

The Oxford Handbook of POPULAR MUSIC IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

POPULAR MUSIC IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

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Edited by
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and
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Fabian Holt, Copenhagen and Berlin Antti-Ville Kärjä, Helsinki February 2017

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POPULAR MUSIC IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

Music in a Globalizing Region

FABIAN HOLT

You are the Dancing Queen, young and sweet, only seventeen Dancing Queen, feel the beat from the tambourine, oh yeah.

—ABBA, "Dancing Queen" (1976)

We are a blaze in the Northern sky The next thousand years are ours.

—Darkthrone, "A Blaze in the Northern Sky" (1992)

The moon was laughing And said leave this dark cold place The rabbit is preparing something bad.

—Sóley, "Bad Dream" (2011)

It wouldn't be right for us to sing about our heritage in English.

—John Áki Egholm

THE Nordic countries present a unique case of intensified globalization, and music is part of that process. From the fascination with the sweet melodies and discreet eroticism of Swedish pop stars, to the fascination with Nordic authenticity in Norwegian black metal and North Atlantic indie music, Nordic artists drawing from Anglo popular music idioms continue to open up new transnational horizons for people in the region. At the same time, Nordic popular music is shaping images of the region and driving cultural tourism. The interpretations of intensified musical and cultural globalization

in Nordic societies are also changing, as knowledge institutions are themselves transformed by globalization. This situation calls for a reference work that can serve as a guide for global readerships and do more than simply introduce and examine a number of developments in the region's popular music. The present work is not only the first handbook on Nordic music; it also seeks to offer an exemplary collective account of popular music's significance in processes of cultural globalization in transnational regions. With its specific historic, semantic, spatial, and technological dimensions, music is one of the key avenues for expressing the changing character and meanings of transnational cultural connections. Music is involved in new cultural geographies, in new forms of tourism, in new media worlds, and in responses to climate change, poverty, and terror. This introductory chapter begins by situating popular music broadly in Nordic history from a social science perspective before detailing musicological issues and introducing the chapters.

The human experience of globalization is a complex one. Globalization involves increased mobility and connectivity, but it also involves increased socioeconomic complexity and anxiety about belonging. Large-scale global economies and information systems have multiple implications at the micro level of individual lives. Music has its own ways of responding to such changes in the human condition. People continue to make music, just as they continue to fall in love and have children, even when they face serious challenges such as poverty, global warming, and extinction. Attention to such concerns prompts a renewed understanding of fundamental aspects of humanity and its potentials. The handbook is also invigorating in its accounts of the continued power of music to create values and mobilize aspirations for new cultural connections and futures in a diverse transnational region. The region spans thousands of miles, from Finland's and Norway's easterly borders with Russia through Scandinavia, to the sparsely populated North Atlantic areas of the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland in the west.

While research on culture and globalization in the Nordic region has proliferated since the 1990s, music studies continues to be dominated by what has long been known as methodological nationalism in sociology (Martins 1974; Beck 2000). Conversations about transnational musical connections in the region have historically been framed by monolithic and mythical narratives of Nordic identity, emotional culture, and nature, energized by music's powerful connection with space and the visual. These narratives have shaped the global trajectories of Sibelius, Björk, Jan Garbarek, and Efterklang, and in equally gendered images of Scandinavian and Nordic female artists, especially singers. They include Sissel Kyrkjebø and Eivør in different kinds of folk pop, Myrkur in black metal, and Saga in the international white power scene. The wide international appeal of these artists demonstrates that the idea of Nordic music is powerful in popular culture. It is so powerful it transcends the deeply rooted national structures in the region. This is not fully recognized in the existing literature, however.

This handbook shows how scholars in the field respond differently to the challenge of Nordicness, from implicit rejections of the concept to analyses of its socially constructed nature. One might interpret the constructionist emphasis in many chapters and the

relative absence of explicit attempts at formulating agendas for the region, not only as a reflection of the continued dominance of national cultures but also as an ambivalence and uncertainty among scholars about the region fueled by skepticism toward glorifying images of Nordicness. This is evident in writing about sensitive topics such as xenophobia and racism, which tend to be perceived as specialist topics. Another example is sexuality, which is almost absent in the literature on Nordic music and popular culture and therefore similarly points to a gap between scholars and their field of inquiry. There is no writing, for instance, about sexualized images of Nordic women in the local and global histories of the region's music, even though it is widely known that there is a history of stereotypes evolving from the early legalization of porn in Scandinavia—1969 in Denmark, 1971 in Sweden—and the subsequent global export of commercial porn (Paasonen 2009, 587). These sexualized images still have power, not least in pop culture's informal and ordinary spaces. This is evidenced, for instance, in the thousands of comments on the YouTube page of the Ace of Base video "All That She Wants," of which the following is but one example: "I friggin' LOVE this song, the harmonies, the bass line, and (duh) those lovely scandinavian (sp?) women" (All That She Wants 2016). There is little research on the relationship between music and sexuality in mediations of Scandinavian and Nordic identities in the history from ABBA to Zara Larsson. The latter represents a new pop culture configuration of female sexuality and feminism in Scandinavia that draws heavily on Anglo cultural forms and on new media dynamics of private and public, culture and commerce. In this perspective, Larsson's English-language Twitter feed, her collaborations with Clean Bandit and Ty Dolla Sign, and her appearances at the opening ceremony of the Olympics and at Lollapalooza might actually be central to rather than existing outside of Nordic cultural history.

Cultural unity is still a key priority in the Nordic Council, which has not yet adopted an explicit self-reflexive agenda and has not distanced itself from essentialist ideas of Nordic identity. This view and its implied image of a white middle-class subject is becoming harder to maintain, with daily media reports a growing Eastern European low-wage workforce and new waves of migration following the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. In 2014, even Volvo, a legendary symbol of Swedish and Scandinavian identity, found an ambassador for a global campaign in Zlatan Ibrahimović, a soccer player known for his majestic appearance as a self-confident, muscular, and tall man who proudly narrates his trajectory from an immigrant "ghetto" upbringing in the city of Malmo to international stardom (Ibrahimović 2014). In the Volvo television ads titled "Made by Sweden," Ibrahimović recited the de facto national anthem "Du gamla, du fria" in a version produced by hit-maker Max Martin, to heroic images of him driving and hunting in Swedish nature and scoring for Paris Saint-Germain FC ("Volvo XC70 feat. Zlatan-Made by Sweden"). And Ikea, a similarly iconic Swedish-Scandinavian corporation, has received positive attention in the region as a pioneer in hiring ethnic minority populations and redefining corporate rituals to include non-Christian employees. In light of such examples, the idea that public institutions such as universities and the Nordic Council should support further research on Nordic cultural essence—epitomized by the notion of "the Nordic tone"—is no longer simply a search for the Holy Grail but also an obsolete form of ethnic self-narration disguised as research. In a globalizing society of migrations, reborderings, and complex media circulations, scholars, too, need to look beyond self-narration. This handbook does just that. It is based on a long-term collaboration between scholars from around the world who met in person to discuss the project and their research at meetings in Helsinki, Roskilde, and Reykjavík during 2012 and 2013.

A transnational region of such diverse and geographically distant societies could only come into being because of colonial expansion and regulation of territory. The Nordic region became an institutional reality with the creation of the Nordic Council in 1952, when Europe was still recovering from World War II. While the main purpose was economic, ideas about Scandinavia and of the wider Nordic area as regional entities have a long history. The imagination of the region's location "north of" Europe's center has structured foundational narratives and takes on new dimensions with intensified globalization. This is demonstrated by the chapters introducing the idea of borealism in music studies as a particular form of exoticism (e.g., Chapter 1; Chapter 5; Chapter 7; and Chapter 10) and by the chapters exploring the association of particular genres with Nordicness (e.g., Chapter 6; Chapter 18).

With the institutionalization of the Nordic region that happened with the creation of the Nordic Council, the word "Nordic" became inseparable from a history of institutional colonialism (Kurunmäki and Strang 2011; Keskinen et al. 2009), while also beginning a long journey toward inclusion in the forms of social justice and equality promised by the welfare state. Music has formed part of the equation in national institutions to create social order, with the international Nordic collaboration having a complementary function and secondary priority. With the populations in Greenland and Finland separated by thousands of miles, with separate national public spheres and individual national languages, it is not easy to build a strong sense of regional community in everyday life, not even with ongoing developments in digital communications. Demographic asymmetries prevail, moreover, with the North Atlantic areas representing only 5% of the 22 million Nordic citizens. Notably, none of the nation-states has ceded sovereignty to the Nordic Council, which only has coordinating and advisory functions. By contrast, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden have ceded sovereignty to the European Union. Military collaboration is mainly happening through NATO, which has had no less than two former Scandinavian prime ministers as its general secretary since 2009. While Sweden and Finland are not members of NATO, all the Nordic countries entered an agreement with NATO in 2015 to strengthen their collaboration in response to Russia's intervention in Ukraine (Bentzrød 2015).

Globalization is an important context for understanding the significance of popular music in the Nordic countries today. The impacts of global media flows and economic formations are strongly felt in popular music and its continuing differentiations along the international dimensions of modernity. In many societies, music's significance has declined in traditional rituals and evolved in popular culture rituals and in media practices. Music continues to enable and calibrate emotions, identities, and cultural geographies within capitalism and processes such as urbanization, globalization, and mediatization.

The term "popular music" is not without its problems. It is embedded in histories of entrenched cultural hierarchies and is such a broad label that it often becomes reductive, implying a false sense of totality. The term had an important role in the development of popular music studies as an international discursive community, empowering it to create a space for popular music in academia but also to later become a technocratic arm of neoliberal higher education. This book challenges the reduction of popular music studies and the humanities more generally to a mere professional practice by exploring music's potential to complicate ideology, voice difference, and challenge normative views of social worlds far beyond the sphere of music itself. As a piece of humanist scholarship, the book has both the freedom and the obligation to look beyond the popular narratives of journalism, fandom, and marketing. The absence of the word "popular" in the title of this chapter is the result of a conscious decision to welcome nonspecialist readers and to counter the compartmentalization of popular music in academic discourse and in social life more generally. Inspired by Latour's critique of the discourses of differentiation and specialization in modernity (1993), one might say that modern societies have never had music, only music genres. The systemic logic of institutional and market structures is so strong that other orderings are easily ignored or perceived as anomalies. So ingrained has this systemic logic become that it is the dominant target for anti-genre narratives that tend to ignore the basic cognitive dimensions of genre (Holt 2007, 1–4).

This handbook reflects the dominant conception of popular music with a small p in academic writing about Nordic music. The book does not give priority to the most popular music, to superstars, but, rather, emphasizes a different approach to popular culture. Focus is not on fan culture narratives of numbers, names, and individual biographies, but on situations in which music has significance as an art form and medium of complex and emerging responses to globalizing geographies, histories, and identities. The chapters feature a great deal of the micro- and semi-popular music that exists under the radar of mass media, instead circulating in small clubs, small festivals, and niche media. This makes sense to a great extent because there are not many superstars in the Nordic countries. Readers might be struck by the little attention given to stars of the pop evolutions in Stockholm (e.g., ABBA, Roxette, Max Martin, and Avicii) and Bergen (e.g., Kings of Convenience and Röyksopp), to A-ha, Kaizers Orchestra, Tina Dico, Teitur, Mø, and Kygo, and to the countless national rock and pop stars and X Factor winners who are virtually unknown outside their own countries. 2

Although the handbook's aim is not to profile stars, which is already done well in journalism, it could have said more than it does about the region's rock and pop main-stream artists and audiences. The reason for this is a lack of scholarly interest in popular music with a capital *P*. Despite continued efforts, I was unable to locate and commission high-level research exploring the handbook's globalization theme with a focus on insider perspectives within the popular culture mainstream, as represented by the most popular radio stations and festivals, in international perspective. The handbook thus reflects current expertise and interests in the field, while recognizing the asymmetries and gaps that became clear in the process. The situation begs for more expertise in communicating local and national cultures in translocal and international discourse and

for a rethinking of the broader relationship between musical scholarship and society. A necessary element in this process is reflexive collaboration with scholars outside the region and with local stakeholders outside the university. The latter was common in the pioneering popular music research community at Gothenburg University in the 1970s and 1980s under professor Jan Ling's leadership (Tagg 1998). That community engaged broadly with interests in the wider community in a way that has since become rare. A weak connection with musical life has severe implications for the knowledge production and legitimacy of musical scholarship.

To stimulate broad interaction with musical life in the region, my co-editor and I organized two symposia and a conference in collaboration between contributors and representatives of nodal institutions—specifically, national broadcasting corporations and popular music museums. The meetings between scholars, journalists, and curators showed that these occupational groups operate in relatively separate spheres. The scholar participants generally did not feel compelled to join in conversation with journalists and curators, appearing unimpressed by mass media journalism. The journalists and curators, on the other hand, had backstage conversations about scholars being too specialized and lacking more long-term experience in the everyday arenas of musical culture. In sum, while the encounters were amicable and showed potential (Holt 2013), they also demonstrated a remarkable absence of dialogue and collaboration between these groups. This is not to say that the network meetings were not useful, as the contributors were informed about the developments at popular music museums, the Nordic Music Export office, and other local organizations.

A specific challenge was the lack of interest in looking beyond national borders and into other Nordic countries among national broadcasting corporations. With help and inspiration from my co-editor, I made several attempts in 2011 to enlist the support of managers of the Danish Broadcasting Corporation for a television and radio series that could disseminate research findings from this handbook. The manager responded by applying for funding for a television series titled *The Sound of the* North, which promised to explore "the Nordic tone" in the form of "an emotional road movie." The application was submitted to the Nordic Film and TV Fund, which was created in 1990 to support the inter-Nordic production and circulation of film and television. The application was rejected, however, and one of the managers suggested in a backstage conversation that he did not expect the fund to support a series on music in the Nordic region because it would not attract a large audience. The fund had just approved a television series on the story behind hit songs in the United States and the United Kingdom. So instead of exploring frontiers in the North, Scandinavian journalists were sent to London to report on music that has already received the most media attention in the world.

This situation is the product of a localized form of neoliberalism in Nordic broadcasting corporations, which in the decades after World War II were perceived as vital cultural institutions but have now become harder to distinguish from commercial media. On a panel at the 2013 Iceland Airwaves Music Festival organized by the editors of this book (see figures I.1 and I.2), experienced industry professionals from around the region



 ${\tt FIGURE~I.1}~~{\tt Outside~the~club~Gamli~Gaukurinn~during~Iceland~Airwaves~Music~Festival,}~{\tt 2013}$



FIGURE 1.2 Panel discussion during Iceland Airwaves Music Festival, 2013

all claimed that the national broadcasting corporations in the region privilege the most popular national and Anglophone pop music and with little done to facilitate the flow of music across national borders.

DEEP STRUCTURES: THE NATION-STATE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

To show how national structures of power play out in contemporary Nordic societies, I now turn to a conference in Copenhagen in 2012, organized by one of the wealthiest foundations in Denmark. Titled "The Philanthropic Voices of Civic Society," the conference was organized by Real Dania (note the national name) to promote its agenda among the national elites, which on this occasion involved half of the parliament and the prime minister. The main keynote speaker was a saxophonist who also happened to be the former president of the United States. Everyone seemed excited to meet Bill Clinton. The carpet was pulled out from under their feet, however. Clinton began not with positive remarks on the local culture or nature, or by thanking the host. Rather, he began directly by thanking Denmark for its efforts during the war in former Yugoslavia. He continued to speak about worlds of serious crisis far from the lives of the conference attendees. Speaking at length about the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, for instance, he essentially shifted the conference's perspective from the world of the philanthropist to worlds in humanitarian crisis.

Clinton could have played into the event's implicit celebration of Denmark's self-image as one of the world's "giving" nations: the nations that help others with a few percent of their gross domestic product (GDP). He could also have turned to the positive images of social equality, free education, and free health care in Denmark and the Nordic countries. Clinton, however, did not participate in the event's agenda of promoting national elites or in celebrity discourse. Instead, he appealed to a sense of moral responsibility in crisis situations that require transnational cooperation. Ultimately, the event would expose the provincialism of the national elite, its sense of privileged local space. Moreover, the event demonstrated the asymmetry between the national and the regional: this visit of a former world leader could only happen in a national context because the elites are not regionally structured. Notably, representatives of the Nordic Council were not invited to the event because priority was given to the most powerful institutional space—the nation and because the council has little influence and is therefore rarely even taken into consideration in big politics and business. Moreover, the Nordic Council is not involved in celebrations of contemporary popular music, such as the ceremonies of the Polar Music Prize and by:Larm's Nordic Music Prize. Indeed, one might be fortunate enough to find a person on the street in any Nordic country who knows the name of the Nordic Council's president or one of the recipients of the council's music prize.

The Nordic Council almost became obsolete in big politics in its formative stages because of the evolution of the European Union, which has the scale to respond more powerfully to the challenges of a globalizing world. The power asymmetry showed early on. For instance, international trade was a key motivation for creating the Nordic region, as stated in the official proposal from the Danish prime minister in 1952, but European-level trade agreements were created in the same decade and took on great importance, making a Nordic trade union unneeded. Today, approximately 75% of new laws in a non-EU member state such as Norway are copied and pasted from the European Union.⁴ Non-EU members regularly follow suit to make international business easier. For these reasons and because of skepticism of the Nordic Council's culture prize ceremonies, a critical discussion of whether the Nordic Council had lost its relevance started in the fall of 2013. The debate was ignited by no less than the former Danish minister of Nordic cooperation. A few days ahead of the ceremony for the culture prizes she wrote an op-ed about how the council had become "a coffee club" and "should be terminated" (Ellemann 2013). The critique was echoed a few days later in the coverage of the ceremony in a Norwegian newspaper, which claimed that the council was known to be bureaucratic and that the culture prices did nothing to advance cultural community in the Nordic region (Økland 2013). At a public debate about the region's future a year before, an experienced editor at a Swedish newspaper suggested that "the vision of the Nordic region created after World War II" had been stale for decades.⁵ At the same time, the word "Nordic" has enjoyed unprecedented international success in consumer culture narratives (e.g., Gill 2012; see also Chapter 2). The present handbook looks at music in contexts of intensified globalization, and the Nordic Council plays a small role in those contexts. Consequently, the analyses are not framed around the region's institutional history but, rather, around the intensification of more powerful transnational dynamics that are redefining this and other transnational regions around the world. Globalization intensifies transnational regional powers, as the compression of time and space expands and complicates national economies and territories (Genov 2012; Sassen 2006). Although the evolution of the European Union has eliminated the need for a Nordic trade union, it has not eliminated interest in the cultural dimension of the Nordic region or other smaller regions around Europe. If anything, the EU and other global forces are foregrounding the larger regional context of the individual nation-states in Europe's North. As with the Baltic countries, the Nordic countries exist on the fringe of Central Europe, with a periphery status. This is because of their existence in between the larger centers of European modernity and super powers farther away, particularly Russia and China in the east and the United States in the west.

CONCEPTUAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HANDBOOK

This handbook is organized conceptually along three cultural dimensions—geography, history, and identity—that serve to highlight core aspects of musical experience in

social life and therefore also of music's significance in evolving transnational dynamics. The three dimensions are fundamental to the culture concept and therefore more general than music, but they have particular significance in music and can help broaden and develop the intellectual history of musical thought. In my argument here, musicology serves as a platform from which broader analytical narratives are developed. Readers looking for a quick overview of the chapters can skip this section and go straight to the next section, titled "A Road Map of the Handbook."

Should an account of cultural life in a region such as the Nordic be organized into chapters on individual countries? Genres? Time periods? Population groups? Each of these perspectives has been adopted, often in combination, but the study of music in transnational processes requires rethinking of narratives and exploration of new ones. Social change inevitable creates uncertainty and changes power relations between scholars with different kinds of expertise. In the early stages of preparing this handbook, the editors suggested a few general themes in an open call for chapter proposals in September 2011. The call helped identify current research interests, but it was not until the chapters were developed two years later that an analytical narrative could be developed to explain their contribution to the field.

As one might expect, the call for proposals gained most traction in the area where Antti-Ville and I have roots. We have evolved from the strand of musicology that emerged in the 1990s when musicologists began integrating perspectives of anthropology, cultural studies, and popular music studies (Clayton, Herbert, and Middleton 2003). The term "cultural musicology" has been in circulation since the mid-1970s, but the term has not become widely used. This handbook represents an evolution in this disciplinary formation. Many of the chapters analyze the cultural and social dimensions of musical practices and discourses, drawing inspiration from cultural and social theory for a contextualizing musicology. Few adopt a social science approach by analyzing music within broader social processes, framing the analysis by theories of society, economy, or geography, for instance.

The above-mentioned identification with a direction in music studies points to a space of possibilities and needs to be confronted with specific analytical tasks. In the following, I offer a narrative for approaching not only the handbook but also the study of musical life in a transnational region in a way that highlights disciplinary awareness of regional space and of music as an art form and cultural practice. The narrative combines a practical analytical progression (going from geography to history and identity) with a theoretical argument about music's distinctiveness.

Nordic Popular Music Along Three Dimensions: Geography, History, and Identity

It is in space, on a worldwide scale, that each idea of "value" acquires or loses its distinctiveness through the confrontation with the other values and ideas it encounters there.

The first step in the analytical progression I suggest is analysis of the musical and cultural geography of the region. Such analysis can begin by identifying powerful spatial distinctions, narratives, and mappings through a wide range of methods, including ethnography. This operation will generate navigation tools and a basic road map of the region's musical landscape and thus create a context for understanding individual issues, micro developments, and situations in which particular performances and experiences unfold. Although musicology and other areas of cultural research have always been territorial practices, it was not until the spatial turn in the late twentieth century that music's distinctive relation with place and space was recognized as a conceptual challenge in music studies. Attention to the science of space, to geography, is only beginning to emerge. The term "musical geography" is relevant to this evolution, which is represented and developed in this handbook by chapters that generally draw from human geography and media studies, but take on particular forms such as urban encounters (Chapter 1), industry and market geography (Chapter 2), landscape and environmentalism (Chapter 7; Chapter 8; and Chapter 14), mobility of performers (Chapter 4; Chapter 12), circulation of vinyl records (Chapter 11), festival spaces (Chapter 19), and digital spaces (Chapter 20).

The second step in the analytical progression can usefully be analysis of the historical dimension of music in the region—the music's place within local and global histories and in the temporal dimensions of cultural consciousness. My argument, grounded in the history of musicology, is that history and space are fundamental dimensions of musical experience. A foundational rationale of musicology in the early twentieth century was to move beyond biographical history writing and develop more systematic and thus more scientific forms of writing, with the history of styles and genres dominating for several decades—initially based on evolutionary ideas about styles growing and dying in processes analogous to organisms in nature (Dahlhaus 1977, 27). Musicological history writing was for most of the twentieth century shaped by interests in mapping, preserving, and interpreting musical pasts, manifest in archives and canons and hermeneutic analyses; and while those practices are still valuable, recent decades have seen the rise of interest in the politics and mediations of history. The advent of free online archives and streaming services integrated with social media changes the conventional dynamics and meanings of music history. These developments find a resonance in the handbook's chapters on historiography (Chapter 1; Chapter 9); longitudinal perspectives on migration and circulation (Chapter 4); the postcolonial North Atlantic (Chapter 7; Chapter 5; Chapter 10); the aftermath of the cold war (Chapter 12); rock music revivalism and analog culture (Chapter 11); reterritorialization of genres (Chapter 6); publics (Chapter 13; Chapter 19); and survival (Chapter 14).

By taking history seriously, this handbook provides a counterpoint to pop culture's fascination with the here and now. Situating music within broader cultural histories helps illustrate how music is embedded in power relations and social changes that might

not be immediately apparent to all participants in the culture. The conceptual dimension, moreover, is emphasized because of its explanatory power to a wider range of topics than those covered in the handbook. A greater representation of mainstream pop, children and teens, digital culture, and issues of age and sexuality would have required emphasis on other conceptual dimensions, of course.

The geographic and historical dimensions outlined here create a ground for the third and final step—namely, analysis of music's role in identity-making—involving forms of collective belonging, expression, and positioning. The interest in social and cultural identity that proliferated in the 1990s (Hall 1996, 1) took inspiration from folklore studies and psychoanalysis. Music, however, has distinctive powers in the experience and production of identity through mediations between the aesthetic and the social in the particular form of popular songs, festivals, and televisual mediations that invoke collective affect and aesthetic meanings across a wide range of social spaces. Compared to sport, for instance, musical performance is often about identity, with melodies and performances as structured artistic articulations of life experiences in a diverse range of social situations. Song lyrics are commonly about being in a particular condition in a life-story narrative, so in this sense songs are a form of aesthetic-performative social commentary. Simon Frith has emphasized that music creates experiences involving both subjective and collective identity and the experience of self-in-process, reminding us that identity is a process not a thing, "a becoming not a being" (Frith 1996, 109). Interest in cultural identity was initially met with skepticism in musicology, in part because it consciously challenged conventional narratives of aesthetic autonomy. In this handbook, Ramnarine encourages us to look beyond identity and narrow, habitual conceptions of culture. She asks: "Should we be preoccupied with questions about identities in a world of cultural circulations and global challenges that speak to the survival of the human species?" One might also ask if developments such as empirical musicology, ecomusicology, and sound studies have moved on from the moment of cultural reflexivity, which had peaked in the early 2000s when Middleton asked: "Aren't we all, to a greater or lesser extent, culturalists now?" (Middleton 2003, 3).⁷

Thinking about music and identity is still analytically relevant to many contemporary situations and it continues to evolve. New conceptions of identity have drawn inspiration from the affective turn and the idea of human flourishing media studies (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Knudsen's chapter can be read in this context. Stan Hawkins's chapter, on the other hand, exemplifies a maturation of thinking about popular music's intimate relationship with gender, ethnicity, and nationalism. It is indicative of this handbook and the current state of music studies that the chapters in part three emphasize not Nordic self but alterity and difference. The chapters show how regional identity is generally experienced as a secondary dimension to national identity, but they also suggest its growing significance and potentials in globalization. Nordic identity is secondary in the sense that in everyday life around the Nordic countries citizens primarily identify with their country and not their region. Regional identification is more common in communication with people outside the region, and generally more

so the farther away they are from the region, for the practical reason that the names and locations of countries within a distant region are already too detailed a geography for many people unfamiliar with that region. We only need to recall Franz Liszt's famous response to Edvard Grieg in Rome in 1870. Upon hearing music by this icon of Norwegian romantic nationalism, Liszt commented: "This sounds so genuinely Swedish!" (Karlsson 1998).

Nordic Musical Thought?

Having introduced the handbook's approach, one might ask how this approach contributes to Nordic musical thought. Musicology in the Nordic countries has evolved from Austro-Germanic and Anglo-Saxon traditions, with a shift of emphasis toward the latter in the 1990s, by which time interest in the region had surged among scholars based in other parts of the world. Given this situation, it is advantageous to look beyond methodological localism and nationalism in the region and conceive the region's music as an object of global scholarly interest. Dialogue between local insiders and scholars from around the world with outsider perspectives is vital in this global age. Such dialogues have shaped this handbook and will hopefully be developed further in the coming years, with more explicit reflexivity about how scholars navigate and construct local and international discourses on music and society. A model of excellence at the individual level can be found in American scholar Philip Bohlman's book *The Music of European* Nationalism (Bohlman 2004). The book draws from decades of intense intellectual engagement with ethnomusicology—within broader intellectual histories of music, history, and religion in the humanities—and extensive multi-sited field research around Europe since the 1980s. The result is one of the most insightful books on European music in history. Judging from its significance in several contributions here, Bohlman's book has indeed changed how Europeans think about their own music.

Thinking about the musical landscape of a transnational region can usefully draw from the situation in countries where music critics for centuries have contemplated their country's cultural uniqueness in music. The experience in the United States, for instance, involves a history of writing about national identity in art music in relation to the Austro-German tradition. This narrative started to change when Gilbert Chase and H. Wiley Hitchcock introduced folk and popular music into the scholarly map in the 1950s and 1960s, arguing for their centrality in locating uniquely American musical cultures. Crawford observes in his magisterial history of American music: "No recent historian has questioned the distinctiveness of America's music, nor has any disputed Chase's claim that in popular and folk traditions lie the wellspring of the nation's truest creative achievements" (Crawford 2001, xi). The literatures on American music history make it clear that it is through discussions of such hard questions that a collective discourse can be developed and matured.

Among the handbook's most referenced scholars on narratives of Nordicness are Philip V. Bohlman, Nicola Dibben, Tina K. Ramnarine, Kristinn Schram, and Hans Weisethaunet. They are pioneers in developing an international, English-language discourse on the region's cultural landscape as a unit of analysis, and they offer alternatives to the history of national romanticism in local language. However, I hope that the cultural musicology of this handbook does not adopt late twentieth-century critiques of nationalism and essentialism so rigidly that is fails to recognize and support the region's uniqueness and diversity in the way that it took decades for American historians to fully recognize folk and popular music.

This handbook is not the first scholarly collaboration on music in the Nordic countries. There are two predecessors of sorts, the first being the 1997 Swedish-language volume *Musik i Norden* (Music in the North). In his introduction, editor Greger Andersson presented the volume as the first collaborative Nordic music history (Andersson 1997, 12). Most of the contributors were historical musicologists. The idea for the volume was proposed at a conference in 1992 by German musicologist Heinrich W. Schwab, who had done research in the Nordic countries. The present handbook similarly began with an encouragement by two scholars looking at the region from the south, Goffredo Plastino and Franco Fabbri. Like the 1997 volume, this handbook draws attention to regional issues while recognizing the continued existence of national cultures.

However, this handbook proposes a different model. First, it rejects the idea of offering an account of Nordic-style music across the region, instead adopting a critical approach to unitary and normative Nordicness. The handbook, moreover, is not organized as a systematic coverage of all countries, genres, and time periods, but instead illustrates conceptual approaches to analyzing transnational dynamics. The organization of chapters is conceptual to foreground thinking about the region as a unit of analysis, as opposed to a theme in music history.

Second, the handbook is conceived not in intra-regional terms, but as wider transnational collaboration aimed at a global readership. In this, the handbook is the outcome of an internationalization process in Nordic musicology departments and its interactions with cultural studies and media studies. In the 2000s, communication in Nordic musicology migrated from national local-language networks to the rapidly growing English-language global digital networks of the discipline. This process was further sustained by a substantial increase in air travel since the 1990s, expanding the geographies of conference attendance, fieldwork, and employment. The process transformed the relation between scholars and their site of inquiry. The contributors to the present work were selected based on expertise on the topic, irrespective of nationality and place of residence. All contributors understand at least one Nordic language, and those who have not lived and worked in the region for many years bring invaluable perspectives to the conversation. So although there are limitations of an English-language volume emphasizing global collaboration, the advantages of this model outweigh the disadvantages at this point in history.

In popular music studies, intra-Nordic collaboration evolved in the 1990s, when interest in the field became more widespread across the region. The developments in that decade were shaped by interests in subcultures, fandom, and rock music among doctoral students and junior scholars born in the 1950s, for whom these arenas of

cultural life had been an important part of their adolescence in the 1970s and 1980s. Several of them have since changed research interests and their contributions are somewhat ignored in current scholarship, which increases the risk of reinventing the wheel. The intra-Nordic collaborations were generally funded by the Nordic Council, including a rock music research network from 1991 to 1995, and the first and so far only Nordic-level Ph.D. course in popular music studies in 1997. From these and subsequent projects emerged two collective English-language publications on popular music in the region: a special issue of the youth culture journal *Young* (Fornäs and Ihlemann 1999) and a book on rock music criticism (Lindberg et al. 2005). Rock criticism provides a prism for understanding broader issues in popular music culture, but the empirical and thematic framing of the special issue is more directly relevant and comparable to this handbook.

The special issue of *Young*, titled "Place and Meaning in Nordic Popular Music," is significant because it shows how thinking about Nordic popular music has changed, even as it focuses on genres and population groups that have since become mainstream in the field, including Viking metal, Icelandic indie rock, and immigrant hip hop. The editors Johan Fornäs and Lisbeth Ihlemann present the publication as one of many efforts in the field to overcome "the confines of Anglocentrism." Anti-Americanism was strong in Europe during the Vietnam War and in the political rock music movements of the 1970s and 1980s in Scandinavia, and the editors state that Anglocentrism has faded in the culture but less so in the literature. They further specified the target: "A strong tendency towards Anglocentrism [can be] found in the academic discourse on rock music" (Fornäs and Ihlemann 1999, 2).

The four contributors to the special issue responded much like the contributors to this handbook: they explored popular music's significance in local worlds and how the music mediates between local and transnational worlds. The first article by Viggo Vestel (1999) explores ethnic-racial codifications of music genres in an Oslo ghetto. He shows how hip hop serves as a meeting ground for ethnic Norwegian youths and youths of immigrant parentage, with the former frequently moving on to metal music. The Viking figure appears in both genre contexts, but in very different cultural horizons. In metal, the Viking is embedded in white power nationalism and surrounded by images of dark Norwegian forests. Vestel interprets metal subculture as a countermodernity and thus anticipates Teitelbaum's argument in this handbook about whiteness from a self-defined position outside the mainstream. The second article, by Odd Are Berkaak, explores fascination with American culture in the community around a hard rock band in an Oslo suburb. Berkaak (1999) mixes neighborhood perspectives with analysis of music-making in a band context, but he also describes how the band's American hard rock stardom fantasies led to a contract with a recording company in California and a stay in Los Angeles, where they "had the rock 'n' roll experience of their lives; walking on Sunset Strip and acting out all their fantasies of life in the fast lane" (1999, 30).

In the third article, Gestur Guðmundsson explores the genealogy of Americo-centrism in British rock criticism and how it shaped the localization of rock music in

the Nordic region. The article describes a foundational narrative in which rock music was created in the United States in the 1950s and spread from there to the rest of the world, while the United States continues to be a melting pot that absorbs developments around the world as "exotic spices" (Guðmundsson 1999, 45). What follows is a section on the social history of the Nordic region and the localization of rock music in the region. The early situation was framed by the belief that American rock was authentic and all Europeans could do was to copy the original (50). The trajectory of localization went through several steps, from attempts at exact imitation of individual recordings to imitation of performance styles, to the writing of original songs, and from the late 1960s in local language, to a situation in the 1970s when local-language rock music gained a following in other Nordic countries and rock was recognized as an influencer on local languages. Guðmundsson's key argument is that the dominance of American culture in the value system of rock music had the implication that Nordic music could only be recognized outside the region by its difference. Nordic artists could not achieve international success in rock music, but in pop (particularly Swedish and Norwegian) and in music framed by an exotic gaze (particularly North Atlantic). Guðmundsson's main example of the latter is Björk and her identification with Icelandic nature. The fourth article by Eva Fock (1999) is about patterns in music consumption among youths of immigrant parentage. She nuances popular images of their culture and the racial-ethnic codifications of genres, effectively challenging dichotomous conceptions of the relation between immigrants and mainstream society. Fock shows that the informants listen to diasporic music in family settings, to hip hop in peer spaces such as youth clubs, and to mainstream Danish-American music for inclusion in mainstream society. Her analysis of music consumption patterns thus provides insight into a hybrid and contingent cultural experience that is interpreted differently across social spheres.

The exploration of popular music in local Nordic contexts has continued since the publication of the Young special issue, as demonstrated by this handbook. One can no longer claim that popular music studies ignores local musical life in the Nordic countries. Does this explain why Anglocentrism is not being problematized much anymore? That is one reason. Another is that the penetration of Anglo culture has become naturalized. Mediatized urban Anglo practices continue to be a model of cosmopolitan identity in the globalization of the Nordic region, also in remote areas in the process of exploring global connectivity. For instance, when a group of young people in Greenland's capital city of Nuuk claimed an identity for themselves vis-à-vis national culture in the early 2010s, they adopted the discourse of a popular music underground, using the English word underground (Otte 2015). Young Greenlanders drew inspiration from a history of mediatized narratives of cultural undergrounds in cities such as New York and London for mobilizing ideas about authenticity and cultural production. The Nuuk underground adopted DIY ethics and organized concerts that drew hundreds of people in a city of only 17,000 people. Anglo underground discourse flourished even in the absence of one of its constituting others, the corporate music industry. The Nuuk underground is a desired utopia parallel to the "Café Europe" trope in post-socialist Eastern Europe

(Drakulić 1996). Like so many other ideas about modernity and urbanism in the Nordic countries, the Nuuk underground articulates a power structure evolving from massive transatlantic consumption of Anglo popular culture, including not only music but also movies, news media, and social networking sites. While the Anglo orientation is not apparent to everyone, and therefore deserves ongoing critical attention, there has been a change in perception in the Nordic countries and in popular music studies. That is, Anglo culture is framed less in polarized terms; it is viewed less as the imperial force of complete cultural grey-out. In cultural research, Anglo-cosmopolitan discourse is becoming more widely recognized as an analytical modality through which Nordic-based scholars can engage in broader international dialogues about globalization and integrate outside perspectives in the analysis of Nordic culture. That logic is central to this handbook.

A ROAD MAP OF THE HANDBOOK

Part One: Geography

The eight chapters in this part set out to examine Nordic musical geographies from a variety of perspectives and analytical levels.

The first three chapters have mapping functions. They explore myths, ideologies, and structures that shape evolving ideas about Nordic music and the region's musical landscape. Philip V. Bohlman explores the dynamics of Nordic music in European history, arguing that the region's location north of Europe's center is a longue durée that parallels orientalist narratives of Asia as the East. To this end, Bohlman develops an original conception of borealism, drawing from his immense knowledge of European history and of orientalism. He presented his early ideas about borealism in a keynote lecture at the first meeting of the contributors in Helsinki in 2012, influencing several contributors with an original argument that can be read alongside Kristinn Schram's pioneering study of borealism in folklore studies. Bohlman's chapter encourages music scholars to look beyond the easy conception of borealism as an exotic gaze underpinned by ideology at the level of superstructure. His chapter highlights the historical, spatial, and experiential dimensions of borealism and creates a prism for reading the remaining chapters, while also asking tough questions for future research in the manner of a contemporary de Tocqueville: "How to include Greenland? How far to push the Nordic eastward into Russia? What about internal and external migration? Are popular music genres specific to linguistic and political affinities? Or can they be fully cosmopolitan?"

In the following chapter, I offer a sociological analysis of major structural changes in the region's popular music landscape. Drawing from sociological theory of modernity, the chapter explores the boundaries of dominant musical formations within the broader history of Nordic modernity, focusing on ongoing tensions between evolving

mainstream formations and their alternatives. The identification of a "mainstream," for instance, is not only a matter of musical style or taste; it also involves interpretations of capitalism, nationalism, and mass media. Following this approach, I further suggest how the popular music landscape can be analyzed as evolutions within the region's transition from a national to a more global modernity. The chapter focuses on the structural change in the unique position of Stockholm's Anglo pop music industry in the 1970s to the current era characterized by a more decentralized transnational cultural geography, illustrated by the emergence of showcase festivals around the region and by the fascination with "exotic" alternatives to mainstream Anglo pop in geographic peripheries such as indie music in Iceland and black metal in Norway. The chapter argues that such niche alternatives are occurring within rather than outside the Anglo-oriented Nordic modernity. The genealogy of this modernity is traced back to World War II and its implications for Nordic societies and their national popular cultures. The conclusion offers a critique of the consumer culture branding of the region within the new and more globalized Nordic modernity, which also involves popular music.

Alexis A. Kallio and Lauri Väkevä's chapter investigates the rationales for including popular music in Nordic schools, which are known to have been early to adopt popular music into their curricula. Why did this happen so early in the Nordic countries and is there anything specific about the way it played out culturally and politically in the region? The chapter lays out important information and identifies scenarios for possible interpretations through a comparative overview of approaches to popular music education in the Nordic countries. The analytical focus is on the rationales for including popular music. A dominant rationale has been that popular music has unique democratic potentials. Kallio and Vakevä bring nuance to the situation, arguing that popular music genres "are not necessarily democratic in and of themselves." Popular music education policies can in fact be instruments of social exclusion. The analysis further strengthens the relevance of this by identifying situations in the classroom where conventional ideas about democracy in the Nordic countries are challenged by intensified globalization, and particularly by immigration. The United Nations reports that the number of forcibly displaced people has not been higher since World War II (War's Human Costs: UNHCR Global Trends 2013). The millions of Syrians arriving Europe in 2015, surviving the most dangerous and inhumane conditions on their escape route, created pressure on European ideals of tolerance and human rights, with nationalist extremists setting refugee centers on fire at night and social democratic parties losing many voters to right-wing populist parties. Educational and cultural institutions can play a significant role in this situation, and Nordic institutions are yet to fully include the region's new immigrant populations and emerging cosmopolitanism.

The fourth and fifth chapters share an interest in musicians traveling across and beyond the Nordic region, experiencing long-distance connections and networked transnational mobility. The chapters illustrate general insights in human geography into

how space is socially produced and complicated by mobilities, media communications, and markets.

Hans Weisethaunet explores transnational connections and mobilities of Norwegian musicians within a long history of migration to the United States and evolving transnational media spheres of world music. The chapter contributes to contemporary thinking about the continued desire for cultural belonging and its conditions in the process of globalization. Epistemologies of routes gained ground in the 1990s, challenging centered and static notions of culture. Weisethaunet, however, does more than simply apply old theory to new examples. He analyzes experiences of circulation, mobility, and belonging, highlighting affordances and dynamics particular to music. The analysis evolves around The Hellbillies, one of Norway's most popular bands since the early 1990s, and David Lindley's collaboration with Harding Hank (the alter ago of Hallvard Bjørgum).

Joshua Green's chapter explores music in the context of evolving transnational dynamics in the Faroe Islands, focusing on the tourism boom and on connections with the global music industry. Similar to the situation in Iceland a decade earlier, music became part of an evolving tourism economy in the early 2010s, shaped by exotic views of the North Atlantic. Drawing from Urry's concept of the tourist gaze, the chapter shows how Faroese bands work as producers of difference within an international system of industry and institutions, including the Nordic Council. The analytical focus is on transnational mobility and industry networks of popular music and its performers. Green shows that Faroese bands engage with these transnational flows and with exoticism in the international marketing of their music. His core case study is the doom metal band Hamferd, whose career evolved out of participation in international events, particularly festivals and competitions.

The sixth chapter by Henna Jousmäki offers further insight into the relationship between music and cultural geography and into one of the region's other vibrant metal cultures. The production of Nordicness in metal has evolved since the early 1990s, particularly in black metal in Norway but also in Christian metal, which is the focus of Jousmäki's chapter. Her analysis contributes to the existing literature an understanding of how notions of locality are changing in the process of the music's circulation in global social media services, most notably YouTube. The argument is that the geography of this religious youth pop culture is expanded by the media evolution, while a distinct sense of origin remains. Indeed, non-Nordic audiences are celebrating the region as a space of authentic Christian metal. In light of past media evolutions, the analysis highlights YouTube's affordances, especially user production, sharing, and interaction. The chapter begins by positioning translocality as the main concept for analyzing the evolving spatial dynamics. Also preparing the ground for the analysis is a brief history of Christian metal from its beginnings in the United States in the 1980s to the development of a distinctive association with the Nordic region. The case studies are YouTube publics of the Finnish band Scandinavian Metal Praise and the Australian band Horde, illustrating how youth participation in the music's transnational social

media space redefines not only the music's geography but also its national and religious associations.

In the seventh and eight chapters, Tony Mitchell and Nicola Dibben bring the discussion of geography to issues of the natural environment. Both chapters are about Iceland, reflecting the international interest in Icelandic indie music and its relationship with landscape in particular. As anyone who has visited Iceland will know, the natural environment is strongly felt because of the visceral impact of the scenery of volcanoes and ice and its pre-modern origins, contrasting the more nondescript landscapes in large parts of Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and other parts of the world where the landscape is flat and used for industrial farming or covered by the same species of trees. The Icelandic landscape, however, is a complex cultural and political construct, as both chapters demonstrate.

Mitchell reminds us that landscape has multiple dimensions, including national identity, ecology, and cultural imagination. His chapter brings much nuance to the constant representation of Icelandic music through landscape, seascape, and icescape, drawing from longitudinal field research and interdisciplinary cultural research on landscape. The analysis involves discussions of perspectives on landscape in the 2010 volume *Conversations with Landscape* and of key musical figures in Iceland such as Jón Leif, Sigur Rós, Björk, Andri Snær Magnason, and Valgeir Sigurðsson. The main examples are two Icelandic films: The 2009 documentary *Draumlandið* (Dreamland) about the Kárahnjúkar Hydropower Project and its environmental impact, and the 2003 feature film *Nói albínói* (Noi the Albino).

Dibben's chapter ends part one on a serious note: the chapter can be read as a scholarly response to environmental degradation in Iceland. In recognizing the scope of the crises, she questions the conventional wisdom in musical geography and offers a new vision for music's potential in transnational futures. The chapter begins with an argument for eco-cosmopolitanism as an alternative to place-centered approaches to the analysis of contemporary spatial experiences. Dibben suggests that music can create "a sense of place" but also "a sense of planet," helping people see themselves as part of a global biosphere. The analysis includes a discussion of musical activism in response to the Kárahnjúkar Hydropower Project and offers two case studies, illustrating topophilic and biophilic conceptions of the national environment. The first case study is the 2007 documentary *Heima* (Homeland) about a free, unannounced concert tour by Sigur Rós and the second is Björk's 2011 album *Biophilia* (Dibben was involved in making the sophisticated digital concept for the album).

Part Two: History

This second part highlights the historical dynamics of contemporary Nordic popular music through analyses of such processes as national canon formation and revivalism. Part two begins with a method piece on national framings of popular music history in the Nordic countries. The following chapters explore the multiple functions of the

past in contemporary culture, involving mediations of North Atlantic colonial history, the cold war, and the return of national canons in moments of crisis as a psychological mechanism in a globalizing world. As in the first section, the final chapter ends on an eschatological note concerning global warming.

Antti-Ville Kärjä opens up chapter 9 with an example of tensions between ideas of national culture and cultural diversity. While this theme is addressed in earlier chapters, Kärjä examines how it plays out in the discourse that shapes the entire handbook, namely popular music historiography in the Nordic countries. He offers a comparative analysis of how the history of popular music in the time period 1955 to 1990 has been written in the Nordic countries, illustrating the dominance of rock music. The analysis represents the handbook's most explicit illustration of methodological nationalism and complements Bohlman's chapter by bringing in perspectives from New Historicism, interpreting their relevance to a wide array of local-language popular music research. Kärjä draws from extensive experience in local research networks, including his tenure as chair of the Nordic branch of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) from 2008 to 2013. The centerpieces of Kärjä's analysis are two musicological histories, one on Finland and one on Sweden, both published around 2000, introducing them here to English-language readers for the first time.

Kimberly Cannady's chapter brings a postcolonial perspective to the study of popular music in Iceland and the North Atlantic. The argument is that the fascination with Icelandic culture and nature, in which popular music plays a key role, evolves from a sense of "discovery" in the 1980s in Anglophone media that echoes a longer colonial history. The fascination with the present is grounded in the familiar myth of an isolated culture and nature untouched by modernity. Iceland's authenticity is thus inseparable from the country's mythical status as a deep freeze for Old Norse heritage and its location at the margins of Scandinavian modernity. Cannady demonstrates her postcolonial argument through her analysis of the evolution of the "discovery" motif in international media and in Icelandic record shops, festivals, and tourism marketing. Along the way, she opens up the way for a more nuanced understanding of the North Atlantic, looking beyond late twentieth-century dichotomies.

Chapters 11 and 12 examine two popular music revivals that illustrate different transnational cultural geographies in the region. Sverker Hyltén-Cavallius and Lars Kaijser write about the revival of Swedish progressive rock, which was a countercultural DIY movement and Scandinavia's first-generation independent rock music industry. The analysis brings nuance to my argument about popular music's role in mediating ambiguities about mass media and capitalism in Nordic modernity. The chapter focuses on the revival of the psychedelic style called "flumprog," which originated in Stockholm's underground scene of the 1960s. In the late 1980s, this music started to experience a revival within a global sphere of Anglophone DIY culture, involving North America, Europe, and Asia. The prog rock revival is not limited to Scandinavian prog rock; it also involves a broader international landscape of progressive rock in the 1970s, including German kraut and English folk prog. Inspired by

postmodern historiography, like Kärjä, the chapter introduces an analytical approach that explores how people make sense of fragments of the past in particular sites of transnational flows. The analytical method involves ethnography of fragments—recordings, photos, and decorations—in record stores, for instance. The authors propose the concept of retrologies to account for how these constellations work to create utopian timeless spaces that suggest a particular form of historical and spatial consciousness in contemporary popular culture and a new arena for the transformation of this particular Swedish scene.

Pekka Suutari's chapter tells the story of a local revival in the Finnish-Russian border region of Karelia. Although the revival had a local focus, it is shaped by broader geopolitics in Eastern Europe. The revival of interest in Karelian music happened in response to the Karelian experience during the cold war, and the careers of Karelian musicians illustrate this history. During the cold war, Karelians were subjected to territorial divisions and harsh assimilation policies. Neither the Karelians remaining in Russia nor the 500,000 who had escaped to Finland could officially voice their Karelian identity. Karelians born in Soviet after 1940 could only dream of seeing Finland, and this desire was expressed powerfully in music. After the cold war, new stores of Karelian culture emerged under the influence of developments across the Nordic and Baltic regions. Perestroika created a scenario for Karelians in both countries to express their sense of belonging in new ways, and music once again became a medium for this. Suutari draws on fieldwork in the Karelian town of Petrozavodsk since 1992, and uses two bands from there as focal points for uncovering key aspects of the cultural imagination of Karelians across Finnish and Russian borders, but also the wider international trajectories into Central Europe, Scandinavia, and the United States. He tells the story of the only rock band in the world that sings in Karelian, and he explores connections between aesthetics and politics in protests against Soviet and Russian politics. One of the bands, Myllärit, has enjoyed international success; and Suutari documents how its music has been perceived differently around the world, from concerns about the loss of authenticity in the Petrozavodsk folk music community to fascination with their hippie-like appearance in the United States.

Chapter 13 by Jan Sverre Knudsen is a micro-level analysis of the music performed at the memorial ceremony following the 2011 Utøya massacre, where national extremist Anders Breivik killed seventy-seven people, most of them young delegates at a summer camp of the Social Democratic Party. These summer camps are a proud tradition in Scandinavian countries, but the massacre had strong international dimensions. Breivik was a member of the nationalist Progress Party from 1999 to 2004, before he got into in international white power online networks, using the cyber name "andersnordic," and claiming white power star Saga his favorite artist (Seierstad 2015; Teitelbaum 2014). In Euro-America, the roots of ethnic-racial violence *at home* are frequently repressed. Events of extreme violence are commonly reduced to a narrative of the individual madman or "the lone wolf" and thus isolated from the nation (Merrill and Hoffman 2015, 1). Mourning ceremonies accordingly take the form of emotional nationalism appealing to strength in the national character and celebrating

the humanist values of the nation. If we think that national extremism is not dangerous in Scandinavia, however, we have learned nothing from the Breivik massacre. Following an introductory discussion of theory of music, emotion, and nationhood, Knudsen takes us deep into such a moment of emotional nationalism, just one month after the attack, offering a detailed and rounded description of the repertoire, production, and performances at the ceremony. Knudsen argues that the ceremony was not only retrospective but also expressed desires to rebuild national community and tolerance.

Like part one, part two ends with a concern for the environment voiced by a prominent British music scholar. Tina K. Ramnarine conducts case studies of three Sámi musicians, focusing on their aspirations for collective rights, cultural distinctiveness, and self-determination. She situates these musicians in broad contexts of a still unfolding history. "In contrast to the perceptions of early twentieth-century researchers, who believed vocal genres like joik were disappearing traditions, music has become one of the most important elements in stories of Sámi cultural survival in the twenty-first century," writes Ramnarine. Her life-long interest in Sámi music leads to a critical anthropological perspective transcending conventional thinking about musicology and cultural history. Ramnarine is deeply affected by the experience of climate change and the role that music plays in valuing nature and imagining alternatives to dominant power regimes. Facing threats to global survival, historians might well focus less on understanding situations and developments in the past and give more priority to questions about how the past speaks to us and what it teaches us about survival. Such survivalist approaches to music history are likely to become more common in the future.

Part Three: Identity

The third part examines music's role in the experience of belonging in Nordic societies. Traditionally, belonging was framed in national terms, but intensified globalization has created new spatial dynamics, with a wider range of place identities that are layered and digitally mediated. It is less clear what nationhood and regional identity mean, and it increasingly involves diasporic people. Two arenas of cultural struggle are examined. The first is multiculturalism in urban Scandinavia; the other is the transnational mediation of Sámi culture.

Chapters 15 through 18 examine issues of multiculturalism in similar situations, focusing on popular music among younger people of immigrant parentage. The case studies present examples of music's significance in processes of assimilation and integration, paralleling earlier moments in history. The large migrations from Eastern Europe in the early twentieth century, and later on during World War II, for instance, brought new populations to areas such as Scandinavia (and many more to the United States). Many of these immigrants lived in distinct micro societies with their own language, cultural institutions, and markets for literature and music. This history is largely