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"DRIVE-ETHNO-DANCE" AND "HUTZUL PUNK": UKRAINIAN-ASSOCIATED POPULAR MUSIC AND (GEO)POLITICS IN A POST-SOVIET CONTEXT

by David-Emil Wickström

Introduction[1]

> The style [of Ruslana's song "Wild Dances"] can be called "drive-ethno-dance," a combination of ethnic sounds of the mountain people of the Hutsuls with modern rock, pop and dance elements. (Ruslana n.d.a)

Ruslana's winning performance of "Dyki Tantsi"[2] (Wild Dances) at the Eurovision Song Contest 2004 opened with *trembity* (plural; sing. *trembita*), alpine horns linked to, inter alia, the Hutsuls (a Ukrainian ethnic minority). However, *trembity* are not only used by Ruslana, but also incorporated into songs by other Ukrainian groups like Mad Heads XL's "Smereka" (2005) and Haydamaky's "Tini zabutykh predkiv" (2002). The use of local instruments and melodies in the music which Ruslana in the opening quote labels "drive-ethno-dance" is a way in which some groups from Ukraine anchor themselves. According to Armin Siebert, one of the directors of the Berlin Label Eastblok Music,[3] which specializes in music from Eastern Europe, it is also an exciting element of Russian and Ukrainian popular music:

> A lot of Russian and—even stronger in Ukraine—Ukrainian groups try to use the profoundness of their culture [e.g., folklore] in their modern rock music ... And yeah, that's of course something which we especially think is very exciting, because we think that the Slavic culture, roughly speaking, is very profound and that one should not negate that, because it is really something special, which does not exist in the West. (interview, 19 July 2006; my translation)

1. This article is a reworked and expanded version of a conference paper read at the 39th World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music (Vienna, Austria, 5 July 2007). I would like to thank Nataliya Chumak, Neil Edmunds, Adriana Helbig, Ursula Hemetek, Annemette Kirkegaard, Olha Kolomyyets', Oleh Kovtun, Anastasia Kozhevnikova, Sergio Mazzanti, Morten B. Michelsen, Armin Siebert, Nina Simkunas, Henrik Smith-Sivertsen, Maria Sonevytsky, Yngvar B. Steinholt, Jane C. Sugarman, Oleksandr Yarmola, members of the Dansk Selskab for Traditionel Musik og Dans (the Danish ICTM section), and the two anonymous reviewers for valuable feedback and comments.

2. I use the Library of Congress's romanization tables for Russian and Ukrainian (1997). The only exceptions are either other transcription systems used in written correspondence by my research objects or official spelling of names and words in languages other than Russian or Ukrainian (e.g., Haydamaky, Wladimir Kaminer, and Yuriy Gurzhy).

3. Armin Siebert and Alexander Kasparov, both formerly employed at the record label EMI's Eastern European division, founded the label in 2004.

The interest in Eastern European music using traditional elements seems to be rising in Germany and Austria, especially in regional centres like Berlin and Vienna. In Berlin this interest is facilitated by Wladimir Kaminer and Yuriy Gurzhy's popular event Russendisko and the above-mentioned record label Eastblok Music, while in Vienna the club Ost Klub focuses on Eastern European music and functions in its own words as a "bridgehead between the Orient and Occident" (Ost Klub n.d.; my translation).

Mixing elements of (perceived) traditional music[4] is nothing new within the discourse of popular music. Groups like Hubert von Goisern (Austria), Gåte (Norway), or Hoven Droven (Sweden) are only three examples of European groups active within the last decade.[5] This has also been theorized within the academic discourse primarily through the term "hybridity," which within post-colonial theory has been strongly influenced by Homi Bhahba's (1990, 1994) writings on the "third space." Often used in combination with immigrant communities or diasporas, the term focuses on cultural production (in relation to music, this is especially within the world music market) which draws on and blends different (local) styles. The term is used in contrast to "authenticity," central within the popular music and rock discourse (in spite of the fact that music is hybrid, drawing on local or traditional music can also be a sign of authenticity within, for example, the world music discourse) (Stokes 2004:59; Solomon 2006:1). While these terms have enabled important contributions to research on popular music, I prefer not to use them since music and musicians have always been influenced by its/their surroundings (all music is in this sense hybrid) and since the term tends to celebrate a positive multicultural cosmopolitan approach to music, overlooking the fact that this is not always the case (e.g., the two Ukrainian case studies in this article show a nationalist approach).[6]

While a band's use of traditional elements can have different purposes, the perception of this identity can vary and does not necessarily reflect the intended use. One of music's characteristics is its ability to be overwritten with new meanings and perceived identities not necessarily intended by its creator. These new fluid meanings are enhanced today through the growing recontextualization of music in new locations for a new audience. While these new meanings are interesting, it

4. *Traditional music* is a problematic term, especially in the former Soviet Union, where artificial national styles of each socialist republic were promoted as folklore (hence, *invented traditional music* would be more accurate). I use the term to refer to musical activities associated with local, ethnic, or national groups. The term *traditional music* is preferred over the equally problematic term *folk music,* since the latter implies a divide between so-called high- and folk culture, where folk culture roots itself in a national romantic idealization of so-called peasant culture.

5. I deliberately stress European groups here to emphasize that this is not only a phenomenon within the record industry category of *world music* (even though those bands both profit from the world music discourse and are also marketed as world music in some locations).

6. For some seminal works on the circulation of music, identity, hybridity, world music, and questions of representation, see Slobin (1993), Feld (1994, 2000a, 2000b), Lipsitz (1994), Mitchell (1996), Taylor (1997), Erlmann (1999), Brusila (2003), Stokes (2004), and Solomon (2006).

is equally important to focus on the original context of the groups and discourses they are involved in.

This article's main case studies are two bands which emerged after the fall of the Soviet Union in Ukraine. They promote themselves as bands with links to Ukraine, incorporating Ukrainian traditional music and images: the Ukrainian singer Ruslana Lyzhychko is probably best known for her participation in (and winning of) the Eurovision Song Contest 2004 with the song "Wild Dances." Haydamaky was originally founded as Aktus, shortly after Ukraine declared its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, and adopted the present name, Haydamaky,[7] in 2001. Furthermore, this article also discusses the St. Petersburg–based band Svoboda (Freedom), founded in 2003, and the Moscow-based singer Oleg Gazmanov (b. 1951) to briefly show two perceptions of Ukraine in Russia.

The focus of this article is the intersection of music and (geo)politics. Questions which are important here are how the groups present themselves and what (musical) codes they draw on, specifically how traditional music and national(ist) history is used to construct band identities. These strategies will be examined on a discursive and a performative level as well as from a post-colonial perspective. While Edward Said (1991) in his seminal book *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* focused on how the representation of the colonies in the Near and Middle East is fashioned by a European discourse of "the other," post-colonial studies have extended their field to include Africa and so-called third world countries. David Chioni Moore (2001) broadened the scope further by arguing that the countries of the former Soviet Union can be viewed as colonized due to the extended period for which they were subjected to both Russian imperial and Soviet rule.[8] Thus, the relationship to the former colonizer Russia and questions of representation are also discussed in this article.

The material presented is based on the websites of the groups discussed, on recordings, and two music videos. This is supplemented by fieldwork conducted in St. Petersburg and Berlin from 2004 until 2006. My findings are thus primarily based on a media reading of how the bands portray and market themselves.

Ukraine: A short historical overview

Due to its geographical location between Russia, Belarus, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Moldova, the country that constitutes Ukraine today has, among others, been part of the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg empires, as well as the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. Thus Ukraine's position as a country divided between Russia and Europe has a long history and strong socio-cultural ties to both

7. The band also uses the spelling Haidamaky.

8. While Ukraine now is formally independent, and thus post-colonial in a temporal meaning, applying the term conceals that the country still remains within Russia's sphere of influence both economically (as the disputes over gas in winter 2005–6 showed) as well as culturally. Ania Loomba (2002:7) points to an important distinction to keep in mind when she writes that a "country may be both postcolonial (in the sense of being formally independent) and neocolonial (in the sense of remaining economically and/or culturally dependent) at the same time."

Russia and Poland exist: both Russia and Ukraine claim the same "origin," the Kievan Rus'—a loose conglomeration of city-states with Kiev as its original centre and at times main force. Following the Mongolian invasion (1237–40) the territory fell under Polish and Lithuanian rule (which then became the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth). The Treaty of Andrusovo (1667) divided Ukraine along the Dnipro River into Left-Bank Ukraine (on the eastern side, under Muscovite influence) and Right-Bank Ukraine (on the western side, under the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Important for the context of this article is the Haydamaky partisan movement mainly consisting of Orthodox peasants and Cossacks, based in Right-Bank Ukraine. This movement included three major insurrections (1734, 1750, 1768) targeted against Polish landowners, Jews, and clerics from the Roman Catholic and Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church[9] (Kappeler 1994:102ff). Through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ukraine and neighbouring territories were incorporated into the Russian empire and then later into the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. While Ukraine became an independent state after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia has tried to retain its influence, especially in the eastern part of the country. This was also one of the reasons for the Orange Revolution in 2004, which pitted the more Western European–orientated politicians Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko against the Russian-favoured candidate Viktor Yanukovych and the outgoing president Leonid Kuchma. While I do not want to reproduce the Eastern vs. Western Ukraine reduction of the Orange Revolution propagandized in European and Russian media, one issue was staked around Ukrainian national identities and language politics in a post-Soviet world.

Due to its history, Ukraine is both religiously (Ukrainian-orthodox, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic) as well as linguistically heterogeneous (Russian, Ukrainian). One means to emphasize a cultural difference and national identity distinct from Russia is the Ukrainian language, which has become a symbol for a sovereign Ukraine. The increased use of Ukrainian,[10] especially after Ukraine's independence, can thus

9. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, an Eastern or Byzantine rite church in communion with the Roman Catholic Church, became an institution during the Church Union of Berestia in 1596 in order to enable equal treatment of orthodox clergy and believers in the Catholic Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The establishment of the church started a religious polemic with the particularly the Cossacks opposing the church and massacring its followers, e.g., during the Cossack-Polish wars (1648–57) and the Haydamaky partisan movement (Yekelchyk 2004).

10. The Ukrainian language was officially promoted in Ukraine by the Soviet Union in the 1920s and early 1930s through the maxim "National in Form, Socialist in Content." However, this cultural policy came to an end with Stalin's purges in the 1930s and was replaced with Soviet patriotism and russification (the official written and spoken language was Russian, based on the Moscow dialect). While there were subsequently minor changes and thaws in the cultural policy, especially after Stalin's death in 1953 and within the dissident movement from the late 1950s, Russian remained the dominant language during the Soviet period (cf. Kappeler 1994). Bahry (1994:251) writes that people singing only in Ukrainian were until 1989 branded as "bourgeois nationalists" by the communist party. This is, however, slightly in contradiction to what she writes earlier (ibid.:244) regarding the state-sponsored vocal-instrumental ensembles (VIA) which were forced to sing in either Russian or Ukrainian.

also be perceived as a signal of exclusion for the Russian speaking population of Ukraine, some of whom have relocated to Russia partly because of a feeling of alienation (amongst them the singer of the group Svoboda, discussed below).[11] This can also be viewed as a post-colonial struggle against the former colonial power Russia and the Soviet Union which peaked in the Orange Revolution.

"A picturesque variant of the Russian people": Russian perceptions of Ukraine

Despite this post-colonial struggle "the majority of Russians still see the Ukrainians as 'malorossy' [little Russians], as a part of the Russian Nation and do not understand why the Ukrainians strive for an own language, an own culture and an own state" (Kappler 2003:53; my translation).

Kappler (2003:37) adds that during the nineteenth century Ukrainians were primarily looked upon as a picturesque variant of the Russian people. This notion was reflected by a lot of people I talked to in St. Petersburg. They referred to the Ukrainians as a brother people or even as part of Russia. When I asked Viktor Kultashov, a local musician, about his attitude towards Ukraine he answered:

> But they were at one time part of Russia. I think that because they separated from us, they didn't become a country which is different from us—I think they remained a part of us, but don't want to admit that. (interview, 12 February 2006; my translation).

This attitude that Ukraine is inherently a part of Russia is also reflected in the Russian music station Nashe radio's music policy:

> The most complete collection of rock 'n' roll and everything stylish in our music today. Our music! Our radio—made in Russia! (Jingle on Nashe Radio St. Petersburg during 2005 and 2006; my translation).

Their definition of music made in Russia includes Moldovan, Belarus, and Ukrainian groups (Vopli Vidopliasova, Okean El'zi), thus building on the idea of the Russian or Soviet empire. When I asked the station's general director in St. Petersburg, Elena Danilova (interview, 21 June 2006), about this, she replied that in the Soviet Union it used to all be the same. This thinking is also reflected in the lyrics to Oleg Gazmanov's 2005 song "Sdelan v SSSR" (Made in the USSR):

> Ukraine and the Crimea, Belarus and Moldova—That is my country.
> Sakhalin and Kamchatka, the Ural mountains—That is my country
> The Krasnoyarsk Territory, Siberia and the Volga Region, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus, and the Baltic States as well.
> I was born in the Soviet Union
> I was made in the USSR. (Gazmanov 2005; my translation).

11. See Wanner (1996) for an analysis of the second Chervona Ruta Music Festival (1991) in Zaporizhzhia (east Ukraine) in relation to a bourgeoning Ukrainian nationalism. Wanner highlights how ethnic Ukrainians who were socialized to be Russian were alienated by the cultural performance of Ukrainian nationalism at the festival.

Gazmanov, a well-known Russian popular musician and producer, proclaims in the lyrics—without irony—that Ukraine is part of his country, the Soviet Union, where he was born (the lyrics go on to discuss proud achievements and important personalities in Russian and Soviet history, e.g., mentioning in one sentence the KGB, the Russian ministry of the interior, and great science). The song ends with a plea to the former Soviet republics to reunite with Russia:[12]

> Even Europe formed a union,
> Together our forefathers have fought,
> Together the Second World War was won,
> Together we're [the Soviet Union] the world's largest country,
> The borders are choking us,
> [we] can't go anywhere without a visa,
> How do you get along without us,
> please let us know, friends! (Gazmanov 2005; my translation).

This view of Ukraine as a part of Russia did not make the Orange Revolution too popular in Russia, especially in the media coverage (and Gazmanov's song, which was released in 2005, could be seen as a response to both the Ukrainian Orange Revolution and the 2003 Georgian Rose Revolution). Furthermore, people I talked to were of the opinion that Ukrainians were to blame themselves for the problems they experienced after the revolution (e.g., inflation). The negative coverage of Ukraine continued during the gas crisis in winter 2005–6. In response to that, the Ukrainian group Okean El'zi's lead singer said both on Nashe radio and during a concert the same day (31 January 2006, St. Petersburg) that listeners could learn more about Ukraine by visiting their concerts than by watching Russian TV.

Russia's pressure on Ukraine also provokes strong emotional replies from Ukraine, like the following statement made by Haydamaky's singer Oleksandr Yarmola during an interview:

> I think the orientation towards Russia and the Russian influence is dangerous. It is only about oil, that is all. A big bear with a balalaika, bullshit! [*sic*] We think that the only path for Ukraine goes westwards, in order to be integrated with Europe. (ARTE 2008; my translation)

Changing from a Russian to a Ukrainian perspective, the next part of this article focuses on how Ruslana and Haydamaky promote a sovereign Ukraine (distancing the country from Russia) both by anchoring their creative work in Ukraine as well as in the way they promote themselves. A short discussion of Ruslana's music video "Kolomyika" provides the first example.

12. The chanted lyrics are supported by a singable melody, a medium tempo, and a rhythmic basis with clear accents, while the structure and sound is reminiscent of a live concert in a stadium. Structured in a call-and-response fashion (the response being "That/This is my country") and thus inviting the audience to sing along, the idiom is similar to 1980s bands playing in stadiums (e.g., Queen). While not too different from Bruce Springsteen's *Born in the U.S.A.* (1984), Springsteen's lyrics are highly critical of the USA and how Vietnam veterans were treated. Gazmanov's music video can be viewed on his website (Gazmanov n.d.).

Ruslana: "Kolomyika"

Ruslana's "Kolomyika" clip[13] opens with idyllic landscape pans showing churches, forests, and a river with a tall snow-covered mountain in the background, accompanied by a slow introduction only sung by Ruslana, harmonized with voices humming in the background. This fades to an image of a peasant girl (Ruslana) waking up, dressed in a *vyshivanka* from the Carpathian region (an embroidered blouse widely used in Ukraine). At the same time a casting crew with the logo *Kak stat' zvezdoi* (How to become a Star) attached to its bus arrives at a Hutsul peasant village and the song's tempo doubles, replacing Ruslana's vocals with an instrumental intro. The casting crew places a poster with the writing "Kasting Zirok. Kolo Myiki" (Casting for stars. Near the washing),[14] where "kasting" is crossed out and replaced with the synonym "(s)election" (*vybory*) on the bulletin board. The crew's main characters are an overweight man with a cellphone dangling around his neck and a blonde woman, whose big breasts the man cannot keep his hands off. Both are dressed in urban non-folkloric clothes. The village inhabitants on the other hand are all dressed in costumes associated with Ukrainian folklore. Accompanied by a *troisti muzyki*, a traditional instrumental ensemble, they collect in the village square and then seat the casting crew in the village club. The crew is served local peasant specialties (which they devour like animals) while they cast the peasants presenting aspects of their "local" traditions (an old woman with her sheep, the village band, the local policeman with a machine gun, the village bodybuilder, a stripper in a modernized folklore costume, and finally a protesting Ruslana dressed in a *vyshivanka*). Throughout the clip, Ruslana is portrayed as being against the casting. However, the crew picks her. While she is being made up for the show she rebels and slaps the producer in the face, thereby starting a brawl between the villagers and the casting crew. Then some shots show Ruslana with the villagers performing in a country bumpkin manner in front of several backdrops (inter alia, the Sydney opera house and Dyki Tantsi—Wild Dances—in gold letters) before the clip ends with a group photo of the villagers in front of the village club with the casting people also included.

This clip can be interpreted as a clash between urban "commercial" culture and traditional rural culture which literally beats off the urban culture while at the same time appropriating elements of urban culture in its own way. My analysis, however, is more concerned with strategies of how the clip is locally anchored. These strategies can be examined on three levels: lyrics, images, and sounds. I choose this tripartite model both because I consider music videos an "artistic practice" (Vernallis 2004:x) and because the different levels reinforce the interpretation (cf. Goodwin 1993; Cook 2000; Vernallis 2004).

13. According to a sub-page on Ruslana's website (n.d.b), the clip was shot in 2003 in the Carpathian mountains and in the Lvov museum, Shevchenkivs'kyi hai. Eugen Mitrofanov directed the clip while Slava Lazarev was the cameraman. The clip can be viewed at YouTube (Ruslana 2006).

14. "Kolo Myiki" is a play on words. Besides referring to "near the washing," it also refers to the city Kolomyia in western Ukraine and the genre *kolomyika* discussed below.

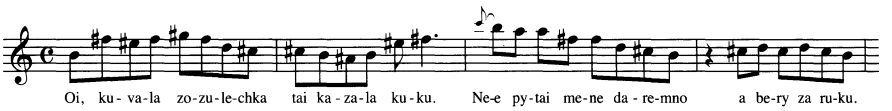

Figure 1. The beginning of the vocals in the first verse (A) in Ruslana's "Kolomyika." The verse melody is based on these two phrases. Transcription by the author.

On a lyrical level the song is placed firmly within a (west) Ukrainian context through the use of Ukrainian as the language and the title "Kolomyika," a dance, instrumental, and vocal music genre from the Carpathian mountains (Hrytsa n.d.; Olha Kolomyyets, pers. comm., 24 September 2007).[15] The verse follows the metric structure of a *kolomyika*, being (4+4+6 or 8+6) + (4+4+6 or 8+6) where two lines are one unit (Shumady and Vasylenko 1969:423; Olha Kolomyyets, pers. comm., 24 September 2007):

Oi, ku-va-la | zo-zu-le-chka | tai ka-za-la ku-ku.
Ne py-tai me- | ne da-re-mno | a be-ry za ru-ku.[16]

This is also reflected in the rhythm sung which can be either 12 eighth notes and 2 quarter notes or 13 eighth notes and 1 dotted quarter note—see the first two bars of figure 1 (Shumady and Vasylenko 1969:423).

The lyrics themselves, written by Oleksandr Ksenofontov, Ruslana's co-producer and husband (Gemba 2007:139), do not directly relate to the clip being about unfulfilled or lost love. Despite this discrepancy, the narration's form is used in the dramaturgy: while Ruslana sings the verse and refrain, the following interjection (which comes twice) is sung by some village men (in a call-and-response pattern with the trumpets answering):

Oi, kuvala zozulechka
Oi, kuvala ta i spivala
Zbudyla moie serdechko[17]

Thus the narrative works on two levels: the content of the lyrics (which can only be understood by listeners who speak Ukrainian) and the unrelated story of the video clip (which can be understood without the lyrics) using the lyrics as a dramaturgical effect.

On the level of images the clip is anchored through the depiction of different instruments linked to traditional music (accordion/*harmoniia, baraban,* trumpet, trombone, fiddle, *tsymbaly, sopilka*—the accordion/*harmoniia* and *baraban* are not

15. Gemba (2007:144) also notes that it can be a Ukrainian variant of the Russian *chastushka.*

16. "Oi, the little cuckoo cried and said *ku-ku.* Don't ask me in vain, but take [me] by the hand" (my translation).

17. "Oi, the cuckoo cried, Oi, it cried and sung, It excited [or inflamed] my heart" (my translation).

heard, however),[18] the clothes worn (e.g., *vyshivanka*),[19] tapestries, the food and the rural setting. Since *kolomyika* (sing.; plural *kolomyiky*) is also a dance genre, the dancing in the clip could be a form of anchoring. The dancing is, however, not central to the clip and while drawing on elements which could be from traditional dances (incorporating chain dances, couples, and individual dancers) the style looks too choreographed.

Finally, on the level of sound, the melodic and rhythmic fragments in Ruslana's song seem to be based on traditional music and draw on elements from *kolomyiky* (the liner notes state that the music is composed by Ruslana and Ksenofontov using motives from Hutsul *kolomyiky*). As already discussed regarding the lyrics, the metric system (4+4+6) and the rhythm sung in the verse is a trait of the genre. The song's overall form is:[20]

intro (12 bars)[21]
A (verse: 14 bars)
B (refrain)
C (interjection by men)
A (14 bars)
B
C
A′
A″ (instrumental: 14 bars)
B
B
B′
B″
B″ (instrumental)
outro

The trumpet/trombone/*tsymbaly*[22]/*sopilka* riffs, as well as the vocals, are based on a scale with a lowered third and an augmented fourth (see figures 1 and 2). According to Hrytsa (n.d.), this together with a sharpened seventh (missing here) is a characteristic mode of Hutsul music. Noll (2000:809) points out that the augmented fourth is commonly heard in traditional music from the Carpathians (where the Hutsuls live). Furthermore, the timbre of the instruments (brassy trumpets, *tsymbaly, sopilka, baraban*) evokes, in contrast to the electric guitar and bass, a

18. The *harmoniia* is a free reed button accordion, the *tsymbaly* is a trapezoidal hammered zither, and the *baraban* a drum, while the *sopilka* is a woodwind instrument similar to a flute (Noll 2000:811, 816).

19. According to Ruslana's webpage "authentic costumes were used during the shooting of mass scenes" and "each hucul [*sic*] traditional costume appearing in the video is at least 100 years old" (n.d.b).

20. If not otherwise noted each section has eight bars.

21. The first four bars are in half time, the remaining eight bars are in the song's predominant tempo.

22. *Tsymbaly* is not mentioned as being used in the song on the CD liner notes, but it can be heard on the recording.

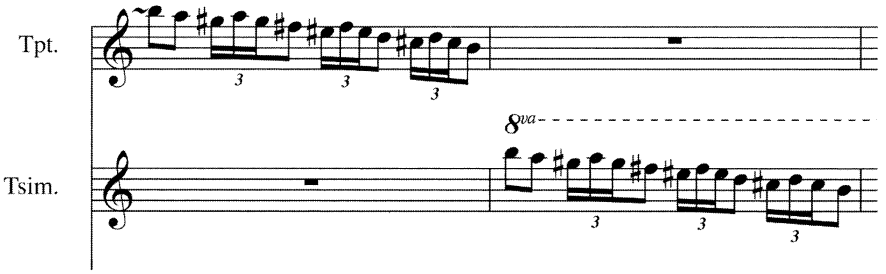

Figure 2. The trumpet and *tsymbaly* part (intro) in Ruslana's "Kolomyika." Transcription by the author.

traditional association. These traditional instruments are featured throughout the song, thus providing a constant reminder.[23]

Finally, while Ruslana's vocal timbre fits into a popular, not traditional music idiom (her voice, however, sounds strained), her singing style draws heavily on ornaments—both mordents and portamentos (sliding into the tone)—placing the style not necessarily within a Hutsul but a southeast European/Turkish/Orientalist idiom. This is especially audible in the first four bars when she sings rhythmically freely in half time (see figure 3; the melodic skeleton is the same as in the verse outlined in figure 1).

Within her other musical work Ruslana also incorporates elements from traditional music or Hutsul music. Her CD *Diki Tantsi*[24] (Ruslana 2003) states that it is a *Hutsul'skyi Proekt* (Hutsul project) and the tracks also include *floyara* (a flute-like woodwind instrument) and *trembita* besides the traditional instruments mentioned above. While the music is credited to Ruslana,[25] the songs "Ples," "Arkan," "Kolomyika," "Hutsulka," and "Oi, zagrai my, muzychen'ky" are, according to the liner notes, based on motives from Hutsul dances or melodies.

The CD-booklet itself primarily depicts Ruslana showing a lot of skin. One of the costumes seems to be based on traditional (folklore) patterns. There are also images taken from Ruslana's clip "Znaiu ia," with the artist standing on the top of a mountain holding a tambourine, driving through a lake in a jeep, giving a rock concert, and a group of people (Hutsuls) dancing in traditional costumes.

These elements play a role as markers in the identity construction that places Ruslana in Ukraine and links her closely to the Hutsuls. One important aspect which I will return to later is the fact that it is not possible (or even necessary) to verify Ruslana's claim that the music she uses is of Hutsul origin or not (hence my use of "traditional music" in the discussion). The material serves a function, that

23. The instruments appear primarily as a response. While the trumpet and trombone usually appear without vocals (mainly in the A and C parts, and the last four B parts), the *sopilka* parallels the vocals (mainly in the A′ and B parts). The *soplika* and *tsymbaly* also appear together, without vocals, as a response to the trumpet and trombone (but not in the last B parts).

24. The CD was recorded in Luxen Studio (Ukraine), but mastered in Peter Gabriel's Real World Studio (UK).

25. Except for "Kolomyika," which is credited to both Ruslana and Ksenofontov.

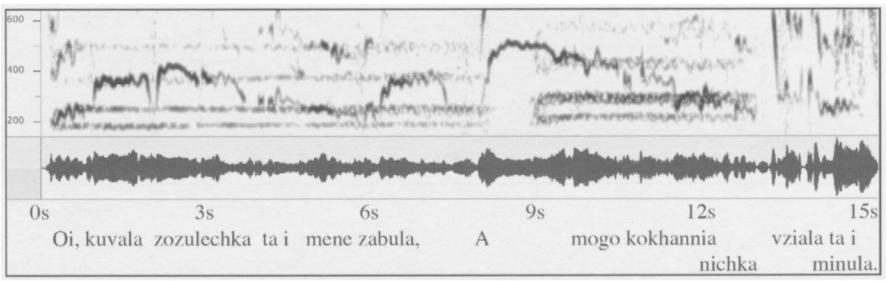

Figure 3. The first bars from Ruslana's "Kolomyika." The darker line starting at about 200 Hz and spanning between 200 and 500 Hz is Ruslana's voice. The jaggedness of the line indicates the use of vibrato and ornaments, while the vertical leaps indicate portamentos (e.g., at 2 s and 8 s).

is, to localize Ruslana's music in a way which is consistent with the discourse of her band, thus the question of its authenticity is secondary in the promotion of her music.

Besides signifying Ukraine, these markers also serve as a style indicator for world music within the world music discourse. While discussing musical strategies in Finnish contemporary folk music, Hill (2007) labels similar markers "disembodied sonic markers of participation in the world music scene" (ibid.:69). She goes on to write:

> [the] use of these "exotic" accompaniment instruments [frame drum, djembe, didjeridu] serves less as a reference to particular cultures in Africa and Oceania and more as trendy markers of globality signifying participation in a contemporary "world music" scene. (Hill 2007:71)

Haydamaky: "Kokhannia"

Similar strategies are employed by Haydamaky in their music clip "Kokhannia"[26] (Love—the song is on their 2006 album *Ukraine Calling*). The setting is in or around the huge medieval fortress of Kamianets' Podil'skyi in west Ukraine and plays both in present and mythical times. Opening to the sounds of a drum followed by an electric guitar riff and an accordion solo, the clip starts with the band dressed in non-specific urban clothes arriving at and spending time around the fortress. At the same time three women dressed in traditional costumes are shown forging a chain. The vocalist is then seen lying down and the question remains whether he has also fallen asleep. He subsequently appears bare-chested, dressed only in wide pants (*sharavary*),[27] a sabre and a cloth belt exploring the fortress where he meets the three women. Through sorcery he is chained to a wooden pole by one of the

26. According to Haydamaky's singer Oleksandr Yarmola (pers. comm., 8 October 2007), the clip was shot in April 2006 in the medieval fortress of Kamianets' Podil'skyi. The director was Taras Chymytsch. The clip can be seen on YouTube (Haydamaky 2007).

27. A form of wide pants probably of Turkish or Persian origin.

women and seems to be floating in space with the women half transparent emerging around him. Suddenly the vocalist is seen lying on his back, fully dressed, followed by the band leaving the fortress (the question of whether the encounter with the women was a dream remains unresolved). Parallel to the story, the band, wearing traditional clothes, is seen performing on a hill with the castle in the background.

As with the Ruslana example, the lyrics (credited to the vocalist Oleksandr Yarmola) are in Ukrainian, thus placing it in a Ukrainian context. An additional anchoring is found in the song's dedication: *Adi Tsytriny* (To Ada Tsitrina), the female protagonists of the book *Perverziia* written by the Ukrainian author Yuri Andrukhovych.[28] The protagonist sings about his/her longing for Ada, asking where she is and stating that (s)he can not live without Ada. The contents of the lyrics, however, have no direct reference to Ukraine.

As in "Kolomyika," at a visual level the clip displays clothes which are associated with traditional costumes (e.g., *sharavary, vyshivanka*) and instruments (accordion, trumpet, *baraban*). The singer has a crucifix with circular knobs at the end of each arm and a pre-Christian medallion linked to sun worship visibly hanging around his neck.[29] An interesting aspect is that when the band is seen as a part of the main narrative they wear non-folkloric clothes. However, when the band is seen performing, or when the vocalist is dreaming or enters the castle, they are dressed in traditional clothes. Finally, the use of the medieval fortress of Kamianets' Podil'skyi anchors the clip in west Ukraine.

The sonic level is more difficult to analyze. The song's structure is:[30]

A (intro)
B (verse)
B
C (refrain)
D (interlude)
B
E (verse)
C
D
A
A′

There is no mention of who wrote the music and there do not seem to be direct references to traditional music on a melodic or harmonic level (the key is E minor), although the intro (first A), outro (last two As), and interlude (D) that follows the verse use ornaments (primarily mordents), instruments (accordion, trumpet, vio-

28. The book, published in 1997, is about the protagonist Stanislav Perfetsky's trip to and apparent suicide in Venice. Ada Tsitrina and her husband look after Perfetsky in Venice where Perfetsky has an affair with Tsitrina. Haydamaky's album, minus the bonus track, "Za Nashov Stodolov," and with a different cover, was released in 2005 in Ukraine under the name *Perverziia* by Comp Music Ltd.

29. According to Chaplain Oleh Kovtun from the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Central Parish St. Barbara in Vienna (pers. comm., 18 April 2008), the crucifix is neither specific to the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church or the Eastern Orthodox Church.

30. Each section consists of eight bars.

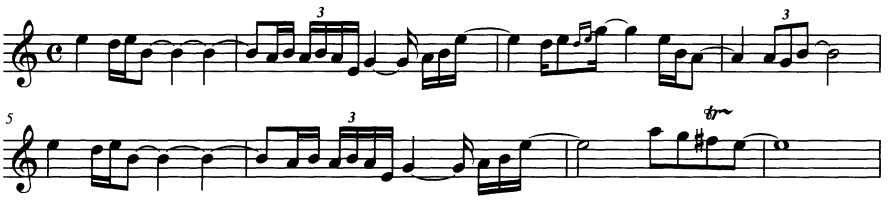

Figure 4. The intro (A) to Haydamaky's "Kokhannia," played by the accordion. Transcription by the author.

lin, jaw harp—however, not all instruments at all times), and a melody that could evoke associations to a traditional melody (see figures 4 and 5). The timbre, especially that of the accordion, trumpet, violin, and jaw harp also evokes traditional influences, however, these are more generic Eastern European than specifically Ukrainian[31]—fulfilling the function of Hill's (2007:69) "disembodied sonic markers." The accordion (mainly during the second verse (B) and the refrains (C)) and violin (during the fourth verse (E)) figure in the background during most of the song, but feature prominently together with the trumpet during the interludes (D). The song also begins (first A section) and ends (last two A sections) with the accordion prominently featured—the outro including trumpet, violin, and jaw harp as well. In all these sections, the instruments are contrasted with the sound of a heavily distorted electric guitar, bass, and drum set, as well as the slightly nasal timbre of the voice anchoring the song within a (hard) rock idiom.

Similar strategies are incorporated within Haydamaky's other musical work. Instruments considered traditionally Ukrainian (*sopilka, tsymbaly,* accordion, violin, and jaw harp) can be heard in their songs. Direct references to traditional music on the album *Ukraine Calling* can also be found in the songs "Dolynov, Dolynov" (labelled as a traditional song from the Bukovina region) and "Pid Oblachkom" (labelled as a Ukrainian Lemkivshchyna song).[32] On the group's previous albums, the lyrics of three songs ("Oi, to ne ruzha," "A vzhe rokiv 200," and "Tini zabutykh predkiv"[33]) on the album *Haidamaky* (2002) and of four songs ("Susidka," "Za nashov stodolov," "Letila zozulia," and "Vysyt' Iabko, vysyt'") on the album *Bohuslav* (2004) are labelled traditional. Furthermore, references to Ukraine and its history can be found in the lyrics (e.g., "Sumnyi Sviatyi Vechir," "Lystopad 2004," "Tsentr Ukraïns'koï Kul'tury"; Haydamaky 2006).

The band also links itself to Ukraine on their album cover (see figure 6), which depicts the vocalist Oleksandr Yarmola's chest and arm and a *sopilka* resting on his

31. One comment I received after presenting parts of this paper for the Dansk Selskab for Traditionel Musik og Dans (Danish section of the International Council for Traditional Music, 11 October 2007) linked both Haydamaky's and Ruslana's examples to a general Eastern European style (the term used was "Slavic energy") and Roma music, in particular.

32. Both on *Ukraine Calling* (Haydamaky 2006) and the references listed on Eastblok Music's website (n.d.a).

33. *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (Shadows of forgotten ancestors) is also the name of a book written by the Ukrainian author Mykhailo Kotsiubynskyi in 1912 and a movie, based on the book, directed by the Ukrainian director Sergei Paradzhanov, released in 1964. The movie plays in a Hutsul village and incorporates traditional Hutsul music.

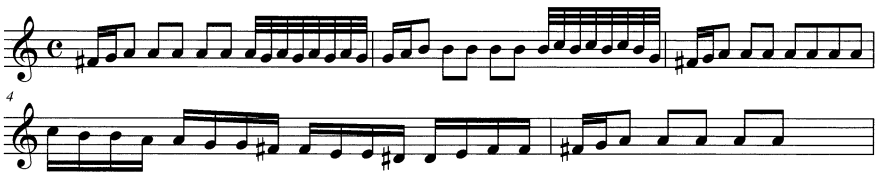

Figure 5. The interlude (D) from Haydamaky's "Kokhannia," played by trumpet, accordion, and violin (the transcription is of the trumpet part; transcription by the author).

shoulder. The tattoo on the arm is an old Wedan tattoo according to the singer.[34] The eagle symbolizes a heavenly spirit while the woman or girl in the eagle's claws symbolizes mother earth. Yarmola (pers. comm., 8 October 2007) added that the picture is taken from remains found in a grave in Ukraine.[35]

Finally, the band's symbol (at least an image which appears consistently on all the CDs) is also significant: it depicts a person who is bald apart from a tuft of hair, has a big moustache which twirls down on both sides, and has a pierced ear. Around his neck he has an orthodox cross and in his left hand a sabre. While his chest is bare, he is wearing baggy pants (*sharavary*) and he appears to be dancing. According to a Ukrainian acquaintance, this seems to be a caricature of a partying Cossack, probably from the Zaporiz'ka oblast' in southeastern Ukraine. The Cossacks played an important role in Ukrainian history, especially in supporting the Hetman state founded in 1648–49 (Kappeler 1994:273–74).[36] The vocalist's naked, well-built torso depicted in figure 6 could also be a reference to the band's symbol.

Hence, Haydamaky build their identity by drawing on resources from Ukraine and its history—especially linked to freedom fighting (like the Haydamaky rebellion and the Cossacks). Unlike Ruslana, they do not limit their music style to one specific ethnic group, but draw on different (perceived) Ukrainian influences (this is discussed more in the following section).

As with Ruslana, these influences serve as a tool to anchor their work nationally. This is a strategy which Said refers to when discussing orientalisms:

34. Yarmola (pers. comm., 8 October 2007) wrote that the Wedan religion is a pre-pagan Ukrainian religion. I could not find any information on the Wedan religion to verify his statement. In this case, the symbolic meaning he attributes to the motive is more important than factual proof that the Wedan religion existed.

35. Another interpretation was found in a comment posted by DreamofEmese on YouTube (Haydamaky 2007). The comment mentions the possibility that it could be a Hungarian or Scythian motive based on a dream by Emese, a mythical character considered the mother of the Magyar dynasty. The legend relates to the founding of the Magyar dynasty and links the Mongolian Horde to the Magyar founders (Hungarian Culture and History n.d.).

36. The Cossacks are still an important national symbol in present-day Ukraine. The web page of the Zaporizhzhia government, for example, links the Cossacks to democracy, claiming that "Zaporizhzhya has never been outside of the Ukrainian history … We are happy to present our region, not only as an original historical pearl of Ukraine and cradle of the first democratic republic in the world formed by Zaporizhzhya Cossacks, but also as one of the main Ukrainian centers of economic, technology and intellectual potential development" (Zoda n.d.; spellings are those used on the website).

Figure 6. Cover of Haydamaky's album *Ukraine Calling* (provided courtesy of Eastblock Music, used with permission).

> we need not look for correspondence between the language used to depict the Orient and the Orient itself, not so much because the language is inaccurate but because it is not even trying to be accurate. What it is trying to do … is at one and the same time to characterize the Orient as alien and to incorporate it schematically on a theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are for Europe, and only for Europe. (Said 1991:71–72)

It is important to note that the local sources, besides being markers, fulfil the function of authenticating the groups' creative work, thus making the accuracy of the musical quotes and their origin secondary (hence, "songs based on" or "inspired by" in the liner notes). Without this local discourse they would not have their specific marketing edge within the world music paradigm.

This kind of incorporation of material associated with Ukrainian traditional music is not limited to Haydamaky and Ruslana; other bands promoted outside Ukraine also use similar material and strategies (e.g., Mad Heads XL, Vopli Vidopliasova, and Perkalaba).[37]

37. I am aware of the fact that this only represents a small selection of Ukrainian bands and that other internationally active Ukrainian bands like Okean El'zi do not incorporate traditional elements. Okean El'zi, however, predominantly tour Russia, unlike the other bands which primarily target countries west and north of Ukraine—Said's European theatrical stage (1991:71–72).

"Preserving the cultural heritage": The construction of band identity based on traditional music, history, and politics

The incorporation of local sources is, however, not restricted to the audio-visual (performative) level, but also touches on the manner in which the bands portray themselves and are perceived. Talking about Ruslana and her creative process, Aleksandr Kasparov, the other director of Eastblok Music, said the following:

> [Ruslana] regularly makes these folkloristic expeditions to the Carpathians. And she explores that, goes with the whole team and finds new beats, new musical structures. She always comes back with a lot of musical luggage and is always very satisfied. And she told me that [this] is very influential. (interview, 19 July 2006; my translation).

The focus on traditional Ukrainian music is also described on the English versions of Ruslana's and Haydamaky's websites:[38]

> For her Wild Dances Project Ruslana conducted expeditions to the Carpathian mountains discovering rhythms, dances and costumes of the ancient culture of the mountains which were on the brink to being forgotten and integrated them into a modern show, thus preserving the cultural heritage. (Ruslana n.d.a).

> Haydamaky's hope is to forge an inherently Ukrainian popular music style, which looks back on its own heritage and traditions as a source for inspiration … The music of Haydamaky is inspired by various ethnic musics from around the world, especially from various regions of Ukraine, such as Polissya, Bukovyna, and Zakarpathia. (Haydamaky n.d.b).

All three quotes stress and romanticize the influence of regional traditional Ukrainian material on the music played by Haydamaky and Ruslana, framing it within ethnic categories. While Ruslana specifically focuses on the Hutsuls, an ethnic minority living in the Carpathian mountains, Haydamaky do not mention specific groups, only regions containing, in their words, "ethnic" music: Polissya[39] (around and north of Kiev, including the southern part of Belarus and extending to eastern Poland around Lublin), Bukovyna (southwestern Ukraine, Moldova, and northeastern Romania), and Zakarpathia (western Ukraine, bordering with Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania). Bukovyna and Zakarpathia are both situated in and around the Carpathian mountains.

Both groups cite (cultural) heritage as an important motivation in their creative work. Combined with the reference to ethnic musics, this is part of the authentication strategy discussed earlier aimed at the world music market. While Ruslana focuses on one area (Hutsuls or the Carpathian mountains) with her "drive-ethno-dance" (see the quote at the beginning of this article), Haydamaky use the different

38. The content on the Ukrainian pages appears identical to the English content.

39. The Slavic scholar Sergio Mazzanti (pers. comm., 28 October 2007) pointed out that Polissya has been perceived by ethnographers as one of the most "traditional" regions in the East Slavic area, e.g., Moszyński (1967), Tolstoi (2003).

Ukrainian ethnic musics mentioned in the quote above as building-blocks in their creation of a national style, "Ukrainian popular music"—they also specifically mention "Hutzul [*sic*] Punk" at the top of their history page (Haydamaky n.d.b). Thus the reference to "ethnic musics" by Ruslana and Haydamaky is a central element in the bands' promoted identities and musical style. Along with singing in Ukrainian (which clearly stakes out their position in the Ukrainian language debate), both groups touch on the discourse around Ukrainian national identity constructions, especially Haydamaky with their ambition to construct an "inherently Ukrainian" popular music style.

In Haydamaky's case, this is also reflected in the group's name, which the band changed in 2001 from the original Aktus to Haydamaky, the Ukrainian partisan movement mentioned earlier.[40] Haydamaky themselves portray their name change as a way of building a stronger allegiance to their own culture:

> It was time to establish an even firmer tie to their own culture, through changing their name into Haydamaky, in honor of the historical Haydamaky rebellion revolution which took place in Ukraine in the 18th century. This rebellion was a reaction of Ukrainian peasants and serfs against repressive foreign occupation. (Haydamaky n.d.b)

Elevating the movement to a rebellion or revolution and portraying it in a nationalistically tainted binary of good vs. evil also enables the group to position themselves as the defenders of their culture against foreign oppressors. A rebellion against foreign influences brings us to an interesting parallel, the Orange Revolution of 2004. Both Ruslana[41] and Haydamaky supported the Orange Revolution and the rhetoric used on their web pages should also be read in this light:[42]

> Ruslana actively supported the democratic processes in Ukraine in winter 2004/2005 and in ... spring 2006 she was elected Member of the Ukrainian Parliament. The

40. According to their homepage (Haydamaky n.d.b), the name change occurred right after being signed by EMI (probably through Comp Music Ltd., discussed below). This raises the question of whether the name change was also related to marketing before the release of their first album in 2002.

41. According to Bohdan Klid (2007:122) Ruslana tried to remain neutral during most of the campaign and thus also performed for the Yanukovych camp. She officially endorsed Yushchenko on 17 November 2004, four days before the rigged run-off vote on 21 November 2004 which ignited the protests.

42. It is hard to determine when the texts quoted were written and posted on their websites. While a WHOIS-domain search at www.domainwhitepages.com on 3 December 2007 reveals that the domain www.haydamaky.com was created on 24 February 2004, it does not reveal when www.ruslana.com.ua was created. In the internet archive Wayback Machine (Wayback Machine n.d.), which has archived the Internet since 1996, the first pages for www.haydamaky.com appeared on 11 June 2004 and for www.ruslana.com.ua on 14 June 2001 (however, Ruslana's current flash-based version appeared around or before 28 September 2002). According to a Wayback Machine search conducted on 3 December 2007, Haydamaky's history, from which this article's quotes are taken, was published online on 26 August 2004. The part about the Orange Revolution was added on 8 February 2005. Since Ruslana's page is flash-based it is not possible to track changes in the content using the Wayback Machine.

> main issues she intends to push in politics are cultural issues, the European integration of Ukraine and youth politics. (Ruslana n.d.a)

> In late 2004 those not indifferent to the future of their country and appreciating democratic values, were engaged in Orange Revolution. And, for sure, Hadamaky [*sic*] were among the artists performing at Independence Square (Maidan Nezaleznosti) ... with their out bursting energy and infinite love to Motherland ... Democracy is worth fighting for it [*sic*] and the pure warriors of light—Haydamaky—did everything possible through their music to give it the way [*sic*] in Ukraine. (Haydamaky n.d.b)

Both state their support for a democratic Ukraine. While Ruslana's mention is matter-of-fact, Haydamaky, as with their name change statement mentioned above, describe their participation emotionally, portraying themselves as fighters for a sovereign and democratic Ukraine. Here Haydamaky again refer to the binary good vs. evil by calling themselves "warriors of light."

The revolution is also referred to in the groups' creative work: Haydamaky's song "Listopad 2004" (November 2004) on their album *Ukraine Calling* (2006) indirectly refers to the Orange Revolution, while Ruslana's clip "Dance with the Wolves"[43] shows her dressed in an orange sweater, participating in the revolution. In addition, both groups were featured on the compilation *Pomaranchevi pisni* released 2004 by Comp Music (Div 2004)[44] in Ukraine. Due to space limitations I will not discuss these clips or songs here.[45]

As mentioned in my short historical overview of Ukraine, language politics was an important issue of the revolution where the Orange block including the groups performing distinguished themselves by using Ukrainian. This appropriation of the Ukrainian language within Ukrainian popular music goes back to the Soviet period. Romana Bahry (1994:251–52) lists Vopli Vidopliasova as the first group of the fourth wave of Ukrainian rock to sing in Ukrainian.[46] The first music festival which required all songs to be in Ukrainian was the Chervona Ruta Festival in 1989 (in Chernivtsi, west Ukraine). As Bahry writes:

> The Chervona Ruta Festival and the subsequent concerts were united not so much by genre of music, because they included a potpourri of various styles, but rather by the theme of Ukrainian language and Ukrainian national revival. (Bahry 1994:250)

43. The clip is included on the compilation *Ukraina: Songs of the Orange Revolution* as a bonus videotrack (Div 2005) and can be found at YouTube (Ruslana 2007).

44. Comp Music Ltd is a Ukrainian record company which includes Ruslana and Haydamaky on its roster and has had a licensing agreement with EMI since 2000 (Comp Music 2006). This license works two ways, where Comp Music releases EMI recordings in Ukraine and EMI releases Comp Music recordings (e.g., Ruslana) outside Ukraine. The album *Pomaranchevi pisni* was reissued by Eastblok Music 2005 in Germany (under license from Comp Music) as *Ukraina: Songs of the Orange Revolution* (Div 2005).

45. See Helbig (2006) and Klid (2007) for a discussion on the role of popular music in the 2004 election campaign and during the Orange Revolution.

46. She adds, however, that Vopli Vidopliasova also purposely sang in Russian in protest to being pressured by the newly founded Ukrainian Popular Movement for Restructuring (Rukh) to sing in Ukrainian only.

The Rock Sich Festival in Kiev in 2005, organized by the singer of "Vopli Vidopliasova," Oleg Skrypka, should thus not only be seen in the light of the Orange Revolution, but also in this lineage. The festival was only open to bands singing in Ukrainian (Khinkulova 2006).[47] This opposition to Russian influences might also explain why Haydamaky (n.d.a) have not toured Russia, according to their tour list,[48] and Ruslana (n.d.a) has only given concerts in Moscow and Kazan' (both lists only go back to 2004).

"Inherently Ukrainian popular music": Ruslana and Haydamaky from a post-colonial perspective

Such strategies, as discussed above, can be framed within Martin Stokes's discussion on ethnicities, which he argues can be used to examine

> how music is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries, to maintain distinctions between us and them, and how terms such as 'authenticity' are used to justify these boundaries. (Stokes 1994:6)

In addition to using Ukrainian as a singing language and supporting the Orange Revolution, both Ruslana and Haydamaky erect boundaries as Ukrainians by labelling their material "ethnic" and placing the material within certain regions (thus drawing on perceived Ukrainian traditions and internal "others" like the Hutsuls). As detailed above, the groups draw on two different strategies in doing this: Ruslana anchors herself in one place, while Haydamaky draw on different regions creating a nationalized pastiche of localities. The national level is, however, also present in both groups' narratives and activities: they place their music within a Ukrainian (historical) context, they perform in Ukraine (as well as abroad), and they are politically engaged. These choices result from different reasons, one of which is marketing—especially marketing abroad. As mentioned above, combining popular music with local or ethnic musics ("hybrid musics") within the world music market functions as an authentication strategy. In this case the music is marketed as "ethnic sounds of the mountain people of the Hutsuls with modern rock, pop and dance elements" (Ruslana n.d.a) or as Ukrainian popular music (Haydamaky). Haydamaky's first album released abroad is thus "appropriately" titled *Ukraine Calling* (2006),[49] which is also reflected in their label Eastblock Music's promotion of the album:

47. Unlike the musically inclusive Chervona Ruta Festival, the Rock Sich festival also sported another dichotomy, rock vs. pop, where pop was excluded by the organizers—without defining what pop is. However, there could also be a link between music perceived as pop and singing in Russian: both Fawkes (2004) and Khinkulova (2006) report that Russian language pop enjoys huge popularity in Ukraine.

48. When I asked Oleksandr Yarmola (pers. comm., 8 October 2007) why Haydamaky have not performed in Russia, he responded that they did not like the way Russian show business functioned.

49. It is actually more accurate to say that the album has been re-released in new packaging, since, apart from the bonus track, the songs are identical to Haidamaky (2005). On another level, the album's title could also be a reference to the Clash's *London Calling* (1979).

> Haydamaky manage to build bridges and combine Ukrainian roots, which spring in the mysterious Carpathian Mountains, and Western production standards. (Eastblok Music n.d.b).

Here the national level is literally rooted locally in the Carpathian Mountains, promoting the music as something natural, exotic, and Ukrainian.

While there are strong marketing demands behind these choices,[50] I would argue against a reduction of the groups' identity to pure economic interests. Being politically active and supporting a revolution which could have ended violently—while being a great marketing ploy—would be a quite extreme form of marketing opportunism and could have also hampered the future careers of the artists involved. Furthermore, Ruslana has been active both as a Ukrainian parliamentarian (2006–7) as well as trying to improve the conditions for children suffering from the aftermath of Chernobyl through using her popularity as a singer. The groups' strategy should thus—in addition to being economic or marketing-related—also be seen as political.

Since both groups place what they call "ethnic" elements within a wider Ukrainian context, a more useful concept to understand the groups' identity is a post-colonial lens. David Chioni Moore argues that

> one result of extended subjugation is compensatory behavior by the subject peoples. One manifestation of this behavior is an exaggerated desire for authentic sources, generally a mythical set of heroic, purer ancestors who once controlled a greater zone than the people now possess. (Moore 2001:181)

In other words, building an identity based on perceived cultural elements from a pre-colonial era which is considered purer. Through this lens, Ruslana and Haydamaky appropriate what they perceive as authentic sources which are found in the traditional music influences, and Hutsul (Ruslana) and Wedan (Haydamaky) symbols.[51]

While it can be argued that this is just plain nationalism and nationalist identity building, the post-colonial lens also includes the previously discussed problematic relationship with Russia as the former (and, as viewed by some, current) subjugator.

50. Another marketing strategy (and attempt to tap into the world music market) is Ruslana's use of Peter Gabriel's Real World Studio to master her album.

51. The literary scholar Mark Andryczyk (2005) also places the writing of Yuri Andrukhovych, the author who inspired Haydamaky, within a post-colonial perspective. Andryczyk argues that Andrukhovych's writing locates himself and his culture between Russia (the colonizer) and the West. Andrukhovych does this through the references he uses (e.g., Hutsuls), his treatment of history, and his role as the author.

Svoboda: Exoticizing Ukraine

Returning to Russia, the last part of this article focuses on another form of post-colonialism in popular music with ties to Ukraine embodied by the group Svoboda.[52] Based in St. Petersburg the group was founded by its vocalist Aleksandr "Sasha" Rudenko, who is from eastern Ukraine. He advertises the playing style as Ukrainian ska punk (Ukra-Ska-Punk), which he detailed as:

> Punk, ska with elements of grunge ... With Ukrainian lyrics, Ukrainian Russian, not pure Ukrainian, but a mixture, so it's understandable in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. (interview, 9 January 2006; my translation).

The Ukrainian influence is not limited to the lyrics, Rudenko is also inspired by Ukrainian folklore. The St. Petersburg music critic Andrei Burlaka said the following when discussing Svoboda:

> There as well is a new topic—Ukro pop ... Of course the Ukrainian language doesn't play such an important role there because, understandably, it's, well, cool ... There are [groups] from Piter [St. Petersburg] who play in a similar way, but folklore is ... an added exotic element. (interview, 22 March 2005; my translation).

Svoboda's use of perceived elements of Ukrainian folklore gives the group an exotic colouring according to Burlaka that distances them from Russia. Rudenko adds to this exotization during concerts with announcements such as, "we just arrived from Ukraine," "the next song is a Ukrainian folk song," etc., and by addressing the audience in Ukrainian. The band also appropriates Ukrainian historic material: a concert scheduled for 26 October 2007 was advertised in memory of the Ukrainian anarcho-communist Nestor Makhno (see figure 7).

This notion of difference is also perceived and received by the audience.[53] The vocalist Rudenko is referred to as *khokhol*,[54] slang for a Ukrainian, by the group's

52. As a part of my field work in St. Petersburg, I was Svoboda's trumpet player from March 2005 until February 2006, playing about thirty concerts with the band. The following observations are based on the data I collected during that period. This raises several methodological issues regarding my involvement which, due to space limitations, I cannot discuss here. These issues will be discussed in my forthcoming work.

53. However, the concert in honour of Makhno was criticized by Sergei Shvedov, an anarchist from Moscow, for merely using Makhno as a ploy. Shvedov complained that the organizers and Svoboda had no idea about Makhno and his ideas (Ofitsial'nyi sait Nestora Ivanovicha Makhno 2007).

54. According to Kappeler (2003:197) the word's original meaning is topknot or tuft of hair. When applied to somebody from Ukraine it refers to the hair style of the Cossacks. The word, even though commonly used in St. Petersburg, seems to also have negative connotations. After a concert on 13 July 2007 by the Berlin based band Apparatschick in the Viennese club Ost Klub, I was in the backstage area talking to band members and the club's personnel. A person from the security (he said he was from the former Soviet Union, but refused to say exactly where) almost got into to a fight with the bass balalaika player because the guard insisted on calling the musician *khokhol* (the bass balalaika player was from Ukraine). The balalaika player insisted that he should be addressed by his real name.

Figure 7. Flyer from Svoboda's concert on 26 October 2007 dedicated to the birthday of Nestor Makhno. Note that the word "anarchy" (*anarkhiia*) is in Ukrainian spelling (анархія), not Russian (анархия).

fans. The fans also seem to think that some of Svoboda's songs are actually traditional Ukrainian songs. While some songs draw on Ukrainian folklore, are sung in Ukrainian, or employ Ukrainian words like *choboty* (boots), *khata* (peasant hut), and *horilka* (pepper vodka), these are mostly stereotypical markers of Ukraine. Only one song ("Marusia") is based on what Rudenko calls a Ukrainian folk song. Here, just as in the discussion of Said earlier, the question of the exact origin of the music is virtually unimportant. It is perceived as a generic Ukrainian influence which fulfils the requirements to be considered an exotic "Other" by the fans.

This strategy is similar to Ruslana's appropriation and representation of the Hutsuls, where she recycles national stereotypes which reaffirm that the Hutsuls are backward and still adhere to their "ancient" traditions—and are thus "pure" or "unspoiled" by modernity. She does this on her website by distancing the Hutsuls from a contemporary urban setting, and by placing them back in time and relocating them in space—exoticizing them:

> Here, high in the mountains, where the people live in different time and dimension, has Ruslana found the source of inspiration for her new "Hutsulian project." That's where you find true Ukrainian exotics! (Ruslana n.d.a).

This can also be seen in the portrayal of the Hutsuls wearing their traditional costumes and the country bumpkin–like way of performing songs at the end of the music video discussed above. The casting sign where "kasting" is replaced with "vybory," also belittles the Hutsuls by implying that they do not understand Anglo-American borrowings or modern Ukrainian (*kasting*) and instead need a Ukrainian synonym (*vybory*). Furthermore, above the casting sign there is another small posting belittling the Hutsuls saying *Korova—drug liudyny*! (The cow—friend of the people!). This representation of the Other by Ruslana leaves out the reality that the Hutsuls are equally as much a part of the twenty-first century, a portrait which leads to resentment over how they were represented by Ruslana, including their lobbying of the regional parliament of the Ivano-Frankivs'ka oblast' against being labelled savages (*diki*).[55]

Thus both Rudenko and Ruslana are in the dominant position, exploiting a backward "Other." Similarly to the Hutsuls in Ukraine, Ukrainians were regarded as uncultivated peasants during the Tsarist and Soviet times: "Despite urbanization and industrialization, the Ukrainians are considered a people of uncultivated peasants, as 'chochly'" (Kappeler 2003:54, my translation). This portrayal can be seen in Tsarist literature such as Gogol's *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka* (Gogol and Kent 1985:3–206) and is reflected in jokes about Ukrainians told in Russia (Shmeleva and Shmelev 2002).[56]

But there is also a major difference between Svoboda's appropriation of traditional Ukrainian material, on the one hand, and Ruslana's and Haydamaky's, on the other. Rudenko's project is not one of a post-colonial desire for nation building or nationalism, but of creating an exotic "Other," built on existing clichés of Ukraine, in other words, reproducing the colonial stereotypes. Rudenko himself has become a Russian citizen and has no plans for returning to Ukraine. He is trying to distinguish Svoboda from other groups in St. Petersburg by building on an entity with a common history and shared past, but which has become distanced from its former colonizer. Furthermore, he is using material from a different national (and sovereign) entity, while Ruslana and Haydamaky are representing material from within what they consider their cultural territory and within the boundaries of "their" nation state.

Rudenko also differs from other post-colonial projects located in the centre of the (former) empire. One example is the academic world music poster boy of the 1990s, Apache Indian (cf. Lipsitz 1994; Taylor 1997). Born (and living) in England of Punjabi descent, he blends reggae, *bhangra,* and North Indian music.

55. See Sonevytsky (2006) for a discussion of Ruslana's appropriation of Hutsul material and the linked politics of auto-exoticism, and Gemba (2007) for an analysis of how Ruslana constructs a three-part image based on a regional myth, ethnic anchoring, and a stylized female figure.

56. According to Shmeleva and Shmelev (2002:61–62), Ukrainians are portrayed in jokes as stupid, greedy, unclean, and as people who only eat lard. They also make fun of Russians by speaking "broken Russian" (in other words, Ukrainian). During an interview Rudenko alluded to the lard when talking about Ukrainian humour with the following joke: "Silent Ukrainian night, but the lard has to be rehidden" (interview, 9 January 2006; my translation).

Singing in (Jamaican) English and Punjabi, he is at first glance similar to Svoboda. Apache Indian, however, differs since he (due to his distance from India) is in a position to raise problematic and current issues that touch the Indian diaspora and his (imagined) home, India (Taylor 1997:155ff). Besides the social motivation which Svoboda lacks, Apache Indian also has a different target group—the Indian community living in Great Britain. While Svoboda primarily plays for (ethnic) Russians and thus caters to their perceived needs (ranging from a positive musical experience to an exoticized Ukraine), Apache Indian caters to his target group by drawing on topics important to them (e.g., arranged marriages and AIDS). Post-colonial expressions can take on different forms depending on, among other things, the location of the subject (former colony, former colonizer, outside the empire), his or her personal background, and the target group.

Conclusion

This article has shown that despite drawing on a form of imagined Ukraine, the groups' strategies vary: Haydamaky and Ruslana use traditional music (both musically and discursively) to build a band identity marking Ukraine as a sovereign nation-state, not part of the same entity or colonial system (i.e., the former USSR) as Russia. While Svoboda also marks Ukraine as a different entity, this is done by drawing on prevalent stereotypes of and folklore from Ukraine, thus underlining the historical connection between the two countries by keeping the colonial representations alive.

However, refocusing on countries outside the former Soviet Union raises new sets of questions: how are the groups perceived by an audience which does not necessarily speak Ukrainian or Russian and whose knowledge of post-Soviet realities ranges from limited to non-existent? What effect does that have on which bands are available locally in Berlin and Vienna, and how they are promoted? How are Russian or Ukrainian stereotypes of the savage vodka-induced East influenced by Ruslana's and Haydamaky's performances?[57] How has Ruslana's victory at the Eurovision Song Contest influenced and reinforced the perceptions of Eastern Europe and shaped the contest in the following years? The answers to these questions can shed light on the fluid meanings and implications created by cultural flows and also on how questions of representation shift. While Ruslana is in the dominant position, appropriating the Hutsuls as an internal Other within a Ukrainian context, her claims that she is a Hutsul despite the fact that she was born and raised in Lviv, not the Carpathian mountains,[58] are likely to be believed abroad, thus inverting the power structure, making her the exotic Other—the dominated—reinforcing prevailing stereotypes of an uncivilized, pre-modern East and also blocking access for other groups from the former Soviet Union that do not fit those stereotypes.

57. Svoboda is not mentioned since the group has not performed outside Russia.

58. Gemba (2007:143, n. 21) points out that Ruslana, through the use of the Carpathian mountains, claims a Hutsul heritage. However, it is not clear whether her father is from Gutsul'shchina, and thus a Hutsul, or from Trans-Carpathia.

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