



**WICHITA STATE  
UNIVERSITY**

**UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES**

**The analysis of Okinawan popular music and identity in relation to other studies of southeast Asian popular music**

Item Type	Thesis
Authors	Harvey, Sandi K.
Publisher	Wichita State University
Rights	Copyright Sandy K. Harvey, 2010. All rights reserved
Download date	2026-05-13 17:19:06
Link to Item	<a href="http://hdl.handle.net/10057/3720">http://hdl.handle.net/10057/3720</a>

**THE ANALYSIS OF OKINAWAN POPULAR MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN RELATION  
TO OTHER STUDIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN POPULAR MUSIC**

A Thesis by

Sandi K. Harvey

Bachelor of Arts, Wichita State University, 2003

Submitted to the Department of Anthropology  
and the faculty of the Graduate School of  
Wichita State University  
In partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

December 2010

© Copyright 2010 by Sandi K. Harvey

All Rights Reserved

**THE ANALYSIS OF OKINAWAN POPULAR MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN RELATION  
TO OTHER STUDIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN POPULAR MUSIC**

The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Anthropology.

---

Dorothy K. Billings, Committee Chair

---

Robert Lawless, Committee Member

---

Doris Chang, Committee Member

## **DEDICATION**

To my parents, Larry and Shizue and my siblings, George “Seiji”, Jennifer and Jackie and my love, Dave

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Dorothy K. Billings for her guidance and support. I am truly grateful for all of her advice and help throughout my graduate and undergraduate education. Her continuous encouragement throughout the years allowed me to develop my research topics to its fullest potential. I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to members of my committee, Dr. Robert Lawless and Dr. Doris Chang, for their helpful comments and suggestions on all stages of this project as well as to the entire faculty in the Department of Anthropology. I also want to thank the Nancy Berner Fund and the Charles William Merton Hart Student Fund for funding my research.

I would also like to give many thanks to James Roberson for his comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to the many people in Okinawa that extended their knowledge about Okinawan music, especially to Kohama Tsukasa. In addition, I would like to extend many thanks to the Okinawan women in Wichita, Kansas who were more than happy to talk about the love for Okinawa and its music. I would like to thank Taeko Clonts for helping me interpret the lyrics to the Okinawan songs.

Thanks are also due to David I. Mixer, for your companionship during my fieldwork to Okinawa, Japan on two different occasions. During the difficult times, your support and understanding meant the world to me.

Last, but certainly not least, I thank my family, Larry, Shizue, George, Jennifer and Jackie, for their constant encouragement and support and their patience and understanding, without which none of this would have been possible. I would like to especially thank my mother, Shizue, for sparking an interest in my own Okinawan heritage through learning about her life history.

## ABSTRACT

This research attempts to use the creation of popular music in Okinawa as a symbolic resource to reveal attributes related to the making of identity. Popular music in non-Western societies is a useful unit of analysis that can explain how people respond to cultural change and can tell us much about cultural values. The origin of identity studies is both historical and political by nature. However, socio-cultural functions can further expand our understanding of both cultural and political resistance. Popular music as identity is not static and is always in flux.

Identity addresses the ongoing relationship between the global (capitalized market) and the local (maintenance of cultural heritage). Negotiation between the two is explained through the use of imagined communities and the concept of place and space. Only through a historical, social, political and economic context is identity making fully realized. The functions of popular music are expressive behaviors which shape and are shaped by social, historical, political and economic experiences.

In using the comparative method, the lyrical content and other important features of Okinawan popular music will be contrasted with other Southeast Asian studies. This research will highlight similarities, but will also reveal distinct differences between the formation of identity in both Okinawan and other Southeast Asian communities.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Folk and Popular	1
Culture as a Commodity	3
Musical and Cultural Change	3
Optimistic and Pessimistic Viewpoints of Popular Music Studies	4
Terminology in Popular Music Discourse	6
II. DEFINING POPULAR MUSIC	7
Positivism	7
Sociological Essentialism	8
Wallerstein's Usage of the Concept of Culture	9
Function as a Commodity	10
Function as a Symbolic Expression	11
Collective Expression	12
<i>Collective Memory</i>	12
<i>Place and Space</i>	12
Behavioral Expression	13
National Expression	14
Imagined Community	14
Function as a Metaphorical Expression	15
Anxious and Celebratory Narratives	15
III. WHY STUDY POPULAR MUSIC?	17
Music and Anthropology	17
Globalization	18
IV. THE CASE STUDY	20
Methodology	20
Fieldwork	21
Koza	22
Naha	24
Chatan	24
V. OKINAWA CULTURE	26
What is „Okinawaness“?	26
Geography	27

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter	Page
History	28
Social Structure	30
Socialization	31
Conflict	31
Kinship	32
Religion	32
Festivals	33
Language	34
Cultural Markers	35
Food	35
Pottery	36
Textile	37
<i>Bingata</i>	38
Dancing: Classical and Popular	39
Folk Songs	39
United States Military Presence	40
A Case Study: Henoko	41
Disunity within Unity	43
Memory	44
3 K Economy	44
Okinawa Rock-n-Roll	45
 VI. WHAT IS OKINAWAN POPULAR MUSIC?	 47
Main Components	47
Language	47
Min'yo and Shima Uta	48
Instrumentation	49
Expressive Style through Performance	50
<i>Eisa</i>	50
<i>Construction of Identity</i>	53
<i>Katcharsee</i>	54
Clothing	54

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter	Page
VII. POPULAR MUSIC AS IDENTITY: OKINAWA COMPARED TO OTHER SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES OF POPULAR MUSIC	56
Indonesia	58
Brief History	58
Indonesian Popular Music	60
Kroncong	61
Dangdut	62
Rhoma Irama	62
Jaipongan	65
Ronggeng: The Making of a Super Star	66
Lagu	67
Rap	68
Popular Music and Politics	70
Culture as a Commodity	70
South Korea (East Asian Culture)	72
Japanese Colonialism	72
T'ūrot'ū and Maturation	73
Nationalism	73
Cultural Space and Place	74
Punk Music	75
Traditional Instrument: <i>Haegŭm</i>	75
Vietnam	76
Thailand	77
Lyrical Content	77
Commodity	78
Popular Songs	78
Cambodia	78
Singapore	79
History	79
Musical Scene	80
Okinawa	83
Kina Shoukichi	85
Nenezu	87
BEGIN	90
Rinji Kadekaru	91

## TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

Chapter	Page
The Results	92
Discussion	97
VIII. CONCLUSION	100
REFERENCES	103
APPENDICES	111
A. Interview with Taeko Clonts and Shizue Harvey	112
B. Interview with Tsukasa Kohama	113

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Divisions of Binary Oppositions	8
2. Spoken Differences between Japanese and Okinawan Language	35
3. Multiple Identities	41

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Koza Music Town	23
2. Kokusai Street	23
3. Naha	24
4. American Village	25
5. Map of Okinawa Island	28
6. <i>Tsuboya</i> Pottery District	37
7. <i>Awamori</i> Flask	37
8. <i>Sanshin</i>	49
9. <i>Samba</i> (three-wooded clappers)	50
10. <i>Paraanku</i> (single head drum)	50
11. Granite motif sign along B.C. Street in Koza (Okinawa City)	52
12. Eisa performance in Naha outside of Ryubo shopping center	53
13. <i>Haegum</i>	75
14. Nenes Playing on Kokusai Street on a Sunday Afternoon	87
15. Tsukasa Kohama in I YaGwa Café	113

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

How is popular music used as a means to form one's identity within an Okinawan community? Identity is created out of social, historical, political and economic processes (Inoue 2004, Siddle 2003 and Steward and Strathern 2003). Expressive behaviors found in popular music are clearly related to the making of identity, which allows it to be a useful tool of analysis. Music is unique in that it is one universal found in human culture (Merriam 1964: 28). It can tell us much about a society because musical expression and culture are intrinsically interrelated.

Ethnomusicology has put tremendous value on the study of music and culture. Using an anthropological paradigm, the musical creation can also provide interpretations of cultural processes that are useful to our understanding of the desires, actions and values of human beings. Specifically, the examination of popular music of non-Western societies can lead to many different discussions about responses to nationalism and globalization. Although the responses may or may not be conscious within each individual, the focus here is more on the collective and the group rather than individual behavioral responses.

The patterns of cultural values found in Okinawan popular music reveal that there is a unique interconnectedness between musical expression and its functions within a society. It is a symbolic expression of a group's values and desires. It also functions as a way to deal with and respond to their changing realities.

### **Folk and Popular**

First and foremost, the creation of music is inherently a collective endeavor. The persistence of music relies upon not only the musicians, but the listeners. Traditionally, folk music often follows some basic premises: 1) it is transmitted orally; 2) there is a group

consensus determining the longevity of songs; 3) it is commonly related to basic functions in a society, such as patterns of subsistence and rituals; 4) shared and learned by almost all members of a group; and lastly the authors of songs are virtually unknown (Manuel 1988 and Taylor 1997). Within these same premises, differences occur within the backdrop of geographical location and language. Okinawan folk music, or *shima uta*, is unique to its community, region, language and village. *Shima* literally translates to “island” and *uta* to “song” (Potter 2001: 32-33). Music festivals performed throughout the Ryukyu Islands every year show a wide array of *shima uta* specific to their area.

Okinawan popular music is described as a hybrid of both traditional and modern folk songs, both lyrically and instrumentally. The function of Okinawan popular music better serves to function as a means of identity making for a particular community or group in opposition to another group, such as the Japanese. The lyrical content of Okinawan popular music continue to reveal basic functions in a society, such as farming or agricultural practices as traditional folk song did before, but both the musician and listener’s role is no longer directly associated with the functions of society, such as farming and harvesting. Okinawan popular music is also not necessarily learned or shared by the whole community. Even still, through the process of globalization, values are shared across borders and among differing cultural groups. In other words, the functions of musical expression are always constant revealing the existence of culture through the active participation of its members.

Okinawan popular music brings together both the modern and traditional tenets of music making. However, modern folk songs and popular music often include a known author. Also, the functionality of songs is not embedded in the infrastructure of society.

## **Culture as a Commodity**

Okinawan popular music provides aspects of a group's cultural values through media sources, technology, commercialization and the tourism industry. Some may argue that this movement from „pure,“ or authentic, to „polluted,“ or hybrid, makes popular music less important and makes its research even less desired. The study of the consumption of commodities itself is looked upon “as an erosion of culture” (Miller 1995: 156). In the case of Okinawa, the effects of commoditization are twofold under an economic deterministic viewpoint: 1) it can provide economic prosperity through the tourism industry, or 2) its only purpose is to produce music for monetary gain, which is when the distinct style of music will diminish. This pessimistic viewpoint is also met with an optimistic one. From a socio-cultural viewpoint commoditization can do three things: 1) encourage members of a society to participate in certain cultural traditions, and 2) at the same time, share their cultural heritage with the world and 3) bring in economic prosperity for the locals (Miller 1995: 149).

## **Musical and Cultural Change**

Current literature shows the study of popular music in non-Western societies captures the interest of many different disciplines, including anthropology, ethnomusicology, politics and economics. The research contends that musical change also signifies cultural change. Middleton states, (Middleton 1983: 27) “Cultural relationships and cultural change are thus not predetermined; rather they are the product of negotiation, imposition, resistance and transformation.” Discussions of identity lend itself to reexamination of local, regional, and global relationships. These relationships overlap one another and are negotiated.

The process of globalization inevitably brings about the loss or modification of certain traditions and customs within a society. However, it also brings about the renewal of some

traditions as the style and content of popular music in non-Western societies suggests. Lomax argues that “This is why an expressive style may become the focal point for cultural crystallization and renewal” (Lomax 1968: 8). Identity helps to reaffirm or reestablish a group’s existence where the threat of homogeneity, which is an assumed effect of globalization, occurs.

Popular music in non-Western societies acts to bridge both local and global manifestations through „metaphorical expressions,“ or cultural hybridization, which refers to the „mixing“ of certain cultural developments between traditional and modern styles of music. The study of Okinawan popular music in relation to contemporary Southeast Asian popular music, with an emphasis on Indonesian popular music, illustrates specific cultural processes that help to identify relationships between the global and the local. Global and local are merely abstract concepts, but is referred to in order for these broader relationships to be defined inside a context identified within historical, social, political and economic spheres. The construct of identity is thus derived from these spheres, which allows for popular music to be examined along a continuum rather than from polar opposites (Cutler 1983: 12).

### **Optimistic and Pessimistic Viewpoints of Popular Music Studies**

However, some discussions about the study of popular music are dialectic in nature. This research aims to take an optimistic view of music making by non-Western societies, which is a departure from other works that suggest a pessimistic view of what the constructs of popular music hold for the people and their future. A lot of the arguments focus on the discourse of popular music studies. Is the construction of popular music an inevitable effect of colonization? Has the West forced their musical influence upon the people in non-Western societies, or have the music makers and listeners in non-Western societies opted to be influenced by choice? This research takes the position that while colonization and Westernization do in fact have a role in

popular music studies, especially if one is looking at the processes of globalization, it should not be given total control.

Stokes (2004: 49-50) discusses these two opposing viewpoints with the help of two critiques from Erlmann and Slobin. First, Erlmann (1996) suggests that world music is better understood within a colonial context. Colonization is the „system“ at work that allows the West to exploit the “other”. On the other hand, Slobin (1992) argues that there is no „system“ at work and there is “no hidden agency”. A closer look at “micromusical scenes” in which movements across borders and consumer choice better explains how music is shaped and formed on a local level.

Exploitation of artists and their musical creation does exist within the world music industry. Stokes (2004: 57) provides an example of the unfortunate reality of a Taiwanese aboriginal community’s recording that was used on a song, “Return to Innocence” by the group Enigma, where the aboriginal community did not receive any monetary funds for their singing. Feld (2000: 154) provides another example with the same music label Deep Forest, who included Afunakwa’s voice in the 1992 hit song “Sweet Lullaby” and did not give recognition or provide sufficient monetary funding to Afunakwa, who is from the Solomon Islands. Although recordings of indigenous peoples are done to promote the preservation of their cultural heritage within academia, there are those within the world music industry that demand indigenous sounds are made for profit without the consideration of indigenous people themselves.

## **Terminology in Popular Music Discourse**

Terminology used in popular music studies is often led by these two opposing viewpoints, pessimistic and optimistic. Pessimistic terminology relates to appropriation, while optimistic refers to hybridization. It is necessary to refer to both of these terminologies as we formulate a working definition for popular music in non-Western societies.

In this study, hybridization is often used to refer to the „mixing“ of modern and traditional music. Hybridization is not characterized as being homogenized due to the processes of globalization. As a matter of fact, hybridization creates heterogeneous styles of music. Musical style and sound is no longer traditional, but it is also no longer completely Western either. Stokes argues that hybrid genres are authentic because they stay connected to their particular localities (Stokes 2004: 59-60). On the other hand, Wade (2004: 273) defines appropriation as “The idea that subordinate musical styles may be taken over, often in modified or „mainstreamed“ form, by super ordinate classes, often linked to commercial and/or nationalist endeavors.” Appropriation used to define popular music in non-Western societies does not take into account the myriad of human choice in the matter. However, this working definition can work well with popular music studies as a form of resistance against hegemonies. It can also support the notion that “The globalization of music cements the hegemony of significant racial and gendered hierarchies in many parts of the world” (Stokes 2004: 55). In either case, the context gives support to specific terminologies. Popular music studies in non-Western societies tell us how the practices and creation of musical styles in local cultures helps to construct identities. It also helps to give a voice to „marginalized“ citizens of the world by allowing a medium to revive or preserve one’s cultural heritage (Stokes 2004: 59).

## CHAPTER 2

### DEFINING POPULAR MUSIC

Defining popular music is just as important as considering why one should study it. Ways in which ethnomusicologists and anthropologists have approached the study of popular music come from two dominant schools of thought, positivism (categorical definitions) and sociological essentialism (usage of the concept of culture) (Middleton 1990:5). Positivism refers to rigid classifications and centers on the quantitative measurements while the latter, sociological essentialism, refers to cultural stasis and focuses more on qualitative analysis. In order to find a working definition of popular music, discussions surrounding the usage of the concept of culture, arguably the essentialist concept of culture is addressed. Current literature shows that attaching one definition to „popular music“ is problematic (Cutler 3:1983) because cultural change is constant.

#### **Positivism**

Categorically defining popular music can also be problematic. Definitions may become too arbitrary or broad. Another way in which different types of music are distinguished is through divisions based on binary oppositions (Middleton 1990: 6) (Table 1). Birrer's (In Middleton 1990: 4) summary of four main categorical definitions helps to simplify what the arguments state which are: 1) normative definitions explain pop music as an inferior type, 2) negative definitions state pop music is not folk or art 3) sociological definitions state that popular music is associated with and produced for or by a particular social group, and 4) technologic-economic definitions state that popular music is spread by mass media and or the mass market. Definitions are often generated based on the “point of view,” of academia, specific social groups

in media, or the national elite. These interpretations do not work because they attach themselves with judgment and bias.

**TABLE 1**  
**DIVISION OF BINARY OPPOSITIONS**

Popular Music	Classical Music
Mass/Commercial	Authentic
Mass	Elite
Lower/Inferior	Higher/Superior
Simple/Common	Complex/Artistic

Rigid classifications lead to interpretations riddled with limited value (Manuel 1988:1). A positivistic synthesis of defining popular music will be never ending due to feedback loops that constantly bring in new inventions, borrowing of ideas across and within borders, introduction of new materials and ideas and renewal of old ideas. Categorically defining popular music by itself does not take into account all of the myriad expressions it has to offer if we are to understand music as a reflection of human behavior.

**Sociological Essentialism**

Sociological essentialism is a critique of anthropology, mostly by scholars in the postmodern/post-colonial school of thought, who assume anthropologists think that culture is in constant stasis (Marcus and Fischer’s 1999 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* and Clifford and Marcus’s 1986 *Writing Culture*). However, manuscripts of anthropologists’ fieldwork reveal something entirely different. Linton (1936 and 1945), Boas (1911), Mead (1928), Lomax (1968), Benedict (1934) and Malinowski (1915) were all concerned with cultural change from both within a group (human agency) and changes brought from outside the group (colonization,

innovation and diffusion). The study of popular music in non-Western societies is a prime example of showing how musical change is a reflection of cultural change.

### Wallerstein's Usage of the Concept of Culture

The usage of culture has multiple and overlapping meanings depending on the context and author. The two usages of the concept of culture are explained in the following way: first, culture is explained as “the set of characteristics which distinguish one group from another”, and second, culture has “some set of phenomena which are different from some other set of phenomena within any one group” (Wallerstein 1990: 33-34). The first usage of culture refers to the behaviors and value systems shared within a group and the differences among groups. The second usage of culture refers to the notion that a group can possess many cultures. Both usages of culture are relevant to the explanation of popular music as a cultural construct. However, Wallerstein's usage of culture is never fully realized because “Culture is of course an evolving phenomenon” (Wallerstein 1990: 34). He proposes that the confusion of the two usages of culture lies in the development of the modern world system and capitalism. It is fraught with political, economic and ideological systems that exercise control by one idea-system over another (Wallerstein 1990: 35).

In an attempt to examine identity constructs, it is necessary to formulate the differences between such concepts. Instead, it might even be appropriate to move even further beyond the concept of culture by suggesting that popular music is an example of a „subculture“. As Browne (1996: 23) states, “Popular culture is an interacting and overlapping existence of multiple cultures, some deem subcultures.” Kong and Chye (1996: 217) propose that “Ideology can't exist without the exercise of hegemony.” In the same fashion, identity can't exist without the exercise of modernization and “Music's deep connection to social identities is intensified by

globalization” (Feld 2000: 145). Defining popular music is no easy task due to its relationship with dualisms such as hegemony and resistance, tradition and modernity. If we look at the functions of popular music within a particular society, it may be more conducive to our understanding of cultural change with an aptitude for human choice and motivation.

This research identifies three features found in non-Western popular music that serves to function: 1) as a commodity to be mass consumed and mass produced; 2) as a symbolic expression of values; and 3) as a „metaphorical expression“ (Cutler 1983, Manuel 1988 and Taylor 1997). Looking at the features separately will help to establish both a working definition of popular music in non-Western societies and it will build the case for the construction of identity in Okinawa. The understanding of popular music as a „subculture“ also implies the occurrence of resistance by nature. However, as some studies suggest analysis of resistance does not replace analysis of functionalism (Seymour 2006: 303).

### **Function as a Commodity**

Cutler (1983:12) would have us believe that the best way to define popular music is by stating what it is not. Discussions about popular music tend to first distinguish between what is deemed „folk“ and „popular“. Cutler examines the conditions that help to maintain their differences by asking the question, “What conditions have to be fulfilled to make music „of“ rather than „for“ the people?” (Cutler 1983: 5). He defines folk music as the following, “any indigenous, collective, alienated expressive cultural form, such forms being typical of pre-capitalist and peasant societies and hence never produced primarily as commodities” (Cutler 1983:4). So, in essence, the main difference between folk and popular music, according to Cutler, is whether music produced is or is not a commodity. Middleton (1990: 4) further elaborates that any type of music can be treated like a commodity. The principle of

dissemination is not bounded by the workings of the mass media alone. Nor is it solely dependent on the production for profit. It can involve collective participation of a social group and be made available for no profit. Popular music definitions by these standards are stating that popular music as a commodity exchange alone excludes matters of human choice, desires and needs.

Parkin (2001: 133) argues that there exists a paradox concerning „cultural creativity,“ when commodities (traditional cultural items) are replaced by new ones for the sake of appeasing the tourist industry. The problem with defining cultural trademarks as indigenous and traditional is that, “they (artisans) presuppose external expectations which paradoxically prompt them to depart from tradition while proclaiming it” (Parkin 2001: 133).

Even though „cultural creativity“ may seem to limit the artist because of the desire to meet the consumer’s expectations, the use of new materials, while discarding old ones does not signify the loss of choice and desire by the artist. Such mechanisms of borrowing, replacing and discarding are all flows found in the processes of culture. The artist’s understanding of consumerism in this argument is based on two considerations: what items have shown positive marketability and high amount of sales (Parkin 2001: 143).

### **Function as a Symbolic Expression**

Symbolic expression relates to political, social, economic and historical experiences of real and ideal cultural values and behaviors. Lomax’s (1968: vii and 3) contribution to the study of folk music defines the function of music as a symbolic resource of cultural patterns found in society. Song styles serve important functions, which express values of a community. It also gives meaning on how identities are created and recreated. Symbolic expression involves three types of expression: 1) collective, 2) behavioral, and 3) national.

## Collective Expression

Okinawan popular music is associated with a collective expression. Musical style is a collaborative effort. Each culture or group will decide what musical style is favored and maintained or disregarded. Acculturative processes can help to shape a community's identity through the role of music (Frith 1989: 71). Repetition of songs can also be attributed to the collective expression of a group (Cutler 1983: 6). This includes repetition of song text, or the repetition of one song by many artists throughout time, which is the case found in Okinawan popular music. The same goes for patterned behaviors. Thus all music signifies patterned behavior (Merriam 1964: 27).

### *Collective Memory*

Collective expression can also involve the notion of „collective memory,“ which is usually brought about by experiences shared by a group of individuals. The experiences usually are political by nature, such as during times of war or the acts of hardships due to being oppressed by specific hegemonies. Collective memories entail actual histories and can be told orally through song or stories (Wilson 2006: 365). However, it can also function as a fantasy of reliving a golden past. A nostalgic state is often brought about when there is a rapid transition from tradition to modernity (Wade 2004: 276).

### *Place and Space*

Collective expression also includes the concept of space and place. Collective memory can't exist without the concept of place. Place signifies a group's perceived real world. It functions to provide an intermediary between the realities that ruptured a group's autonomy, such as in the case of Okinawa's experiences of hardship during Japan's colonization and

World War II. Place can also be an actual physical location, such as Okinawa's theme park *Gyokusendo* that displays cultural trademarks (Johnson 2006: 71-72).

Space refers to an abstract concept that allows the retention of cultural information, in this case musical information, to be maintained. Space is constructed within a political, social, economic and musical context. Stokes (2004: 67) suggests that, "Music plays an active role in creating and shaping global spaces that otherwise would not have happened."

### Behavioral Expression

Merriam (1964: 32) argues that the sound of music is the "Product of the behavior that produces it." Behavioral expression takes into account the physical (how sound is produced through the body and ignites crowd participation), verbal (what people say about music structure), social structure (division of labor, gender roles, or class distinction), learning (perpetuation of music sound) and emotional release (produce stability within a culture, acts as a safety valve, resolve social conflicts, or expresses resistance) (Merriam 1964: 219-225).

Seymour (2006: 304) argues that understanding acts of resistance implies that the cause, dominance of one group over another subordinate group is problematic because it leaves out the agency and motivation of individuals and groups. Ways around this is to identify symbolic resistance expressed through song. This implies that resistance is not solely about direct physical altercations (Kong and Chye 1996: 217). The development of micro-level studies of social movements, or collective political activities, allows cultural resistance played out in the daily lives of the people through means of popular music to be explored utilizing expressed acts of resistance (Escobar 1992: 409).

## National Expression

National expression entails both symbolic resistance and the manipulation of ethnic identities by hegemonic ideologies. Grenier and Guilbault (1990: 388) suggest that identity formation need not be explained using the development of the „nation.“ This rests on the assumption that the “Other” (subordinates) is born out of the development of the „nation.“ The definition of „nation“ was intended to mean the „people.“ However, due to political, geographical and historical factors, „nation“ came to mean the „state.“ „People“ are no longer associated with „nation“ and were replaced by that in power that now represent the „state“ (Grenier and Guilbault 1990: 383-388). Popular music can be used to manipulate ideologies through the development of a national culture, which encourages people to become unified in their political and social views. Some argue that popular music denies individual autonomy causing development of symbolic resistance, while others insist that it strengthens ethnic or group belonging on a national level (Manuel 1988: 8).

### *Imagined Community*

Appadurai (1996: 33) explores the concept of an “imagined community” to relate back to how ideas of 'peoplehood' are created. Imagined communities first coined by political scientist, Benedict Anderson (1983: 6), define nationalism as a “imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.” They are limited by boundaries, yet they are sovereign because of democratic ideals. This concept has become a part of the lexicon in current anthropological literature because it helps to explain some of the dynamic relationships between local and global communities. Imagined communities bring people together under a common identity. Popular music in non-Western societies can also be likened to that of an imagined community. For example, Okinawa is just one of many islands that make up the Ryukyu Islands.

Each island possesses its own language and musical style, or *shima uta* (island song). However, in relation to the Japanese or the Americans, the chain of islands come together to represent one community, one identity. Either through real or ideal memories and experience are people able to relate to one another without personally knowing each other. Real events through collective memories brought on by traumatic events, such as war, or ideal notions of a nostalgic representation of the past, all serve to embody the functions of an imagined community.

### **Function as a Metaphorical Expression**

Metaphorical expression refers to the significance of the hybridization of non-Western and Western musical idioms (Manuel 1988: 22). It also addresses the political and economic sphere surrounding popular music's origination and continuation. The acculturation of popular music is twofold; first, it enacts to shape a culture's self-image, and secondly, it gives special allegiance to Western hegemonies (Manuel 1988: 22).

Linton (1945: 32) defines culture as "The configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society." However, he further states that "If we take any socio-cultural configuration at a particular point in time, we will find there is no element of the culture which are shared by all members of a society" (Linton 1945: 37). Given the three features to define popular music in non-Western societies, it is made clear that an integrated approach to studying popular music as identity is necessary. Linton (1945: 2) explains that it is important to look at the whole rather than its parts.

### Anxious and Celebratory Narratives

Metaphorical expression, or hybridization, aligns itself with two polar opposites, homogeneous and heterogeneous viewpoints. This discussion stems from the discourse on

authenticity. Both anxious and celebratory narratives provide a legitimate argument for the sake of the creation of hybrid musical styles. Anxious narratives tend to lean more towards the pessimistic worldview by assuming that the global community is becoming homogenized and that popular music in non-Western societies are being replaced by Western musical styles. These narratives propose that hybrids displace authentic/traditional musical forms for the sake of capitalism. On the other side of the spectrum, celebratory narratives claim that hybridization is an obvious form of heterogeneity because not only are the musical forms being influenced by Western styles, but they are also inclusive to traditional styles. This creates a musical style that is neither Western nor traditional. Celebratory narratives give more attention to the fact that non-Western societies can gain some sort of autonomy within the global sphere (Feld 2000: 152-153).

Defining popular music in Non-Western societies becomes problematic if rigid explanations or meaning is attached to music. It is necessary to look at all discussions about popular music from the “point of view” of the people themselves. However, in order to substantiate an underlying meaning within popular music comparative studies, it is also important to continue dialogue within academia and specialized social settings, such as the mass media.

## CHAPTER 3

### WHY STUDY POPULAR MUSIC?

#### Music and Anthropology

The history of the discipline of ethnomusicology began in the nineteenth century. Its basic premise suggests that Non-western music and folk music were „pure“ forms (Nettl 1986:360). This poses some methodological problems. First, normative interpretation suggests that „pure“ forms of the world’s music have been „polluted“ by Western styles whereby the intent is to preserve the pure forms through the enactment of viewing the mixed form of music as a hybrid. The second deals with the motivations of societies in response to musical change through which generalized patterns of intent are sought (Nettl 1986: 372). Defining ethnomusicology requires a broad and general definition as being “a multi-disciplinary, multicultural study of any music, with music conceived as sound, culture, communication, or art” (Pekkilä 1994: 407).

Some scholars have pointed out that in the 1960s and 1970s, theoretical approaches in anthropology went from studying „static“ cultures to studying cultural change. Ethnomusicology’s paradigm also shifted to explain the processes of cultural change by looking at musical change. The study of „pure“ forms of folk music versus „polluted“ forms of mixed Non-Western and Western influenced music became a topic of interest (Nettl 1986: 360-361).

Anthropology’s study of music moves beyond interpreting the measurement of song. An anthropological method utilizes both a holistic perspective and comparative analysis. Popular music is symbolic as it is a “Means of understanding people’s behavior” (Merriam 1964: 13). Music reflects how people are responding to their historical and current experiences. According to Lomax, (1968:4) “Expressive behavior may be one of the most sensitive and reliable

indicators of culture pattern and social structure.” Popular music is one medium that travels all around the world. Its mobility alone allows for one of the best cultural forms to be studied (Taylor 1997: xv).

Merriam discusses three attributes that make the study of music important: 1) patterned behaviors are learned, but can tell us something about the unconscious level, 2) a record of creative aspects of culture can be frozen in time, which allows for music to be studied over and over again, and 3) can be quantitatively measured allowing statistical approaches to be applied (Merriam 1964: 297). This analysis, by examining song text, can reveal “deep seated values and goals.” Perceptions of one’s cultural values can be accessed by giving meaning to real and ideal behaviors, which are also expressed in song text. It can function as a historic record for a group and as mechanisms for the enculturation and maintenance of cultural values (Merriam 1964: 46).

### **Globalization**

Stokes (2004: 47) states that, “Globalization implies notions of change and social transformation.” While globalization is such an abstract concept and no easy task to study, the outcomes and processes are tangible. Ethnographic fieldwork moves beyond the remote village or small communities by using observations to look beyond the periphery. The local and global relationships become necessary points of analysis. Taylor (Taylor 1997: xvii) argues that while traditional ethnography has set the foundation for current ethnographic fieldwork, it is more important to have a “commitment to the actual.” The „actual“ in this context refers to the creation of music and its lyrical content. Yamashita (2003: 5) argues that there have not been enough discussions about globalization in the field of culture. In his study of the Toraja people of Sulawesi, Yamashita (2003: 3) proposes that we no longer use conventional ethnography to explain mechanisms of change. He introduces „dynamic ethnography“ to explain not only a

localized area or ethnic group, but how these groups should be studied in relation to nation-states, which refers to the term „glocalization“ (Yamashita 2003: 7).

Appadurai (1996: 32) argues that one central problem in regards to the interaction between the local and global manifestation is the tension between heterogeneity and homogenization. Globalization of culture should not be looked upon in the same manner as homogenization. However, it does possess some of the same political qualities, such as the use of a national language, media, clothing styles and favored patriotic mannerisms. These qualities are absorbed into the local culture and economies making it a unique localized feature that is projected with much diversity or “heterogeneous dialogues” (Appadurai 1996: 42). He proposes these processes be explained using his five-scapes: financescapes (global capital), technoscapes (technology), mediascapes (media), ethnoscapes (tourists), landscapes and ideoscapes (political ideologies). These five-scapes constitute fluid and irregular shapes (Appadurai 1996: 32-36).

Globalization is often seen as a threat to nation-states and cultural identities (Starrs 2001: xxvii). If studied in relation to the local and regional systems, processes of globalization can act as a means to unify cultural values within these systems. Change occurring within a society, which is always constant, is acted upon through both internal (innovation) and external (acculturation) mechanisms (Merriam 1964: 303). The basic premise of studying musical change is explained under the backdrop of Westernization and modernization. Nettl argues that Westernization and modernization “cannot always be distinguished, and they are but seen as segments of a continuum rather than poles” (Nettl 1986: 373). The same goes for music, it “is a continuum with, at any given time, specific and „local“ configurations” (Cutler 1983: 12). Identity is articulated within the ongoing negotiations made between the local and global systems. It provides recognition of a group’s worldview and values in a vastly changing world.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CASE STUDY

*The heart is the most essential human quality.*  
*Okinawan Proverb*

#### **Methodology**

I not only have an academic interest in Okinawa, but I also have a personal interest. I was born in Okinawa in 1975 at Kadena Air Force Base. I lived there for approximately 7 years total during two different times. My mother, an Okinawan native, has influenced my interest in the performing arts, especially with Okinawan folk music. She has participated in many cultural festivals, including the design of a costume for a *bunka* (cultural festival) in 1983. Her life history is a shared experience among many Okinawans. She was nine years old during World War II and while her memory of the war is still distinct in her mind, where she witnessed the decline of Okinawan customs by the coercion of the Japanese, she has never been deterred from her pride in her cultural heritage. The direct result is her inability to fully speak or understand her indigenous language.

In 2005, my mother assisted five Okinawan women in Wichita, Kansas in learning a classical folk dance. During the months I joined with the women who met at my mother's house. It was during lunch, which included Okinawan dishes, that I was able to interview these women. In the beginning I felt a bit of resistance to my questions from the group. For example, I would ask them "what is the difference between being Okinawan and Japanese?" At first, they would say, "There is no difference. Japanese and Okinawan are the same." However, after several months of meeting with them and having lunch, their answers became less ambiguous. They started to discuss differences in Okinawan culture compared to Japanese, such as language,

music, dance and personality or behavior. Their shy behavior soon dissipated as they began to tell me where they were from and their own personal experiences were augmented with their own enthusiasm to speak of their culture.

Popular music as identity, within the context of different levels of analysis (politics, socio-culture, economics, and history), is the focus of this research. Through my conversations with the Okinawan women, it became very clear that they believed there to be distinctive differences between 'being' Okinawan as opposed to being Japanese. Identity is the product of these levels of analysis, but how does it move and how is it articulated through these systems?

### **Fieldwork**

Along with speaking to the Okinawan women who reside in Kansas, I also made two trips to Okinawa in July of 2007 and January of 2008. I visited three different areas, Naha (southern), Chatan and Okinawa City (central region). A few things were noticeable early upon my arrival. Okinawa has an elaborate recycling system. Recycling bins are found around every corner and in front of every convenient store. Usually the bins consist of three slots, combustible, non-combustible and plastics. If you had trash you had better know where to put it because trash cans are rarely found for your convenience. Even food was separated to be used later as compost. A second observation was the large amount of stray cats roaming the cities. Although the cats were stray cats, they seemed to be well fed. A third observation was the smell of sewage, or *benjo*. Below the sidewalks is the sewage system. Square cement planks with small rectangle holes make up the sidewalks. As you walk across the cement planks they move. As a child I remember hearing flowing water underneath me as I walked. However, this time the sewage system is no longer in operation, but the smell still lingers.

In my quest to understand Okinawan popular music, I explored the differences in these regions by observing the cultural activities, music venues, restaurants and the tourism industry. As I was “listening to the city” (a title for an article authored by Yamashita, 1990), it became clear that a few musicians were given prominence because of their ability to blend both localized features of „being Okinawan“ and global attachments to commercialization.

A greater portion of my research was done utilizing library research, especially with respect to Southeast Asian studies of popular music. (There is an example of one East Asian country South Korea that is used as an example of use of place and space and economic prosperity through the use of popular music.) The persistence of popular music can only be linked to the idea that popular music continues to serve important functions in Okinawan culture both politically, economically and socially.

### Koza

The United States had governance over Okinawa from the end of World War II up until the reversion on May 17, 1972 when Japan regained control over Okinawa. During this time, beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, Okinawans performed rock-n-roll cover songs in English at both clubs and bars. Their audience was mostly made up of American soldiers who were stationed at military facilities throughout the northern and central part of the island. During my two trips to Okinawa I visited Koza Music Town (Figure 1), which completed its development in 2007. It is located off of Gate 2 Street, which leads directly to Kadena Air Force Base. From first glance one can notice the Americanized layout of „wider“ streets and sidewalks. Koza Music Town was developed to encourage music making, which is what Koza was known for in the past.

The stores that surround the Koza Music Town reflect the cultural diversity that thrives in the area due to military occupation. In *Manglers Magazine*, an Okinawa City sightseeing informational magazine, pages are devoted to the many clubs, bars and restaurants that can be found in and around Koza Music Town. There are American, Indian, Thai, Vietnamese, Filipino, Mexican, Peruvian, Brazilian and Chinese style restaurants and bars. You will hear American hip/hop music blasting from the American style clothing stores all along the street.



**Figure 1 Koza Music Town**

Traditional Okinawan music performances are not centrally located in the heart of Koza Music Town. Most bars and clubs were stationed in the outer areas of the city. This tells me that traditional Okinawan music attracts more to the locals than to tourists and military personnel. This is a major distinction between what was observed in Koza in comparison to Chatan and Naha.



**Figure 2 Kokusai Street**

## Naha

Naha (Figure 3), located in the southern region of the island, is highly developed and is at the center of commercialization and modernization. This is the area that is most visited by tourists. One of the reasons is because of the famous “Kokusai Street (Figure 2),” which is also known as the „miracle mile.“ The streets and markets are compact and densely populated with tourists. Restaurants, shops and clubs attract the tourist by making traditional trademarks, such as pottery, food items and music available to the consumer. This area definitely takes advantage of a capitalized global market. Cultural items are being made into commodities. More often than not, the streets are closed or blocked off to make way for cultural festivals and parades that address pride in their Okinawan cultural heritage.



**Figure 3 Naha**

## Chatan

Just south of Okinawa City is a village called Chatan. This area has developed into a resort and shopping center. It is most famous for the newly developed shopping establishment called America Village (Figure 4). Staying true to its name, America Village has American style restaurants, stores and a movie theater. The infrastructure, including streets and sidewalks, is similar to that found in American cities. However, traditional trademarks, such as Okinawan

cuisine and musical performances are being displayed for the tourism industry. American Village is purposely located due to its close approximation to several military facilities.



**Figure 4 American Village**

The observations previously mentioned further explain how Okinawan identity is constructed and reconstructed and how their cultural heritage is maintained within the confines of the tourism industry. It also shows how the local takes advantage of the globalized capital market. The local and global relationship continues to be negotiated within the confines of these three areas.

## CHAPTER 5

### OKINAWAN CULTURE

*Forgetting your native tongue means forgetting your native country.*  
*Okinawan Proverb*

#### **What is „Okinawanness“?**

„Okinawanness“ refers to the identity that is constructed within a political, historical and socio-cultural framework, which applies to internal (Okinawan people themselves) and external (outsiders) perceptions of what it means to be Okinawan. These constructions are made a reality for the observer through the identification of cultural markers.

Okinawans have a proverb, “*Ichariba choodee*,” which translates to “once we meet and talk, we are brothers and sisters forever” (Shimabukuro 1983). There are different explanations from three frameworks that can be drawn from this famous saying: 1) Historically, Okinawans have been subject to both colonization (Japan and the United States) and fluid contact with Southeast Asian cultures, like Indonesia and East Asian cultures (Taiwan, Korea and China) for many years. 2) Socio-culturally, Okinawans are characterized as being highly adaptive (Maretzki 1964: 100). They have adapted to the constant contact from outsiders, both disruptive and embracing. The borrowing of cultural ideas from these ongoing contacts is itself „Okinawanness.“ 3) Politically, a part of their identity making is given meaning from how others see them (friendly, peaceful, gentle (Maretzki 1964: 100) and having an “easy-going casual life” (Kerr 2000: 410), which allows Okinawan people to capitalize on various characteristics attached to them for economic and political purposes.

A sense of confidence is a result of their flexible behavior, which accomplishes two things: first, to challenge outsiders through resistance and protest measures, and second, to

highlight these particular sensibilities within the tourism industry, which includes the creation of popular music, one cultural trademark. Along with popular music, *goya champuru*, which is a bitter melon dish mixed with a combination of ingredients, such as eggs, spam and tofu, is considered unique to Okinawa. Goya is a bitter melon, while *champuru* translates to „mixing.“ Not only does this signify Okinawa’s history of extensive contact with other cultures, but it also makes the „mixing“ a part of their cultural heritage. The process of cultural hybridization in Okinawa becomes „Okinawanness.“ This idea of „mixing“ is concurred with by Maretzki (1964: 99) because he “does not consider Okinawa a genuine culture, but the ingredients are Okinawan.”

It remains unclear if these attributes are the product of a colonized people, or because these are general characteristics usually found among „Island“ people. Haring (1969: 37) suggests Amami Islanders, on the island located north of Okinawa Prefecture, “possessed a more „open“ personality in comparison to the Japanese” because of their lack of direct contact with the mainland during the Tokugawa era, which took place from 1603 through 1868. Hundreds of years of learned behaviors through the process of enculturation could account for the adaptive and open personality found in Okinawa as well.

Discussions on Okinawan history, social structure and the presence of military bases are all important elements that contribute to our understanding of Okinawan identity. „Okinawanness“ is a product of these conditions, which will further develop the case for popular music as identity.

## **Geography**

Okinawa, Japan’s 47th Prefecture (Figure 5), is the largest of roughly 160 islands that make up the Ryukyu Islands. The Ryukyu Islands are made up of a chain of islands that include

three geographical archipelagos: Okinawa, Miyako and Yaeyama. Okinawa Island, which literally translates to “offshore rope,” is roughly 454 miles in length (Johnson 2000: 34). The population of the island is 1.4 million. However, it is estimated that there are over 5 million tourists, mostly from Japan, who visit the island every year (Outline of Okinawa Prefecture).



**Figure 5 Map of Okinawa Island**

## **History**

Okinawa is centrally located and is home to many distinct languages and cultural characteristics. This is due in part to trade relations between Okinawa and other cultural regions. In 1187 King Shunten established Okinawa’s first royal dynasty. In 1372, diplomacy between China and *Chuzan* dynasty opened up trade relations. For five centuries, Okinawa’s Golden Age, culture continued to prosper. Trade occurred with Thailand, Sumatra, Philippines, Taiwan, Java and Persian Gulf (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 1). The Okinawan Dynasty was an independent Kingdom until Satsuma’s rule, which began in 1609 and continued until 1879. However, during Satsuma’s rule, Okinawa was able to maintain certain traditions and customs such as the performing arts and music (Kerr 2000: 408-410).

Japan colonized Okinawa in 1879, making it a prefecture of Japan, which continues today. The Ryukyu Kingdom was centrally located in Shuri. In 1879, Shuri declined in population and prestige. The King's withdrawal was of symbolic importance because this was the first time in 500 years that the palace was no longer the authority and status of their nationhood. The place of importance was moved from Shuri to Naha, which is now the capital of Okinawa Prefecture. Japanese elite migrated to Okinawa creating a new elite class. Kerr refers to the period as the "true colonial period" because Okinawans no longer had effective representation. However, even without effective representation, Okinawans found a way to maintain their traditional customs, including performing arts and music (Kerr 2000: 399-410).

Japan's colonization of Okinawa is significant to the „making“ of Okinawan popular music. Forced assimilation brought on by the Japanese government caused several dramatic changes to the cultural practices of the Okinawan people. First, speaking in their indigenous language, *Uchina Guchi*, was prohibited. Secondly, they were no longer able to dress in their traditional attire and consume their staple dishes, including pig which was considered dirty or polluted by the Japanese.

Traditionally, Okinawan subsistence patterns include farming and harvesting of crops. They would often harvest their sweet potatoes and hold pig pens next to each other. The Japanese considered this type of practice to be „simple“ and a lower form of culture. Today, their main source of income comes from harvesting pineapples and sugar cane along with fishing expeditions.

In 1945, Okinawa was invaded by the United States, which is known as the "bloodiest battle of World War II," because it resulted in over 200,000 deaths of civilians and soldiers. The United States governed over Okinawa until May 17, 1972 when Okinawa was returned to the

motherland Japan, known as the „reversion“ (Johnson 2000: 36). In spite of being returned to the „motherland,“ the United States still has a lot of power in Okinawa, especially due to the military facilities still present on the island. Historical accounts of what Okinawan people have experienced are vital to the understanding of the development of Okinawan popular music.

### **Social Structure**

Okinawans are traditionally patrilineal and are made up of *munchuu* (clans) groups (Maretzki and Maretzki 1966: 5). Sered's (1999: 36) understanding of *munchuu* groups during her fieldwork in Henza, is that it is not a hierarchical system. The function of the clan is to appease the ancestors through prayer and ritual. Even though *munchuu* groups are traced patrilineally, married women still have strong ties with their natal clan. This provides double security and enforces cohesion between both the patrilineal clansmen and natal clansmen (Sered 1999: 17).

Maretzki and Maretzki's (1966: 3-5) study on child-rearing practices in Taira Village, located in northern Okinawa in 1954, showed that males and females were equal participants in the daily activities of the village. Sered (1999: 36) also found the people in Henza to be economically egalitarian. However, gender specific roles are practiced. For instance, Okinawa's indigenous religion is matriarchal. Women who became priestesses and fortune tellers have total control over religious and ritual practices (Maretzki and Maretzki 1966: 106). Subsistence practices were also gender specific in certain instances. Men would generally raise pigs and engage in maritime activities, while the women would also care for the pigs and the household. Children were looked after by their mothers and grandparents. The main staples of the Okinawan people include rice, pigs and sweet potato. Their cash crops included fish, sugar and pineapple (Maretzki and Maretzki 1966: 24-31).

## Socialization

Two words that Okinawans use to describe themselves are: *tege* (not to worry) and *yasashii* (easy-going or taking it easy) (Potter 2001: 18). *Yasashii* is given the highest social value along with adaptability. Marezki and Marezki's study of Taira Village helps to assume certain general personality traits, conflict resolution and socialization mannerisms among Okinawa residents as a whole. Using such studies to find generalizations can be problematic when there are obvious distinctions between the main cultural regions. However, generalizations can reveal patterns of behavior, especially if explained within a political and historical context.

Marezki and Marezki (1966: 33) suggest that along with being adaptive, the people of Taira Village promoted cooperation within familial lines. They form mutual assistance groups, which encourage reciprocal practices within and outside familial lines. Even though cooperation is encouraged, the people oftentimes feel obligated to provide assistance when needed, which causes stress at times, especially due to the fact that Okinawa lacks in the sustainability of resources.

## Conflict

Marezki and Marezki (1966: 100-106) further concludes that the dichotomy between obligatory assistance and optional cooperation stems from the idea that there is an absence of internalized standards among Okinawans. Their value system regarding conflicts is not balanced. The notion of not being able to say „no“ is a characteristic that can be applied to all of Okinawa. This is not to say that the absence of internalized standards is hard wired in all Okinawans. Rather, due to historical and political manifestations over a long period of time, this form of behavior has been socialized and transmitted from generation to generation.

Hostility arises with mother-daughter relationships more so than mother-son relationships. Maretzki (1964: 106-107) suggests this occurs due to control over dominance in the household. With mother-son relationships, the son feels obligated to take care of his mother and is not able to explicitly express his need for independence. The lack of direct expression for independence is one reason conflicts are not resolved. The need to fulfill obligations overrides the need of the individual (Maretzki 1964: 107).

### Kinship

Okinawans trace their line of descent patrilineally. Familial obligation is not only derived from environmental stress, but is also tied to kinship. Consanguineal relationships fall into *inn* through mysterious forces. Biogenetic substances of blood (*chii*) and semen (*sani*) do play a role in determining parent child relationships. „How“ people are related is not as significant as „why“ they are related. *Inn* is preordained and ultimately determines an individual's desire. However, it does not possess bad or good traits (Tanaka 1977: 34-36). Understanding how relationships between familial lines are created may be important for explaining transmission of social constructs, such as the absence of internalized standards as explained by Maretzki.

### **Religion**

Okinawa's indigenous religion is based on animism and shamanism. The importance of their ancestors in their everyday lives is quite prevalent and manifests in the number of festivals and rituals that is practiced to appease them. According to Sered (1999: 4), women lead Okinawa's indigenous religion. There are two different types of shamans, *yuta* and *kaminchu*, which are both assumed by women. The difference between the two positions has to do with either being ascribed or achieved. The role of *Yuta*, which is non-hereditary/achieved, is to play as an intermediary between the deceased and the living. Advisements from the *yuta* range in all

categories and subjects. *Kaminchu* is a priestess who is given the position due to her hereditary. Both types of shamans are called upon to ward off evil spirits that may cause illness or other types of bad feelings. The role of the *yuta* is also likened to that of a fortune teller. She will give advice on marriages, engagements, business transactions and other everyday activities. Sered's study of Okinawa's indigenous religion in Henza revealed that "Okinawan religion does not embrace or advance an elaborate gender ideology" (1999: 9).

### Festivals

Okinawa's festivities are linked with religious belief. Festivals are celebrated throughout the Ryukyu Islands. Many festivals bring together the different regions for friendly competitions, such as *Eisa* performances, music concerts, beer festivals and more. There are two festivals in particular that are exclusively connected to Okinawan culture: *hari* dragon boat races and tug-of-war. Both of these festivals display group competitiveness. There is no individual recognition given. *Hari*, originated from the Chinese characters *haryu* meaning „dragon“, is a boat race traditionally performed by *uminchu* (fishermen) to give thanks to the sea's bounty of fish and to pray for a good harvest and safe fishing trips in the future. It is believed that if the *hari* bell echoes, then it is a sign that it is the start of summer. The second festival, tug-of-war (*tsuna-hiki*), dates back to the 1600s in Naha. The rope used can range from 400 to 800 feet long. Its ritual function is to ward off evil and prevent illness. When the event is over participants cut a piece of the rope as a good luck charm (Sered 1999: 102). Today, the event involves local residents, military personnel and tourists. The local government hopes that this friendly competition will help to promote positive relations between local residents and United State military personnel.

## Language

Ryukyuan language is made up of four branches depending on their geographic location: Amamian (Amami Island north of Okinawa); Okinawan (mainland Okinawa); Miyakoan (Miyako Island south of Okinawa mainland); and Yaemyaman (Yaeyama Island). Within these four main branches there exist subdivisions of languages. It is not necessary to explain each language in detail. However, it is important to recognize that Ryukyuan language is distinctly different from the Japanese language (Haring 1969: 18-19).

Even though there are many different languages among the Ryukyuan Islanders, most of the research performed has been done with the Okinawan language. Okinawan language was developed and given prominence because it was the language spoken in Naha and Shuri, which were both locations that historically dominated political and social roles (Sakihara 2006: ix). A long time scholar of Okinawan language was Mitsugu Sakihara who had worked diligently to record and collect translated entries of Okinawan words to English. His manuscript would later be published into a book titled, “Okinawan-English Workbook: A Short Lexicon of the Okinawan Language with English Definitions and Japanese Cognates,” after his death in 2006, which is only his first working manuscript.

The major distinction between the Japanese and Okinawan languages lies in the long and short consonants and vowels such as **t** vs. **tt** and **a** vs. **aa**. For example, Uchina**aa** pronounced in Ryukyuan language is written and pronounced Uchina**a** in the Japanese language. Another feature that distinguishes Okinawan and Japanese languages is the use of the glottal stop. However, the use of the glottal stop is more pronounced with the older generation (Sakihara 2006: ix).

**TABLE 2**

**SPOKEN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JAPANESE AND OKINAWAN LANGUAGE**

<b>English</b>	<b>Dog</b>	<b>Cat</b>	<b>Man</b>	<b>Woman</b>
<b>Japanese</b>	Inu	Neko	Otoko	Onna
<b>Okinawan</b>	In	Maya	Ikiga	Inagu

**Cultural Markers**

In all cultures there exist specific markers (food, pottery and textile) that help to identify a general association of belonging to a „culture.“ These markers work in favor for both the tourist industry and for the maintenance of Okinawa’s cultural heritage. All of the cultural markers have been brought to Okinawa from other regions, such as Southeast and East Asia. However, the markers no longer possess their original state because Okinawans have assimilated the cultural items borrowed to become their own. From a historical context, Okinawan culture can only be described as a heterogeneous culture, which is celebrated. This is also the case with Okinawan Popular Music through processes of hybridization.

Food

Okinawa’s cuisine is a reflection of the trade relations with cultural areas in Southeast and East Asia, such as Indonesia, China, Taiwan, Japan and Korea during the Ryukyu Kingdom era. Traditionally, Okinawan dishes consist of pork, sugar cane, seaweed (*konbu*), awamori (rice liquor), and sweet potato (Kerr 2000: 217). Entering Makishi market on *Kokusai Street* in Naha, one will find many varieties of food that are exclusive to Okinawa; such as *saataa andagi* (an Okinawan donut), *chinsuko* cookies (made with lard) and *beni imo*, a purple sweet potato

commonly used for dessert dishes, especially ice cream and breads. Pork is one of Okinawa's main staples, other than sweet potato and sugar cane. Pork is prepared in many ways. One of the most common and popular dishes with pork is *rafute*, which is pork cooked with brown sugar, soy sauce and *awamori* (rice liquor). There are also different variations of noodle dishes. Soba noodles are usually served with a pork broth and pork meat. The ingredient used most is *kombu*, a seaweed found in Hokkaido in northern Japan. *Champuru* (mixed) dishes are highly influenced by Chinese dishes. There are many different variations of *Champuru* dishes, such as „*goya champuru*,“ which is goya (bitter melon) mixed with tofu and egg. There is also, „*tofu champuru*“ and „*somen champuru*,“ which are thin noodles that are fried and mixed with eggs, tuna and pork. *Champuru* not only characterizes Okinawan dishes, but the culture as a whole.

### Pottery

Okinawa's pottery district, Tsuboya (Figure 6), is located in Naha near *Heiwa dori* (Heiwa Street). The district came to be in 1682 when a royal decree combined three pottery districts into one. The infrastructure of Tsuboya district differs from Kokusai Street in that it resembles more of the past, with the narrow roads and traditional Okinawan houses turned into shops along the road. Tsuboya pottery district has been the center for Okinawan pottery since the Ryukyu Kingdom era. The Chinese introduced their pottery techniques in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, while in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century new ceramic techniques came through the Koreans. Okinawan pottery makers adopted these techniques and made it their own (Kerr 2000: 456).



**Figure 6 Tsuboya Pottery District**

Pottery items found in the Tsuboya district vary in size and style. Teacups, flasks (Figure 7), teapots, decorative display items and *shisa* lions, which are often displayed on the roofs of Okinawan houses and businesses. *Shisa* lions are linked to their animistic beliefs. The *shisa* lions are used to ward off evil spirits.



**Figure 7 Awamori (rice liquor) flask**

### Textile

During the Ryukyu Kingdom era, also referred to as the Golden Age and the Great Days of Chuzan, textile developed, especially due to the trade relations with China, Korea, Japan and other Southeast Asian countries. Silk and different dyeing techniques helped to create Okinawan textile. However, after Satsuma's invasion in 1609, textile's function was to be used for taxes owed to the new ruler. Okinawan textile workers were summoned to work day in and day out.

During this time, new types of textiles, such as silk and cotton were introduced. This led to new patterns, which were revealed in Okinawan *jofu* (ramie; a flowering plant which is the oldest fiber crop), *bashofu* (banana cloth) and *tsumugi* (silk pongee) (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 2-3). *Bashofu* was the most common type of clothing used by Okinawan people, including commoners and upper class. Patterns and weaving techniques found in *bashofu* include many different variations, such as stripes, checks, float weave, geometric patterns and *kasuri* (contrasting colors), which was introduced by Southeast Asia in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Other common patterns display themes found in nature, such as birds, flowers, water, clouds, and the use of natural colors, including indigo and lush green plants (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 4-5).

### *Bingata*

Another type of textile is *bingata*, which is the only type of textile patterned after it has been woven. During the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, *Bingata* is said to have originated from three different regions, India, Java and China. India's block printed "chintzes" (glazed printed cotton fabric), wax-resist batiks from Java and the flower-cloth from China, give *Bingata* its flavorful design and pattern (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 7-8).

*Bingata* refers to a patterning method known as "paste-resist dyeing." The paste substance is made from rice flour and rice bran. The paste is applied in two ways, stenciling (*katachiki*) or freehand (*nuibichi*). Once the resist is hard, dyes are hand painted onto the open spaces. The fabric is then soaked into water where the paste washes away revealing white areas that outline the design (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 7).

Traditionally, *bingata* weavers were a part of the royal court. They lived in Shuri and were given low ranks. Particular motifs were assigned to the royal courts depending on their rank. Dragons and the phoenix were restricted to nobility. The size of the motifs also indicated

rank. Small patterns were of lower rank, while larger patterns were of high rank (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 7-8).

### Dancing: Classical and Popular

Potter (2001: 22) discusses three reasons why dancing is highly celebrated in Okinawan culture: 1) island's geographic isolation allowed the preservation of culture, 2) trade with Southeast Asia brought in a variety of influences, 3) and since the bearing of arms was forbidden, other activities, such as karate and dancing were highly practiced.

There are two different types of dance: 1) classical, such as *kumi-odori*, which is a form of dance combined with song that displays notions of Okinawan history and folklore. *Kumi-odori* is a mix of Chinese, Japanese, Thai and Indonesian influences. There is also 2) popular dance, referred to as *katcharsee*, which is a form of dance that is not highly skilled and is most celebrated with the common people. It is usually accompanied with the sanshin and folk songs. It is a free-style type dance that is said to have originally started in the field where crops were being harvested. Farmers would often play the sanshin and dance to pass the time in the fields. This type of dance is very joyous and involves groups doing the same repetitive motion by wailing their hands and arms into the air (Potter 2001: 22.)

### **Folk Songs**

*Min'yo* and *Shima uta* represent two different types of folk songs found in Okinawa. *Min'yo* is found in both Japan and Okinawa. *Min'yo* refers to traditional folk songs. *Shima uta* is exclusive to Okinawa. It is said to have originated from the Amami Islands. *Shima* translates to "island" and *uta* means "song." In Amami *shima* refers to one's village. *Shima uta* varies depending on the geographic location. It did not get much attention until the 1970s. *Shima uta*

differs from *min'yo* in that even though it is a derivative of *min'yo*, it has also transformed *min'yo* songs to create newer versions (Potter 2001: 32-33).

*Min'yo* songs also reflect the different regions of the Ryukyu Islands. The songs are flexible in that individual performers will change the words and melodies of already established songs to fit their liking. There is no strict standard that has to be followed (Potter 2001: 35).

### **U.S. Military Presence**

The United States military occupation of Okinawa is but another contributor to the „identity“ making of Okinawan people. United States military facilities take up roughly 0.6% of Japan’s total land mass and 75% of military facilities are stationed in Okinawa Prefecture (Johnson 2000: 36). Many scholars (Johnson 2000, Tanji 2006, Inoue 2004 and 2007, Molasky 1999, Ogura 2003 and Siddle 2003) have written extensively on Okinawa’s „problem,“ which pertains to the presence of military facilities and the economic, ecological and political effects on the people of Okinawa. Okinawa’s history of being subjected to colonial expansion by the Japanese and the United States makes it a unique case study. Inoue (2007) and Tanji (2006) both suggest that there are multiple „identities“ that exist depending on their economic and social setting. The case of Okinawa is complex and should not be explained entirely in binary oppositions, such as „us“vs. „them.“ It is a multi-layered system of oppositions. Table 3 shows the multiple identities of Okinawans addressed by both Tanji (2006) and Inoue (2007).

**TABLE 3**

**MULTIPLE IDENTITIES**

<b>IDENTITY 1</b>	<b>IDENTITY 2</b>	<b>IDENTITY 3</b>	<b>IDENTITY 4</b>
Okinawan „pure“ blood Belonging to munchuu (descent groups)	Okinawan born or not, but non „pure“ blood (not categorically Japanese)	Children of Okinawan born mothers and American born fathers	Categorically Japanese citizens
Anti-base	Pro-base	Pro-base/Anti-base	Pro-base/indifferent
Receives monetary funds from Japan for the rental of land from the U.S.	Migrated from Japan for work. Economically dependent on U.S. military bases.	Known to work on U.S. military bases	Owens businesses on the island
Supports conservation of the environment and women’s groups	Supports presence of military bases and women’s rights	Renewal in cultural heritage	Tourist

Multiple identities are thus created from oppositions; through events occurring from both within Okinawan and outside, such as colonialism. Even though the United States government is characterized as being „paternalistic“ because it creates modernity in Okinawa which is centered on the existence of military facilities, Tobe (2006: 93) argues that “Paternalism presupposes a very static, binary dominator-dominated relationship.” Multiple identities is the effect from multiple layers of colonialism; Okinawa/United States, Okinawa/Japan and Japan/United States.

A Case Study: Henoko

Inoue (2004: 85) argues that current literature focusing on Okinawan identity tends to overlook emerging fissures in Okinawa, especially with the interaction with capitalistic measures between local and global systems. Okinawans have been able to interact comfortably within the capitalistic economy by getting compensation from the Japanese government for allowing the United States military bases to occupy their land, but not always by choice. In 1995, the United States and Japan together responded to Okinawa’s ongoing resistance to the presence of military

bases by promising to return 500-hectares occupying Futenma Marine Corps Air Station. However, this decision would come at a cost. In return, the Okinawans would have to agree for a new military facility to be constructed offshore of Henoko. This is one example of manipulation guided by the Japanese and United States government.

The case study of Henoko is a prime example of the multiple voices that exist within a community. Inoue (2004: 94) gives particular attention to anti-base and pro-base movements. The offshore base dispute entails how “old cultural historical sensibilities capture the contemporary citizenry’s consciousness, while confidently constituting a new collective Okinawan identity that embraces its differences.” Identity is forged out of a „double consciousness,“ by which improved material conditions provide confidence within a community to take action, which in this case involves protest for and against the construction of an offshore base (2004: 85-87).

In 1996, Nago and Henoko formed an anti-base coalition. Anti-base members usually include elderly residents, who are already wealthy, so they do not depend on the United States military to provide employment opportunities. The Okinawan resistance also helps other movements to emerge, such as environmental concerns and women’s rights. Women’s groups fashioned itself within the traditional context of women’s role in the religious sphere (Inoue 2004: 92). This is previously noted in accordance with Sered’s research on the study of Okinawa’s indigenous religion, which is led by women (Sered 1999: 9). Environmental concerns over the inhabitants of the ocean, especially the dugong, or manatee, came to symbolize both opposition to the offshore base and their closeness to nature (2004: 95).

Pro-base groups campaigned on how Okinawans would benefit from the base by providing the following arguments: 1) military accidents will be reduced on land since the new

base will be offshore, and 2) the potential for economic growth due to employment opportunities. Some women's groups also represented the pro-base movement. However, pro-base members are less likely to have had the same opportunities as anti-base members in regards to financial prospects and power (2004: 94-95).

Inoue's understanding of the Henoko case lends itself to explain both contemporary social issues and Okinawa's historical context. Okinawan memories and experiences for the older residents of Henoko play an important role in their decision to oppose the construction of a new offshore base. Resistance is one factor that helps transform and shape Okinawan identity (2004: 96).

#### Disunity within Unity

Inoue (2007: 186) suggests that the structure of the anti-base movement is problematic because its members are detached from the local reality of economic poverty and they "forgot about their local experiences and cultural sensibilities." Tanji (2006: 5) argues that Okinawans are unified against hegemonies of Japan and the United States, but "internal differences and complex dynamics" exist within these resistance movements. The protest movements are not always unified because the organization lacks any formal structure. The „myth“ of a unified community comes from historical experience, memory and oral means of communication.

However, „myth“ represents both the imagination and real human memory, which can "retain both an external image of and an internal sense of unity" (Tanji 2006: 20). Within differing contexts, it is clear that multiple identities are created. Tanji (2006) and Inoue (2004 and 2007) postulate that to study Okinawan identity as a collective subject is not providing the full text, especially in terms of resistance movements.

## Memory

However, a collective memory out of historical experiences does facilitate Okinawan identity as a collective subject. Molasky (1999: 13) gives precedence to Japan's and the United States' perception of Okinawan people to help construct and preserve "a society's memory of an era." Early Japanese scholars, such as Yanagita Kunio, Origuchi Shinobu and Yanagi Soetsu, all perceived Okinawan people as „pure“ and „archaic“ Japanese. By studying Okinawan people and culture, the Japanese can understand their roots (Christy 1997: 157). To the Japanese, the Okinawans appeared backward and were treated like second class citizens. Japan's colonization of Okinawa did not mean that Okinawa would become „Japanese.“ The Japanese found Okinawans to be very different from them as this description demonstrates (Molasky 1999: 13):

“Islanders had darker skin, seemed simple and uninhibited; women walked barefoot, balancing baskets of fruit and vegetables on their head, men were fishermen and gathered together in singing, dancing and playing three-stringed snakeskin „jabisen“.”

## 3 K Economy

After the reversion, Japan introduced the “3 K Economy,” which includes bases (*kichi*), public works (*kokyo jigyo*) and tourism (*kanko*). This was to produce and encourage economic prosperity in Okinawa. Bases, as mentioned before, were to provide employment and monetary funds for the rental of land. Public works referred to the development of Okinawa's infrastructure, which caused more environmental degradation to the land and sea. Also, it was the large Japanese construction companies that were making money because smaller Okinawan companies could not compete (Hook and Siddle 2003: 3-5). Tourism has also caused many environmental problems. Over five million Japanese visit Okinawa Prefecture every year. The amount of resources it takes to produce goods for consumption, such as water and food items for the tourists, whether imported or local, creates that same amount in waste materials. Dams were

constructed to support the tourism industry, which contributed to the depletion of the coral reef among other natural inhabitants of the island (McCormack 2003: 99-101). McCormack (2003: 109) argues that “the pursuit of a „local“ Okinawa-centered development path and Okinawan centered identity in the region would depend on the cultivation of Okinawan values and identity.”

On the other hand, when the United States occupied Okinawa after World War II, they felt as though they were liberating Okinawa from their oppressor, Japan (Molasky 1999: 21). They even encouraged Okinawans to see themselves as Ryukyuan rather than Japanese. Okinawa’s name comes from the Japanese who wanted the Okinawan people to detach themselves from the Chinese (Inoue 2007: 51). An Okinawan language channels this historic push and pull of the Okinawan people, “*yamatu-yu kara Amerika-yu kara yamatu-yu,*” which translates to “from Japanese rule to American rule, from American rule back to Japanese rule.” Japan’s colonization and the United States occupation of Okinawa both represent what Okinawans refer to as “dual structure” (Molasky 1999: 21).

### Okinawan Rock-n-Roll

Infrastructure (military facilities) and memory link economic and historic experiences. The concept of a localized place is also a vital part to the making of Okinawan identity. In 1974, the town Koza changed its name to Okinawa City. However, it is still recognized as Koza. The change in name is closely associated with the presence of military personnel and military bases in this region (Molasky 1999: 55). Koza is considered the music town of Okinawa. In 2007, it constructed „Koza Music Town“ to encourage and develop music making. In the 1960s and 1970s, the city established itself as the center of entertainment. Ogura (2003: 466) claims that rock-n-roll is a by-product of the presence of United States military. Many clubs and bars were

developed showcasing Okinawan musicians. However, music making was not geared for an Okinawan audience. Okinawans performed rock-n-roll songs, usually cover band songs, for the military personnel (Ogura 2003: 466-468).

The Japanese government capitalized on rock-n-roll as a by-product through commercialization and the development of the tourism industry. This, however, developed into a different purpose for the local people. Okinawan rock was adopted as being part of “Okinawan culture.” Ogura (2003: 469) argues that it “moved from commercial to tourism resource” now supported by the local government. In the 1980s, the local government sponsored a concert, “Peaceful Love Rock Festival,” showcasing Okinawan rock bands. In more recent times, Okinawan popular music bands, such as BEGIN, are often a part of the lineup. The concert is held annually in Koza. “Peace” has two meanings: 1) coexistence with military bases without conflict and 2) reduction of military bases. Okinawan rock is not considered popular music to the local people, but it does signify the first case of colonization of popular culture in Okinawa by the Japanese cultural industry catering to an American audience in Okinawa (Ogura 2003: 468). It also elucidates the beginning of Okinawa’s musical hybridization, by which Okinawan popular music developed.

It is clear that identity serves multiple and overlapping functions that are interdependent of one another. Such is the same for providing both an etic and emic perspective. Most arguments that have been previously made stem from an analytic model. Expressive behaviors found in popular music give meaning to how Okinawans see themselves and how they are responding to external manifestations. Through song text and style, these expressions can represent an emic perspective, which is vital to our understanding of how people adopt and become a part of cultural change.

## CHAPTER 6

### WHAT IS OKINAWAN POPULAR MUSIC?

Since the early 1990s, Okinawans have been creating a music, which fuses with jazz, rock, reggae, folk and many other musical genres along with traditional *min 'yo* (folk songs) and *shima uta* (island songs) (Roberson 2001: 214). This musical genre can be characterized as „hybridization“ or, *champurū*, which literally translates to „mixing“. Hybridization, in this context, refers to the cultural construction of traditional and western music, which intertwines to create a new sound, but with old attachments (Roberson 2006: 204). Suffice to say, this unique creation of sound is the direct outcome of colonization by the United States and Japan and the inner workings of globalization.

#### **Main Components**

Okinawan popular music, also known as Uchina Pop, can be identified by four main components: 1) language 2) use of *min 'yo* and *shima uta* with Western style 3) instrumentation and 4) expressive styles in performance.

#### Language

First is the use of Okinawan indigenous language called *Uchina Guchi*. Roberson (2001: 221) argues that, “The use of Okinawan lyrics within the otherwise dominantly Japanese-language social-political context makes language particularly distinctive as a marker of Okinawan ethnic “other” ness and, conversely, of Okinawan “self”-identity.” Different languages are spoken throughout mainland Okinawa and on the outer islands. However, according to several conversations with people of Okinawan descent, most languages are understood to some degree. Most songs use both Japanese and Okinawan language (*Uchinaa-*

*Yamato-guchi*) in their lyrics. The „mixing“ of the two languages suggests another marker for the creation of Okinawan identity (Roberson 2001: 221).

### Min'yo and Shima Uta

The second component of Uchina Pop is the use of traditional *min'yo* and *shima uta* songs. *Min'yo* (Japanese language term) and *shima uta* (Okinawan language term) include both traditional and modern folk songs. *Shima* translates to “island” and *uta* means “song.” *Shima uta* is said to have originated in the Amami Islands, which is north of Okinawa Prefecture (Potter 2001: 32-33). Traditionally, these songs were transmitted orally (Kanai 1955: 18). It is hard to put a date on when they were created. There is also no known originator to claim the making of the songs. They are both sung in their regional language, which is continued by contemporary artists today. A particular song, such as *Asadoya Yunta* is repeatedly sung by different artists, both men and women. During visits to music venues and music stores, it is common to find traditional music being shared and experienced by many artists. Music records show that *Asadoya Yunta's* popularity does not seem to have an expiration date. The repetition of songs by different artists is relevant to understanding Okinawa's value system.

Historically, Okinawan folk music does not follow the strict definition of folk music. Folk songs originated from religious texts (*Omorō*) spoken by *noro* (Okinawan female mediums) through a combination of chants and utterances, which transformed into a distinct melody. In 1429, Chinese aristocracy introduced the *sanshin*, a three-stringed banjo covered in snake skin, to the Okinawan elite and nobility. *Akainko* is noted by Kanai to have first introduced the art of singing along with the use of the *sanshin*. Folk songs did not represent the common people during this time. Only the educated and best performers were allowed to perform in *Shuri* at the High Court, which was the center of prestige and power (Kanai 1955: 17-18).

Song narratives and style was very individualized, which caused musical composition to become too complicated. Record keeping of musical texts discontinued for the most part. The maintenance and prosperity of folk songs is attributed to the common people's use of folk songs in daily life and activities. They continued to sing songs about love, good harvests, safe fishing expeditions and every part of their social life (Kanai: 1955: 19). It was common for farmers to take their *sanshin* with them to the field every day. Folk songs with the use of the *sanshin* are deeply woven into the fabrics of their lives.

### Instrumentation



**Figure 8 Sanshin**

The third component of Uchina Pop is the use of traditional instruments, especially the *sanshin* (Figure 8). The strings are given gender characteristics, male string, female string and middle string (heavier than female) (Rue 1946: 159).



**Figure 9 Samba (three-wooded clappers) Figure 10 Paraanku (single head drum)**

Other traditional instruments include: *samba* (Figure 9), which consists of three wood or bamboo pieces strung together to make a clapping sound; two types of drum, *paraanku*, (Figure 10) a small frame drum and *taiko* or *shimadaiko*, a large barrel drum. Traditionally, the *paraanku*, an ancestral ceremonial drum, is used in prayer for religious purposes. There is also use of flutes and whistles. Another feature is the use of Western musical instruments, such as guitars, keyboards, steel guitar and synthesizer.

#### Expressive Style through Performance

Lastly, a defining component of Uchina Pop includes specific expressive styles of traditional performance embedded in contemporary Okinawan culture. It is now readily available within the public domain due to the processes of modernization that continues to twist and mold the function of traditional performing arts. It functions both within the tourist industry and within localized attachment to one's cultural heritage.

#### ***Eisa***

*Eisa*, a dance style using a small frame drum and a large barrel drum, has origins associated with religious functions and is usually performed after the *Obon* festival in August, a festival celebrating ancestors. *Eisa* is not gender restricted. It is performed by both males and females. Men usually play the drums and dance, while the women perform hand dances. In more

contemporary times, *Eisa* performance still involves both men and women, both whom play the drums and dance (Sutton 1980: 17-18). Traditionally, lyrics to the songs depicted good harvests, family prosperity and love stories (see below). However, the functions of *Eisa* are no longer of purely religious orientation in Okinawan contemporary culture.

### *Chunjun nagari*

The Bon Commemoration comes in the seventh month, from when the shepherd meets the Maiden to the tenth. The village youth gather and dance.

The wisdom in the Chunjun writings is eternal, and the sounds of celebration chants will last forever.

The honorable Chunjun is blessed to have three offspring of his own.

### *Kudakamanjuusu*

They observe that Kudaka the wealthy, has acquired a gorgeous new lover. Oh, Hurray! This night they will trade ardent phrases.

Suri sasa eisuri sasa. We move to and fro to Shuri. We move to and fro to Naha. Oh, Hurray! This night we will trade ardent phrases.

### *Touchindoi*

A Chinese vessel has come to the harbor and the populace is thrilled for it's coming.

But there is one who is not excited, Yuiyana. It is the venerable fellow Senaha of Wakasa Town.

Haiya sensuru Yuiyana Iyasasa sassa.

(Okinawa City Sightseeing Information Magazine, *Manglers Magazine*, Vol. 28, 2007)



**Figure 11 Granite Motif sign along B.C. Street in Koza (Okinawa City)**

According to Johnson (2006: 70-71) *Eisa* is to be explained in regards to its „context“ rather than its „content“. The first is the traditional-ritual context. *Eisa* originated from vocal utterances called *hayashi*, which is found in *Eisa* chants *iya sasa*. This chant was used to awaken deceased ancestors to either dispel bad spirits or to console them. The second involves competition and festival context, which refers to the number of festivals Okinawa holds throughout the year. Some of the festivals promote peaceful relations between the local people and United State military personnel, which are often found in friendly competitive games of dragon boat races and tug-of-war. There are also festivals geared at just locals competing in *Eisa* contests. The government hopes to promote both cultural heritage and community relations. The third includes the context of the tourist industry. *Eisa* is highly promoted within the tourism industry. *Eisa* motifs are often found throughout Okinawa“s sidewalks and shopping center (Figure 11). Venues that profit from this recontextualized cultural commodity are theme parks, streets, clubs and concerts.



**Figure 12 Eisa performance in Naha outside of Ryubo Shopping Center**

Eisa is joyous and upbeat. There is no dark or sad meaning behind its expressive style of dance. The performers wear bright and colorful costumes. The drummer is identified as a „dancer.“ The mood of the dance or music will determine the presence or absence of drumming. The song style generates an upbeat mood where the dancers shout calls of „*ei ya sa sa*“ to be met by „*ah ii ah*.“ These shouts primarily function to uplift the crowd and encourage people to join in. The shouts are heard in many Okinawan popular songs. *Eisa*’s content and context is distinctly associated with Okinawan culture (Sutton 17-18: 1980). However, besides understanding *Eisa* performance through descriptive analysis, it is also important to explain its function in identity making. It holds two existing functions, consumer fetishism, (tourist industry) and self-representation, (localized attachment to cultural heritage), which both play a role in the construction of identity (Johnson 2006: 68).

### Construction of Identity

The construction of identity is often understood in dual or opposing relationships. In this case, Johnson (2006: 70) sees *Eisa* as being “marginalized, yet celebrated.” He argues that *Eisa* is an important marker for Okinawa identity making because of three identifications. First, Okinawa is situated both inside and outside of the Japanese nation-state. It represents both „nationhood“ and the „other.“ Secondly, the notion of the „other“ in most literature represents

being subordinate to the more powerful hegemonies, which in this case is the hegemonic powers of Japan and the United States. The third identification puts *Eisa* into motion. The traditional performance survives by transforming its content to recontextualize its place in the modern world (Johnson 2006: 70-73).

### ***Katcharsee***

A second performance expressing traditional performance in contemporary Okinawan culture is an Okinawan dance style, *katcharsee*, or sometimes referred to as „*kachaashii*“. This graceful dance is often performed at weddings, but can be found in all venues, such as bars, concerts, clubs and restaurants. Its movement is upbeat with arms raised in a rhythmic fashion. *Katcharsee* is not a complicated dance to perform. It follows one movement of the arms and is repeated over and over again. When performed the audience is always welcome to join in. There is no professional status attached to this expressive style like *Eisa* drumming. The dance style signifies a free style dance to be enjoyed as a group. It contains no individual merit.

### ***Clothing***

Another expressive style commonly associated with Okinawan popular music is the chosen attire. Some of the performers choose to dress in traditional *bingata* patterned kimonos, such as Nenes and Rincken Band. *Bingata* is a patterned textile, which has origins linked to India, Java and China, which display bright colors of cherry blossoms, autumn leaves and other nature centered motifs (Brandon and Stephan 1990: 8-9). This sets them apart from other Okinawan artists, but more importantly from Japanese artists. This symbolizes pride in their cultural heritage, whether a celebration of the island’s natural setting and notions of island life, or the maintenance of their social values.

Hybridization not only plays an important role in the definition of Okinawan popular music, but it also defines the contextual meaning of all elements of Okinawan popular music, including the use of instruments, clothing and performance styles. The main components of Okinawan popular music sets up the stage for a comparative analysis, which continues in the next chapter. The comparative analysis will not only provide a descriptive analysis for comparison, but it will further showcase inherent themes to be found. This will further actualize the necessary core elements in identifying the case for „identity making.“

## CHAPTER 7

### POPULAR MUSIC AS IDENTITY: OKINAWA COMPARED TO OTHER SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES OF POPULAR MUSIC

The use of the comparative method provides both meaning and explanation to the study of musical expressions in non-Western societies. The comparative method can dispel assumptions about the effects that globalization has on cultural systems. Globalization does not necessarily dictate that localized traditions become homogenized to meet the expectations of the world capitalist system. Also, globalization, as a cultural construct, does not have to be associated with the perpetuation of hegemonies. Cultural global flows as suggested by Appadurai (1996: 32-36) in his five-scapes, sees the relationship between the global and local as multi-layered and complex. If it is decided that one such construct, globalization, can only lead to such specific outcomes, then cultural dynamism and human dynamism are a myth. Popular music studies should position itself within a socio-cultural framework that dismisses a deterministic approach.

It is argued that popular music in non-Western societies is tainted by the processes of commercialization, which perpetuates indigenous cultural items in becoming culturally restricted commodities. As a result, musical expressions of indigenous cultures is deemed „authentic“ and „exotic“ and is created and produced for a mass culture. Taylor (1997: 22) argues that, “Authenticity is a real thing. It is something that many musicians and listeners believe in and use as a discursive trope.” However, Parkin (2001: 133) paints a pessimistic picture by arguing that „authenticity“ is often replaced or discarded for new cultural items depending on the tourism industry. He suggests that the artisans“ recreation and/or creation of old and new cultural trademarks are economically driven.

There are several cultural items found in popular music in non-Western societies that are used as units of analysis for comparison: 1) categories of popular music; 2) lyrical content; and 3) instruments. Lyrical content has a major role in the comparative method due to its association with providing a direct behavioral expression of members of a society.

Merriam (1964: 297) discusses three attributes that make the study of music an important unit of analysis: 1) patterned behaviors are learned, but can tell us something about the unconscious level; 2) creative aspect of culture through recordings can be frozen for further study over time; and 3) can be quantitatively measured and qualitatively compared. Comparative analysis legitimizes the study of popular music.

Most importantly, the comparative method can provide insight on how popular music in non-Western societies helps to construct identities. This chapter begins with the popular music analysis of Southeast and East Asian countries, Indonesia, Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia and Singapore. This is followed by the analysis of Okinawan popular music. All of these areas have been chosen because of their historical relationships with colonization and affluent relations within many parts of the world. According to Billings (1987: 445), “Expressive patterns are related to cultural patterns.” Comparatively, lyrical content and cultural themes found in popular music in these areas reveal similar and different aspects of cultural values. Behaviors not only are expressed through popular music, but can reveal themselves in the lyrical content of popular music. Cultural themes are identified as concept of space and place and resistance. All of these aspects help to identify popular music as identity. There lies an interdependence of contexts within political, economic, social and historical levels of analysis.

## **Indonesia**

In this research, Indonesian popular music is the main cultural area used to compare with Okinawan popular music. Understanding Indonesia's cultural context, this research seeks to define Okinawan identity. Indonesia is rich with cultural diversity, which makes it a prime area for study. Indonesian archipelago is comprised of 13,600 islands. It is home to 360 ethnic groups. It has the largest Muslim population in the world. Over time, Indonesia has had contact with the Dutch, Portuguese, Japan, Britain, China, and India. Both religion and years of contact have influenced Indonesian folk and popular music styles (Hatch 1989: 59).

### Brief History

The Indonesian government's oppressive tactics by both Sukarno and Suharto's rule have contributed to the development of resistance expressed in popular musical styles. Sukarno's rule from 1949 through 1965, undertook what was to become the start of Indonesia's formation into a nation-state. Sukarno's national ideology was carried out by reintroducing cultural icons, such as the *gamelan*, a musical ensemble originating from Java, as a symbolic representation of Indonesia as one homogenized culture. For example, the regime executed this ideology by encouraging the combination of Javanese gamelan and non-Javanese art forms, to be accepted as Indonesia's national musical style. This did not work entirely because Javanese artists still had intentions to preserve the gamelan art form (Becker 1975: 16). Hybridity (local to local hybridity) is thus encouraged in order to meet the needs of the state. However, in the 1960s, Javanese found themselves joining in on the commercialization of traditional art forms (Becker 1975: 17). Their participation in the capital world market led to even more hybrid forms.

In 1968, Suharto became Indonesia's second president. The New Order Regime used different technological, social and political techniques to continue its official strategies to establish Indonesia's nation-state (Yamashita 1990: 107). One of the first steps found in making a nation-state is the establishment of one official language. In 1928, Indonesia had established *Bahasa* as their official language. In spite of this, Indonesia still has 250 languages in use. Indonesia makes up 300 ethnic groups, which makes it difficult for one form of national identity to represent all groups. This can be a cause for certain local groups to be oppressed, while others flourish both culturally and economically. Kong (1995: 447) explores this idea by summarizing that contestation within groups creates many cultural differences. This is an effect of nation-states.

In order for nation-states to be successful and fulfill their ideological aim, the celebration of existing heterogeneity within Indonesia's diverse ethnic makeup becomes the main characteristic of their national identity. This way, Suharto's New Order Regime unifies a people by giving recognition to the diversity of Indonesia's different cultures. For example, they built the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (The Miniature Park of Beautiful Indonesia) in Jakarta. This museum was made up of various ethnic groups, which are arranged in 27 open-air pavilions. Also, in the late 1970s, the Department of History and Traditional Values was established to document local cultures (Yamashita 1990: 108).

Suharto's Regime also encouraged the idea that local ethnic cultures be viewed as art to be mass produced and sold for profit. Not only were local ethnic groups now a part of mass production and consumerism, but they were soon to become part of the mass media. The Indonesian government controls the programs shown on television. It is on television and other forms of media (radio, motion pictures and cassette tapes) that we are seeing how technology and

new innovations brought about through globalization are being used as outlets for the Indonesian government to feed slogans of unification in Indonesia. The political messages broadcasted convey that it was not for mere entertainment, but to help keep alive the cultural heritage of Indonesia. However, as we know specific aspects of Indonesia's cultural heritage were chosen, excluding others (Yamashita 1990: 109).

### Indonesian Popular Music

In 1965, the ban of foreign pop was lifted, musicians created music that would involve all social classes. This is an example that highlights one of the components of having a national personality, of both modernity and Indonesian (Manuel 1988: 210-211). Indonesian popular music, like Okinawan popular music, reflects two dominant degrees of variation, which is also referred to as a form of cultural hybridity: a mix of styles with both styles of Western pop and indigenous styles (Manuel 1988: 207).

The rise of modern cities also gave rise to new classes of urban dwellers. They formed their own interests and tastes. The introduction of individualistic and superstar ethos, which is absent from gamelan music, soon spread due to the mass media. The outcome was new forms of acculturated music forms and indigenous-derived popular music (Manuel 1988: 206). Not only were there derivatives of Western pop being introduced, but the creation of indigenous genres known as *kroncong*, *jaipongan* and *dangdut* were readily becoming more available and a part of mainstream culture. Aside from the new interests and tastes being developed by urban dwellers, in the 1960s and 1970s, oil revenues and import of cheap tape led to the boom of Indonesian cassette industry. The mass production and consumerism brought about many changes to how musical forms were introduced, processed and performed. The impact of popular music, thus, further contributed to the new forms of musical genres (Manuel 1988: 206-207).

Socio-economically speaking, cassette production and consumerism made these new forms of musical genres readily available for the common people and the elite class. However, new musical forms did not influence the people's interest in traditional styles of music. Nor did it assume the role of homogenization that is often correlated with modernization and globalization processes.

### Kroncong

*Kroncong*, sentimental love songs, is considered the first type of musical style to emerge as a „popular“ genre. Its origins come from contact with Portuguese seafarers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Manuel 1988: 207). The use of the guitar, introduced by the Portuguese, along with European vocal phrases, distinguishes its musical style from other popular music (Becker 1975: 14).

It is associated with *lumpen proletariat*, only receiving recognition by the people living in *kampongs*, which are lower class neighborhoods (Manuel 1988: 208). As population grew, *kroncong* gained popularity beyond these neighborhoods. It became part of urban culture (Manuel 1988: 208). It made its appearance in Java in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was associated with a Javanese stereotype known as *buaya* (crocodile) and the *jago* (rooster), which is a flamboyant male who likes to womanize, drink and gamble (Becker 1975: 14).

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *kroncong* underwent many changes due to “different value systems and associative behavior patterns” from different temperaments associated with different cultural areas. Music has a way of moving easily into cultural areas without opposition. Its fluid nature picks up on different cultural mannerisms, whether modern or traditional. It was at this time when *kroncong* adopted the use of gamelan traditions.

*Kroncong* displays many hybrid forms, but is sung in local languages (Manuel 1988: 209). This may be a reason why it has remained popular and is the first musical genre “to grow into a pan-Indonesian phenomenon” (Hatch 1983: 55).

### Dangdut

*Dangdut* can reveal much about contemporary Indonesia (Frederick 1982: 104). *Dangdut* musical style began in the early 1970s. The word *Dangdut* translates to an onomatopoeically sound „thumpety-thump“ from a drumbeat (Frederick 1982: 104). Its origination comes from the combined musical elements of Melayu-Deli and *kroncong* (Frederick 1982: 108). It is considered to be a „pure“ form of non-Western popular music (Manuel 1988: 210) because it meets the criteria as outlined by this research. First, *Dangdut* is mass produced and consumed „for the people.“ It is popular among the urban and rural lower class (Yamashita 1990: 111). Second, it uses media, such as television, radio and cassettes in order to spread its popularity. Third, it is characterized as „hybrid“ music form because it mixes indigenous and modern musical styles.

### *Rhoma Irama*

The father of *dangdut* is Rhoma Irama. Rhoma Irama literally translates to “Father Rhythm” (Taylor 1997: 83). Rhoma Irama’s goal is to create music both modern and „Indonesian“ that not only appeals to the masses, but is saturated with moral messages (Frederick 1982: 119). Thus, pop culture is manipulated by Irama allowing the dissemination of Islamic teachings and large populations to intersect (Frederick 1982: 122). Irama’s song, “The Qur’an and the Newspapers” is about the negative effects that Westernization has on Indonesia. Cultural heritage and Islamic practices is being overtaken by modernization.

Taylor (1997: 84-85) notes that Irama uses English words and Western music as a form of resistance and “statement that opposes the West.”

“The Qur’an and the Newspapers”

From age to age  
Man’s civilization develops  
By now everywhere  
Man is changing the world

Tall building scrape the sky

They adorn almost every country  
In fact technology in this day and age  
Can reach into outer space

But it’s sad to say  
Men have forgotten who they are and become arrogant  
They think they’re even taller  
Than those skyscrapers

As progress marches on  
People get so busy  
That they forget their duty  
To pray to God five times a day  
They are so drunk with progress  
They think the computer is God (you’re kidding!)

When they talk about the world  
They’re wonderfully clever  
But talk to them about religion  
And suddenly they’re allergic

Reading the newspaper is a necessity  
The Qur’an is just here for decoration  
Everybody’s crazy to learn English  
But Arabic is considered backward (they’re wrong!)

What good is success in this world  
If it brings disaster in the next?  
Let us try to be happy  
Not only for today but for eternity

(Taylor 1997: 84, Courtesy of World Music: The Rough Guide, 1994)

Taylor (1997: 86-88) argues that Irama's development of *dangdut* is not simply explained using binary oppositions or dichotomies such as hegemony/resistance and colonializer/colonialized. There are multiple layers of hegemonies and resistance at work. Irama is using Western musical styles to further along his mission to carry out Islamic teachings, while at the same time he is protesting Westernization (Taylor 1997: 86).

Irama's lyrics often spoke of the trials and tribulations felt by the masses, which in this case are referring to the rural population. There also appears to be an opposition between the two classes in the lyrical content of popular music. The following lyrics to the song, *Begadang*, which means "To play at something to the extent that one forgets everything (time, one's social role, and misfortune):

*Begadang*

What good is Saturday night  
To people who aren't well off  
We want to have fun but got no money  
End up squatting at the side of the road  
Let us play until we forget everything  
Play while singing  
Although we do not have money  
We can also enjoy ourselves

Those who have money  
Go dancing at night clubs  
We who have no money  
Just dance at the side of the street  
Those who have money  
Eat in big restaurants  
We who have no money  
Eat only at roadside stalls

(Yamashita 1990: 111-112)

Yamashita points out Irama's lyrics lead one to relish on emotional state of joy from hearing the music rather than question the socio-economic inequalities between the "have" and

“have not“s” (Yamashita 1990: 112). As mentioned before nationalism and development brought about two class division, the elite and the masses.

### Jaipongan

Another popular musical form is called *Jaipongan*, which is Sundanese in origin. Peter Manuel and Randall Baier argue that socio-economical factors have contributed to the alteration of traditional performances. *Jaipongan* evolved from traditional music called *Ketuk tilu*, which was a ceremony related to the harvest ritual, circumcision, or marriage. The lead singer was a female singer-dancer, who was also associated with the practice of prostitution (Manuel and Baier 1986: 92-93). During the 1970's *Jaipongan* became less associated with traditional rituals, such as the harvest ritual. However, it continues to be associated with marriage and circumcision. It is also performed during Independence Day (August 17) and other festivals. It is also interesting to note that *Jaipongan* does not use any Western instruments or melodies. The next lyrics are from a song called *Mat Peci*, who was a Sundanese desperado in the 1970's. The lyrics speak of *Mat Peci* as an outlaw who had stolen from the rich, but even so, he was hidden from the police and protected by the lower-income community:

#### *Mat Peci*

Mat Peci ran his operation  
Out of Bandung, such was  
His fame that a movie was  
Made about him; even though  
He was a criminal, he was  
self-disciplined.  
He killed a cop in Pasar  
Kosambi (a large market  
in Bandung); that cop was  
Destined to die at the  
Hands of Mat Peci.  
He was the most wanted  
Outlaw, was searched for  
Desperately; everywhere

Police were getting killed,  
And Mat Peci became all  
The more infamous.  
We must end our story here;  
Mat Peci met his destiny;  
Although feared by many,  
He ended up being done in  
By a local civil cop

(Manuel and Baier 1986: 106-107).

*Ronggeng: The Making of a Superstar*

As mentioned earlier in this paper, *Jaipongan* is evolved from traditional music called *Ketuk tilu*. Western culture often encourages economic prosperity for the individual. Manuel and Baier (1986: 92-93) argue that the success of *Jaipongan* is attributed to socio-economic factors with a market demand for solo superstars. *Jaipongan's* „superstar“ is known as *ronggeng*, a female singer who in earlier times assumed the role of a prostitute (Manuel 1988: 214). So, it was this idea of individualism and free-market capitalism where “superstars” is found or invented. West Java’s traditional music *Gamelan* is traditionally communal, whereas the performance is based on the group’s effort and not that of just one of the members. Now, posters and cassette tape covers are covered with the picture of the lead singer-dancer. She is adorned with makeup and poses like a supermodel. It is important to note that traditional *Ketuk tilu* performance did not have female led singer-dancers. The economic pursuits have changed traditional *Ketuk tilu*, in that *Jaipongan* is now led by women, whose images are sold for profit (Manuel and Baier 1986: 93-99). It is not surprising that *Jaipongan* and *Dangdut*, due to their Western influence, favor individualism and „solo stars“ over group recognition (Manuel 1988: 214).

Even the New Order was unable to stop the construction of new musical forms. Another musical form, West Javanese *Jaipongan*, was able to stay independent from corporate music

industry manipulation and promotion of Western use of instruments and melodies other than the role of the „solo artist,“ which does indicate some Western influences (Manuel 1988: 6).

### Lagu

*Lagu*, or pop music, is influenced by the creation of *dangdut* musical style (Frederick 1982: 126). Its sound is even more Western than *dangdut*. Pop has many variations from folk, county and rock. *Lagu* retains its popularity among the youth (Manuel 1988: 219-220). *Lagu*'s lyrical content suggests struggle is not necessarily between „local“ and „global“ systems, but between „local“ and „local“ systems. Nationalism is an ideology and not a real construct in the language of *lagu*. According to Yamashita (1990: 112), “If the government elites have nationalism from the top, which aims at building up the nation by filling Indonesian cities with foreign goods, masses have nationalism from the bottom.” This concept that he refers to “nationalism from the bottom” refers to the idea that rural populations and urban lower-class prefer Indonesian goods to imported goods. The ideology of nationalism in this case gives the masses „confidence.“ “Cassava and Cheese” written and sung by Arie Wibobo is an example of this „confidence“:

#### “Cassava and Cheese”

You say you love me  
I say, let me think a bit  
Because we are so different in our tastes  
Your perfume is from Paris  
Your shoes are from Italy  
You say they are prestigious  
But all of them are from foreign countries  
In what way  
I can follow you  
And your showy way  
I like jaipong dance  
You like disco, O..O..O..  
I like cassava  
You like cheese, O..O..O..

This girl I like is  
An ordinary girl  
Because I grew up only by eating cassava  
I am just a child of cassava

(Yamashita 1990: 113).

So, we can definitely see several themes in this song. First, the musician, *Wibobo* is rejecting imported goods, “perfume from Paris” and rejecting Western influences, “I like *jaipong* dance, you like disco”. Since we know that the elite is referring to people who have embraced Western influence and imported goods and the masses are referring to the rural and lower-income urbanites, these lyrics clearly contrasts between the rich and poor (Yamashita 1990: 113-114).

### *Rap*

Bodden (2005: 2) discusses how rap is used “As a locus of resistance against the Indonesian New Order state and its post Suharto successor.” Indonesian’s youth became even more interested in rap after former President B.J. Habibie criticized this music genre “as crude and alien” because it defied all that the government wanted and expected from the people. In Indonesia, rap music not only symbolized the commercialization of cultural forms but it signified something else, a means for expressing local struggles against its own government. Bodden (2005: 2) explains “genres serve as weapons of social protest and or as expressions of a desire to create a new social space or even identity that flaunts its difference form or rejection of the kinds of social identities and behavior authorized by an authoritarian government and the dominant social groups in society.” So, in the case of rap music in Indonesia, the struggle was not between the local and the global, but the local and the local. The Indonesian government sought control over what cultural forms is deemed acceptable. They favored local and traditional forms by

means of monopolizing authority to determine what traditions would be practiced and instilled as having meaning (Bodden 2005: 1)

Bodden (2005: 2) sees globalization and nation-state as a dialectical model.

Globalization does not pose the threat against localized cultural groups, whereas nation-states do. Indonesia is one example where the threat takes place within borders (locally) rather than globally. The dialectic model posits globalization as the liberator of local groups from an oppressive (nation-state) regime. Rap functions as a musical expression of a local's struggle against the regime.

Bodden (2005: 2) shows how the analysis of rap music can not only contribute to the discipline of music construction as an expressive art, but how it can provide symbolic responses to the relationships that exist on all levels of social organization. Whether we are talking about local struggles or global influences, popular music is multi-layered, but can easily be studied and explained within political, social and historical contexts. The historical context provides a basis for the struggle, but the mechanisms in which the people, especially the youth have responded is also of great importance for the analysis of human behavior (Bodden 2005: 2).

Situngkir (2007: 2) discusses that along with the mentioned types of popular music, national anthems are also categorized as popular music. These types of songs are highly encouraged and supported by the government because it reiterates their ideology of a unified Indonesia.

The response, which can be in the form of resistance or the capitalistic world economy, to globalization, is one point of interest. Examination of varied research shows that Indonesia responds to globalization through means of popular music, which contributes to understanding and explanation through political and economical systems. The persistence of popular music can

only be linked to the idea that popular music continues to serve important functions in Indonesia culturally, politically and economically.

### Popular Music and Politics

Craig A. Lockard argues that in comparing popular music in Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, he finds that popular music is one of the outcomes of political oppression and resistance. Popular music can also be a way to examine popular culture. Lockard shows that you can distinguish popular music from other types of music with two essential features, spread by mass media and it is the by-product of the mass basis for marketing commodities. But not only the economic dimension, but that popular music can also serve a function to communicate to a large mass of people. This form of communication has often been about decolonization, widespread inequalities, anti-imperialism, and empowerment, to just name a few (Lockard 1996: 152-154). Lockard (1996: 163) suggests that the government elite control the resistance by mass producing popular music, thus they encourage resistance lyrics because it can serve as a “safety valve” for the masses. To the government this would be better than an armed resistance. Lockard showed how popular music plays a role in the opposition to the government, but he also showed how it unified the “soul” of the people. He also makes some reference to the idea of an „imagined community.“ Popular music has in some way linked people from all over Indonesia to share the same experience, that of popular music (Lockard 1996: 163).

### Culture as a Commodity

Through the development of mass production and mass media, we find that culture has become a commodity (Yamashita 1990: 109). In some cases you find the revival of traditions due to the demands of the capital world economy. *Jaipongan* was an example of revival of traditional performance. Other ways in which the revival of traditions is located is through the

means of tourism. Tourism was another form of economical contributor to the capitalism world economy under Suharto. Tourist policies developed to increase profit such as the Balinese Hindu culture, Javanese court tradition and “primitive” Toraja funeral performances. All were commercialized for profit and all were made popular through mass consumption (Yamashita 1990: 109).

Victor T. King and William D. Wilder write that in most cases tourism is seen as a destroyer of traditional culture. But they find that some researchers have concluded the opposite in their findings. King and Wilder summarize McKean’s research in regards to Bali and tourism by arguing that tourism in Bali led to a revitalization of some of its traditions. The Balinese, however, separated certain performances from the eyes of tourists, and kept those performances within their own community. McKean also found that the income gained from tourism allowed the Balinese to invest in preserving their dance and music in training younger generations. Lastly, McKean argues that tourism gave the Balinese a sense of pride, which helped reinforce their Balinese identity in times of nationalism (King and Wilder 2003: 220). King and Wilder proposed that “tourism was also part of the New Order’s political agenda to promote national integration and unity, and after the political and economic chaos of Sukarno’s last years, to reestablish Indonesia’s position and raise its image on the world stage in order to attract foreign investment” (King and Wilder 2003: 225). Tourism brought back some traditional musical performances, but at what cost? The function of the performance for the most part no longer serves the same purpose. Ultimately, the function now is to bring in profit for the sake of preservation.

Indonesia’s historical, social and political systems help to develop a framework for defining popular music as identity. Indonesia’s case explores resistance, cultural commodities,

and religious and political ideologies. The creation of popular music stems from a long history of contact through colonialism. This is also the case in the following Southeast Asian countries. However, ways in which identities are constructed both differs and is similar to Indonesia. Variations of the same media within different cultural areas build the case for popular music as an expression to construct Okinawan identity.

### **South Korea (East Asian Culture)**

Even though this research focuses on the comparison of Okinawa with other Southeast Asian countries, I use South Korea as an example to elaborate on the connection of Okinawa and other Asian countries. By examining the socio-cultural meaning of Korea's musical style (Son 2006: 51), Son (2006: 51) suggests there exists an underlying relation to the ideological structures of Korea brought upon by specific historic events: Japanese colonialism from 1910 through 1945, cultural imperialism of the Cold War during the 1950s through the 1970s, and the strategic essentialism in the 1960s through the 1980s. The basis for "strategic essentialism" was the ruling elite enforcing the idea that Korea's traditional music was unchanged and authentic nationalistic purposes and motives (Son 2006: 51). Other ideological structures include the infrastructure and cultural values, in which Son recognizes that the two in combination with each other forms a new cultural space (Son 2006: 64).

### Japanese Colonialism

Korean popular music began with the translation of Western and Japanese popular songs called *yuhaeng ch'angga*. These song styles expressed sorrowful love and the vanity of life. They are sorted by their individualized and personal style. Personal expression works closely in conjunction with the concept of modern individuality associated with Westernization (Son 2006: 52-54).

## T'ŭrot'ŭ and Maturation

T'ŭrot'ŭ, a South Korean sentimental love song, is performed with an abundance of vocal influences as an expression of South Korean identity. This style has existed for eight decades. It remains popular among older adults and the working class. Its availability is due to the fact that it is the most common style of music heard in taxis, buses, marketplaces, local festivals and karaoke bars.

On August 15, 1945, South Korea achieved independence. It was during this time that social unrest began to take hold causing suspicion among political groups. Censorship of songs, especially of foreign songs, rose to the thousands by the 1980s. The songs deemed inappropriate were associated with the values of communist ideology. Due to the fact that American culture was seen as the opposite of communist practice, the Westernization of t'ŭrot'ŭ was favored (Son 2006: 58). Son's analysis of t'ŭrot'ŭ is broken down into phases. The most important phase is „the maturation“ phase which lasted from 1945 through the 1970s and is adopted from Manuel's idea of “saturation and maturation”. This idea contends that even though Western musical styles are absorbed into a localized style, the localized style will eventually dominate over the Western style (Son 2006: 56).

## Nationalism

Nationalism is the key to the manipulation of the use and practice of certain cultural forms. This has been one of the arguments suggested throughout this research. Administrators and government officials sought to create a „pure Korean“ identity to promote a national identity. However, „pure“ in this sense is not meant to suggest South Korean musical styles only be expressed by their traditional music performance. American influence, especially from music shared by soldiers, were highly visible during the Korean War. T'ŭrot'ŭ symbolically expresses

Korean identity that favors American ideology and at the same time dismisses Japanese musical influence and ideology (Son 2006: 58).

### Cultural Space and Place

The construction of highways made it possible for musicians to tour around the country. The infrastructure of South Korea itself allowed availability and accessibility of popular music to the people, while at the same time, cultural values of collective activities were maintained. The two relationships combined infrastructure and cultural values, creating a new cultural space. Singing and dancing is motivated by the appreciation of Korean traditions of engaging in group activities. The tour bus not only brings people together in song and dance, but encourages economic transactions for a communal purpose. Social transactions are made by the participants creating an agreement or bond with other members of up to twenty individuals where money is contributed to a weekly pot, which is usually allocated for group touring.

The marketplace is another space where traditional social transactions take place. It is here where customers share feelings and share music. T'ũrot'ũ cassette production is also another means for people to engage in social activities and it helps to create a common interest between individuals. Cassettes are sold at the marketplace and are readily available economically. (When this article was written, cds were not as prevalent and not made readily available. I would assume that in more recent times, the uses of cds are dominant over cassettes.) TV shows, concerts and festivals are also newly formed spaces for the accessibility of t'ũrot'ũ (Son 2006: 65-67). T'ũrot'ũ musicians and audiences relate to older generations and the working class. This allows this musical style to reach the masses, thus making it fit into the working definition of popular music in non-Western societies.

### *Punk Music*

On the other hand, even though punk music relates better with Korean youth, Epstein (2001: 375) also attributes punk music to the definition of Korean identity. Since this musical style generates a particular audience and participants, Epstein defines this movement as a subculture. By looking at one particular punk band 18Cruk, Epstein finds that the lyrical content relays a message about resistance. Becoming indigenized into Korean culture, it serves to function as an “intersection” between social issues amongst the Korean youth and nationalism (Epstein 2001: 375).

The focus is not necessarily about generational lines. Through both styles of music one thing is clear, nationalism through its historical and social mechanisms generate levels of analysis that are suitable for the analysis of popular music. Korean popular music involves not only musical expression, but metaphorical and collective expression (Son 2006: 52).

### Traditional Instrument: *Haegŭm*

Another important musical element that is of importance when constructing Korean identity is the use of the traditional instrument, *haegŭm* (Figure 13).



**Figure 13 Haegŭm**

The use of this raspy sounding two-stringed fiddle instrument (Sutton 2008: 1) is significant because it not only is compatible with Western capabilities, but it is also exclusively identified as Korean (Sutton 2008:20). *Haegŭm* was introduced to Korea from China in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was originally used for court and folk music. It also functions in the religious sphere playing a central role in Shamanism (Sutton 2008: 3).

*Haegŭm*'s versatility makes it an easy choice to be paired up with Korean fusion, or popular, music. It has the capability to follow Western scales allowing it to sound both Korean and Western. It maintains its popularity among the Korean population more so than with the non-Korean population because it connects with the people "emotionally" (Sutton 2008: 8-17). Korean fusion music symbolizes how certain cultural innovations can distinguish themselves from homogeneous arguments by "finding a place in the Korean musical world, not as a foreign import, but as something many feel to be Korean and modern" (Sutton 2008: 20).

## **Vietnam**

Unlike many other types of Non-Western popular music that adopt Western style musical idioms, Vietnamese popular music adopts very little. Their musical style developed out of urban professional music associated with theatre called *cai luong* during French colonialism spanning 1890 through 1954 (Manuel 1988: 199). Urbanization is the result of rural poverty, population growth and superimposition of a capitalistic economy. A new urban bourgeoisie of merchants and civil servants developed in the cities causing the creation a new musical style. *Cai luong* stresses individualism and autonomy rather than a Confucian or Communist ideology, which promotes community, or country over the self. There are two different kinds of musical styles used in *cai luong*, Western and Vietnamese. Instruments used are Western by nature, such as the piano, traps, bass, organ, electric guitar and steel strings. However, song vocalization is

indigenous. There is a necessity to replicate tonal structure of the language in the songs. Traditional instruments are also used, such as woodblocks or clappers, two-stringed „moon-lute,“ fiddle, and the zither *tranh*, a sixteen-stringed zither. *Cai luong* performance is based on the song *vong co*, which translates to „Nostalgia for the Past“ (Manuel 1988: 198-201).

Vietnamese popular music is considered „popular“ because its development and maintenance is closely related to urban development and Western musical elements. It is also interesting to note that the song *vong co* is a common lyrical message found in Non-Western popular music. For the purpose of encouraging individualism and dismantling Confucius ideology, Vietnamese popular music is characteristic of what is „popular music“ (Manuel 1988: 200-201).

## **Thailand**

Indigenized musical forms can often change their function and mobility. In Isan, the northeast region in Thailand considered to be of „low“ culture, traditional songs using Isan language became popular among the people. According to Miller (2005: 95), this was partly due to the processes of modernization. He also provides two other supporting features, population density of Isan and lyrical content. Isan’s population is roughly 62 million, which allows for strong commercial capability.

### Lyrical Content

The lyrical content expresses experiences of rural people, farmers and villagers, which allows them to share values and experiences. These components, language, population and lyrical content of shared experiences, all support the idea of an „imagined community“.

Globalization processes allow for an identity marker to be created out of nationalism. In this

context, music tends to be the source for allowing people to recognize not only their cultural heritage, but to relate to one another on a larger scale (Miller 2005: 96-100).

### Commodity

Cassettes and cds are also readily accessible to a wider audience. Miller (2005: 96) further states that because of its mass production and consumption, the current popular Isan traditional sound moved from being “country hick” to “rural hip.” The music also changed the people’s level of low to high culture. One of the reasons that Isan’s musical tradition is able to be popular throughout the region is because of its support commercially and its marketability appeal (Miller 2005:96-97).

### Popular Songs

In the 1990s, the impact of globalization on traditional arts was traumatic. Language, traditional dress and lyrical content made Isan’s musical tradition identity markers. Popular songs called *luk thung*, which is based on Anglo-American ballroom dance music, developed out of Bangkok in the 1940s. Traditional *lam* songs tend to reflect deeply held cultural beliefs and values. Both forms are often mixed and blended, which is especially appealing to a younger audience (Miller 2005: 98-99).

### **Cambodia**

Oppression brought on by the Khmer Rouge, who took power in 1975, denied Cambodians their cultural heritage. All traditional cultural markers, including music, religious practices, artistic expression, and display of emotions and discussions of traditional familial past and present relationships were not allowed to be practiced. The Khmer Rouge was dismantled by the Vietnamese Army in 1979. However, in just four years the devastation was enormous. It

wasn't until 1993 that Cambodia was established as an independent nation state (Mamula 2007: 26).

Popular music in Cambodia was introduced by the French. Cultural change, a deliberate reaction to globalization, is seen in a positive light. Mamula's (2007: 29) research shows that cultural change is fueled by "a growing market economy, tourism, affordable mass media and communication technology." Mamula argues (2007: 28-29) that media is responsible for reviving Cambodia's indigenous culture.

### **Singapore**

This research has already identified that popular music in non-Western societies is unquestionably surrounded by political manifestations. In Singapore there are three different types of popular music: 1) mainstream (usually love songs) 2) alternative or independent, which categorically include many different genres, such as folk, punk rock, death metal and thrash rock and 3) national songs (Kong and Chye 1996: 219-220). Popular music is best explained by first recognizing it within a historical context.

### History

Singapore became fully independent in 1965. Prior to that, they had acquired self-governing status from the British in 1959 and partial independence from Malaysia in 1963. In 1966, one year after achieving full independence, Singapore officials were fast to popularize their political party, People's Action Party (PAP), through means of economic prosperity (Kong 1995: 449). However, at one point, PAP lost government seats causing the party fear of losing its power. Because of this, PAP enforced their hegemonic ideology to create a national identity and in the strict sense to enforce core values of PAP's choosing (Kong 1995: 450).

## Musical Scene

Another important element to this dialectical relationship between the common people and the ruling elite is the development of the musical scene in Singapore. During the 1960s, Singapore's music scene flourished with Western influences. Singapore musicians mainly performed „cover“ bands in bars and clubs. In the 1970s, American influence was discouraged. The People's Action Party wanted to establish dominance over the political and social arenas in Singapore. However, in the 1980s, a more liberal Singapore showed up again. Not only were independent genres of popular musical styles able to thrive, so did national popular music. The government began a "Sing Singapore" program to encourage community singing of national songs, which took place in school and was often broadcast on television. Song titles for national songs alluded to the obligation of patriotism and community over self; "We Love Singapore," "Stand Up for Singapore," "Count on me Singapore," and "We are Singapore" (Kong and Chye 1996: 218-220). National songs were created annually by the Psychological Defense Division of the Ministry of Communications and Information (Kong and Chye 1996: 220) in honor and celebration of National Day. "We are Singapore" is an example of a national song:

There was a time when people said  
That Singapore won't make it  
But we did  
There was a time when troubles seemed  
Too much for us to take  
But we did

(Kong and Chye 1995: 220-221)

The creation of popular music represents two different groups, the ruling elite and every day people and for two different reasons (Kong 1995: 447). Popular music has two functions, which are politically based on the „pull“ of the perpetuation of national ideology and the „push“ through symbolic resistance (Kong 1995: 448). Symbolic resistance differs from „physical“

resistance that usually involves demonstrations and riots, which can lead to acts of violence, because it refers to the dissatisfaction or the opposition to government rule through expressed behaviors. In this case, lyrical content acts as a form of symbolic resistance. The everyday people of Singapore oppose core values that the ruling elite have considered to be necessary for their goal of creating a national identity. Non-ruling elite feel that the core values are based on what is best for the country as a whole, without the consideration of what the „people“ want. Core values, which differ from cultural values because of its political intentions, encourage all acts of selflessness (community over self) (Kong 1995: 450).

Other core values have led to symbolic resistance from the youth. In Singapore one’s age and social standing in society is given higher authority, so this creates animosity and resistance among the youth. They are not only resisting materialism, but trivial rules, such as chewing gum and smoking, for the sake of ideology (Kong and Chye 222-226). The youth represent a majority of the thrash bands and heavy metal bands on the music circuit. The next two lyrical contents are taken from the bands Opposition Party and The Raw Fish. Both lyrics showcase their feelings of restraint and desire for self determination (Kong and Chye 1996: 229). This first song “It’s Our Lives” is recorded by trash metal band Opposition Party:

It’s our Lives

It really seems like we are borned  
Not to be leading our own lives  
Cos most of the time we are doing  
Things that are usually not of our choice

Everybody tells us what to do  
Everyone forces shit down our throats  
They expect all of their shit to be swallowed  
Quietly by us without a single choke

(Kong and Chye 1996: 225)

The next lyrics is performed by the thrash metal band, The Raw Fish:

Show me a Sign

I don't know if you are a god, or if you are a king  
Or if you are government.  
Show me a sign that says if I chew bubble gum  
I will fall straight into fire, fire in hell.

Yes, you have god-like powers  
Show me a sign that says you are god and not government  
Show me a sign that says that I must be your slave and you my master  
And I will be your NS man

(NS refers to National Servicement. Male youth are required to serve in the armed forces, police force or civil defense from for at least two years (Kong and Chye 1996: 229).

(Kong and Chye 1996: 227)

These musical groups not only use their lyrics as a means of symbolic resistance. For example, band names such as Band of Slaves, Rotten Germs, Harmful Creatures, Opposition Party and Global Chaos all represent forms of symbolic resistance (Kong and Chye 1996: 226).

Lyrical content of parodies is another expression of symbolic resistance (Kong 1995: 457). Parodies from *Not the Singapore Book* (1993), is authored by ex-teachers, lawyers, publishers and playwrights (Kong 1995: 455). These lyrics are usually in response to policies that encourage community over self, especially the role of women and their reproduction duties. Kong (1995: 456) suggests that parodies are not met with protest from the governing elite because it still aligns itself within the realm of cultural values that favor consensus over conflict. For example, Ong Cheng Tat's, "Count! Mummies of Singapore", is a parody to Singapore's national song, "Count on Me, Singapore" (Kong 1995: 454).

“Count! Mummies of Singapore”

We have the ova in our bodies,  
We can conceive,  
We can conceive.  
We have a role for Singapore,  
We must receive,  
We must receive.

Another lyrical parody is adopted from an American song, “Raindrops Keep Falling on my Head.” Artist Colin Goh’s song titled, “Babies” Keep Formin” in my Bed,” speaks to desire for individual freedom and choice (Kong 1995: 455).

“Babies Keep Formin” in my Bed”

And for that  
Tax Rebate,  
I won’t be even stoppin’  
Reproducin’  
„Cause when it comes to income tax  
There’s no way like sex.  
Babies Keep Formin’ in my bed,  
But that doesn’t mean  
I really wanna keep „em fed,  
Kids are not for me-  
„Cause all I wanna do is just keep on savin’  
Till my life’s free, no more taxes for me...

Popular songs are constructed out of both resistance to and perpetuation of hegemony ideologies. Examples from the previous cultural areas not only show how variations of popular music exist, but how they serve to function within their respected region. Based on the cases provided, popular music is an expression of symbolic resistance.

### **Okinawa**

Okinawa’s history of fluent trade relations with China, Taiwan, Indonesia, Japan, Korea and other Southeast Asian and South Pacific cultures and multiple layers of colonialism by Japan and the United States, have also contributed to the „hybrid” forms of popular music that is being

created and recreated. With an understanding of Okinawa's historical, socio-cultural and political manifestations as explained in previous chapters, this section will only relate all of those experiences and thoughts to provide, which will be the backdrop in explaining Okinawan identity. One unit of analysis for recognizing identity formation is by analyzing Okinawan popular music's lyrical content.

Okinawan popular music is not only a means of symbolic resistance, but it is also a means for cultural survival and revival. It relays messages of cultural pride and the maintenance of social values. Some lyrics are associated with the construction of place and space. For example, island atmosphere and attitude is associated with their closeness to nature. Lyrics are often about the land, ocean and waves, wind, flowers and sea breeze. In *Kogane no Hana*, which translates to „flowers of gold,“ *Nenes* expresses a message to not lose one's pure heart for the sake of money. Another song, *Shimagwa Song*, which translates to “Island Child Song,” conveys a message to not forget their island spirit or the Okinawan language (Roberson 2001: 230). According to Kohama, (Appendix B.) 80% of *min'yo* songs are about love. „Love“ can be for one's community, a lover, and for the island.

Reggae has had a long following in Okinawa. There are a lot of new bands that have incorporated not only the reggae sound, but reggae spirit into their musical creation. Perhaps it is the „island“ landscape, both real and imaginative, that Okinawans feel they can relate with people from other islands because they are island folk. A newly formed group called Udou & Platy is gaining popularity in Okinawa. One of their songs, “Bashofu,” which translates to banana leaves, mixes local flavors with reggae dance hall style. As mentioned in Chapter Five, „bashofu“ was the main textile used for clothing due to its light weight, which is needed in Okinawa's hot and humid weather.

Lyrical content is closely associated with Okinawan cultural trademarks. Most songs display a combination of folk (*min'yo*) and island (*shima-uta*) songs. There are several themes found in the lyrical content of Okinawan Popular music: 1) closeness to nature, 2) everyday lives of work and play, 3) reminiscence of the past, 4) love 5) lessons to be learned and 5) pride. Lyrical content also functions as a means of identifying one's cultural heritage. It can also serve to protest or resist past or current events, such as the presence of military facilities, environmental concerns and gives a voice to women's rights. By looking at the lyrical content of Uchina Pop, we can notice dominant values favored by a group or community, whether real or ideally perceived. All of these elements help to construct Okinawan identity. Besides analyzing the lyrical content it is also important to discuss the artists themselves.

### Kina Shoukichi

A well-known artist throughout the world, Kina Shoukichi, started making music in the 1970s. His first hit, *Hai Sai Ojisan*, was written while he was serving time in jail for marijuana possession. Even today, this song continues to be recorded by both new and old artists. It is heard in restaurants, bars and shopping centers. *Hai Sai Ojisan* is an upbeat song sung in comical style showcasing two different points of view. There is a dialogue between a younger and older man occurring:

*Hai Sai Ojisan* (Hey, Man!)

Hey, man! Hey, man!

If there's a drop of sake left in last night's little bottle

Won't you give me some?

Hey, boy! Hey, boy!

You think I'm satisfied with a little bottle?

Don't say there's none left!

Ok, man! If the little bottle's not enough, give me a big one

Hi, man! Hi, man!

I wanna marry, I'm not a kid anymore  
Can I marry your daughter?  
Hey, boy! Hey, boy!  
Marry? No kidding!  
You're still too young to talk about such things  
Ok, man! I'll wait till my hair turns white

(Translated by Taeko Clonts and Shizue Harvey)

Another popular song by Shoukichi is called *Basha gua Suncha*, which translates to "The Cart Puller." This song expresses the farming life. Music was a part of farming life. Men and women would often take their *sanshin* out to the field with them (Kanai 1955: 19).

*Bashu gua Suncha* (The Cart Puller)

Pulling a cart, where you goin', where you goin'?"  
From the mountain I'm carrying firewood, peacefully

Making friends with Saburo, the horse  
Giddyup, Giddyup  
Whippin' its hind, Giddyup  
My heart's impatient, it's in a hurry, Giddyup  
Calm down, calm down or you won't get there

(Translated by [www.getlyrics.com](http://www.getlyrics.com))

Shoukichi has been more politically active these days rather than making music. He joined the Japanese Parliament in 2004. However, he still owns a bar/club off of Kokusai Street called Chakra. During my first trip to Okinawa in July of 2007, I found myself caught in the middle of a political rally. There were dozens of people packed on Kokusai Street in front of shops and restaurants. They were all holding and waving fans adorned with political candidate Keiko Itokazu. Most of the participants were wearing red tags. Overhead, I could hear a man speaking into an intercom. I looked up and realized that it was Kina Shoukichi. From what I gathered, Keiko Itokazu's campaign was for an independent Okinawa. She also wanted to encourage the removal of United States military bases.

## Nenezu

Another group that has received national and global recognition is Nenezu (Figure 14), which translates to „elder sisters.“ This all girl group started in 1990. They are not national idols nor are they directly involved in politics as Kina Shoukichi is. Johnson (2001: 362) suggests that they “highlight perspectives of cultural identity, imagined or otherwise.”



**Figure 14 Nenes playing on Kokusai Street on a Sunday afternoon**

In looking at the lyrical content of *Amerika Dori*, which translates to “America Street,” one can recognize a political slant. But it also follows an Okinawan value system that embraces cultural diversity. Also, their musical style is characteristically passive. It creates a mood, in which images of traditional and contemporary life live harmoniously side by side. This song encompasses and celebrates all what it means to be Okinawan (Johnson 2001: 361). *Chanpon Chanpuru* refers to the „mixing“ of cultures found on the streets of Koza. The following two songs debuted on their 1994 album called *Koza Dabasa*.

### *Amerika Dori* (America Street)

The streets are flooded  
With various languages of various countries  
Twilight, between day and night  
The din and bustle of pawn shops  
The neon signs of audio shops

Clothes shops run by Indians  
We can see foreign languages here and there  
Life foreign countries

The Evening of Amerika Dori  
Rock, Shima uta, rap and reggae  
Our island and the streets of Koza  
Chanpon Chanpuru Chanpon Chanpuru  
Amerika Dori

(Johnson 2001: 366-367).

Nenezu is one group that performs in traditional bingata patterned kimonos. Over the past 18 years, the entire line up has changed four times. This probably keeps them from being idolized like other artists in J-Pop. Johnson's article (2001: 363-364) suspects that Nenezu music is "commercialized through commodity fetishism and consumption..." and "not consumed because a single determining factor." Nenezu confronts the capitalist market and the Western hegemony, but not through protest and resistance (2001: 365). "Nenezu are challenging in their musical articulations: blending the modern and the old, reacting against Japanese homogeneity, and, through local musical expression, confronting and challenging Western hegemony and global capitalism" (Johnson 2001: 365). They are a "product of globalization rather than the result of influences from a single cultural hegemony" (Johnson 2001: 370).

Another song, *Tune*, features traditional Okinawan music and is sung in Okinawan language. The song conveys harmony between Okinawans and Japanese along with others.

*Tune*

We have made this CD  
With a hope  
That all the people  
Will feel peaceful  
Okinawan people, Japanese people  
And people who speak different languages from ours

Let's enjoy ourselves

Singing Nenezu  
Together in chorus  
Cheerfully  
(Johnson 2001: 366-367)

Nenezu music constitutes cultural expression, which should be discussed in three contexts, Okinawan, Japanese and other (Johnson 2001: 362).

Another famous song, *Tinsagu Nu Hana* (Balsam Flowers), is a children's *min'yo*. It has been performed by many artists throughout the years. Even though the song is very old, I consider it popular because it not only conveys lessons to be learned, but that it is transformed into a commodity. This song is well known by almost all Okinawans. It can be heard playing in streets, shops, buses, and taxis. Song styles of this song vary. For example, UK born Keith Gordon and American Jon Taylor formed Ryukyu Underground. They are a musical group that embodies Western musical elements as a dominant feature. However, their version of "*Tinsagu Nu Hana Dub*" brings Okinawan music into the mix. This song conveys how children should behave and how they should treat their parents.

*Tinsagu Nu Hana* (Balsam Flowers)

Just as my fingernails are painted with the pigment from the balsam flowers, my heart is painted with the teachings of my parents.

Although the galaxies in the sky are countable, the teachings of my parents are not.

Just as the ships that run in the night are guided to safety by the polestar, I am guided by the parents who birthed me and watch over me.

(Translated by Taeko Clonts and Shizue Harvey)

## BEGIN

During my first trip to Okinawa, I attended the 25th annual Peaceful Love Rock Festival in Okinawa City. Most of the bands were from the Okinawa City area. One particular band, BEGIN, especially caught my interest. When they began playing their song, “*Shimanchu no Takara*,” which translates to “Treasures of the Island People,” I could hear the sound of the sanshin and the Okinawan language being sung. You could sense the immense popularity of this group with the locals. This song was released in 2001, but it is still very popular throughout the island. The lyrics speak of what it means to be Yaeyaman, the island chain where the members of BEGIN are from, in modern day Japan. This confirms the notion of „*shima*“ or culturally constructed space (Suwa 2007: 6). Even though the artists are from another island, which has its own language and cultural variants, people from mainland Okinawa automatically find commonality with other „island“ people. The Ryukyu Islands are realistically different geographic locations with unique languages and cultural variants, but idealistically they are one community with a shared history. Gillan argues (2008: 63) that even though “Yaeyamans do feel a sense of local identity, but they are not able to express it completely through the use of traditional music.”

### *Shimanchu no Takara* (Treasures of the Island People)

These songs of the island where I was born  
How much do I really know them

I don“t understand the words  
But more than anyone, I know more than anyone,  
On the night of a celebration, on the morning of a festival,  
Those songs come drifting over from somewhere,

One day I'll leave this island  
And before that day  
I want to know these important things more deeply  
That's the island people's treasure

(Gillan 2008: 44-45).

After the concert, it was told to me that the concert was put on by the Okinawa City Tourist Bureau. The intention was for friendly relations to be made and continued between United States military personnel and the local people. This makes sense due to the fact that most of the military facilities are clustered in the northern and central region of Okinawa, which is where Okinawa City is located.

### Rinji Kadokaru

The song *Jidai No Nagare* performed by *Rinji Kadokaru*, is a comical piece about reminiscence, identity and resistance. This song also recognizes the inherent cultural diversity found within Okinawan culture.

#### *Jidai No Nagare* (The Flow of Time)

From the Chinese era to the Japanese era  
From the Japanese era to the American era  
This Okinawa sure does change a lot

Counting money is different  
When we used to go to Naha we used to walk home  
Now we sit in a car and can't see the image of old days

A long time ago you can tell by the bingata kimono pattern worn  
The differences between the older and younger generation  
But now you can't tell the difference between parents and children

(Translated by Taeko Clonts and Shizue Harvey)

This next song, *Asadoya Yunta*, is a (*min'yo*) folk song that has been recorded by many contemporary artists. Contemporary artists such as Wiz Us, Parsha Club, Shinobu Maki and

Nenezu, have contributed to the popularity of this song. Seijin Noborikawa, a famous Okinawan folk musician, has also covered this song. The maintenance and persistence of this folk song reminds us that listeners and musicians both (cultural specific groups) decide what songs to preserve. *Asadoya* refers to a place, while *Yunta* refers to expressive chattering.

This song is about a beautiful young woman who is asked by a diplomat for her hand in marriage. However, she conveys that she wishes to find an island man to marry and not a diplomat.

*Asadoya Yunta*

Kuyama; family of Asato  
She was born beautiful and grew up beautiful  
A politician wished to have her as a wife  
She said no, she wants to have a husband from the same island  
It is better to marry an island man than a diplomat.

(Translated by Taeko Clonts)

Many identities are created out of different contexts and manifest local transformations of global pop, or global transformations of local pop (Johnson 2001: 370). Other Southeast Asian songs were reviewed to sort out general characteristics. In the final chapter, I will expand on the findings.

## **Results**

Popular Music in non-Western societies help to “maintain local and global identities” (Taylor 1997: 94). This research agrees with Yonetani (2004: 402) that resistance from the „local“ is due in part because of the manipulation by the „global.“ However, this is not the only cause and effect relationship. Using Indonesia and other Southeast Asian cultural areas development and maintenance of popular music to define Okinawa shows that there are many similar and dissimilar cultural themes that can be drawn from this research.

First, all popular music in these particular cultural areas is a form of metaphorical expression, which refers to the hybridization of musical styles. All musical styles compared possess Western musical elements, whether it is in the form of traditional instruments and modern ones (use of *sanshin* in Okinawa, *gamelan* in Indonesia and not to mention in East Asia use of *haegŭm* in Korean popular music) or vocalization styles. In some cases, language also plays a role in the creation of popular music as identity. For example, *kroncong*, Okinawan popular music and *luk thung* in Isan, Thailand, all use regional indigenous languages in their lyrics. Hybridization works in a timeless manner. The „mixing“ of Western music elements can occur due to modernization through media, technology and so forth, but more than likely its historical context reveals that through diffusion and colonization, „hybrid“ musical forms is created and recreated on an on-going basis. There is not one actual point of interest or time from which where one can start. However, this does not mean that it can't be explained and given meaning. Like culture, popular music is dynamic and fluid. The study of popular music is a „topical“ analysis, which as Brennan (2001: 60) suggests that “It expands our field of cultural perception only by narrowing it.”

Second, through the analysis and comparative method of these particular cultural areas, certain cultural themes are revealed. It must be kept in mind that cultural themes are not mutually exclusive from one another. Their relationships are complex with multiple and overlapping layers. However, for the sake of this research, themes are divided into general topics relating to political, socio-cultural and economical spheres.

Third, along with deciphering cultural themes, comparing lyrical content discloses behavioral expressions that are closely related to cultural values and responses to cultural change. Lyrical content represents an „emic“ perspective. In some cases, the lyrical content is

direct and explicit, while in other cases it is implicit. For this reason, lyrical content also gives an explanation to an „etic“ perspective. Yamashita (1990: 117) explains, “Popular music vividly reflects the modernizing processes of Indonesian society and provides the audience/listeners with a model or a „text“ for understanding the current social processes.”

Popular music constructs identity by symbolically giving self-representation on one hand, while dismissing specific hegemonies on the other. For example, in South Korea, t“ûrot“û represents how control over self-representation can lead to adopting one hegemonic influence (United States) and dismissing another (Japan). T“ûrot“û is symbolic to South Korean identity, where the site of struggle is specific to a particular hegemony and not all hegemonies. This is also the case in Okinawa, where multiple identities exist depending on the intersection of economic and political strife. It also depends on the context in which identities are being constructed.

Popular music not only is an expression of the „people“ but it is also used by the ruling elite to promote and perpetuate national ideologies (Kong 1995). This is what“s happening in Indonesia with the popularity of national anthems. Under Suharto“s governing, *kroncong*, a popular musical form and gamelan, a traditional ensemble, were combined to create a national music with the intention to unite Indonesia as one nation. In some instances the ruling government in Indonesia celebrated ethnic diversity making that the unifying theme for Indonesia as a nation-state. During World War II (1941-1945), Japan tried to completely discard Okinawan traditions, along with music creation, in order to assimilate Okinawans into their hegemony ideologies. However, once Japan realized the economic gain that could be attained by capitalizing on Okinawan „authentic“ culture, it built an infrastructure to promote and celebrate Okinawa“s cultural heritage. On the other side of the spectrum, this gave „confidence“ to

Okinawan identity. In Isan, Thailand, *luk thung* (popular songs), gained recognition in part because of its large population. Once *luk thung* reached the height of mass production and consumption, the once „low“ culture transitioned to a „high“ culture. Globalization processes in this case is a positive one for the local.

Okinawa, like Indonesia, is also comprised of many different localized cultures and languages. However, traditional musical elements represented in Okinawan popular music are usually categorized as „Okinawan“ and not given specific regional recognition. However, more bands are starting to recognize how „place“ can define one’s identity. Such is the case with Yaeyaman group BEGIN whose lyrics to “Shimanchu no Takara,” speaks of one not to forget where they come from.

Popular music is a form of symbolic resistance. Rap and *dangdut* in Indonesia, independent genres in Singapore and punk in South Korea are all examples of symbolic resistance due to their lyrical content. Resistance is usually towards Westernization or the ignorance of cultural traditions and values, which is the case of *dangdut*. However, rap in Indonesia and independent genres of music in Singapore is resisting their own ruling elite. Symbolic resistance differs from physical resistance in that it takes into account the cultural values that discourage violence and contestation. Symbolic resistance can also characterize certain Okinawan popular music lyrics. For example, Rinji Kadekaru’s song, “*Jidai no Nagare*” (The Flow of Time), not only recognizes the outside influence on Okinawan culture, but relays a message that one’s cultural heritage must not be forgotten. This song represents the resistance to Westernization, like so many other Southeast Asian cultures.

Popular music is also embedded collective and behavioral expressions. Collective behaviors refer to group participation and consensus through space/place and memory. Cultural

markers are embedded in traditional cultural values. For example, Okinawa's Eisa, festivals and musical accompaniment to almost all occasions, relies upon the participation of a group and not the individual. Korean popular music is also embedded with its own cultural values of communal participation. Musicians go on tours together and combine their earnings into one pot because all economic transactions are done communally. These group activities are culturally constructed through space (abstract) and place (concrete). The notion of „space“ refers to the connection that island people have with their environment. *Shima* translates to „island“ in the literal sense. However, the concept of *Shima* does not only refer to geographic determinants. It also refers to a cultural territory or community. *Shima* can be interpreted using Appadurai's (1991: 33) ethnoscape, which refers to “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live.” Relating *Shima* to an imagined community links memory and shared experience within the confines of use of place. Ethnoscapes help to create a social structure, whether real or imagined. Cultural landscapes are created and recreated by the ideas valued by the people. It is only manifested through the expressive behavior and actions of the community. The use of „place“ imaginatively forms a reality for the community (Suwa 2007: 11).

The value of *Shima* as „place“ is synonymous with economic subsistence, which can express „as a cultural space in ecology, geography, sociology, ethnology, history and memory” (Suwa 2007: 6). Through people's shared experience and memory, the idea of *Shima* comes alive and serves its function. Suwa (2007: 11) suggests that the imagination of *shima* works as a „mimetic faculty“. By this, he is meaning that the “persons not only become part of the island, but they become its replica.”

South Korean t“ûrot“û is disseminated on tour buses, marketplaces and taxis, but only because of the development of the highway, which was brought about because of modernization.

Okinawan popular music is also spread on the streets, concerts, clubs, restaurants, festivals and theme parks. These are all indicators of cultural space and place, which legitimizes popular music as identity. Another important expression is through collective memory. To explain collective memory, this study adopts Schechner's (1985: 36) concept of „restored behavior,“ which refers to behavior that is symbolic to actual behavior. Restored behavior, like collective memory, relies on the transmission of information from one individual (performer) to another (practitioner). However, during the transmission of behavior, or liminal stage, the actual (real) behavior no longer represents what it originally did. The “twice behaved behavior” becomes an ideal behavior for the audience (Schechner 1985: 113-115). Collective memory works in similar ways to restored behavior. Lyrical content found in Okinawan, Vietnamese and Indonesian songs often present a sense of nostalgia for the past.

Popular music is a form of cultural commodity, especially within these culturally constructed places and spaces. Collective expression (collective group) correlates with folk music, while circulation of commodities is associated with popular music. Popular music as a commodity also creates, replaces and discards. New cultural forms are created not only to meet the expectations of the world capital market, but it also works to preserve an „idea“ of an authentic culture.

## **Discussion**

First, the assumption that hybridity (metaphorical expression) is closely associated with homogeneous characteristics is false. Hybridity is heterogeneous by nature. Popular music in non-Western societies as metaphorical expression is a new product made up of „traditional“ and „Western“. In most cases, Manuel's adoption of „saturation and maturation,“ which refers to the absorption of Western musical styles into a localized style, where the localized musical style will

dominate (Son 2006: 56). Manuel argues that Indonesia represents a case that there are varying degrees of acculturation at work. Some musical styles in Southeast Asia and Okinawa express Western styles more than localized styles. However, there are also popular musical styles that are not recognizably Western (Manuel 207: 1988).

Merriam (1964: 204-308) relates back to cultural change as seen in musical change, in which ethnomusicology has tended to follow three major lines of orientation: 1) assumption of the continuity and general stability of music. It should be noted that musical change within a culture may in fact be encouraged by a group that values change. He also argues that individualistic societies will be more accepting of change at a faster rate, 2) less change will occur when musical expression functions to serve religious matters rather than social ones, and 3) cultural variability exists on all levels, so there are finite possibilities available (Merriam 304-308). In the case of Okinawan popular music, modernity is accepted through the use of Western instrumentation and musical styles, such as jazz and reggae. On a side note, traditional music is also highly praised and is on the rise. Okinawan popular music often brings together traditional sound and lyrical style.

Roberson (2001: 213) argues that “Music is a symbolic resource and that musical production and consumption are important practices in the ongoing, creating use of music to construct identities.” Hegemonic ideologies are also an important factor in the construction of identities. Inoue’s ethnographic research in Okinawa led him to develop the view that plural identities exist in Okinawa. Identity cannot be defined in terms of a national culture alone. He defines identity as “the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or related sets of cultural attributes [including history, geography, biology, productive and reproductive institutions, collective memory, personal fantasies, power apparatuses, and religious

revelations]” (Inoue 2004: 95-96). Steward and Strathern (2003: 2-4) further contend that historical processes still play an important role in studying identities. They emphasize two manifestations at work, “notions of memory and notions of place.” The landscape provides cultural knowledge of community and place. It is through shared experiences and fixed memories that people can perceive a sense of identity, whether creatively or imaginative.

The infrastructure and population density plays a role in the dissemination and perpetuation of popular music. There are differences between areas with smaller populations compared to larger ones. For example, Okinawa is much less populated than Isan. Concerts are much larger and star appeal is much more prevalent in Thailand and Indonesia compared to Okinawa. This argument shows that population does play an important role for popular music within the context of economic spheres. However, it has very little of a role in terms of an identity marker and social values. In the case of Okinawa, Inoue develops a theoretical understanding also involving class. Okinawans that do not receive monetary funds from both the United States and Japan usually do not hold land tenure or are otherwise considered „true blood“ Okinawans. They are to some degree dependent on the existence of United States military facilities for employment. However, residents that do receive or have received monetary funds for their land rental to the United States government and do not have an economic dependence on the either Japan or the United States, are the ones who have openly voiced their criticisms of the existence of military facilities.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

In the backdrop of modernization, identities are constructed in order for local people who are marginalized or otherwise may be having an identity crisis, to find their place and their history in a world where borders are blurred and undefined. This research attempted to use the creation of popular music in non-Western societies as a symbolic resource used by Okinawa in the making of their identity. This research shows that culture, as is identity, is always in movement.

The functions and symbolic expressions of music are the means by which identity is constructed. Functions refer to the symbolic expressions, metaphorical expressions and cultural commodities. This research finds that with the use of the same media, popular music, Okinawa, Indonesia and the other Southeast Asian cultural areas are similar in some instances, but there are also some significant differences.

Yamashita (1990: 109) argues “Local ethnic cultures are taken as arts although they were originally embedded in the cultural whole of each society.” This statement justifies only part of what is observed in regards to nation-states in relation to homogenized traits. Popular music is a hybrid form, fusing Western and traditional musical elements. It does not reveal one extreme or the other. It is a new cultural form that is absorbed into „localized“ styles. Within the local, traditional cultural practices flourishes as it finds its place in the modern world. Its flexibility and openness is due partly to the mobility popular music has to offer.

In the case for the study of popular music as identity, there is an existing dichotomy that is consistently being addressed, a pessimistic or optimistic approach. It is clear as Siddle (2003: 133) states, “Identity is already always politicized.” However, this provides no assurance that

popular music studies are limited to relationships that are defined by binary oppositions, such as hegemony and resistance, or tradition and modernity. The construction of identities makes this case in point. Identity is localized and globalized. It sets boundaries and transcends them. It can reveal itself through hegemonic ideologies (national identity), or it can be a source of power for a subordinate group.

Identity is constructed through how people „do“ and not by what is. It reveals the most important element, the active participant with their voice (lyrical content) that gives the creation of popular music its meaning. The voice provides many layers or levels of meaning. A comparison of some featured popular music lyrics reveals that the active voice can be a means of protest, whether that of the oppressed or as a response to a changing world. The feeling of nostalgia is also an apparent experience featured in some lyrics. In the case of Okinawa, Inoue expands the „us“ and the „other“ by adding an additional identity that comes from economic prosperity. From economic prosperity comes a group of individuals with confidence are able to feel empowered by their cultural heritage. Being characterized not by their oppression, but rather their economic confidence, this group is also vital to the maintenance of their cultural identity. Identity, in this sense, is a source of power. However, this can work for both the oppressed and the economically confident. Within the lyrics, cultural markers are found. Music is just another symbolic reflection of social views and behaviors. According to Merriam (1964: 201-208) song text is language that serves many functions, whether as an enculturative device, expressed thoughts and ideas, or to offer psychological release. Merriam (1964: 205) postulates that “general cultural values revealed in song texts can be carried further to a study of underlying psychological set or „ethos“ of a particular culture.”

Frith (1989: 10) suggests that “Musical change is an effect of social change, and what historians have to understand, therefore, is the function of music in a society.” The study of non-Western popular music can therefore, establish some insight into how Okinawa and other Southeast Asian countries respond to globalization through means of popular music. The persistence of traditional music is linked to the idea that it continues to serve important functions in culture, politically, economically and socially. However, the combination of traditional and Western styles of music acting together to create popular music, helps to reaffirm identity, place, and allows for negotiations between the local and global processes. First and foremost, the making of popular music is a social phenomenon created by the people that embody certain traditional trademarks that have become easily accessible throughout the world. In the case of Okinawa, *eisa* represents the „soul“ of the people and the sound of *sanshin* is the bloodstream. As Kohama said, “Music is life of [the] Okinawan people.”

## **REFERENCES**

## LIST OF REFERENCES

Anderson, Benedict R.

1983 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Norfolk: Thetford Press Ltd.

Appadurai, Arjun

1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Becker, Judith

1975 Kroncong, Indonesian Popular Music. In *Asian Music*, vol. 7 (1): 14-19.

Billings, Dorothy K.

1987 Expressive Style and Culture: Individualism and Group Orientation Contrasted. In *Language in Society*, 16:475-97.

Bodden, Michael

2005 Rap in Indonesia Youth Music of the 1990s: "Globalization," "Outlaw Genres," and Social Protest. In *Asian Music*, vol. 36 (2): 1-26.

Brandon, Reiko Mochinaga and Barbara B. Stephan

1990 *Textile Art of Okinawa*. Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts.

Brennan, Timothy

2001 World Music Does not Exist. In *Discourse*, vol. 23 (1): 44-62.

Browne, Ray B.

1996 Internationalizing Popular Culture Studies. In *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 30 (1): 21-37.

Christy, Alan S.

1997 The Making of Imperial Subjects in Okinawa. In *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*. Tani E. Barlow (ed). Pp. 141-169. Durham: Duke University Press.

Cutler, Chris

1983 What is Popular Music? In *Popular Music Perspectives 2: Papers from the Second International Conference on Popular Music Studies, Reggio Emilia*, Sept. 19-24. David Horn, ed. Pp. 3-12. A. Wheaton & Co. Ltd, Exeter.

Epstein, Stephen

2001 Nationalism and Globalization in Korean Underground Music: Our Nation, Volume One. In *Asian Nationalism in an Age of Globalization*. Roy Starrs, ed. Pp. 374-387.

- Escobar, Arturo  
 1992 Culture, Practice and Politics: Anthropology and the Study of Social Movements. In *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 12: 395-432.
- Feld, Steven  
 2000 A Sweet Lullaby for World Music. In *Public Culture*, vol. 12 (1): 145-171.
- Frederick, William H.  
 1982 Rhoma Irama and the Dangdut Style: Aspects of Contemporary Indonesian Popular Culture. In *Indonesia*, vol. 34: 103-130.
- Frith, Simon  
 1989 Introduction. In *World Music, Politics and Social Change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*. Simon Frith, ed. New York: Manchester University Press.
- Gillan, Matt  
 2008 Treasures of the Island People: Tradition and Modernity in Yaeyaman Pop Music. In *Asian Music*, pp. 42-68.
- Grenier, Line and Jocelyne Guilbault  
 1990 "Authority" Revisited: The "Other" in Anthropology and Popular Music Studies. In *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 34 (3): 381-397.
- Haring, Douglas G.  
 1969 Okinawan Customs: Yesterday and Today. 1st Edition. Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Co.
- Hatch, Martin  
 1989 Popular Music in Indonesia. In *World Music, Politics and Social Change: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music*. Simon Frith, ed. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, pp. 47-67.
- Hook, Glenn D. and Richard Siddle, eds.  
 2003 Introduction: Japan? Structure and Subjectivity in Okinawa. In *Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity*. Pp. 1-18. London: Routledge Curzon.  
 2003 Return to Uchina: The Politics of Identity in Contemporary Okinawa. In *Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity*. Pp. 133-147. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Inoue, Masamichi Sebastian  
 2004 We are Okinawans But of a Different Kind, In *Current Anthropology*, 45(1):85-102.  
 2007 Okinawa and the U.S. Military: Identity Making in the Age of Globalization. New York: Columbia University Press.

Johnson, Chalmers

2000 *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*. New York: Henry Holt and Co, LLC.

Johnson, Henry

2001 Nationalism and Globalization in Okinawan Popular Music: Nenezu and Their Place in World Music Contexts. In *Asian Nationalism in an Age of Globalization*. Roy Starrs, ed. Japan Library: 359-373.

2006 Performing Okinawa: Eisa, Identity Construction and the Recontextualization of Traditional Performing Arts. In *Refereed Papers from the 2<sup>nd</sup> International Small Islands Cultural Conference*, pp. 68-75.

Kanai, Kikuko

1955 The Folk Music of the Ryukyus. In the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, vol. 7:17-19.

Kerr, George H.

2000 *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*. Revised Edition. Massachusetts: Tuttle Publishing.

King, Victor and William D. Wilder

2003 *The Modern Anthropology of South-East Asia: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon.

Kong, Lily

1995 Music and Cultural Politics: Ideology and Resistance in Singapore. In *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, vol. 20 (4): 447-459.

Kong, Lily and Phua Siew Chye

1996 Ideology, Social Commentary and Resistance in Popular Music: A Case Study of Singapore. In *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 30 (1): 215-231.

La Rue, Jan

1946 Native Music on Okinawa. In *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 32 (2):157-170.

Linton, Ralph

1945 *The Cultural Background of Personality*. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc: New York.

Lockard, Craig A.

1996 Popular Music and Politics in Modern Southeast Asia: A Comparative Analysis. In *Asian Music* 27(2):149-199.

Lomax, Alan

1968 *Folk Song Style and Culture*. Washington.

- Mamula, Stephen  
 2007 Starting from Nowhere? Popular Music in Cambodia after the Khmer Rouge. In *Asian Music*, vol. 39 (1): 26-41.
- Manuel, Peter and Randall Baier  
 1986 Jaipongan: Indigenous Popular Music of West Java. In *Asian Music*, 18:91-110.
- Manuel, Peter L.  
 1988 Popular Music of the Non-Western World: An Introductory Survey. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maretzki, Thomas W. and Hatsumi Maretzki  
 1966 Taira: An Okinawan Village. Six Cultures Series, Volume VII. John Wiley & Sons (1<sup>st</sup> edition).
- Maretzki, Thomas W.  
 1964 Ryukyuan Culture and Society: A Survey, eds. Allan H. Smith, Pp. 99-101. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Tanaka, Masako  
 1977 Categories of Okinawan "Ancestors" and the Kinship System. In *Asian Folklore Studies*, vol. 36 (2): 31-64.
- McCormack Gavan  
 2003 Okinawa and the Structure of Dependence. In *Japan and Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity*. Glenn D. Hook and Richard Siddle, eds. Pp. 93-113. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Merriam, Alan P.  
 1964 The Anthropology of Music. USA: Northwestern University Press.
- Middleton, Richard  
 1983 Popular Music, Class Conflict and the Music-Historical Field. In *Popular Music Perspectives 2: Papers from the Second International Conference on Popular Music Studies, Reggio Emilia*, Sept. 19-24: pp. 24-46.  
 1990 Studying Popular Music. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Miller, D  
 1995 Consumption and Commodities. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 24: 141-161.
- Miller, Terry  
 2005 From Country Hick to Rural Hip: A New Identity through Music for Northeast Thailand. In *Asian Music*, vol. 36 (2): 96-106.

- Molasky, Michael S.  
 1999 *The American Occupation of Japan and Okinawa: Literature and Memory*. New York: Routledge.
- Nettl, Bruno  
 1986 *World Music in the Twentieth Century: A Survey of Research on Western Influence*. In *Acta Musicologica*, vol. 58 (2), pp. 360-373.
- Ogura, Toshimaru  
 2003 *Military Base Culture and Okinawan Rock „n“ Roll*. In *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 4(3):466-70.
- Parkin, David  
 2001 *Escaping Cultures: The Paradox of Cultural Creativity*. In *Locating Cultural Creativity*. John Liep, ed. Pp. 133-143. London: Pluto Press.
- Pekkilä, Erkki  
 1994 *Nationalism, Regionalism, Leftism, and Individualism*. In *Ethnomusicology*, vol. 38 (3), pp. 405-408.
- Potter, John  
 2001 *The Power of Okinawa: Roots Music from the Ryukyus*. Japan: S.U. Press.
- Roberson, James E.  
 2001 *Uchinaa Pop: Place and Identity in Contemporary Okinawan Popular Music*. In *Critical Asian Studies*, 33(2):211-42.  
 2006 *Loochoo Beat(s): Music In and Out of „Okinawa“*. In *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*. Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto, eds. Pp. 202-220. New York: Routledge.
- Sakihara, Mitsugu  
 2006 *Okinawan-English Wordbook: A Short Lexicon of the Okinawan Language with English Definitions and Japanese Cognates*. Hawaii.
- Schechner, Richard  
 1985 *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sered, Susan  
 1999 *Women of the Sacred Groves: Divine Priestesses of Okinawa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seymour, Susan  
 2006 *Resistance*. In *Anthropological Theory*, vol. 6 (3): 303-321.

Shimabukuro, Zenko

1983 The Okinawan Mind in Proverbs. Naha: Okinawa High Speed Printing.

Son, Min-Jung

2006 Regulating and Negotiating in T<sup>u</sup>rot<sup>u</sup>, a Korean Popular Song Style. In *Asian Music*, vol. 37 (1): 51-74.

Starrs, Roy.

2001 Introduction. Asian Nationalism in an Age of Globalization. Roy Starrs, eds. Pp. xix-xxxv. Japan Library.

Stewart, Pamela J. and Andrew Strathern, eds.

2003 Introduction. In *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Pluto Press. Pp. 1-15.

Stokes, Martin

2004 Music and the Global Order. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 33: 47-72.

Sutton, R. Anderson

1980 Drumming in Okinawan Classical Music: A Catalogue of Gestures. In *Dance Research Journal*, vol. 13, no. 1:17-28.

2008 What's that Sound? Korean Fusion Music and the Ascendancy of the *Haegŭm*. In *Asian Music*, vol. 39 (2): 1-28.

Suwa, Jun'ichiro

2007 The Space of Shima. In *The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures*, vol. 1 (1):6-14.

Tanji, Miyume

2006 *Myth, Protest and Struggle in Okinawa*. New York: Routledge.

Taylor, Timothy D.

1997 *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. New York: Routledge.

Tobe, Hideaki

2006 Military Bases and Modernity: An Aspect of Americanization in Okinawa. In *Transforming Anthropology*, vol. 14 (1): 89-94.

Wade, Peter

2004 Globalization and Appropriation in Latin American Popular Music. In *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 39 (1): 273-284.

Wallerstein, Immanuel

1990 Culture as the Ideological Battleground of the Modern World-System. In *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 7: 31-55).

Wilson, James A.

2006 Political Songs, Collective Memories, and Kikuyu Indi Schools. In *History in Africa*, vol. 33: 363-388.

Yamashita, Shinji

1990 Listening to the City: Popular Music of Contemporary Indonesia. In *East Asian Cultural Studies*, vol. 27: 105-20.

Yamashita, Shinji, J.S. Eades and Joseph Brosco (eds)

2003 The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia. New York: Berghahn Books.

Yonetani, Julie

2004 Appropriation and Resistance in a Globalized Close Curly Double Quote Village: Reconfiguring the Local Global Dynamic from Okinawa. In *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 28: 391-406.

Outline of Okinawa Prefecture, date of issue February 2008, page 3, URL [http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/english/thisis/gaikyo\\_english.pdf](http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/english/thisis/gaikyo_english.pdf) [date cited: 12/10/2010].

Okinawa City Tourism Association, *Manglers Magazine*, vol. 28, 2007.

URL [http://www.farsidemusic.com/acatalog/History.html#okinawa\\_history](http://www.farsidemusic.com/acatalog/History.html#okinawa_history) [date cited: 06/15/2008].

URL <http://www.getlyrics.com> [date cited: 06/15/2008].

## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A.

### INTERVIEW WITH TAEKO CLONTS AND SHIZUE HARVEY

*This interview took place on June 26, 2007. Taeko Clonts and Shizue Harvey are both native Okinawans. At the time of the interview both was living in Wichita, Kansas, which is where the interview took place.*

Sandi: How are Okinawans often described?

**Taeko: Very kind and hospitable. They are quiet and shy, but once you meet you are brother and sisters. So, they will treat you like family members. It is the warmth that they have.**

**Shizue: “*Ichariba Choodee*” means „once we meet and talk, we are brothers and sisters.” Okinawan people are like that.**

Sandi: Have you ever participated in a protest of United States military facilities?

**Both Taeko and Shizue answered „no” to this question. Both of their husbands have at one point been enlisted into the United States military.**

Sandi: Do you think the presence of United States military facilities help Okinawa’s economy?

**Taeko: Yes. I think, personally having the military there is good because it is a security issue. Okinawans feel safe from other countries, especially North Korea and China. Having American base present along with Japanese military helps us feel secure.**

**Shizue: No. Too many bad things happen to Okinawan people from American soldiers. It is too noisy too.**

## APPENDIX B.

### INTERVIEW WITH TSUKASA KOHAMA

*This interview took place in Naha, Okinawa at I YaGwa Café on January 9, 2008. Kohama has owned I YaGwa Café since 2006. He produces music and writes liner notes for compact discs. His café is located off the outskirts of the main shopping and tourist area of Kokusai Street. Although it is very small, the amount of memorabilia of Okinawan folk music is abundant. His knowledge of Okinawan folk music is also very abundant. I met with Kohama on two occasions during my second trip to Okinawa, Japan. Both of my visits with him were very pleasant. He was very eager to talk about Okinawan music. While eating a traditional Okinawan dish, goya champuru, which Kohama also cooked, DVDS of past recordings of a popular Okinawan variety show played on the television. We set up to meet again in order for me to conduct the interview. I kindly invited me to come when an up and coming Okinawan artist, Kazutoshi Matsuda, was to perform. Interesting to note, when I walked into his café during my second visit, while I was sitting down at the bar, he handed me a Japanese Playboy magazine. I must have given him a look of disbelief, because he laughed and opened the magazine to an article that was about him and his role in the Okinawan music industry.*



**Figure 15 Tsukasa Kohama in I YaGwa Cafe**

Sandi: Where were you born?

**Kohama:** *Motobu town. Northern part called Yanbaru. It is very remote. I was born in the middle of the mountain. My birth house name is Iyagwa. It means „upper“ side of the house. So, that is why I named my café I YAGWA. Iyagwa is an Uchina Guchi name. Second name is Ju yu karu, which means „grandfather“ or grand, grandfather named after grandson.*

Sandi: How long has your café been opened?

**Kohama:** *Almost 2 years. I used to have a shop on Kokusai Street called Marumikana, but I moved here.*

Sandi: Do you get a lot of tourists?

**Kohama: Yes, mostly Japanese tourists.**

Sandi: So, Japanese people have an interest in Okinawan music?

**Kohama: Yes. I used to live in Japan. I moved to Naha to go to elementary school. Then I moved to Ginowan City where I graduated from Junior High School. I lived in all parts of Okinawa, north, south and middle. I now live in Naha.**

Sandi: How long have you been producing music?

**Kohama: Since 1988. I first produced Misako Osho. She used to be with *Nenes*. I went to mainland Japan to work. I lived there for four years. I came back to Okinawa in 1987. I studied literature, non-fiction. I started to become interested in Okinawan music when I came back to Okinawa.**

Sandi: What is shima uta about? What is the meaning?

**Kohama: Almost all songs are love songs. About 80% are love songs. Or talking about community. Each island has their own songs and their own kind of music, like min<sup>yo</sup>. They sing songs in different language, but sister language. Different dialect, but if you study you can understand. When I was visiting an island for one month I can understand Koten (classical music) and Okinawan min<sup>yo</sup>. I translate lyrics for cds.**

Sandi: Who are the new artists?

**Kohama: Toru, Matsuda, Tomika. They are the hope.**

Sandi: Do they sing the same songs? Old songs?

**Kohama: They sing new min<sup>yo</sup> or Okinawan pop. They also sing classic min<sup>yo</sup>. (I mentioned the group BEGIN, which is a group I watched; perform at the Love Rock Festival in Okinawa City in July of 2007 during my first trip. Kohama knew of them very well.) BEGIN first started out as blues, but then they remind of their country and they started singing their own music.**

Sandi: Tell me about the instruments used.

**Kohama: *Sanshin*, of course. *Samba* (he shows me clappers), koto, kokyo, big drum and small drums. *Eisa* is used with drums. (During Kazutoshi Matsuda's performance, a few people from the audience used a samba to participate with the performers. It reaffirmed the notion that participation of its members is encouraged.)**

Sandi: How about whistling? Is there any significance to it?

**Kohama: It creates an atmosphere. Whistle is called “gibi.”**

Sandi: Do the performers go to school?

**Kohama: Sanshin Kenkujo teaches min“yo or classic. But they don“t teach Uchina Pop. We have concert once a year. Freshman prize is handed out. After they graduate they can get their teacher“s license. We have min“yo organizations too. Okinawa has 10 associations. They give license and permits to teach.**

Sandi: What do you think music means to people?

**Kohama: Music is life of Okinawan people. The sound of sanshin is in our blood. When I was little I heard sanshin on the radio. Sometimes classic and sometimes min“yo. „Gen tai ken“ was sanshin. First experience was the sound of sanshin. They have celebrations in Okinawa. We always listen or perform sanshin at all celebrations. The sound of sanshin is blood stream of Okinawan people.**

Sandi: How would you describe Okinawan people?

**Kohama: (Laughing) Lazy.**

Sandi: What do you think about United States military in Okinawa?

**Kohama: When I was Junior High School student, Futenma Base was very near my house. It was very noisy, but sometimes American culture contributes positive things, such as music, like rock-n-roll. We can listen to new music before mainland Japan.**

Sandi: Do you think there are too many bases in Okinawa?

**Kohama: Yes.**

Sandi: What do you think future for shima uta in Okinawa? Do you think it will become popular?

**Kohama: Not many young people are interested in Okinawan music. Pop music made in Japan is not good. We have to let Asian music and Asian cultures influence. Tokyo is not about culture, but money. They just consume. We have to allow all music.**

Sandi: What do you know of Kenji Yano, Nenes and Kina Shoukichi? Is that considered Uchina Pop?

**Kohama: (Laughing) Shoukichi? He is a good performer.**

Sandi: What would you say to Americans about Okinawa?

**Kohama: American can come and challenge to play music. When I was a boy, there were many American people. Some were kind and good, but the surface was not good for us and Okinawan people. Bases, we hope become smaller.**