have been reflected on both an economic and symbolic level is through the nation's emphasis on 'authentic' Mongolian cultural production. In a 2021 statement by the Mongolian Ministry of Culture on the state's cultural policies, Mongolian President Ukhnaagiin Khürelsükh is paraphrased as saying, "It is possible to develop creative cultural

production and put it into economic circulation, which opens up a wide range of opportunities to promote Mongolian culture to the world" (Ministry of Culture of Mongolia 2021). The Ministry reports that, "By supporting the state's culture and arts through policy and developing creative cultural industries in cooperation with artists and businesses, Mongolia has access to the world's art…" (2021). Clearly, the hope among musicians that "rest of the world realizes [folk art's] value" (Ankhbayar) is not unique to Mongolian artists on an individual level, but a product of national policies and ideals surrounding the international value of cultural production, as can be seen in the vast number of musical and artistic performances in the nation's capital city of both folk and Western classical form. But these ideals of the post-socialist Third Neighbor policy did not grow from nothing. They are, instead, direct remnants of the particular culture-building processes of the Soviet Union. Referring to the "distinctive productivity" of Soviet cultural policy, cultural anthropologist of Central Eurasia Morgan Y. Liu (2011, 118) notes,

> The Soviet Union promoted a peculiar balance of internationalism (making the progressive "Soviet man") and ethnic particularism (affirming the social reality and political value of nationality and a hierarchy of other ethnic categories)" (citing Hirsch 2005, Martin 2001, Slezkine 1994).

She adds,

> It made Central Asians as they see themselves today, reflected in the often strident nationalisms promulgated by the post-Soviet states, whose narratives of "proud past, great futures," which ignore Russian rule as mere interruption, in reality reiterate Soviet ideological forms and even content (Liu 2011, 118, citing Adams 2010).

In other words, Mongolia's post-socialist nation-building process, from which musicians and performers draw their current understandings both of themselves and of their music within the world around them, are direct results of a very particular form of Soviet

nationalism, which attempted to create a cultural and political identity based on the combination of international, "progressive" forms and local, "authentic" folk practices. Moreover, as a cultural form that is historically and ethnically rooted in Mongolia and has undergone great structural and contextual changes during the socialist period, Mongolian folk music has been a vital tool of the nation-building efforts of both the socialist and post-socialist state. By using music as a medium to communicate a national identity, the state's emphasis on progress and development on an economic and political level has, in turn, transferred onto the individual beliefs and values of the musicians and performers who create such music.

"Mongolian Music": Nature, Nomadism, and the "National Form"

> [Mongolian music] has many different features, and, compared to the socialist period, we would see many different flowers in the garden. During the socialist period, the gardener was only one person, and that was the Communist Party. What kind of flower should be planted? How closely should it be nurtured? What kind of flower should be plucked out? All of this is at the decision of the gardener, but nowadays we have many gardeners. The artist himself is a gardener. Political parties and foreign NGOs are gardeners…And the future of Mongolian music will be defined by the relationship between all of these actors. (Enkhbaatar)

As shown above, political anthropologist Enkhbaatar viewed the concept of Mongolian music as a garden of flowers, growing at the hands of multiple actors. With all the geopolitical changes that the nation of Mongolia has experienced in the last century alone, and all the gardeners to which the flowers of music have been exposed, one must pose the question of identity. What does it mean to be Mongolian or to play "Mongolian music"? What makes that music fundamentally Mongolian, and why? Can music with external cultural influences be considered Mongolian? In the pages that follow, I return to these questions of identity with the goal of understanding how a nation

that has experienced so much politically charged cultural change has forged its own musical identity in the post-socialist era.

Although Enkhbaatar's statement was meant to convey the idea of Mongolian music as a constantly evolving exploration of the present condition of the world, confined and controlled by the interactions of its surroundings, his usage of the metaphor of music as a flower is, in many respects, representative of the broader conception of Mongolian music and its relation to nature among musicians and performers in the current era. As stated by retired state-honored opera singer Selenge, "The definition [of Mongolian music], in our eyes, is melody connected with nature." Similarly, when state-honored singer and author Lkhagva was asked about her ideas of Mongolian music, she mentioned "peace and space". The example that she provided of this definition was long song, or *urtyn duu*. "[*Urtyn duu*] is the imagination of a green field, a big space…It is like the mind on horseback" (Lkhagva). She noted that the roots of Mongolian music are inextricably connected to nature, and therefore the only way to truly understand that music is to view it through the lens of nature. "Even in modern times," she said, "each Mongolian performance always includes nature" (Lkhagva).

"You can feel nature from our art" (Dashnyam). Another prominent theme, as expressed by composer and folk-rock musician Dashnyam, was the importance not only of nature, but of the expression of traditional musical methods such as *urtyn duu* as the definition of Mongolian music. In his perspective, these traditional methods were created as a bridge between nature and human expression (Dashnyam). He stated the following:

> Through long song, you can explain cosmic feeling. There is no expression of nature like the long song. It is an explanation of the human soul…but to understand the long song, you cannot be human. You must think about yourself as a part of nature. But in a settlement lifestyle, a person is limited, blocked, boxed.

> That is why a person from a city may not understand at first. But if you think about nature, without boxes, without walls, without limit, if you feel yourself to be a part of nature, the long song and your soul will be combined. (Dashnyam)

Of similar importance to nature in participants' understandings of Mongolian music is the expression of the nomadic lifestyle. Having grown up in a nomadic family in eastern Mongolia before leaving the nation to study music in Bulgaria, opera singer and teacher Davaa placed great value on his nomadic upbringing, emphasizing nomadism and the transferring of tradition as the two most vital aspects of Mongolian music. "Among nomadic people, everything that is learned transfers from generation to generation" (Davaa). Davaa explained that, to breed animals, nomadic communities used music. To ease the birthing process for female livestock and aid in the development of a mother-child relationship, herders used special songs, and these songs were passed from family to family, generation to generation. "That," he explained, "was the basis of national art" (Davaa). Similarly, retired singer Otgonjargal described her conception of Mongolian music as a continuation of "the nomadic lifestyle." Essentially, she felt that the nation's long history of nomadism had provided the necessary link between humanity and nature that makes Mongolian music so unique. When I asked her to elaborate, she stated,

> [Nomadic lifestyle] is why people are seeing such a wide connection to nature. They are expanding their nomadic lifestyle through the music and instruments. So that is the difference between Mongolian people and other nations. This is a nomadic lifestyle, people try to communicate with nature and express their feelings of nature through the instruments. So that's the Mongolian definition. Nomadism.

Erdenebat, a professional *limbe* player and teacher, also differentiated Mongolian music from other cultures by its proximity to nature and nomadism. Through the connection of human life and nature made possible only by the nomadic lifestyle, he asserted that Mongolian music could accurately convey the human condition in a way that no other

type of music could. “The world is saying that Mongolia is a very primitive and poor country, but it’s not” (Erdenebat). Gesturing down at the *limbe* in his lap, he said, “Even this flute can imagine and explain all conditions of human life. Like birth, like happiness, like working with animals, you know, you can explain with this instrument. It’s not a primitive culture” (Erdenebat).

Another common determinant of “Mongolian music” among performers was the concept of a “national form.” Altantsetseg, a music teacher at the Mongolian University of Education who has been performing and teaching for nearly forty years, defined the “national form” of Mongolian music as a unique style that is deeply personal to Mongolian lifestyle and history. This music “explains an open, green field, a Mongolian human being, and the beauty of Mongolian nature” (Altantsetseg). To Altantsetseg, “Mongolian music is the open soul of a Mongolian human.” Similar to Altantsetseg, retired flutist Ankhbayar felt that Mongolian music had a national form that set it apart from every other nation’s music. As a fundamentally nomadic nation, Ankhbayar said that the most vital aspects of Mongolian music are the traditional techniques such as *urtyn duu*, *morin khuur*, and the “story tales” that originated as ways of expressing nomadic identity. He explained that all three methods, but especially *urtyn duu*, originated in direct relation to nomadic lifestyle in order to explain and describe nature (Ankhbayar). “Natural pictures like the sun rising, a green field, domestic animals, and the people breeding the animals, and living in a ger are all very peaceful” (Ankhbayar). For that reason, Ankhbayar felt that Mongolians need their own methods of artistic expression, and these methods are what constitute Mongolian music. According to state-honored singer Bayarmaa, the *morin khuur* is the single most important factor of

Mongolian music, followed by *urtyn duu*. To Bayarmaa, Mongolian people are inseparable from nature and nomadism; therefore, as direct products of nomadic methods, the *morin khuur* and *urtyn duu* must be fundamentally Mongolian: "This is our pride" (Bayarmaa). Whether through connection to nature, nomadism, or historical differentiation, one of the most prevalent themes in definitions of Mongolian music is its individuality from any other nation in the world. *Morin khuur* teacher Batsaikhan described Mongolian music as "traditional". According to Batsaikhan, Mongolian music is not similar to any other type of music due to the specific tempos, pentatonic scales, and tones that arise even in contemporary Mongolian music that are traditional only to the nation of Mongolia.

A summation of participants' ideas of Mongolian music can best be provided by the words of the former director of the *Saran Khukhuu* Theater and current director of the Dornogovi Aimag Museum, Uranchimeg. Uranchimeg explained that Mongolian art is an expression of nature because Mongolian people are, themselves, extensions of nature.

> Through the nomadic lifestyle, we are connected with nature…Even the *morin khuur* is based on animals. From this kind of lifestyle, we have a specific culture and art. If Western people or people from different countries try to learn this art, they will not do better than Mongolians. But Mongolian artists can learn different cultures more quickly and adopt it. They have specific skills to learn any music. (Uranchimeg)

When I asked her why Mongolians were unique in their musical skills among the world's population, Uranchimeg stated:

> Firstly, a Mongolian is natural. They are not affected by a different way of civilization. Secondly, for Mongolians, there is nothing which is not life. Mongolians are communicating with surroundings and nature like they are human beings. For example, animals are not just animals. Mongolians communicate with them like human beings… Everything in nature is life. It's not physical. In that way, communication between Mongolian men and nature is art… Our real life is art. That is why we are different from the rest of the world.

Development vs. Tradition: Creating a Post-Socialist Identity

As previously mentioned, the majority of the musicians and performers with whom I spoke described the socialist period as a complex, but overall positive force of change to Mongolian musical practices. State censorship, or *cenzur*, was inescapable for professional performers, and musicians did not possess the same artistic freedom that is possible today, but artists still felt that the socialist period increased the nation's musical abilities and global relevance. As such, when participants were asked to define their conceptions of "Mongolian music," it would be reasonable to presume that responses would reflect some of the positive 'developments' of socialism, but the opposite is true. Seventeen out of twenty-five performers mentioned the relationship between Mongolian people and nature in their definitions of Mongolian music, while eleven mentioned nomadism and livestock herding as the root of Mongolian traditional musical practices. Many of these interviewees also felt that Mongolian musicians and performers were unique in their abilities among the musicians of other nations precisely because of the relationships between herders and their nature, noting that to succeed as a herder, especially during the difficult birthing season, it is necessary to be able to communicate with one's livestock (Ankhbayar), and the best way to do this is through music. Although nearly every nation or ethnic group has arguably developed a rich culture of art and music, the difference between Mongolia and these nations is that Mongolian art developed as an innate feature of everyday life (Dugarjav).

The greatest theme from all of these definitions of Mongolian music in the post-socialist era is the value of tradition and the doxic ideal that Mongolian music and musicians "are not affected by a different way of civilization" (Uranchimeg). This is by

no means a coincidence, particularly when one considers Mongolia's Democratic Revolution of 1990 as a revitalization movement, which Anthony F.C. Wallace (1956) describes as a movement of collective cultural stress reduction, occurring only when members of a given culture begin to view their current cultural system as unacceptable and in need of change. Similar to the Second Hawaiian Renaissance in Hawai'i, Mongolia's transition to the post-socialist period was not only a large-scale revitalization movement, but, more specifically, a "revivalistic" movement, which emphasizes "the institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present" (Wallace 1956, 267). As can be seen in Mongolian musicians' evocation of nomadism and an inherent connection to nature through the nation's history of herding, after decades of Mongolian artists feeling unable to express their culture fully authentically, the creation of national identity in post-socialist Mongolia depends greatly on the invocation and even the invention of tradition. As described by Eric Hobsbawm (1983), these invented traditions often "attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past" (1983, 1), working to structure various aspects of the social life as constant and unchanging as a contrast to the extreme cultural shifts and the loss of a more "traditional life" and freedom of expression that occurred during the socialist period. It is important to note, once more, that the term "invented" does not mean unreal. The "traditional" practices of nomadism, herding, and art forms such as the *morin khuur* and *urtyn duu* did exist in some form before the socialist period, and they certainly did not cease to exist during the seventy years of Soviet influence– even *urtyn duu*, which was not supported by socialist institutions in the same way as the *morin khuur*, for example, persisted during the socialist period. In this sense, these

traditions are real, yet, in a nation where approximately 45% of the population now lives in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar (Embassy of Mongolia, 2017), and "traditional" instruments such as the *morin khuur*, which were supported by the socialist government, were subjected to extreme revision in sound, appearance, and performance context, such traditions are certainly not as continuous or unchanging as they are often portrayed to be in the post-socialist era.

Rather, the selection and invocation of these specific elements of pre-socialist culture in conceptions of Mongolian music reflect far more the nostalgia and desire for a historically-based national culture in the present day than about the cultural reality of the pre-socialist era. In fact, it is precisely this post-socialist national context, in which the newly capitalist and democratic nation must continually work to retain its cultural and political sovereignty in the post-socialist period in spite of its unique geopolitical context and limited population, that explains Mongolian musicians' emphasis on both development and progress on one side and a traditional past on the other in their understandings of national music. Although these musicians place great value on what they perceive as the traditions of the past, their conceptions of a national musical culture cannot be separated from the perceived needs of the nation itself, and since neither the nation nor its musical culture can ever return to the conditions of the pre-socialist era, cultural practitioners of the present day must look to the health and longevity of the nation in its current state. Believing that continued development and acceptance of "modern" (i.e. Western) musical practices is the best way for Mongolian art to reach a global stage, and therefore for Mongolia itself to maintain its political and cultural legitimacy as a newly democratic and capitalist nation, musicians and performers of the

post-socialist state have established a new, orthodox form of cultural identity that is based on the seemingly contradictory combination of the stability and historical legitimacy of so-called "tradition" and the progress and promise of international legitimacy of socialist-era "development."

Conclusion: Redefining Authenticity

Thus far, I have attempted to examine Hawai‘i and Mongolia as two separate case studies of the complex relationship between Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of doxa, orthodoxy, and heterodoxy within the postcolonial context. These locations–one a U.S. state and one a politically sovereign nation–have witnessed vastly different, though in some ways, strikingly similar experiences of globalization, cultural imperialism, and loss through colonial encounters with the United States and the Soviet Union. I have invoked Frantz Fanon (1961) to draw attention to the depersonalization and feelings of dislocation from cultural identity that are inherent to these colonial experiences of constant political, economic, cultural, and spiritual oppression, and examined the ways in which these feelings of loss are invoked within the postcolonial era through the lens of “national” and “folk” music to form a new sense of musical and cultural identity dependent on nationalist conceptions of tradition.

I have argued that such evocations of a nationalist conception of cultural tradition in the aftermath of colonization or political subordination thus reflect the subordinated group’s attempts to reclaim specific elements of the once unquestioned culture of a nation’s pre-colonial state. Since these taken-for-granted practices and assumptions (what Bourdieu calls doxa) of a pre-colonial, pre-globalized past are no longer attainable, however, self-conscious attempts to evoke, or invent, such a past within the present cultural and geopolitical context represent what Bourdieu describes as an orthodoxy, which can only exist as a counterpoint to the heterodoxy of the colonial situation. Finally, I have concluded that by establishing this imperfect orthodoxy of invented tradition as a vital form of cultural identity, these groups reckon with the feelings of loss inherent to the

experience of political subordination and cultural imperialism while asserting a new form of cultural hegemony and political sovereignty within a globalized national framework.

But what does this truly mean, and why does it matter? One element of the importance of my research is its timing. Between 2022, when I first began my research, and 2024, the time of its publication, more than thirty years have passed since Mongolia transitioned from a socialist to a democratic government, and approximately fifty years have passed since the beginning of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance. A thirty-to-fifty-year passage of time since these great periods of shift is long enough that their impacts and accompanying cultural changes on the lives of current musicians can be fully understood, but recent enough that many of the musicians who were active during that era are still alive and able to speak coherently about their experiences. Even so, the importance of the timing of my research does not answer the question of what, if anything, is gained from a study such as mine. Who, besides me and a small group of specialists of music, nationalism, and identity, has any stake in my claims, and why should they? As I attempt to answer these questions, I will return to another one, which I posed in my introduction: What can the study of music and identity in these different regions reveal about the complex interplay of nationalism, political subordination, cultural hybridity, and conceptions of authenticity in a so-called 'globalized world'?

In my examination of Mongolia, I discuss the ways in which the mid-twentieth century Mongolian state attempted to form a new inherently socialist national identity through the collection and redevelopment of certain folk traditions through a 'modern' lens, modifying instruments, introducing the Western classical orchestral form, and monitoring stylistic and lyrical expression. Through these tactics, the Mongolian People's

Revolutionary Party, in close working relation to the Soviet Union, which had a hand in the newly formed Mongolian government's creation, attempted to appeal to national tradition while overcoming what they perceived as the nation's cultural 'backwardness' (Tsetsentsolmon 2015, 122), to create a modernized and globally palatable (i.e. Westernized), but still locally recognizable culture. Now, more than thirty years after the democratic transition of the early 1990s, these methods of nationalist culture-building emphasizing a 'developed,' modernized version of Mongolian "traditional" forms are still perpetuated by local elites, but simply with an emphasis on capitalism and democratic national pride, rather than socialist pride.

As I conversed with the musicians and performers who had experienced both the socialist and post-socialist culture-building processes, I found that although most had complex views of the impacts of socialist cultural policies, nearly all valued the ideals of progress, development, and global respectability which resulted from them. Moreover, when speaking of their hopes for the future, many musicians noted the importance of international recognition, stating that the future of Mongolian music will be positive precisely because the nation possesses the European techniques and styles leftover from socialist cultural policies that are necessary to make Mongolian music legible to the rest of the world. However, while most of my participants viewed the results of socialist cultural policies as necessary for an ideal future, the majority stressed the importance of "traditional" musical practices linked to nature and nomadism that had been passed down from generation to generation during the pre-socialist era when attempting to describe the essence of what 'Mongolian music' truly meant to them.

In other words, although Mongolian musicians and performers who had experienced the nation's socialist and post-socialist musical cultures valued multiple elements of the heterodox influence of the Soviet Union, with many finding it nearly impossible to separate their conceptions of Mongolian musical culture from the socialist ideals of development, modernization, and playing at the "world level," these same musicians were adamant about the importance of 'tradition' in the creation of an inherently Mongolian musical identity. Following the experience of political subjugation, musicians and performers, who are arguably the nation's most visible cultural producers, have embraced such essentialized, pre-socialist elements of Mongolian musical culture in order to establish a sense of control and stability in a rapidly changing and globalizing world. However, because it is impossible to return to the pre-colonial situation, the new post-socialist state must invoke the nationalist frameworks of a modernized, or Westernized, but still 'pure' culture in order to affirm its political and cultural sovereignty in the postcolonial context. It is this combination of specific prized elements of Mongolia's pre-colonial culture, which allow the nation to claim an inherent and primordial link to a politically and culturally sovereign identity, and strategically chosen aspects of the Soviet-influenced culture of the socialist period, which have made Mongolian cultural production legible to an international and specifically Western audience, that constitute current conceptions of authenticity in post-socialist Mongolia.

Due to differences in the form of colonialism and political subjugation experienced in each location, the relationships in Hawai'i between nationalism, political subordination, and cultural hybridity are somewhat different than those of Mongolia, yet conceptions of authenticity between the two locations hold multiple similarities. In

Hawai‘i, cultural hybridity was an early side effect of American colonization, as Protestant colonists introduced melodic church hymns to a largely percussion- and chant-based musical culture through missionary-affiliated institutions such as the Royal School. As musicians of the late monarchy encountered these heterodox influences, many, including the last sovereign monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen Lili‘uokalani, incorporated them into a new musical style that factored the nation's traditional language and chants into a form that was more legible to a Western, Protestant audience. After the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the 1890s, the U.S. government began to enforce legal policies of political and cultural conformity, the most prominent being the ban by the Department of Education on teaching and learning through the Hawaiian language, *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.* As parents stopped teaching their children the Hawaiian language out of fear of punishment in school, policies such as this resulted in the transformation of *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* from a language of everyday usage into a medium for melodic transmission, in which musicians and performers began singing and dancing *hula* to a melodic background, presenting the hybrid products of this cultural fusion to Western colonizers as a way to preserve such artforms from legal scrutiny.

In both cases presented above, the creation of hybrid cultural forms through the fusion of certain heterodox Western elements into formerly doxic pre-colonial cultural forms was not necessarily a formal imposition of the American government, but a strategic decision made by local people in order to maintain their histories and legacies in the rapidly changing political and cultural conditions of the colonial context. The same is true for the creation and mass popularization of *hapa-haole* through the 1893 and 1915 World's Fairs, which attempted to portray Hawai‘i and Hawaiian culture as a feminized,

exotic tourist attraction. Unlike the previous hybrid forms, however, *hapa-haole* contained only English lyrics, often referencing the beauty and culture of Hawai‘i, against a background of jazz and swing-based melodic structures played on instruments such as the guitar and *‘ukulele*, both of which had been introductions of the colonial era. Due to its simultaneous proximity to popular genres of the time period and its association in the eyes of Western consumers with an exotic Other, *hapa-haole* was picked up by contemporary mainland recording companies, after which it became one of the most popular genres of music of the early twentieth century.

Although most Hawaiian musicians of the present day do not view *hapa-haole* as an authentic form of cultural expression, given the newfound commercial success of the genre, it became nearly impossible for musicians of the early-to-mid-1900s (though this is arguably still the case to an extent) to survive within the capitalist economic system without catering to the desires and stereotypical conceptions of Hawai‘i’s new Western audience. As such, many current musicians feel a sense of connection to the genre through its relation to older generations of artists and its accessibility to present generations of Native Hawaiians, the majority of whom are not fluent in the Hawaiian language. Most prevailing conceptions of cultural authenticity, however, stem from the impacts of the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, a nationalist political and cultural revitalization movement of the mid-to-late twentieth century which has emphasized reviving “the very best of the Hawaiian culture” (Beamer, as cited in Lewis 1984, 41), including slack key guitar, hula, and the metaphorical meanings of Hawaiian lyricism. Given the centuries of cultural hybridity brought upon by the colonial encounter, however, these ‘authentic’ forms do not represent a pre-colonial or non-colonial

Hawaiian culture, but a new, orthodox form of national (although Hawai‘i remains under United States political control) and cultural identity based upon cultural sovereignty and the agency of self-representation.

In both Hawai‘i and Mongolia, modern conceptions of cultural authenticity have been fashioned into an orthodoxy, combining elements of the pre-colonial doxa and the heterodox influences of the colonial period, but often presented in the postcolonial or post-revitalization context as continuous, primordial traditions, in which authentic cultural forms are invoked in order to serve the cultural or political needs of the current era. Although the nationalist traditions defined in the postcolonial context are in most cases invented, in that they are often neither as old or continuous as they may be presented to be, and they are certainly no longer ‘pure’ or doxic, as any awareness of a heterodox Other automatically contradicts such classification, this does not mean that they are not real, or that they do not serve a purpose. In both cases, the invention of a nationalist tradition in the postcolonial context provides marginalized groups a sense of control and stability in response to the feelings of loss, as well as the desire for national respect and cultural sovereignty, inherent in a globalizing, postcolonial context. However, since these groups can never return to this unquestioned, pre-colonial doxa, they must invoke the nationalist frameworks of ‘pure’ culture in order to establish a new orthodox form of cultural identity created in opposition to, yet based upon the heterodox influences of a globalized world.

By highlighting the complex interplay between nationalism, political subordination, cultural hybridity, and conceptions of authenticity in the postcolonial context through the particular lens of Hawai‘i and Mongolia, I hope to provide the

opportunity for readers, of whom many will likely be academics, to gain a greater understanding of the ways in which the concept of cultural authenticity has, in many cases, functioned as a structure of Western cultural hegemony. Similar to Martin Stokes' discussion of scholarly conceptions of the 'local' as "a language of place, roots, and opposition to the global" (2004, 59), authenticity is frequently defined along a Western framework as something pure, primordial, and untouched by the 'global' influence of the West. Using this logic, of course, states such as Hawai'i and Mongolia, which faced decades or even centuries of cultural imperialism and political subordination by Western nations, could not possess an 'authentic' musical culture. If authenticity is equated with the unchallenged, pre-colonial doxa, or if hybridity is only considered when it combines elements of the 'global' West with the 'locality' of non-Western genres (i.e. 'world music'), then this must be true. But hybridity in all its forms, including both the long histories of "mediation, exchange, and interaction" (Stokes 2004, 60) of 'local' groups and the elements of Western introduction from the colonial era, do not necessarily negate authenticity. In fact, from speaking to musicians and performers from both locations, I have repeatedly found that authenticity is not a lack of Western influence, but a constantly evolving amalgamation of 'global' and 'local' influences based most importantly on the ability of self-representation and cultural sovereignty. By framing conceptions of authenticity in Hawai'i and Mongolia as an orthodox cultural formation, constantly drawing from multiple directions, I hope to reinsert agency into contemporary discussions of authenticity, centering the concept not as an uncompromising judgment of a culture's value, as has been particularly common in world music discourse, but as a lens

through which to view complex processes of identity-formation in the postcolonial context.

Glossary of Hawaiian Terms

Term	Definition
Aliʻi	Hereditary nobility of the Hawaiian islands
Aloha	Often used when greeting or parting, the word *aloha* signifies the concept of love. Although the phrase has historically been exploited as a promotional slogan in the marketing of Hawaiʻi (Kanahele & Berger 2012), it continues to hold great importance and meaning to many people.
Hapa-haole	*Hapa-haole* is a hybrid genre of music whose roots are commonly traced to the 20th century explosion in popularity of ragtime and jazz, as well as Hawaiian adaptation to Western string instruments and styles, popularized by the Hawaiian exhibits at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition of San Francisco. Known for its English lyrics referencing the beauty and culture of Hawaiʻi, as well as the familiar melodic structures of jazz and swing played on instruments such as guitars and *ʻukuleles*, *hapa-haole* quickly became popular, and therefore profitable.
Hula	*Hula* is a form of dance indigenous to the islands of Hawaiʻi. Historically, *hula* has been used to pass on stories and information from one generation to the next. In the present day, the art form can be set to Hawaiian-language chants (see *hula kahiko*) or contemporary music (see *hula ʻauana*).
Hula ʻauana	Often considered a more "modern" style of *hula*, *hula ʻauana* is set to the music of instruments such as the *ʻukulele* or slack key guitar. This style of *hula* did not come into existence until after American colonization.
Hula kahiko	Sometimes referred to as the "ancient *hula*," *hula kahiko* is set only to Hawaiian-language chants and percussion instruments, rather than the melodic instrumentation of the newer *hula ʻauana*.
Kaona	Referring to the hidden meaning instilled in creative artforms, *kaona* is considered by many musicians to be a benchmark of 'authentic' Hawaiian music
Kumu hula	Master teacher of *hula*
Kūpuna	Grandparents or honored elders
Lei	Hawaiian *leis* are wreaths or garlands that are typically worn around the neck for aesthetic and often symbolic purposes. As Hawaiʻi was marketed by and for the white American audience, *leis* were appropriated as symbols of the exotic and feminine nature of the islands, as seen in the *hapa-haole* tune "Leis for Sale (The Lei Vendor's Song)" (Noble, 1963).

Lūʻau	The *lūʻau* is a party or feast often featuring native Hawaiian cuisine and forms of entertainment such as *hula* and musical performances. Although *lūʻaus* are Hawaiian in origin, they, too, have been appropriated and exoticized by mainland Americans. For gigging musicians, *lūʻaus* remain a reliable and profitable opportunity for work.
ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi	*ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* refers to the historic language of Hawaiʻi. In 1896, instruction of *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* was banned from any public institutions. Although *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* was made an official language of the state alongside English in 1978, this language ban was not overturned until 1986.
Oli	Hawaiian chant, historically used to accompany *hula kahiko*
Rajão	Introduced by the Portuguese families who immigrated to Hawai'i to work the newly founded plantations of the colonial era, this five-stringed instrument is often referred to as the "taro patch guitar."
Slack key	This style of acoustic guitar-playing, which has in recent years become the poster child for so-called "Hawaiian music," is thought to have originated after Latin American *vaqueros* who had been sent to the islands to show Native Hawaiians how to ride horses and herd cattle left their Spanish guitars behind on the islands without teaching the Native Hawaiians how to play them. As the story goes, when Hawaiians adopted the instruments, they formed their own versions of appropriate tunings, eventually creating the style that is now known as slack key.
Steel guitar	Now known for its contributions to American country music, the steel guitar is an invention of Hawaiʻi, made possible by the Portuguese introduction of steel strings during the period of the Hawaiian plantation economy in the mid-to-late nineteenth century.
ʻUkulele	Like the *rajão* and steel strings, the *ʻukulele* was introduced to Hawaiʻi by the Portuguese. After its introduction, the *ʻukulele* was incorporated into *hapa-haole*, as well as the newly-created *hula ʻauana*.
Vamp	Adopted in the formation of *hapa-haole*, a vamp is a "turnaround where the singing stops" at the end of each music phrase, followed by a musical break for a few measures of music. The adoption of vamps in *hapa-haole*'s melodic structure translated to a jazzier, more "modern" sound that was accessible to a greater variety of audiences.

Glossary of Mongolian Terms

Term	Definition
Aimag	"*Aimag*" is the Mongolian term for the nation's largest level of administrative subdivision, equivalent to that of a province.
Aman khuur	Known in some cases as the "Jaw harp," the *aman khuur* is a small, reeded instrument that vibrates to create sound, using the performer's mouth as a resonator. The instrument carries a single pitch, but performers can create overtones through manipulation of the mouth and throat.
Cultural Palace	Cultural palaces were community centers for various forms of art, including music and dance, established by the Soviet Union across the socialist bloc.
Cenzur	*Cenzur* refers to the censorship of public art and performance by the state government during the socialist period. National commissions of the communist party encouraged political songs and prohibited any public expression that contradicted Soviet-based socialist ideology.
Huuchir	Also known as the two-string fiddle, the *huuchir* is a Mongolian stringed instrument with a long neck and small body.
Khalkh	*Khalkh* is a Mongolian ethnic label that became prominent during the socialist period, now used as a term to include approximately four hundred former tribes and clans (Nyambuu 1992, as cited in Pegg 2001, 22), as the state attempted to create a centralized Mongolian identity (Yoon 2011).
Khuumii	Also known as throat singing or overtone singing, this Mongolian vocal genre allows one person to sing "in two voices" by using the throat create both a drone and an overtone melody (Yoon 2011, 346).
Limbe	Side-blown flute with six holes, often played with circular breathing
Morin khuur	Also known as the horse-head fiddle, the *morin khuur* is often viewed as a symbol of Mongolian folk music due to its versatility, unique appearance, and perceived connections to nature and nomadism. In 1992, the nation's first democratically elected president Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat declared the *morin khuur* the "State Sovereign Fiddle" of Mongolia (Tsetsentsolmon 2015).
Naadam	*Naadam* is a three-day festival in mid-July featuring parades, performances, and sporting events, recognized as one of the most important holidays of the Mongolian year (Yoon 2011, 122).
Spectacle	Ceremonial public display or performance originating during the pre-socialist period, often combining Buddhist and European influences. This combination was made possible by the cultural and economic exchanges of

	the Silk Road.
Sum	The *sum* is the second level of administrative division in Mongolia, directly under aimags, or provinces. *Sums* are comparable to counties in the United States.
Suman duu	Translated to "songs of the sum," *suman du* is another term used in some provinces to refer to *urtyn duu*, or "long song." *Töriin duu*, or "state song," and *tör hurimyn du*, which can be translated to "celebration song," are also used in some provinces to refer to the art form (Pegg 2001, 44).
Urtyn duu	Also known as "long song," *urtyn duu* is a popular genre of Mongolian folk song that is often sung at feasts and festivals throughout the nation. The solo genre is given its name not because of the length of the songs themselves, but from the method of elongating and adding ornamentation of the vowels of words (Yoon 2011, 17).
Yatga	Stringed zither, comparable to a European harp
Yochin	Flat, stringed instrument played with two bamboo sticks

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