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MANAGING MUSICAL DIVERSITY WITHIN FRAMEWORKS OF WESTERN DEVELOPMENT AID: VIEWS FROM UKRAINE, GEORGIA, AND BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA[1]

by Adriana Helbig, with contributions from Nino Tsitsishvili and Erica Haskell

Researchers have increasingly begun to critically assess local engagements with globalizing notions of civil society that have been introduced via Western-based supranational political, economic, financial, and cultural programmes (Fischer 1997; Okongwu and Mencher 2000; Yúdice 2003). Following the notion of thinking globally and acting locally, such programmes are usually set up by transnational structures such as the World Bank, UNESCO, the European Union, or global foundations such as the Open Society Institute, and put into practice by local actors, among them non-governmental organizations. This article positions music within intra-national discourses that work hand-in-hand with the political and cultural economics of Western cultural initiatives and aim to promote an understanding of pluralism in countries throughout Eastern and South Eastern Europe. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted by Nino Tsitsishvili, Erica Haskell, and myself in Georgia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Ukraine, respectively, this study juxtaposes the perspectives of policy makers and grant givers in Western Europe and the United States with the views of people in post-socialist conflict zones for whom such initiatives are intended. It analyses the political and cultural implications of UNESCO's declaration of Georgian polyphony as a masterpiece of intangible cultural heritage of humanity, the local effects of internationally sponsored music projects in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the role of national minority music festivals sponsored by Western philanthropic organizations in nation-building processes in Ukraine.

Because the three countries in question have a history of ethnic conflicts, expressed most violently in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war in the 1990s,[2]

2. In Georgia, there were violent moments of civil war in 1992–94. In 2008, Russian and Georgian armed forces engaged militarily over the breakaway region of South Ossetia. Conflicts and unsolved issues continue regarding Ossetians, Abkhazians, Armenians, Azeris, and so-called Turk Meskhetians (Nodia 2002). In Ukraine, despite an allegedly peaceful transition realized through the Orange Revolution in 2004, there is an ongoing clash between citizens in the western part of the country who seek alliances with the European Union, and citizens in the eastern part of the country who are oriented more towards Russia. The return

the case studies identify various political, ideological, and socioeconomic tensions within which national and international development initiatives are formulated. In so doing, they shed light on how the economics of culture influences identity politics in the post-socialist sphere. Furthermore, they recognize marginalizing processes couched within philosophically, methodologically, and politically influenced discourses regarding Western-sponsored cultural initiatives in countries positioned as Second World in relation to more economically advanced Western neighbours.[3]

Western programmes' emphasis on "culture" and "ethnicity" reflects a common perception among policy makers in the United States and the European Union that Eastern and South East European countries are sites of "cultures" and "ethnicities." Thus, "ethnic conflicts" occur between Georgians and Ossetians, Georgians and Abkhazians, Ukrainians and Russians, or between Serbs and Kosova Albanians,[4] but the ongoing tensions between the United States and the Muslim world are repositioned as a "war on terror" or couched in a discourse of political struggle for the establishment of democracy. Nonetheless, despite their often biased framework, cultural programmes that aim to bridge connections between people outside and inside the European Union carry great political significance for post-socialist governments. Much post-socialist policy discourse is aimed at gaining a favourable standing with the European Union in order to secure potential membership.

The scholars Judith Butler and Gayatri Spivak have recently argued that globalizing processes have blurred national boundaries (Butler and Spivak 2007). Nothing could be further from the truth when one looks at on-the-ground processes in the post-socialist sphere. Nation states that position cultural rhetoric in relation to the European Union experience a heightened consciousness of national boundaries. This is particularly the case when the borders of the European Union remain closed for travel to particular groups of citizens.[5] Despite that, people from

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of Crimean Tatar families in the 1990s, deported in 1944 to Central Asia, has contributed to localized instability in the Crimean Peninsula. For more on various disputes in Eastern Europe in the 1990s, see Carlton et al. (1996).

3. With regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, scholars of political science and anthropology often draw comparisons between past colonialist regimes in other parts of the world and the present protectorate style government led by a foreign High Representative (Knaus and Martin 2003). For an anthropological description of the social and political power perceived by foreigners engaging in foreign funded projects see Cole (2007).

4. The Georgian political scientist Ghia Nodia criticizes the application of "ethnic conflict" to the Abkhazian-Georgian war and argues instead that this is a territorial-political conflict (Nodia 1997–98:3–4).

5. For instance, on 7 December 2007, police in Clermont-Ferrand beat four members of the "Dumka" National Choir of Ukraine who were on tour in France. The singers attempted to buy groceries with € 500 notes they had received as salary. Suspicious supermarket employees called the police to validate the authenticity of the money. When the police arrived in plainclothes with no police identification, the singers resisted arrest and were beaten. Yevhen Savchuk, the choir's director, arrived at the police station to help clear the matter but, in turn, was arrested as well (pers. comm. between the author and Yevhen Savchuk, 24 December 2007; see also Anon. 2007). Such incidents remind us of the xenophobic realities within the European Union in relation to outsiders. For more on xenophobia in the European Union as it relates to Eastern Europe, see Erlanger (2002). Verena Stolcke (1995) views this renewed emphasis on bound notions of cultural difference as "contemporary cultural funda-

beyond the borders of the EU hold a strong pro-EU orientation and adhere to a critical policy of "Euro-remont," a term used colloquially in Ukraine and Georgia, for instance, to define Soviet dwellings that have been reconstructed with modern amenities. That is to say, a strong tendency persists beyond the borders of the EU to look towards the EU as a (albeit far from perfect) model of modernity, progress, and democratic values.

On the other hand, Western political discourse has played a critical role in moulding the increasingly democratic image of Ukraine and Georgia worldwide. Extensive Western media coverage of Georgia's Rose Revolution in 2003 where Georgian citizens peacefully ousted President Eduard Shevardnadze and his corrupt government from power, has positioned the country as a positive example of democratic development. Indeed, flags of Georgia were waved on Kyiv's Independence Square during Ukraine's 2004 Orange Revolution, when citizens overthrew the government of President Leonid Kuchma and overturned the results of a rigged presidential election.

Fair enough to say, neither Ukraine nor Georgia could have hosted a revolution without the infrastructure put into place by non-governmental organizations and Western-funded think tanks that offered avenues of resistance against the powers in place (Sushko and Prystayko 2006). In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, installing a "Western style democracy" has been one of the main aims of foreign development aid (see Chandler 2000, Carothers 2004, among others). However, this essay stresses how civic discourses are put into practice. On national and transnational levels various exchanges between culture doers and policy makers constitute only one side of the coin; on the other side, the local level, the effects of these policies play out quite differently. When speaking to musicians involved in cultural development projects sponsored by Western organizations in various parts of Europe and Eurasia, we find different agendas at play and notice that the interpretations intended by donors are not necessarily those that come across to the audiences and actors involved. Though the examples are not exhaustive, they point to ways ethnomusicologists can take into account, think about, and analyse transnational processes within more localized fieldwork sites.

NGO culture: Staging multiculturalism in Ukraine

In the post-socialist sphere, international donors often use ethnicity as a category through which to disburse aid for oppressed groups and communities. While successful on one level in helping such groups to procure much needed political recognition and financial support for education and culture projects from international institutions, the ensuing social movements do not function as collective actions along class, gender, or social lines. They are ethnically differentiated and inadvertently mirror and encourage political processes that determine individuals' social standing based on ethnicity.

mentalism," a concept that is exclusive when applied to immigration policy, and inclusive when applied to aspects of citizenship within a nation state.

In Ukraine, Romani (Gypsy) music festivals sponsored by international philanthropic organizations have had countless positive effects in terms of building up the Romani minority rights movement in the last fifteen years. The festivals allow Romani communities to promote their cultural expression in the public sphere and to draw awareness to critical Roma rights issues on a local and transnational scale. Such events offer some Romani music and dance ensembles opportunities to perform, earn money, and establish connections between the various Romani performance groups from the former Soviet Union and Western Europe that are invited to perform in Ukraine.

The Amala Festival of Romani Culture is considered by many to be the most prominent Romani cultural event in Ukraine. Held annually in Kyiv, it is financed in part by the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF), an organization within the global network of Soros Foundations. The festival's director, whose organization received significant funds from the IRF to run the festival in 2006 (IRF 2006), describes the situation this way:

> Grants help us present our culture. The state sees that we are working, that there is a culture, and government officials come and sit in the front row.[6] Last year we began the Amala Festival with a political gathering at Babyn Yar where Nazis murdered Roma.[7] We followed with a memorial service for Romani genocide victims at St. Volodymyr Orthodox Church. The music festivities took place on the largest festival grounds in Kyiv with thousands of people in attendance. (interview with festival organizer, Kyiv, 12 June 2007)

The Amala Festival features the Kyiv-based "Theatre Romans," as well as invited Romani performance groups from Norway, Belgium, Poland, France, Slovakia, and Russia (regarding Russia, mainly performers from Moscow's "Theatre Romen"). Yet while the organizers market Amala as a festival of Romani culture in Ukraine, very few Romani music and dance ensembles from Ukraine are actually invited to perform. When I asked the director of Amala why this is so, he claimed that the festival demands a very high level of professionalism that, as regards the former Soviet Union, only Kyiv's "Theatre Romans" and Moscow's "Theatre Romen" can match.

However, a Romani community figure and leader of a Romani music and dance ensemble in Kharkiv offered a different explanation:

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6. Amala boasts Ukrainian political figures as its guests, including the head of the Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities, and International Relations, Mr. Gennadiy Udovenko.

7. In Ukraine, Babyn Yar is one of the most important Holocaust commemoration sites. In 1941, Nazi forces massacred Kyiv citizens, among them 100,000 Jews and more than a total of 200,000 people, including Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, and Roma. A large menorah commemorates the site, together with Catholic and Orthodox crosses. In the early 2000s, a Romani sculptor created a large traditional Romani wagon out of bronze to commemorate Romani victims at Babyn Yar. However, officials have not allowed the wagon to serve as a commemorative marker. Since the 1990s, Romani communities have organized and participated in numerous manifestations and poetry readings at Babyn Yar, drawing awareness to Romani Holocaust victims in Ukraine.

NGOs and ensembles that organize the larger Romani festivals in Ukraine invite and try to show only their groups, and that is not right. They should show all sides of Romani culture. In each geographic area of Ukraine there are many different Romani aesthetics, but some festivals promote only one style of Romani music and dance. The performance group is chosen in accordance with which Romani NGO supports it. This has very broad repercussions and greatly influences Romani non-governmental structures and politics. (interview with a Romani community leader, Kharkiv, 20 June 2007)

An ironic subtext exists within the Romani festival structure. The majority of Romani NGOs obtain government, corporate, and philanthropic funds to sponsor music and dance ensembles and, in doing so, to promote and revive Romani cultural expression in Ukraine. Yet, on many levels, the present structure of the Romani festivals, rooted in the fact that many Romani music and dance ensembles are affiliated with Romani NGOs, lead to divisions and factions among Romani groups within the minority rights movement. Public musical expression is closely intertwined and, to an extent, is dictated by Romani NGOs in Ukraine, which, in turn, gain power through financial support from Western philanthropic organizations that do not always follow up on the effects of grant distribution. A grants manager at the IRF in Kyiv explained to me that the key element in procuring a grant is a reasonable budget plan and the submission of timely reports on monies spent.[8] The fact that this financing leads to great tensions within Romani communities throughout Ukraine does not appear to concern the IRF.

Moreover, while the aim of such music festivals is to raise the level of representation for minorities in the public sphere, the festivals encourage the further politicization of self-essentialized music-based identities, particularly among Roma who play with the widespread stereotype of Roma-as-musicians in the social and political sphere. The contemporary political discourse of "rights" is implemented through a Western discourse regarding "rights to culture" (Cowan et al. 2001:4–5). Yet while discourses of human rights are fused with cultural rights, any seeming improvement is achieved predominantly at the cost of self-stereotyping, which recalls more the Soviet model of "diversity" than notions of pluralism and the encouragement of socio-cultural integration and citizen equality (Helbig 2007). The broad diversity that characterizes Romani communities in Ukraine is not reflected in the public sphere, a situation similar to before the 1990s when Western philanthropic agencies were not involved. Today's irony (and perhaps danger) is in the fact that politics of exclusion are embedded in the very discourses and projects celebrating inclusiveness, diversity, multiculturalism, human and cultural rights. The ethnicization of the population in Ukraine through the eyes of Western philanthropic institutions furthers the popular stereotype of Roma-as-musicians, celebrated culturally and excluded socially, and reinforces existing ethnically-based hierarchies that continue to position the Romani minority politically and economically near the bottom.

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8. Interview with a grants manager at the International Renaissance Foundation in Kyiv, 4 September 2006.

Furthermore, historically rooted social distance towards Roma within society continues because Western institutions fund activities of only particular ethnic groups and communities in a context where the state does little to support the cultural affairs of any group. Such uneven funding has contributed to increased tensions within Romani communities and between Romani and other ethnic groups. Moreover, if Romani festivals are supported generously from the outside, there is even less urgency for them to be supported from governmental agencies. Thus, all in all, it appears that while Western institutions aim to promote inclusion through cultural initiatives, they more realistically promote Western-style democratic processes that do not correspond to the landscape of class formation and inter-ethnic relations in post-socialist society.

UNESCO and Georgia: Intercultural dialogue or ethnic exclusion?

The divisive cultural processes similar to those regarding minorities in Ukraine play out in Georgia as regards UNESCO. In 2001, Georgian polyphony, as an essentially "Georgian" tradition, was placed on UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage list (UNESCO 2001; see also UNESCO [2007]). Polyphony is the musical tradition of rural farming communities who live in the highland Caucasus Mountains and in the valleys of the eastern and western parts of the country. It is thus identified by urban elites as a tradition expressive of pure Georgian ethnicity. However, Georgia is a multi-ethnic and multicultural country. There are regions, especially in eastern and southern Georgia, where polyphony is either not practised, or at least does not represent the core of people's identity and social practice. Many *duduki* (double-reed instrument) players in Georgia argue that *duduki* music expresses another localized, but still uniquely Georgian, communal spirit and that it too needs protection. The music of the *duduki* is in fact protected by the UNESCO Proclamation from 2005, but as an Armenian art form expressing Armenian identity within Armenia; protection does not extend to the distinctive tradition of *duduki* in Georgia, where it is endangered by official policies of exclusion as well as by globalization (Tsitsishvili 2007b). This puts *duduki* players and scholars studying *duduki* on the territories of Georgia at a significant disadvantage.

Nino Tsitsishvili offers a more nuanced interpretation of factors that motivated Georgia's proposal of polyphony. The privileging of polyphony over other musical forms heralds back to nineteenth century elite discourse that lauded polyphony over Armenian- and "Middle Eastern"–derived *duduki* and *zurna*, and the Azerbaijani-Persian art of *mugham* found in south Transcaucasia and the eastern and southern parts of Georgia (Tsitsishvili 2007a). Tsitsishvili points out that "the stylistic sophistication of some regional polyphonic styles underpins the philosophy of Georgian ethnomusicologists and cultural elite according to which Georgian polyphony expresses the creative genius of the Georgian people and elevates the status of Georgian culture within European civilization, an inclusion Georgia aspires for" (ibid). Georgians are using musical genres to attain cultural recognition in the international arena, a space within which historical essentialism establishes a voice

within post-modern discourses. To identify with polyphony is also a way to create distance between Georgia's Middle Eastern heritage expressed in the practice of more monophonic styles such as *duduki* music, and via this distancing, to position Georgia as European, democratic, and progressive. However, as Tsitsishvili argues, if UNESCO's idea is to promote cultural diversity and dialogue between cultures (Keitner 2004:4; see also UNESCO 2005), what happens when one form of artistic expression is chosen over another to be representative of Georgian identity and the Georgian nation?

One of the most significant institutional implications of the UNESCO proclamation has been the establishment of the International Research Center for Traditional Polyphony (IRCTP) in the Department of Georgian Musical Folklore at Tbilisi State Conservatory in 2003. The members of the IRCTP focus their research primarily on what they consider "the purest ancestral heritage of Georgian polyphony and Christian chants," while ignoring and discouraging research into other musical traditions. Thus, as Tsitsishvili argues, "the UNESCO Proclamation and its model of cultural diversity and protection of the intangible heritage do not actually introduce a new concept of cultural diversity in Georgian ethnomusicology and cultural policies." Rather, "the Proclamation has sanctioned the existing mono-ethnic identity politics, which have defined Georgia's progress towards nationhood and political independence for the last two centuries" (Tsitsishvili 2007a).

The inherent problem with the UNESCO programmes is that those who promote participation within its framework do not immediately recognize its potentially dangerous repercussions. Those who do recognize its nationalist potential exploit the transnational structure in order to promote particular understandings of national identity on local and transnational levels.

Even though UN member states are nowadays encouraged by UNESCO to promote cultural diversity both within and outside their borders (Keitner 2004:22), the local implementation of this goal is often affected by national identity politics. As stated by Tsitsishvili, "whether consciously or unwittingly, UNESCO seems to be promoting dialogue between cultures and cultural diversity between different states but not between different communities within one state" (Tsitsishvili 2007a; see also Ceribašić 2007 for an example from Croatia). The present Georgian cultural officials use UNESCO to assist the government in its assimilation politics regarding ethnic minorities and to squelch inter-ethnic tensions such as those that have arisen among Armenian and Azeri diasporas (Tsitsishvili 2007b:262, 274). Supranational structures such as UNESCO in fact reinforce the power of the nation state through the homogeneous lauding of the status quo, rather than allowing for a more autonomous sphere of multicultural expression. There are contradictions inherent between UNESCO's conventions and practical implementations of these conventions locally: "On the one hand, UNESCO promotes cultural diversity and cultural inclusiveness. On the other hand, it privileges one form—polyphony, and, as such, implicitly supports cultural exclusiveness and monoethnicity" (Tsitsishvili 2007a). More to the point, however, is the fact that UNESCO's understanding of pluralism is not precisely translatable in all contexts (cf. Ahmedaja 2007; Ceribašić

2007). As evidenced by examples from Ukraine and Georgia, complexities arise when identities are forced into templates formulated by international institutions.

The music scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Neo-colonial implications of Western cultural development

In the afore-analysed contexts, transnational organizations and institutions play instrumental roles in the rearticulation of various cultural expressions in the public sphere. The ethnic conflict in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s differs greatly from the situations in Georgia and Ukraine in that it was rooted in extreme violence. The acts of ethnic cleansing, particularly on Bosnian territories, created an incomparable context regarding the promotion of music in the public sphere; even more so since music and other cultural expressions, both traditional and popular, had been used during the wars of Yugoslav succession to ignite ethnic ruptures.[9]

In the aftermath of the conflicts, the United States government as well as European and Middle Eastern governments allotted a significant amount of aid to fund various social and cultural projects in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to the above examples with non-state affiliated philanthropic organizations in Ukraine and UNESCO in Georgia, in the Bosnian case foreign states also engaged in funding cultural projects and events (most often through their embassies) to help mediate ethnic tension, positioning ensuing processes in terms of state-to-state interaction (Haskell 2007).

During the war, characteristics of traditional music often shared by more than one group were essentialized as representative of only one ethnicity. Thus, after the war international donors avoided sponsorship of traditional local music because it symbolized inter-ethnic hatred and, rather, promoted certain non-political local popular music and popular music from abroad. Haskell describes that NATO's psychological operations (PSYOPS) radio station in Bosnia launched a prominent advertisement campaign in 2003, seen on billboards around the country, featuring an anti-local slogan reading "Radio Mir, no folk music, only the best music."[10] Between 2002 and 2006 Radio Mir (Radio Peace), organized "Radio Parties" in divided border towns. At the parties, DJs from Sarajevo played Western popular music that accompanied messages of peace and reconciliation projected on the walls. The military staff believed that Western popular music would be the least divisive in estranged communities and defined the parties as events that "bring divided communities together."[11] Haskell finds it significant that funding from NATO for the "radio party" project was contingent upon the staff's ability to define the project's aims in terms of existing military strategy in the region and NATO

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9.   For more on the wars and politicization of music cultures in post-Yugoslav states, see Laušević (1996), Vidić Rasmussen (1996), Pettan (1998), and Mijatović (2004).

10.   In this case, the term "folk music" was meant by the Radio Mir staff to include a range of folk-based or folk-inspired genres, some categorized as popular music, including newly composed folk music. See Vidić Rasmussen (1996) regarding the politicization of that genre.

11.   Interview by Erica Haskell with Džamila Milović, Sarajevo, 30 August 2006.

used such events to "remind" youth in border regions that NATO troops would intervene in conflict situations (Haskell 2007).

In Sarajevo, international aid for cultural development became the norm rather than the exception. Since the implementation of a structural flow of aid to the region, there has been a marked change in public reception and performance of music. According to Haskell, the most significant change has been towards a more international, rather than local, orientation in festival programming. Before the war, locally and nationally funded music festivals took place in urban centres as well as towns and villages throughout the region. These socialist-supported national-in-character festivals have been overshadowed and replaced with a more centralized urban festival tradition. Haskell identifies cities such as Banja Luka, Mostar, and Sarajevo as urban contexts where festivals have a more distinct international representation and feature musicians that are not from Bosnia. Foreign donors who subsidize the global orientation of these festivals aim to decentralize the everyday ethnic tensions present among festival attendees. By featuring international performers and musical traditions that are oriented towards the global, donors attempt to defuse attention placed on linguistic and cultural difference by highlighting cultural expressions that are seemingly neutral with regard to audience members. From the position of foreign sponsors it is a forgone conclusion that the de-emphasis of difference, be it ethnic, cultural, or religious, is a politically safe strategy.

However, cultural expression is never neutral and audience members draw different interpretations from the programming than those intended by the festival organizers. For instance, Haskell attended a concert as part of the month-long festival in Sarajevo called *Sarajevska Zima* (Sarajevo Winter Festival). The concert was sponsored by the Canadian Embassy and featured foreign musicians hired by the embassy to tour the region. A musician introducing the famous French song "A Paris" (English, "In Paris"), paused and, in an attempt to relate to the audience, said "A Zagreb,"[12] not realizing that he was in Sarajevo, revealing the great disjuncture between performers and audience members. Haskell makes the poignant observation that cross-cultural performances can only be beneficial when informed by groups on both sides of the multicultural equation. She notes that such projects "point to a post-war cultural policy that avoids problems of ethnic tolerance in the region by emphasizing global rather than local spheres" (ibid.); the significant rise in international music festivals has overshadowed local groups.

By glossing over the politicized local music traditions with Western popular music, international donors have not addressed on-the-ground tensions and have thrown money at a problem that will resurface once donor aid is finished. This "neo-colonialist cultural policy" (Knaus and Martin 2003) is, as argued by Haskell, a weak substitute for a more integrated and nuanced approach on the part of donors whose financial resources are nevertheless needed to help rebuild the post-war music industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Scholars such as Svanibor Pettan have found that transformations from internal conflict to reconciliation and peace come not through avoiding cultural specificity but through a balance between simi-

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12. Zagreb is the capital city of the neighbouring state of Croatia.

larities and differences, mutual respect, and dialogue between ethnic groups and their cultural practices (Pettan 1996). International cultural policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been a missed opportunity to invert wartime understandings of locally based musics as inter-ethnic barriers towards understanding cultural expression as an inter-ethnic bridge. By supporting Western popular musics, international donors appeared as neo-colonial, promoting foreign cultural forms over existing Bosnian traditions.

Managing diversity

Policy makers regard pluralism and the celebration of difference in the public sphere as emblematic of progressive democracy. In Western political discourse, this policy approach is considered a positive force that contributes to the growth of civil society. Theoretically, each of the many cultures that make up the nation are to be treated with dignity, have access to equal representation, and be allowed to publicly express a measure of self identity. However, as argued by Homi Bhabha, "multicultural" practices that aim to promote diversity also reinforce ensuing forms of hierarchical control (Bhabha 1990:208). Following Bhabha, this essay, in drawing on three different yet strikingly corresponding examples, suggests that the embrace of difference, limited to ethnic-thus-cultural difference, by international institutions, networks, and governments undermines the capacity to enforce equality and to create spaces for the diversity that intervention policies and programmes intend to support. Western concepts of cultural pluralism are configured as compartmentalized wholes and, as such, cultural development programmes promote ethnic relations in terms of separate diversities. These studies point out, however, that cultural borders between groups are blurred and malleable. To be truly democratic (as Western donors understand themselves) would be to recognize and respect such a landscape of inter-ethnic exchanges.

It does not suffice to gain opportunity to participate in discourses aiming to eradicate the prejudices that limit marginalized groups from fully attaining their rights in democratic contexts. As Jürgen Habermas recognizes, in order for an "ideal speech situation" to take place, communication must occur in a public sphere that is free of institutional coercion (Habermas 1984). Yet in development discourse equality is not built into relationships between Western givers and non-Western recipients of aid. Though participants in UNESCO projects, for instance, appear to operate within a Habermasian ideal speech situation, in the end, those actors with the greatest coercive power and financial backing are likely to get more of what they want in negotiations.

Many decisions are accepted without taking into consideration the effects of particular policies on groups for whom they are intended. Critical theorists such as Andrew Linklater note that overlooking and silencing the actors affected by policy decisions is clearly unjust and perpetuates structures of domination (Linklater 1998:109). The questioning of such frameworks, institutionalized and taken for granted at the height of Western imperial restructuring in the wake of socialism's

collapse in the 1990s, strengthens the argument that it is time to reassess the basis
of internationally sponsored approaches that have gone too far in the direction of
cultural and ethnic uniqueness and position ethnic particularity as the sole cul-
tural space for the production of minority identities in the post-socialist space. This
essay urges and contributes to such a necessary re-tuning. Moreover, it calls for
a level of accountability on the part of institutions and academics eager to pro-
mote such projects, who, as evidenced by the plenary session devoted to UNESCO
programmes at the 2007 International Council for Traditional Music's World
Conference, often lack sufficient on-the-ground research to back their support for
and involvement in these projects.

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Abstract in Ukrainian (Helbig)

Саме зараз почалися дослідження співпраці регіонів у питаннях розвитку музичної культури, зініційованої західними неурядовими організаціями, ЮНЕСКО, Європейським Союзом та різноманітними міжурядовими програмами. Ця стаття пропонує поглянути на музику в рамках транснаціональних, національних та космополітичних дискурсів як на щось невід'ємне від політики та економічних проектів західних країн, що популяризують поняття плюралізму в східній, південно-східній Європі та країнах колишнього СРСР.

    Етнографічне дослідження, проведене Ніно Ціцішвілі, Ерікою Гаскел та Адріяною Гельбіг у Грузії, Боснії та Герцеговині й Україні, обґрунтовує перспективи творення

відповідної політики та підтримки країнами західної Європи і США щодо країн пострадянських, країн з етнічними проблемами й конфліктами, а також аналізує думки дослідників країн пострадянського простору з приводу цих проблем. До того ж, ця праця пояснює основні причини напруження у відносинах сторін і характеризує співпрацю між західними та місцевими структурами розвитку музичної культури у зазначених регіонах.

Abstract in Georgian (Tsitsishvili)

ბოლო ხანებში მკვლევარები შეუდგნენ ყოფილ სოციალისტურ ქვეყნებში გლობალიზაციისა და სამოქალაქო საზოგადოების მშენებლობის პროცესების კრიტიკულ შეფასებას. ეს პროცესები ხორციელდება დასავლეთის ფონდების დახმარებით არა-სამთავრობო ორგანიზაციების, იუნესკოს, ევროკავშირის და სხვადასხვა სახელმწიფოთაშორისი პროგრამების საშუალებით. წინამდებარე სტატია განიხილავს მუსიკას ინტერნაციონალურ და ნაციონალურ კონტექსტებში, პოლიტიკური და კულტურული ეკონომიკის სფეროში დასავლეთის ინიციატივებთან უშუალო კავშირში. თავისთავად ამ ინიციატივების მიზანია რომ მოხდეს პლურალიზმის განვითარება აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის, სამხრეთ-აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის და ყოფილი საბჭოთა კავშირის ქვეყნებში. ნინო ციციშვილის, ერიკა ჰესკელის და ადრიანა ჰელბიგის მიერ საქართველოში, ბოსნია-ჰერცეგოვინაში და უკრაინაში წარმოებული ფოლკლორული ექსპედიციების საფუძველზე ჩატარებული კვლევა წარმოგვიდგენს რთულ და მრავალწახნაგოვან სურათს იმისა თუ როგორ გავლენას ახდენს დასავლეთ ევროპისა და ამერიკის შეერთებული შტატების მიერ წარმოებული კულტურული პოლიტიკა და გრანტების დარიგების სისტემა თვით პოსტ-სოციალისტური ქვეყნების კონფლიქტურ ზონებში მცხოვრებ ხალხებზე, ანუ იმათზე, ვისთვისაც არის უპირველეს ყოვლისა გათვალისწინებული ეს ინიციატივები. გარდა ამისა, სტატიაში თეორიულად არის განხილული ის წინააღმდეგობები, რომლებიც არსებობს კულტურული განვითარების დასავლურ და სხვადასხვა ადგილობრივ პარადიგმებს შორის.

Abstract in Bosnian (Haskell)

Istraživači sve više počinju kritički posmatrati lokalno angažiranje u globalnom poimanju civilnog društva, koje je uvedeno preko nevladinih organizacija finansiranih od strane Zapada, UNESCO-a, Evropske unije i različitih međudržavnih programa. U ovom članku muzika je stavljena unutar transnacionalnih, nadnacionalnih i nacionalnih diskursa koji djeluju zajedno s političkom i kulturnom ekonomikom zapadnih inicijativa iz oblasti kulture, a cilj im je promocija razumijevanja i pluralizma u zemljama Istočne i Jugoistočne Evrope i bivšeg Sovjetskog Saveza. Koristeći se terenskim etnografskim istraživanjem Nino Tsitsishvili u Gruziji, Erice Haskell u Bosni i Hercegovini i Adriane Helbig u Ukrajini, ova studija suprostavlja percepcije kreatora politike i davalaca nepovratnih finansijskih sredstava iz Zapadne Evrope i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država s percepcijama stanovišta s područja postsocijalističkih etničkih sukoba, kojemu su pomenute inicijative namijenjene. Štaviše, ona s teoretskog stanovišta posmatra tenzije, jazove i zajednička djelovanja zapadnih i promjenjivih domaćih paradigmi razvoja kulture.