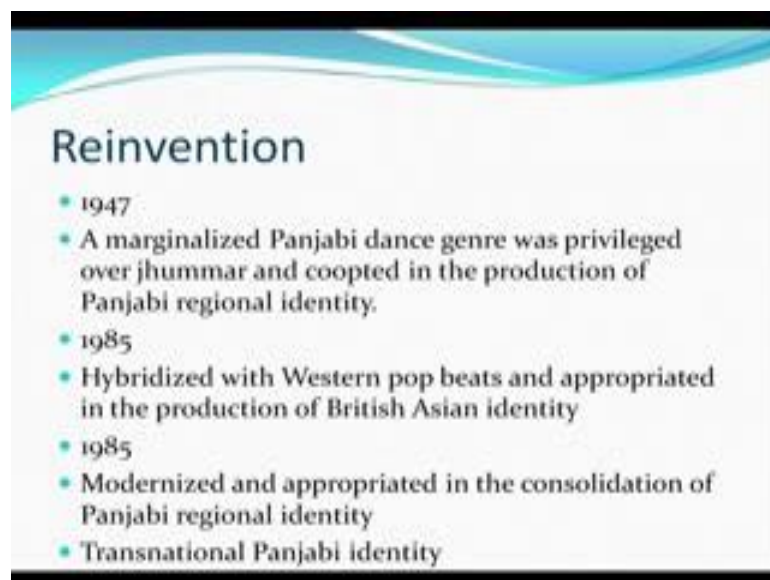


Globalization and Culture
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Lecture - 09
Disorienting Bhangra

We look at the reinvention of Bhangra several times before it is present contemporary reinventions in the mid eighties and nineties. I quickly summarize what we discussed in the previous session about the 1947 a marginalized Panjabi dance genre was privileged over Jhummar and Coopted in the production of Panjabi regional identity 85; this was hybridized with western pop beats.

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And appropriated in the production of British Asian identity and at the simultaneously, it was been modernized in the consolidation of Punjabi regional identity and in the nineties it is important in the production of a transnational Panjabi identity.

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Now, in early nineties it returns back to India on the way of new communication technologies liberalization of the economy and privatization of the skies through MTV and also by etc. Panjabi and the two leading figures in this reinvention were in the nineties were apache Indian from u k and the Daler Mehndi from India today I am going to look at in this particular unit I am going to look at how the new technology is a media which we said were globalization have played a significant role in Bhangras transformation it is reinvention over the years. Let us look at some of let us look at how the technologies have impacted Bhangra and how they have led to the transformation of Bhangra.

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Punjabi Folk Dance in the Global Village

- While the switchover to new media and technologies definitely altered the Indian cultural landscape in a variety of ways, the changes they ushered were entirely different from those predicted by globobphobes and technophobes. New media and communication technologies, together with deregulation and liberalization, have significantly altered Bhangra's content and form, released musical production and distribution from state control and led to a vernacular autonomy, while subjecting it new capitalist structure of domination.

As we said when we look at Punjabi folk dance in the global village while the switchover to new media and technologies, definitely altered the Indian cultural landscape in a variety of ways the changes they ushered were entirely different from those predicted by globobphobes, globobphobes a people who feared globalization and technophobes who are afraid of technologies.

New media and communication technologies together with deregulation and liberalization have significantly altered Bhangra's form and content released musical production and distribution from state control and led to a vernacular autonomy, which I spoke about earlier when, I said that globalization and new media technologies have also been in terms of unsettling international Germanies and in this case the emergence of a vernacular autonomy in the case of Bhangra, but it is not it is not an unexploding because at the same time it subjected to new capitalist structure of domination.

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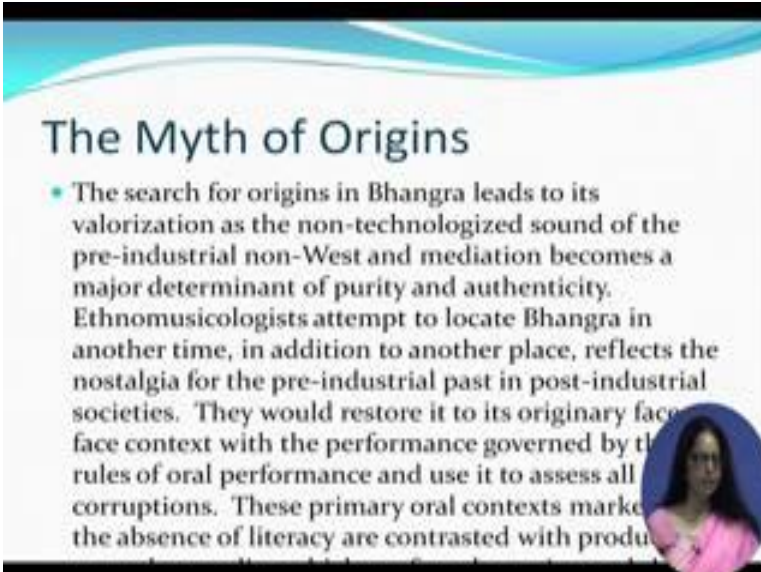


Bhangra Reinvention

- From Punjabi harvest dance to global dance music
- Live Face to Face Performance to Electronically Mediated Production
- Ong's Distinction between Primary and Secondary Orality
- McLuhan's Transformation Theory of Media
- Williams' Symptomatic Technologies
- considers particular technologies, or a complex of technologies, as symptoms of change of some kind and relates causes and effects to use by asserting that technology "acquires effective status when it is used."

So, when we look at Bhangra reinvention in relation to the theories of media that we would talking about earlier we see that, when a transforms from Punjabi harvest dance to global dance music it moves from a live to live face to face performance to electronic electronically mediated production and Ong's distinction between primary and secondary orality is where relevant. Here as this McLuhan's transformation of theory of media and Raymon Williams notion of symptomatic technologies.

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The Myth of Origins

- The search for origins in Bhangra leads to its valorization as the non-technologized sound of the pre-industrial non-West and mediation becomes a major determinant of purity and authenticity. Ethnomusicologists attempt to locate Bhangra in another time, in addition to another place, reflects the nostalgia for the pre-industrial past in post-industrial societies. They would restore it to its originary face-to-face context with the performance governed by the rules of oral performance and use it to assess all other corruptions. These primary oral contexts marked by the absence of literacy are contrasted with product

So, as techno deterministic determinism theory William (Refer Time: 04:45) when he

says that he considers particular technologies or a complex of technologies as symptoms of a change of some kind and relates causes and effects to use by asserting the technologies are take place within a social context. So, when we look at Bhangra and substation with purity of Bhangra and origins of Bhangra against with hybrid moutons of Bhangra compared we find that the research for origins in Bhangra leads to it is valorization as a non technologized sound of the pre industrial non west and mediation becomes a major determinant of purity and authenticity. So, it is the techno nostalgia which leads to a research for a origins and for. So, called pure forms of Bhangra.

Ethnomusicologists attempt to locate Bhangra in another time in addition to another place reflects the nostalgia for for the pre industrial past in post industrial societies. So, one reasons for the revival of Bhangra or for the excortication and the popularization of Bhangra in the west could be this nostalgia for a pre industrial past in post industrial society which elevates rustic music of presence and cultivators to the of global dance music ethnomusicologists were restore it is originary face to face context, with the performance governed by the rules of performance and use it to assess all feature corruptions now this is this is the case were what is happening with Bhangra there the research for the original form which we found yes in the previous session that they was no original form or if they was an original form it is lost it is origins are lost we do not know what that form look like accept in the bodies of Bazigar and the performing community we do not know that original because, what we have the documentation we have is that of the a form which, was already mixed through amalgamation of were as Punjabi dance in the invention of what the modern form of Bhangra is.

And these primary oral contexts are compared with the secondary context of secondary orality which is already contaminated with literacy the most recent.

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- The most recent transformation in Bhangra history has been revealed to be conditioned by socio-political causes rather than technologies. It is now agreed that the forming of boundaries after the Partition and displacement was one of the reasons that contributed to the neglect of Panjabi cultural genres.
- Berland Partition of Panjab and the closure of boundaries
- Alka Pande modernity and industrialization
- Gibb Schreffler the collapse of feudal patronage systems.

So, if we look at Bhangra's transformation the contemporary transformation in against the back background of this series of transformation that have occurred in it is history, we will see that the most recent transformation in Bhangra history like other transformation has been revealed to be conditioned by socio political causes rather than technologies it is now agreed that the forming of boundaries after the partition of India and of Punjab and displacement was one of the reasons that neglected to the contributed to the neglect of Panjabi culture Bhangra.

Ah the partition of Punjab and the closure of boundaries displaced performers because performers who used to Rome freely between the boundaries of not just under boarder India , but across the boundaries of, now found themselves being restricted by the coming up of borders not it was not possible when, it was in possible for them to Rome around to wonder across the boundaries across the boundaries partition of genres which originated in the western part of Punjab with could not travel to the east Punjabi or the part of Punjab and as a as a result the genres which are emerged in the western part were marginalized in the new India n Punjab after 1947, and later the marginalization of Jhummar to new newly produced form of Bhangra Alka Pande attributes the marginalization or transformation to modernity and industrialization and Gibb Schreffler the American, ethnomusicologists attributes say to the collapse of feudal patronage systems we find in the case of Bhangra that all this factors modernity and industrialization closure of boundaries and the collapse of feudal patronage systems

contributed to the transformation of Bhangra and other.

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- While their bourgeois patrons attempt to stabilize tradition by returning to particular origins, hereditary performers have displayed characteristic openness and eclecticism in absorbing new and external influences.
- Flexible, Freedom and Mobility
- Instruments tumbi, mandolin
- Openness to new influences
- Amenable to electronic mediation

So, as we already found that this attempt to close Bhangra to fix the boundaries of music have affected it is production and it is transformation.

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- Primary Orality vs Commercial Production
- Producing Authenticity
- Schreffler
- Melas, chinds, akharas
- Production of Jhummar
- Pokhar Singh's malecentric genre
- Complication of primary through secondary orality

So, if we are were to compare primary orality with commercial productions of Bhangra we will find that there is an attempt among ethnomusicologist to produce authenticity to allocate auto privilege this are called forms over the hybrid forms this search for origins

and the authenticity leads ethnomusicologists to search for the origins of Bhangra and one search some such search leads to the original performance contexts of Bhangra which were Melas Chinds and Akharas this were the context in which Bhangra was performed and not stage the staging of Bhangra because artificial staging Bhangra, with the consequent division between the performer and audience was a later development at the same time we have a production of Jhummar not only Bhangra, but Jhummar the revival of Jhummar and at the turn of turn of the century was largely through the efforts of once own partition of Jhummar called Pokhar Singh, who leaved in a border village and trained the youth of that village to in the movements of Jhummar which was almost on the verge of extinction in India on in eastern Punjabin in the India n Punjab and largely due to Pokhar Singh efforts the Jhummar form which was a dominant form in an undivided Punjab has been resurrected.

But then we look at if we look at this resurrection of Jhummar which happen largely through of course, it has been preserved lovingly preserved by Pokhar Singh by training the youth of his village in this nearly extent form through ironically once again a Punjabi film call [FL] in which Jhummar was performed and ever since not only Bhangra, but in the same way as Bhangra as staged and school collage functions and in Bhangra computation Jhummar is now being performed not only in Punjab, but in functions in Pujabi including the international Bhangra computations.

But what is the problem with Pokhar Singh Bhangra sorry Pokhar Singh Jhummar we found an example of Jhummar in the version number in Jagte Raho with Manohar Deepak forming the gentle graceful fluid movements of Jhummar, which are different from that of Bhangra, but apparently when ethnomusicologists such has Schreffler. When to collect samples of Jhummar and when to consoled Pokhar Singh they found that the pokar singh was a teenager when the last Jhummar was performed the story is that it was performed before Pandith Nehru and members who performed included Pokhar Singhs mother largely by female dancers of the of the performing community now when ethnomusicologist try to consult Pokhar Singh on what the original Jhummar look like he did not the voices of women, who are now who are now in the middle age were not and it was Pokhar Singhs version of Bhangra his understanding of Jhummar they dominated the voices of all other performers in the group what we have today what we have in the presentence what is called what is come to be known as Jhummar s again like tsunamis

Bhangra we have Pokhar Singhs Jhummar. Which is now become a Global Bhangra global dance genre.

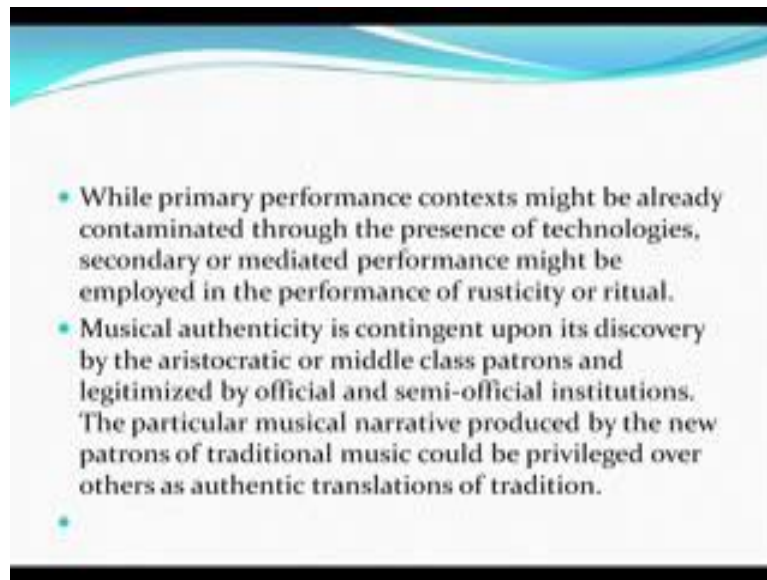
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Now, we find that primary orality as a concept has been complicated through the presence of secondary orality except for hereditary performers few Bhangra practitioners would claim the privileged position of primary orality through spontaneous composition even traditional performance cannot be viewed in isolation from the impact of secondary orality. Where through the mediated image and electronic reproduction Bhangra has been impacted hereditary performers has a choice between the anthropologizing gaze of the ethnomusicologist recorded unmediated performance to establish. It is purity or the reifying machinery of the cultural industry in which purity becomes a source of added value.

So, the hereditary performers have a choice either to anthropologize by ethnomusicologist who do not want to record mediated performances to record pure performances in face to face performance context on the other hand, we also have a culture industry with seems to reify and reify pure performance catering pandering or capitalizing on the culture of authenticity and purity which is emerged in post industrial west craving for culture and the purity of pre technologies music.

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So, while performance primary performance contexts might be already contaminated through the presence of technologies as we saw that we do not have any documentation and the movement one tries to document perform it becomes mediated. It becomes contaminated it becomes an object of secondary orality rather than primary orality through the presence of technologies secondary or mediated performance might be employed in the performance of rusticity or ritual this is very important the distinction between primary orality and secondary orality between face to face performance and electronically mediated performance, as big as become redundant or as become more complicated.

Then who let us have because we find recorded music being played not only in the not only in entertainment, but even in secret context or in the performance of rituals or whether it is wedding or it is any other birth related ceremony where Bhangra is performed when finds that sometimes only recorded music is played recordings of original Bhangra performances are played or after token live performances by folk singers or folk dancers people the party or the celebrations of the rituals switch over to recorded music.

Musical authenticity therefore, is contingent upon it is discovery by the aristocratic or middle class patrons and legitimized by official and semi official institutions the particular musical narrative produced by the new patrons of traditional music could be

privileged over others as authentic translations of tradition as we saw in the case of Bhangra it was the particular musical narrative produced by the maharaja of Patiala in collaboration with state officials and the performers that has been privileged over what could what we do not know what was an authentic translation of tradition. So, before I go to the Bhangra performance per say.

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I would like to trace it is history of a of the contemporary Bhangra music genre in the birth of what was known as folks song following the European classification of music as folk and classical music and this the electronic mediation of folk music began with the setting up during the gramophone era, and it was the recording and dissemination technologies that contributed to the displacement of the feudal patronage by state patronage to a certain extent there by altering the relation between performers and patrons.

So, the gramophone era the gramophone signals is shift of patron and systems from feudal patronage to state patronage or commercial patronage which alter the relation between performers and patrons now Regula Quereshi as spoken lot in the case of Bhangra, where in the case of Kavali a hegemonic alliance between recording companies dissemination media and patrons in the gramophone era in India in which centralized state controlled media like radio disseminated music produced by a monopolistic record industry. So, the first stage is the recording of folk music by a monopolist com record

industry large mainly the gramophone company of India and the same productions were disseminated over the radio to the masses..

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Now, the gramophone company of India record show that between 1908 and 1916 it recorded a secular music Kafis mainly of Bulleh shah some Qawwalis and Giddha in secular music and in the category of spiritual music get recorded Sikh spiritual music with the means of dissemination under state control in the Colinal and post colonial era and their dependence on a monopolistic recording industry we must remember that, the production of music as well as dissemination of music was centralized and controlled by a small taste group in metropolitan centers. So, the gramophone India company of India or all India radio disseminated or produce the music that had a that was that had listeners that, was appreciated by small taste group in metro metropolitan centers namely the Hindi, Urdu of non India and this was the music which was also disseminated after the independence of India by the post colonial India n state on all India radio.

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The during the radio age the radio age did democratize culture production notwithstanding the notwithstanding the misgiving of school theory like by making production available to the masses for a fraction of the cost because during the gramophone era Garmo gramophone was expensive and the listening to music recorded l ps long plat records restricted to the two very small group in India with the all India radio during the radio age this music was disseminated to the became available to the masses, but the radio age radio also continue to play the role of the custodian of high class classical music all India radio did subvert feudal patriarchal domination in and also expressed a preference for urban professionals over, hereditary performers.

Now this switch from hereditary performers as we noted earlier in the case of dance as well as in this case of music by displacing hereditary performers who are stigmatize because of their association with certain professions which were, which offended morality were displaced and naturalized and the function the responsibility of culture preservation was now given to urban professionals were certain of them, who are several of whom were middle class urban professions through the through the birth of the profession performer professional dancers as well as the professional singer.

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The Kaur Sisters

- 1940s Parkash and Surinder Kaur
- Middle class background
- Destabilization of class, gender, caste categories
- Alteration of patronage systems and traditional performance etiquette
- Mirasis performing for upper caste landowners and royalty
- Transformation in the genre



Ah now in the case of we will not talk about professional performers in rest of India confine as to Punjab because as it pertains to the later hybridization and transformation of Bhangra in the u k and the transformation of Bhangra from dance to music from the mixing of folk sing with folk music the first professional performer.

We will not look at the gramophone era which does another recordings of some hereditary performers including the stigmatize and also some celebrated practicians of the kafi and Sufiyana we come to the radio era and the birth of profession of the radio singer with the, Kaur sisters the first all India radio which is a private company initially set up by the British in an nineteen thirties by nineteen forties it has a centre in it had a very important centre in Lahore and all India radio Lahore introduced a Kaur sisters first Parkash Kaur. Who belong to middle class who had a middle class back ground who became the singing star of the all India radio in nineteen forties that Kaur sisters lastly signed Punjabi folk music, but they transformed folk music to fit into the radio format as appose to the traditional folk music the folk song or the Gheeth in Punjab, which was which largely consisted of calls and responses such as the as we call the Bhangra Bolis the calls and responses which would consist of non sense formula and response which would be which would be again which would vary which would drain with the formulaic call.

Now, the Kaur sisters altered this altered the structure of the folk song or Gheeth by using by improvising on traditional formulae inventing new formulae and also improvising on new from formulae to offer individual productions which fitted into the radio format the 3 minute radio song format, and those hereditary partitions who are not able to confirm or adopt to the requirements of the new media where not preferred by all India radio.

So, Surinder Kaur who considered the fore mother of Bhangra who acknowledged as the founding as the founding figure in the history of Punjabi folk music came from middle class family she was a teenage when she was discovered by all India radio and she performed along with the sister Parkash Kaur who died very young now this led to the destabilization of class gender caste categories it also altered led to the alteration of patronage systems and traditional performance etiquette because as in unlike in the past where Mirasis the performing caste of Mirasis perform for a upper caste landowners and royalty none of middle class performers and that led to the transformation of the genre not only the a combination of loss of change in patronage system as well as requirements of the new medium altered the k the recognition.

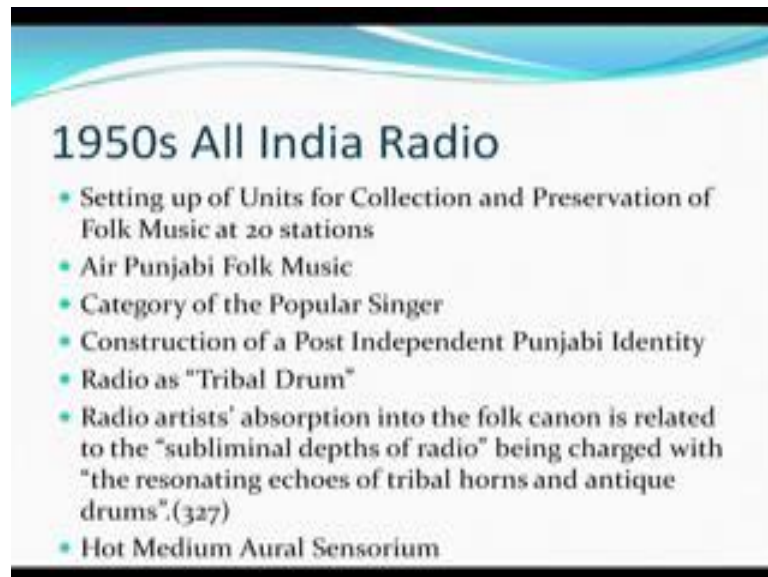
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Now, Kaur ability to adjust their composition to the requirements of the recording medium to innovations in folk music they introduce original flock compositions in the folk style by expanding the Boli to fit the record and radio format and it is presentation

was patterned classical or filmy singing rather than folk singing. The presentation change and we also find and intrusion of orchestra and western instruments.

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Before we close I would like to play to use some samples from the legendary singers albums quickly. So, I am going to play to you a very iconic song by Surinder Kaur.

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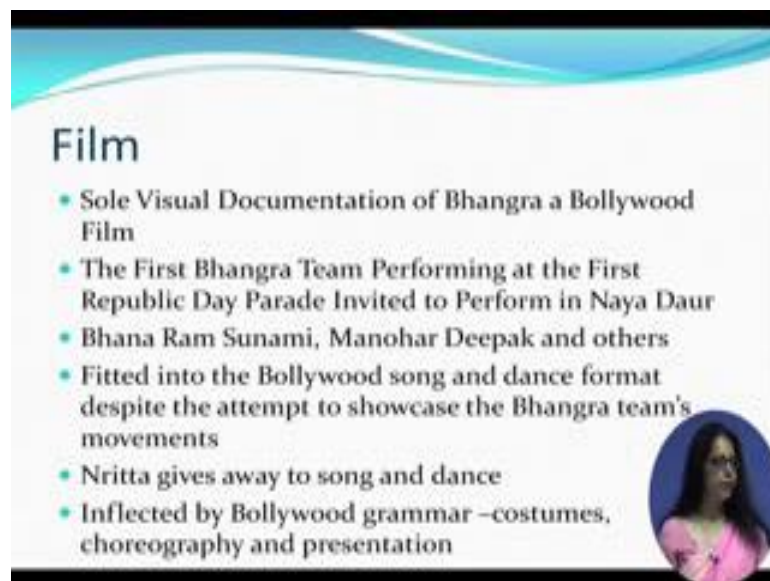


Some of the iconic song by Surinder Kaur these are the two sisters Surinder Kaur and Parkash Kaur and this song the which is now entered the folk [FL] is a song which is

which is an individual composition most of us who have grown up listening to this song and heard it at weddings and other performance did not who are not aware that, this was not folk song it was a composition by the two sisters and it is in a reversal the folk song the individual composition by the two sisters entered the reputai of the Pujabi folk geeth.


So, the radio era let us conclude with the radio era in the 1950's the setting up of the all India radio with set of unit is for collection and preservation of folk music at two stations began to air Punjabi folk music and thus was born the category of the popular singer and the popular singer play an important role in the construction of a post independent Punjabi identity and the radio served as a tribal drum radio artists absorption into the folk canon is related to the subliminal depth of radio being charged with the resonating echoes of tribal horns and antique drums and it is what call the hot medium.

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Film

- Sole Visual Documentation of Bhangra a Bollywood Film
- The First Bhangra Team Performing at the First Republic Day Parade Invited to Perform in Naya Daur
- Bhana Ram Sunami, Manohar Deepak and others
- Fitted into the Bollywood song and dance format despite the attempt to showcase the Bhangra team's movements
- Nritta gives away to song and dance
- Inflected by Bollywood grammar –costumes, choreography and presentation



And appeal to the aural sensorium we have already talked about film how films serves as a sole visual documentation of Bhangra.

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And the first dream I do not need to repeat this because we have already talked about the film we will move on to the Doordarshan the television era. As I said earlier while talking about Bhangra reinvention Gurdas Manns performance at the new year eve programming in 1980 which was which transformed both the Geeth as well as the Nreth both Punjabi folk song and Punjabi folk dance through marrying sound and dance with lyrics and this, how to modernize Bhangra and also resulted in the birth of the urban professional Bhangra performer, now this urban professional Bhangra performer unlike the archaized folk artist of Naya Daur.

We must remember that even the Deepak brothers were middle class performers who they although they were trained by Banaran tsunami they were the first professional performers of Bhangra, but they does must be given credit of reinventing Bhangra unlike the Deepak brothers who a said tradition moves and like them Bhangra was reinvented by Gurdas Manns, who married song with dance I will what produce let us take a quick look at he produced and we have fortunately this recording of his first performance .

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As you can see that Bhangra is already altered new genres bond which is not the dance, but is the marriage of dance with song and dance.

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And simultaneously we also find that music Geeth is being produced in Punjab and this these musical production of folk music outside the Germany all India radio, which recorded which had it is own list of artist with the coming of a cassette culture the

Punjabi musical production regional music production broke out of this monopoly of all India radio and certain music companies through the availability of cheaply produced cassettes, which were which were not produced by a new company called t series.

Ah company which market original folk music which was enjoyed by number of people in India , but was not produced a marketed by the musical agents like HMV, sa re ga ma and this new entrant began to produce music of regional stars who use to give live performances and one of the star was singe call Amar Singh Chamkila whose lyrics who is immensely talented singer called Amar Singh Chamkila, whose lyrics demonstrated verbal play puns lyrical complexity is, but who is unfortunately also is invendos and his puns made him the target of terrorist during the terrorist movement in Punjab and he was shot down now it is this albums this cheaply produced cassettes which formed a way into the diasporas as diasporic Punjabi returning home with carry home carry bag this albums this cassettes of singers from Punjab to their homes and these were the songs which they kids like apache India n grow up listening to.

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So, we can conclude with the satellite technology and the impact on or a satellite technology MVT and music video and their impact on the production of Bhangra as well as it is transformation. So, with the music video as suppose Doordharshan television there is a difference in the format of Bhangra dancing we saw Gurdas Maan performing on Doordhardhan live which was a different kind of performance by what we see in the

music video, because a now the new music video is the Bhangra music video demonstrated a privacy of the visual over the oral and they invariably use the MTV format of the music video and this music video is best performer represented by the another pioneer of Bhangra the pioneer of Bhangra pop or Punjab pop called Daler Mehandi which again led to a different kind of globalization of Bhangra not through it is diasporization on the US, UK, but through it is transformation or modernization in India in which the vilayeti was mixed with desi, let us listen to Daler Mehandi once again we have the Daler Mehandi's first album.

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So, a million couples can the state of southern state of Kerala and made that is now history.

So, the first time that non film music run for his money to Bollywood music which had so far dominate musical production well as reception, but please ignore the lyrics because this is a translation sub titles which are given by someone who are obviously understand in Punjabi, but the superstar we have like Gurudas Maan who had an extremely personality we have slight pleasantly plumb figure of the Daler Mehandi performing and his video coming a hit within India nationalizing music in Bhangra and also leading to it is globalizations subsequently.

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And now let us look at how this Bhangra was globalized let us look at some examples of Bhangra being globalized and that performance dancing to Bhangra in the Daler Mehndi's Bhangra. Few samples fix samples; I would like to play a white audience playing to [FL]. So, you can say it is not just the Bhangra produced in UK, but also produced in India which is now being which found audience across the world. With this we conclude the section on all the transformation in the content of Bhangra and in the genre of Bhangra through the mediation of electronic technologies, and how purity is a meth which cannot really be sustained in view of the frequent reinventions and transformation of Bhangra.