

**Transnational Habitus: Mariem Hassan as the transcultural representation of the
relationship between Saharaui music and Nubenegra records**

Luis Gimenez Amoros

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, Rhodes University

PhD (thesis)

Department of Music and Musicology

Supervisor: Dr Lee Watkins

Abstract

This thesis expands on primary field research conducted for my MMus degree. Undertaken in the Saharai refugee camps of southern Algeria (2004-2005) that research - based on ethnographic data and the analysis of Saharai music, known as *Haul*¹ - focussed on the musical system, the social context of musical performance and the music culture in Saharai refugee camps.

This doctoral research examines Saharai *Haul* music as practised in Spain and is particularly focussed on its entry, since 1998, into the global market by way of the *World Music* label, Nubenegra records. The encounter between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra records has created a new type of Saharai *Haul* which is different to that played in the refugee camps. This phenomenon has emerged as a result of western music producers compelling Saharai musicians to introduce musical changes so that both parties may be considered as musical agents occupying different positions on a continuum of tradition and change. Nubenegra undertook the commodification of Saharai music and disseminated it from the camps to the rest of the world. A musical and social analysis of the relationship between Nubenegra and Saharai musicians living in Spain will form the basis of the research in this thesis. In particular, Mariem Hassan is an example of a musician who had her music disseminated through the relationship with Nubenegra and she is promoted as the music ambassador of the Western Sahara. I collaborated with her as a composer and performer on her last album, *El Aaiun egdat* (Aaiun in fire), in 2012² and gained first hand insight into the relationship between Mariem and Nubenegra. This thesis reflects on this relationship and my role in facilitating this encounter.

¹A Bedouin musical style of the *Hassanya* speakers in Mauritania, Western Sahara, south-western Algeria, southern Morocco, and north-eastern Mali

² Aaiun is the capital city of Western Sahara

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank to everyone who has contributed to the completion of this thesis. However, this thesis is especially dedicated to Mariem Hassan and Nubenegra's director, Manuel Dominguez.

I also dedicate this work to Hugo Westerdahl, Gabriel Flores, Vadya Mint El Hanevi and Zazie. They have been part of Hassan's band and we have travelled together during two years presenting Hassan's album, *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). They have been essential in the experiential part of this thesis.

I would like to thank to Dr. Lee Watkins for his contribution in my personal career. He has been my supervisor since 2011 for the completion of my MMus and PhD. He has been the most influential ethnomusicologist in my academic career. Hence, Dr. Watkins has been an example of efficiency and professionalism at Rhodes University from which I have been positively influenced.

I also like to thank to Camalita Naicker and Jo Collet for proof reading this thesis. They have contributed to improve my English. Finally, I thank to my family for their unconditional support.

Declaration of originality

I, Luis Gimenez Amoros declare that this assignment is my own work written in my own words. Where I have drawn on the words or ideas of others, these have been acknowledged using complete references according to the Departmental Guidelines.

Table of contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Declaration of originality.....	iv
Table of contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Transcriptions.....	xiii
List of interviews.....	xv
List of songs.....	xvi
Glossary.....	xviii

Chapter One – Theoretical and transnational framework of “Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra 1

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Researching Saharaui music and its relationship with Nubenegra.....	4
1.3 Historical framework: decolonisation and forced exile.....	6
1.4 Transnational studies in ethnomusicology: Its limitations, the use of habitus and other theoretical concepts contributing to the study of transnational music.....	13
1.5 Transnationalism and habitus applied to ethnomusicological studies: The metaphor of hubs, transcultural capital theory and the politics of globalisation.....	29
1.6 Research methodology: Rice and the multidimensional study of music in relation to the transnational habitus in Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra.....	41
1.7 The application of Rice’s metaphors in the chapters of this thesis.....	48

Chapter Two –Translocal capital in Saharaui music: Identification through cultural values and nationalism in the refugee camps.....53

2.1 Origins and social contextualization of Saharaui music in <i>Trab el Bidan</i> : griots and <i>Haul</i> ; the <i>lailas</i> ; the children of the clouds; from nomad to sedentary life.....	55

2.2 Musical and cultural values found in translocal Saharai music in the camps: <i>Haul</i> modes, rhythms, traditional instruments, and forms of interactions between the musicians and the poets.....	62
2.3 Cultural values in Saharai poetry: Sufism and religious poetry in relation to Saharai nationalist songs.....	65
2.4 The <i>igagwen</i> in Mauritania and Saharai musicians: Cultural memory and innovation.....	69
2.5 Sedentarisation and national consciousness of Western Sahara.....	72
2.6 The RASD, international agents, and their political interpretations about the conflict of Western Sahara.....	80
2.7 <i>Azawan</i> and syncretism: The concept of translocal capital for the Saharai people.....	84

Chapter Three –Transcultural capital: The relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra records.....87

3.1 Nubenegra: Manuel Dominguez and his contact with Saharai music before 1997.....	90
3.2 Formal agreements between an institutional Hub and a human hub: Nubenegra and the PF to promote Saharai music by using social memory and a commercial interest.....	95
3.3 Nubenegra’s promotion of <i>Leyoad</i> : Selection and possibilities of creating a Saharai band to promote the trilogy <i>Sahraui</i> , from translocal to transcultural.....	101
3.4 The dissemination of Saharai music during <i>Leyoad</i> ’s performances by Nubenegra and in the recording studio by western producer.....	105
3.5 The album “Mariem Hassan and <i>Leyoad</i> ” (2002): The first commodified product of Saharai music as a result of its dissemination.....	109
3.6 Nayim Alal and its commodification of Saharai music through Alberto Gambino: The first attempt to create a Saharai solo artist.....	112
3.7 Another type of Saharai musical commodification through western agents: Hugo Westerdahl remixes of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (2007) and Mariem Hassan’s collaboration in the album <i>Hechizo de babilonia</i> by Luis Delgado Delgado (2000).....	118

3.8 Nubenegra as the main agent for the dissemination, commodification in Saharai music: Possibilities and limitations of the record label to distribute and promote the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.....	125
3.9 Nubenegra and its distinctive relationship with Saharai music: Self-Reflexivity on Manuel's interaction as an integral agent in Saharai music.....	130

Chapter Four -Mariem Hassan: The construction of a transcultural representative of Saharai music.....135

4.1 Biographical notes: National and translocal views on Mariem Hassan before Nubenegra (1974-1998).....	138
4.2 Nubenegra's decisions for choosing Mariem Hassan as the representative of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.....	142
4.3 <i>Deseos</i> : The first representation of Mariem Hassan as solo artist.....	144
4.4 <i>Shouka</i> : Mariem represented as the ambassador of Saharai music.....	153
4.5 <i>El Aaiun egdat</i> : cosmopolitan agency in Saharai music.....	164
4.6 Representation of Mariem Hassan by Nubenegra in the specific agents of the global market.....	168

Chapter Five –*El Aaiun egdat*: Innovation in the transcultural capital of SMRN.....179

5.1 Nubenegra's proposal to be Mariem's composer and guitarist in the album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	181
5.2 Mariem Hassan, international musicians, translocal poets and Nubenegra: The compositional process in Villena (Spain).....	183
5.3 Bimusicality in <i>El Aaiun egdat</i> : multimusical, cosmopolitan and traditional.....	188
5.4 Multimusicality: Musical influences related to the <i>Haul</i> modal system and not recognised as cosmopolitan.....	191
5.5 Cosmopolitan bimusicality: Musical styles recognised globally used in Mariem's music.....	199

5.6 Traditional bimusicality: A Spanish guitarists playing <i>Haul</i> music.....	205
5.7 The final resolution of such bimusical process by Nubenegra.....	210
5.8 Copyrights of Hassan's songs in the album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	212
5.9 Recording plan in Axis studios in Madrid in January 2012.....	218
5.10 Glocalisation and general observation about the cultured and musical habitus involved in the construction of the album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	222

Chapter Six –The study of musical performances presenting Mariem's album *El Aaiun egdat*: Representation and innovation of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra.....

6.1 Collective communication: Musical constructions in Mariem's performance of <i>El Aaiun egdat</i> (music as art metaphor).....	229
6.2 Main musical arrangements produced by each musician for live performances and which differed from their contribution in the album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i> (music as symbolic system).....	233
6.3 Stage talk to present songs during musical performances.....	240
6.4 Another form of collective communication: Interactive live performances as a trio in Festival du Sahel (Senegal).....	242
6.5 Academic interventions: Workshops, debates, and conferences at the University of Salamanca (USAL).....	246
6.6 Performance studies on the representation of Mariem's album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i> (music as social behavior).....	251
6.7 Mariem's musical performances defined by the Press as blues of the desert.....	255
6.8 Participant-observant views on the construction and representation of live performances with Mariem Hassan in 2012.....	261

Chapter Seven –Conclusion.....

7.1 Theoretical conclusion: The study of transnational music beyond its community.....	265
7.2 Conclusion based on the Rice's research methodology "time, place, and metaphor in musical experience and ethnography".....	276

7.3 General conclusions.....	280
7.4 Saharai music: Suggestions for further research.....	282

Appendices

Appendix 1: Instruments in <i>Haul</i> music	284
Appendix 2: Musical transcriptions in western notation of the <i>Haul</i> modes.....	288
Appendix 3: Musical transcriptions of rhythms in <i>Haul</i> music.....	290
Appendix 4: Musicians, poets and collaborators for this research	292
Appendix 5: Brief chronology of the history of Western Sahara	294
Appendix 6: Authorisation of Nubenegra records to use their songs.....	297
Appendix 7: Songs in Arabic from Mariem Hassan's album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	298
Appendix 8: Songs courteously provided by Nubenegra Records.....	301
Appendix 9: Concerts presenting <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	303
Appendix 10: Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra	304

Discography.....	305
References.....	306

List of figures

Figure 1. Map of Western Sahara.....	1
Figure 2. Moroccan wall or “berm” in Western Sahara.....	11
Figure 3. Saharai refugee camp of Auserd in Tindouf.....	12
Figure 4. <i>Trab el Bidan</i> map.....	56
Figure 5. Extract from Guimbarda catalogue. The album El Ualy: Polisario Vencera is at the top of the list.....	92
Figure 6. Manuel Dominguez.....	93
Figure 7. Manuel Dominguez with the Minister of Culture (on the right) and the Minister of Tourism (on the left) in the camps presenting the triple album Sahraui (picture courtesy of Nubenegra).....	98
Figure 8. Permission by the Saharai delegation in Spain to bring four musicians from the camps to play with Leyoad in Europe (courtesy of Nubenegra).....	103
Figure 9. <i>Leyoad</i>	107
Figure 10. “Nayim Alal: Nar” (album).....	113
Figure 11. Nayim Alal.....	114
Figure 12. Hugo Westerdahl.....	119
Figure 13. Hugo Westerdahl: Western Sahara remixes (album).....	122
Figure 14. “Luis Delgado: El hechizo de Babilonia” (album).....	123
Figure 15. Luis Delgado.....	123
Figure 16. From the campaign “Una guitarra por el Sahara” by Nubenegra...	131
Figure 17. Mariem Hassan singing at the opening of Enamus in November 2011.....	131
Figure 18. <i>El Wali</i> , first tape released in France by Tremplin records in 1989.....	132
Figure 19. Mariem Hassan with Boika, Baba Salama and Fatta during the production of Deseos in 2005.....	146
Figure 20. Mariem Hassan in 2010, picture for the album <i>Shouka</i>	156
Figure 21. Baba Salama.....	157
Figure 22. Mariem Hassan in Madrid.....	171

Figure 23. Beibuh, prominent figure in the construction of Saharai modern <i>Haul</i>	186
Figure 24. Personal permission to cede my copyrights to Mariem Hassan.....	214
Figure 25. Mariem Hassan’s international band with Hugo Westerdahl, Vadya El Hanevi, Luis Gimenez and Gabriel Flores (from left to right) (courtesy of Nubenegra).....	252
Figure 26. Mariem Hassan’s repertoire with her international band in Helsinki.....	254
Figure 27. Mohamed Salec playing <i>tidinit</i>	283
Figure 28. Salma playing <i>ardin</i>	284
Figure 29. Sweta playing <i>t’bal</i>	284
Figure 30. Ahmed Zein playing electric guitar.....	285
Figure 31. Bepa playing keyboard.....	285
Figure 32. Salem reciting poetry.....	286
Figure 33. Salma singing.....	286

List of tables

Table 1. Social structures of communication in transnational Saharai music.....	17
Table 2. Hubs in Saharai music.....	32
Table 3. Multidimensional study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.....	47
Table 4. Main differences between <i>Haul</i> music in Mauritania and Western Sahara.....	71
Table 5. Transcultural study on the promotion of Saharai music from the camps by Nubenegra: Habitus or social structures of communication.....	88
Table 6. Types of social memory.....	96
Table 7. Diagram of Hassan's songs from 2002-2010 organised by modes and rhythms (courtesy of Nubenegra).....	163
Table 8. Table of poets participating in the album, <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	186
Table 9. Diagram of the use of the different types of bimusicality described in this thesis.....	189
Table 10. <i>Haul</i> modes in the songs recorded in the album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	209
Table 11. Table of rhythms in the album <i>El Aaiun egdat</i>	210
Table 12. Hassan's repertoire for a concert in Senegal.....	242

List of transcriptions

Transcription 1. <i>Intifada</i> vocal melody in <i>lyen</i> (Track 1).....	147
Transcription 2. <i>Magat milkitina dula</i> in <i>entamas</i> (Track 22).....	147
Transcription 3. <i>Shauda</i> vocal line in <i>fagu</i> (Track 24).....	150
Transcription 4. <i>Mutamaniyat</i> vocal line in <i>lehrar</i> (Track 25).....	151
Transcription 5. <i>Tirka</i> vocal line in <i>lyen</i> (Track 26).....	152
Transcription 6. <i>Tefla madlouma</i> vocal melody extract in <i>lebteit</i> (Track 27).....	158
Transcription 7. <i>Maatal-la</i> vocal melody extract in <i>fagu tehssam</i> (Track 28).....	158
Transcription 8. Baba Salama vocal melody extract in <i>lyen</i> (Track 29).....	160
Transcription 9. <i>Rahy El Aaiun egdat</i> : vocal melody and chord progression in <i>entamas</i> (Track 30).....	192
Transcription 10. <i>Rahy El Aaiun egdat</i> : Rhythm guitar in <i>entamas</i> (Track 30).....	192
Transcription 11. <i>Rahy El Aaiun egdat</i> : Rhythm guitar two in <i>entamas</i> (Track 30).....	192
Transcription 12. Vocal melody in <i>Arfa</i> in <i>lyen</i> (Track 31).....	193
Transcription 13. Guitar rhythm in <i>Arfa</i> in <i>lyen</i> (Track 31).....	194
Transcription 14. <i>Chimurenga</i> guitar in <i>Arfa</i> in <i>lyen</i> (Track 31).....	194
Transcription 15. <i>Adumua</i> vocal melody in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 32).....	195
Transcription 16. <i>Adumua</i> accentuated melodic notes on the guitar to create a Tuareg feeling in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 32).....	195
Transcription 17. <i>Adumua</i> guitar rhythm in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 32).....	195
Transcription 18. Riff in <i>Adumua</i> on guitar in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 32)....	195
Transcription 19. <i>Legneiba</i> vocal melody in <i>lebteit</i> (Track 33).....	197
Transcription 20. <i>Legneiba</i> : rhythmic guitar in <i>lebteit</i> (Track 33).....	197
Transcription 21. <i>Legneiba</i> : guitar two in <i>lebteit</i> (Track 33).....	197
Transcription 22. <i>Yalli mashi anni</i> vocal melody and chords in <i>lyen</i> (Track 34).....	198
Transcription 23. <i>Yalli mashi anni</i> guitar melody in <i>lyen</i> (Track 34).....	198

Transcription 24. <i>Arrabi al Arabe</i> : vocal melody and chords in <i>entamas</i> (Track 35).....	200
Transcription 25. <i>Arrabi al Arabe</i> : <i>chimurenga</i> staccato guitar in <i>entamas</i> (Track 35).....	200
Transcription 26. <i>Tarham ya Allah Shuhada</i> vocal melody and chords in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 36).....	201
Transcription 27. <i>Tarham ya Allah Shuhada</i> introductory riff with guitar in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 35).....	201
Transcription 28. <i>Siyant laydad</i> vocal melody in <i>fagu</i> (Track 37).....	202
Transcription 29. <i>Ana Saharaui</i> vocal melody and chords in <i>entamas</i> (Track 38).....	203
Transcription 30. <i>Eftat almayal</i> vocal melody and chords in <i>leboer</i> (Track 39).....	204
Transcription 31. <i>Eftat almayal</i> : <i>chimurenga</i> guitar staccato in <i>leboer</i> (Track 39).....	204
Transcription 32. <i>Almalhfa</i> vocal melody and chords in <i>lyen</i> (Track 21).....	205
Transcription 33. <i>Almalhfa</i> accentuated notes on the guitar in <i>lyen</i> (Track 21).....	205
Transcription 34. <i>Gdeim Izik</i> vocal melody and chords in <i>seinicar</i> (Track 5).....	207
Transcription 35. <i>Aulad Sahara</i> vocal melody in <i>fagu</i> (Track 40).....	208

List of Interviews

Bara in wilaya of Auserd, Algeria, 6-11-2004.

Ali Salem, Kaziza, Villena, Spain, 23-12-2013.

Dominguez, Manuel in Madrid, Spain, 3-06-2011, 13-06-2011, 15-12-2011 and 17-12-2012.

Drame, Adama in Bamako, Mali, 10-11-2006.

Fadel, Ahmed in wilaya of Auserd, Algeria, 2-11-2004.

Hadir interview in Alicante, Spain, 3-03-2005.

Hassan, Mariem in Villena (Spain) 1-12-2011 and 1-8-2012.

Jouly, Baba in Madrid 23-6-2012.

Lehsan, Luaily in wilaya of Febrary 27, Algeria, 19-11-2004.

Moraksi in wilaya of Auserd, Algeria, 16-11-2004.

Larbi, Ahmed in Villena, Spain, 19-05-2011.

Salec, Mohamed and Bepa in wilaya of Smara, Algeria, 5-11-2004.

Salem interview in wilaya of Smara, Algeria, 12-11-2004.

Salma in wilaya of Auserd, Algeria, 4-11-2004.

Salma and Bara in wilaya of Auserd, 6-11-2004.

Seibda, Ali in daira of Birganduz, Algeria, 13-11-2004.

Sherif in Elda, Spain, 3-03-2006.

Sinima, Abdalai in protocol of Auserd, Algeria, 15-11-2004.

Sweta in wilaya of Auserd, Algeria, 3-11-2004.

Westerdahl, Hugo in Madrid, 25-06-2012.

Zein, Ahmed in wilaya of Auserd, Algeria, 2-11-2004.

List of songs

1. Intifada (Mariem Hassan)
2. *Magat milkitna dulaa* (El Ualy)
3. *Wanni brassul* (Faknash)
4. *Uargueziz* (El Ualy)
5. *Gdeim Izik* (Mariem Hassan)
6. *Shouka* (Mariem Hassan)
7. *RASD* (El Ualy)
8. *Lualy* (El Ualy)
9. *Wadna* (Mariem Hassan and Leyoad)
10. *Viva el Polisario* (Sahara tierra Mia)
11. *Nar* (Nayim Alal)
12. *El Ziara* (Nayim Alal)
13. *Id Alia* (Nayim Alal)
14. *Hobbi* (Nayim Alal)
15. Baba's song (Hugo Westerdahl)
16. Mawal chill out (Hugo Westerdahl)
17. Sahara on my mind (Hugo Westerdahl)
18. *Recuerdos* (Hugo Westerdahl)
19. *Hechizo de Babilonia* (Luis Delgado)
20. *El vergel ignorado* (Luis Delgado)
21. *Almalhfa* (Mariem Hassan)
22. *Magat milkitina dulaa* (Mariem Hassan)
23. *La tumchu anni* (Mariem Hassan)
24. *Shauda* (Mariem Hassan)
25. *Mutamaniyat* (Mariem Hassan)
26. *Tirka* (Mariem Hassan)
27. *Tefla madlouma* (Mariem Hassan)
28. *Maatal-la* (Mariem Hassan)
29. Baba Salama (Mariem Hassan)
30. *Rahy el Aaiun egdat* (Mariem Hassan)

31. *Arfa* (Mariem Hassan)
32. *Adumua* (Mariem Hassan)
33. *Legneiba* (Mariem Hassan)
34. *Yalli Mashi anni* (Mariem Hassan)
35. *Arrabi al Arabe* (Mariem Hassan)
36. *Tarham ya Allah Shuhada* (Mariem Hassan)
37. *Siyant laydad* (Mariem Hassan)
38. *Ana Saharaia* (Mariem Hassan)
39. *Eftat almayal* (Mariem Hassan)
40. *Aulad Sahara* (Mariem Hassan)

Glossary

Agassar:	Rhythm in <i>Haul</i> music in 6/8
Agarran:	Rhythm in <i>Haul</i> music in 6/8
Ait arbain:	Assembly of the forty emirates in Western Sahara
Almoravids:	Berbers who became Muslim after arrival in Trab el Bidan in the 7 th century. They are also referred to as Shanajas.
Arab:	The Arabs in Bedouin societies are seen as warriors who came to Trab el Bidan in the 14 th century, producing a change resulting in the stratified societies.
Ardin:	A harp that comes from Trab el Bidan.
Barm:	Guitar technique with index and thumb.
Barm asaba:	Same guitar technique as barm but with index finger only
Bhor:	Literally means sea but it is used to refer to the musical modes. For instance bhor seinicar (seinicar mode).
Bubisher:	It is believed that bubisher is the only bird in the refugee camps. It is black and white.
Charha:	Typical dance and rythm of fagu mode.
Chawada:	Literally means exorcism but it is an additional mode in Haul.
Djemaa:	Traditional representation of local advisors in a Saharaui community
Chorfa:	Direct descendants of the Prophet and the highest rank of Bedouin stratified societies.
Donsongoni:	A harp that comes from the Wassoulou region, Mali.
Dubka:	Rhythm in <i>Haul</i> music in 4/4
El Fen el Asri:	The name for Saharaui modern music.
Elmenfaga:	Strumming technique on the guitar and tidinit.
Entamas:	First mode in classical Haul.
Fagu:	Third mode in classical Haul.
Gaaf:	Type of rhyme in poetry, with the structure: A-B-A-B.
Griot:	The name for musician castes in West Africa
Hamada:	Desert where the Saharaui refugee camps are located.
Haul:	The name of the traditional music style in Bedouin societies.
Hassaniya:	The language spoken in Trab el Bidan
How dal:	Part of a song where the singer recites certain verses of the Koran, or poetry.
Igagwen:	Musician castes in Trab el Bidan.

Igiw:	Singular of igagwen.
Jeri:	Strumming guitar technique in 6/8 rhythm.
Kamalengoni:	A harp that comes from the Wassoulou region, Mali.
Lamar:	The two melodic strings in the middle of the tidinit.
Kora:	A harp that comes from the Bambara region, Mali.
Kouyate:	A musician caste in Mali.
Lebleida:	Dance and rhythm in fagu.
Leboer:	Fifth mode in classical Haul.
Lebiadh:	Literally means white and described when a song has free tempo.
Lebteit:	Seventh mode in classical Haul.
Lefguea:	Guitar technique with index and middle finger.
Lehrar:	Literally means black and describes a song with regular tempo.
Lyen:	Sixth mode in classical Haul.
Medhj:	Religious songs in Trab el Bidan.
Medra:	Guitar technique to accompany poetry.
Minurso:	International committee founded in 1991 by United Nations (UN) for the resolution of the Western Sahara conflict
Saharaui:	The term Saharaui is spelt in various ways, such as: Saharwi, Sahrauis, Sahraoui or Saharaoui. I have decided to use the term Saharaui because it is the closest to Hassaniya pronunciation, in my personal opinion.
Seinicar:	Second mode in classical Haul.
Serbet:	Dance and rhythm in fagu.
Sgaller:	Fourth mode in classical Haul.
Shanaja:	Shanaja is the short name for Berber Almoravids.
Sor:	Verses from the Koran.
Sudani:	The term commonly used to describe the chawada mode or music related to Sub-Saharan Africa.
Talaa:	Type of rhyme in poetry, with the structure: A-A-A-B.
T'bal:	Percussion instrument from Trab el Bidan made out of acacia tree and goat skin.
Tidinit:	Melodic string instrument from Trab el Bidan made out of acacia tree.
Tichibtin:	The first and last strings of the tidinit.
Tindouf:	Algerian town next to the Saharaui refugee camps.

Trab el Bidan:	The name for the Bedouin region which covers five different African countries: Mali, Algeria, Mauritania, Morocco and Western Sahara. This is the region of Hassaniya-speakers.
Znaga:	Name for the last level of old Bedouin stratified societies, consisting of artisans, slaves and musicians.
Zuaia:	Second level of the old Bedouin stratified societies.

Chapter One

Theoretical and transnational framework of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra



Figure 1. Map of Western Sahara

http://go.hrw.com/atlas/span_hm/wsahara.htm

Introduction

This thesis analyses the specific relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra, a Spanish record label. The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate how this transnational music coming from the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf in Algeria is represented, disseminated, and commodified in a global context by its interaction with a western record label.

Most ethnomusicological studies that use transnational theory are limited to the analysis of a transnational community and its music (see Bilby, 1999; Swedenburg, 2004; Baltzis, 2005; Eldridge, 2005; Baily, 2005; Rasmussen, 2006; and Imre, 2008). For instance, Baily examines how Qader Esphary, an Afghani musician residing in the USA introduces the keyboard and new electronic sounds to traditional Afghani music in a transnational context (2005: 217). Baily examines the introduction of music technology in transnational Afghani music. However, Baily does not inform about any form of socialisation between the Afghani transnational community in the USA with others outside this community. Therefore, Baily's study on transnational music does not address the relationship between a transnational community, its music and other global

agents such as the music industry or international audiences. In contrast, this thesis demonstrates the importance of identifying how transnational music interacts with specific actors such as a western record label in a global context. As a result, the thesis shows how transnational music is not only changed by its community but through musical and social interaction with a record label, western music producers, international musicians and new audiences. Through this thesis it becomes apparent the need to broaden understandings of the study of transnational music in a global context.

In order to analyse the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra, this thesis applies the theories of transnationalism and habitus. Transnationalism implies the migration of a community to a different location from the place of origin (A. Zoldeger, A. Suhrke and S. Aguayo 1986: 153). The Saharais are originally from Western Sahara, however, since 1975, half of the population (approximately 180 000) resides in the Saharai refugee camps of the Hamada desert in southwestern Algeria (V. P. Fynn, 2011: 40).¹

The concept of habitus (P. Bourdieu, 1977: 72) is invoked to examine the different forms and structures of communication between two agents in order to describe their social sets of dispositions, their agency and the specific objectives of this interaction. The aim of using habitus as part of the theoretical foundation in the thesis is to demonstrate the different social structures of communication in Saharai music composed in the refugee camps and later recorded by Nubenegra. Further, in this thesis, the concept of habitus shows how this specific relationship between a transnational community and a western record label intends to expose “Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra” in a global context.

The social structures of communication [or habitus] analysed are: Saharai musicians and the Polisario Front² in the camps [translocal], Saharai musicians and Nubenegra in Spain [transcultural], Nubenegra [human hub] and the Polisario Front [institutional

¹ The Saharais were expelled from their homeland by Morocco in their imperial plan of extending their country to the Senegal River. Read the section “transnational context” later in Chapter Two.

² The Polisario Front is the representative political party of the Saharai people in the camps.

hub], and the relationship between Mariem Hassan - a Saharai artist promoted by the Spanish record label - and Nubenegra with the “specific agents of the global market”. The specific agents of the global market analysed in this thesis are: music festival organisers, music producers, music journalists, radio programmes, Saharai music audience, Saharai musicians, international musicians collaborating with Hasaan’s music and their professional relationship with other *World Music* artists.³

Nubenegra, as one of the agents in this thesis, paid special attention to Saharai music because Western Sahara is one of two Spanish-speaking countries in Africa (the other being Equatorial Guinea). Western Sahara was a Spanish colony from 1884 to 1975 (J. A. Rodriguez, 2011: 25). The enduring relationship between Saharai artists and Nubenegra - from 1998 to 2014 - has materialised in the production of eleven albums in the form of compilations, a transnational band [*Leyoad*] and solo artists [Mariem Hassan and Nayim Alal] (see discography).⁴

The study of these albums is the foundation for my analysis of the transnational habitus in Saharai music. By musical, I refer to the analysis of Saharai music based on the *Haul* musical system (see Appendix 2). This musical study includes the incorporation of new western musical arrangements, provoked by a musical negotiation with the Spanish record label. The musical innovations in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra are: the introduction of minor and major chords, new instrumentation (keyboards, guitars, bass, and drums) and popular song structures such as “introduction-verse-chorus”. This thesis examines the innovation of Saharai music by its interaction with Nubenegra and how such musical innovation is differentiated from the music made in the camps.

This thesis aims to demonstrate that ethnomusicological studies on transnational music should not be explicit to the analysis of this music and its transnational contextualisation. Further, this thesis argues that the analysis of transnational music

³ In this thesis, I use the ‘specific of the global market’ in order to be more precise with the encounters of Mariem Hassan with the global market. In my view, the concept of the global market is abstract and needed to be made more specific in this thesis.

⁴ The Spanish record label is specialised in the distribution of music from the Spanish-speaking world, mainly from Latin-American countries (see www.nubenegra.com).

transcends beyond the study of its community when this music interacts with the music industry in a global context.

Researching Saharai music and its relationship with Nubenegra

The opportunity to undertake this research arrived when I met Manuel Dominguez, Nubenegra's director, in Madrid in June 2011. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss his first recordings in the Saharai refugee camps in the Hamada desert in 1998. In this meeting, Dominguez proposed that I should be Mariem Hassan's next guitarist for the album *El Aaiun egdat* (Aaiun on Fire), to be produced in 2012.⁵ His proposal offered me the opportunity to work with and interview him regularly about Nubenegra's relationship with Saharai music. Through him, I had the opportunity to meet more people involved in the process of producing the eleven albums of Saharai music as released by Nubenegra, from 1998 to 2012. Among the people involved were Zazie Schubert-Wurr (Nubenegra's director assistant) and Hugo Westerdahl (music engineer, arranger and production assistant with Nubenegra). I interviewed Saharai musicians such as Mariem Hassan, Vadya El Hanevi, Baba Jouly and Boika, some of whom move between the Saharai refugee camps in Algeria and Spain. Most of the interviews were focused on the relationship between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra. The information provided by the interviews helped to frame this thesis.

The main interest for this research was to examine how Saharai music moves between two different contexts: in the refugee camps and in the global market through Nubenegra. In addition, I was interested in the musicians' agency to arrange music differently in the abovementioned contexts. Therefore, the key points in this thesis are the study of Saharai music in different social structures either in the camps or in the global market and, how such structures affected the music.

Another personal motivation, for the completion of this thesis, was to continue my analysis of Saharai transnational music. The personal interest in Saharai music started with my first trip to the Saharai refugee camps in Algeria, in November 2004. However, as mentioned, my previous analyses of Saharai music were based on its

⁵ El Aaiun is the capital of Western Sahara.

musical system known as *Haul* and the social context of refugees in the camps (see Appendix 1, 2 and 3). This doctoral research aims to examine another type of Saharai *Haul* music, which is different to the music in the Saharai refugee camps. It is an examination of the music created by Saharai musicians in the refugee camps but arranged and produced by western music producers during the recording sessions at Axis studio in Spain.⁶ These producers, contracted by Nubenegra, provided the incorporation of western musical influences, such as the use of major and minor chord progressions. The musical negotiation between Saharai musicians and western producers resulted in the dissemination of Saharai music. Thus, it was possible to compare the dissemination of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in reference to the Saharai music performed in the refugee camps.

Another factor that extended the information derived from my interviews for this research, was my first-hand involvement in Mariem Hassan's music as a composer of the musical arrangements for her album, *El Aaiun egdat* (December 2011), as a performer in the recording studio (January 2012), and through international live performances (in Finland, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Senegal, Germany, Italy, France and Belgium) during 2012-2013 (see Appendix 9). Performing and composing music with Mariem Hassan provided me the opportunity to observe and participate in the process of producing the album (in Chapter Five and Six).

Since 2004, the musical collaboration with Saharai musicians has also been due to my participation as a performer of Saharai music at weddings and family gatherings in Saharai transnational communities in Spain. These participatory experiences with Saharai music offered me the possibility and sensibility to understand and perform Saharai music. This musical experience provided me with a solid basis from which to conduct this investigation not only because of the contexts in which this music is performed, but also because of the compositional and instrumental techniques of the music itself. Like ethnomusicologists Marcus and Solis, the experience affirms, that when the researcher intends to collaborate with the music examined, the research

⁶ Axis has been the only recording studio where Nubenegra has recorded Saharai music later distributed in the global market. This studio is owned by Hugo Westerdahl who became one of the international musicians contributing to Mariem Hassan's music from 1998.

obtains a better understanding of the representation and the social context of such music (2004: 158).

With regard to Nubenegra's contribution to this thesis, the record label authorised the use of its audio recordings of Saharai music (see Appendix 6). Apart from Nubenegra's data, the Spanish label provided articles from western newspapers and music magazines, dated from 1998 to 2012, in reference to the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.⁷ Information gathered from the press helped to compare these publications with the information provided in previous interviews on the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra.

Not having a real geographical area of study but a global contextualisation - or transnational representation - of Saharai music through a record label, provided the advantage of continuing my fieldwork either in Spain or South Africa (Rhodes University).⁸ In Spain, I interviewed Mariem Hassan and her musicians during rehearsals for international performances. Through using Skype in South Africa, I interviewed musicians and producers that were not able to meet during my time in Spain. The people I interviewed while based in South Africa reside in the camps or in Spain. Communication with everyone was regular and fluid. I have to emphasise the generosity of everyone involved in this study, which facilitated the speedy progression of my research.

Historical context: decolonisation and forced exile

Western Sahara is the only nation on the African continent still in the process of decolonisation (K. Benabdallah, 2009: 419).⁹ Between 1963 and 1975, Spain was invited by the United Nations (UN) to initiate the process of decolonisation in Western Sahara. In accordance with the UN principle of national self-determination, an

⁷ Articles on Saharai music provided by Nubenegra were chronologically compiled over 14 years.

⁸ During November 2012, the terrorist group "al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb" (AQIM) kidnapped three international volunteers in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf. For this reason, my trip to the camps during that time was cancelled.

⁹ Some of the information given in this section about the transnational context is similar to my MMus of 2012. This study is entitled "Haul Music: Transnationalism and musical performance in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf, Algeria". I used previous informative data about Western Sahara in order to place the reader on the transnational context of the Saharais.

agreement to recognise the Saharai people's independence and right to self-determination was formulated in May 1975. This was after UN-led research in the region concluded that the Polisario Front was the only dominant political force in the territory and that the majority of Saharai people desired independence.¹⁰

The Polisario Front (PF) was formed in 1973 by the Saharai activist, Bassiri. The PF is the conglomerate of different Saharai national movements - as *Movimiento de liberación del Sahara* (MLS) founded in 1969 (also by Bassiri) - in the fight for the decolonisation of Western Sahara (I. Sayeh, 1998: 14). Thus, the PF is not a political party but a group of political associations who share the same goal of eradicating colonialism. The PF states that after independence all the social movements embraced by the Polisario will form a national democratic congress (*ibid*), which includes, *Partido de la Union Saharaui* (PUS) a movement that was not initially in favour of the Polisario Front. The PUS supports the traditional, stratified social structure of the Saharais called *djemaa*.¹¹ However, most of the Saharai national movements from the 1970s want to abolish the traditional system of social castes and the national representation of *Eid arbain* [state of the 40 emirates] (I. Sayeh, 1998: 9). The PF intends to construct a new society with equal rights for all the Saharais. The new Saharai society includes the observation of women's rights and their involvement in the political representation of the PF.¹²

However, as the Spanish themselves took tentative steps towards democratic rule after Francisco Franco's death in 1975, they ceded control of Western Sahara to Mauritania and Morocco in a treaty historically referred to as "The Madrid Accords" (B. Saidy, 2011:87). This event marked the beginning of the exile of the Saharai people from Western Sahara to a desolate territory of Algeria, the Hamada desert (P. San Martin,

¹⁰ This information is found in the United Nations Security Council resolution 379 of November 2, 1975.

¹¹ The *djemaa* was an assembly composed of 'elders', people chosen by the criteria of their wisdom and social values. The *djemaa* used to deal with the social and political problems of this community. In Western Sahara, the national institution composed by all the *djemaas* was called *Eid Arbain* (The assembly of the 40 emirates) (I. Sayeh, 1998: 9). There is more information about the *djemaa* in Chapter Three.

¹² In the *djemaa*, women were not allowed to participate in the social and political decisions (A. Lippert, 1992: 644).

2009: 251). The reasons for the Spanish government to cede Western Sahara have never been officially clear. In Barbulo's book *La historia prohibida del Sahara* (2002) trans. "The forbidden history of the Sahara", Barbulo explains that the Spanish army handed Western Sahara over to Morocco and Mauritania between November 1975 and February 1976 (2002: 314).¹³

Mauritania returned its part of Western Sahara to the PF in 1978. However, Hassan II - at the time the ruler of Morocco - immediately invaded the Mauritanian "part" of Western Sahara in 1979. The first historical justification of the Moroccan government (ruled by the monarch Muhammad V) to colonise Western Sahara was provided by the nationalist movement, called the *Istiqlal* (Independence) political party, in 1956. The *Istiqlal* party was concerned with the reunification of the Moroccan kingdom historically divided by the French (Morocco, Mauritania and southwestern Algeria) and the Spanish (Western Sahara) during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1956, the same year that Morocco gained its independence from France, the *Istiqlal* leader, Allal al Fasi, published in the Moroccan newspaper *Al Alam* the first map of the imperialist idea of the "Greater Morocco". On the map, Fasi extended the frontiers of his country from Morocco to the Senegal River. The new area included Western Sahara, Mauritania, western Algeria, western Mali, and the extreme north of Senegal. During that time, due to the Moroccans' general social disenchantment with Muhammad V, the king, supported Fasi's plan to achieve the "Greater Morocco" and, thus, obtain the sympathy of the national population. For that reason, the colonisation of Western Sahara is still observed as a heroic, national triumph by a considerable number of Moroccan citizens who are influenced by the *Istiqlal* party (D. Seddon, 2009: 201). As a result, Morocco claims that Western Sahara was historically part of Morocco before the colonial era.

However, the United Nations (UN) considers this statement by the Moroccan government as inadmissible. According to the UN, the Saharais have a different cultural, social, linguistic and political foundation to Morocco's. This was the case even

¹³ For more information about the Spanish secret agreements to hand Western Sahara over to Morocco and Mauritania, consult Barbulo (2002).

before the colonial period.¹⁴ In addition, Saharai ethnicity is a unique mixture between the Hassan communities originally from Yemen (the Hassans crossed the entire Sahara desert and arrived in Western Sahara around the thirteenth century), Berbers, and a black population from sub-Saharan Africa (J. Mercer, 1976:130).

The conflict of Western Sahara is a postcolonial, territorial issue for the United Nations, and for other North African countries such as Algeria or Libya. Further, when these countries gained their independence in the 1960s, Algeria and Libya built their countries upon three distinctive political and religious foundations: a republican state, Islam, and socialism (*ibid*: 215). The PF embraced similar values during the process of decolonising Western Sahara. For that reason, the Algerian government provided political support and refugee status to the Saharai people. This event marks the ongoing political conflict in the present between the Moroccan monarchy and Algeria. Further, some scholars claim that Western Sahara created a stalemate in the political conflict between Morocco and Algeria (K. Benabdallah, 2009: 419). For instance, under the conservative monarchy of Hassan II in Morocco - during the time of the brutal invasion of Western Sahara - the king claimed that the Algerian government and the PF are both “radical socialist regimes” (D. Seddon, 2009: 203).

During the Saharai exile in the Hamada desert of Algeria, the PF officially founded the *Republica Arabe Saharai democratica* (RASD) on February 27, 1976. The RASD created a national constitution with social, political and legislative courts placed in the camps. This constitution includes equal rights regarding gender and race in Saharai society (I. Sayeh, 1998: 14).

From the foundation of the RASD in Bir Lehlu in 1976¹⁵ (see Figure 2), the Saharai Republic has been recognised by more than 80 countries around the world. Most of the countries that recognised the RASD are from sub-Sahara Africa and South America, but not from Europe or North America (M. Lopez, 2006: 8). With regard to international

¹⁴ This information is found in the United Nations Security Council resolution 379 of November 2, 1975.

¹⁵ For more information about the proclamation of the RASD visit <http://www.arso.org/03-1.htm>

institutions, RASD was recognised by the United Nations in 1976 (P. San Martin, 2009: 251) and by the African Union in 1984 (J. Mundy, 2009: 116).

In 1991, after 16 years of war between the Moroccans and the Western Saharais, UN peacekeepers in the region formed a committee that conducted a referendum for national self-determination; and the independence of Western Sahara. This committee, named *Mision Internacional de Naciones Unidas para el Referendum del Sahara Occidental* (MINURSO) [“United Nations International Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara” (UNIMRWS)], has been monitoring the ceasefire since 1991. However, MINURSO has not been able to secure a binding resolution that would institute an independent state and allow Saharais to return from exile to Western Sahara (K. Benabdallah, 2009: 419). Innumerable resolutions and diplomatic meetings between the UN, MINURSO and both countries (Morocco and Western Sahara) have not resolved the conflict of Western Sahara.¹⁶ MINURSO often reports to the UN that the Moroccan government continues penalising Saharai political activism in Western Sahara (T. Barbulo, 2002: 322). Further, Morocco has built a wall of 2400 kilometres along the borders of Western Sahara.

In the far western side of the Sahara is the world’s longest continuous wall made of sand and stone. It starts in Morocco and slithers down through the desert for 2400km to the Atlantic Ocean (X. Rice, 2010: 29).

In the areas surrounding this wall, there are “more than 130 000 Moroccan soldiers” on guard in case of a possible encounter with the PF (*ibid*). The Saharais who live in the refugee camps of the Hamada desert named this wall “The wall of shame” (*ibid*: 30). A similar separation by a wall has been constructed by the Israeli government to separate the Palestinian population from what is now called Israel, but used to be part of their homeland (Y. H. Zoubir & K. Benabdallah-Gambier, 2005: 189). Like the wall, there are multiple similarities between the forms of oppression and repression used by the states of Morocco and Israel against Saharais and Palestinians respectively. In fact, the political affiliation between Morocco, the USA and Israel is demonstrated by scholars

¹⁶ All the UN resolution since 1975 concerning the conflict Western Sahara can be visited in www.arso.org

such as Saidy who claim, “Morocco is considered a voice for moderation in the Muslim world..... [And] a vital supporter of the US in the Israeli-Arab conflict” (2011:88).



Figure 2. Moroccan wall or “berm” in Western Sahara

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MapaSaharaOccidental.svg>

As already mentioned, since 1975, approximately 180 000 Saharai people have taken shelter in the refugee camps of Algeria. Spread over 180 kilometres in this arid terrain, the Saharai refugee camps in Algeria are divided into four different *wilayas* (camp provinces): *Auserd*, *Smara*, *Dajla*, and *Aaiun*. Each *wilaya* has between two and four *dairas* (towns). In addition, there are two diplomatic *wilayas*: *February 27* (where the president resides and the main hospital is based) and *Rabuni* (the diplomatic *wilaya*, 20 kilometres from Tindouf, Algeria). With no viable or sustainable economic activity, this displaced populace is wholly dependent on aid from Algeria, UN agencies and a plethora of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), most of them based in Spain (H. Hakovirta, 1993: 41).

The application of the RASD constitution in the camps is a social and political model of the new Saharai society before their return to the homeland. As mentioned previously, this constitution is based on gender and social equality. In this transnational context in the camps, Saharai music represents the principles of the RASD constitution. Such music not only identifies the struggle for the decolonisation of Western Sahara but is also used to enhance political activities in the refugee camps. Thus, Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra represents: the constitutional principles of the RASD, and the conglomerate of national movements embraced by the PF.



Figure 3. Saharai refugee camp of Auserd in Tindouf

<http://hmc11.wikispaces.com/BLOQUE+II>

This thesis is based on the social and musical context of the transnational community of Saharai musicians from the Algerian refugee camps who have recorded music with Nubenegra in Madrid. Except for Mariem Hassan, Ryan Boika, Teita Lebid, Aziza Ibrahim, Baba Jouly, and Vadya El Hanevi, most of the Saharai musicians who have collaborated with Nubenegra do not live in Spain.¹⁷ The Spanish government has not granted these musicians refugee status because Spain does not recognise Western Sahara as an independent country, therefore, providing Saharai musicians “refugee status” in Spain would contradict Spanish policies towards the conflict in Western

¹⁷ Some of the Saharai musicians that recorded with Nubenegra may live in Spain but has not been in touch before the process of this research.

Sahara.¹⁸ Most of the Saharai musicians who come to Spain through Nubenegra have to enter the country on short-term “artist visas”. Consequently, many Saharai musicians are forced to return to the refugee camps in Algeria after touring or recording with Nubenegra. In order to prolong their residency in Spain, many Saharai musicians working with Nubenegra have solicited “work permits” (from one to three years) and pursue work in the manual labour market. Due to the difficulties in obtaining refugee status in Spain, the relationship between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra moves between the camps and Spain (Manuel Dominguez interview, 3-06-2011).

The Spanish record label has not limited its relationship with Saharai music to the production and promotion of the eleven albums. In addition, Nubenegra has been involved in a number of laudable projects in the refugee camps, including the development of a national music archive and the construction of a new music school called *Enamus*. Through these activities, Nubenegra has forged a productive relationship with musicians and the Saharai community in the refugee camps and in Spain. Equally noteworthy, Nubenegra has become an integral agent of the transnational habitus in Saharai music. This thesis will use the concepts of transnationalism and habitus to examine the construction of Saharai music by Nubenegra in Spain.

Transnational studies in ethnomusicology: Its limitations, the use of habitus and other theoretical concepts contributing to the study of transnational music

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on transnational studies in ethnomusicology. Transnationalism expresses the migration of the Saharais into a different location from their homeland (A. Zolderg, A. Suhrke and S. Aguayo 1986:153). Transnationalism implies a community of immigrants residing in another

¹⁸ According to Luz, Saharai people in Spain cannot obtain Spanish citizenship because its government does not openly support the independence of Western Sahara (2001: 130). However, many Saharais still have Spanish passports and identification under Spanish colonialism in Western Sahara. Nevertheless, most of these Saharais have been rejected in their attempt to obtain a Spanish nationality after 1975 (*ibid*). The only case of a Saharai musician represented by Nubenegra obtaining Spanish nationality is Mariem Hassan. Such a fortunate recognition of Hassan as a Spanish citizen occurred in 2013 after residing with her family in Sabadell (near Barcelona) for more than ten years (2002-2014). The main reasons Mariem Hassan obtained Spanish nationality was because a non-Spanish citizen who has resided in Spain for more than ten years can apply for a Spanish citizenship (D. Luz, 2001: 115).

temporal or permanent location. The migration of transnational communities to another country can be optional for the search for other, better, living conditions; or forced for socio-political reasons. Transnationalism occurs, in this case, due to the invasion of Western Sahara by Morocco, and followed by the forced migration of Saharawi people to the refugee camps in Algeria. In this specific case, transnationalism implies a temporary residence in the camps until the resolution of the conflict in Western Sahara by the international justice tribunal [represented by United Nations]. The relationship between transnationalism and forced migration coheres with Zoldeger, Suhrke and Aguayo who observe that:

Refugee-formation is a transnational process where a certain refugee community is forced to leave their country of origin forming a transnational community in the country of exile (1986:153).

As noted previously, regarding ethnomusicology there are various publications on transnationalism and music that have been useful to this study.¹⁹ In general, these articles and books analyse transnational music and how this music is sustained or changed by new social environments. However, the main issue found in the literature review of this thesis was the limitation of previous ethnomusicological studies on transnational music because these studies do not address the interaction with other agents outside their transnational community. Further, other studies on transnational music do not examine the different social structures of communication between the transnational community and other external agents in the new location. For this reason, this thesis argues that future studies on transnational music should consider the interaction of transnational music with other agents outside its community. In any case, the study of other transnational communities and their music was important in order to compare them with the study of Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra. In this section, there are two examples by Bilby (1999) and Imre (2008) of other relevant studies on

¹⁹ See ethnomusicological studies on transnational music by Bilby (1999); Swedenburg (2004); Baltzis (2005); Eldridge (2005); Baily (2005); Rasmussen (2006); and Imre (2008). In relation to the study of Nubenegra in the global market, there are two books that have contributed to the study of transnationalism in the music industry, *Global repertoires: Popular music within and beyond the transnational music industry* (A. Gebesmair & A. Smudits, 1999) and *Transnational governance: Institutional dynamics of regulation* (M. L Djelic & K. Sahlin-Anderson, 2006).

transnational music, and how they were compared with the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Bilby examines how Surinamese popular music has adopted other musical styles such as reggae and calypso. Further, the Bilby explores how such music has a transnational Surinamese audience in Holland. Bilby claims that Surinamese popular music has experienced commodification in which certain record labels in Holland have created a new musical form of Surinamese reggae for Surinamese transnational communities in Europe. Bilby's work is thus very useful in analysing how a transnational community identity is represented by a western record label. However, Bilby focuses on the representation of such music as a transnational representation of Surinamese reggae, and does not refer to the social and musical relationship that the Surinamese musicians have with Dutch people or with western record labels. Further, the Surinamese transnational community in Holland does not represent a transnational community of refugees and the western record labels do not intend to promote this transnational culture, but to create a musical product. Therefore, Bilby's article contributes to the study of the representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, but not specifically on how such relationship between a transnational community and a record label interacts socially and musically.

Imre (2008) examines Gypsy music in Eastern Europe as a form of transnationalism and how Gypsy music is combined with other musical styles. Although one could argue that Gypsy music is not transnational because Gypsy communities have lived in Eastern Europe for centuries, their sense of home is where they reside rather than being based on their historical origins in northern India (A. Fraser, 2000: 17). However, Imre's views about how Gypsy music is combined with other musical styles and how it is influenced by the social interaction with the west, draws a parallel with the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Imre observes that Gypsy music in Eastern Europe is influenced by other music cultures outside its transnational context. However, Imre does not analyse the social structures of communication or the musical analysis involved in the musical negotiation between traditional music and non-traditional. In contrast, this thesis intends to analyse how Saharai music based on the *Haul* modal system is combined with other music styles as a result of its social interaction with Nubenegra.

As previously mentioned, this thesis does not only study a transnational community and its music but also includes its specific relationship with a record label. For this reason, the concept of habitus is used to analyse the different social structures in which Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is sustained, limited and changed, from 1998 to 2014. Habitus is a sociological concept forged by Bourdieu (1977). The concept of habitus is an argument for the socialisation of an individual (subjective) or community (objective) in a structured - or multistructured- society. In Bourdieu's book, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, the author states that habitus is:

The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment [P]roduce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations (1977: 72).

Thus, in relation to the concept of habitus and social structures (or structuralism), Bourdieu (*ibid*: 78) states that the relationship between two agents is structured by their social conditions of possibility and by “the durable principle of their production” (*ibid*). With regard to the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra, there are four social structures of communication particular to their aim of exposing Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in a global context: 1) “Saharai musicians and the PF in the camps”: dealing with translocal, political and social values. This social structure is based on the promotion of the PF by a new type of Saharai music, in other words, music supporting the process of decolonisation in Western Sahara; 2) the musical negotiations between “a western record label and the PF”. This social interaction includes the relationship and diplomatic agreements to promote Saharai music between both parties, the PF and Nubenegra; 3) the professional relationship between “Saharai musicians and Nubenegra”, referring to the musical negotiation of these agents in the recording studio. As noted previously, musical and social communication led to changes in Saharai music such as arrangements based on western harmony and new instrumentation; 4) the final social structure is the relationship between Saharai music, represented by Mariem Hassan, and Nubenegra with the “specific agents of the global

market”. In this thesis, the “the global market” is defined by the external response to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by specific agents (see page 1).²⁰

The study of the mentioned social structures of communication is important because it is the basis of migration of Saharai musicians, from the camps to Spain, to create new musical arrangements with Nubenegra and for the final circulation of such music in a global context.

Social structures of communication in transnational Saharai music
1. Saharai musicians and the PF in the camps (translocal) 2. The negotiation between the Polisario Front (institutional hub) and Nubenegra (human hub) for the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market 3. The musical and social interaction between Saharai musicians, music producers and Nubenegra in Madrid 4. Nubenegra’s promotion of Hassan as the transcultural representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market

Table 1

While the lives of Saharai musicians in multiple locations are addressed through the invocation of transnationalism, the notion of habitus contributes to an analysis of the social structures of communication in both Spain and in the camps. In this thesis, given the special attention to Mariem Hassan as the main representative of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, there is a particular focus on the Saharai artist’s habitus. Hassan participated in Nubenegra’s albums of Saharai music between 1998 and 2014 (see Table 1). In terms of the social structures of communication in this thesis, the artist has moved between the four social structures mentioned above: 1) Hassan performs in the refugee camps during national events as the main transnational artist and representative of the PF; 2) PF negotiates with Nubenegra to enter into a contract with Hassan. Before 2002 - when the Saharai artist moved to Barcelona - the negotiation to

²⁰ In order to be more precise about the interactions between Saharai music and Nubenegra with the global market, this thesis applies a personal term: “specifics of the global market”.

contract Mariem Hassan was led by the PF; 3) Since 2005, Hassan is the only Saharai musician working with Nubenegra as a solo artist; 4) From 2004-2012, Hassan has released four albums as a solo artist with the Spanish record label.²¹ Moreover, Hassan and Nubenegra have an enduring relationship with the ‘specifics of the global market’ since 1998 through the band called *Leyoad*, and later as a solo artist.²² Therefore, the disposition of Mariem Hassan’s agency is both imposed when the artist chooses to support the PF as a refugee and voluntarily, when she decides to be contracted as a solo artist by Nubenegra.

In the study of Mariem Hassan as a solo artist, the concept of habitus is related to the analysis of artistic identification and, at the same time, her representation of Saharai musical culture. For Bourdieu, in his concept of participant-objectivation (2003: 282) as related to habitus, the individual’s agency (subjective) always leads to the objective purposes of a community (the object or transcultural capital). In other words, the object is composed of social structures of communication in which individuals move, identify, and are represented according to their social conditions (transnational). Moreover, for the French sociologist, these structures of communication lead to the social development of a community. He states that, “participant-objectivation undertakes to explore not the lived experience of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility” (*ibid*). In this thesis, the “object” is the Saharai transnational community. In the case of Mariem Hassan, as an individual coming from this transnational society, such structures of communication not only contribute to the “participant-objectivation” of the promotion of Nubenegra in the global market, but also for the international exposure of the Polisario Front’s ideology.

In this thesis, Bourdieu’s notion of habitus does not address the “individual conditions of possibility” of Hassan’s relationship as a Saharai woman with the ‘specifics of the global market’. For instance, when Hassan is exposed to the ‘specifics of the global

²¹ Hassan’s albums have been awarded by the music industry several times. Mariem Hassan has been nominated number 4 with the album *Shouka* in the *World Music Charts Europe* (WMCE) in 2010. In 2012, she was awarded number 1 during 3 months in the WMCE.

²² *Leyoad* is the Saharai band that represented the first compilation albums produced by Nubenegra. *Leyoad* was a conglomerate of Saharai musicians that never was the same except for Mariem Hassan and Nayim Alal.

market', the Saharai artist is introduced into new structural forms of individual communication such as being an Arab woman in the west; the exoticisation by western audiences of her as a *World Music* artist; or the individual and musical relationship with international musicians in her album *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). Thus, this thesis examines the appearance of new individual structures of communication between Hassan and the 'specifics of the global market' mentioned above.

In general, the application of habitus in this thesis is useful to identify the different social structures of communication involved in the relationship of Saharai music with Nubenegra in a global context. As previously mentioned, for Bourdieu, the social structures of communication of "durable disposition" are based on the relationship from an individual to the community (1990: 53). In this thesis, the concept of community is addressed in the Saharai transnational structures of communication circulating in the camps and its relationship with Nubenegra in a global context. Further, the concept of habitus analyses the interaction of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra with its transnational community and other agents outside this community in relation with the global market or the "specific agents of the global market" such as: a record label, music producers or journalists.

As previously noted, the studies found in transnational music mostly examine the social contextualisation of a transnational community and its music (K. Bilby, 1999; M. Eldridge, 2005; A. Imre, 2008). However, this thesis analyses the relationship of a transnational community and a record label; thereby producing new forms of interaction (or habitus) between transnational music and the specifics agents of the global market mentioned above. As a result, Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" (1977) not only analyses the different structures of socialisation between an individual and his/her community. Habitus also includes the possibility of analysing the specific social structures of communication in the relationship of Saharai music with Nubenegra. The concept of habitus structures this specific relationship in order to demonstrate the dissemination and commodification of Saharai music in relation to the music made in the camps. Further, this relationship leads to new social structures of communication with specific agents of the global market outside the transnational community or Nubenegra's social context. Thus, habitus is used to analyse the specific social relationships of transnational

music with a record label and, it includes the agents (music producers, music journalists, etc.) involved in this relationship on their aim to promote Saharai music in the global market. In order to include how the music industry in a global context interacts with Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, this thesis uses habitus to structure the relationships between Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra with the specific agents of the global market previously mentioned.

In my view, the social relationship between two agents can be interpreted as structural and analysed by using the concept of habitus. For this reason, in this thesis, the interactions between Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and the global market are structured and specified by using the concept of “the specific agents of the global market”. In a global context, habitus helped to identify the relationship between Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and other agents instead of using globalisation as an abstract concept with undefined actors. For Turino, globalism is related to capitalism, “its technologies, ideologies, institutions and products” (2003:53). Thus, in this thesis, the global context rather implies specific agents that contribute to the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the western world (or capitalist countries in the western world).

In reference to the concept of globalisation, Turino also states that, “the term global sometimes simply implies ‘not local’ and this usage is both a product and illustration of the growing acceptance of a local-global dichotomy” (2003: 52). In this thesis, a specific global context based on the interaction between Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and other agents contributed to contextualise the dissemination and commodification of Saharai music produced by its relationship Nubenegra.

With regard to the relationship between transnational music and a record label in the global market, I also examined studies on transnational music corporations ruling the international market as transnationalism related to the commodification of musical products. These studies were used to analyse the difference between big music labels and independent labels such as Nubenegra in a global context. In reference to that, I found articles such as Gebesmair (1999), Bennett (2004), Den Tandt (2002), Naficy (2002), Turino (2003) Frishkopf (2010), Guilbault (1997), Frith & Marshall (2004),

Cooley and Barz (2008), Nurse (2000), Malm (1993), Breidenbach & Zukrigl (2001) Djelic & Sahlin-Anderson (2006) and Burnett (1999), on the musical issue between transnational companies and international laws useful. These articles helped in understanding the process of commodification of Saharai music and how it is negotiated through Nubenegra.

For instance, Breidenbach and Zukrigl state “when looking at copyrights and patent law, we witness how old power relations are challenged by people from the periphery” (2001: 112). As Breidenbach and Zukrigl predict, in the case of Saharai music, Nubenegra conceded total ownership and copyright of every song to the Saharai artists, including the poets. Thus, Saharai musicians challenge the power relations between a record label and artist by obtaining the ownership of their songs, since, to paraphrase Hall the direction of transnational flow is not only unidirectional: some things go from South to North (Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra), others from North to South (copyrights and ownership of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by Saharai composers and poets) (2003: 5).

This thesis includes other theoretical concepts to analyse the social structures of communication in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Such concepts are concerned with the transnational identification of Saharai music. The concept of Saharai identification deals with the social and cultural values of Saharai music. In order to raise awareness of the Saharai structures of communication, I decided to use identification - which involves a constant social development or a non-static conception of a musical culture - instead of identity. Identification is related to an ongoing process of transformation in transnational Saharai music in the camps and in Spain. Identification as a concept is more accurate than identity to study the circulation of transcultural (Spain) and translocal (refugee camps) capital in Saharai music. As a case in point, I have used Sökefeld’s critiques on identity:

The notion of identity ... [I]s not only imposed onto other people by social anthropologists or other scientists, but that it is also assumed by these people themselves under the powerful conditions of global discourse and practice. What are we

to make out of this self-identification and self-reification by turning to identity? Is it really simply a takeover of a conventional "western" understanding? (2001: 534).

Consistent with Sökefeld's critiques on identity, identification expresses mobility in a transnational society that continues to evolve and change with its political and cultural values.

With regard to the political values of Saharawi music, ethnomusicological theories on conflict (J. M. O'Connell & S. E. Castelo-Branco, 2010) and postcolonial theories (A. A. Ahmida, 2009) have been useful in informing the "non-static or constant evolution" of musical cultures.

The book *Music and conflict* (2010) edited by John Morgan O'Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco has contributed to understanding the conflict of Western Sahara in relation to Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra. These scholars state that "music and conflict can be seen as a 'war-peace continuum', where peace is couched in the mantle of war" (*ibid*: 1). In this thesis, I apply the concept of "war-peace continuum" considering transnational Saharawi music as a "medium for interrogating the character of conflict and for evaluating the quality of conflict resolution" (*ibid*: 2). In other words, Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra provides a transcultural representation of the conflict of Western Sahara from the transnational point of view of the Saharawi.

With reference to postcolonial theories, I have provided historical and reflexive statements by Ali Abdullatif Ahmida (2009) who is concerned with colonialism and nationalism in North Africa; including the conflict of Western Sahara. The Ahmida argues that the approach to the Maghreb²³ countries has been segmented. By segmentary, Ahmida refers to a theory that assumes the "existence of tribal society composed of homogeneous tribal segments" (*ibid*: 3). This is the case of Western Sahara when the *djemaa* is presented as the structure of a traditional and ancient society (J. Baroja, 1990). However, certain social theories do not consider the social changes occurring in Saharawi transnational society or the way the *djemaa* itself has evolved

²³ Maghreb refers to the francophone North African countries (including Libya, Western Sahara and sometimes Egypt): Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Mauritania.

politically as a traditional council, to incorporate new political ideals. Ahmida claims that, “this static view of Maghrebi societies fails to acknowledge how “tribal society” reflects other dynamic social institutions and history” (*ibid*).

Ahmida’s book includes a chapter written by David Seddon entitled “Dreams and Disappointment: Postcolonial constructions in the Maghrib” (2009: 197-229). This chapter is concerned with the colonial conflict of Western Sahara and the RASD as a stalemate in North Africa. Seddon provides an overview of the different historical points of view of Morocco, the Polisario Front and Algeria, regarding the disputes in Western Sahara. The historical information provided in Seddon’s article about the conflict of Western Sahara contributed to a critique of the colonial “static view of Maghrebi societies” (*ibid*: 197). Further, Ahmida and Seddon have contributed to an understanding of nationalism from different points of view (regarding the general opinions from Algeria and Morocco towards Saharawi nationalism). Therefore, these scholars were useful to broaden perspectives on the conflict of Western Sahara. For instance, Seddon introduces the concept of the Maghreb as a geographic area conceived differently by each of the North African countries from the mentioned region:

In Arabic *al-Maghrib* means “the west”; in the Arab world, it is divided from al-Mashriq (the Middle East) by Egypt; to the west of Algeria, it is *Al Mamlaka al Maghribiya* (the Kingdom of Morocco); while in Morocco it is the Atlantic coastal plains. For some, the Maghrib is the region once referred to by Europeans as, ‘Barbary’ –the land of the Berbers. Others refer to simply as North West Africa, comprising Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Western Sahara, and Mauritania, “which can be seen as a link joining North West Africa to black Africa south of the Sahara” and is part of the southern Sahara, which “embraces the whole of Mauritania, together with the northern part of Mali, most of Niger and the northern portion of Chad (2009: 197)

Seddon claims that the idea of the unification of the Maghreb is rather a dispute of land based on the different historical references by each postcolonial country in North Africa. As an example, the *Istiqlal* party in Morocco believed that the Kingdom of Morocco extended from North Africa to the Senegal river (*ibid*: 201). For this reason, Morocco never recognised Western Sahara as a country or only recognised Mauritania in 1969, (nearly a decade after its independence from France) (*ibid*: 197). On the other hand, Libya “has attempted to annex northern Chad” (*ibid*). This social and political

reality shows that there is an undefined concept of the Maghreb and historical issues related to the geographical borders in postcolonial North Africa. Seddon claims that the different concepts of nationhood in certain North African countries and their relationships with the western world has provoked political disagreements mostly between the Moroccan Kingdom and some Arab republics (Western Sahara, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya) (*ibid*). However, as shown in the historical context of this thesis, the conflict of Western Sahara is not only a problem between postcolonial countries in North Africa, but also of decolonisation. In addition, in this case, the relationship between a western record label and Saharai music is positive because it attempts to expose the political and transnational position of the Saharais in a global context.

With regard to the cultural aspects of transnational Saharai music, I have included theoretical concepts of agency related to memory, innovation, women's studies to examine Mariem Hassan's agency, and performances studies. In relation to agency as a philosophical concept, Fuch notes that, "in essentialism something "is" or "has" agency.....[H]umans have agency and are represented through agency" (2001: 26). In other words, agency is related to both decision-making and, at the same time, how certain decisions by an individual have a repercussion in the individual's identification and in society.

In relation to agency as a sociological concept, Barnes states that "agency and free will are related notions. Only human beings are said to be free agents, able to make choices, distinct and separate of other natural objects..... [B]ut agency may be affected by external social behaviours" (2000: 4). In this thesis, the external social behaviours are the different types of agency or 'decision-making' by the interaction between Saharai music and Nubenegra to promote this music internationally. Therefore, agency is not always interpreted as a free will to do things by certain individuals, but includes the social interaction between two agents and their decisions to do something.

For Guilbault, in relation to *World Music* in a global context, agency defines how a musician mediates his/her "specific social, cultural, political and economic practices" or "how music agents and their agency are enacted" (1997: 39). In this case, agency is used to define the decisions made by the agents involved in the relationship between

Saharaui music and Nubenegra to introduce Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra in a global context. These decisions are based on which musical, cultural and social elements are negotiated between the agents involved in the promotion of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra. An example of agency in this thesis is the use of the *Haul* musical system (as the foundation of Saharaui music composed in the camps) mixed with the introduction of major-minor chords as the result of a decision made by the different participants involved in the promotion of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market.

Christine Lucia defines music agency as the process through which the decisions of the composer and performer influence the compositional innovations and structure in music (2002: 137). Lucia refers to the South African pianist Abdullah Ibrahim and his use of “memory” and “innovation” during his exile in the United States. During Ibrahim’s time in North America, he applied “musical memory” to work with evocative melodies from his homeland. Meanwhile, Ibrahim also introduced new musical elements - or innovation - as a result of his new musical influences in the form of American jazz (*ibid*). In the case of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra, one finds many similarities with Lucia’s concept of music agency as related to memory and innovation. For instance, the decision by Nubenegra and Saharaui musicians to incorporate western styled chord progressions (innovation) within the *Haul* melodic system (memory) represents some form of music agency. Music agency - related to memory - is demonstrated through the invocation of the *Haul* modal system. Music agency related to memory will be considered as part of the study on Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra. Thus, “musical agency and memory” emerges as the combination of *Haul* musical heritage in relation to the relationship between Saharaui music and Nubenegra. “Musical innovation” is also demonstrated during the negotiations and decisions undertaken between Nubenegra, western producers - as human hubs - and Saharaui musicians.

In relation to the negotiation between traditional music and non-traditional (or innovation), Susan Rasmussen’s (2005) theory about the negotiation of social and musical memory of Tartit’s performances (a Tuareg band) in the west was useful. The Rasmussen notes that social and musical memory are introduced in different ways

depending on the agent (record label or Tuareg musicians) presenting the performance (*ibid*: 795). As a case in point, Saharai musicians introduce their music to their transnational audience in the camps as the musical representation of nationalism and cultural values based on the use of the *Haul* modal system. On the other hand, Nubenegra uses the same national and cultural values to present to the music industry the dissemination of Saharai music as motivated by the interaction between the record label and these transnational musicians. Thus, musical and social memory in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is negotiated differently by Saharai musicians when they perform to their translocal audience in the camps or to their global audience (as a result of their interaction with Nubenegra). As Rasmussen states, “local culture and memory are recalled differently by performers, promoters, and others involved in Tartit’s production” (S. Rasmussen, 2005:796).

In relation to Rasmussen’s idea of memory and the different interpretations of Tuareg music by promoters and Tuareg people, in this thesis, the study of agency - related to memory and innovation – is also examined through musical transcriptions. These transcriptions are based on my experience with Mariem Hassan, a principal agent in the continuum between tradition and change. Moreover, these musical transcriptions provide a critical insight into the harmonic and melodic changes introduced in *Haul* modes. I consider theories on “music agency” appropriate to this thesis because these examine musical textures and timbre as a mode of analysing Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For instance, in this study, I show how the vocal parts, the electric guitar and the *tbal* (traditional frame drum, see Appendix 1) are the main signs of Saharai translocal identification (or Saharai representative timbre) in Nubenegra’s albums. Meanwhile, the rest of the non-traditional instruments represent musical innovation in Saharai music.

Further, in this thesis, music agency is related to women’s studies for the analyses of Mariem Hassan’s social and musical representation over fourteen years of working with Nubenegra. As Jafran Jones states, “each culture defines men and women and prescribes their behaviour. These unwritten cultural codes typically take only incidental account of the concrete” (1991:317). In Saharai music, the women generally plays the *tbal* (a frame drum) and sing. On the other hand, the men play the guitar or the *tidinit* (a four

stringed instrument) (see Appendix 1). However, this thesis not only analyses the role of Hassan as a Saharai woman in her transnational community, but also includes her relationship with Nubenegra in a global context.

With regard to the interaction of Hassan with her transnational community, I draw on Joseph's theory of Arab women's agency (2012) to explain how her artistic skills are not as valued as her capability to represent her musical culture. Further, Joseph's theory on Arab women helps to elucidate how her artistic image is transcendental in that it is also a representation of the political struggle of Saharai people. In other words, Hassan's agency is not only valued in artistic terms but also the nationalist values of the Saharai aim of decolonising Western Sahara. In comparison to Hassan's agency and her representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, I applied sources related to the decision-making and representation of Oum Khulthoum in Egypt and the construction of her artistic agency as the 'mother of the Arab world' (L. Lohman, 2010). The personal interest in analysing both artists is because of their artistic skills and their role in the Arab world. In this case, the analysis of Hassan's individual agency as an individual artist is based on her artistic skills as a singer and composer. The study of Hassan's musical agency in contrast to her role given by the Polisario Front and Nubenegra, offers a critical debate about the sets of disposition examined in this thesis. As a result, this thesis is not only limited to the study of Hassan's representation of the PF and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra but includes the analysis of her individual agency as a transnational artist.

Considering the application of performance studies in this thesis, I have chosen scholars that focus on the study of musical performances by *World Music* ensembles (see S. Marcus & T. Solis, 2004; R. Trimillos, 2004; T. Solis, 2004: 2; A. K. Rasmussen, 2004; T. Perman, 2007). Performance studies are used to examine the musical negotiation between Mariem Hassan and the international musicians who performed with her during the period 2012-2013. As a result, the aforementioned articles contributed to interpret both my participation as a musician in Saharai music, and Hassan's artistic agency and representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market through musical performances. For instance, Trimillos states that the importance of using "performance as research" is not about questioning if the "ensemble is a good thing" but

“what is the ensemble good for?” (2004: 47). In this thesis, Trimillos’ question helped me to emphasise that the importance of my participation in Hassan’s music is based on both the social and musical interaction of the Saharai artist with her international band during the making of her album *El Aaiun egdat*; and the study of Hassan’s representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra through the mentioned album.

In relation to the contextualisation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, the study of Spanish society in relation to immigration policies (M. D. Algora, 2007) and relationships with the Maghreb has been extensive. Such articles place the social context of Saharai musicians in Spain and its relationship with Nubenegra Records. Publications on the study of Spanish society, with reference to immigration laws contrasted with European laws, related to this social issue are also discussed in this thesis (J. Romero & J. M. Albertos, 1993). As a case in point, articles about Spanish society show that there were more Spaniards leaving the country than immigrant people coming to Spain until 1986 (J. Babiano & S. Farre, 2002: 81). However, nine years later, Spain became one of the main destinations of immigration in Europe (D. Lopez, 1995: 225). The study of Spanish society as cosmopolitan (L. Comajoan, 2010), democratic principles towards immigrants (M. Ramirez, 2010), political parties considering the conflict of Western Sahara (R. L. Bardaji, 2008) and Spanish political pluralism (J. Zarzalejos, 2010: 11) has been important to understand the social context in Spain. In addition, publications on the direct relationship of the Spanish government with Saharais and the conflict of Western Sahara have been essential in understanding the social and political situation of Saharai musicians in Spain while working with Nubenegra (B. Lopez, 1999; J. Vaquer, 2007: 126; C. Ruiz, 2006). Many other publications related to Spanish society can be found in the bibliography of this thesis.

In the study of the contextualisation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, this thesis also includes a review of existing literature on Western Sahara. This review contains literature on the history of Western Sahara (H. Norris, 1962; T. Cleaveland, 1998; J. Mercer, 1976; A. G. Gerteiny, 1967; D. Hart, 1962; P. B. Clarke, 1982; C. El Hamel, 1999; J. Baroja, 1990 and T. Hodges, 1983); the Saharais and the RASD in its transnational context (O. Sidi, 2008; I. W. Zartman, 2007; X. Rice, 2010); and more generally about the social and political actuality of the Saharai people related to the

Arab Spring and the stability of the Maghreb (N. Tanoukhi & A. Mazrui, 2011; T. Sauter & G. Kendall, 2011; A. Theofilopoulou, 2012; C. Gomez, 2012). This body of literature related to historical and social studies of Western Sahara contributed to contextualise the transnational context of the Saharais in the last forty years.

In this thesis, other published sources related to transnationalism - not included in the theoretical foundations of this thesis - were linked with other social or anthropological concepts such as: transnationalism and the globalised world (T. D. Taylor, 2007:160); transnationalism as a refugee formation (A. Zoldeger, A. Suhrke & S. Aguayo 1986); transnationalism as “imagined community” (R. Waldinger, 2004); transnationalism and social structure (P. Clavin, 2005), transnationalism and social memory (R. Patterson, 2006); transnationalism and modernity (S. Hutchinson, 2006); transnationalism and migration (M. Kearney, 1995); transnationalism and media culture (R. Davis, D Fischer-Hornung & D. Kardux, 2011); transnational communities and Islam (P. Mandaville, 2007); transnationalism and international politics (P. Schlesinger, 2008); and transnational communities and internet (T. H. Hall, 2003). This large array of publications on transnationalism helped me to find different perspectives in the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra.

In conclusion, the intertextual relation between the concepts mentioned above and the theoretical foundations of this thesis – transnationalism and habitus - has contributed to a deeper understanding of the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra in a global context.

Transnationalism and habitus applied to ethnomusicological studies: The notion of hubs, transcultural capital theory, and the politics of globalisation

Given the interdisciplinary nature of ethnomusicology, this thesis applies sociological theories such as transnationalism and habitus as a part of its theoretical foundation. As sociological concepts, transnationalism and habitus are used to examine the different social structures of communication between Saharai musical culture and Nubenegra.

For this study, the most relevant ethnomusicological source on transnational theory (and for the application of habitus) has been Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Hanna Meinhof's

Music and migration: A transnational approach (2011). Their theory on transnational music was formulated during the conference on: “Music and Migration” at the University of Southampton in October 2009. This conference led to the “AHRC-funded project entitled *Diaspora as social and cultural practice: A study of transnational networks across Europe and Africa* (or TNMundi for short), co-directed by Meinhof and Kiwan, with Marie-Pierre Gibert (also in this volume) as a post-doctoral researcher” (2011: 5). Concerning the goals of the TNMundi project, Meinhof and Kiwan state that:

The emphasis of the project was to focus on these musicians’ networks across a variety of European and African spaces adopting a subject-centered, multi-sited ethnographic approach. The significance in studying musicians as individual actors rather than as representatives of a particular ethnic or spatial community within the “host” and “home” countries and in following their personal and professional networks, lay in the revelation of much more multi-layered types of translocal and transnational links than are usually associated with migration and diaspora research (*ibid*).

In order to describe and analyse the different social structures of communication in transnational music, Kiwan and Meinhof’s article discusses three main theoretical concepts: transnational hubs, transcultural capital theory, and the politics of globalisation. This section describes these theoretical concepts, their possible application in “Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra” Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra, and how these concepts determine the different types of habitus in this thesis (see Table 1). Although the TNMundi project analyses transnational musicians as individual actors, the theoretical concepts introduced by Kiwan and Meinhof in this thesis are used for the individual study of Mariem Hassan and the analysis of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra.

Transnational hubs are categorised in four sections: human, spatial, institutional and accidental (*ibid*: 4). Human hubs refer to the “significant individuals (musicians or cultural organizers who work with musicians, *e.g.*, festival organizers)” (*ibid*). In this study, human hubs describe the role of Nubenegra and its professional network to create musical events for Saharaui musicians. As human hub, Nubenegra provides

international performances to Saharai musicians mainly living in the refugee camps.²⁴ In general, most of the western record labels involved in the *World Music* industry function as human hubs. These record labels bring artists from non-western countries and expose them to their audience in the west. For instance, the Algerian artist, Cheb Khaled, published a few albums with the British label, Wrasse Records, in the 1990s and became popular among the different Arab-speaking transnational communities in France (T. Swedenburg, 2004:183-184).

Spatial hubs “refer to key spaces of cultural activity among migrant musicians” (*ibid*: 7). Spatial hubs refer to the social spaces where Saharai musicians recorded with Nubenegra either in Madrid (in the Axis studio between 1998-2013) or in the refugee camps (with a portable studio in 1998). Another reason for the application of the concept of spatial hubs is that Kiwan and Meinhof include the transnational circulation of music in the “North” (in Europe) and in the “South” (in the refugee camps) (*ibid*). The concept of spatial hubs is similar to other ethnomusicological studies in two transnational contexts. For instance, as noted previously, Baily draws a comparison between Afghan music in two different transnational spaces: in the refugee camps of Peshawar (Pakistan); and Qader Esphary, an Afghani musician residing in the USA (2005: 217). Baily addresses the importance of music technology to Esphary. The Afghan artists residing in the USA use electronic sounds and programmed rhythms with the keyboard. Meanwhile, in the Afghan refugee camps of Peshawar, there are no electronic sounds involved during the performances. Their political formation as refugees produces a different type of social and musical context. In reference to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and the concept of spatial hubs, the interaction of Saharai music with Nubenegra also introduced new musical and technological elements that were not found in the camps such as the use of recording equipment and electronic sounds.

²⁴ In the category of human hubs, I include the Spanish non-governmental organisation (NGO) *Amigos del pueblo Saharaui* (Friends of the Saharaui people). This NGO is mainly dedicated to the sanitary support in the refugee camps. International Cooperants involved in *Amigos del pueblo Saharaui* (including the Saharaui people residing in Spain and supporting this NGO) as an human hub are the main audience in musical performances of Saharai music in Europe.

Institutional hubs “refer to the key role played by certain organisations located both in the North and South which work to support the work of migrant, post-migrant and returnee migrant musicians” (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 7). This category involves the Polisario Front based in the camps and its diplomatic representatives in Spain.²⁵ As an institutional hub, the PF aims to support Saharai music as the musical representation of this transnational community. It also aims to obtain visa permits for Saharai musicians to perform in other countries, and to promote their ideological position on the decolonisation of Western Sahara.

Finally, accidental hubs allude to the researcher becoming involved in these hubs. Kiwan and Meinhof state that “we as researchers also have multiple links with other academics, media and cultural organisations” (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 7). In general terms, the researcher promotes his/her ethnomusicological investigations in universities and other institutions. Such personal promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra includes my participation in this research by performing with Saharai musicians in the camps and in Spain. Moreover, accidental hubs examine the “adoption of a self-reflexive approach to the collection of data and data analysis” (*ibid*). In this sense, I reveal my personal knowledge of the *Haul* musical system and western musical harmony to explain the musical negotiation involved in the transnational habitus of Saharai music.

Human hub: Nubenegra and its networks to contract musical performances
Spatial hub: refugee camps and Spain: Saharais musicians move between these two transnational spaces
Institutional hub: Polisario Front and its delegations in Spain: Transnational circulation from South to North of its transcultural capital by Saharai musicians
Accidental hub: researcher and networks to promote his/her fieldwork including the self-reflexive analysis of the data

Table 2. Hubs in Saharai music

²⁵ The Saharai diplomatic representatives in Spain are known as *delegaciones* “Saharai delegations” and are represented by individuals from the Saharai transnational community in Spain.

The notion of transnational hubs is used to map the “multi-dimensional and multi-directional cultural flows” of the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (*ibid*). According to Kiwan and Meinhof, the notion of hubs “give us both a horizontal perspective of channels of movements from South to North and their clustering at particularly salient points as well as a vertical perspective of these clusters” (*ibid*: 7). In this thesis, the movements from South to North are reflected in the circulation of Saharai music from the refugee camps to Spain through Nubenegra.

Kiwan and Meinhof explain that studies on transnational music have focused on defining migrant groups in a particular country but “has not acknowledged the enormous cultural, linguistic, social and political heterogeneity within any given migrant group” (*ibid*: 8). This thesis also supports the idea of transnational hubs when applied not only to addressing transnational musicians as a migrant group but also as transnational agents who are “multilocalized”. This type of multilocalized transnational music coheres with Bilby’s study on Surinamese reggae at home and in Holland (1999: 256). Bilby argues that the interaction between Surinamese musicians and a Dutch record label leads to new types of transnationalism in the music industry (*ibid*). Bilby demonstrates that transnational music is a form of interaction not only directed to its transnational community but also attracts different hubs in the new location such as record labels or global audiences interested in the music made by Surinamese musicians in Holland.

By adapting the notion of hubs, Kiwan and Meinhof include the concept of “transcultural capital” variously described by the authors as follows:

Transcultural capital is a heuristic concept which allows us to describe and interpret the varied resources which migrant musicians mobilise so as to be able to make a living from their music in a migration context...[T]ranscultural capital foregrounds the capacity for strategic interventions of migrant and minority (*ibid*: 8).

And

Transcultural capital describes the multiple strategies adopted by musicians who live and work in a migration context so as to reach as wide-ranging an audience as possible. Migrant musicians bring with them to the country of settlement substantial cultural capital.... [T]his “imported” cultural capital allows such artists to maintain links with their respective diasporas creates significant forms of social capital (*ibid*: 8).

In this thesis, the idea of transcultural capital is rooted in transnational Saharai music and its social structures of communication with Nubenegra. Bourdieu states that the idea of capital analyses the different economic, cultural and social interactions in a social context (1987: 4). In addition, Bourdieu notes that the classification of different forms of interaction by their capital (economic, cultural or social) accounts for different forms of socialisation between two agents in society (*ibid*: 6). Thus, depending on the agents’ interests, a social space provides different forms of interaction (or capital).

In reference to the cultural capital, Kiwan and Meinhof aim to demonstrate the importance of transcultural capital as a form of circulating certain musical styles by a group of musicians in two different transnational contexts (*ibid*: 6). Cultural capital [as transnational] in Saharai music allows for two different transnational relationships: in the camps as translocal; and in a global context as transcultural. This point coheres with Den Tandt’s idea of local and global by saying that local music turns into global by the use of virtual resources such as Internet or by the interaction of this music with a western agent (or human hub) (2002: 96).

In this thesis, translocal refers to how Saharai music identification is constructed in the refugee camps. This occurs through the emergence of nationalism (in favour of the resolution of self-independence in Western Sahara) and cultural values based on Hassanya musical culture.²⁶ My previous analysis on Saharai music was specific to the study of the music itself and its social context in the refugee camps. This research is in my MMus thesis entitled “*Haul* music: Transnationalism and musical performance in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf, Algeria” (L. Gimenez, 2012). Nevertheless, my MMus thesis did not focus on the identification, or translocal capital, of Saharai music.

²⁶ Hassanya musical culture relates to the Bedouin community inhabited in *Trab el Bidan*, see Figure 4 in Chapter Three.

Kiwan and Meinhof introduce the concept of translocal for the study of a musician's interaction with their local environment. The term translocal is used to analyse the circulation of certain music in a local context. For instance, the studies on local musicians from Madagascar interacting in rural and urban spaces are defined as translocal. In reference to this, Kiwan and Meinhof compare the cases of translocal and transcultural capital - as spatial hubs - and how local musicians become transcultural through a human hub (record labels or music festival organisers).

The centrality of metropolitan cities as cultural hubs within Morocco and Madagascar suggests that for musicians who aspire to migrate to Europe or beyond, they must first transit via Casablanca or Antananarivo, which are key cultural hubs bearing several similarities to the great cultural embassies. Finally, these cities are home to highly influential artists and cultural promoters, festival organisers, etc., who serve as human hubs in the sense that they are at the centre of significant translocal and transnational creative networks (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 11).

The relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra applies to this type of translocal capital gained by local musicians in Nubenegra's first trip to the Saharai refugee camps in 1997. During that trip, the deputy Minister of Culture in the camps, Baba Jouly, helped Nubenegra's director, Dominguez, to select the most popular translocal artists to record in Nubenegra's mobile studio. However, the reality was that local musicians, who carried their transnational capital through Nubenegra, were chosen more on the pretext for traveling to Europe than for their artistic merits. In other words, some Saharai musicians were not able to travel to Europe because they did not have passports (either Algerian, Moroccan or Mauritanian).²⁷ Therefore, diplomacy and western policies are points to consider in the discussion of transcultural capital in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (see Chapter Three).

There are, however, other cases of translocal capital in which artists do not move into a transcultural context because the artist prefers to stay in his/her local space. This is the

²⁷ Saharai people residing in the camps do not have national passports to travel. Therefore, they have to obtain their passports given by the countries mentioned above (Ahmed Fadel interview, 2-11-2004).

case of Sweta, a Saharai artist who decided to stay in the camps after recording with Nubenegra from 1998 to 2002.²⁸ As a result, the Saharai artist continues performing as a translocal artist in the camps. This point is consistent with Kiwan and Meinhof in their description of the Malagasy band, Mahalelo:

In Madagascar, one of the most celebrated and long-standing musical groups, Mahaleo, consistently refuses to fully professionalise and settle abroad, instead using their considerable fame and social and artistic connections to support a translocal and transnational network of other artists (*ibid*: 12).

Transcultural alludes to the analysis of the translocal articulation of Saharai music as produced by Nubenegra in Spain. Saharai music moves between two transnational contexts: in the refugee camps, during the compositional process; and in Spain, for the musical production. The production of Saharai music by Nubenegra involves new musical arrangements influenced by the Spanish producers who are more familiar with western music harmony. These music producers cause the dissemination of Saharai music in relation to the music composed and performed in the refugee camps. Further, this research compares the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra with the transnational musical context in the Saharai refugee camps. Thus, this thesis provides insight into the circulation of Saharai music in two transnational contexts: translocal in the camps and transcultural in a global context by its relationship with Nubenegra.

Transcultural theory also contributes to the understanding of the circulation of cultural capital between North (Spain) and South (the camps). For that reason, according to Kiwan and Meinhof, the communication of a transnational musical culture between two different cultural and social contexts requires the study of “the dynamics of north-south migration” (*ibid*). In other words, how the Saharai musicians representing their musical culture perceive the circulation of their transcultural capital in two different spaces. For Werbner, the circulation of transcultural capital is a form of syncretism that simultaneously uses traditional forms of making music and including new musical

²⁸ Sweta has recorded with Nubenegra in the album *A pesar de las heridas* (1998) and in “*Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*” (2002). She decided to stay in the refugee camps because she does not speak Spanish, English or French. In addition, she did not have any family living in Spain.

influences from the new social context (2008: 24). This is the case of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, which is shaped by the use of the *Haul* musical system and new musical arrangements suggested by Nubenegra. However, Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (as transcultural) is not only directed to Saharai transnational communities in the camps and in Spain but to different agents addressed as “the specific agents of globalisation”. As noted earlier, these specific agents are composed by international institutions or individual agents involved in the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra such as music journalists, music festival organisers, music producers, *World Music* audiences, the relationship with other *World Music* artists and radio programmers.

Regarding the politics of globalisation in the notion of hubs, Kiwan and Meinhof define it as, “the means by which ordinary individuals are able to critically engage with forces of globalisation which are normally regarded as being out of their control” (*ibid*: 9). The authors pay attention to the study of the transnational hubs and its interaction with the specific agents of the global market. Kiwan and Meinhof make the point that “globalisation as a concept always emanates from above” (*ibid*: 9). This is evidenced by the monopoly of the “Big Five” music companies which function as a counter-force to a more humanised form of individuals or independent labels as Nubenegra. As a case in point, Turino states that:

Popular culture increasingly creates global tastes. Big five companies stress their global reach with slogans such as: “The world is our audience” (Time Warner); “Think globally - act globally” (Sony); “A truly global organisation” (Thorn-EMI); “A European-based global recording company” (Polygram); and “Globalise local repertoire” (BMG) (2003:57).

The notion of “specific agents of the global market” studies local and migrant people in spatial hubs in which new cultural and transcultural capitals constantly occur. In this thesis, the impact of globalisation in Saharai music alludes to the interaction of Saharai musicians and Nubenegra with the specific agents of the global market. In such circumstances, the global market exposes the international responses towards Saharai music as promoted by the Spanish record label.

In the study of transnational hubs, Kiwan and Meinhof examine the case of a Moroccan and Malagasy musician, their transnational hubs and how it is applied to globalisation. However, globalisation is an “abstract concept”. Thus, the notion of hubs is applied to the mobility of transnational musicians in an abstract concept of globalisation more related to the west; despite certain references to the North-South circulation of transcultural capital.

Our work with migrant musicians, which involved the mapping of their transnational networks and of their impact on the cultural landscape of a number of localities shows how we should not lose sight of the human dimension of globalisation (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 9).

In this thesis, the study of Saharai music and its transnational hubs is analysed through its relationship with Nubenegra and the “specific agents of the global market” as real agents. In my view, when one has “real” agents – such as Saharai musicians and Nubenegra - there is a possibility of analysing a “real” relationship by way of interacting with Saharai musicians, their experience with Nubenegra, and Dominguez’ interviews about his relationship with the PF and Saharai musicians. Further, the result of this relationship between both agents materialises in the production of eleven albums. Kiwan and Meinhof’s notion of transnational hubs is used to explain or account for the musical circulation of Saharai music, however, it does not apply to the encounter with Nubenegra and how the relationship between agents and the global market evolves. For this reason, in order to follow Kiwan and Meinhof’s transnational theory, I invoke the notion of hubs and the relationship between “specific agents of the global market” and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra rather than “globalisation”.

The concept of “specific agents of the global market” also touches on the specific study of Mariem Hassan who is promoted by Nubenegra as the main representative of Saharai music (Chapters Four, Five and Six). The study of Mariem Hassan is applied to the examination of a single artist representing the transcultural capital of Saharai music in the global market. The study of Mariem Hassan as an individual artist is compared with previous examinations of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra

Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra. This point is consistent with Stock who observes that ethnomusicological research based on musical individuals reflects (to a certain extent) general features of a “musical culture as a whole” (2001: 5). For this reason, the specific study of Mariem Hassan as part of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra, and as an artist representing Saharaui music globally, contributes to a richer understanding of the relationship between Saharaui music and Nubenegra.

In relation to the politics of globalisation, I include aspects of Mariem Hassan when she is introduced in the *World Music* industry. In this sense, Kiwan and Meinhof criticise the “ethnic” value or “ethnic card” given to migrant musicians when they are placed in “highly cosmopolitan and diverse, creative contexts” (*ibid*: 8). In addition, Kiwan and Meinhof argue, “ethnicised difference is both a matter of symbolic creativity and political economy” (*ibid*). These scholars cite the example of Béninese artist Angelique Kidjo or Senegalese musician Youssou N’Dour who, attracted by the commercial demands of the west, decided to make a commodified musical product (*ibid*: 6). In relation to the concept of ‘ethnic card’, this thesis is interested, rather, in the musical hybridity produced by the interaction between Nubenegra and Saharaui musicians in the studio. This point coheres with Taylor’s views on hybridity defined as “a “powerful set of discourses around *World Music*” (2007: 145) based on the interaction between the music and musicians in a global context. In this case, a set of dispositions between a western record label and Hassan’s music provides a passage for Hassan from being transnational artist in the camps to a global artist through her professional relationship with Nubenegra.

Kiwan and Meinhof argue that the study of transnational music should take into account the social, cultural and environmental, transcultural context rather than the ethnic card (*ibid*). From this point of view on transcultural capital and globalisation, the focus is the circulation of transnational music and musicians. However, I argue that in the relationship of Hassan and Nubenegra - considering the inclusion of new musical arrangements and the incorporation of international musicians - is not only part of her “ethnic card” or “commodification”, but a contribution to her “transcultural capital” because she approves of the new musical arrangements in her music. The use of western harmony or the participation of international musicians in Hassan’s music becomes part

of her transcultural experience. In other words, Hassan's transcultural capital is both: the social, cultural and environmental transcultural context referred to as translocal in the camps, and the musical innovation (triggered by international musicians) as part of her transnational and individual experience with Nubenegra. In this thesis, the study of transnational music includes the interaction with agents outside its transnational community such as global market or Nubenegra and its different agents involved in the process of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

In reference to Hassan's musical innovation and the representation of her transcultural capital internationally, Perman, highlights that Dutiro, as a Zimbabwean musician living in England, is not only a characterization of modernity, tradition and nationalism (2007: 59). Following Perman's view, in this case, Hassan's representation of her transcultural capital in the west also includes a set of dispositions formed by her relationship with Nubenegra. This social and musical interaction between a transnational artist and a western record label leads to other professional relationships with sound engineers, other Saharai artists, western music producers, or international musicians. Thus, Hassan creates different types of transcultural capital by her professional interaction with other western and non-western agents involved in her relationship with Nubenegra.

In summary, the notion of hubs and the concept of translocal-transcultural capital are used to analyse the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra. The study of the circulation of transnational music through the invocation of hubs contributes to identifying the agents and describing their different forms of habitus. In the notion of hubs, the concept of transcultural/translocal capital is important provided that the circulation and exposure of Saharai music sustains this musical culture. Transcultural capital is the form in which Saharai music is sustained in the global market; thus evolving and producing new music through Nubenegra. Further, I have included some criticism on certain aspects of Kiwan and Meinhof in an attempt to describe the "politics of globalisation". This criticism has been focussed on the abstract concept of globalisation and how this term can be directed to the global market in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Research methodology: Rice and the multidimensional study of music in relation to the transnational habitus in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra

While I am drawn to notions of ‘hubs’ and transcultural capital, the concepts of transnationalism and habitus inform the main interpretations in this thesis. On the other hand, the research methodology is used to organise and include the ethnographic data of this study in accordance with its theoretical framework. The ethnographic data of this thesis is derived from qualitative research based on an in-depth analysis of interviews with participants involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

In the analyses of musical transcriptions, there is more attention given to the eleven albums of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra than to my data. The reason for the emphasis on the published albums of Saharai music by Nubenegra is that the main concern of this thesis is a study of the relationship between the record label and Saharai music. My role is less important in this regard. In relation to personal data, the entire process of gathering information was based on interviews in Spain and in South Africa via Skype.

Field research includes my participation as a composer and guitarist in the production of Mariem Hassan’s recent album, *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). Participant-observation and interactions with Saharai musicians date back to 2004, when I started performing with Saharai musicians in the refugee camps of Algeria. In this thesis, musical analysis will be based on musical transcriptions and audio samples on CD either from my fieldwork recordings - based on rehearsals and previous data to this thesis - or Nubenegra albums.²⁹ Musical transcriptions analyses the changes in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra occurring from Nubenegra’s first recordings of Saharai music in 1998 to Hassan’s latest recording, *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). In this thesis, transcriptions are an approximation of the melodic lines and harmonic cycles in the songs analysed. These transcriptions point out the important musical features of the *Haul* musical system together with the use of western chord progressions in Saharai music.

²⁹ Transcriptions in this thesis are an approximation of melodic lines and harmonic cycles in the songs analysed. Transcriptions point out the important musical features of the *Haul* musical system together with the use of western chord progressions in Saharai music.

In this study, I follow Rice's methodology for the ethnographic analysis of "time, space, and metaphor in musical experience" (2003). Rice's methodology analyses time and space in the different social structures of communication in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra between 1998 and 2014. His methodology sees time as chronological (informational and observant through interviews) and historical (experiential or participant) (*ibid*: 162). Space is described as the multidimensional location of the area of research: internal (Spain and the refugee camps) and external agents of the global market (*ibid*: 160).

In order to consider Rice's methodology of "time-space and metaphor" in its chronological context, it is necessary to thoroughly examine the production of time and space in Saharai music released by Nubenegra from 1998 to 2014. For that reason, Chapters Two, Three and Four examine Saharai music and its relationship with Nubenegra until 2011. This research is followed by phenomenological analysis due to my participation in the production of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* (2012); and the international musical performances presenting the aforementioned album during 2012-2013 (Chapters Five and Six). Thus, this ethnographic research consists of two parts: non-experiential (1998-2011) and experiential (2012-2013).

The chronological examination of my data is divided into five sections: political and cultural values in Saharai music since their forced migration in 1975 (translocal capital); the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra (human hub) from 1998-2012 (including the study on the dissemination of Saharai music from the camps); Mariem Hassan as the representative of transcultural capital in Saharai music; Hassan's last album, *El Aaiun egdat* (2012) and its new quality due to the involvement of international musicians in her band (innovative transcultural capital); and the performance studies of Hassan's concerts with her international band throughout 2012-2013.

Rice refers to the term, metaphor, as the study of musical behaviour through ethnomusicological observations based on previous time-place ethnographic data (2003: 163). For instance, in Rice's study on Bulgarian music from 1960 to 2000, metaphors

contribute to find the different meanings and purposes of musical performance in its national context.

Musical meaning is examined from three perspectives, with ethnographic examples from Bulgarian music. First, music's significance for human life and its very nature are understood through metaphorical predication -for example, music is art; music is social behaviour; music is commodity; music is symbol or text. Interpretations of musical signification result from processes of identity, iconicity, association and contrast, which help to create multiple meanings for music. Finally, while states and other institutions often try to control music's meaning, its polyvalent nature and the differing social and historical positions of its interpreters militate against all such efforts (2001: 9).

In the case of Rice's study on Bulgarian music over forty years, the author examines music as human behaviour in relation to art, social behaviour, commodity and symbolism (or text). "Music as an artistic expression" examines the elements involved in the compositional process of music (techniques, forms and structures) as a human behaviour based on specific musical knowledge (scales, harmony, melody, instruments). "Music as social behaviour" examines the relationship between the Bulgarian musicians and their audience in relation to their cultural and social interaction. As a case in point, Rice claims that, during the 1960s, the Bulgarian Communist Party used its traditional music to promote its political aims and, thus, the metaphors of "music as art" and "music as social behaviour" obtains a new political dimension to previous years (*ibid*: 27). Thus, Rice's use of metaphors is used to analyse the social and human behaviour of Bulgarian music over forty years. However, the number of metaphors depends on the researcher and his/her ability to expose the endless social and cultural representations of human behaviour found in the music and its context. As Rice affirms, "such metaphors may be as endless as the cultures we study and each tells us something important about the nature of music in that society" (*ibid*: 23).

Ethnomusicologists should take all musical metaphors they encounter, whether of their own making or that of their research subjects, seriously and for what they are: fundamental claims to truth, guides to practical action and sources for understanding music's profound importance in human life. Rather than true or

false, each claim, it seems to me, is merely limited, one of many possibilities. A given metaphor probably achieves some goals and makes some sense in certain situations but fails to account for the full range of music's possibilities and significance. I further suggest that multiple musical metaphors probably guide action and thought in individual lives, in society and through time. Sometimes, I suppose, they happily commingle; at others they may become alternative, competing strategies (*ibid*).

Previous to Rice's use of metaphor to examine human behaviour in music, there are ethnomusicological studies that have used the idea of metaphor to explain other types of human behaviour or cultural symbolism. For instance, Feld's studies on the Kaluli's (Papua New Guinea) music theory discuss the "verbal representation of musical theory.... [A]nd how theoretical thought can be coded as metaphor" (1981: 22). Feld states that, "Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea systematically metaphorise "water" and "sound" to express a theory of the form and performance of their vocal music" (*ibid*). Feld also notes that the Kaluli people use certain melodic intervals to imitate the sound of certain birds in their social context. Therefore, to a certain extent, it applies to Rice's use of metaphor as human behaviour in relation to the musician's context:

Kaluli terminology for intervals and melodic contours metaphorically derive from waterfall terms. The two principle intervals for the Kaluli are the descending major second and the descending minor third. These intervals are found in the call of the muni bird, the tonal organization of gisalo song, and sa-ye:lab melodic weeping. Kaluli always name the descending major second, and the descending minor third (*ibid*: 30).

Feld's use of metaphor is related to how the Kaluli people use the sounds of birds and water as metaphorical concepts to provide a meaning to their music and human behaviour. Similarly, in Saharaui music, the concept of scale is known as *bohr*, which literally means sea in Arabic (L. Gimenez, 2012: 24). According to Ahmed Fadel (my research assistant during my research in the Saharaui refugee camps in 2004), this metaphor relates to the fact that "the *Haul* musical system is based on the use of poetry and music at the same time, and each mode has its immensity, like the sea" (interview, 2-11-2004). For the Saharauis, the metaphor of the sea in the *Haul* modes is a metaphorical concept that describes the interaction between their music and poetry. The

Haul musical system is modal and each mode has different themes (or metaphors) to recite poetry. For instance, in a traditional context, the poems written in the mode *fagu* are related to epic stories mostly about war between two different Saharai communities. However, such a metaphor does not explain the theoretical foundations of the *Haul* musical system and its interaction with Hassanya poetry (see Appendix 2).

On the other hand, in philosophy, Johnson affirms that the concept of metaphor has been used in poetry, in Biblical texts and in Greek mythology, among other classic texts (1981: 3). According to Johnson, “a metaphor is an elliptical simile useful for stylistic, rhetorical and didactic purposes, but which can be translated into a literal paraphrase without any loss of cognitive content” (*ibid*: 4). However, in the twentieth century, there has been a new definition of metaphor not only as a matter of language but as a thought or an action (G. Lakoff & M. Johnson, 1980: 18). In relation to metaphor as a thought, Lakoff and Johnson consider that our conceptual system (or rationality) plays a central role in defining our everyday realities as metaphorical. In other words, metaphors structure what we perceive through our social interaction, thoughts and actions (or human behaviour) (*ibid*: 4). For instance, Lakoff and Johnson state that the idea of “time as a limited resource is a metaphorical concept” (*ibid*: 8) constructed by the assimilation of “life and death” in certain societies. In relation to actions and human behaviour as metaphorical concepts, Lakoff and Johnson refer to social interactions such as talking about the same topic; or maintaining the turn of speaking (*ibid*: 77). Thus, in reference to the concept of “metaphor as human behaviour”, the metaphorical coherence is based on how the content is structured and communicated by different individuals (*ibid*: 88).

In this study, metaphor - or musical behaviour - addresses the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra. Moreover, metaphors are related to the transcultural capital of Saharai music, its innovation by way of Nubenegra and its circulation in the specific agents of the global market. In my view, Rice’s approach is highly appropriate to an ethnographic, ethnomusicological study because time-space through qualitative fieldwork offers multidimensional approaches or metaphors of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (see Table 3). In contrast to Lakoff and Johnson’s idea of metaphoric concepts expressing thoughts and actions in a structural and horizontal manner, Rice’s

metaphors express the meaning of music as human behaviour in endless and multidimensional forms. In order to explain metaphorical concepts as multidimensional, Rice quotes Edward Soja's concept of "localisation" (1989: 149) (or social settings). Soja explains that a social setting such as a prison has multi-layered realities produced by individuals working and living in such a space, combined with their agency. In this case, the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is multidimensional because it has different metaphorical meanings ascribed by the actors participating in the making of this music and the different locations where this music is performed. For instance, for the Polisario Front, Saharai music has an important political and cultural meaning to transmit to its transnational community in the camps. On the other hand, Nubenegra is interested in Saharai music because it has a potential to be commercially promoted in the global market. This thesis includes the musicians' opinions about their music and my personal (and participatory) interest in Saharai music since 2004. Thus, the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra offers different metaphorical meanings by the actors mentioned above.



Table 3. Multidimensional study of Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra

Further, Rice's methodology does not only consist of the examination of the music and its social context (especially when the study of transnational habitus is based on different social "contexts/structures" of communication). This point coheres with Cooly and Barz' idea that an ethnomusicologist takes part in multidimensional "music-cultural practices" (2008:4), therefore, he/she is able to analyse the different contexts where music is performed.

As noted before, Rice, as well, suggests a constant search for new interpretations of the same research, therefore, the ethnography is never conclusive as the metaphors are infinite. In other words, the final conclusions in academic research are constantly exposed to new social contexts in a future that can remodel past works into new conclusions. However, Rice identifies four types of musical metaphor: 1. "[T]he music as art-metaphor....[T]alking about the processes of performing and composing music,

the musical products resulting from those processes and its reception; 2. [M]usic as social behaviour....[M]ay enact past or present social structures, they may model alternatives to existing structures and they may help to imagine future structures; 3. [M]usic as a symbolic system.... [O]r text capable of reference not only to already existing music but also to a world beyond music; 4 [M]usic as commodity.....[I]n terms of music and its recorded products or other marketable commodities” (2003:166-67).

The application of Rice’s metaphors in the chapters of this thesis

Rice’s metaphors [except music as commodity] shown above are exemplified in different chapters of this thesis. In metaphorical terms, Kiwan and Meinhof’s notion of hubs also contributes to understand the different types of agents and their interactions with Saharai music. The notion of hubs has been used as a metaphor to analyse the transnational circulation of Saharai music between the North and South. The notion of hubs is metaphorical because it classifies and structures the role of each of the agents involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. In contrast, Rice’s metaphors analyses the ‘human and musical behaviour’ involved in each of the interactions between Saharai music and the hubs addressed in this thesis. In other words, Rice’s metaphors are used to conceptualise the actions and thoughts involved in the relationship between the agents mentioned (G. Lakoff & M. Johnson, 1980: 18).

In Chapter Two “music as art” informs a discussion of the process and negotiations involved in constructing Saharai translocal identification. In this chapter, I aim to show how nationalism and cultural values define Saharai music in the camps before its encounter with Nubenegra. By “music as art”, I refer to the compositional process of music in the camps, as an artistic expression representing Saharai people as a collective. In this thesis, the metaphor of “music as art” relates to Turino’s views on the construction of a new type of music based on the new political and cultural values provided by the Zimbabwean nation (2003: 63). Turino describes how postcolonial Zimbabwean music is identified as an artistic form based on the *mbira dza vadzimu*’s music as a cultural value (played by Shona people, Shona is also the national language of the country), and nationalism as a political value in the fight against colonialism. In Saharai music, the metaphor of “music as art” also represents cultural values by the use of the *Haul* modal system and national values by representing the aim of

decolonising Western Sahara. Thus, Chapter Two includes an analysis of the present contextualisation of Saharai music as transnational and not in the homeland as Turino's examination of postcolonial Zimbabwean music.

"Music as social behaviour" is dealt with in Chapter Three where I examine the relationship between Nubenegra and Saharai music; and further, how the record label promoted a new type of Saharai *Haul* in the global market. With regard to Saharai music, in this chapter, there is an examination of the transition from translocal into transcultural capital through Nubenegra. In addition, I analyse how Saharai musicians dealt with western producers during the recording sessions; thereby producing the dissemination between Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and the translocal capital in the camps. "Music as social behaviour" also refers to the mediation and power structures between a record label and transnational musicians. In reference to this type of mediation, Meintjes' (2003) views on the manipulation of musicians' sound by record labels and music producers contributed to the examination of the dissemination of Saharai music in Chapter Three. Meintjes points out that the musical and social experience between local musicians and a record label is based on power structures in which the artist's identity is constantly negotiated (*ibid*: 63). In this chapter, the metaphor of "music as social behaviour" contributes to the understanding of the different structures of communication between Nubenegra and Saharai music.

"Music as a symbolic system" is described in Chapter Four, with the representation of Mariem Hassan as the representative of Saharai transcultural capital in the global market. Rice refers to the metaphor of "music as a symbolic system" as a music that "can have referential meanings to things, ideas, worlds, and experiences outside music itself" (2003: 166). In this case, Hassan's music recorded by Nubenegra is the symbolic representation in a global context of both Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and her transnational community. Thus, this chapter examines how the Saharai artist has moved along the different social structures of communication as revealed in this thesis (see table 1). Further "Music as a symbolic system" analyses how an individual artist symbolises the interaction between a transnational community and a record label. For this reason, I include a discussion on the "ethnic card" of Mariem Hassan as a "*World Music* Saharai artist"; and as a "conducted commodification" in her relationship with

Nubenegra (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 8). “Music as a symbolic system” also analyses how Hassan not only represents her transcultural capital but her individual agency as an Arab woman residing in the west. In reference to Hassan’s individual agency, Josephs’ study on Arab feminism contributes to the examination of how Hassan is exoticised and perceived as a mere representation of her nation in the west. Joseph notes that “agency is relational, a social performance, thus, creativity is a relational achievement” (2012: 9). Therefore, this chapter also analyses the interaction between an individual female artist and a record label emphasising the transnational representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and Hassan’s artistic agency.

In response to Rice, I have included “music as an innovative transnational practice” as an additional hook and it is dealt with in more detail in Chapter Five and Six. The definition and construction of Hassan’s album through a collaborative, compositional process is a demonstration of social integration among individuals from diverse musical cultures. In order to examine the aforementioned musical experience, I will draw on Meintjes’ idea of “innovation” to describe how a musical process is “represented and negotiated in the process of in-studio sound mixing.... [A]nd figuratively played out in the interactions of sound engineers, producers, and musicians” (2003: 8).

In Chapter Five, I argue that Saharai music can become cosmopolitan through the participation of international musicians in the compositional process of Hassan’s album *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). In this chapter, my experience as a participant (composer and guitarist) and observer in Hassan’s music offers the opportunity for the extensive musical analyses of how *Hawl* music is fused with other musical systems such as jazz modal music or pentatonic scales. In this musical analysis, I include the examination of the incorporation of other cosmopolitan styles such as jazz or blues in Hassan’s *El Aaiun egdat*. I consider certain musical styles as cosmopolitan because such musical styles are produced, composed and arranged differently in various parts of the globe (L. Gimenez, 2014b). This chapter analyses Hassan’s musical negotiation with non-transnational agents such as international musicians, music producers and a record label in a global context.

Chapter Six also relates to the idea of “music as an innovative transnational practice”. This chapter is about the construction of the live performances in presenting the album *El Aaiun egdat* in 2012-2013. I describe the process of rehearsing for concerts as a constant musical negotiation between international musicians, Mariem Hassan and Nubenegra. This chapter also discusses how the actors mentioned above negotiate musical arrangements for live performances and the social representation of the Saharai transcultural capital. In this chapter, the different types of musical performances examined are defined according to the contextualisation of the spatial hub as entertaining, educational or academic. “Music as an innovative transnational practice” examines the construction of the different types of musical performances according to the spatial hub where Hassan’s music is played. Further, this metaphor intends to examine how Hassan as a transnational artist becomes cosmopolitan or globalised by the musical and social interaction with her international band during performances. In other words, this chapter examines how Hassan’s musical performances (as transnational music) are exposed in a global context not only by the location of the performance and its audience, but also by her interaction with non-transnational agents involved in her musical performances.

The conclusion debates the merits of transnationalism and habitus in the different social and musical transformations of Saharai music. Due to the multidimensional focus of this study, conclusions are divided into three different sections: a theoretical conclusion considering the study of transnational habitus in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra; a practical conclusion in regards to Rice’s research methodology as applied in this thesis; and a general conclusion where I present ideas for further research. Theoretical conclusions discuss the concept of transnational habitus and how this evolves from 1998 to 2014 in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. The conclusion based on Rice’s methodology of “time, space and metaphor” demonstrates the value of qualitative research as applied to the theoretical framework of this study. Finally, the general conclusions are about ethical and social values encountered in the relationship between Saharai musical culture and Nubenegra based on the new metaphor “music as an innovative transnational practice” in this research.

To summarise, Rice's methodology of "time, space, and metaphor in musical experience" contributes to combine Mariem Hassan's individual agency during my research with the historical and cultural awareness of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Rice's research methodology is a form of reconfiguring music culture by analysing individual musicians and their social context. The participant and observant study of individual musicians such as Mariem Hassan should be accompanied by an exhaustive examination of her Saharai identification, her transnational context and to what extent she is able to represent Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For this reason, in Chapter Three, this thesis analyses Saharai musical culture and its relationship with Nubenegra previous to Hassan's agency and her representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market. In my view, the social context and the identification of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra has to be examined before the analysis of individual musicians. Such analysis is able to draw parallels and differences between the social and individual study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, moreover, leading us to a better understanding of the collective and personal experiences in ethnomusicological studies.

Chapter Two

Translocal capital in Saharai music: Identification through cultural values and nationalism in the refugee camps

This chapter examines the translocal capital of Saharai music in the camps [the spatial hub] by analysing the articulation of such music. In this thesis, the term ‘identification’ is not static, and refers to the construction and evolution of Saharai music in the camps since 1975 (M. Sökefeld, 2001: 534). From this view, the identification of translocal music capital is divided into two main areas: nationalism in relation to the decolonisation of Western Sahara and the foundation of the RASD; and cultural values in Saharai music with reference to the historical retention of the *Haul* modal system originating in ancient Hassanya culture. This chapter intends to analyse how translocal music capital is constructed through nationalism and in cultural values.

I analyse the cultural values in Saharai music through the social and historical context of *Haul* music: its poetry, its musical system, and its rhythms.³⁰ Furthermore, musical innovation in Saharai music is exposed and compared with the historical and social contextualisation of *Haul*.³¹ Cultural values in Saharai music have been analysed through: interviews with the Saharai musicians; ethnographic data on *Haul* music since 2004; and academic publications by Rodriguez (2011), Baroja (1990), Morris (1968) and Gerteiny (1967) on the ancient and contemporary history of Western Sahara.

With regard to the relationship between Saharai music and nationalism, most Saharai lyrics written in the camps are protest songs against the Moroccan colonisation of Western Sahara; nationalist songs supporting the Polisario Front (PF) and the creation of the RASD; or songs dedicated to the martyrs who died during the war against Morocco (1975-1991). Under these circumstances, Saharai music in the camps is sustained and transformed by the remembrance of heroic events related to the national consciousness. This point is consistent with Clavin’s comment that “transnational

³⁰ Classic *Haul* is based in Mauritania. The Saharais have innovated classic *Haul* since 1975 when they were looking for a national music different from other countries (L. Gimenez, 2012: 53).

³¹ There is an explanation about the origins of Hassanya culture in the next section.

communities are not just about how relationships are created, but how they are sustained and changed” (2005: 434). Considering Clavin’s views on transnationalism, the sustainable relationship - or social structure of communication- between the PF and Saharai musicians is based on the creation of nationalist songs that address the national consciousness of local people. In addition, this chapter examines how Saharai music and its national values are related to the political relationship of the PF with Algeria, Spain, France or the USA. Thus, Chapter Two also shows the importance of analysing how a transnational community and its national values interact with other agents in a global context.

In the examination of cultural values and nationalism in Saharai music in the camps, I include a discussion on *azawan*, a Saharai musical term that embraces the knowledge of the *Haul* modal system, its rhythms, and the Saharai national consciousness.

Azawan is the understanding or foundation of nationalist and cultural values in Saharai music. In other words, *azawan* is the awareness of the translocal capital in Saharai music; and the social structures of communication between Saharai musicians, the PF and local audiences. Saharai people in the camps tend to apply the concept of *azawan* to the local guitarists and singers who are able to acknowledge both musical skills in the *Haul* modal system and who represent the national values of the Saharai to their audience. In reference to the term *azawan*, this thesis includes a discussion about syncretism as a form of reinventing traditional music through nationalism. In addition, syncretism not only complies with forms of maintaining musical traditions, but also acts as a reinvention of the musical past with new musical elements (B. Nettl, 1983: 246).

With regard to the research methodology, Rice’s metaphor of “music as art” is applied in this chapter. This metaphor responds to the study of: “performing; composing music; the musical products resulting from those processes; and its reception” (2003:166).

From that point of view, “music as art” here applies to the evaluation of Saharai music from its historical perspective; including how it is performed and composed for its transnational audience in the refugee camps. In sum, this chapter provides an understanding of Saharai music and its contextualisation in the camps before its interaction with Nubenegra.

Origins and social contextualisation of Saharai music in *Trab el Bidan*: griots and *Haul*; the *lailas*; the children of the clouds; from nomad to sedentary life³²

The social context of Saharai music originated with the construction of Hassanya identity in the fifteenth century. Hassanya identity was gradually formed with the coexistence of Arab people and Berbers in Western Sahara.³³ Arabs of Yemenite origin mixed with the Berber *sanhaya* who had been living in Western Sahara since the third century. Among other things, *sanhaya* introduced the camel to Western Sahara. During the seventh century, the Berber empire expanded from Spain to Ghana through different Berber communities. *Sanhaya*, the predominant Berber community in Western Sahara, were mostly Christians or Jewish (J. A. Rodriguez, 2011: 16). Therefore, the Islamisation of Western Sahara - including the introduction of the *sunna* based on the *Maliqui* school³⁴ - was not completed until the arrival of the Yemenite Arabs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; thereby forming a geographical region known as *Trab el Bidan* (see Figure 4).

The Arabs treated the Berbers, most of whom were Christian or Jews, as members of *Ahel le-Ketab* (People of the Book). Their faith was respected, although they paid a special tax as non-believers. Those Berbers who were either Christians or Jews were treated as infidels (A. G. Gerteiny, 1967: 22).

And

The final Islamisation of the western Berber was not achieved until the end of the fifteenth century (*ibid*: 28).

³² Part of the information provided in this section is related to informational data used in my MMus (2012) entitled “Haul Music: Transnationalism and musical performance in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf, Algeria”.

³³I have not included the black sub-Saharan population in this harmonious coexistence between Arabs and Berbers because the black population was enslaved in Western Sahara.

³⁴The *Maliqui* school was introduced in Western Sahara with the arrival of the Yemenite Arabs in the tenth and eleventh century.



Figure 4. *Trab el Bidan* map. The territory occupies the whole of Mauritania and Western Sahara. In addition, a small portion of southern Morocco, southwestern Algeria and northeastern Mali (map created by Luis Gimenez, 2006).

Yemenite Arabs in Western Sahara were known as Banu Hilal and Banu Hassan. The coexistence of both [the Banu Hassan branch with the Berber *sanhaya*] created the Hassanya language. Hassanya is an Arabic dialect, around eighty per cent of which is based on classical Arabic combined with Berber words. In addition, the encounter between Arabs and Berbers created a type of hierarchical society known as the *Hassani* (J. A. Rodriguez, 2011: 17).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the mixing of Arab and Shanaja Berber societies began to form the Bedouin personality as we know it today and the hierarchy of Bedouin society begun to take shape (A. G. Gerteiny, 1967:33).

Social hierarchies were formed during the gradual formation of Hassanya culture. According to Cleaveland, the social structure of the Hassanya was based on a stratified society divided into four different levels (1998:367):

Level 1: *Chorfa* (direct descendants of the Prophet) at the top of the pyramid. They were the Arab Yemenites communities Banu Hassan and Banu Hilal.

Level 2: *Arab* (warriors) and *Zuaia* who were people dedicated to religious studies and meditation.

Level 3: Pastoralists, farmers, fishermen and Berber descendants. They had to pay taxes to the higher classes.

Level 4: Black slaves, *igagwen* (musician castes), blacksmiths and Berber-Jewish or Christian descendants.

In level 4, next to the black slaves, blacksmiths and Jewish or Christian descendants, *igagwen* (musician castes) were in the lowest rank of the *Hassani* social structure. In ancient Hassanya society, it was believed that music was inherited through the genes; thus, *igagwen* families possessed the art of music. As a result, there was a belief that music passed from one generation to the next in every *igagwen* family.

A similar concept to *igagwen* is the term *jeli* (or *griot*).³⁵ Duran notes that *jelis* “entertained the nobility with their epic songs and stories about the major events in Mande history” (L. Duran, 1999: 542). Duran refers to the *jelis* as the keepers of history and epic stories occurring in some local kingdoms (*Mansa*) in the Mande empire in northwestern Africa (*ibid*). However, such a concept of *jeli* as a reporter and oral historian is more related to the Mande Empire [mostly in Mali, Senegal, Guinea and Gambia] than to the *igagwen* in *Trab el Bidan*. In the *Hassani* society, the *igagwen* were only musicians. The responsibility of preserving the oral history through music was conceded to the *Chorfa* (level 1) or *Zuaia* (level 2); who were the poets dedicated to the study of the Koran and Hassanya history. Thus, in the *Hassani* society, there were social structures of communication among the musicians (level 4) and the poets (levels 1 and 2). The social engagement between musicians and poets became a form of cultural and musical interaction for the *Hassani* society. Therefore, the common role of the *igagwen* and *jelis* was to entertain and to preserve a historical memory in its social context,³⁶ but with the exception of the *igagwen* who needed a poet to recite poetry based on Islamic principles.

In Western Sahara, there were not many historical records of *igagwen* families, but

³⁵ “The *griot* culture extends throughout northwest Africa. It is understood as a musical caste in the regions of the Mande Empire and in *Trab el Bidan*. The main indigenous theory about *griots* is that music is genetically inherited within family castes. Thus, the musician has a certain surname dating back to the time of the local kingdoms” (L. Gimenez, 2012: 21).

³⁶ The study of griots has never been related to the Mande Empire and Hassanya culture. The belief that music is inherited in the genes is similar in both cultures. However, there were not *igagwen* in Western Sahara and therefore I have not described the study of griots in depth (L. Gimenez, 2012: 83).

there were *lailas*. The *lailas* were groups of women playing *tbal* and singing traditional songs. During my research, the Saharai singer Mariem Hassan confirmed that she and her mother were *lailas* and that they sang at weddings and other cultural festivities (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-8-2012).

There are two classes of professional singers: the *igagwen* and the *lailas*. The *igagwen* never join a tribe and are considered good company. They accompany themselves on lutes and *t'bals*. Their wives may sing and play too. The *igagwen* are hired by the richer people, being well-paid so that they will sing their patrons' praises in other parts of the desert. The second group is the *lailas*, travelling troupes of female singers, also hired by important families (J. Mercer, 1976:158).

As mentioned above, there is little reference to *igagwen* in Western Sahara; either in academic literature or in my interviews with the Saharai historians and musicians. According to the Saharai historian, Ahmed Fadel, Mauritania was where the *igagwen* lived as part of a stratified Hassanya social hierarchy. Fadel affirmed that the musical castes known as *igagwen* settled in Nouakchott, Nouhaidou, and other areas in the desert mostly found in Mauritania (interview, 2-11-2004).³⁷ The only academic reference regarding *igagwen* in Western Sahara was in Baroja's "Saharan studies" (1990). Baroja described a poetry recital by *igagwen* in the 1950s in Smara, a town in Western Sahara.

La poesía épica ocupa un lugar de honor en los recitales de los *igagwen*. El 13 de Enero de 1953 asistimos a un recital en Smara hecho por Mohammed Uld Adelqaber y Habeyabi Uld Alamin (1990:413).

[Epic poetry takes honorific place in *igagwen* recitals. On January 13 of 1953, we assisted in a recital in Smara made by Mohammed Uld Adelqaber and Habeyabi Uld Alamin.]

Baroja continues by saying that the majority of the Saharai people were nomads dedicated to pastoral activities and religious life (*ibid*: 130). Baroja alludes to the fact that the majority of Saharai people were from the Rgeibat patrilineage; there are

³⁷ Ahmed Fadel was my research assistant during my fieldwork in the Saharai refugee camps of the Hamada desert in 2004.

around 200 000 related to this family lineage (placed in level 1/2 in the stratified Hassanya society). The Rgeibat, as most of the Hassanya speakers, “are a mixture of Berber and Yemenite Arab” (*ibid*).³⁸ This community dedicated their lives to the search for rain and fertile land to provide pasture for their animals. For that reason, most of the Saharais - the Rgeibat - called themselves “the children of the clouds”. Different Rgeibat communities coexisting in Western Sahara practiced this type of nomadic life. This form of mobile society was denominated the *djemaas*; and became regionally centralised through the *Eid arbain*.³⁹ Given that until the 1960s there was no concept of a Saharai national consciousness, Western Sahara was formed by nomad communities in the geographical region of *Trab el Bidan* (see Figure 4).

During colonial times (1884-1975), in Western Sahara, there were indications of this type of nomadism by Mohammed uld Abdalah. Mohammed traded in Western Sahara from 1880 to 1950. As mentioned above, the reason for Mohammed’s long journeys - as Rgeibat - was the search for rain and pasture. Although the Rgeibat were the most numerous Saharai community, Aroisen and Ma el Ainin - from the religious sect founded in Smara - were found along the Rio de Oro [Golden River]. In addition, there was another small Saharai community in the south of Western Sahara called the Delim (J. A. Rodriguez, 2011: 28). There was no historical reference of a professional caste of musicians in Western Sahara; but rather warrior communities dedicated to pastoralist activities.

In what follows in the last 130 years, the *Hassani* society changed gradually from being nomadic to sedentary. This event provoked a more peaceful coexistence with the different *djemaas* than in previous years. Further, the Saharais commenced with a new era of commerce and sedentarisation.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the majority of the Saharais have not been

³⁸ It is important to mention that “All the Ergibat claim descent from a single common ancestor, *Sidi hmad r-gibi*, a direct descendant of the Prophet” (D. Hart, 1962:518).

³⁹ As mentioned in Chapter One, the *Eid Arbain* literally means “the assembly of the forty”. *Eid Arbain* was a regional assembly represented by the main advisors from each *djemaas* represented. This assembly was the most centralised form of governing by the Saharais; before the advent of nationalism in the 1960s.

nomads. Cleaveland explains that the change from nomadic to sedentary life in Saharai people occurred even before the advent of Spanish colonialism in Western Sahara (1884-1975). Cleaveland quotes from the book *Haswa*, written by Mohamed Salih (1800-1854), that in his time, Mohamed Salih was a sedentarised individual who exemplifies the social and economic changes that characterised many Hassani families during colonial times. He also emphasised another economic change: “the transition of nomadic camel pastoralists to cattle husbandry” (T. Cleaveland, 1998: 373) when Hassani families engaged in camel pastoralism did not do regular routes anymore but settled permanently or semi-permanently in new territories (*ibid*).

The transition from nomadic to sedentary life was gradual in the Saharai communities. Thus, in the last two centuries, the existence of the Rgeibat stereotype of being “the children of the clouds” is arguable considering Salih’s statements above. Nevertheless, the social and cultural imagination of the Rgeibats from before 1800 served to shape the present Saharai identification. In any case, even if the Rgeibats became sedentary, they continued with their pastoralist occupations in the new settlements. Cleaveland’s studies on the Saharai population observes that:

Camel pastoralists who became directly involved in commerce usually settled in towns, and in some cases actually established their own settlements. The economic transformation of camel pastoralists carried religious connotations and implications. Settled people generally considered nomadic groups to be less rigorous in their application of Islamic law. The transition to cattle pastoralism was a gradual process which occurred at the level of the clan, family or even among individuals (T. Cleaveland, 1998: 377).

According to Cleaveland, the process of sedentarisation among Saharai people did not occur at the same time as the nationalist uprising in the 1960s; but earlier. In any case, the large wave of sedentarisation in the Saharai communities started in the 1960s during the colonial period in Western Sahara. During this time, the Spanish government conducted diverse ethnographic and scientific studies in order to analyse the mineral resources in Western Sahara. The Spaniards found phosphates in Western Sahara and started exploiting the natural resources which prevail to this day. The manufacture of the phosphates attracted the Saharai people and they began to participate in the

activities offered by the colonisers (J. A. Rodriguez, 2011: 28). At this point, the rise of a Saharai political awareness to reclaim their homeland and its natural resources was inevitable.

A singer that exemplifies the social and cultural processes in Western Sahara since the 1960s is Mariem Hassan. Hassan was raised in Smara during the process of urbanisation. With regard to that time in Saharai music, the artist stated that:

During the 1960s Saharai music was based on *tbal* (traditional frame drum) and singing. There were not *igagwen* or string instruments found in Saharai *Haul* music (interview, 1-8-2012).

During the 1970s, some of these Saharai traditional songs sung by the *lailas* were used to assist in the formation of new nationalist songs. For instance, the song *Intifada* is a traditional Saharai song in which Mariem Hassan changes the lyrics into a nationalist message.

Intifada (Mariem Hassan) from the album *Deseos* (Nubenegra, 2005) (Track 1)

What we said was accomplished
when we heard the fervour of the uprising.
It has been led by brave men.
The proclamation of this Republic is a reality.
We never said a word to the backs of our enemy
to which their ears hear and to what their eyes get tired of.

This section has shown a social and historical contextualisation of the Saharai music before their exile in 1975. Such contextualisation was in reference to the construction of: the stratified Hassanya society and the concept of *igagwen*; the *lailas* in Western Sahara; the Rgeibat stereotype seen as “the children of the clouds” and their poets; the change from nomadic to sedentary life in Saharai society; and the rise of nationalism in the 1960s. I further contend that the initial historical, sociological and cultural aspects of Saharai music can be divided into three periods: the formation of *Trab el Bidan*; colonisation and sedentarism; and the rise of nationalism in the 1960s.

The first period is nomadic where communities moved along the geographical area of *Trab el Bidan*. There was a stratified society where the musicians were in the lowest rank; and a social structure of communication between the poets (level 2) and the *igagwen* (level 4). The second period is the beginning of sedentarism through the advent of Spanish and French colonisation (1884-1975). There is little evidence of any musical change in this period in relation to the earlier formation of the *Trab el Bidan*. The third period is a politicisation through the emergence of Saharai nationalism in the 1960s. In this last period, Saharais maintained cultural and musical values of the past based on: the *Haul* modal system; the imagined stereotype of the Rgeibat before 1800; and the *lailas*.

Musical and cultural values found in translocal Saharai music in the camps: *Haul* modes, rhythms, traditional instruments, and forms of interactions between the musicians and the poets

Responding to the cultural values of Saharai music, this section introduces the musical elements of Saharai music. These values are based on: the *Haul* modal system; its traditional rhythms, and its instruments that originated in sub-Saharan Africa. Later, there is an examination of the interaction between the musicians and the poets during the process of composing a song. Equally important, there is an explanation of how these musical and cultural values were introduced into the refugee camps by their resident poets and musicians.

As mentioned earlier, *Haul* is a musical style of the Hassanya speakers found in Mauritania, Western Sahara, south-western Algeria, southern Morocco, and north-eastern Mali. This musical system is based on eight musical modes dating back to the sixteenth century (S. De la Courbe, 1913).⁴⁰ The *Haul* musical system consists of eight melodic modes (see Appendix 2). Saharai music identification [in the camps] is formed through observing the *Haul* modal system, which has a direct connection to ancient Hassanya musical culture in Mauritania.

Rhythms in *Haul* music are based on each particular musical mode although modern

⁴⁰ De la Courbe was a French adventurer who commented on *Haul* music in 1685.

Saharaui music is flexible and can adapt any rhythm to whichever mode without restriction. Rhythms can be in 6/8 or 2/4, except for religious songs [*medej*] that are in 12/8. Percussion is represented by clapping and a frame drum called *tbal*. Clapping is generally played off beat, either on the second beat in 6/8 or 2/4. According to the Saharaui, the rich array of rhythms in *Haul* is mostly based on the influences of Arab and sub-Saharan music (see Appendix 3).

The main instruments played in *Haul* music are: *tidinit*, *tbal*, *ardin* and electric guitar (see Appendix 1). *Haul* music inherited instruments from the Mande Empire in sub-Saharan Africa.⁴¹ For instance, the *tbal* is related to the *djembe* and the *kora* related to the *ardin*.⁴² However, the *tidinit* is rooted in ancient Egyptian lutes. As Charry affirms, “there is a remarkable resemblance between West Africa and ancient Egyptian lutes, but the historical significance of this resemblance is still unclear” (1996: 19). The most significant feature of these types of lutes is that they emanate from the Hassanya, most West African countries, and Egypt, all of which are predominately Muslim.

On the other hand, the electric guitar represents the transition from tradition to modernity in Saharaui music and in Mauritania. The electric guitar is played in the same way as the *tidinit*. This transition from traditional instruments to electric guitar has occurred in many parts of Africa. For instance, Thomas Mapfumo from Zimbabwe is influenced by the *mbira dza vadzimu* in order to create *chimurenga* guitar style. In Madagascar, D’Gary is a virtuoso guitarist who has found his musical inspiration in traditional instruments such as the *marobany* or the *valiha*. In the case of modern Saharaui music, the *tidinit* inspires the way of playing the electric guitar. In addition, the Saharaui electric guitar incorporates two extra frets (in frets one and three) in order to reach quarter tones; such melodic intervals are essential in the *Haul* modal system (L. Gimenez, 2012: 76). The historical transition from the *tidinit* to the electric guitar demonstrates the non-static evolution of traditional music. Charry defines this musical process towards modernity as the “imitation-assimilation and transformation” of a

⁴¹ The Mande Empire was founded by Sunjata Keita in 1230 (E. Charry, 1996: 19).

⁴² Mercer affirms that *Haul* incorporates instruments from the Mande Empire by saying “there is an ancient war-drum called *tbal* with its West African flavour” (1976:159).

musical style through the electric instruments or electronic music (E. Charry, 2012: 300). However, the modernisation of Saharawi music does not only occur in the instrumentation or the music, but moreover in the traditional forms of poetry to compose a song.

The *Haul* musical system and the way of composing a song between poets and musicians remain untouched. The process of making songs in *Haul* music firstly is the responsibility of the poet. Secondly, a song in *Haul* rests upon the vocalist singing what the poet has written. Finally, the instrumentalists are told by the singer in which mode the song is to be played. This form of making songs still prevails in modern Saharawi music.⁴³

The traditional process of composing a song in Saharawi music using the Haul modal system is as follows: the poet writes the poem in a *Haul* mode, the singer sings the lyrics, and the instrumentalists play in the mode and rhythm of the poem.

Haul is a musical system which consists of eight modes and innumerable ways of writing poetry in each mode.⁴⁴ Each mode or *bohr* (literally means ‘sea’) has its own significance in poetic and musical terms (see Appendix 2). For instance, the mode *fagu* is a mode which expresses epic stories mostly related to war between different communities. The mode *lyen* is related to love songs; and the mode *sgaller* is related to nostalgic feelings. One of the first academic references to the *Haul* modes is by Nikiprowetzky, who says that: Moorish scholars are content to define four different modes: 1. *Kar* (similar to *seinicar*) for joy and for religious purposes; 2. *Fagu* provoking anger; 3. *Signim* (similar to *lyen*) exciting sensibility; 4. *Beigi* (similar to *sgaller*) bringing sadness (1962:54).⁴⁵

Nikiprowetzky refers to the poetic forms and themes involved in the writing of the *Haul*

⁴³ Nikiprowetzky was one of the first musicologists studying *Haul* music in Mauritania. She analysed the *Haul* modes and its instruments in 1962 (see bibliography). Nevertheless, there was not a study of how to construct a song through the interactions between poets and musicians (L. Gimenez, 2012).

⁴⁴ This thesis does not touch upon the different forms of writing poetry in each mode given the numerous ways of writing. That type of linguistic study only applies to the use of two different forms of rhyming in Saharawi music: *gaf* “a-b-a-b” and *talaa* “c-c-c-d”.

modes. According to Mariem Hassan, the *Haul* modal system and its poetical forms were introduced in the camps by a local musician and a poet. For instance, Hassan learnt the poetical forms of the *Haul* modal system through the Saharai poet Beibuh. On the other hand, the mentor for the musical introduction of the *Haul* modal system in the camps is attributed to the guitarist, Kaziza.⁴⁶

Beibuh and Kaziza changed the direction of Saharai music, from it being related to the *lailas* to the compositional forms of the *Haul* modal system. Both artists were responsible for the creation of the first Saharai band in the camps. The band was named “*El Hafed*”; and later called “*El Ualy*” in 1976. Equally noteworthy, Beibuh and Kaziza contributed to maintaining a social structure of communication between the poets and the musicians in the camps (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011). In other words, Beibuh and Kaziza created a type of musical and poetical interaction in Saharai music based on the *Haul* modal system that was later inherited by younger generations of musicians in the camps.

This type of artistic relationship between the poet and musician is still in use by Mariem Hassan (discussed later in Chapters Five, Six and Seven). According to her, the “*Haul* song formula” prevails in her compositional process (*ibid*). In the adoption of the *Haul* modal system in Saharai music, the poetical forms as applied to the musical modes also remain untouched. Poetry in the *Haul* modal system is based on two types of rhymes: *gaaf* “a-b-a-b” or *talaa* “c-c-c-b”. In the next section, there is an analysis of the use of poetry in Saharai music in the camps in reference to the use of *gaaf* and *talaa*.

Cultural values in Saharai poetry: Sufism and religious poetry in relation to Saharai nationalist songs

This section analyses the forms through which traditional Saharai poetry relates to the translocal forms of writing poetry in the camps. In order to analyse Saharai poetry, this section includes the analysis of Salim’s poetry in the nineteenth century in relation to the lyrics composed in the refugee camps. During the last two centuries, the poetic forms applied in the *Haul* modal system have influenced Saharai poets. Although in

⁴⁶ According to Hassan, Beibuh and Kaziza acquired their musical knowledge from Mauritanian *igagwen* during colonial times (1-12-2011).

the past, the Saharauis were known for their religious poetry - with similar poetic forms to the *Haul* modal system - in *Trab el Bidan*.

Hassanya poetry was based on the *Sunna* as the only acceptable way of life among all classes of the Saharan community. The main Sufi orders in Western Sahara were Abdullah Yasin during the fifteenth and sixteenth century in Sagui al Hamra (north of Western Sahara), then the Imam Nasir al-Din in Mauritania in the seventeenth century, and lastly Shaykh Ma al-Aynayn of Smara in the twentieth century (H. Norris, 1968: 113).

And

Shaykh Ma al-Aynayn selected Smara as his main centre because of the sufficiency of water and pasturage. Under Shaykh Ma al-Aynayn, Smara attained a reputation as a centre of Koranic studies with more than 10 000 followers. He collected a library within the *qasba* totalling nearly 500 manuscripts. He was a man of letters and he wrote around 300 works on theology, law, mysticism, astrology, astronomy, and grammar, some of which were lithographed in Fez and Marrakesh (both Moroccan towns) and so preserved for posterity (*ibid*: 117).

“On 23rd July 1910, the French general Moinier sacked Smara and burned the precious Sufi library” (*ibid*: 119). Despite this tragic event for Saharai culture, Norris has collected some Saharai Sufi poetry from the poet, Sidi Salim. Salim’s poems describe the grace of Smara and his saint Shaykh Ma al-Aynayn. Salim’s poems use similar rhymes found in modern Saharai music i.e. *gaf* “a-b-a-b” or *talaa* “c-c-c-d”.

Poem 1 by Sidi Salim (*ibid*: 121)

Ya sh-shaykh er-rijal a’bidak (a)
wan-nisay ekhdam humati (b)
Imatta’bik etlamidak (a)
wal-banina wal-banati (b)
Wel-khelq a’la kullu nabi (c)
mimm azelt efseqrak sabi (c)
Wa’la fe’l ez-zayna rabi (c)
lezyafin ash-sheddatati (d)

[Oh Shaykh, men are your slaves,

and women are your servants.
By you, God has strengthened your disciples,
and also sons and daughters.
You were exalted above the people,
when you were yet in your youth.
You grew up, worthy in deed,
and for guests in the days of famine,
You bring bowls as deep as cisterns and pots
like unshakable mountains]

In Mariem Hassan's album, *El Aaiun egdat* (2012), one finds similar forms of rhyming to Sidi Salim. For instance, in the song *Eftat almayal* (Blazing Trails), poetic rhymes are also a-b-a-b. This example is shown in Arabic, which reads from right to left (see Appendix 7).

- 1- والعزم اها ليك وكتن بالنضال
ليكره يا زيك طاي ليل حتلل
وعدلت ليعنيك افتحت المجال
- 2- والطمس وتشكيك رغم امن تهديد
لك يا كديم ازيك لعدو فالرصيد
- 3- حقو واعطى فيك هب الشعب ادور
لتم اتغلك من حيران النور
- 4- ولمنها ناسيك حركت الشعوب
بالرح احبيك حياك بلكلوب

On the other hand, when one translates some of the poems by Salim, the cultural and social values are similar to the ones in contemporary Saharai songs. For instance, in Poem 8 by Salim, there are attributes of abundance, hospitality and bravery, ideas inherited from Saharai Sufism. These social attributes are also adopted by the group *El Ualy* - the first Saharai music group created by Beibuh and Kaziza in the camps - in the song *Magat milkitna dulaa* (We never got enslaved).

Poem 8 by Sidi Salim (H. Norris, 1968: 350).

The famine has not marked your veil.
You are the greatest in authority,
the farthest journeyed,
the most abundant in raiment and adornments,
and in grace, and the most generous in hospitality.
You the loftiest and the greatest and truest smiter with the sword.

Magat milkitna dulaa (*El Ualy*) from the album *El Ualy: Polisario vencera* (Nubenegra, 1998) (Track 2).

A neighbour has never been seen in distress without us coming to his aid.
Never has a state enslaved us and we never lived in its shadow.
We have protected the frontiers of our homeland and in her fame we have clothed her.
At no time have her clothes become shabby without us having clothed anew.

In contrast to the social changes in Saharaui history, these poetic and cultural similarities represent the musical aesthetics of Saharaui music. In the continuum of such poetical forms, the spiritual values in Salim's poems and the lyrics by *El Ualy* encouraging decolonising are equally addressed in this section. In *Magat milkitna dulaa*, the remembrance of ancient poetical forms in Saharaui poetry evolves in a powerful manner. Therefore, poetic agency in Saharaui music is an act of both: innovation (through new revolutionary Saharaui music); and cultural memory (inspired in old forms of writing poetry by Salim).

With regard to the cultural memory of *Haul* music, Islam was the main pillar of Hassanya society. Religious poetry - or *medej* - was also accompanied by music with the usage of the *Haul* musical system and *Haul* poetic forms. In this sense, *medej* songs are included in modern Saharaui music though still related to Salim's poems [in terms of faith and poetic form]. Not coincidentally, a *medej* song sung by Faknash and one religious poem by Salim illustrate a similar religious intention.

Wanni brassul (Faknash) from the album *Medej* (Nubenegra, 2003) (Track 3)

I pray for Allah's kindness,

That on judgment day no one will ask me questions.

I pray for a safe place next to Mohamed and his wife Jadiyah.

I pray that I will be among those who are promised to go to heaven without a doubt.

Poem 5 by Sidi Salim (H. Norris, 1968: 348)

My thirst has excited the eagerness of my eye.

O thirsty one, you have no choice but to say, "Give me a drink from your light".

Give me of your bounty, you who are so often visited.

Only that which is bestowed from your light

through following the Prophet will suffice me.

It is evident that many Saharais affirm that poetry emerged before the *Haul* modal system was introduced in Western Sahara (Ahmed Fadel interview, 2-11-2004). The reason for its existence is because Islam was the first pillar of *Hassani* society.

Veneration of the Prophet through poetry has always been appreciated in Saharai music. This has resulted in the similarities of poetic construction - considering meter, rhymes and themes - between Salem's poetry, *medej* and Saharai political music. Such similarities reflect the ties between the past and the present in Saharai cultural values as applied in their music. For this reason, a thorough analysis of Hassanya poetry, the *Haul* musical system and the sociocultural context of the music have been necessary in order to understand the present cultural status and aesthetics of Saharai music.

However, in the camps, such a formula for writing poetry is not conditioned by a stratified society, but inspired by the RASD constitution which guarantees equal rights in gender and race. Therefore, while Saharai music has contributed to the maintenance of social structures of communication between the poet and the musicians, the stratified structure of communication has been abolished in the camps.

The *igagwen* in Mauritania and Saharai musicians: Cultural memory and innovation

This section addresses aspects of the musical performance in the camps. Modern Saharai music inherits musical values and song constructions from a musical, melodic

system based on the *Haul* modal system. In other words, cultural values in Saharai music are based on the invocation of cultural and musical memory through *Haul*. However, due to the recent incorporation of the *Haul* modal system in Saharai music, there are certain innovations in the performance; and these are in contrast to the *igagwen* in Mauritania. Moreover, despite postcolonial changes, the Hassanya social hierarchy and the *igagwen* still survive in Mauritania (Ahmed Fadel interview, 2-11-2004). This section defines the use of the *Haul* modal system by *igagwen* and Saharai musicians as cultural memory. Olick and Robbins define cultural memory “as the transmission of meaning from the past, that is, explicit historical reference and consciousness” (1998:111-12).

For instance, in Saharai music, women play *tbal* and in Mauritania men are responsible for the rhythm. Another musical factor is the introduction of chord progressions in Saharai *Haul*. Meanwhile, in Mauritania, music is based on melodic motifs and lacks harmonic progressions. In Mauritania, women still play the *ardin* but Saharai women have not inherited the practice of performing on any string instrument. Another characteristic in Saharai music is the absence of the poet in recitals whereas in Mauritania the poet stays with the musicians on stage and recites his poems before the singer performs. As a result, Mauritanian and Saharai music differ in many performance aspects despite their coexistence within the same musical system (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011).

Classic <i>Haul</i>	Saharaui <i>Haul</i>
<i>MUSIC CONTEXT</i> - Men play <i>tbal</i> - Women play <i>ardin</i> - Men play <i>tidinit</i> - Classic rhythms - Poet is part of a recital - Guitar only in <i>Haul</i> tuning - No chord progression <i>SOCIAL CONTEXT</i> - Stratified Bedouin society - Music played on TV and to high classes	<i>MUSIC CONTEXT</i> - Women play <i>tbal</i> - Women do not play <i>ardin</i> - Women seldom play <i>tidinit</i> - Introduction of new rhythms - Poet only writes lyrics but is not part of the recital - Guitar with <i>Haul</i> tuning and standard tuning - Chord progressions <i>SOCIAL CONTEXT</i> - Social classes abolished - Music played for the entire country to celebrate national events

Table 4. Main differences between *Haul* music in Mauritania and Western Sahara

In addition, the stage line-up in music performances in the camps is different from Mauritania. In Mauritanian society, there are *igagwen* and music is played to the elite or on the national television. In contrast, the Saharaui abolished social castes including musician castes. Therefore, local music is played for everyone to enhance both their cultural memory and national ideology. As such, the adoption of the *Haul* modal system in Saharaui music has a linguistic and musical value inherited from *Trab el Bidan* (not from Western Sahara).

The social and musical use of the *Haul* modal system in Saharaui music was provided by a musician (Kaziza) and a poet (Beibuh). According to Kaziza, although the Saharaui artists were connected to Mauritanian culture during colonial times in Western Sahara,⁴⁷ due to the social reality of the Saharaui, the *Haul* modal system was used to express

⁴⁷ The explanations of how Beibuh and Kaziza were connected to the *Haul* modal systems are unknown. However, there is a chapter in Rodríguez's book *España en Africa: La ciencia española en el Sahara Occidental, 1884-1976*, about other Saharaui poets and their source of knowledge. In this book, most of the poets attribute their poetic knowledge to God and not to a particular teacher (J. Rodríguez: 2011: 70).

their national ideology and the aim to decolonise Western Sahara (interview, 23-12-2013). Further, the social structures of communication involved in translocal Saharai music have evolved into an attempt to create an equal society under the creation of the RASD. As a result, the social interaction between Saharai musicians, the PF and the translocal audience is reflected in the stage line-up and musical representation of Saharai musical values.

Sedentarisation and national consciousness of Western Sahara

In this section, I explain in more detail the urbanisation of Western Sahara and the rise of Saharai nationalism, which are reflected in the music and the lyrics written by the local poets in the refugee camps. Further, I examine the local poet's lyrics as a means to connect the translocalities of the PF, Saharai musicians and the local audience. In Saharai songs composed in the camps, the translocal structure of communication refers to the decision of composing music and lyrics for the representation of the RASD. I further contend that music reflects the cultural memory of the inherited *Haul* modal system. This section also examines the social communication between musicians, poets and the poets' lyrics. Such lyrics circulate along the translocal habitus expressing the national ideology in his/her texts.

The construction of Saharai nationalism started in the 1960s. During that time, the sedentarisation and urbanisation of the Saharai people were rapid; specifically in the main towns of Western Sahara such as: Smara, El Aaiun, Dajla and Auserd. The Saharais living in these urban spaces started to work in the phosphate mines of Western Sahara where the mineral resources were being exploited by the colonial state. San Martin describes the final turning point of transition from nomad to sedentary urban life for the Saharais as:

The turning point in the history of Western Sahara took place in the 1960s, with the discovery of the rich phosphates mines in Bu Craá, the development of the fishing industry and also the militarisation of the territory, especially after the Moroccan independence in 1956.....[T]his changing context coincided with a series of draughts which forced many Saharai nomads to settle in the emerging cities and villages: Villa Cisneros/Dajla, El Aaiun, Smara, Bojador, La Guera, Auserd, and others (2009: 251).

This “changing context” provoked the creation of the first national Saharai movement called *Movimiento de liberación del Sahara* [MLS trans. Liberation Movement for the Sahara] in 1969. As previously mentioned, MLS was officially established by El Bassiri, the same founder of the PF. (B. Lopez, 1999: 22). The MLS was inspired by the national movements of other decolonised countries in the Arab world and in Africa. In 1974, Bassiri was assassinated by the Spanish legion in Western Sahara - one year after he founded the PF - and the PF came to be represented by El-Uali Mustafa Sayyid. The bibliographical references from El Uali prove that he was part of the Moroccan communist party (MCP) before his affiliation with the PF (*ibid*). The Moroccan government expelled El Uali from Morocco in 1970 and he went into exile, first to Mauritania - with the Mauritanian Communist Party - and then to Algeria (to the refugee camps) in 1975. In 1976, El Ualy died at the age of 27 during the decolonising war in Mauritania.

During the late 1960s and 1970s, young Saharais such as El Ualy were instructed in the Socialist-Arab political ideology and they were influenced by revolutionaries such as Guevara in Cuba, Lumumba in Congo and Nasser in Egypt. During the 1960s, the political awakening in Africa and the struggle for independence and liberation from colonialism had a galvanising influence on the people of Western Sahara. As San Martin states:

Guevara, Nasser, Fanon and the experiences of the wars in Algeria and Vietnam fostered the initial contours of the Saharai revolution triggered by Mohamed Bassiri’s movement in 1968. Six years later, and three after the assassination of Bassiri by the Spanish Legion, the Frente Por la Liberacion de Saquia el Harma y Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO [Front for the Liberation of Saquia el Harma and R’io de Oro]) emerged to launch an anti-colonial liberation war against the decadent Spanish Francoist administration (2009: 251)

However, the PF has historically claimed its only aim is for the decolonisation of Western Sahara and there is no other political principle apart from the RASD constitution (S. Zunes, 1987:33). In any case, the Saharais, as a whole community, are unified by the same principle of decolonisation. Due to these circumstances, Saharai songs composed in the camps attempt to engage with the transnational Saharai

community as a form of expressing their nationalism.

The social structures of communication in the camps are represented by the RASD as a nation. The three agents involved in the translocal capital of the RASD are addressed in the songs composed by the poets and musicians in the camps. In this section, there are three different songs composed by local artists that apply to the identification of the RASD: *Uargueziz* is a song that expresses local bravery in their determination to decolonise Western Sahara; *RASD* is a song directed at the PF and about the principles of the Saharawi constitution; *Lualy* is a song that pays homage to all the Saharawi martyrs during the war against Morocco. At the same time, under the personal image of El Ualy, this song portrays the principles of the RASD (as a nation) and the PF (as the political representation of the Saharawi transnational state in the camps). Since 1976, all these songs are performed by the group *El Ualy*, the first musical band representing the Saharawi people in exile.

Uargueziz (*El Ualy*) from *El Ualy: Polisario Vencerá* (Nubenegra, 1998) (Track 4)

The fighting power of the people's army,
The high morale,
The justice
And the level of consciousness of the masses,
Are the secrets of our victory.

RASD (*El Ualy*) from *El Ualy: Polisario Vencerá* (Nubenegra. 1998) (Track 7)

The proclamation of our new state is a great feat for humanity.
It embodies the choice of a people and the respect for its free will.
Blood and tears of the people, as well its ancestral ground,
Its costume and its yearning and the hope that the republic affords them shelter.

Lualy (*El Ualy*) from *El Ualy: Polisario Vencerá* (Nubenegra, 1998) (Track 8)

Lualy is the most conspicuous example because of his courage and his will.
He is the symbol of our struggle for our sovereignty.
Your life was very interesting, Oh symbol of martyrdom! Helm of our leadership and
helm of Our foundation.
He fought and created a state, these people may be happy, and spilt his blood on the

battlefield Without betrayal of the martyrs.
This spilt blood is no more finite than the definition of the frontiers,
Oh you martyrs, here you have it,
Just look now, how it glistens.

The song *Uargueziz* reflects the message of many other Saharai nationalist songs of bravery and fighting. *Uargueziz* is meant to unite and to reinforce the nationalist struggle of the Saharais. Through songs such as *Uargueziz*, performers and local audiences are drawn to the same cultural values and national ideology. Thus, political homogeneity between the PF, music makers, and their audience in the camps is the main pillar for Saharai musical expression. Equally noteworthy, is the role of musicians and poets to serve the RASD in this transnational and refugee context. For that reason, *Uargueziz* communicates with the three different social structures of communicational reciprocity between the PF, Saharai musicians and the local audience. Therefore, Saharai music acts as a social, nationalist, and cultural value, and never serves as mere entertainment. In reference to the role of performers as functional individuals to express people's cultural values, the ethnomusicologist Oloo comments:

Performers do not only entertain, they are also able to raise social awareness in their audience by arousing in them the imaginative and emotional experiences toward social re-engagement through collective identity (2007:178).

In the construction of the Saharai national ideology, other songs celebrate the historical dates of the Saharai revolution. The song "*RASD*" commemorates the proclamation of the Saharai revolution on February 27, 1976.⁴⁸ As Moore says, "government promotes songs with overtly political lyrics and creates musical festivals commemorating events of the socialist revolution" (2003:3) such as *February 27* (the day that the RASD was officially founded). The Saharai government in exile uses music as a "means of inspiring nationalist sentiment, unity, and greater dedication to political goals" (*ibid*). Musical performance to enhance the political cause is essential in maintaining the strength of their refugee status. As a tool of resistance and identity, Saharai music is

⁴⁸ As Benabdallah states "Spain officially relinquished its administration of Western Sahara to both Morocco and Mauritania on 27 February 1976. On the same day, the Polisario Front declared the creation of the SADR" (2009: 419).

based on commemorating significant days throughout the year, and the song *RASD* represents the independence and recognition of the new Saharai state. This point is consistent with Tuhoy who states that “nationalist movements throughout the world devote a portion of their energies to the “voice of the people” (2006: 230) celebrating historical dates.

The song *Lualy* is about the Saharai political fighter, who is presented as an icon and representative of the revolution. In addition, there is a sense of bravery and national identity that symbolises the life of a Saharai martyr who died on the battlefield. In most Saharai families, the nostalgia and memory of martyrs is prominent in the musical representation of El Ualy. As a result, nostalgia is linked to El Ualy, as a symbolic representation of the martyrs during the war against Morocco. The song *Lualy* is a sign of the present struggle but also a nostalgic recall of the people who died in the war against Morocco.

Olick and Robbins observe that “the nostalgia industry produces mindless, pacifying, and politically conservative commodifications of the national past” (1998:125). In the song *Lualy*, the national past would be El Ualy fighting for the independence of Western Sahara. Further, the commodification in this song would be the idea of idolising El Ualy as a reflection of the Saharai struggle for decolonisation, thus using his image as a form of political empowerment. However, the song *Lualy* is not only a commodification but functions as a unifying force for national consciousness and social memory; it produces a type of nostalgia that makes Saharai people more determined and politically militant rather than producing mindless or conservative commodifications of the past.

In general, lyrics written by the poets are a reflection of the political values in Saharai music. Saharai poets living in the camps have written about Saharai ideology based on the situation of being permanent refugees and, politically, to describe the social lives of Saharai people in the camps. Therefore, the music originating in the Saharai refugee camps moves between the three agents previously described.

Nevertheless, in the last five years, Saharai poets have written about other social

events occurring in Western Sahara. Although related to the conception of RASD, these types of lyrics associated with events occurring outside the translocal environment create a new form of translocal, artistic expression. This results in the circulation of information in the Saharai community residing in different locations being articulated in musical expression in the translocal culture in the camps.

For instance, the song *Gdeim Izik* describes the brutal assault by Moroccan forces on the refugee camps inhabited by the Saharais outside El Aaiun [the capital of Western Sahara] in November 2010. Revolutionary, political ideology in this case, is the decision of the poet to report on the dramatic events experienced by his compatriots in Western Sahara. This point coheres with Mphande's who observes that "song is an inside creation of art because, beyond the rhythm, the lyrics are directed to people who understand and share the values articulated in the song" (2007: 382). Mphande's views echoes Rice's metaphor "music as art" in this chapter in relation to how art is understood and constructed by cultural values and nationalism (2003:166). In relation to Mphande's quote, the popular Saharai poet *Beibuh* has commented on the event of *Gdeim Izik* in El Aaiun as the germinating seed of both the national consciousness of the Saharais in Western Sahara as well as the Arab Spring.⁴⁹ *Gdeim Izik* proves that in translocal culture, music and poetry provide a "medium for interrogating the character of conflict; and for evaluating the quality of conflict resolution" (J. M. O' Connell, 2010: 2).

Gdeim Izik (Mariem Hassan-Beibuh) from the album *El Aaiun egdat* (Nubenegra, 2012) (Track 5)

When the Saharai people of El Aaiun put up hundreds of tents in Gdeim Izik,
The invader blocked all communication channels
And encircled the peacefully protesting men, women and children.
And after having razed the camp to ground,
The Moroccan offender cannot sleep thinking that
If he continues to occupy Western Sahara,
One day a brave army of young men will restore the freedom
And the independence of the Saharai.

⁴⁹ The international press alleges that the first revolts of the Arab Spring took place in Tunisia in May 2011 without considering the revolts in *Gdeim Izik* in November 2010 (I. Cembrero, 2011).

Following the analysis of lyrics depicting the events occurring outside the camps, the idea of “not forgetting the enemy” - in relation to Spain and the process of decolonisation of Western Sahara - is essential in the construction of Saharai nationalism. Moreover, the approval and support of the RASD by representatives of Spanish political parties has always been rejected by the central government in Spain. For that reason, the song *Shouka* (the thorn) reflects the ignominy of the Spanish president, Felipe Gonzalez (1982 to 1996), who promised independence to the Saharais in exile in 1976. As Vaquer states:⁵⁰

España esta directamente implicada en el conflicto desde su genesis, y por poderosas razones (de reponsabilidad de descolonización, de proximidad geografica, de implicación de la opinión publica, de las relaciones con las partes condendentientes, etc.) no puede ignorar su existencia o desentenderse de si solucion (2007: 126)

[Spain is directly implied with the conflict of Western Sahara from its genesis (responsibility of decolonisation, geographical proximity, implication of public opinion in favour of the independence of Western Sahara). Spain cannot ignore the existence of the Saharai problem or to disassociate it from a solution in this conflict]

The poets of the song *Shouka*, Lamin Alal and Manuel Dominguez, respond to Felipe Gonzalez’ speech in the camps.

Shouka (Mariem Hassan; Lamin Alal and Manuel Dominguez) from the album *Shouka* (Nubenegra, 2010) (Track 6).

FG: We came here today on November 14th of 1976 to show our rejection and condemnation of the Madrid Accords of 1975.

MH: Gonzalez, we listen to you with respect and great affection, and we readily grant you entry in our tents.

FG: Saharai people will win their fight. They will win, not just because the law is on their side, but also because they have the will to fight for their freedom.

MH: You are a lawyer, you have a silver pen, and you are the leader of a great party. You

⁵⁰ Vaquer’s statement has been translated from Spanish into English by Luis Gimenez.

are refined, but your words sometimes cause great damage.

FG: I want you to know, that the majority of the Spanish people, the best and the most noble of the Spanish people, stand in solidarity with you.

MH: There are people, my people, who give their lives for freedom. I drank the blood of my three brothers who fought against the deadly weapons.

The decision to not forget Felipe Gonzalez' speech is another type of nationalist action that reinforces dignity and honesty in the Saharai struggle. The poet's decision is based on historical memory of the conflict in Western Sahara. Lohman affirms that another type of artistic agency different to the political and cultural representation could result in the poet being criticised for not serving his/her country (2010: 8). Following Lohman's statement above, since 1975, the development of socio-historical memory is essential in the construction of Saharai music. The Saharai poet denounces the Spanish government as being the main party responsible for the lack of progress in decolonising Western Sahara.

Songs based on the decolonising issue of Western Sahara are mostly in the form of reports to a listener. In the political content of Saharai songs, one can perceive the popular excitement and consistency of Saharais in resolving the referendum and process of decolonisation of Western Sahara. With regard to their mobilising content, one can see that it resonates with Katumanga who states that:

To understand the role of songs in the mobilization process, an analysis of the music (sounds), the behavior (performance), the ideas and the meaning carried by the two is required (2007: 132).

In conclusion, the translocal capital in Saharai music is formed by the cultural significance of *Haul* music in conjunction with the political exaltation described above. In fact, nationalist songs are determined by the lyrics and not by the cultural value of the "*Haul* song formula". Thus, music is both: "cultural" through the *Haul* musical system and the forms of interacting between musicians and poets; and "political" by the content of the lyrics that foments the national sentiments. Saharai nationalism uses cultural memory (related to the *Haul* modal system) in order to construct the nationalist ideology. The application of the *Haul* modal system in Saharai music is due to its

cultural past in the *Trab el Bidan*; and not to its new national ideology. In any case, the reinterpretation of the *Haul* musical system in accordance with Saharai nationalism is the foundation of the music in the camps.

The RASD, international agents, and their political interpretations of the Western Sahara conflict

So far, this chapter has provided insight into the translocal music in the camps and its social structures of communication (including the interests of the Saharais in Western Sahara). The nationalist ideology in Saharai music is represented as the common voice of the RASD. This section examines the different opinions and policies of international institutions - including foreign states - towards the process of decolonisation in Western Sahara. It aims to show that the incorporation of international agents into the conflict hinders the Saharai struggle for independence and decolonisation. Moreover, the conflict of Western Sahara becomes a political dispute between the international actors involved in this colonial issue. The international agents involved in the conflict of Western Sahara embody another type of habitus based on the politics of globalisation. The power structures of communication in this issue provoke a political definition of the PF in the international arena. Thus, this section contributes to the understanding of the translocal context of Saharai music and how such a context is influenced by the actions of other international agents.

When a community is forced into refugee camps, these camps often become dependent on international aid and global resolutions based on international institutions for justice. Within the Western Saharan conflict, there are six international actors involved: the United Nations, Spain, France, the United States of America, the African Union and the Maghreb region (mainly Morocco and Algeria). The African Union and Algeria are in favour of the RASD whilst Morocco, Spain, France and the United States do not recognise the RASD as a nation. The United Nations remains the main international body that succeeded in the fight for decolonisation in most African countries after the Second World War. Nevertheless, the decolonisation of Western Sahara has not been resolved in almost four decades.

Of the international actors involved in the conflict of Western Sahara, the United

Nations (UN) is the main committee involved in facilitating a process of decolonisation.⁵¹ Spain is mainly responsible for the illegal annexation of Western Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania.⁵² Further, Spain does not recognise the RASD as a nation despite being the main and direct agent, together with the UN, in the process of the decolonisation of Western Sahara from 1960 to 1975 (K. Benabdallah, 2009: 419). France is the main ally of Morocco and supports the Moroccan government in order to postpone the Saharai referendum on self-determination;⁵³ and the United States against the Saharai socialist-Arab ideology.⁵⁴ According to Saidy, the Gerald Ford administration (1974-1977) in the USA played a pivotal role in the success of the brutal Moroccan invasion of Western Sahara in 1975 (2011:87). The USA government had a geographical and strategic interest in Western Sahara because the country is situated on the Atlantic Ocean.⁵⁵

Another international actor involved in the conflict of Western Sahara is the Arab Maghreb (composed of Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Mauritania) and their diplomatic relations. Western Sahara is a real obstacle and a site of conflict between Morocco as the invader and Algeria as the defender of the Saharai right for self-determination.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the African Union (AU) recognizes the RASD as a

⁵¹ In December 1960, the UN requested to Spain to start the process of decolonisation (O. Sidi, 2008: 46).

⁵² “The secret agreement, known as the ‘Madrid Accords’, was signed to partition the Spanish Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania. On 14 November 1975, Spain transferred its administrative powers to the two states and, in exchange, Spain gained substantial advantages in term of fishing rights and participation in the exploitation of the phosphates of Bou-Craa” (K. Benabdallah, 2009: 419).

⁵³ Since 1975, France has supported Morocco’s expansionist policies in Western Sahara. The French president at the time, Raffarin, confirmed the similar views and positions of Paris and Rabat concerning the question of Western Sahara (Y. H. Zoubir & K. Benabdallah-Gambier, 2005: 195).

⁵⁴ “The United States has taken multiple approaches toward the Saharan conflict. One is that a “mini-state” would be a source of instability in the Maghreb region. The greatest obstacle to promoting American interest in the Maghreb is the Saharan conflict. NATO’s southern flank against communist influence although Polisario Front has not yet received backing from the Soviet Union or the People’s of Republic of China. The movement adopted a socialist ideology and was fully supported by Algeria and Libya” (B. Saidy, 2011:87).

⁵⁵ “The Gerald Ford administration (1974-1977) played a pivotal role in the memorable success of ‘Green March’ on November 6, 1975, by pressing Spain to accept the Madrid Accords under which Spain would cede Western Sahara to Morocco” (*ibid*).

⁵⁶ According to Barah, the conflict of Western Sahara is between Algeria and Morocco. Morocco as a pro-American ally and Algeria as a pan-Arab and pan-African country defending the Saharai cause (2012: 3).

nation and is, thus, in favour of Saharai nationalism.⁵⁷ As one can observe, the political conflict of Western Sahara involves many national and international agents with different views on the resolution of a country in exile and in turmoil for almost forty years.

Despite the RASD being recognised by more than eighty countries since 1976 (M. Lopez, 2005: 8), the conflict is dependent on international policies related to the processes of decolonisation (O. Sidi, 2008: 46). This diplomatic failure shows how weak international institutions such as the UN have been in respect to the Western Sahara conflict. In reference to the process of decolonising Western Sahara, Beisat [SADR's minister of African affairs] states that:

This problem in Western Sahara is not a Democratic Republic of Congo problem, with tribes and minerals. It is not a Palestinian problem of religion. It is a simple, crystal-clear decolonisation problem that could be quickly sorted out with five hours of voting (X. Rice, 2010: 32).

The main support for the RASD in the international arena was well received in independent sub-Saharan countries in Africa and in South America:

Polisario leadership received a very cold response from other Arabic countries. Most of the Arab countries, in fact, supported Morocco. Only revolutionary Algeria and Libya (although only for a few years) openly supported the Saharai republic. The reception of the Polisario envoys in sub-Saharan African and Latin America was much more positive. The Polisario was very keen from the beginning on playing the card of being a 'Hispanic', or 'Spanish-speaking' country, in order to foster relations with Latin American states, movements and political parties (P. San Martin, 2009: 252).

In the Spanish-speaking world, the RASD received a positive response for one reason: that the African Saharais had the Spanish language in common with them. For instance, Cuba was one of the first Latin American countries to recognise the Polisario Front. Fidel Castro's government offered education and political asylum to the

⁵⁷ The Saharai Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) has been recognised by the African Union since 1976 (M. Lopez, 2005: 4).

Saharais in Cuba. For that reason, the Saharai people were happy to identify themselves as “Hispanic” in order to maintain good relations with the Latin world (*ibid*).

The Polisario Front received a cold response from other Arab countries. In fact, except in Algeria and Libya the Polisario has never been accepted into the Arab League or northern Africa. The political support for the Saharai cause has been due to the socialist orientation and Islam as main pillars of the Algerian ideology after independence (G. Fuller, 1996: 8). Political tension between Algeria on one side and Morocco on the other has existed since post-colonial times in the 1960s. The tension between Morocco and Algeria is also due to the Western Sahara conflict. This point is consistent with Naylor’s comment that “the irresolution of Western Sahara impedes North Africa’s stability, as well as its progress, prosperity and potential” (2009: 240).

Western Sahara also has a good relationship with Algeria and Mauritania. In the case of Algeria, which shelters the Saharai refugees, there is also a close relationship between the Polisario Front and *Front Liberation National* (FLN), the ruling party in Algeria since 1962 to the present day (N. Naylor, 2009: 230). As a result, for the Saharais, the aim of decolonising Western Sahara became a point of political contention in the Maghreb.

In conclusion, the conflict of the Western Sahara is a problem of decolonising. However, due to the large number of international actors involved, such a conflict has become politically tense between western and non-western countries. Moreover, the creation of the RASD and its recognition includes a political position for the agents involved in the PF and the international arena. For instance, the inclination of the UN towards western policies from the USA or France reflects a certain degree of favoritism towards Morocco; thus, there is a continuous deadlock and “international failure” on recognising the RASD as a nation. Therefore, decolonisation and Saharai nationalism becomes a “global-political debate” when this issue is exposed to international actors that are able to resolve the conflict of Western Sahara. As part of the relationship between the international actors involved in the decolonisation of Western Sahara is the study of the social context of Saharai music in the camps. For O’ Connell, and not in

relation to the conflict of Western Sahara, translocal music provides an inward interpretation and representation of the conflict in contrast to “the multiple views of audience reception” (2010: 2). O’Connell’s statement above alludes to the continuum of war and peace in Saharawi music, its translocal habitus, and its conflictive relationship with the international agents mentioned above.

***Azawan* and syncretism: The concept of translocal capital for the Saharawi people**

In Saharawi music, *azawan* defines the understanding of the reinvention of the “*Haul* song formula” and its interaction with nationalist lyrics. This observation is consistent with Nettl’s views on musical syncretism as the reinvention of certain traditional types of music (1983: 246); performed by a transnational community in a non-traditional social context in this case. This section examines *azawan* as the syncretic study of immigrant communities such as the Saharawis in the camps; and how they transform their traditional music through their encounter with the *Haul* modal system in combination with nationalist lyrics (*ibid*).

In the 1990s, the concept of musical syncretism as the reinvention of popular music using old forms of composing; includes modernisation or innovation (P. Lopes, 1999: 25). In regard to the Saharawi musical culture, one can apply the term “musical syncretism” to the reinvention of the “*Haul* song formula” which includes new musical and social elements (see Table 4). Lopes adds that musical syncretism is a type of cultural symbolism where this culture moves (*ibid*: 26). In this study, the notion of syncretism rests upon the re-enactment of the “*Haul* song formula”.

The word *azawan* relates to syncretism. Both words denote the musical and poetic understanding of the *Haul* modal system in the construction of Saharawi modern music. *Azawan* - or syncretism - embraces three main elements in Saharawi music: 1. a deep understanding of the *Haul* musical system; 2. a good knowledge of Saharawi literature and culture; 3. and an awareness of the national ideology in order to construct a new popular music. These linguistic, ideological and musical characteristics of Saharawi music define *azawan*. Through *azawan*, the *Haul* modal system and its social context is reinvented in favour of Saharawi nationalism.

The *Haul* modal system is not represented as timeless or static. The “*Haul* song formula” has evolved during the social changes experienced by the Saharai people. This point is consistent with Hutchinson’s view about how transnational communities are “transformed by these new economic and social situations” (2006: 37). Under these circumstances, Saharai music and its different forms of interaction between musicians and poets evolves into a new style of music influenced by the *Haul* modal system after the forced migration in 1975. This point also relates to the construction of a new Saharai identification in a new economic and translocal situation. In Saharai music, *azawan* - as syncretism - deals with tradition and innovation at the same time. Saharai music has a complex, syncretic combination of cultural values and political ideology. In Saharai music, cultural values and national ideology is based on the past (tradition) and present (ideology) of Saharai nationalism.

In addition, *azawan* is related to the concept of agency. I refer to agency as the creative decisions made by the Saharai musicians. In other words, agency refers to the musical and creative decisions that aim to engage with the translocal capital [cultural values and nationalism]. This point coheres with Lucia’s concept of music agency related to memory “as a form of remembering” (2002: 138). Thus, the “remembrance” of the *Haul* musical system (as a Hassanya musical heritage rather than Saharai) contributes to the construction of a new sound which promotes the Saharai revolution. By revolution, I refer to the PF and the creation of the RASD constitution. The PF abolished the social classes from the traditional *djemaa* and proposed a new, less hierarchal Saharai society.

The continuum of the *Haul* musical system together with Saharai nationalism emerging in the 1960s are the two main factors in the contemporary musical identification of the Saharais. The cultural and nationalist content in Saharai musical creativity represents a constant negotiation of both traditional Hassanya culture and the decolonisation process of Western Sahara, delayed since 1975. Thus, the Saharai translocal identification is the result of decisions based on cultural values and the nationalist ideology. In one word, ‘*azawan*’ embraces the cultural and nationalist aspect of modern Saharai music and thus, a reflection of the habitus or social structures of communication in this translocal musical culture with the PF and its representation of

the RASD.

In Chapter Three, there is an examination of how the translocal capital - or *azawan* - is negotiated, commodified and disseminated through the relationship with Nubenegra. Further, I apply the term transcultural to examine the new encounter between the PF and Saharai musicians with the Spanish record label.

Chapter Three

Transcultural capital: The relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra records

In the previous chapter, I explained how Saharai music and its identification in the camps are constructed by way of cultural and ideological values. The cultural values refer to the use of the *Haul* musical system and the interaction between the poets and musicians to compose a song. The ideological values in Saharai music are based on the principles of the RASD constitution and its transnational contextualisation reflected in its lyrics. I further contended that such a form of identification is defined as “translocal capital” or *azawan* for Saharais.

In Chapter Three, I analyse the relationship between Saharai musicians, the PF and Nubenegra, defined as a form of transcultural capital and consisting of the circulation of Saharai music in two different transnational locations: the refugee camps in Algeria and in a global context through Nubenegra. As noted in Chapter Two, Kiwan and Meinhof define transcultural capital as a “heuristic concept which allows us to describe and interpret the varied resources which migrant musicians mobilize so as to be able to make a living from their music in a migration context” (2011: 8). In this research, the concept of transcultural capital creates an understanding of the transnationalism of the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. In order to examine the transcultural capital in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, this chapter includes: the examination of Nubenegra as an individual agent and its first encounters with Saharai music (human hub); the official agreements between Nubenegra (human hub) and the PF (institutional hub) to promote Saharai music internationally; the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra related to diplomatic issues, such as visa permits, to invite Saharai musicians from the camps; the dissemination of Saharai music from the camps when negotiated with Nubenegra for international musical performances; and the commodification provoked by the musical negotiation between Saharai musicians and western producers during the recording sessions in Madrid (spatial hub) to *Leyoad* [a Saharai band] and solo artists [Nayim Alal and Mariem Hassan]. Another type of musical commodification analysed in this chapter is when Mariem Hassan is contracted by Spanish composers [Hugo Westerdahl and Luis Delgado] for musical collaborations

in their compositions. Later, there is an analysis of the distribution of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra by the record label through virtual and physical ways to the “specifics of the global market”. In this chapter, the specific agents of the global market refers to the possibilities and limitations of Nubenegra to distribute Saharaui music in the global market.

Transcultural study on the promotion of Saharaui music from the camps by Nubenegra: Habitus or social structures of communication
Examination of Nubenegra as an individual agent and its first encounter with Saharaui music (1973-1997)
Agreements between the PF (institutional hub) and Nubenegra (human hub) to promote Saharaui music (1998)
Promotion of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra related to diplomatic issues, such as visa permits, to bring Saharaui musicians from the camps
Dissemination of Saharaui music from the camps when it is negotiated with Nubenegra for the international performances
Commodification of Saharaui music from the camps in the encounter with western producers in Axis studio (Madrid) [spatial hub] (1998-2005). This section includes the remixes of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra by Hugo Westerdahl in his album <i>Western Sahara</i> (2007) and Mariem Hassan’s collaboration in Luis Delgado’s album <i>El hechizo de Babilonia</i> (2002).
Distribution of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra by the record label through virtual and physical ways to the “specifics of the global market”.

Table 5

In analysing the relationship between Saharaui music and Nubenegra, transcultural capital involves two hubs, Nubenegra (human) and the PF (institutional), who support Saharaui music in different ways. Nubenegra [human hub] is concerned with the commercial and cultural capital of Saharaui music including its commodification in the global market. In contrast, the PF [institutional hub] considers Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra a form of promotion of Saharaui nationalist and cultural values. As a

result, the PF acts as the voice of the translocal culture in the camps [spatial hub] and encourages its musicians to inform the world with their message for “decolonising”.

In order to apply Rice’s research methodology of “time-place and metaphor”, the initial information in this chapter is organised in chronological order. I commence by describing the first encounters of Manuel Dominguez (Nubenegra’s director) with the PF and Saharai music from 1973 to 1998; then the official agreements between Nubenegra and the PF to promote Saharai music (1998). Later, there is an analysis of the promotion, dissemination, commodification and distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from 1998-2007.⁵⁸ The information provided in this chapter responds to Rice’s metaphor of “music as social behaviour”. Such a metaphor contributes to the comparison of the functionality of the music in the camps as translocal capital (Chapter Two) and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra as transcultural capital exposed in the global market (Chapter Three). Further, Rice’s metaphor of “music as social behaviour” helps to analyse the new social structures of communication between Nubenegra (human hub), the PF (institutional hub) and Saharai musicians. As Rice notes “music is made and understood by people in society, every performance of music is also a performance of existing or emergent social structures or social relations” (2003: 166).

This chapter aims to explore the different social structures of communication in the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra. Further, this chapter shows how the transnational habitus in Saharai music is experienced not only through the recordings and promotion of international performances by Nubenegra, but further, how the exposure of this music in the global market aids in its commodification. In sum, this chapter shows how Saharai musicians function within different types of power structures: as the musical representation of the PF, as recording artists with Nubenegra and their exposure, and as international artists in the global market by the record label.

⁵⁸ The study of Mariem Hassan’s albums is examined in Chapter Four.

Nubenegra: Manuel Dominguez and his contact with Saharaui music before 1997⁵⁹

In this section, there is an examination of Nubenegra as an individual agent. It includes how Nubenegra's director, Manuel Dominguez, was informed about the PF in the 1970s, and later produced the album *Lualy: Polisario vencera* (Guimbarda records, 1982). This section contributes to the understanding of Nubenegra's interest in Saharaui music before their relationship was made official in 1998. "Chronological and non-experiential information" about Nubenegra's interest in Saharaui music was provided by personal interviews with Manuel Dominguez. This section examines Nubenegra as a human hub for Saharaui music and its initial interaction with this transnational community. For Kiwan and Meinhof the study of human hubs relates to agents as Nubenegra who reside in intercultural cities such as Madrid and are interested in the promotion of non-western music (2011: 12). The authors add that human hubs "play a specific role as key centres of globalisation and transnational networking" (*ibid*). In this case, the study of Nubenegra as a human hub provides an illustration of the way in which Saharaui music becomes part of its musical catalogue. Nubenegra also acts as a human hub because it offers the possibility of social and musical circulation of Saharaui music between the camps and Spain. For this reason, this section begins with Dominguez's introduction to Saharaui music in the 1970s.

Dominguez had been involved with folk music and politics in Spain since the beginning of the 1970s. In those years, his political activism motivated him to establish and organise cultural activities as a student in the faculty of Architecture at the *Universidad Complutense* (Madrid). His knowledge about the Saharaui struggle came as a result of his experience in international political activism which was motivated by the clandestine international press banned during Franco's regime (1939-1975).

However, it was not until 1982 when Dominguez had his first contact with Saharaui music, when he worked as a music publisher with *Compañía Fonográfica Española* (CFE) [Spanish Phonographic Company]. In particular, from 1978 to 1984, Manuel Dominguez worked as the coordinator of a "folk and blues music series" called

⁵⁹ Information given in this section was provided by Manuel Dominguez during an interview on 17-12-2012.

Guimbarda by the CFE. As part of this music series, Manuel Dominguez edited the album *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* (produced by Mohamed Tammy) through *Guimbarda*.⁶⁰ The album *El Ualy: Polisario vencera* (recorded live in Barcelona) was offered directly by the RASD to Dominguez, as a member of the CFE. This type of negotiation between him and the Saharaui Minister of Culture is defined by Olick and Robins as “material memory” or “the history contained in objects”, in this case, music albums (1998:111-12). The negotiation between Dominguez, as part of *Guimbarda* (human hub), and the PF (institutional hub) contributes to the promotion and circulation of the transcultural capital of Saharaui music. Transcultural capital refers to what Kiwan and Meinhof call the promotion of non-western transnational music or a transnational musical style in the west (2001: 7).

According to Dominguez, when the album *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* was released, in 1982, it was well received; not only by the non-western music fans but also by blues listeners. This album resembled American blues, in some ways, particularly because of the way Kaziza played Saharaui guitar in that album.⁶¹ Dominguez, as a blues and folk music expert, added the album *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* to his musical preferences noted above, although he recognised that Saharaui music was different to any other “folk or blues” music that he had previously heard. During that time, he referred to Saharaui music as having a similar musical system to American blues, but with different

⁶⁰ *Guimbarda* is the name of a music series based on folk and blues music by the CFE. Dominguez designed the music series and every publication since from 1978-1984. He included an introductory leaflet, translated lyrics and explanations of the music style in every album. With *Guimbarda*, Dominguez published around 300 vinyl records. Nevertheless, he always appeared in the series publications as “coordinator” and not as publisher. Most of these albums released by *Guimbarda* were previously released in other parts of the world. It means that *Guimbarda* would negotiate the release of international albums previously published abroad and owned by another international record label. For instance, the first albums published by *Guimbarda* in 1978 were albums owned and previously released by *Transatlantic*. Other albums of Spanish origin were published for the first time by CFE under the label *Guimbarda*. For example, Benidicto’s album *Os nomes das cousas* or Emilio Cao’s *Lenda da pedra do destiño* were albums initially released by *Guimbarda* in 1979. One of the most important contributions to Spanish music under the name of *Guimbarda* was a triple album called *La voz antigua* [the old voice] in 1979 which was recorded in different regions of the Iberian Peninsula. From 1978 to 1984, *Guimbarda* published and released vinyl records in various musical styles, mainly American blues and European folk. Even when there was not a clear concept of *World Music* as a music genre, *Guimbarda* was a pioneer in Spain in the publication of music from other parts of the world such as Hungary, Puerto Rico, Pakistan, India, Greece, Bulgaria, Iran or Morocco. All these albums, based on non-western music, were previously released by other European or North American record labels. In 1982, *Guimbarda* released the first album of Saharaui music ever published in Spain.

⁶¹ As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Kaziza was the mentor who brought the knowledge of the *Haul* modal system to the camps.

rhythms and linguistic characteristics. The resemblance of Saharai music and blues is still being debated in music journalism. For instance, the music of Mariem Hassan has been called the “blues of the desert” by a *World Music* magazine such as *Songlines* (J. Cornwell, 2006).

DD-22061/62	Mártir Luaili Mustafá Sayed	¡Polisario Vencerá!	RASD	1982	Sahara Occidental
DD-22063/64	Varios	Marruecos	Request	1982	Marruecos
DD-22065/66	Norman Blake	The Rising Fawn String Ensemble / Full Moon on the Farm	Rounder	1982	Estados Unidos
DD-22067/68	Finbar & Eddie Furey		Transatlantic	1983	Irlanda
DD-22069/70	Ravi Shankar		Transatlantic	1983	India
DD-22071/72	Fausto	Por este río acima	Sassetti	1983	Portugal
DD-22073/74	Varios	The Bluegrass Akbum	Rounder	1983	Estados Unidos
DD-22075/76	Oriental Wind Okay Temiz	La conexión turca	Sonet	1984	Turquia
DD-33001/2/3	Varios	La Voz Antigua: 1, 2 y 3	Guimbarda	1979	España
DD-33004/5	Alan Stivell	Sinfonia Celta – Tir Na Nog	Keltia III	1980	Bretaña
DD-33006/7/8	Varios	USA Express		1981	Estados Unidos
DD-33009/10/11	Varios	Nocturno Celta		1981	
BS-32201	Varios	Blues Deluxe	Alligator	1982	
BS-32202/3	Varios	Fathers and Sons	Chess	1982	
BS-32204	Varios	Heavy Heads	Chess	1982	
BS-32205/6	Albert Collins and the Icebreakers	Frozen Alive! / Frostbite	Alligator	1982	
BS-32207/8	Howlin' Wolf	Chester Burnett A/K/A	Chess	1982	
BS-32209/10	Koko Taylor	From the Heart of a Woman / The Earthshaker	Alligator	1982	
BS-32211/12	Son Seals	Chicago Fire / Live and Burning	Alligator	1982	
BS-32213	Sonny Boy Williamson	One Way Out	Chess	1982	

Figure 5. Extract from Guimbarda catalogue. The album *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* is at the top of the list.

From the release of *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* in 1982 to 1997, Dominguez watched *El Ualy*'s concerts when they came to perform in Madrid. He affirms that Spanish people used to attend *El Ualy*'s concerts as a political action rather than to watch a concert of Saharai music. Moreover, he observed that *El Ualy*'s music lacked musical arrangements and dynamics though, during that time, regarding *El Ualy*'s instrumentation, he was opposed to the introduction of keyboards in Saharai music.⁶² Dominguez realised that guitars were not as predominant as in the album *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera*. Further, *El Ualy* lost its musical familiarity with American or desert blues guitars and Dominguez lost his interest in Saharai music during the 1980s although he was still supportive of the PF and the decolonisation of Western Sahara. In any case, for him, in the 1980s there was no longer a possibility of or purpose in promoting Saharai music. By publishing *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera*, Dominguez acted as part of the human hub, *Compañía Fonográfica Española* (CFE). The CFE is a

⁶² I contend that the introduction of keyboards in Saharai music was influenced by Algerian *rai*.

human hub because it is a record label promoting Saharai music. In this case, human hubs refer to agents that can connect Saharai music to other types of networks that Saharai music did not have access from the camps such as Nubenegra. However, Nubenegra is not an institution as CFE but an independent record label, thereby Nubenegra is another type human hub contributing to the promotion and circulation of Saharai music in transnational and global spaces.



Figure 6. Manuel Dominguez

http://www.womex.com/virtual/nubenegra_s_l/member/manuel_dominguez_sanz/image/32634

In 1994, Manuel Dominguez founded the record label Nubenegra, in Madrid. Nubenegra is a record label specialising in *World Music*. The record label pays special attention to those musical styles that have had relationships with the Spanish world through old political ties (Cuba, Venezuela, Western Sahara or Equatorial Guinea) or because the artist maintains a close relationship with Spain. Nubenegra's approach to Latin music is a form of reconstructing social, linguistic and musical memory of the Spanish-speaking world. As Olick and Robbins note, "social memory is the connective structure of societies, sets of practices like commemoration and monument building and general forms like tradition, myth or identity" (1998:106).

Following Olick and Robin's view, Nubenegra's role with the Spanish-speaking world is a form of communicative memory in which "residues of the past in language and communication" (*ibid*: 111) mix with the present. As a result, the Spanish label focuses on traditional music but it is also determined to combine the creativity of its artists in

non-traditional musical projects. Fenske and Bendix refer to these types of social encounters between Latin musicians and Nubenegra in Madrid as “multidirectional temporal practices” because:

[I]t opens historical dimensions and relationships.... [and] connections between the past and the present.... [It] overcomes the separation between cultural analysis of the past and of the present (2007: 74).⁶³

During the period 1994-98, Nubenegra recorded and edited Cuban artists such as Omara Portuondo, Chucho Valdes, Gema y Pavel, and Marcelino Guerra. The Spanish label also released a few albums by South American artists such as the Brazilian, Chico Cesar, or the afro-Peruvian drummers, Huracan. Later, Nubenegra focussed on Spanish traditional music (except flamenco) with artists such as Maria Salgado or Uxia. At the same time, in addition to the idea of promoting the music of the Latin world, Nubenegra promoted a considerable number of African artists such as Bidinte (Guinee-Bissau), Seydu (Sierra Leone) and Rasha (Sudan).

It was not until 1997, when Manuel Dominguez regained his interest in Saharai music. In October 1997, Dominguez and Zazie Schubert-Wurr, as the main representatives of Nubenegra, were invited by the PF to the 6th edition of the music festival of the *wilayas* (camp provinces). During this trip, Dominguez had his first direct experience of Saharai music in its social context. For him, the aim of this trip to the camps was an attempt to promote Saharai music in the *World Music* scene. For that reason, he proposed to the Saharai Minister of Culture, Sidahmed Batal, the possibility of bringing a portable studio to the camps, in order to make a commercial anthology of Saharai music. As a result of the agreement between the record label and Sidahmed Batal, Nubenegra published eleven albums of Saharai music from 1998-2012 (see discography). This effort was the fulfilment of Nubenegra’s initial project to promoting music from the Hispanic world. This point is consistent with Kiwan and Meinhof who note that human hubs create a type of cultural globalisation within their linguistic

⁶³ In the case of Saharai music, the social and cultural changes overcome are reflected in two periods: Spanish colonial times in Western Sahara (1884-1975) and its refugee status in Algeria (1976).

network (2011: 11). Nubenegra's attempt to promote music from the Hispanic world is an example of this.

Formal agreements between an institutional hub and a human hub: Nubenegra and the PF promote Saharawi music by using social memory and a commercial interest⁶⁴

In this section, there is an examination of the agreements between the PF and Nubenegra in the promotion of Saharawi music. Both parties are examined as hubs because they are the responsible agents for the circulation of Saharawi music between the camps and Spain. In this negotiation between Nubenegra and Sidahmed Batal, the parties had different approaches to what the recording project could be: the Saharawi Ministry of Culture wanted to promote the translocal music from the camps through the use of political and cultural values examined in Chapter Three; and Nubenegra wanted to commercialise Saharawi music in the global market [*World Music* market]. This section includes an explanatory section about the form in which Nubenegra released the recording project in the Saharawi refugee camps and later how it was mixed in the Axis studio in Madrid. Finally, as the result of the legal agreement between Nubenegra and the PF, the triple album *Sahraui* (Saharawi in German) was released.

This section is divided into four parts: the institutional [the PF] and a human hub's [Nubenegra] views on the promotion of Saharawi music; legal agreements between the PF and Nubenegra to promote Saharawi music in 1998; Nubenegra's recording trip to the Saharawi refugee camps in 1998; and the launch of the triple album *Sahraui* in May 1998. This section contrasts the different views that the PF and Nubenegra hold on Saharawi music. Further, there is a description of how the mutual agreement between both agents leads to the promotion of Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra by way of recordings and international musical performances.

In October 1997, during the first encounter with Nubenegra, the Saharawi Minister of Culture aimed to promote the band *El Ualy* which had been representing the PF since

⁶⁴ Information given in this section was provided by Manuel Dominguez during an interview on 13-06-2011.

1976.⁶⁵ *El Ualy* used to perform in different socialist countries and rarely in European countries. In fact, *El Ualy* was a translocal representation of the RASD as an attempt to propagate the message of decolonisation in Western Sahara. For that reason, as mentioned in Chapter Three, *El Ualy* used to perform where the RASD had a diplomatic and supportive relationship in places such as Cuba, Ethiopia, Algeria or Libya.

El Ualy, as the musical and cultural representative of the RASD, performed abroad in order to maintain political ties with countries supporting the RASD. In other words, the Saharai Minister of Culture conceived of *El Ualy* as “the voice of the Saharai people”. In this negotiation between the PF and Nubenegra, the Saharai Minister of Culture wanted to construct a national, music archive which provided a strong sense of “social memory” for the Saharais. The views on social memory by the PF are consistent with Assmann’s (2011) four types of social memory (see Table 6):

1. Mimetic memory as the transmission of practical knowledge of the past; 2. Material memory as the history contained in objects; 3. Communicative memory as the residues of the past in language and communication; 4. Cultural memory as the transmission of meaning from the past, that is, explicit historical reference and consciousness.

Mimetic memory is the transmission of practical and theoretical knowledge of the *Haul* musical system as a primary musical tool of identification for the Saharai’s music culture.

Material memory in Saharai music is the use of ancient Hassanya instruments as *tidinit* and *tbal*. That type of material memory is combined with the introduction of electric guitars from 1975 onwards.

Communicative memory is the use of old forms of poetry and rhymes inherited from Saharai poetry to communicate the national political messages.

Cultural memory is stimulated by the emulation of the past as the existence of the *djemaa*, *Eid Arbain* or the pseudonym of “children of the clouds”. These types of historical references enhance the cultural values of the past as a basis for the construction of a new Saharai

⁶⁵ Before the Saharai band representing *El Polisario* was called *El Ualy* (as a homage to the leader of the revolution), the band was called *El Hafed*.

identification.

Table 6. Types of social memory

In these four sections about social memory one could argue that the Saharai music culture is supposed to enhance national and historical consciousness among Saharai people. The Saharai Minister of Culture's approach is akin to Assmann's four types of social memory. Further, social memory refers to the use of memory in the construction of Saharai nationalism and its music. According to the Saharai Minister of Culture, the agreement of a musical project with Nubenegra was destined to represent a Saharai musical identification as social memory rather than offering a musical innovation or manipulation of the translocal capital in Saharai music.

Nubenegra not only exposed the recording project in the camps to the Saharais, but also to its international audience. Nubenegra and the Saharai Minister of Culture's points of view contributed to constructing a new concept of Saharai music. The Saharai Minister of Culture's need for social memory and the commercial purpose of the record label (although one should not forget the political affiliation of Manuel Dominguez and his support for the Saharai cause since the 1970s) resulted in an agreement based on the promotion of Saharai music as the construction of a national archive; global exposure of the Saharai translocal capital; and the possibility of recording Saharai music using a portable studio and later mixing it in the Axis studio in Madrid.

Followed by mutual agreements between the PF and Nubenegra, in January 1998, Dominguez, Zazie Schubert-Wurr, Alberto Gambino and Luis Delgado went to the camps with the aim of recording as much Saharai music as possible. During the first days in the refugee camps, Nubenegra's team went to different *wilayas* (camp provinces) (Manuel Dominguez interview, 3-06-2011).



Figure 7. Manuel Dominguez with the Minister of Culture (on the right) and the Minister of Tourism (on the left) in the camps presenting the triple album *Sahraui* (picture courtesy of Nubenegra).

For the speedy progression of the recording project, the deputy minister of Culture, Baba Jouly, assisted Nubenegra with the organisation of musicians prior to and during the stay in the camps. Jouly was the ideal person to locate all the good musicians in the camps because he was also part of *El Ualy* from the 1980s onwards. Jouly had a good knowledge of all the musicians who collaborated with *El Ualy* since its inception in 1976. It meant that there were two generations in the recordings led by Nubenegra. The younger generation in Nubenegra's recording from 1998 was Hadhoum, Teita, Mariem Hassan and Mahfoud. One can also include Boika, Baba Salama and Nayim Alal in the list of Saharai musicians born between the 1950s and 1960s.

On the other hand, the first generation of vocalists was: Oumm-Edleila Lehzam, Oumm-Erguiya, Teita Lebid (Track 5, *The night will be long* and Track 10 *The crave* on the album *Despite the wounds*), Kaziza and Brahim Ehmeyada on the guitar and Mahfoud Aliyen on *tbal*. The poets were Badi Mohamed Salem, Bachir Ali and Beibuh. These three poets are still alive and participated in Hassan's album, *El Aaiun egdat*, in 2012. The relationship between the two generations of Saharai musicians (and poets) in the camps shows how a transnational community can be sustained and transformed through its music over thirty six years (1976-2012). The musical relationship between the two different generations of Saharai musicians shows how translocal communication is created, sustained and transformed in the camps. As a result, Nubenegra encountered a developed, translocal musical culture in its recordings.

Later, when the recordings in the refugee camps were finished, they were taken to Madrid by Nubenegra. From February to May 1998, Nubenegra worked on how to use the audio data gathered in the camps in the global market. Finally, as the result of the agreements between the PF and Nubenegra, the Spanish label launched *Sahraui* (Saharaui in German). *Sahraui* is a compilation with three albums of Saharaui music, including a leaflet of 128 pages full of explanations on *Haul* music and its social context in the camps. These three albums under the name of *Sahraui* were *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* (re-edited from Guimbarda in 1982) trans. “El Ualy: Polisario will win”, *A pesar de las heridas* trans. “Despite the wounds” (a compilation of Saharaui women singing recorded in the camps) and *Sahara tierra mia* trans. “Sahara my land” (a compilation of Saharaui men singing in the camps).

When *Sahraui* was launched in 1998, the band El Ualy had practically dissolved. The Saharaui Minister of Culture replaced it with a trio of female voices and tbal called *Estrella Polisaria*. This band played in music festivals in different countries such as Italy and Mexico. Thus, the Saharaui Minister of Culture replaced the two generations of musicians participating in *El Ualy* by a younger generation of female voices representing the translocal musical culture in the camps. This makes it clear that Minister of Culture aimed to recreate how Saharaui music was performed in Western Sahara with the *lailas* before the Moroccan invasion in 1975 (see Chapter Two). As Patterson states, “transnational communities maintain strategic dialectical interplay between the old and new locations” (2006: 1891) and in this case, the Saharaui Minister of Culture aims to represent Saharaui musical culture through one band, at first El Ualy and later *Estrella Polisaria*. In the case of *Estrella Polisaria*, there is a reference to Western Saharan history and past through the representation of women singing and playing *tbal*. The recreation of the Saharaui musical culture of the past by way of *Estrella Polisaria* coheres with the concept of mimetic memory by using “practical knowledge of the past” (J. Olick & J. Robbins 1998: 111-12). On the other hand, the representation of Saharaui music in the western world through Nubenegra was different to the way the Saharaui Minister of Culture represented it through *Estrella Polisaria*. The Spanish record label was more interested in exposing Saharaui music as a form of communicative memory through their music and political values. As previously mentioned, I refer to communicative memory as the use of old forms of Saharaui poetry

and rhymes inherited from the past to communicate the national political messages of the present, rather than the use of imagery.

The agreement between the PF and Nubenegra to promote Saharai music fulfilled both parties' interests in attempting to: construct a national archive; gain global exposure of the Saharai translocal capital; and recording Saharai music. Further, the importance of transmitting the translocal capital through social memory as emphasised by the PF was essential in the publication of *Sahraui*. For that reason, in this album, Saharai musicians tried to keep the social and musical memory of home alive (in Western Sahara and in the refugee camps) so they recorded the most relevant traditional and revolutionary songs.⁶⁶

Nubenegra created what the PF expected from the record label by exposing Saharai music to the global market (music journals and international music performances) through the three albums. Both hubs promoting Saharai music demonstrated the compatibility of supporting translocal culture through a western record label. However, the social structures of communication between the Saharai musicians and their hubs mentioned above were different. The PF, as an institutional hub required their musicians to be committed to nationalism and Nubenegra, as a human hub was more concerned with the musical value of Saharai music and its potential for commercialisation in the global market.

This section has demonstrated how Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra becomes an important element of the transnational representation of the PF (as an institutional hub) and for Nubenegra's exposure of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra within the music industry (as a human hub). For Kiwan and Meinhof, one of the important elements of transnational music is how the hubs contribute to the promotion of a

⁶⁶ In this thesis, I did not include a study on the economic income to the PF, Nubenegra or the musicians. That is because I followed Kiwan and Meinhof's interest in the cultural capital rather than the economic. However, I would like to mention that from 1998 to 2004, the income for the musical performances and copyrights went first equally to Nubenegra and the PF (50% income each). However, after the Saharai musicians complained that the PF did not provide any instruments to local musicians, Nubenegra started to give the money to the musicians and not to the PF. This economic negotiation ended in 2005 when there were enough Saharai musicians residing in Spain and Nubenegra did not need to make formal agreements with the PF.

transnational musician and how his/her music circulates between “the South and the North” (2011: 4). However, the authors have not paid attention to how the transnational musicians can be used for the promotion of the hubs. In this thesis, Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra is also a cultural and musical representation of the hubs mentioned. For instance, Nubenegra decides how Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra is promoted in the global market because, according to Dominguez, the record label’s reputation is also represented through Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra (interview, 15-12-2011).

In order to promote the Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra, the record label created a Saharaui band called *Leyoad*. The decision to create this transnational band was motivated by the recognition of Saharaui music by various *World Music* magazines such as: *Songlines* (J. Winn, 1998: 54); *Folkroots* (http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/reviews_index/revs_ind_1.html); or *World Music Charts Europe* (<http://www.wmce.de/>) in 1998.⁶⁷ During that time, Nubenegra realised that due to the recognition of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra in certain *World Music* magazines, there was a necessity to create a Saharaui band in order to promote such albums through international musical performances.

Nubenegra’s promotion of *Leyoad*: Selection and possibilities of creating a Saharaui band to promote the trilogy *Sahraui*, from translocal to transcultural

This section will examine the transition of *Leyoad* from a group with no regular members in 1998 to a consolidated band in 2004. The final formation of *Leyoad* depended on musicians’ visa permits. For that reason, the Saharaui musicians who recorded with Nubenegra and settled in Spain influenced Nubenegra’s choice of performers for *Leyoad*. It also meant that *Leyoad* was a band that was more reliant on diplomacy than on translocal merits. Thus, this section examines another negotiation between Nubenegra and the PF: to promote Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra in

⁶⁷ Information found in (<http://www.giftmusic.de/1991--2000/1998/index.html>). Due to the chronological order of this chapter, I have decided not to include the album *Medej* (2004) in the main text. *Medej* are religious songs and this album was recorded in Axis studio in Madrid as an historical archive, with the same purpose as the trilogy album *Sahraui*. However, *A pesar de las heridas* and *Sahara tierra mia* were recorded in a portable studio in the camps. The rest of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra had western musical arrangements or, in other cases, did not have historical purposes.

the western world. This negotiation implies the first dissemination of Saharai music, composed in the camps, by a new negotiation between Nubenegra and *Leyoad*. In other words, there is a social and musical break between the transnational music from the camps and the global representation of Saharai music through *Leyoad*. However, this section only focusses on the social contextualisation of *Leyoad* in Spain and the difficulties of bringing a Saharai transnational band from the camps to perform in Europe.

The intention of Nubenegra in respect of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra was to export a band of musicians from the refugee camps in order to inform western audiences about the Saharais and their music. For that reason, Nubenegra created a conglomerate of musicians from all the participants in their previous recordings in the camps. *Leyoad* was formed by Nubenegra, not in consideration of local artists and their musical skills, but rather a selection of musicians who were able to obtain travel permits and whose family duties made it possible. The regular musicians that came on tour to Europe with *Leyoad* were: Nayim Alal and Fekou on guitars, Mariem Hassan, Sweta, Jeirana, Faknash and Aziza as vocalists and on *tbal*. The musicians participating on these tours returned to the refugee camps after the concerts were completed (Manuel Dominguez interview 3-06-2011).

Following Hutchinson's observations on transnational music and migration, which is that, "transnational music should take a more nuanced view of migration, taking into account such factors as temporal difference, or length of residence, and locational difference, or micro-level places of origin and settlement" (2006:65), the representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra through *Leyoad* provided two main reasons for travelling to Europe. These were visa permits (diplomatic) and a limited interaction with the music industry mainly through the *World Music* scene (commercial). In the case of Saharai musicians touring in Europe, the social condition of being refugees presented various problems when they applied for visas.

Madrid, 25 de mayo de 1998

La Delegación Saharaui en España CERTIFICA que las siguientes personas son autores y compositores saharauis y se encuentran actualmente viviendo en los campamentos de refugiados saharauis en la zona de Tinduf

Sr. NAYIM ALAI.
 Sr. HAFED MAHAYUB
 Sr. MAHMUD BARA
 Sta. AZIZA BRAHIM

Este grupo forma parte de los casi 300.000 saharauis refugiados desde hace más de 23 años en la zona de Tinduf.

Atentamente,

Abdulah Ahmed
 Delegado Saharaui en la CAM



Leyoad

Figure 8. Permission by the Saharaui delegation in Spain to bring four musicians from the camps to play with *Leyoad* in Europe (courtesy of Nubenegra).

In general, *Leyoad* encountered many diplomatic difficulties on tour in Europe. For instance, Saharauis living in the camps, due to their Algerian passports and refugee status, have not been able to tour the USA despite the commercial demand they have had in North America.⁶⁸ In addition, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the United States considers the PF a possible terrorist threat. Due to their refugee status, when *Leyoad* played in Arab countries (although it has been rare to play in Arab countries because RASD are not part of the Arab League), the organisers of the events requested from Nubenegra the lyrics of the songs to be performed. This was the case when Mariem Hassan was contracted to perform in the first “World of Music, Arts and Dance”

⁶⁸ According to Dominguez, the idea of touring in USA is not viable with Algerian passports and being Saharaui refugees, especially after the terrorist attack of 9/11 in 2001 (Manuel Dominguez interview, 17-12-2012).

(WOMAD) festival ever organised in Dubai on April 25, 2009. Due to its political content, the song *Intifada* was prohibited by the censorship committee of that country (Track 1). In the end, one week before the concert, WOMAD called Nubenegra to communicate they had decided to cancel Hassan's performance in Dubai (Manuel Dominguez interview, 17-12-2012).⁶⁹ This point is consistent with Reitov and Korpe who note that "music censorship is one important factor in the complex landscape of factors that hinders the development of music and the music industry in Africa" (2004: 71). Western Sahara, as an African country in the process of decolonisation, is a political and social target for censorship in many Arab and western countries. Thus, the censorship of Saharai music in certain countries impedes broader commercialisation and distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Since forming a regular Saharai band to perform the albums recorded by Nubenegra depended on visa permits and censorship policies, Dominguez selected a group of Saharai musicians residing in Spain to represent *Leyoad* in 2004. Thus Nubenegra avoided having to apply for visa permits to bring musicians from the camps to Spain and put an end to the negotiations with the PF. The Saharai musicians residing at that time in Spain were: Hassan, Salama, Boika and Fatata. Other musicians coming from the camps such as Feku, Aziza, Ibrahim or Sweta sometimes collaborated with the regular musicians mentioned above. At this stage, *Leyoad* only depended on Nubenegra (as a human hub).

In the next section, there is an examination of the first musical negotiations between Nubenegra and *Leyoad* to construct musical performances directed to western audiences. In the process of this dissemination, Saharai music passes from being translocal to transcultural because there are Saharai musicians contributing to the promotion of their musical culture overseas. In other words, the circulation of Saharai music not only moves between two locations [the camps and Spain] but is adapted

⁶⁹ It is interesting that even in 2010 while I worked in Doha (Qatar) and met journalists from the Al Jazeera English channel, most of them were ignorant about the conflict of Western Sahara, and by extension also ignorant about Saharai music. In addition, I have been in seven different African countries doing musical research and every time I mention Western Sahara, people are not conscious of this country.

differently in each spatial hub.

The dissemination of Saharai music during *Leyoad*'s performances by Nubenegra and in the recording studio by western producers

In this section, there is an analysis of two types of dissemination: live performances and recordings produced in the studio with *Leyoad*. The production in the studio is related to the social structure of communication between western producers and Saharai musicians. The dissemination during live performances refers to the social interaction between Saharai musicians and Manuel Dominguez during rehearsals. Therefore, the different points of view of Saharai musicians, Nubenegra and western producers towards Saharai music produced a new type of Saharai music different to the music made in the camps. In reference to the different points of view that create the conditions for dissemination in music, Rasmussen states that:

Local culture and memory are recalled differently by performers, promoters, and others involved in the musical production. Different versions of culture and memory are powerfully asserted (2005:796).

The first dissemination in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra appeared when the producers from the trilogy *Sahraui* [Luis Delgado and Alberto Gambino] included musical collaborations in these albums. Delgado and Gambino introduced new musical arrangements to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra during the pre-production of *A pesar de las heridas* and *Sahara tierra mia*. This type of “dissemination in the studio” did not affect the form in which Saharai musicians recorded in the portable studio in the camps; but disseminated the final result of these albums.

As mentioned earlier, Delgado and Gambino travelled with Dominguez to the first recording sessions in the camps with portable studios in January 1998. From 1998 to 2003, they collaborated with Nubenegra as part of the creative process in Saharai music. For instance, Luis Delgado introduced musical backgrounds with e-bows played on electric guitars in the album, *A pesar de las heridas*, in the songs “resisting” (Track 7 in this album) and “the grave” (Track 10 in this album). Delgado's entry into Saharai music coheres with Guilbault who says that “the parallels between syncretism and mixture are predominant in *World Music*” (1997: 35). In any case, Delgado was

respectful with the Saharai sound found in the camps and his goal was to produce the sound of Saharai music in its refugee context. He only incorporated new western sounds (ebows on electric guitar) in the background but never as leading instruments in Saharai music. Luis Delgado is a westerner who introduces new sounds into Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra although respecting the leading sound of the Saharai musicians. Musical arrangements provided by Luis Delgado, as a western producer in Saharai music, contributes to the dissemination of the music from the camps and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. The transition of transnational musicians to its dissemination is induced by western facilitators, in this case by the music producers in Madrid. Thus, the dissemination of Saharai music by Nubenegra as a human hub portrays the use of power structure between the record label and Saharai musicians. Further, Nubenegra is able to modify and disseminate Saharai music in order to commercialise it in the west.

Dominguez described Saharai music to a certain extent as being a conducted commodification produced in the *World Music* market (interview, 17-12-2012). He had to negotiate a new musical product with Saharai musicians in order that Saharai music could be appreciated, as a global *World Music* product by western and global audiences. He produced a different product from the music he had heard in the refugee camps. Live performances by *Leyoad* attempted to reflect a musical attitude similar to Saharai music played in the camps, but with certain changes such as the duration of the songs. Thus, Saharai musicians gradually started to have two different perceptions: that of local audiences in the camps and the international public while touring with *Leyoad*.

In fact, the band *Leyoad* was created when transnational Saharai musicians came from the camps to tour in Europe. *Leyoad* made new musical arrangements in their most popular songs during international tours from 1998 to 2004. As mentioned before, chord progressions were used in international tours to make a distinctive *Haul* sound. In addition, the international experience of Saharai transnational musicians contributed to exploring new forms of performing their songs, as an attempt to catch the attention of both audiences: translocal and international. Thus, Nubenegra (as a human hub)

motivated *Leyoad* to work towards an innovative product that was different to the music in the camps.

The musical negotiation between transnational Saharaui musicians and Nubenegra always took place in Nubenegra's rehearsing room in Spain (spatial hub).⁷⁰ The opportunity to rehearse in Madrid and perform live internationally through Nubenegra made *Leyoad* a serious and consolidated band in the *World Music* market. Presently, transnational Saharaui music is not only sustained by its local audiences but through the music industry and its international public. As a result, music is "reproduced, maintained and imagined" (V. Erlmann, 1998:13) by new musical aesthetics influenced by a record label and the music industry. Thus, in the studio, the musical and poetic forms of a musical product tend to be controlled and maintained by the record label and not by the musicians. This situation resonates with Meintjes' experience among producers and *mbaqanga* musicians in a studio in Johannesburg (2003: 260). In the case of Nubenegra, the main aim was to disseminate Saharaui music from the camps in order to promote *Leyoad* in the *World Music* industry.



Figure 9. *Leyoad*

http://www.sommer-andreas.de/Jazz_Moers/jazz_moers.html

The musical changes in *Leyoad* for the adaption of their repertoire to the *World Music* industry suggest three main aspects: "modernity, authenticity and heritage" (J. H. Shannon, 2006: 20). Regarding modernity, influences coming from other cosmopolitan musical styles such as reggae and blues were part of the new songs composed by *Leyoad*. I refer to cosmopolitan music as certain styles such as jazz, rock, or blues that,

⁷⁰ There is a rehearsal room in Nubenegra's office in Madrid.

despite their origins, are adopted and played differently worldwide. For instance, the song *Wadna* (Track 9) is a reggae style in *entamas* mode, denoting the crossover of local (*Haul*) and cosmopolitan (reggae) styles in *Leyoad*.

In my view, the influence of cosmopolitan blues in Saharai music attracts the international audiences.⁷¹ As Turino states, “both cosmopolitanism and globalisation are universalising discourses” because both imply free-trade (2003: 62). Following this observation, it appears that the introduction of cosmopolitan musical styles as reggae, blues, or funk to Saharai music is not only a musical experiment, but rather, there is a clear objective from both parties [Nubenegra and Saharai musicians] to commercialise Saharai music in the global market as a hybrid musical product.

Leyoad formed a new kind of musical identification based on cosmopolitan music, music technology, and the *Haul* musical system (as heritage). The combination of those elements emerged as the encounter of Saharai transnational musicians coming from the camps with the experience of being in Spain; and touring internationally with *Leyoad*. In reference to the combination of tradition and modernity in transnational merengue music, Hutchinson observes that:

Transnational ambivalence is evident not only in the music itself but also in the discourse surrounding merengue tipico, in which the interaction of competing value systems is expressed as a conflict between “tradition” and “modernity” (2006:58).

Regarding Hutchinson’s observations on tradition and modernity in transnational music, the record label never interceded in the duration of songs while *Leyoad* performed in the refugee camps. Nevertheless, Nubenegra insisted that the cultural and musical codes are different within the Saharai translocal community in the camps to the cosmopolitan commercial values conceived by the music industry. For instance, Saharai music performed in the camps is to present national pride as a political and cultural value. On the other hand, according to Hassan, for Saharai musicians, the music industry is a

⁷¹ This point alludes to Dominguez’s first interest in Saharai music and its American blues comparison.

vehicle of awareness towards their culture and the conflict of Western Sahara (interview, 1-12-2011).

Saharaui musicians are the primary keepers of their ideology and cultural values in a global context. This includes certain musical arrangements that Nubenegra found appropriate in order to make the Saharaui musical experience more appealing to western audiences, thus creating a commodified or adapted musical product in the global market. Therefore, one could argue that the commodification of Saharaui music by Nubenegra was destined to be an adaptation of Saharaui music from the camps and performed in the west. However, rather than viewing Saharaui music as an adaptation produced by Nubenegra, I argue that in fact Nubenegra disseminated and commodified Saharaui music through the creation of the band *Leyoad*.

The album “*Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*” (2002): The first commodified product of Saharaui music

In this section, there is an examination of the commodification of *Leyoad* by way of the album, *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*, released in 2002.⁷² This album uses popular songs such as: *wajadu*, *bismi Allah*, *ya Arabia* or *nabi ana* composed in the camps but rearranged by Nubenegra. The album is the result of *Leyoad*'s musical arrangements recorded with Nubenegra in Axis from 1999 to 2001. *Leyoad*, as a conglomerate of Saharaui musicians chosen by Nubenegra to perform in Europe, consisted of a considerable number of Saharaui musicians in the different recording sessions for the album, *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*.⁷³

In other words, the dissemination of Saharaui music from the camps through Nubenegra was materialised in the album, *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*; consequently producing a commodified product of this music. The main problem with these recording sessions was that the duration of each song was approximately eight minutes. Nubenegra thought

⁷² This album was the last collaboration with the Saharaui Minister of Culture in terms of bringing the musicians from the camps to Madrid for the recording sessions in Axis studio.

⁷³ The Saharaui musicians collaborating in the album “*Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*” are: Sweta, Bouba Han, Ferraha, Fatata, Toufa, Baba Salama, Nayim Alal, Feku Embare, Jaliheha and Hababa Mahmud. This album was released in collaboration with the Saharaui Ministry of Culture (Manuel Dominguez interview, 13-06-2011).

the duration was permissible for international musical performances, but for the recording, Dominguez did not want songs of more than five minutes long.

Regarding the duration of songs and other types of musical arrangements, Baily states that often “transnational musicians never come up with anything new because they are trying to keep the memory of home alive” (2005: 217). Following Baily’s statement, Saharai musicians played songs in the same way as in the camps during musical performances in the west [or as after the production process]. However, Nubenegra insisted on making every song shorter than in the camp thus, adapting the duration of songs into Nubenegra’s canon of musical production. On this point, I agree with Taylor when he says that the musical negotiation between a non-western artist and a western record label is not only based on musical conflicts but on a cultural, historical and social misunderstanding during the process of musical creativity (2007: 5).

Taylor also makes reference to ideologies and appropriations of non-western music by record labels and the global market as a form of domination and exploitation, colonialism, imperialism and what we now call globalisation (*ibid*: 1). In accordance with Taylor’s views, musical innovation in Saharai music instigated by Nubenegra can be examined as a form of western domination; or as a musical negotiation with mutual agreements by both parties (Saharai musicians and Nubenegra). For instance, negotiations regarding the duration of the songs and their sound were discussed by the producer Alberto Gambino, Nubenegra, and Saharai musicians involved in this album. After the recording session with Saharai musicians, there were collaborations with the drummer, Alex Ikot, David Owono on the bass and Alberto Gambino on keyboards and accordion.

The recording of the album, *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*, is different to what the Saharai band *Leyoad* played during live performances (either in the camps or in Europe). The commodification of Saharai music because of western musical influences was visible in the album, *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*. This point makes reference to Erlmann’s studies on musical aesthetics imposed by the western markets:

Almost 200 years ago, Immanuel Kant developed the notion of the aesthetic community: a community that forms and undoes itself on the basis of taste....[T]he basis for such communities lies in subjective tastes and in divergent notions of what is beautiful, aesthetic communities can never reach a status of stability and permanence....[A]esthetics become the ethics of modern human existence (1998:12).

In my view, and in another context, Erlmann questions the acceptance of Saharai musicians in reference to the new musical aesthetics determined by Nubenegra's commodification of the music. The acceptance of this musical negotiation implies ideological and economic interests by both parties such as the wide exposure of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra albums in the global market. This musical negotiation during recording sessions for the recording of *Mariam Hassan and Leyoad* is what Meintjes defines as mediation.

Mediation is a process that connects and translates disparate worlds, people, imaginations, values and ideas, whether in its symbolic, social, or technological form (2003: 8).

Mediation defines the musical negotiation between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra in the studio; however, mediation in Meintjes' understanding is not applied to live performances. *Leyoad's* recordings are a commodification of Saharai music through a mediation process with Nubenegra. On the other hand, the band's live performances in Europe are a musical dissemination from the translocal music in the camps. In any case, my research on *Leyoad* is not experiential but based on data provided by my interviews of Dominguez as relating to the creation of *Leyoad*. For that reason, a further discussion about mediation will be part of Chapter Six during my participation and observation as composer and guitarist of Hassan's album, *El Aaiun egdat*.

In this section, one can observe that the social structure of communication between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra is explicit in musical performances or recording sessions. Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is destined to satisfy western audiences through the musical commodification of translocal Saharai music. This type of interaction, in which Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra adopts the canon of musical production virtually imposed by the global market so that Saharai music

composed in the camps finds articulation in the west, coheres with Bourdieu's concept of participant-objectivation when he says that: "it is not the lived experience of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility" (2003: 282). In other words, Saharai music composed in the camps is subjected to new creative musical arrangements when it is manipulated by Nubenegra, and later observed and defined by the global market as Saharai music. Thus, the global market observes the commodification of Saharai music by Nubenegra as the social and commercial condition of possibility.

Nayim Alal and its commodification of Saharai music through Alberto Gambino: The first attempt to create a Saharai solo artist

The relationship between Alberto Gambino, a western music producer, and Nayim Alal produced another type of commodification Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra that differs from the album *Mariam Hassan and Leyoad*. This refers to the album "Nayim Alal: *Nar*" (2003) and to Alal's songs in the compilation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra entitled, *Sahara, tierra mia* (1998), published by Nubenegra. Further, in this section, there is an introduction to Nubenegra's views on Nayim Alal as a solo artist and how he became part of Nubenegra's canon of musical production. This section demonstrates that Alal's music is primarily modified by the music producer.

For Nubenegra, Alal was meant to be the new representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market. Alal comes from a family of poets and musicians in the camps.⁷⁴ He was the only songwriter among all the Saharai artists in Nubenegra. It means that he was able to compose his own songs and to sing them. Apart from his musical and poetic skills to compose songs, he is a talented guitarist; therefore, everything pointed towards his success. However, two misfortunes affected Alal's musical success. The first misfortune was the interaction with Alberto Gambino and his obsession to mimic, in certain ways, pop, and hip-hop. As Adileh states, "sometimes Arabic music is overwhelmed by imported western technology" (2011: 151). Adileh continues by saying that "the special culture nature of any society is influenced as a result of its interaction and contact with other cultural attitudes" (2011: 153).

⁷⁴ Nayim's brothers, Zaim and Lamin, have been part of many songs composed for promoting the Saharai nationalism such as *Shouka* in Mariem Hassan's album of the same name (2010).

Following Adileh's statements, Alal's music was not only commodified by adding new musical arrangements to his songs but also through the use of electronic sounds.

Gambino, as the music producer in Alal's album *Nar*, had Nubenegra's permission to produce Alal's album and to incorporate new sounds into his music. Thus, Nubenegra, as a human hub, approved the manipulation of Alal's music by Gambino. The result of Alal's album was that it did not sound like Saharawi music because of the amount of new sounds and music arrangements added by Gambino. This point is consistent with Kiwan and Meinof's concept of "ethnic card" (2011: 8), where ethnic card is defined as the transnational musician that releases a hybrid musical product motivated by a music producer that manipulates his/her music in search of a new cosmopolitan music (*ibid*). Thus, Gambino's canon of musical production was not based on the social and musical understanding of Alal's music.

The second misfortune was his deportation back to the camps in 2004 when he was caught by the Spanish police with illegal documents (Manuel Dominguez interview, 13-06-2011). Given the complex reality of Alal as a refugee and World *Music* artist residing in Spain, there was a continuous risk of being deported to the refugee camps. In fact, this describes the elements of social risk, and complex reality that refugee artists face, when they live in the west. As Den Tandt states:

The interlocking grid of communication technologies, cultural capital, consumer culture more generally, and ongoing inequality and marginalisation make for increasingly complex relationships between the local and the global (2002: 96)

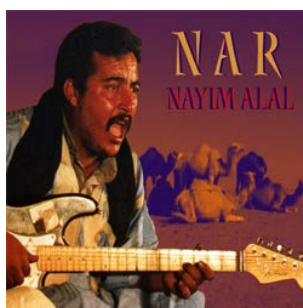


Figure 10. "Nayim Alal: *Nar*" (album).

www.nubenegra.com



Figure 11. Nayim Alal.

www.nubenegra.com

In Nayim Alal's musical commodification in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, there is a sense of innovation in his compositions in comparison with *El Ualy* or with the compilation *A pesar de las heridas*. Previous recordings of *A pesar de las heridas* were more focussed on traditional sounds of the voices, *tbals* and guitars. On the other hand, in the compilation *Sahara tierra mia*, in Alal's song, one can hear a guitar sound which is more sophisticated than previous recordings. An example of his innovation in Saharai guitar is in the song *Viva el Polisario* (Track 10). In addition, he recorded other acoustic songs in the album *Sahara tierra mia* such as *El Profeta*. These songs [*Viva el Pollisario* and *El Profeta*] are only accompanied by guitar, *tbal*, hand - claps and backing vocals. Thus, these songs offer a type of communication between the producer and Alal based on the musical arrangements composed by the Saharai artist.

On the other hand, the introduction of keyboards and accordion reinforcing chord progressions in *Sahara, tierra mia* or brass sections in *Plegaria* are negotiated by Alberto Gambino [as the producer of Alal's songs]. This point refers to Meintjes' idea of innovation (2003: 8). Innovation is encountered in the musical negotiation between traditional Saharai music and global-pop through the music producer, Alberto Gambino. As a result, in Alal's first appearance in *Sahara tierra mia*, one encounters a high content of western musical production in contrast to traditional sounds such as the *tbal*. This point coheres with Meintjes' views on musical production in South Africa where "commodified traditional music is significant to various fractions vying for political voice and socioeconomic control" (2003: 10). For instance, Alal's music is commodified by a socioeconomic control of music producers supported by Nubenegra's goal to introduce Saharai music in the global market.

Alberto Gambino, as Alal's music producer in the compilation *Sahara tierra mia*, introduced non-Saharaui instruments and keyboards in his music. Such interaction between Alberto and Alal led to the introduction of the Saharaui artist into global-pop rather than to reinforce Alal's distinctive translocal sound. Gambino had a fixation with introducing popular influences such as rock and hip hop in Alal's songs. Such musical interaction between them provoked professional misunderstandings with Nubenegra. In my view, Gambino could have enhanced or embraced Alal's musical skills rather than introducing popular musical elements such as keyboards or sound effects such as chorus, delays or reverb. As Meintjes observes, some music producers are "firmly engaged with the aesthetics and industrial issues carried in recorded sounds around the globe" (2003: 129), and thus, as is the case with Gambino, they are not entirely focussed on the appreciation of Saharaui music.

In terms of musical innovation, in Alal's songs from the album *Sahara tierra mia*, there are songs digitally over-produced with the use of drum kit sections, keyboards and synthetic sounds. For instance, the song *Nostalgia* does not reflect his transnational music culture in the camps. The excess of musical production in his songs shows that the musical negotiation with the producer Alberto Gambino was focussed on commercial, musical textures rather than on Saharaui music (Manuel Dominguez interview, 3-06-2011). As Adileh observes regarding innovation, many musicians learn through orality whereas "technology depends on the innovations of technology, mainly as told to revive music" (2011: 155).

Further, Adileh affirms that many times innovation is interested in the commodification and commercial value of the product rather than "looking into the real value of the published musical and artistic work" (*ibid*: 156). Followed by Adileh's view on commodified Arabic music, Alal's first solo album, *Nar* (2003), is even more digitally over-produced than previous songs released in the compilation, *Sahara tierra mia*. The negotiation of sounds is highly influenced by Alberto Gambino. *Nar* is the album that dissociates the most from the initial idea of the PF and Nubenegra by attempting to capture the music played in the camps.

As Payr and Trappl states that “culture entails norms and values: values are evaluations about what is good and bad; norms are obligations that rule the relationships among people in a group” (2004: 78). In reference to the attempt to portray the interaction between Alal and Gambino, in *Nar*, these norms and values are powerfully negotiated between both agents in search of a global pop sound.

The album *Nar* starts with a reggae song called *Safar* (the trip) with an interlude in which Alal raps. In this song, there is also an arabesque section before concluding the song with reggae beats and wind sections. On the other hand, *Safar* is a song that, in terms of lyrics, reminds one of Bedouin life:

The trip is a symbol of your whole life, a trip with good and bad moments,
A trip in which you will be judged.

Nar is an album with more personal than political lyrics. There are only four songs of the eleven songs that are dedicated to the Saharai nation, RASD. Those songs are *Nar*, *El Ziara*, *Id Alia* and *Hobbi*.

Nar (Track 11)

25 years longing for peace, 25 years bearing the exile, what else do we have to endure?

El Ziara (Track 12)

The voices of our beautiful women turn 20th of May into a real triumph.

Id Alia (Track 13)

Commemoration of 20th of May, the revolution day of the Saharai people.

Hobbi (Track 14)

Sahara I belong to you with all that I am, loving you more than anything else.

The rest of the songs in this album have cultural connotations such as *El shaama* (the mole), a traditional sign of beauty in Saharai women. *Salatu Arabi* is about the desire of making peace by praying to God. *E Mariem* is a song to a sweet little girl growing up in the camps. According to Dominguez, cultural values and daily life in the camps are the main features of Alal's second album released by Nubenegra (interview, 13-06-2011). Alal's lyrics in his album *Nar* are a form of showing how the artist finds himself with his transnational society in the camps. It includes his political messages in favour

of Saharai independence such as the song *Id Alia*. In this album, Baba Salama participated as guitarist and arranger with Alberto Gambino. One can see how Salama and Alal insisted on chord progressions throughout the album. Both guitarists had a great musical connection that did not last long as Alal was deported back to the camps in 2003; and Baba Salama died in Salamanca (Spain) in 2005 while producing Hassan's album, *Deseos (ibid)*.

Alal's contribution to transnational Saharai music has been of great importance for future generations. I have friends in the United States who know about him, where he is called the "Saharai Hendrix". His musical skills have reached international fame in the *World Music* scene. Nevertheless, when he was deported back to the camps, the possibilities of success in the western world as an artist failed.

According to Gell, a non-western musician with exposure in the global market depends on one's possibilities to travel abroad and one's social conditions (1998: 1). In this case, Alal's social situation as an illegal immigrant in Spain led to his deportation from Spain. The probabilities of him succeeding in the music industry also depended on producers and promoters. As Meintjes states, "in the music industry, music producers are critical gatekeepers into commodity production because they are institutionally positioned to negotiate between labourers (musicians) and management (the record companies), and between aesthetics and market concerns" (2003: 258). Music producers were crucial in Alal's music because they had the permission of Nubenegra to negotiate between traditional Saharai music (unknown and not studied by these producers) and global sounds that can contribute to the dissemination of his music composed in the camps. In my view, if he did not have a western influence in his music, he could have exploited his virtuosity on the guitar and in his voice.

This point refers to Meintjes' views on musical timbre as a form of analysing the music according to the production of sound during studio sessions. In Meintjes's study of mbaqanga music recorded in the studio, Meintjes quotes a *mbaqanga* musician who said, "if you take that guitar out, it is no longer a local sound and people will easily pick that up" (2003: 157). To a certain extent, musical negotiation for the guitar sound was essential for Alal during his recording sessions, but never considered such by Alberto

Gambino. Therefore, the social structure of communication between the musician and producer tends to be based on the domination of the person who acknowledges music technology and the process of production.

In musical terms Alal is acclaimed by Manuel Dominguez and other colleagues in the *World Music* industry as a great composer, singer and guitarist. In addition, he had a social and political identity as a Saharai, which attracted the international community interested in his translocal musical culture. However, the impossibility of obtaining visa permits and the limitation of the *World Music* scene made Alal another victim of the music industry. In any case, this study is limited to the time he was part of Nubenegra, from 1998 to 2004, when he was deported back to the camps (Manuel Dominguez interview, 13-06-2011).

With regard to the transnational habitus of Nayim Alal, one can observe that there are three types of social structures of communication: Alal as an illegal citizen in Spain; his relationship with a western music producer, Alberto Gambino; and his commodified songs released by Nubenegra; and, as a result, his reputation as an artist in the global market. Alal's habitus in Spain coheres with Bourdieu's view that "habitus depends on the location, national traditions, habits of thought, its mandatory problematic, shared beliefs and commonplaces, its rituals and values" (2003: 283). Thus, as an individual residing in Spain, he was exposed to immigration laws in two different aspects: offering the transcultural capital of Saharai music in the west; or being deported back to the camps because of diplomatic issues between Western Sahara and Spain.

Another type of Saharai musical commodification through western agents: Hugo Westerdahl's remixes of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (2007) and Mariem Hassan's collaboration in the album *Hechizo de babilonia* by Luis Delgado (2000)

In this section, I analyse two main Spanish figures in the construction of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra: Luis Delgado and Hugo Westerdahl. Their involvement has not only been in the recordings of Saharai music but includes Saharai musicians collaborating on their own albums. For that reason I show examples of Saharai musicians collaborating on two albums published by Nubenegra: *Western Sahara*

remixes by Hugo Westerdahl in 2007; and *El Hechizo de Babilonia* by Luis Delgado in 1998. These albums show the interaction and negotiation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in a different way to the music previously analysed. In this case, the Spanish composers demonstrate that there are different forms of musical and social interaction with Saharai artists. Therefore, the Spanish composers do not only participate in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra as producers and by composing musical arrangements; they also include Saharai artists in their solo albums. This section analyses how Nubenegra as a human hub does not only promote Saharai music but it also contracts Saharai musicians to collaborate with Spanish composers.

Hugo Westerdahl is the only person involved with the eleven albums of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. His involvement has been mainly as a sound engineer, studio musician and assistant producer in his recording studio, Axis. In addition, most of the recordings distributed by Nubenegra were recorded and produced by Axis. The main artists promoted by the Spanish label that recorded in the Axis studio were Seydu, Bidinte, Hijas del sol, Rasha and Luis Delgado. As a sound engineer, Westerdahl, has been essential in the construction of Nubenegra's musical identity. This point is consistent with Meintjes' observations that engineers "contribute to aesthetics and symbolic values of the sound they [musicians] produce" (2003: 97).

Regarding the use of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, a distinctive part has been the album *Western Sahara remixes* by Westerdahl for the documentaries *La puerta del Sahara* trans. "The gate of the Sahara" (S. Alvarado, 2007). In the musical production for this documentary, Westerdahl was asked by Alvarado (see bibliography) to compose an album using Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by incorporating new acoustic and electronic sounds.



Figure 12. Hugo Westerdahl on the right.

<http://actresslibrary.blogspot.com.es/2011/07/western-sahara-hugo-westerdahl-and.html>
 In Westerdahl's album, there are remixes of people such as: Mariem Hassan and Hababa on vocals; Alberto Gambino (accordion, keyboards and acoustic guitar); Nayim Alal (guitar and vocals) or Liman Boicha and Braidina Ahmed on backing vocals who were involved in previous recordings. There are also collaborations with Josete Ordoñez on flamenco guitar, Patxi Pascual (nei, flutes, Turkish clarinet, and tenor and soprano sax), Pablo Salinas (Hammond and fender Rhodes piano) and David Owono (bass). Westerdahl's instrumentation for this album is of innumerable different instruments: electric guitar and synthesiser, fretless bass, baritone guitar, coral electric sitar, twelve-string guitar, keyboards and programming. Adileh mentions that there is a general discussion in ethnomusicology about the issue of remixing and reharmonising traditional songs. For instance, Adileh questions whether technology threatens "the local culture in the process of artistic innovation" (2011: 147). In my view, Westerdahl's album clearly mentions that it is a remix of Saharai songs, therefore, remixing in this context, is another artistic and creative genre.

As Westerdahl says on the album liner notes, "there are two things that make this album possible: the sources and the opportunity" (2007). The sources were provided by all the Saharai albums recorded by Nubenegra in Axis. The opportunity for Westerdahl to compose this album was provided by the film director, Susy Alvarado, who offered him an opportunity to compose the soundtrack for the documentary, *La puerta del Sahara* (2007). This album involved the deconstruction and manipulation of Saharai music by Westerdahl. These types of remixes were defined by Westerdahl as 'new age', 'chilled out', or 'ambient', among others. From the composer's point of view, this album was

also perceived as a reflection of Saharai music remodelled by modern technology (Hugo Westerdahl interview, 25-06-2012).

For Westerdahl, the manipulation and deconstruction of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by using different forms of music technology is also a recognised form of composing music globally; and it does not only involve the business models in the *World Music* industry where Nubenegra promotes Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For instance, Westerdahl's album was primarily composed for the soundtrack of Alvarado's documentary, *La puerta del Sahara* (2007). Later, the publication of Westerdahl's album was suggested by Nubenegra as a form of introducing a new album Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the *World Music* industry.

Music creativity was divided into three categories in Westerdahl's remixes. The first remixes were personal versions in which he worked freely; retouching, arranging and reconstructing Saharai songs such as the remixes on *El magil*, *Yasar geidu*, *Bleida* or *La tumchu anni*, *El Wejda* and *Sahara neb gija* recorded with Nubenegra. The second set of songs in this album consisted of new compositions based on Saharai rhythms and melodies. Songs like *Mawal chill out* (Track 16) or *Sahara on my mind* (Track 17) were part of this section. The third category was ambient songs or soundscapes such as *Recuerdos* (Track 18). In these songs, there are voices of poets reciting, *agarits* (ululations) from women, or simple conversations in the camps recorded by Dominguez.

The negotiation and decisions in this album were based on Saharai songs and the use of instruments and technology. For instance, *La tumchu anni*, recorded in Mariem Hassan's *Deseos* (2005), was an irregular 12-bar American blues but through his remixes, Westerdahl constructed it as regular blues. This composition was provided by the elaboration and necessity of technology to fix; and to change the chords in the song. Peter Manuel would refer to Westerdahl's remixes of Saharai music as an urban music subculture in a project based on the predominant use of music technology over traditional compositions (1995: 227). However, projects where music technology is

predominant should not be entirely associated with a subculture; but rather as a tool to compose or to remix.

According to Manuel Dominguez, Westerdahl's album was an interesting work in which the western composer provided a new timbre in Saharai music, especially regarding musical soundscapes or "ethnoscapes" (A. Appadurai, 1990: 297) (interview, 3-06-2011). Appadurai refers to ethnoscapes as "global flows of people and cultures inhabited by tourists, immigrants, refugees and other moving groups or persons" (1990: 297) in the west. In this case, Westerdahl would be a guestworker in Saharai music using his creativity and harmonic arrangements to make a new Saharai product for Nubenegra.

Dominguez refers to Westerdahl's album as another type of musical commodification of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra provided by Westerdahl's interaction with Saharai music and music technology. In particular, Westerdahl dedicates this album to the memory of Baba Salama, a Saharai musician and arranger who inspired new ways of looking at transnational Saharai musical expression. One song called Baba's song (Track 15) is a homage he made to Baba Salama. Westerdahl remembers the feeling he had when arranging songs with Salama who insisted on the use of new harmonies in traditional tunes. They shared common references to Jimi Hendrix, John Lee Hooker, B. B. King or Taj Mahal, among others as they were both influenced by international artists.

As Burnett states, "it is especially important to remember that popular music has developed as a commodity which is produced, distributed and consumed under market conditions" (1996: 3) and not as a social culture. In this case, the American artists mentioned above became a point of reference for them, not as a commodity but as a social and musical reference. In general, Westerdahl's album, *Western Sahara remixes* demonstrates that Dominguez is interested in exploring different types of musical canons of musical production in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra with non-Saharai musicians or composers.

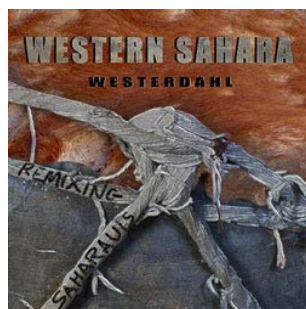


Figure 13. Hugo Wester Dahl: Western Sahara remixes (album).

www.nubenegra.com

With regard to Luis Delgado, the Spanish composer offered another type of commodification of Saharai music. He contracted Mariem Hassan as a collaborator on his album *El hechizo de Babilonia* (Nubenegra, 2000).⁷⁵ In this album, he focussed on composing music to accompany Arabic poems written by women in Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.



Figure 14. “Luis Delgado: El hechizo de Babilonia” (album).

www.nubenegra.com

Mariem Hassan collaborated on this album, singing in: *El hechizo de Babilonia*, and *El vergel ignorado* (both poems written by Hafsa Bint Al Havy Al- Rakunyya). In *Hechizo de Babilonia* (Track 19) and *El vergel ignorado* (Track 20), Mariem Hassan was part of the reconstruction of the historical Al-Andalus musical soundscape that Delgado attempted to rescue in this album. In addition, on this album Mariem Hassan played *tbal* in a song entitled *Tinmel*. This song is a reconstruction of a traditional Saharai dance

⁷⁵ Luis Delgado is a Spanish composer known internationally for his virtuosity and number of instruments used in his albums and concerts. His collection of ethnic instruments has led him to open up a Museum of Instruments in Ureña (a little village in the province of Valladolid, Spain). As mentioned earlier, he was one of the producers involved in the first recordings in the Saharai refugee camps with Manuel Dominguez and Alberto Gambino in 1997. He was the producer of the Saharai women’s album *A pesar de las heridas* in 1998.

called *charha* in the mode *fagu* (see Appendix 3). Further, Mariem Hassan plays the *tbal* in three songs mentioned above. Thus, her musical collaboration in this album was not only of historical dimensions but also of musical innovation by introducing the *tbal* to an imagined soundscape of Al-Andalus. This point insists on Appadurais's concept of "ethnoscape" (1990) as an imagined historical homeland created by Luis Delgado in which Mariem Hassan collaborates with her voice and *tbal*.

In conclusion, the musical commodification of Saharai music encountered by both Spanish artists [Luis Delgado and Hugo Westerdahl] is another approach to the transnational habitus of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. However, the social structures of communication of both artists towards Saharai music differ from each other in physical and virtual approaches. Westerdahl uses Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra as a tool to remix such music already recorded and, in my view, this is a virtual or technological approach to the music. On the other hand, Delgado uses Mariem Hassan to re-enact a musical ethnoscape of Arab poetesses in Al Andalus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In both cases, the interaction of Nubenegra (as a human hub) with Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra produces different types of commodification, in this case, by the interaction of Spanish composers with Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in different ways.



Figure 15. Luis Delgado.

http://www.eljardindellibro.com/autores/_luis_delgado.php

Nubenegra as the main agent for the dissemination, commodification in Saharai music: Possibilities and limitations of the record label to distribute and promote Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra

This section discusses the distribution Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market. Such distribution is the consequence of the dissemination and commodification of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Dominguez's views of the global market with respect to his virtual and physical promotion of Saharai music is used to analyse the distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market. This section helps to analyse the relationship of a human hub with certain global agents in the *World Music* industry such as music journalists or *World Music* magazines. Kiwan and Meinhof refer to these global agents as being "influential power structures of globalization at local, national and transnational levels because they influence peoples' opinions about certain types of music" (2011: 14).

Nubenegra has exported and promoted Saharai music in Europe, the USA, Canada, Japan, Latin America and Australia. With regard to the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, Dominguez states that the issue is not of competing with bigger record labels in the *World Music* market. He claims that it is a problem of structure more related to the agents promoting Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. More specifically, he affirms that the main promotional agents for Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra are radio, television, and internet websites. Thus, when Nubenegra has potential promoters, they facilitate the distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market (Manuel Dominguez interview, 17-12-2012). In relation to the importance of music promoters, Turino claims that the promotion of *World Music* in the global market is available to any record label with "events such as radio, email, CD players, global investing or *World Music*" (2003: 53). Following Turino's view on the global market, Dominguez states that the problem of distributing Saharai music in the global market comes when external actors from radio, television, or websites do not facilitate the expected exposure of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (Manuel Dominguez interview, 3-6-2011).

The record company does not provide these promotional services, thus other agents contribute to promoting and distributing Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Such

promotion of the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is directly commissioned by Dominguez as Nubenegra's director and can vary depending on the country. For instance, he observes that in some countries, the interest in Saharai music is for music articles in *World Music* magazines rather than an interest in musical performances. This is the case in England, where *Folkroots* (L. Duran, 1998: 42-49) and *Songlines* (J. Winn, 1998: 54) have published several articles on Saharai music despite *Leyoad* not having been performed in England as many times as in Germany, France and Belgium (Manuel Dominguez interview, 3-6-2011). Thus, the interest in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by other global agents depends on another types of human hubs such as music festival organisers or music journalists. These hubs are also linked with the globalised music industry and are generally interested in music that has not been discovered in the west.

In 1998, *Leyoad* performed thirty concerts mainly in Germany and Spain where the CD box *Sahraui* was released. As mentioned previously, *Leyoad* was the conglomerate of Saharai all-stars, nevertheless, it changed its name, sometimes depending on the promoter's interest in a Saharai musical performance. For instance, from 1998 to 2005, *Leyoad* was represented as *Mariem Hassan and Saharai women* or as Nayim Alal (Manuel Dominguez interview, 17-12-2012).⁷⁶

This type of promotion and distribution of non-western music in the global market is what Turino describes as "cultural interchanges between specific sites and groups of people...[G]lossed as global cultural flows, local-global relations, the global economy and global culture" (2003: 52). Turino's statement alludes to the specific cases of interaction with the global market as "specific agents of the global market". These specific interchanges of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra are provided in the form of music labels offering their product to cultural institutions such as radio programmes, music magazines, festivals, or music venues.

⁷⁶ According to Dominguez, the name *Leyoad* was not always appropriate for certain concerts given that some performances were more related to cultural encounters with Saharai NGOs or associations (Manuel Dominguez interview, 17-12-2012).

According to Dominguez, the distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra on CD is limited to the *World Music* market (interview, 3-06-2011). Moreover, regarding the limitations of the *World Music* market, Turino states that, “*World Music* fans are relatively in a dozen countries, is that enough to designate this as a global music movement?” (2003: 57). Turino continues his arguments on music and globalisation citing the slogans of the ‘big five’ music companies in the international market:⁷⁷

“The world audience” (Time Warner); “Think globally, act globally (Sony); “A truly global organisation” (Thorn-EMI); “A European-based global recording company” (Polygram)” (*ibid*).

In this sense, Nubenegra cannot compete with these big labels. It would be the equivalent of comparing a small food store with a supermarket. The importance of this discourse on big and small record labels resides in analysing the limitations and possibilities of representing Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the music market. However, although not having the same exposure as the ‘big five’, Nubenegra as an agent in the *World Music* market represents musical consumption and cultural production for the Saharai musicians. This point is consistent with Den Tandt who describes musical consumption as “cultural production, therefore, popular culture as a significant locus of agency and resistance, of active creation as opposed to passive acceptance and manipulation” (2002: 88).

On the issue of distributing Saharai music in the *World Music* market, Dominguez affirms that lately CD sales of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra have decreased, even in digital formats. The biggest exposure is through the radio and when Saharai music is performed in music festivals (interview, 15-12-2011). The commercial discrepancies in the distribution of Saharai music in the global market are also due to the accessibility of the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in a specific commercial sector such as the *World Music* market. One can only find Saharai music in the section of a record store, which is labelled as either ‘African music’ or ‘Arab music’. Further, according to Dominguez, the audiences buying Saharai music are usually very specific, being adults [over 30 years]; Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO); or

⁷⁷ This reference is also shown in Chapter One.

people interested in the conflict of Western Sahara (interview, 15-12-2011). According to him, this public denotes an historical interest in the music made in the Saharai refugee camps.⁷⁸

The main sources of virtual promotion and distribution for Nubenegra are either through their own website www.nubenegra.com; or through the *youtube* channel called *promonubenegra*. On Nubenegra's website, one finds the heading *noticias* (news in Spanish) where there is information of all the artists from the label, including Saharai musicians and the most relevant events from 1998 to the present day. On *promonubenegra* there are a wide range of videos including concerts, documentaries, and videoclips related to Saharai music. These sources of virtual promotion are efficient and useful to show the music industry and international public the different Saharai ensembles formed by Nubenegra (*Leyoad*, Nayim Alal or Mariem Hassan). Further, this type of promotion either from *promonubenegra* or www.nubenegra.com exposes and sell Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in a virtual form on Nubenegra's website.

In the virtual value chain, a song is recorded once, but in a digital format it can be replicated and distributed an infinite number of times with low cost for reproduction. In addition, songs in digital format can be sampled and remixed (J. C. Bockstedt, R. J. Kauffman & F. J. Riggins, 2006: 13).

The multiple virtues of the promotion of a song in the digital era offer different types of primary buyers ranging from composers or *World Music* fans, among others. In addition, Nubenegra does not need to send ordinary letters to promote Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, thus there is an economic advantage. The commercial purpose of the aforementioned online data reaches from "Composer-publisher-artist and research-production-manufacturing-marketing and promotion-distribution-delivery and consumer" (R. Wallis 2006: 291).

As Dominguez states, "in the past, we had to send CDs and dossiers by mail whereas now we just send a *youtube* link from our *promonubenegra* website to a large number of

⁷⁸ The bestselling albums of Saharai music by Nubenegra are Hassan's album, *Deseos* (2005); and "*Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*" (2002) (Manuel Domiguez interview, 15-12-2011).

people denominated as our “business network” (interview, 13-06-2011). Nubenegra’s director adds that the facilities provided by the virtual promotion provides more competitors because the process of promotion is not as expensive as in the past. Nevertheless, the originality of being the only record label distributing transnational Saharai music obtains both a commercial attraction in the music industry (exoticism) and a particular interest for westerners in an undiscovered musical culture. The digital era in the music industry is creating a structured system of selling and distribution. This point coheres with Kubik’s statement below:

We are creating a dream world of virtual circuits and virtual communities, perhaps even virtual lives. By this, the methods and objectives all constitute a coordinate system of functional relationships (2000: 1).

Following Kubik’s view, Nubenegra’s online sources are also available for the purpose of informing people about Saharai music in different formats. The record label offers videos of Saharai dance workshops and special events that occurred in the refugee camps. Thus, the “online sources” provided by the label can be seen also as a musical archive on Saharai music. In addition, the relationship that Nubenegra has with Saharai music does not end in the promotion of their music in the global market. The great value of their news and online videos is that it provides a wide perspective on transnational Saharai music as such. As a result, the virtual promotion of transnational music has become a type of ‘global transnationalism’. In other words, Saharai communities residing in different countries are able to listen to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Further, the virtual promotion of music coheres with Wong’s observations that the postcolonial and transnational world has meant, “that insiders are both anyone and everyone, and the field is everywhere and nowhere” (2008:81). Thus, the different transnational communities of Saharais around the world are connected through the accessibility of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra online, which emphasises the virtual-ness or liminality of the Saharai nation.

Following the interest in the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, in 2012, Nubenegra published Mariem Hassan’s website, www.mariemhassan.com, and www.myspace.com/mariemhassan. These web portals are the first online resources that Nubenegra has dedicated to any one of its artists. From 1994, all the information

gathered by the record label was launched on its website, www.nubenegra.com. However, the need to incorporate Mariem Hassan's website came after 2010, since she was the only artist promoted by Nubenegra. Dominguez decided to make a website for her in which he would incorporate weekly news about her history or any other information about concerts or cultural events. On the other hand, Nubenegra's website is a detailed historical portal about the history of the record label from 1994 to the present day. The incorporation and special treatment towards Mariem Hassan as a Nubenegra artist is due to the present global context in which most of the international artists have a website. This technological innovation is, in some ways, forced in order to conserve the international and personal status of her career.⁷⁹ The use of the internet constitutes a form of promotion by Nubenegra. In any case, Nubenegra's websites are focussed on virtual promotion above all else.

In this section, I aimed to show the different resources that the Spanish record label uses to distribute Saharai music in the global market through a specific examination of the transnational habitus between the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra with the specific agents of the global market. This focussed on physical (music venues programmemers, radio commentators, music journalists or TV programmes) and virtual promoters (mainly website portals directed by Nubenegra). This section also aimed to examine Nubenegra's capability to promote and distribute Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market.

Nubenegra and its distinctive relationship with Saharai music: Self-reflexivity on Dominguez as an integral agent in Saharai music

This section describes Nubenegra role as an integral agent in Saharai music through its collaborations in musical projects in the camps. Equally important, there is a reflection on the role of Nubenegra as a human hub in Saharai music. Human hub refers to the promotion and distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the specific agents of the global market. Further, the study of the distinctive forms in which Nubenegra - as a human hub - can be compared with other recordings of Saharai music previously released in France and Holland is examined in this section.

⁷⁹ In the next chapter, I will talk exclusively of Mariem Hassan's artistic agency from her first solo album *Deseos* in 2005, and *Shouka* in 2010 and *El Aaiun egdat* in 2012.

The Spanish record label is distinct compared to other western labels due to its prominent role in the promotion of Saharai music over fifteen years (1998-2013). Among other projects related to Saharai music, Nubenegra offers dancing workshops and even makes regular trips to the refugee camps to participate in diverse projects such as the first music school in the camps, called *Enamus*. The realisation of eleven albums of Saharai music in the form of compilations, bands or solo artists, provides a rich musical exposure to the global market. The aforementioned albums are the result of musical negotiations between the Saharai musical culture and Nubenegra. From Taylors's view, the aforementioned relationships distinguish between the coloniser (*World Music* labels and western public) and the colonised (Saharai music and its different transnational communities); thereby exoticising the colonised agent as "the Other" (2007: 9).

From this point of view, any relationship between a western record label and a type of music originating in a third world country would be defined by a colonial relationship based on power. Nevertheless, the relationship between Nubenegra and Saharai music seeks to transcend this relationship by engaging in activities that challenge this power relationship, or aid in a decolonisation process, through projects such as the construction of a Saharai national archive or Dominguez' contribution to the school *Enamus*, as well as providing guitars in the campaign "Una guitarra por el Sahara" trans. "One guitar for the Sahara". Thus, the relationship between Nubenegra and Saharai music enhances the social engagement between both agents. Further, Nubenegra as a record label contributes to the intertextual circulation of Saharai musical culture in both communities: translocal in the camps and transcultural in the global market.



Figure 16. From the campaign "Una guitarra por el Sahara" by Nubenegra.



Figure 17. Mariem Hassan singing at the opening of Enamus in November 2011.

<http://poemariosaharalibre.blogspot.com.es/2011/11/inauguracion-de-enamus-escuela-de-la.html>

As a human hub, there is no other known record label like Nubenegra which has released such a diversity of music related to a country in which half of its population live in refugee camps. Hakovirta states that refugee camps are intended for temporary staying until a social conflict is resolved (1993:38) but in the case of the Saharauis this temporality has evolved into a 39 year-long stay from where a musical culture has evolved. The Saharawi refugee camps in Algeria have been in existence since 1975, creating rather a new Saharawi transnational community in the Algerian desert. A musical culture has developed under such conditions firstly as refugees, and later as a transnational community moving from the camps to Spain.

In reference to the promotion of popular music, Bennett notes that the main difference between local cultural industries and cosmopolitan labels is that the first one is unknown in other countries and the second one “embraces all the diasporas and more global tastes” (2004: 2). Bennett’s statement shows the importance and interest of Nubenegra towards the representation of Saharawi music culturally and commercially in their attempt to reach global audiences.

Nubenegra as a human hub also shows that the relationship between both parties (record label and transnational Saharawi musicians) is healthy and enduring. One

example is that *El Ualy* recorded a few albums in Holland (1980) and France (1989), yet only one of them was published for lack of understanding between the record labels and the Saharai musicians (Baba Jouly interview, 23-6-2012). Nubenegra and Saharai music maintain a translocal/transcultural communication with the music industry. Further, a micro/macro relationship with Saharai people and international audiences (M. Fenske & J. Bendix, 2007: 68).

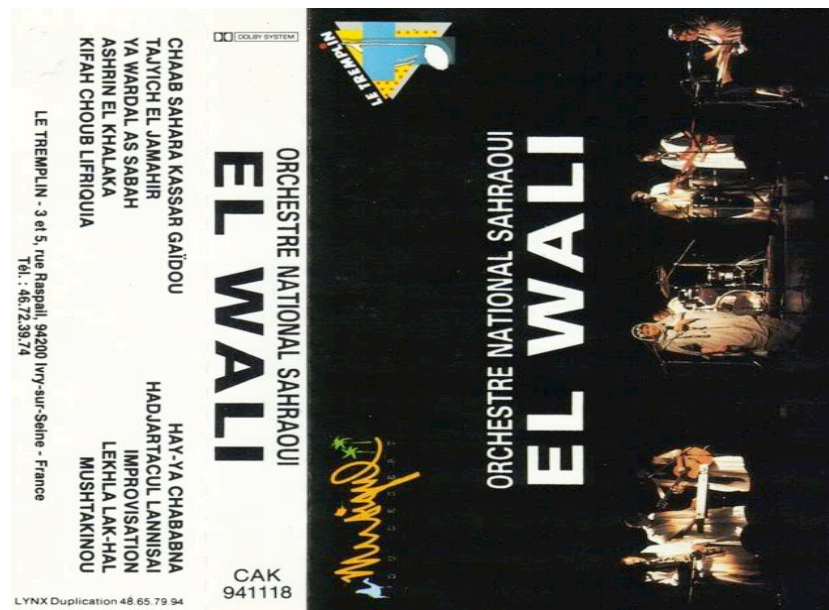


Figure 18. *El Wali*, first tape released in France by Tremplin records in 1989.
<http://aduna.free.fr/aduna.blog/blog2008.htm>

The construction of a Saharai music through Nubenegra is an interesting process that started through Manuel Dominguez in the 1970s and it continues to this day. The fact that he is sensitive towards the conflict of Western Sahara contributed not only to his support for Saharai music; but also in having a long and productive relationship with this music in both translocal and transcultural contexts.

The primary encounter was Nubenegra's cultural and political interest in the Saharais. The second encounter was through Saharai music with the publication of *El Ualy: Polisario Vencera* in 1982. The third encounter was in 1997 with the first expedition of Dominguez to the refugee camps where he observed Saharai music in its social context. The third encounter led to the creation of a primary musical archive of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. This musical archive, after being recognised in the *World Music* scene, led to the formation of a transnational band called *Leyoad*;

including Nayim Alal and Mariem Hassan as solo artists. Nubenegra was the main actor responsible for forming different formats (solo artist, transnational band, compilations, remixes and Saharai collaborations with Luis Delgado) in order to enrich the image and catalogue of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Nubenegra has attempted to experiment with different types of timbre in its Saharai recordings ranging from traditional sounds to western harmonic arrangements in Alal 's album. The social significance of timbre varies between acoustic sounds and global-pop oriented sounds (L. Meintjes, 2003: 12). In the next chapter, as part of this multidimensional study on transnational habitus, there will be an examination of Mariem Hassan in the context of her being the main musical representative of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from 2005 to 2012.

Chapter Four

Mariem Hassan: The construction of a transcultural representative of Saharai music

Chapter Three discussed the dissemination, commodification, and distribution of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. The main discussion in Chapter Three was based on the interaction between Nubenegra (as a human hub) and the PF (as an institutional hub) for the realisation Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Chapter Three also contributed to understanding the importance of Saharai music for the hubs mentioned above. The PF was more concerned with expressing the principles of the RASD and Nubenegra intended to introduce Saharai music globally. In this negotiation, Chapter Three addressed the dissemination of Saharai music from the camps when it is exposed to Nubenegra and Axis studio. The dissemination of Saharai music was done by music engineers such as Alberto Gambino, Luis Delgado, or Hugo Westerdahl during the musical production of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. The realisation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra produced the commodification of a new type of Saharai music influenced by external western agents by introducing chord progressions or new electronic instruments. In Chapter Three, there was also a discussion about how Nubenegra distributed its albums of Saharai music globally. The record label presented Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra as a musical culture but never introduced this music by way of presenting individual Saharai musicians except Nayim Alal during 2003-2004.

In Chapter Four, there is an examination of the specific musical and social relationship between Mariem Hassan and Nubenegra from 2005 to 2012. This chapter is focussed on how Nubenegra decides to select Mariem Hassan as the main representative of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Later, this chapter examines the musical and social negotiation between the agents mentioned as related to Hassan's albums: *Deseos* (2005), *Shouka* (2010) and *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). Equally important, this chapter examines how Nubenegra promotes Hassan in a global context.

Since 2005, Nubenegra has exposed Mariem Hassan to the global market as the most respected Saharai artist, she then becomes the representation of the transcultural capital

of Saharai music in the west. Therefore, Hassan is not chosen by the PF or Saharai people to represent Saharai music globally but by Nubenegra.⁸⁰ In this chapter, there is a description of how the Spanish record label selects Hassan to represent Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra after her global recognition as a talented singer during *Leyoad*'s performances from 1998 to 2004. In order to understand Hassan's recognition in the music industry and Nubenegra's choice to select the Saharai artist to represent Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, there is a brief description of Hassan's artistic career before her relationship with Nubenegra.

Mariam Hassan's artistic career can be divided into three different social contexts [or spatial hubs] which relate to one another intertextually by way of: her artistic agency in Western Sahara under Spanish colonisation up to 1975; her artistic development in the refugee camps of Tindouf from 1975 to 2002; and her residence in Barcelona and working with Nubenegra Records from 2002 to 2012.

Chapter Four examines Hassan's career during the three distinctive periods mentioned above with an emphasis on the relationship between her role as an individual Saharai artist and Nubenegra's role as the record label, whereas Chapter Three is more general to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.⁸¹ Hassan's biographical content contributes to the multidimensional study of a transnational habitus in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. As Stock states, "new notions of culture themselves place greater emphasis on individual role and agency, thus stimulating us to look at more length at the

⁸⁰ Regarding local opinions about Mariem Hassan, some Saharais argue that she has lost her distinctive *Haul* style in order to be introduced in the global music market. Meanwhile, other Saharais affirm that she brings the music culture of the Saharai to the world in a positive manner. Some Saharais say that her musical innovations in *Haul* music are still rooted in social and musical memory. This point relates to Lucia's concept of music agency and memory as "an act of remembering" (C. Lucia, 2002: 137) the musical culture. On the other hand, Mariem Hassan's artistic agency, as articulated by Nubenegra, suggests new concepts of artistic identification by western audiences who are not familiar with Saharai music or Arabic music cultures. Lohman refers to these new concepts of identification given by the international public (non-Saharais) as "agents of comfort" (*ibid*: 12). Hassan's music is a perfect target for "agents of comfort" who find the exoticism of discovering a new musical Saharai culture.

⁸¹ The first two periods refer to translocal views of Mariem Hassan. These two first periods of Hassan's musical career reflect her role as a singer who interprets and sings the songs written by local poets. Hassan's translocal periods include the social recognition of her as a talented singer during her time in the camps after 1976. However, the main study of this chapter focuses on her period as a solo artist with Nubenegra and contributes to the main examination of this thesis, being the transnational habitus between Saharai music and Nubenegra.

individual choices made by musicians and others” (2001: 5). In other words, Chapter Four addresses the importance of Mariem Hassan’s agency in the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Further, considering Stock’s notions of individual agency in the representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by Mariem Hassan, Chapter Five helps to understand the different forms of representing Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from *Leyoad* to Hassan as an individual artist.

With regard to the research methodology of this chapter, I apply Rice’s metaphor on “music as a symbolic system” (2003: 166-67), which this thesis refers to how Hassan’s music can become a representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Rice describes music as a symbolic system when a musician becomes a social and cultural representation of the music performed. In order to examine Mariem Hassan as a symbolic representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, this chapter is based on interviews with her in 2011 and 2012. In contrast to Hassan’s biographical data, I added information provided by musicians (Saharai and international) involved in her musical career, including Nubenegra and people related to the production of her albums. I use Rice’s theory on “time-space and metaphor” by combining: time as chronological (informational and observant through interviews) and historical (experiential or participant as her guitarist since 2012) (*ibid*: 162); and space as the multidimensional location considering the three different social contexts [Western Sahara, the refugee camps in Algeria and Spain] in which her artistic career developed. Rice’s theory on “time-place and metaphor” is useful in examining Mariem Hassan’s agency and the way in which this relates to her representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

This chapter demonstrates how an individual artist can represent his/her transcultural capital in a global context by his/her interaction with a record label (as an agent outside this community). Moreover, this chapter analyses how each of Hassan’s albums recorded by Nubenegra offers a distinctive musical and social negotiation with the record label.

Biographical notes: National and translocal views on Mariem Hassan from 1974-1998

In this section, I provide a brief biography of Mariem Hassan as a singer in Western Sahara and in the camps. This section provides information about the translocal context of the artist before her encounter with Nubenegra in 1998. In addition, this section contributes to an understanding of her relationship with the PF based on her musical and cultural representation of Saharai nationalism. The social interaction between the PF and Hassan exposes a power structure of communication between an institutional hub and an artist in a transnational context. For this reason, this section seeks to comprehend the PF's decisions to use Hassan's artistic talent as a representation of the RASD during the artist's time residing in the camps.

Mariem Hassan (1958-) started her career as a singer in 1974 in Smara (Western Sahara) where she learnt, from her mother, how to sing traditional Saharai songs and play *tbal*. She performed at weddings and family gatherings, but never as a regular performer with remuneration. She sang songs in support of the Saharai nationalist struggle against Spanish colonialism. The relationship between Saharai society and Mariem Hassan in Western Sahara was based on her performance of popular nationalist songs. Nationalism as a social structure of communication between Mariem Hassan and Saharai society has prevailed in her artistic career throughout the three different social contexts described in this chapter [Western Sahara, the camps and Spain]. Hassan's artistic career symbolises what Tuhoy describes as "the mutual transformative process of making music national and of realizing the nation musically" (2006: 226). In other words, since the 1970s, Hassan has not only represented Saharai nationalism but also has been a "living musical agent" of her nation.

In October 1975, Spain abandoned Western Sahara, leaving Saharais without gas or electricity. In the same month the "Green March" by Morocco, also known as the annexation of Western Sahara, occurred.⁸² The forced exile of Saharai people to the Hamada desert (Algeria) took place in December 1975. Mariem Hassan was forced to

⁸² The "Green March" is discussed in the section "transnational context" in Chapter One and refers to the annexation of Western Sahara in 1975 by the Moroccan forces.

leave her hometown of Smara. The Algerian government brought caravans and convoys to take Saharai civilians to the Hamada desert. She had vivid memories of the dramatic exile when they arrived in Tindouf (Algeria) and found thousands of Saharais wounded or seriously ill (interview, 1-12-2011).

In 1976, Mariem Hassan started to sing in the camps with *El Ualy*.⁸³ As mentioned in Chapter Three, *El Ualy*, musically, represented the RASD in the camps. Within this social context, according to Baba Jouly, “the Saharai Minister of Culture has always defined Saharai music as the ‘voice of the people’; thus, the musicians participating in the creation of this music were not only popular for their individual musical skills, but also for their musical representation of the RASD” (interview, 23-06-2012). Such musical experience demonstrates that *El Ualy* attempted to create a new national sound based on the *Haul* musical system.

Mariem Hassan considers the poets Beibuh and Bachir Ali to have been responsible for bringing the knowledge of *Haul* to Saharai singers (interview, 1-8-2012). She says that these poets used to sing their poems in different *Haul* modes for the singers to memorise the melodic intervals of each mode. Therefore, Hassan’s *Haul* teachers were poets rather than musicians. The guitarist Kaziza led the musical arrangements of Saharai songs composed in the camps. According to Kaziza, he was responsible for structuring the songs and for teaching the singers when they had to sing (interview, 23-12-2013). As Mariem stated, the poets and musicians taught the singers in the camps how to sing each song (interview, 1-8-2012). This type of musical interaction between the singer, poet, and guitarist was different to the use of the *Haul* musical system by the *igagwen* in Mauritania during precolonial times (see Table 4). Moreover, as mentioned previously in this thesis, Saharai music before the exile in 1975 only used the *tbal* and singing [and never used the *Haul* modal system]. Thus, since the forced exile of the Saharais to Algeria, they created a new form of musical interaction based on the Hassaanya musical culture in Mauritania thanks to Kaziza, Beibuh and Bachir Ali.

⁸³ El Ualy makes reference to the Saharai icon and representative of the PF. He died in 1976 and before his death the Saharai band representing the PF was another martyr called “El Hafed”.

These artists were assigned by the PF to lead *El Ualy*, the band that represents the RASD.

According to Mariem Hassan, the aim of singing in *El Ualy* was to keep alive the people's cause and to encourage the army to fight against the oppressors (interview, 1-8-2012); she did not derive any income from singing in the refugee camps. From 1976 to 1998, she performed with *El Ualy* in Europe and Africa (especially Libya, Algeria and Ethiopia) and these performances abroad represented the survival of her musical culture. In February 1978, she had her first tour with *El Ualy* in Italy, Spain, Algeria and Cuba. For Mariem Hassan, the experience of the concert in Cuba, *Festival de las juventudes socialistas* (Festival of Socialist Youths), where she found musicians from all over the globe (especially from Africa) and the awareness of other musical styles, inspired her to continue experimenting with combining the *Haul* musical system with other musical styles (interview, 1-8-2012). However, such fusion in her music only came later in her album, *El Aaiun egdat*, in 2012 (Chapter Six).

Mariem Hassan's role in *El Ualy* was to raise the social awareness of her audience by singing revolutionary songs based on Saharai nationalism. This point coheres with Oloo's views on the use of nationalism in revolutionary songs by "arousing in them the imaginative and emotional experiences toward social re-engagement through collective identity" (A. Oloo, 2007:178). According to Ahmed Fadel, who worked with the cultural section of the PF, the rise of Mariem Hassan as the voice of the Saharais represented "the voice of the people" (interview, 2-11-2004).⁸⁴ Thus, the construction of her as a solo artist was based on the musical representation of her country; but there were no intentions of creating any type of popular performer among them. This type of artistic construction of *El Ualy* by the PF demonstrates its incorporation of nationlist and socialist ideas in the representation of Saharai music.

Towards the end of the 1970s, and before she started performing, Mariem Hassan was trained as a nurse by the Algerian government. She studied nursing in Algiers for six

⁸⁴ Ahmed Fadel was my research assistant during my time in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf. He has been involved with the promotion of Saharai culture since 1976.

months and then returned to the camps where she was assigned to work in the *wilaya* [province] of Smara. During the 1970s, as Lippert highlights, “many Saharawi women were sent to a nursing course in Algeria, others went to Cuba, Nicaragua, Algeria and Spain training in other health professions such as doctors or dentists” (1992: 648). In the case of Hassan, from 1977 to 1980 she tried to work as both a nurse and as a singer with *El Ualy*. However, during the 1980s, Mariem Hassan left *El Ualy* because she had to attend to her maternal duties and at the same time, she worked as a nurse in *Smara*. She states that “there was not much time for anything else but to work and to take care of my children” (1-8-2012). For that reason, Mariem Hassan decided to stop singing with *El Ualy* from 1986 to 1998. However, during that time, Hassan occasionally performed with *El Ualy* in the camps. Hassan’s interaction with the PF in the camps was replaced from being a cultural representation of Saharawi nationalism; to be supplemented by her work as a nurse. In both cases, Hassan dedicated her life to the PF’s ideals of serving her country in different ways.

Nubenegra’s decisions for choosing Mariem Hassan as the representative of Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra

During Nubenegra’s expedition to the refugee camps in 1998, the record label discovered Mariem Hassan singing and participating in cultural events in Smara. The first impressions by the record label of her artistic agency were an appreciation of her musical skills but it was not until later, on European tours, that Nubenegra realised her charismatic strength on stage. Yet, although Mariem Hassan participated in the group *El Ualy* from 1978, no recordings were released where one could hear her voice.⁸⁵

The first recordings of Mariem Hassan’s voice published internationally appeared in the compilation of Saharawi women’s voices, *A pesar de las heridas* (Despite the wounds), recorded by Nubenegra in 1998. There are five songs in this album where Mariem Hassan is the lead vocalist. These songs are: *Hijos de la revolucion* (Sons of the

⁸⁵ She recorded a few albums with *El Ualy* that were never internationally distributed. Those albums by *El Ualy* were recorded in Holland in 1980 and in France in 1989 with Trempling records. The album in France was to be launched in numerous concerts (Baba Jouly interview, 23-6-2012), however, the concerts were cancelled, and the album was released with limited publication. According to Hassan, this recording in France was not successful due to a lack of understanding between the PF and Trempling records (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011). This shows how the relationship between a western record label and the PF is not always as productive as it has been with Nubenegra.

revolution), *El Sahara es un tesoro* (The Sahara is a treasure), *El jinete* (The horse rider), *Intifada* (Track 1) and *Llora mi corazon* (My heart is crying). Nubenegra points out that the song *Intifada* has been one of the most important songs during *Leyoad*'s era, from 1998 to 2005. In fact, *Intifada* was recorded again in an "electric version" on the album *Deseos*, in 2005. Thus, Mariem Hassan has been essential in the formation of the transnational Saharai band, *Leyoad*, and her collaboration in all the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra; except Alal 's album *Nar* (2003) and the compilation *Sahara tierra mia* (1998).

The leading role of Mariem Hassan in *Leyoad* reinforced the relationship between Nubenegra and the Saharai artist. She gained her position in Nubenegra by showing her capacity as a skilful and charismatic artist on stage. Another key point in her growth as an international artist was her musical resourcefulness demonstrated during rehearsals with *Leyoad*; the Saharai artist has always used band practices to improve the general sound of the group.⁸⁶ In my view, another attribute is her peaceful character that has aided in avoiding any confrontation with other Saharai musicians or with Nubenegra. According to Manuel Dominguez, it was difficult to come to a good understanding with other Saharai artists. He affirms that one of the points that motivated him to continue promoting Mariem Hassan is that she is a "natural talent and a professional" (interview, 9-6-2011). Mariem Hassan shows that a record label does not only search for good artists, but for individuals who are able to maintain a constructive professional relationship. In fact, Mariem Hassan is the only Saharai artist in Nubenegra who has performed from 1998 to the present day.

From 2005 to 2012, Mariem Hassan recorded three distinctive albums with Nubenegra. There were different musicians in each of her albums. However, Manuel Dominguez and Hugo Westerdahl were consistently involved in the production of her albums in their roles as director, sound engineer, arranger and producer assistant.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ In my personal experience of composing music with Mariem Hassan, she used rehearsals to improve musical arrangements and to be critical of the sound of each instrument.

⁸⁷ The contribution of Alberto Gambino and Luis Delgado as producers and arrangers in Saharai albums for Nubenegra ended in 2002 with the album "*Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*".

With regard to the production of Mariem Hassan's albums, Dominguez was in search of a more acoustic Saharai sound rather than the overproduced songs in Alal's albums. Thus, her voice was mostly accompanied by two electric guitars and *tbal* in his productions. There were no longer drum kits, wind sections, keyboards, or western technology except for Salama's experimentation with delays, wah wah, distortions, or chorus on the electric guitar.⁸⁸ The sound of Mariem Hassan's albums are more similar [in terms of timbre] to her live performances than the previous album *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad*. The aim of Manuel Dominguez was to produce a similar sound to *Leyoad's* performances in her albums. The seven years of professional relationship between the producer and *Leyoad* was essential for the musical negotiation and the construction of Mariem Hassan's albums (Manuel Dominguez interview, 13-6-2011).

At this stage, Mariem Hassan and Manuel Dominguez did not have any agreement with the Saharai Ministry of Culture in the camps because she resided in Sabadell (Barcelona) since 2002. Therefore, the artist and the producer did not depend on the translocal context of the PF in the refugee camps or obtaining a visa as a Saharai refugee to perform in Europe. Under such circumstances, Nubenegra acted as a human hub offering to represent her individual and transcultural capital in the western world.⁸⁹

In conclusion, Nubenegra decided to record Mariem Hassan as a solo artist because she has proved her efficiency in studio, rehearsal and live performances with *Leyoad*. As a result, since 2005, Nubenegra chose her as the ambassador of Saharai music in the global market. Therefore, the interest of a record label in a musician can be motivated by a mutual understanding in which power structures between producers and musicians can lead to a desired musical product by both agents. In this case, since 2005, Nubenegra's social and musical mediation with Hassan led to the release of three solo albums.

⁸⁸ Baba Salama was Hassan's guitarist in her album *Deseos* (2005).

⁸⁹ Manuel Dominguez confirmed that the contract Nubenegra had with the PF was an agreement to bring Saharai musicians from the camps to Europe; however, such contract was not individual to each of the musicians contracted by the record label (see Figure 8) (17-12-2012).

In the next few sections, there is an analysis of Mariem Hassan's albums recorded by Nubenegra, in order to show the musical negotiation between her, her musicians, and Nubenegra. There is a study of another type of commodification and dissemination in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra; but with the focus on an individual artist. The study of Hassan's interaction with other Saharai musicians and Nubenegra during the recording sessions of her solo albums contributes to understanding that individual musicians such as Hassan not only represent a collective of transnational musicians or a country, but also represent a western record label. Thus, Hassan's representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is multidimensional in relation to her internal (translocal) and external (Nubenegra and her transcultural capital beyond the Saharai refugee camps) social representations.

***Deseos*: The first representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by way of Mariem Hassan as solo artist**

In this section, I examine the social and musical interaction between Mariem Hassan, her Saharai band, and Manuel Dominguez during the recording sessions of the album *Deseos*. This section illustrates the power structures of communication between Dominguez (as the producer) and Hassan (as the performer), when Dominguez attempts to achieve the live sound of *Leyoad*'s concerts in 2004-2005 in Hassan's solo album *Deseos*. In order to show the different types of mediation between the producers and musicians in this album, this section also describes Hassan's band as part of *Leyoad*; the reinvention of Saharai songs; musical innovation suggested by Manuel Dominguez as in the blues song *La tumchu anni*; and the different use of the *Haul* modes in this album, as shown in musical transcriptions.⁹⁰

The idea of launching Mariem Hassan as the first Saharai transnational star was Nubenegra's commercial idea to promote Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in a different form than they previously had with *Leyoad* or Nayim Alal. Therefore,

⁹⁰ It must be noted that the musical transcriptions only help to provide a reference of the use of the melodic intervals and chord progressions in relation to the *Haul* modal system. Nevertheless, it is recommendable to listen to the songs mentioned in every chapter in order to have a better understanding of the different types of musical negotiation in each song. Moreover, the musical transcriptions are not accurate but mere approximations to the sound of the recordings.

Hassan's artistic production is based on Nubenegra's appreciation on her individual artistic skills to represent her transcultural capital in the global market. In addition, Mariem Hassan's solo career with Nubenegra (human hub) commenced without the involvement of the Saharaui Minister of Culture (institutional hub), which attempted to promote Saharaui music; but never to idolise a local artist.

Nevertheless, as Dominguez reports, the intention of having Mariem Hassan as a solo Saharaui artist still dealt with the idea of representing her political and cultural values based on the conflict of Western Sahara. Therefore, Nubenegra's director stated that Hassan as an artist would still represent the transnational music of Saharaui from the camps. Dominguez' idea was to continue producing and publishing albums of Saharaui music through Nubenegra (interview, 13-6-2011). The publication of a new Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra album with Mariem Hassan as soloist met the requirements of both the translocal and the global public interested in Saharaui music, but it differed from the initial requirement of the PF to not use a solo artist to represent Saharaui music. However, during this time, Hassan and her band did not depend on the PF as an institutional hub for the obtention of a visa or to represent their transcultural capital. As a result, the global-translocal representation of Saharaui music by Mariem Hassan led to a new relationship between Nubenegra and Saharaui musicians residing in Spain. This relationship did not depend on the PF and was illustrated by the album *Deseos* which used a group of musicians who were part of *Leyoad* but who resided in Spain.⁹¹

⁹¹ There have been many musicians from the camps participating with *Leyoad*. Boika, Baba Salama and Fatta were part of the aforementioned transnational band as well as part of Mariem Hassan's band.



Figure 19. Mariem Hassan with Boika, Baba Salama and Fatta during the production of *Deseos* in 2005.

www.nubenegra.com

Mariem Hassan's band consisted of Baba Salama and Boika on guitars, Fatta on *tbal* and herself as the vocalist. As either a solo artist or with *Leyoad*, Mariem Hassan composed the vocal melodic lines in the mode in which the poet had written each song. The album *Deseos* album was composed under the initial melodic line that Mariem Hassan suggested for each song in accordance with the *Haul* mode of the lyrics. She was the vocalist and was accompanied by the guitarists and *tbal* player. With regard to the musical and social interaction between these transnational musicians, the musical construction in Hassan's album *Deseos* denotes similar characteristics of making and arranging a song from classic *Haul* (see Chapter Three). The traditional compositional process consisted of: a poet writing lyrics; the singer creating melodic lines in the mode that the poet has written the lyrics; and the instrumentalist (guitarist and *tbal*) accompanying the poem through Mariem Hassan's voice. The use of traditional forms of composing *Haul* music is also because the album *Deseos* is the recreation of previously recorded songs by *Leyoad* or *El Ualy* such as *Intifada* (*A pesar de las heridas*, 1998) and *Magat milkitina dulaa* (*El Ualy*, 1998). According to Dominguez, *Intifada* and *Magat milkitina dulaa* were recorded in a studio in the same way as they were performed in concerts; rather than recorded in the same way as previous recordings (interview, 9-6-2011). For Dominguez, as previously mentioned, the reinvention of live performances with *Leyoad* was the keypoint for the musical production of this album.

Thus, Hassan adopted old songs from *Leyoad* into her own musical repertoire because the representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra was as important as her new songs. This reality shows that she represented [or symbolised] Saharai music even when she became the “diva of the desert” globally, as music magazines have tried to define her (H. Rammant, 2006). For Jafran Jones, the concept of “diva of somewhere” is a concept with negative connotation towards women because it does not allow the artist to have an individual identity (1991: 318), but always represents certain local, national, or transnational community. Therefore, Hassan’s individual representation as a singer is constantly negotiated in different ways by the PF, Nubenegra, and *World Music* magazines such as Folkroots.



blues trying to inspire his Saharai artists. For Saharai musicians, blues is a compatible musical style with Saharai *Haul* in terms of pentatonic scales (*lyen* and *entamas* mode) and guitar techniques such as bending the strings (or glissando) or passing notes. However, Saharais are not familiar with the 12 bar American blues structure.

The negotiation of *La tumchu anni* between producer and musicians is of an approximation to blues as a cosmopolitan style within Saharai *Haul*. This point is consistent with Clavin who observes that: “transnationalism is about exploring connections (whether they attract or repel)” (2005: 427). In this case, by using blues music in Hassan’s music, *La tumchu anni* attracts certain Saharai transnational audience that accepts the dissemination of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from the music made in the camps. On the other hand, Clavin’s reference to the combination of cosmopolitanism and traditional music as a form of integration in any society does not mean that the special purpose of this song was primarily to attract international audiences, but building a bridge between local and cosmopolitan musical styles.

In terms of lyrics, *La tumchu anni* is a love song that differs from predominantly political and traditional songs in Saharai music. During one of my interviews with Hassan, she said: “during my solo career with Nubenegra I felt the opportunity to sing love songs. Love songs are a form of singing about universal feelings and another way of representing the Saharai political struggle, because, in fact, Saharais also like to sing about love” (1-08-2012). Whiteley states that female artists are in a “constant debate surrounding sexuality, identity and subjectivity” (2000: 9). However, Hassan includes love songs in order to broaden her sense of political, social and emotional representation of Saharai identity.

La tumchu anni (Don’t desert me) in *entamas* (Track 23)

She tortures me with her love

She is dressed beautifully without *henna*

And fascinates me watching her naked,

Even more, seeing her without *henna* makes me suffer

Someone comes to me and a bit agitated asks me about writing some verses and in this way wants me to get mad about her

If God wants me to leave you is not because I don't love you but because God's reward is more valuable than your love.

The other love song in this album is *Shauda*. It is a song in *fagu*, a mode traditionally used to sing epic stories of war (see Appendix 2). Musically speaking, *fagu* is divided into three distinctive parts: *charha*, *lebleida* and *serbet* (see Appendix 3). *Shauda* is also used occasionally for the 'drumming dance' in which Hassan and El Hanevi show how Saharai women apply make up to their faces. In *Shauda*, the tradition is upheld by the transnational Saharai musicians rather than the producer. The significance of *fagu* as characterised with the memory of martyrs or with war stories is exchanged by a love song in *Shauda*. This type of lyrical change in traditional *fagu* is not apparent unless one is able to understand the Hassanya language. In addition, this innovation in tradition is not visible to people who are not familiar with the *Haul* modal system. Therefore, this song denotes the conjunction between innovation and tradition in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, something that most of the *World Music* audience is not able to understand due to the lack of knowledge of the *Haul* musical system. Thus, Hassan innovated the use of lyrics in Saharai music by including love songs such as *La tumchu anni* and *Shauda*.

Shauda (Sorcery) in *fagu* (Track 24)

I want her to come back with me, she is elegant.

I remember her dark, pretty and clean.

Her way of walking is elegant and her dress is beautiful,

It inspires me to see her and feel her near my soul

Her smile is precious

Her smile is music

To stare at her is my desire

And her disgrace is our disgrace.

She is from our world, never passes through without being ignored

To stare at her is music

Her glance is music.

She lights up my passion to get me crazy

With her smooth words

And from that instant I start to change.



Transcription 3. *Shauda* vocal line.

Mutamaniyat and *Tirka* are protest songs accompanied by the guitar. Both songs offer a different musical timbre (or musical texture) in an album where one encounters songs with the whole band playing while others are recorded with less instrumentation. The mixture of irregular chord progressions with *Haul* guitar solos offers interesting musical dynamics and thus, musical innovation in Saharai music. There is no doubt that the guitar style in these songs is different to other compositions in modern Saharai guitar music. *Mutamaniyat* and *Tirka* can be similar to other protest songs sung by song writers in other parts of the world; however, guitar accompaniments in songs made by Bob Dylan (USA), Silvio Rodriguez (Cuba) or Serrat (Spain) are simpler or, commonly, the voice follows a cycle of chords. In *Mutamaniyat* and *Tirka* the chords follow the voice such as in traditional flamenco music where the guitarist follows the singer's melody with chords and melodic motifs.

In relation to the lyrics, *Mutamaniyat* and *Tirka* are 'protest songs' with religious connotations by praying to God for a better life. *Mutamaniyat* is praise to Allah to fight against all adversities in life. And *Tirka* is about the suffering of Saharai adults thinking about their children's future while they, as refugees in the camps, play in the desert. Yet, when these songs are played in the west, there is a cultural interest rather than an interest in the lyrics. As Weinstein affirms, "many protest songs are not understood as protest songs" (2006: 8) but as entertainment. From the Saharai's point of view, these songs are not mere entertainment or popular songs but a sign of identity and a representation of the Saharai struggle. Therefore, the songs do not represent the same to the transnational Saharai public as to the foreign public who concentrate more on the musical timbre, dynamics and textures. The different meanings of these songs for Saharai and non Saharai audiences is what in ethnomusicology is defined as emic and etic dichotomy (Nettl, 1983: 69), in other words, the insider and outsider views on music. For instance, during Hassan's live performances in the "Festival du Sahel 2012"

(Senegal), I presented *Tirka* as a lullaby to Western and African audiences. On the other hand, Saharai people describe *Tirka* as a protest song (see Chapter Seven on stage talk).

Mutamaniyat (Desire) in *lehrar* (Track 25)

God, help me with what is happening.

God, heal me from this disgrace

God, you are the altar on which I pray you to heal me and then I will be able to carry on my duties

Pray friends, family and brothers to heal me from this pain.

Hear me my daughters and dear husband,

Do not see in vain the desire of our beloved country.



Transcription 4. *Mutamaniyat* vocal line.

Tirka (The children) in *lyen* (Track 26)

Beilul went away to the cave and said that he knows this *Haul*

Beilul jumps, oh my God! Oh Beilul! Let's play children

God help me in my suffering

Oh my Lord, Oh my God, you are everything,

The children play *lejmoisat*

The children play *arah*.



Transcription 5. *Tirka* vocal line.

Sbar, *El Arabi*, *El Magil* or *Kalat leili* are songs with new ways of mixing chord progressions and melodic solos on the guitar. This type of song construction is common

in previous Saharai albums released by Nubenegra. This musical structure based on chord progressions has been popularised in the refugee camps since Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra has influenced the music from this translocal community (L.Gimenez, 2012: 64). It should be noted that chord progression is one of the main musical features that makes Saharai *Haul* different from Mauritanian music (see Table 4). The construction of well-defined melodic phrases in combination with irregular chord progressions started with *Leyoad* and Alal's albums. In *Deseos* one can observe the maturation of this form of composing songs with two guitars: one rhythmical, with major and irregular chords and the other guitar attempting to re-enact the sound of traditional *Haul*. In my view, *Deseos* is the best album of a transnational Saharai musical style that started to develop from 1998 with *Leyoad* because in it Saharai music finally obtained a recognised style which had been elaborated through many years of playing internationally. In this album, Hassan and her band represented the construction of a distinctive type of *Haul* through the negotiation with western agents, in particular with Nubenegra.

In comparison to other Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, *Deseos* was the first album in which the initial dissemination of Saharai music negotiated with Nubenegra naturally materialised without the use of electronic sounds. In other words, there was an assimilation of a new type of *Haul* negotiated during seven years (1998- 2005) with Nubenegra. Further, the album *Deseos* assimilates a new form of solo performance for western audiences, which relates to the sound of the album. In my view, the understanding of Hassan's transnational band with their record label and western audiences materialised in Hassan's album, *Deseos*. Therefore, the power structure involved in Hassan's album between transnational musicians, Nubenegra and the western audiences can produce a new musical product that embodies social and musical negotiation. In fact, when the social experience between the three agents mentioned above is long and sustainable, as a result, it produces a new musical product that circulates along transnational, national, and international contexts.

At this point, the relationship between the record label and Saharai musicians did not depend on the PF, as all the members of Hassan's band resided in Spain. Therefore, Nubenegra acted as a human hub not only through publishing music albums, but also

formed a professional relationship that resulted in new forms of playing Saharaui music. This newly formed professional relationship included a new representation of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra by Mariem Hassan as a solo artist. Nubenegra's decision to use Hassan as the transcultural representation of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra was decided by artistic merits and because her transnational band resided in Spain. The record label used Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra's popularity gained by *Leyoad's* international tours over seven years (1998-2005) to launch the same transnational band but led by Hassan. However, in 2005, after Baba Salama died, Hassan's Saharaui band was dissolved and the artist had to find new musicians from the camps and from Spain. According to Dominguez, Baba Salama was Hassan's main musician for the musical arrangements and structure of her songs (interview, 15-12-2011). Nubenegra's director also noticed that Boika and Fatta could not perform without Salama leading Hassan's band. Therefore, Boika and Fatta did not provide any musical innovation to Saharaui music but accompanied Salama's leading guitar and Hassan's voice. The next section is a musical and social analysis of Hassan's album *Shouka* with her new band and Nubenegra.

***Shouka*: Mariem Hassan represented as the ambassador of Saharaui music**

In this section, there is an analysis of the song lyrics recorded in Hassan's album *Shouka*, which, are based on traditional, cultural, and nationalist values. The traditional songs analysed are the ostrich dance *Ragsat naama* and a wedding song such as *Terwah*. Later, I use "social memory" (J. Olick & J. Robbins, 1998) to analyse the songs based on cultural values songs such as *Aid arbain* (the assembly of the 40), *Baba Salama* or *Azzagafa*. As Olick and Robbins state, social memory is "the connective structure" of a society by "sets of practices and general forms of tradition" (*ibid*: 108). Thus, social memory helps in analysing *Aid arbain's* lyrics about the traditional social system of the Saharauis before the rise of nationalism in the 1960s. On the other hand, *Baba Salama* is dedicated to the Saharaui artist who is an important figure in Saharaui musical culture; and *Azzagafa* (culture) represents the importance of culture in Saharaui translocal society.

With regard to the songs with national values, in this album, lyrics also report on the dramatic events happening in Western Sahara with the songs *Tefla madlouma* (Saharaui

women abused by the Moroccan forces) or *Mataal-la* (a prison in Western Sahara with Saharai prisoners). *Shouka* is a response to Felipe Gonzalez's speech in the camps in 1976. In Felipe Gonzalez's speech in the camps in 1976, he promised that once he became the president of Spain he would help the PF to decolonise Western Sahara. He was the Spanish President from 1982 to 1996. This speech prompted the musical response of Mariem Hassan, which came in the form of the eight modes of the *Haul* musical system. Moreover, the song *Shouka* is performed by following the order of the *igagwen*'s classical repertoire of *Haul* music. Thus, in musical terms, *Shouka* attempts to use the *Haul* musical system as the roots of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and not only as a reinvention of the Hassanya culture where the *Haul* musical system developed (mostly in Mauritania).

In addition, this section examines the compositional process of this album considering the relationship between: Lamin Alal [the only poet participating in this album]; Manuel Dominguez as producer; Mariem Hassan as a singer and composer of the melodic lines and rhythms; and Lamgaifri as the guitarist that accompanies Mariem Hassan's music. Thus, the album *Shouka* evokes the communication of a poet, singer, and guitarist as in classic *Haul* (see Table 4).⁹⁴ The album *Shouka* also represents, to a certain extent, the re-enactment of the Hassanya musical culture. Equally important, there is biographical information about the period between the release of *Deseos* (2005) and *Shouka* (2010) in regards to Mariem Hassan's artistic career.

Baba Salama, Hassan's guitarist, died in 2005 and, in the same year, the *tbal* player Fatta decided to return to live in the camps.⁹⁵ As a result of the lack of Saharai guitarists in Spain, Hassan had to restructure her band to include Spanish musicians. The first Spanish performers in Hassan's band in 2006 were: Kepa on the bass and Josemi on the guitar. New musical incorporations worked successfully although these

⁹⁴ From this perspective based on the past traditions, Manuel Dominguez would be not only the producer but the noble who approves the music played by the modern *igagwen*.

⁹⁵ Fatta is a common case, among Saharais, in which transnationalism between the camps and Spain creates a "dialectical interplay between the old (camps) and new locations (Spain)" (R. Patterson, 2006: 1891). However, in the case of Fatta, the decision to return to the camps is due to nostalgic feelings of being with her compatriots.

Spanish musicians did not have any knowledge of the *Haul* musical system, moreover, they were never interested in learning Hassan's musical heritage. Thus, Josemi and Kepa provided a new western influence in Saharai songs previously recorded in *Deseos*. On the other hand, these Spanish musicians worked with Hassan as "performance musicians" contracted by Nubenegra but never as part of the compositional process of Hassan's album.

It was not until 2009, on one of Hassan's concert tours in Tenerife (Canary Islands) that she contracted a young Saharai guitarist, named Lamgaifri, to play with her in the concert and on her next album. At that point, Dominguez also had in mind the release of a new album, in which the Saharai singer would denounce Spain for the failed attempt at decolonisation in Western Sahara. In addition, the intention of a new album was to inform international audiences about the last events that had happened to Saharai people, either in the camps or in Western Sahara (Manuel Dominguez interview, 13-6-2011).

In the case of Hassan's album *Shouka*, the lyrics speak of the three main Saharai transnational contexts: Spain; Western Sahara; and the refugee camps in Algeria. Therefore, the Saharai national context is added to the political and social representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For Rasmussen, the transnational musician always sings to an imagined community in different locations but emphasises the identification of the homeland as the main context to link the imagined transnational communities (2005: 822). However, in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, there was no song that spoke directly to the Saharais residing in Western Sahara at present. Thus, the aim to include the Saharai national context in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is essential to bringing more awareness and linkages between the transnational culture in the camps and in the homeland. The idea of writing songs about the situation in Western Sahara came from Dominguez. Thus, the mediation between the producer and the poet Alal is to connect the transnational music from the camps and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra to the lived reality of the Saharais residing in Western Sahara.

In 2010, Hassan recorded *Shouka* (The thorn), her second solo album produced in a studio. The idea of *Shouka* was inspired by Felipe Gonzalez' speech in the refugee camps in 1976 where he promised the Saharai people a fair process of decolonisation and a final resolution for Western Sahara when he became president. However, the reality was that, during Gonzalez' term as president from 1982 to 1996, there was no support for the Saharais.

The song *Shouka* responds, in eight different sections, to Gonzalez' speech in the camps in 1976. This song reflects the pain and disillusionment of Saharai people towards the Spanish government. *Shouka* is also a revolutionary song in musical structure because of the use of the eight modes of *Haul* in music and poetry (lyrics in Chapter Three). *Shouka* attempts to recreate a traditional *Haul* repertoire in which the musical modes are played in a particular order (as shown in Appendix 2). The structure of this song recalls musical memory by using the *Haul* musical system in a traditional way, and is an innovation as the lyrics are based on the nationalist ideology of the Saharai in different locations (Spain and Western Sahara). By musical memory, I refer to the interaction between the singer and poet in the understanding of a *Haul* classical repertoire. The knowledge of poetic rhymes in each mode by the poet and the knowledge of the different ways of singing by Hassan are demonstrated in the song *Shouka*. Moreover, musical memory in *Shouka* reinforces the idea of having the *Haul* musical system as the foundation of Saharai music since the forced exile and the creation of *El Ualy* in 1976.



Figure 20. Mariem Hassan in 2010, picture for the album *Shouka*.

As mentioned earlier, this album contains songs with lyrics about the present situation of Saharais in Western Sahara. One song called *Tefla madlouma* is about a young Saharai girl kidnapped in Aaiun by the Moroccan forces. This song raises awareness about the Moroccan oppression of Saharai people in their homeland. The lyrics in *Tefla madlouma* cohere with Fenske and Bendix's definition of "microhistory" (M. Fenske & J. Bendix, 2007: 68), as another type of history, in which the kidnapped girl's story is in contrast to the lives of other Saharai people, in Western Sahara. The second song about Western Sahara, entitled *Maatal-la* (a Saharai neighbourhood in El Aaiun in Western Sahara), narrates the situation of Saharais imprisoned in Western Sahara by the Moroccan state. As Naylor states, "in August 2005, the Polisario Front released all the Moroccan prisoners. The SADR and the Algerian government have asked to the Morocco to reciprocate by freeing Saharai prisoners" (2009: 239). However, since 1975, the Saharais imprisoned in Western Sahara have not been liberated even though the PF have released all the Moroccan prisoners in the camps.

Tefla madlouma in *lebteit* (Track 27)

Look an abused girl. It is unbearable.
Is that the right way for our neighbour to act
Beaten, arrested, a tortured girl, there was never a thing like it.
Whoever does a thing like that has to be rejected, whoever he is.
Where is the law to stop such deeds?
It is only a girl. A girl from Aaiun (L. Alal)



Transcription 6. *Tefla madlouma* vocal melody extract.

Maatal-la in *fagu tehssam* (Track 28)

From *Maatal-la* rushes the blood
Of the heroic citizens in the occupied territories,

Glorious symbol of El Aaiun.

Set up the fight and drive the enemy crazy.

People of our resistance, rise up! (L. Alal).



Transcription 7. *Maatal-la* vocal melody extract.

Eid Arbain (The council of the 40) is a song with historical connotations. The lyrics of *Eid Arbain* explore the Hassani society composed by an assembly of forty representatives from different Saharawi communities such as *Rguebi*, *Aroisen* or *Delim*. *Eid Arbain* was a type of organised society among Bedouins during Spanish colonisation from 1884. According to Sidi, in the 1960s, with the sedentarisation and urbanisation in Western Sahara, the social structure of *Eid Arbain* disappeared.

Traditionally the Saharawis lived as nomads and pastoralists, they spoke a common dialect called Hassaniya that is much closer to the classical Arabic than other dialects spoken in the region. They developed their own sociopolitical fronts of organisation such as Ait-Arbain [or *Eid Arbain*] (council of the Forty), and inter-tribal assembly that would meet to discuss the affairs of the population in times of peace (O. Sidi, 2008: 44).

This type of social and historical memory of the stratified society of old Hassanya is reminiscent of the values of hospitality, wisdom, and religion in *Eid Arbain*. This song reflects the appreciation of the poet for national history and the traditional structure of the *djemaa*. The commemoration of the *djemaa* helps to bring awareness about Saharawi history; because it contributes to understanding the retention of local and cultural activities such as the musical system inherited from the Hassanya musical culture in Hassan's national representation of Saharawi music. Therefore, in the construction of Hassan's musical identification, nationalism and social memory appear as important elements. As previously mentioned, Olick and Robbins comment that social memory is not only important for the remembrance of tradition and what has been retained from the past; but to understand the present social changes in society (1998: 116). In this

case, the use of social memory is also important in Saharai music because, as a transnational community, it reminds them of how the Saharais were socially organised in Western Sahara.

Another song where social memory and nationalism appear in the form of remembrance of the homeland is *Fergan leyuad*. This song refers to a mountainous area in Tiris (Western Sahara) known as “the wife of poets” because it is a source of inspiration (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011). Social memory in this song also denotes a sign of nostalgia for the beloved homeland. In other words, nostalgic feelings allude to Hassan’s national identity.

Terwah, is another nostalgic song about Hassanya traditions still practised in modern Saharai society.

Terwah is a traditional song sung to a woman before her wedding day. Another song pointing to recurring cultural values and tradition is *azzagafa* (the culture). This song was prepared by Lamin Alal for a forum on Saharai music in the *wilaya* of *Auserd*. Mariem Hassan wanted to prepare a song with cultural significance for an annual cultural forum in the camps. In the last part of the song *azzagafa*, she sings:

Artists, writers, poets, musicians and composers, I ask you all to repel the invader.
United, brothers, in word and expression.

Another song based on social memory pays homage to the guitarist Baba Salama and remarks on his contribution to Saharai transnational music as one of the main figures in the modern Saharai music published by Nubenegra. The song to him brings a type of social memory in the national consciousness of Saharai people; rather than social memory that talks of historical dates or cultural traditions. Therefore, Baba Salama’s song contributes to remembering him as an icon of modern Saharai music beyond his individual identity.

Baba Salama in *lyen* (Track 29)

You were loyal to your art. You remain with us.

Your legacy to the world of art is our intent, and you are our companion.

You were an artist and a great composer.

Your soul is music that turned your fingers into sound,
And your melodies made us sing (M. Hassan & V. Mint el Hanevi) .



Transcription 8. Baba Salama vocal melody extract.



Figure 21. Baba Salama
www.nubenegra.com

The rest of the album *Shouka* contains lyrics related to the war and transnational identification. On the other hand, there are musical resources related to the Saharai musical tradition that are reinvented in different albums of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For instance, in the album *Shouka*, there is a dance song called *ragsat naama* (Ostrich's dance), a traditional dance in *fagu* with musical resources similar to *Shauda* in the album *Deseos*. In the case of *Shauda*, the song breaks with the cultural significance of *fagu* because it is a love song in a *Haul* mode symbolised by the narration of epic stories related to war. *Ragsat naama* exemplifies how social memory is used for musical compositions in Saharai music because it brings awareness of a traditional dance created in the homeland. *Ragsat naama* is also part of the symbology and social memory of the musical mode *fagu*. Therefore, social memory in *Ragsat naama* is based on not only the existence of ostriches in Western Sahara but in the cultural memory involved in the performance of this song.

In relation to the production of the album *Shouka*, Dominguez was worried about over-emphasising the same topics of previous albums, such as: homage to martyrs, the role of Saharai women, religious praise, love songs and nostalgia over the occupied land, and songs denoting national pride. Here the topics were related to the occupied territories and a criticism of Spain in its failed attempt to decolonise Western Sahara. Therefore, Saharai actuality and cultural values were the main new ingredients in the album *Shouka*. In other words, Hassan's songs in the album *Shouka* were based on national, traditional, and cultural values but included also the political context of the Saharais residing in Western Sahara. This type of musical and social ties in Hassan's songs (as a transnational musician) with the Saharais living in the homeland is what Waldinger defines as a "transnational linkage" (2004:1180). The idea of a transnational linkage alludes to the bilocal context between Western Sahara and the camps in relation to the Saharai community in favour of the decolonisation of Western Sahara. The album *Shouka* exposes the transnational and national reality of the Saharais, and brings awareness about the different social and political realities happening in their bilocal or multilocal context.

Musically speaking, all the songs are in D or D sharp following classic *Haul* guitars and *tbal* rhythms. In my opinion, *Shouka* is the closest sound to the Saharai music one can listen to in the camps. The sound is acoustic and simple in dynamics and timbre. The interaction of *tbal*, guitar and voice is clearer than in other albums. In general, the album sounds more intimate and simple than *Deseos*. For instance, Lamgaifri's guitar mostly follows the vocal melodies. El Hanevi on *tbal* is persistent and static, acting mostly as a tight beat metronome. In fact, this album is, perhaps, the most linear in sound and production in comparison to the albums *Mariem Hassan and Leyoad* (2002) or *Deseos* (2005).

This album was composed by the poet Lamin Alal and Mariem Hassan. When all the lyrics and the modes of the poems were decided, the young Saharai guitarist Lamgaifri Brahim introduced the guitar, playing in the modes of Lamin's poems. Manuel Dominguez was also a main pillar in the construction of the lyrics of this album. For the

album *Shouka*, Nubenegra wanted a Saharai album based on the actuality of political events in contrast to other cultural songs.

The recording process continued with musical collaborations [dissemination] after Mariem Hassan, Lamgaifri and Hugo Westerdahl recorded the main structure of the songs. Collaborators in the album *Shouka* were: Malek Diew and Josemi Sanchez (guitars); Mel Seme (percussion); Jaime Muñoz (clarinet and flute); Behnam Samanai (daf and tonbak); and Davood Varzideh (ney). These collaborations were merely ornamenting the structure of the songs but not leading or soloing in any song. I define these musical collaborations as ‘background reinforcements’. For instance, in *Tefla madlouma* there is a *ney* sound in the background, which mostly blends with the rest of the leading sounds on the guitar, *tbal* and voice. Another example of ‘background reinforcements’ is the acoustic guitar playing a chord progression in *Alu ummi*. One could point out that the Senegalese guitar style played by Malik in *Salem* represents a perfect blend between Mande guitar and Saharai *Haul*. Nevertheless, these ‘background reinforcements’ were created between the studio musicians, sound engineers, and Nubenegra. Therefore, Hassan did not have any type of agency to decide which ‘background reinforcements’ could be included in her songs.

During the process of recording of an album, there is a system of musical aesthetics that is generally dominated by the record labels and sound engineers and not by the musicians (L. Meintjes, 2003: 129). In my opinion, the system of musical aesthetics imposed by Nubenegra in Hassan’s music is destined to embellish the sound of the album for non-Saharai musicians. For this reason, according to Hassan, she would like to participate in the final decision to select the new sounds recorded by international musicians for her album (1-08-2012). However, Nubenegra (as a human hub) dominates the mediation of the aesthetics and musical timbres included in Hassan’s music. This point shows the concept of human hubs as based on power relationships in which the hub (even if it is a human hub) by providing exposure to Hassan’s music feels it has the right to decide the musical aesthetics of her music. Thus, the human hub is not an altruistic medium that provides a social and musical circulation of certain transnational music from North to South.

	CHARAA	AGARRÁN	SERBAT	SERBAT 2	BLEIDA	AGASSAR	TGALFI DUBKA	MEDRA	
ENTAMÁS 1 KAR	Terwah		Shouka 1 Jelefne bi salam	El leil wana o M			Magat M D El chouhada	Id ohab	La tumchu anni Llora mi corazón
SEINIKAR	Lguman mbalgu	Aglana					Fergan Leyuad		
TEHSSAM 2 FAGU			Hijos de la R Maatala						
TEHARAR	Sid El Bashar Maimina Nabiyu rahma	Shauda Shouka 6 Azzagafa tSd	Shauda Salem tSn Ragsat naama		Shouka 6		Yasar geidu Alu ummi Mutamariyat tSd	Maimina	Ala Ahd Shald
SRAQ 3 SENNIMA		Shouka 7							
ACAURÉS (Sgater)	Bismi Allah						Kalat lelli		
TENETTYUGA (Jebuer) 4 RAJU						Shouka 8			
LIYEN	Wajadu Arareida		Hinwani Entia Allah	La intifada Ya arabia Danza de Smara		Baba Salama	El magil Soar Shouka 9 Halyu		
AADAL 6 YAMEANGARA- BEIGUI									
LEBTEIT poesia		El arabi	Shouka epilogo			Abeina u manna Adduhá			Tefia madlouma

Table 7. Diagram of Hassan’s songs from 2002-2010 organised by modes and rhythms (courtesy of Nubenegra).

In conclusion, Hassan’s album *Shouka* represents a musical interaction similar to the classic *Haul* between poet, singer, and guitarist. In musical terms, there is a re-enactment of *igagwen*’s forms of composing songs. On the other hand, there is a new musical negotiation between studio musicians, Nubenegra and Westerdahl (as a sound engineer) for some musical embellishments or ‘background reinforcements’ in which Hassan’s opinions are excluded. Thus, Nubenegra dominates the final decisions regarding non- Saharai musical timbres in the album *Shouka*. In terms of lyrics, the songs about the events happening to local people in Western Sahara enrich and expand the communication between the camps and the homeland producing a type of “transnational linkage” (R. Waldinger, 2004:1180). Hassan’s songs are still related to cultural, traditional, and national values, however, the exposure of *Shouka* becomes wider thanks to the mentioned transnational linkages in Western Sahara.

***El Aaiun egdat*: cosmopolitan agency in Saharai music**

This section focusses on Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* (Aaiun on fire) with regard to the glocalisation of the compositional process of this album by international musicians [not only as collaborators in musical performances as previously with Kepa], and the different types of social structures of communication in the lyrics of this album placed in Western Sahara, the camps, Spain and the Arab Spring [as part of the specific agents of the global market due to the global impact of this social movement]. Equally important, the majority of the lyrics in *El Aaiun egdat* are written by the poets, Beibuh, Badi and Bachir Ali, from *El Ualy*, in the 1970s. This section does not include the musical analysis of this album since Chapter Six will focus on the compositional process of *El Aaiun egdat*.

In 2012, Hassan's third album *El Aaiun egdat* was composed and represented by an international band of Spanish, German, Serbian, American and Mexican musicians. Hassan's international band is the result of the rich cultural and glocal coexistence in Spain by international musicians. As previously mentioned, Ritzer defines glocalisation as the different "interpretations of the global and the local" in a social context such as the spatial hubs in where Hassan interacts with her international band (2003: 193).

Despite the appearance of Spanish musicians in Hassan's live performances before 2012, these concerts were never based on a creative or compositional process. From 2006 to 2011, her Spanish collaborators, Kepa and Josemi, were able to play with her but were not part of the compositional process. Thus, in *El Aaiun egdat*, her music incorporated another type of musical interaction with her international band that was different from previous compositional processes in her albums *Deseos* or *Shouka*. This album involved the social and musical interaction with Hassan of international musicians; El Hanevi as the only local member of Hassan's band; Nubenegra [Dominguez and Zazie Schubert-Wurr] as producers; and Hugo Westerdahl as a music engineer in Axis studio. The compositional process of *El Aaiun egdat* took place in Villena (Spain).

The lyrics of the album *El Aaiun egdat* provide qualitative information about the Saharai struggle and it is probably the most politically informed album ever released

by Nubenegra. Similar to the album *Shouka* (2010), there are songs denouncing the situation of oppressed Saharais in the occupied territories. The song *Rahy El Aaiun egdat* is about the 20 000, or more, Saharais living in the improvised camps of *Gdeim Izik* outside Aaiun (capital of Western Sahara) in November 2010 (I. Cembrero, 2010). After twenty days of Saharai protest against the Moroccan invasion of Western Sahara, the Moroccan forces assaulted *Gdeim Izik*. *Rahy El Aaiun egdat* and *Gdeim Izik* also contain a transmigrant quality because they aim to communicate the Saharais residing in the homeland with their transnational communities (R. Waldinger, 2004:1180).

Rahy el Aaiun egdat

The brave oppose the invader
United together, rowing in the same direction,
No matter what happens
Aaiun is in flames
From the burning envy of the neighbours
El Aaiun is on fire.

On the other hand, and for the first time, there is a song about Hassan being attacked by five Moroccans in Madrid. In October 2009, five young men insulted her for wearing the *malhfa*. In reply to this attack, she wrote a song about national pride for her culture and her beautiful way of dressing. According to Mariem, this song also illustrates how Moroccan citizens are provoked by their government to dislike Saharai people (1-08-2012).

Almalhfa

Let me use the *malhfa*, with its bright colours.
It is our costume, we like to dress in it.
It distinguishes and identifies us.
Look how our women are wearing it.
It is an elegant garment. Especially the black-coloured *malhfa* of *nila*,
The traditional clothing of Saharai women.

Another political song in this album is *Arrabi al Arabe* (Arab Spring) a song that expresses the recent social discontent in North Africa mainly in Tunisia and Egypt.

According to the Saharai poet Bachir Ali (composer of the song *Arrabi al Arabe*), the events happening in *Gdeim Izik* (October-November, 2010) were the first sparks of the Arab Spring. *Arrabi al Arabe* aims to support people's sovereignty in the Arab world to choose their own forms of governing without being necessarily a western liberal kind of democracy. Therefore, the song *Arrabi al Arabe* does not imply western forms of governing the Arab states. According to Hassan, Bachir Ali insists that the song *Arrabi al Arabe* is another way of denouncing the failed attempt at decolonising Western Sahara. However, other scholars such as Tanoukhi and Mazrui contradict Bachir's poem and a great majority of the Saharai population's view about the Arab Spring by saying that this Arab Spring has been a "liberal and pro-democratic uprising, rather than either nationalistic, socialist or Islamic uprising" (2011: 148). In other words, the Saharai struggle remains the same: the resolution and decolonisation of Western Sahara without implying democratic or liberal forms of governing. The song *Arrabi al Arabe* demonstrates how a journalist (as part of the specific agents of the global market) can misinterpret the general views of the Saharais about the Arab Spring. Therefore, the political interpretation by the media and its audience is governed by the power structures of communication and its social interests.

However, in this thesis, *Arrabi al Arabe* helps to inform the listener about the Saharai poet's opinion in Hassan's song about the Arab Spring. One must note that Dominguez suggested to Bachir Ali to write this song in October 2011 (15-12-2011). Thus, the interaction between Dominguez and a Saharai poet, as in the album *Shouka*, is a platform to write poems about the social and political events happening in Western Sahara through Hassan's albums. In this case, Dominguez as a human hub seeks to obtain Bachir Ali's opinion on the Arab Spring as a form of representing the PF's ideals and its aim of decolonising Western Sahara. As a result, Hassan, as the transcultural representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra sings *Arrabi al Arabe* to international audiences.

Arab Spring

The Arab Spring was ignited by the spark that began in *Gdeim Izik*.

And the youth started the revolution in Tunisia.

And other oppressed overcame their fears

And the Egyptians fought against tyranny.
And the idea of freedom pervaded Yemen and Damascus.
And tents were pitched in many places in the way of *Gdeim Izik*.
And the same way the Libyans decided to organise themselves
To satisfy the craving for freedom.

Regarding cultural values in this album, there are two traditional songs *Arfa* and *Siyant laydad*, which are rearranged. *Siyant laydad* (The legacy) speaks of the ancestors and the responsibility of keeping Saharawi culture alive. *Arfa* is a children's song in *Aid el Kebir* (The lamb's feast), the children visit the tents asking for sweets, a similar activity to Halloween in the United States. These songs relate to the concept of social memory in relation to how certain songs can contribute to the remembrance of the ancestors in *Siyant laydad* or a traditional children's song in *Arfa*. Thus, the different forms of remembering tradition through song maintains and sustains the transnational community (P. Clavin, 2005: 434).

On the other hand, *Ana Saharawiia* (I am Saharawi) is a song that explains what is to be in the world as a Saharawi refugee:

Ana Saharawiia

I am Saharawi and want to live in my freed land.
I will be with my people wherever the battle for freedom will be fought.
We will bring down the invader.
He cannot imagine the bitterness that waits for him.
I am Saharawi and I want to live in my freed land.

The high content devoted to cultural values in Saharawi music is a sign of resistance; both from refugees in the camps as well as a transnational community in Spain. As previously mentioned, the cultural importance of Hassan's music resides in her national identity rather than her individual artistic agency. Thus, cultural values in her songs are a type of 'symbolic' representation of Saharawi musical culture. According to Rice, "modernity has also infiltrated, confronted, changed, and invigorated local forms of music making not yet fully engaged with the global market" (2003:154). In Hassan's case, local forms and cultural values are the main musical ingredients to fuse with other

musical practices provided by international musicians. Thus, Saharai cultural values and the *Haul* musical system are exposed to different interpretations in Hassan's music in *El Aaiun egdat*. In musical terms, the process of making this album will be discussed and examined in the next chapter, in which there is ethnographical data of the musical negotiation and innovation in this album based on observation and participation.

Representation of Mariem Hassan by Nubenegra in the global market

In this section, the musical representation of Mariem Hassan by Nubenegra is examined from three perspectives. First, her promotion through Nubenegra using the exoticism, global tastes and colonial attributes of the *World Music* market. Later, the cultural and national significance of Mariem Hassan as the representative of Saharai transcultural capital; and lastly the social analysis of Hassan related to women's gender studies, specifically on the study of the Arab woman and her similarities to Oum Khulthoum [an Egyptian singer known as the "mother of the Arabs"]. The comparison between Khulthoum and Hassan is valuable for the study of Arab women in different parts of North Africa. In general, this section helps to understand the relationship between Mariem Hassan and Nubenegra with the specific agents of the global market. For instance, in 2011, Nubenegra's profile starts with a clear reference about Hassan and Western Sahara:

Mariem Hassan has become the most representative voice of the music of Western Sahara throughout the world. With two electric guitars and two *tbals*, she has synthesised the spirit of *Haul* and has been able to place it in the twentyfirst century.⁹⁶

Mariem Hassan's artistic identity is attractive to the west because western record labels are in search of original artists coming from 'exotic' or unknown places in the west. As a result, the rise of exoticism is provoked by the concept of the 'other' by western audiences. Thus, the contextualisation of Saharai music become global in the west through Nubenegra. This point relates to Bennett's views on global tastes because Saharai music promoted by Nubenegra in the *World Music* industry is sold to a specific global audience (2004: 2).

⁹⁶ Retrieved September 13, 2013 from <http://www.mariemhassan.com/downloads/MH%20ENdossier2011.pdf>

Bennett's view on "global tastes" demonstrates that some western record labels have described many types of African music as a simple global experience. For this reason, Hassan's artistic agency through Nubenegra can also be examined in relation to Fela Kuti in Nigeria (W. Mano, 2011), Thomas Mapfumo in Zimbabwe (T. Turino, 1998), Ongala in Tanzania (O. Reitov & M. Korpe, 2004) or Rachid Baba Ahmed in Algeria (M. Mehdid, 2006). The African artists mentioned above usually sing against their own national political context. On the other hand, the only difference between these African artists and Hassan is that the Saharawi artist always sings in favour of the PF. Thus, the idea of a musician representing the music of his/her country becomes an issue of "identity, place and belonging in different social and urban and socio-political contexts" (A. Bennett, 2004: 5).

Hassan's artistic identity reflects the convictions of the Saharawi people and reinforces the political struggle. Moreover, by way of Nubenegra, she exposes her representation of the PF to international audiences and, as a result, she becomes a musical and a political figure globally. These musical and nationalist attributes in Hassan's music are mostly provided by the promotion of her music by Nubenegra. For that reason, Nubenegra is always in search of the more distinctive social and musical features as signs of maintaining the cultural tradition in her music. For instance, musically, Nubenegra promotes Hassan's knowledge of the *Haul* musical system from the Hassani society.

Politically, the record label exposes Hassan's songs of resistance to create a stronger sense of Saharawi identity; and equally provokes a commercial interest (including exoticism) in the western world. Thus, she is able to promote her musical culture and the Saharawi political struggle to a foreign public. This type of musical recognition by the global market in Hassan's music has been defined by Appadurai as "ethnoscapes" (1990: 297) in the discipline of anthropology. Hence, in this social ethnoscape, Hassan obtained Spanish nationality in 2012 in order to have more facilities and resources to travel and perform concerts abroad. However, she remains ideologically and culturally Saharawi. In other words, Hassan is aware of her role as a spokesperson for her country

in exile.⁹⁷ She is a public representative of her country in every performance either in the camps or in the western world. Hassan's artistic recognition in the global market is through Nubenegra, therefore, it is a result of the international promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

On the other hand, Hassan's artistic image is exposed to global audiences as a woman from the desert that does not only entertain the western public. This is not a mere artistic construction of the Arab world in parallel to other Arabic women such as: Oum Khulthoum in Egypt; or Dime mint Abba in Mauritania. Khulthoum was a popular figure in the Arab world and Dime was the representation of Mauritanian *Haul*, but Mariem Hassan is the Saharai voice in exile. Further, she is the representative of the Saharai women, politically and culturally essential in the construction of Saharai society. Saharai women are distinctive in the Arab world with regard to agency, 'Arabness' and gender and, since 1974, Saharai women have had a committee called *Union de mujeres Saharais* (National Union of Saharai Women). As Lippert states, "women were one of the main three groups of Polisario in 1974, the others were students and workers. The result was the National Union of Saharai Women" (1992: 640). The prominent role of Saharai women in the revolution is reflected in every social and political sector of Saharai society in the refugee camps. As an example, more than 70 per cent of the school teachers in the camps are Saharai women (J. Allan, 2011: 86).

The Saharai revolution promoted gender equality. As Lippert observes, "before [the revolution] in the *djemaa* (the traditional assembly of tribal notables also called *Eid arbain*), women were not part of the assembly" (1992: 644). In general, in Saharai music, women are more participatory than men. Women play *tbal* because this percussive instrument is a sign of womanhood in contrast to other sub-Saharan countries where percussion is a symbol of manhood – and perhaps even denotes the

⁹⁷ Hassan's popularity in the global market has been well received by Saharai people both in the refugee camps and in Western Sahara. Every time I mention her in the *World Music* scene, in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) related to Western Sahara or to Saharais, the reaction is one of respect and deference to the artist. Her artistic period between 2002 and 2012 as a solo artist represents her country and the image of Saharai woman.

power structure of the society. Even in Mauritania, men play the *tbal* and women only play *ardin* (see Table 4 and Appendix 1).

The representation of Hassan in Saharawi culture is that of a cosmopolitan woman who has been divorced once and had five children from two different men.⁹⁸ The first time she divorced was when she was only thirteen years old. Mariem Hassan had an arranged marriage with a Saharawi teenager from Smara. According to her, she cried endlessly and protested during the wedding ceremony. Due to the uncomfortable situation between Hassan and her first husband (and the frustration of both families) Hassan divorced for the first time. Arranged marriages ceased to exist after 1975. Hassan represents the break with the old Bedouin system even before the forced migration of the Saharawi (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011).

As an artist, one could argue that Hassan has a certain resemblance to what Oum Khulthoum represents in the Arab world. Oum Khulthoum was the image of the modern Arab woman from the 1970s when she publicly contributed to pan-Arabism.⁹⁹ Further, these two women constructed the image of the modern Arab women as being concerned with the social reality of their countries and of the Arab world. However, Hassan has played concerts to support the Saharawi struggle as well as cultivating her image as an Arab woman who prays daily and respects her religion. The biggest resemblance with Khulthoum is probably the clear image of intervention based on citizenship and national or, in the case of both, pan-Arab consciousness, and educating their audiences. As Lohman comments on the Egyptian singer:

Oum was the possessor of the most devoted and most compassionate human heart, who dedicated her life and everything she possessed in artistic magnificence, the utmost effort, and the height of giving to her homeland and her Arabness (2010: 2).

⁹⁸ In Saharawi society in the refugee camps, divorce is legal as many times as requested by both men and women (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011).

⁹⁹ According to Barakat, pan-Arabism was a response to colonialism in order to rise up a new national identity in the Arab world (1985: 72). In addition, pan-Arabism has been used in Egypt against Israel's policies towards Palestine (N. Tanoukhi & A. Mazrui, 2011: 151).

Similarly, Hassan is the Saharai image of generosity and humility in the camps. In addition, her image, as the representation of her social struggle, is part of her artistic agency. The only difference between these two artists in socio-political agency is that Hassan's music has been political from the beginning whereas the Egyptian singer was a social activist only in her last seven years, from 1968 to 1975 (L. Lohman, 2010: 2). On the other hand, Hassan demonstrates that her music is always linked to the representation of the Saharai struggle and linked to a studied set of dispositions in this research formed by the PF, Saharai audience, Nubenegra and the specific agents of the global market.

Musically speaking, Saharai people and Egyptians value vocal improvisation skills.¹⁰⁰ Saharai culture values improvisation as the musician's skill to construct different melodic forms in the *Haul* modes. In addition, the powerful timbre of Hassan's voice is highly appreciated in Saharai musical aesthetics. In Saharai music, *azawan* is defined as the musical skills that a good singer possesses (see Chapter Three).

Another common feature between Oum Khulthoum and Mariem Hassan is the way they dress in traditional and elegant costumes.¹⁰¹ Hassan always performs on stage dressed in her most elegant *malhf*.¹⁰² Hassan's clothes during performances aims to show her musical and social representation of Saharai music. With regard to Hassan's clothes on stage, the song *Almalhfa* (Track 21) is a tribute to the Saharai cultural dress. In addition, the *malhfa* is a national symbol of the Saharai with powerful connotations of ancient Hassanya culture. The colourful and different types of *malhfa* are different to other Arab women in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya or even in the Gulf where the dress is usually black. International audiences can recognise Mariem Hassan and the representation of her country through her clothing on stage. However, according to her, "the use of *malhfa* is misinterpreted in the west as they consider that being covered with

¹⁰⁰ "Oum Khulthoum was distinguished musically by her improvisatory skills and vocal stamina" (L. Lohman, 2010: 1).

¹⁰¹ "Oum Khulthoum always displayed a consistent concern with her physical appearance in posed photographs, wearing conservative attire and placing a scarf over her skirt hem and her knees when seated" (*ibid*, 2010: 8).

¹⁰² Women's traditional dress in Saharai culture.

our traditional costumes is a sign of oppression caused by our men” (interview, 1-12-2011). This point is consistent with Ruby and the use of *hijab* in Canada. The author says that:

In Canada, the *hijab* is often seen as a symbol of Muslim women’s oppression and a restriction to their mobility, particularly in the media. Many Muslim women, however, claim that the *hijab* empowers them in numerous ways: making their identities distinct; taking control of their bodies; and giving them a sense of belonging to a wider Muslim world (2006: 54).

Consistent with Rubi’s statement about the use of *hijab* by Muslim women, Mariem Hassan takes pride in being dressed as a Saharawi woman during her international performances. Moreover, for her, the use of *malhfa* not only represents her Saharawi identity but includes her agency as a Muslim woman (interview, 1-12-2011).

The *malhfa* also reveals a conflict between Moroccan citizens and Saharawis in Europe (Mariem Hassan interview, 1-12-2011). For instance, during her tour in Germany in June 2013, a Moroccan citizen in the audience started to insult the artist by saying that “Saharawi women dress like prostitutes and only look for Spanish men to look after them”. On the other hand, during the same tour, there were other concerts in which Moroccan citizens came to see Mariem Hassan’s concerts and respected her identity. In both cases, the *malhfa* represented the Saharawi women’s identity; and provoked different reactions by the Moroccan citizens during Hassan’s performances in Germany.



Figure 22. Mariem Hassan in Madrid (January 11, 2012).

Other important features in the construction of a traditional Saharawi identity are conveyed through her body language and the dances that occur during concerts. The use of her hands to represent the camel's steps in the sand, or the way in which she covers part of her face with her *malhfa* while dancing are part of the main features of Saharawi women's identity and modesty. Saharawi dances usually occur during traditional festivities such as weddings or national celebrations.

Unlike other artists in the Arab world, including Oum Khulthoum,¹⁰³ who are characterised by their static pose on stage, Hassan is not a static figure during her concerts. The use of her hands and body even when she is at times, standing still, sets her apart from other Arab artists. For instance, the constant movement of her arms opening them or placing them on her heart offers a welcoming and sensitive feeling to her public, despite the fact that most of the public do not understand Hassanya. Another common feature of her body language is when she 'nods' with her index finger, which

¹⁰³ Lohman states that Khulthoum did not move or gesticulate while singing on stage (2010: 8).

represents the political denouncement or pain of her people. Therefore, body language is an important part of the musical construction of Hassan's image in the west and in performance. In addition, body language reflects cultural memory in the invocation of traditional dances and movements of Saharai culture even before exile. Olick and Robbins define "cultural memory as the transmission of meaning from the past" (1998:111-12). Thus, Hassan's body language on stage could be defined as "cultural memory" or as a highly symbolic experience. Her artistic expression during performances is inherited as part of Saharai musical culture as well as being a form of showing her identity, not only as Saharai, but as a Saharai woman.

Hassan's music represents social and cultural modernity in the Arab world. The female affiliation in the Saharai cause and the recognition of women's voice in Saharai music does not imply that the same gender issues are present in Western Sahara that are perhaps, evident in other Arab cultures. Joseph suggests that information about Arab women's agency in terms of decision-making is generally related to oppression by men. Joseph states that "Arab women are seen as victims, oppressed, having too little agency and therefore needing rescue" (2012: 10). However, this is not the case of Saharai women in their transnational context. Further, Lippert states that "in the refugee camps 90% of the congress were women, 70-80% in the popular *daira* (town), 45-70% in each wilaya (province), and over 50% of each national popular congress" (1992: 645). It should be noted that this is the natural evolution of Saharai culture and tradition by Saharai people themselves and not, by any means, an intervention based on western liberal values or human rights' discourse. In fact, the role of women in the revolution is a counter to the kind of discourse that views Arab culture and Arab men as oppressive and Arab women without agency.

Hassan was the pioneer in presenting Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra to the Western world. In 2005, she was the first Saharai woman to release an album as a solo artist with *Deseos*. To a certain extent, she represents Saharai women in the international arena through her costumes, body language, and singing. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, there is not a national or international appreciation of Hassan as an individual artist but rather this is replaced by the representation of her transcultural capital. The responsible agents for the use of Hassan's individual artistic agency as

representative of Saharai music are primarily the PF (institutional hub) in the camps and Nubenegra (human hub) globally, both as hubs of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

With regard to Hassan's lyrics, there is a contrast between modernity through her lyrics reclaiming her homeland and tradition through her costumes and body language in Hassan's artistic agency. Another characteristic, which is often surprising for western audiences, is when she sings with a joyful expression on her face even though her lyrics are often about the conflict of Western Sahara. She alludes to the fact that her people have suffered as refugees for 38 years, therefore, when she sings it is to bring courage and strength to the listeners (1-8-2012); she has to sing with happiness and pride in order to show international audiences the strength of Saharai people.

In Hassan's agency, her gender is the representation of local women in Saharai music. A discussion about gender and Hassan's artistic agency implies the prominent role of women in Saharai music through body language, singing, dancing and playing *tbal* (see Appendix 1). In any case, she is not seen as a female object but as an important figure in Saharai music in exile propagating the cultural and political messages of her country. In my view, studies on music and women mostly imply feminism as a tool to reclaim equality (S. Whiteley, 2000:1)¹⁰⁴ for women who are seen as sexual objects, despite the importance of their artistic careers (E. Teeter, 1993: 68).¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, if one limits the discussion to music and women in musical performance, the predominant role of women in Hassan's music reflects that Saharai women are respected and valued in their local culture. Women's participation in the Saharai liberation struggle has been cultural, political, and social. Woman had full responsibility for the camp during the frequent absences of the men when they were warring or trading.

¹⁰⁴ "The concepts of postmodernism implies a shift from 'equality' to 'difference', 'otherness' and 'plurality' where gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age and class are all recognised as relevant in the formation of society" (S. Whiteley, 2000: 2).

¹⁰⁵ "Female musicians appear in many roles: as singers, instrumentalists, both as soloists and in orchestras, and more than merely objects" (E. Teeter, 1993: 68).

They were also responsible for making, repairing, and moving the tents; for milking goats and camels; and for participating in major tribal decisions, including those concerning Koranic schooling for male and female children (A. Lippert, 1992: 638).

And

Saharai women begun the arduous task of turning their chaotic refugee camps into a structured community capable of sustaining their population until freedom could be achieved (J. Allan, 2011: 78).

In conclusion, artistic agency in Hassan's albums is mostly provided by musicians, poets, and producers of her music [except her voice and its symbolic value representing Saharai musical culture]. Hassan is known by her voice and improvisatory skills because other people are responsible for writing her lyrics (poets) and music (musicians). It has been important to analyse the representation of her in terms of her personal agency from her initiation as a singer in Western Sahara, in the 1970s. This point coheres with what Lucia defines as "memory through enactment". In reference to the South African artist, Abdullah Ibrahim, Lucia notes that a traditional artist who has lived in different social contexts due to forced migration tries to use memory as a form artistic identity (2002: 138).

In general, this chapter attempts to discuss the different forms in which Hassan individually represents Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra through her musical talent and visual aesthetics. Hassan's agency gradually became essential in the construction of Saharai modern music through the record label Nubenegra. The transition from *Leyoad* to Mariem Hassan has brought new changes into Saharai music; from representing Western Sahara with a transnational band created by Nubenegra to a solo artist representing the same. There were also changes in the lyrics according to the actuality of events happening in the occupied territories or a criticism of Spain's role in Western Sahara. In my view, transnational Saharai agency consists of the communication between actors (Saharais living in Western Sahara, the camps and Spain) and its musical practices. In such circumstances, Hassan is responsible for the representation of many people involved in the continuum and innovation of

Saharaui music. Her artistic agency is not related to “free will as a free agent able to make choices” (B. Barnes, 2000: 3) but to the musical representation of her country through different dichotomies such as tradition/innovation or cultural values/nationalism.

Therefore, Hassan is a transcultural representation of Saharaui music. Moreover, in my opinion, her individual artistic agency is not valued in the west because most of her fans do not know any other Saharaui artist, therefore, she is perceived as the known representative of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra internationally. Chapter Four examined “the interactions of a specific individual” (J. Stock, 2001: 5) as Hassan with Nubenegra in comparison to the relationship between the record label with *Leyoad* or Nayim Alal. The recognition of Hassan’s exceptional interaction with Nubenegra takes in account the study of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra previously examined in order to address the significance of one artist representing her transcultural capital. Chapter Five will provide insight into how Hassan and her new international band innovate Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra during the compositional process and recording sessions of the album *El Aaiun egdat*.

Chapter Five

El Aaiun egdat: Innovation in the transcultural capital of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra

Chapter Four examined Hassan's agency in contrast to other Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra regarding innovation, dissemination, commodification and promotion in the global market. In Chapter Four, there has been an examination of how Hassan becomes the representation of her transcultural capital through the realisation of her solo albums globally.

Chapter Five also examines Hassan's agency providing a new insight into how her international band innovates Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra during the compositional process and recording sessions of the album *El Aaiun egdat*. This chapter also provides a musical examination as a participant and composer [accidental hub] of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*. In Chapter Five, the concept of bimusicality (M. Hood, 1960) offers the possibility of analysing the compositional process for the album *El Aaiun egdat* between Mariem Hassan and me. The bimusical study of such compositional process observes the conjunction between Hassan's musical system [*Haul*] and my musical knowledge. As a result of this bimusical process, *El Aaiun egdat* includes cosmopolitan musical styles such as blues or jazz, and even influences from neighbouring countries such as Mali. To illustrate this, there is an analysis of the musical process of composing the aforementioned album (December 2011), and the recording sessions in Axis, Madrid (January-February 2012).

Considering the recording sessions in Axis studio, I include an analysis of the musical negotiation between Hassan's musicians and the Spanish record label. Dominguez' idea in *El Aaiun egdat* was to fuse Saharai *Haul* with other musical influences. In order to develop the idea of this album, Nubenegra selected various professional musicians from different countries. For that reason, there is an examination of the extensive negotiation of individuals with different musical backgrounds that came together in Hassan's *El*

Aaiun egdat.¹⁰⁶ As mentioned in Chapter Four, the production of *El Aaiun egdat* is the first experience of an international band representing Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Due to the participation of international musicians in the production of this album, this chapter includes a new personal metaphor on Rice's methodology called "music as an innovative and transnational practice". Innovative here, refers to the participation of international musicians who incorporate new musical ideas in Hassan's music and, Meintjes' idea of innovation to describe how "a musical process is represented and negotiated in the process of in-studio sound mixing.... [A]nd figuratively played out in the interaction of sound engineers, producers, and musicians" (2003: 8). In this chapter, Meintjes' view on musical innovation also refers to the cosmopolitan content of Hassan's musical negotiation in *El Aaiun egdat* by international musicians and their approach to her music, a western sound engineer [Hugo Westerdahl]; Nubenegra as a human hub, and my analysis as a participant and observer as guitarist during the realisation of this album.

Considering Bourdieu's notion of habitus, this chapter deals with "the cultured habitus and the artistic field" (1987: 203). The French scholar refers to the study of the social history of the artistic field; in this case, the social structures of communication between Hassan and her international band in the realisation of *El Aaiun egdat*, a western sound engineer in the studio, and Nubenegra. This type of cultured habitus provokes "the elaboration of a new artistic language" (*ibid*: 205) in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Equally important, a form of analysing cultured habitus in a personal objective-subjective form is also defined by Kiwan and Meinhof as "accidental hub" (2011: 5). In this thesis, the concept of accidental hub refers to the self-reflexive observations as a participant and observer in the compositional process of *El Aaiun egdat*. In addition, the concept of accidental hub serves to address my use of the *Haul*

¹⁰⁶The process to select the most appropriate musicians to represent Hassan's music took several months during 2012. Nubenegra chose people from different countries living either in Germany or in Spain. There was a harmonica player from Berlin and a guitarist from Los Angeles (also living in Berlin) that were selected by Nubenegra although they resigned at the end for personal reasons. From Spain, the record label contracted a Mexican flute player, a bass player from Canary Islands and I from Alicante (Spain). Thus, the final result of *El Aaiun egdat* since Nubenegra proposed this project in June 2011 is relevant in the study of Saharai transnational music becoming cosmopolitan through German, American, Spanish and Mexican musicians.

modal system with other musical styles during the process of composing songs with Hassan. Therefore, the use of “accidental hub” in this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the cultural and musical communication involved in the process of composing and recording Hassan’s album *El Aaiun egdat*.

Nubenegra’s proposal for me to be Hassan’s composer and guitarist

This section contributes to an understanding of my participation in Hassan’s music and the musical study of the album *El Aaiun egdat*. In June 2011, I organised several interviews with Manuel Dominguez at Nubenegra’s office in Madrid. The aim of these meetings was to obtain information for my MMus thesis on Saharai music in the refugee camps. My questions to him were about his trips to the refugee camps, especially the one in 1997 when Nubenegra recorded and collected a precious archive of Saharai music that later became the triple album, *Sahrauis* (1998). This productive and extended interview about Dominguez’ experiences with Saharai music helped in the decision that I be Hassan’s next guitarist. Before this interview, the record label acknowledged my participation in Saharai music at weddings and other social contexts in Spain. Further, Nubenegra knew about my interest in mixing *Haul* with other musical styles from neighbouring countries such as Mali.¹⁰⁷ Thus, Nubenegra’s proposition that I be Hassan’s guitarist provided me the opportunity to compose music based on my knowledge of northwest Africa and Saharai music.¹⁰⁸ In addition, my familiarity with the *Haul* modes helped to create an understanding of trust between Hassan and myself described as *azawan* in Chapter Two. *Azawan* is defined as the understanding of the translocal musical language and its cultural connotations. Similar to this, Marcus and Solis approximate the concept of *azawan* when they define *tarab* (ecstasy) as “the musical feeling to perform” (2004: 161). Therefore, as a non-Saharai guitarist in Hassan’s music, I had the opportunity to develop the concept of *azawan* with the most popular Saharai artist in the global market. Equally important, with regard to the concept of *habitus*, there was an opportunity to study the different types of relationship

¹⁰⁷ This point refers to personal compositions in my albums with Dimeuwe and Demachena in which I combine Saharai musical influences with other styles.

¹⁰⁸ My knowledge of northwest African music is based on my musical experiences in Mali, Senegal and Algeria with national artists.

between Nubenegra as a human and accidental hub, Hassan as the representative of her transcultural capital and myself as an accidental hub contributing to a new musical form of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra.

During my first meetings with Nubenegra in 2011, Dominguez' proposal that I be Hassan's guitarist had to be approved by this Saharaui artist. At this stage, she did not want to have a Saharaui guitarist because she experienced serious problems regarding musical interaction with Hussein (2011) and Lamgaifri (2010). These problems were due to the lack of understanding between Hassan and her guitarists in her vision to innovate Saharaui music. Hussein and Lamgaifri were accustomed to accompanying Hassan's voice with melodies in the background in a traditional manner. As a result, Hussein and Lamgaifri played traditional *Haul* guitar and they were not able to introduce new musical elements in her music. However, the Saharaui artist wanted to apply syncretic and innovative values to her music as in the past when she composed songs with Baba Salama and Boika in her album *Deseos* (2005). This experience coheres with Lopes who points that syncretism is a "reinterpretation and reinvention of folk, popular, and classical music practices in the creation of this music tradition" (1999: 25). Further, Lopes notes that in the process of musical acculturation, "syncretism refers to the process of forging together elements from different cultures" (*ibid*: 26) in which Hussein and Lamgaifri did not participate in Hassan's music.

At this stage, Nubenegra and Hassan decided to work with non-Saharaui musicians who were familiar with Saharaui music. For that reason, they confirmed their final invitation for me to join in the production of her next album. At the same time, Dominguez asked me to go to the Saharaui refugee camps to perform with Hassan in November 2011. The project in the camps consisted of playing concerts in the *wilayas* of *Auserd*, *Smara* and *Aaiun*. The group was formed by: El Hanevi on *tbal*, Hassan on lead vocals, Ryan Donohue (an American guitarist from Los Angeles), Marko Jovanovic (German-Bosnian harmonica player) and me (a Spanish guitarist from Alicante). As a result, Nubenegra formed a new international band representing Hassan's music.¹⁰⁹ At the

¹⁰⁹ One week before travelling to the refugee camps, three NGO workers were kidnapped by a terrorist cell in *Rabuni* (the diplomatic *daira* in the Saharaui refugee camps). After this event, the Spanish government advised its citizens to not travel to the Saharaui refugee camps (M. Gonzalez & I. Cembrero,

same time, Hassan had the first opportunity to record an album with an international band creating a type of compositional and social interaction with musicians that are not familiar with the *Haul* modal system. Further, one has to note that Nubenegra acted as a human hub for the possibility of Hassan having an international band. As Dominguez told me:

During Hassan's first album, Baba Salama was the responsible for organising Hassan's band and all the musical arrangements. When Salama died in 2005, Hassan was not able to find her own musicians until the present moment. Since 2005, I was responsible for finding her musicians and even for deciding which musician had the necessary skills to be in Hassan's band" (15-12-2011).

Therefore, Dominguez had to act as a human hub making decisions about the incorporation of Hassan's band members because of the unwillingness of Hassan to select her own musicians. Therefore, in this case, the concept of human hub is used not only to sustain and promote Hassan's music but also to "make it possible" by Dominguez.

Mariem Hassan, international musicians, translocal poets and Nubenegra: The compositional process in Villena (Spain)¹¹⁰

This section describes how this album has been composed between the international musicians, Hassan and Saharai poets residing in the camps. This section also

2011). My final decision was not to travel to the camps with Nubenegra and Mariem Hassan, resulting in the risk of not being part of Hassan's band anymore. The rest of Nubenegra's expedition (including Ryan and Marco) decided to go to the camps despite the hostile conditions. According to Nubenegra, in November 2011, Hassan's new band had a great response among the local Saharai people in the camps. When they returned from the camps, they decided to retain me in her project. The reason for my membership in the band was due to my knowledge of *Haul* music, which contributed to the understanding between Hassan and the western musicians who lacked sufficient knowledge on the *Haul* modal system and its rhythms. I gained this type of translocal musical credibility of playing Saharai music by participating in transcultural gatherings in Spain; and through the making of my documentary *Los mares del desierto* (The seas of the desert) based on the music and its social context in the camps (L. Gimenez, 2006). In reference to this type of personal musical interaction in a non-western musical style, Trimillos states that "as a foreign practitioner (in Saharai music), cultural [or rather musical] credibility can be achieved by studying and establishing a performance career within the host society (2004: 45). Thus, as non-Saharai, I was accepted by Mariem Hassan as her guitarist for her new album *El Aaiun egdat*.

¹¹⁰ Nubenegra set up a time between the 30th of November and 10th of December to compose songs for Hassan's album in Villena (Spain). The people involved in this project were Hassan, El Hanevi (*tbal*), Ryan and me (guitars). Marko, the harmonica player, decided to stay in Berlin and come to Madrid for the recording sessions in Axis studios in January 2012.

contributes in analysing the social and musical interaction between Hassan, El Hanevi and me during the process of composing *El Aaiun egdat*. Further, there is a description of the interaction between us [as musicians and composers] and Nubenegra's attempt in this album to fuse Saharai music with other musical styles. Such an interaction between musicians and Nubenegra led to what Bourdieu called "cultured habitus" (1987: 203) or a new artistic language produced by the interaction of the agents mentioned above.

On the 30th of November 2011, Vadya El Hanevi, Ryan Donohue, Zazie Schubert-Wurr, Manuel Dominguez and Mariem Hassan came to my house in Villena (Alicante-Spain).¹¹¹ Dominguez and Schubert-Wurr, as representatives of Nubenegra, informed the musicians of the main idea for the album *El Aaiun egdat*. Nubenegra wanted a product containing blues and rock fused with *Haul* music. Donohue was responsible for providing blues and rock on his guitar, while my responsibility was to keep a sense of *Haul* music in the album. On the other hand, Hassan and El Hanevi had to maintain their traditional Saharai style of playing music.

In relation to the multiple representations of individual agency of an African musician performing in Europe, Perman states that Dutiro (a Zimbabwean artist) "brings seemingly disparate performance practices together in response to his multiple positions as a Shona musician, Zimbabwean performer, professional mbira player, teacher, traveler, and descendant of his ancestors" (T. Perman, 2007: 28). Following Perman's views, Hassan's band brought multiple positions to the Saharai artist not only as transnationals or refugees but as global and cosmopolitan by introducing international musicians and their new forms of accompanying Hassan's music. There was an exercise of social integration during the creation process with Hassan and her international band that is defined as cosmopolitanism. The idea of cosmopolitanism also refers to "any individual sharing common values in a society" (A. Dijkstra, K. Geuijen & A. Ruijter 2001: 56) such as the process of composing Hassan's album. Further, musicians involved in the compositional process of the album *El Aaiun egdat* found their own individual creativity in this project despite cultural differences. This point is consistent

¹¹¹ Ryan only participated in rhythmic guitars that did not appear in the album in the end. For that reason, I do not include Ryan as part of the final result of this album.

with Taylor's theory on "musical collaboration" in cosmopolitan societies (2007: 14). Taylor emphasises the importance of individual creativity in a music ensemble such as Hassan's band because it provides new forms of musical hybridity; and a reflection of the cosmopolitan cultures found in the western world (*ibid*).

The lyrics for each song were already written by recognised poets residing in the refugee camps and who had worked previously on Hassan's album before the compositional process of *El Aaiun egdat*. Those poets are Lamin Alal, Bachir Ali, Beibuh and Zaim Alal.¹¹² Moreover, in this transnational circulation of writing lyrics for Hassan's songs from the camps by the above mentioned poets, fifty per cent of the copyright of each song is given to the lyricist; and the other fifty per cent to the music composer.¹¹³ Thus, poets are as important as musicians during the compositional process of Hassan's songs and in the creative process of Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra in general. This type of mediation between a musician and poet in such transnational music is not addressed by Kiwan and Meinhof (2011) or even by Meintjes (2003). In Kiwan and Meinhof's studies of transnational music, they address a transnational musician as the different types of hubs involved in the promotion of a transnational individual either in the North or in the South (2011: 4). Meintjes defines mediation as the power structure, during the process of recording an album, between a record label, sound engineers and the musicians (2003: 8). However, in my view, the mediation between the musicians themselves and the poets is also relevant for the study of Saharawi music as transnational because, in terms of power structures, Hassan has the decision to choose which poets write her songs. Hassan's songs are based on the ideas and themes that she suggests to the poet.

As observed in Chapter Two, regarding cultural values in Saharawi music, the lyrics were the initial idea for composing in *Haul*. It means that the musicians invented melodies inspired by a poem previously composed. For this reason, the collaboration between Mariem Hassan and the poets in *El Aaiun egdat* is an inherited cultural practice

¹¹² The fact that the lyrics of this album were written by poets in the camps also denotes the Saharawi transcultural habitus involved in the process of the production of this album.

¹¹³ *Sociedad General de Autores* (SGAE) is the responsible institution for Hassan's music copyrights.

from classic *Haul*. This point makes reference to Turino's theories related to transnational communities and their cultural practices:

Immigrant communities and diasporic groups often emphasise cultural practices and styles from the original home as indices and activities that unite and maintain the group in the new location (2003:59).

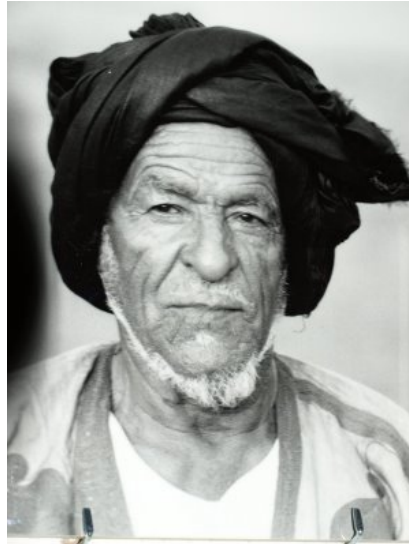


Figure 23. Beibuh, prominent figure in the construction of Saharaui modern *Haul*.

<http://generaciondelaamistad.blogspot.com.es/2009/05/mi-te-con-beibuh-el-decano-poeta.html>

Zaim Alal	Lamin Alal	Beibuh	Bachir Ali	Bachir Hamdi
- <i>Adumua</i>	- <i>Almalhfa</i> - <i>Eftaht almayal</i>	- <i>Gdeim Izik</i> - <i>Ana Saharauiia</i> - <i>Aulad Sahara</i> - <i>Rahy El Aaiun egdat</i> - <i>Annasr shouru tetnada</i>	- <i>Arrabi al Arabe</i> - <i>Tarham ya allah shuhada</i> - <i>Adumua</i>	- <i>Yalli mashi anni</i>

Table 8. Table of poets participating in the album, *El Aaiun egdat*¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴*Arfa* and *Siyant laydad* are traditional songs and the poet is unknown according to Mariem Hassan.

The process of composition for the album *El Aaiun egdat* was led by the *Haul* mode in which the song was written. The second step was Hassan creating a vocal melody where I improvised the *Haul* mode in which the songs were written. The third step was to harmonise the song in different ways, recording them on my digital recorder and finally sending it to Dominguez by email. Finally, he had to approve the songs we composed. Therefore, the compositional process of this album is firstly dependant on the musicians and poets; and later on the decisions of Dominguez, as Nubenegra's director.

The harmonisation of the songs was made through my knowledge of *Haul* with different musical influences either from neighbouring countries such as Mali (Wassoulou, Songhay and Mande music), *chimurenga* (Zimbabwe), blues, rock and jazz. A *World Music* ensemble such as Hassan's band in the album *El Aaiun egdat* is not only a characterisation of modernity, tradition and nationalism but also of Saharai musical innovation through her international musicians. For that reason, I apply the concept of bimusicality in order to address the different musical influences in *El Aaiun egdat*. In this chapter, bimusicality means a western musician, who studies other musical systems and its musical context, can be useful in order to construct and negotiate a new musical product. On the other hand, for other ethnomusicologists such as Nettl, the study of bimusicality intended to create a general method to examine a non-western musical style rather than to promote different ways of composing music with two musical systems (1994: 141). Moreover, when the concept of bimusicality is concerned with the creational process of music, the two musical systems used produces a new form of interaction between musicians. This new musical interaction between two musical systems also produces a new social relationship between Hassan and I which is defined by Bourdieu as "cultured habitus" (1987: 203). In this case, the concept of "cultured habitus" refers to the new forms of artistic interaction in an intercultural context and the use of two musical system in the compositional process of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*.

In reference to this social interaction between Hassan and I, my musical and cultural knowledge of Saharai music contributed to a better understanding with the Saharai artist. For instance, during the musical arrangements of her songs, the artist's musical compositions required special attention regarding the use of quarter tones and the

readjustment of melodic motifs. In other words, her use of melodies always emphasises the use of accents in certain notes in order to achieve her desired sound in the songs recorded for the album *El Aaiun egdat*. I refer to my musical understanding with Mariem Hassan in terms of musical readjustments (S. Marcus & T. Solis, 2004: 165). These musical readjustments mean that my knowledge of the *Haul* musical system sometimes is not sufficient during the compositional process in Hassan's song. The musical arrangements in Hassan's music also requires a special attention to the use of glissandos and quarter tones in order to achieve the desired sound by the Saharai artist. The mentioned microarrangments in Hassan's songs are later examined in this chapter by the use of bimusicality in different ways.

On the other hand, one has to note that prior to my involvement in this album, Hassan had not found anyone in Europe who was familiar with the study of Saharai music. In addition, as a result of my previous experiences with Saharai musicians in Spain and in the camps, I was able to show her the similarities of the *Haul* modal system with other musical scales in the Mande region, such as the Wassoulou or Tuareg from Mali. In other cases, the musical similarities were with cosmopolitan styles such as modal jazz or pentatonic scales used in American blues. As Solis states, "ethnomusicologists bring the field with them to every rehearsal, constantly reassessing our personal theories and competencies" (2004: 2). In other words, the musical knowledge of an ethnomusicologist can be applied to the creative process with Mariem Hassan or any artist, thereby producing musical innovation.

As a case in point, Trimillos observes that ethnomusicologists involved in certain *World Music* ensembles analyse such music as both "subjective-personal (original musical and cultural experience) and objective-general (related to western musical harmony)" (2004: 24). In my opinion, for an ethnomusicologist, musical knowledge and creativity can come together in a *World Music* ensemble. Such musical knowledge includes a qualitative social interaction of two different musical cultures described in this thesis as bimusicality.

Bimusicality in *El Aaiun egdat*: multimusical, cosmopolitan and traditional

This section describes and examines the process of Mariem Hassan, Vadya El Hanevi and I composing the album *El Aaiun egdat*. In order to examine such a musical

encounter, I apply bimusicality, a concept defined by Titon as: “the influence of two or more musical systems” (1995: 288) provoked by the encounter of two musical cultures. Further, bimusicality is applied to the different compositional forms in each of the songs in *El Aaiun egdat*. For that reason, there are three applications of bimusical compositions in Hassan’s album: traditional, cosmopolitan and multimusical. Traditional refers to the use of *Haul* modes in the same way as in the camps. Multimusical alludes to the use of musical resources from neighbouring countries such as Malian styles [Wassoulou, Songhay, jeli or Bambara] in Hassan’s music. Cosmopolitan reflects the bimusical fusion between the *Haul* modal system with blues, jazz or reggae. In addition, there are musical transcriptions from the songs published in *El Aaiun egdat*.¹¹⁵

Multimusical	Cosmopolitan	Traditional
<i>Rahy El Aaiun egdat</i>	<i>Arrabi al árabe</i>	<i>Gdeim Izik</i>
<i>Arfa</i>	<i>Tarham ya Allah Shuhada</i>	<i>Aulad Sahara</i>
<i>Adumua</i>	<i>Siyant laydad</i>	
<i>Legneiba</i>	<i>Ana Saharauiia</i>	
<i>Yalli mashi anni</i>	<i>Eftat almayal</i>	
	<i>Almalhfa</i>	

Table 9. Diagram of the use of the different types of bimusicality described in this thesis.

As mentioned above, I have created the term “multimusical” as the consequence of a previous concept in ethnomusicology called bimusical. Bimusicality was initially studied as the elaboration of practical ethnomusicology first adopted by Mantle Hood in the 1960s. Hood brought musicians from China and some African countries to UCLA providing the students with a closer experience of being participant and observer of the music performed.¹¹⁶ These musical experiences allowed ethnomusicology students to be part of the ethnographic process; and, in some cases, to be part of a creative process.

¹¹⁵ Musical transcriptions are a mere approximation to the melodic motifs in order to show the contrast between the *Haul* modal system and new musical arrangements.

¹¹⁶ “In 1960s Hood brought musicians from Indonesia, Africa and China to UCLA. They taught privately and in world-music ensembles” (J. T. Titon, 1995: 288).

Another good example of bimusicality is Blacking (1973) and his observation and participation in the Venda music of South Africa. In his book, *How musical is man*, Blacking shows examples of an ethnomusicologist with a western musical background studying Venda music.¹¹⁷ Blacking was the first scholar to write about a type of African music with the same level of complexity as any western musical style.¹¹⁸ This type of comparison was mostly provided by the study of the social context and the presumed musicality that every Venda individual had.

Later, during the 1990s, the concept of bi-musicality was discussed by other ethnomusicologists such as Titon (1995), Silverman (1995) and Baily (2001). Baily refers to “bi-musicality as a basic field technique in ethnomusicology” (2001: 88), a methodological tool that depends on who is going to teach you certain types of music. Silverman goes beyond Baily’s theory by saying that bi-musicality is not only used as a field technique but “tells you not only about your informant’s culture but also about your own culture and about your own subjectivity” (1995: 313). In my view, it is inevitable to associate one’s own musical culture to the process of learning another musical system and its performing techniques. However, in this thesis, bimusicality is used to describe a musical interaction between individuals from different music cultures in the attempt at performing together; and innovating Saharai music through Hassan’s compositions. This point approximates Titon’s observation on bimusicality as the kind of consciousness brought out by bi-musicality would bring what he calls “musical-being-in-the-world”, “and this kind of consciousness produces a musical way of knowing” (1995: 295).

This musical way of knowing is not limited to insights concerning musical structure or performance, but it operates in the world as a whole, and particularly in the social world (*ibid*).

¹¹⁷ “Blacking’s famous expedition started by learning Tshivenda from May 1956-December 1958. During this period he learned all aspects of this culture (economic, marriage and ritual life as well as Venda history and the repertoire of expressive forms)” (S. A. Reily, 2006: 4).

¹¹⁸ “In Venda society everyone engaged in musical activities while in the West only a limited number of people are considered musical. Considering talent as part of culture and not only dedicated to a few”. (S. A. Reily, 2006: 6).

Multimusical, in contrast to bi-musicality, offers the personal musical knowledge provided by more than fifteen years of playing a wide range of African guitar styles such as: Mande, Wassoulou, Tuareg, *chimurenga*, Congolese rumba, Malagasy or African fingerpicking (influenced by Bosco, Sibanda or Abelo).¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, either as a self-taught musician or later with western classical training, one can say that my creative experience with Hassan is part of my “multimusical” learning process. Thus, with multimusicality, one can easily find his/her own musical language through the different combinations of musical systems. Nevertheless, multimusical is different to cosmopolitan music. The main difference is that cosmopolitan styles such as blues or jazz are played with distinctive musical features in different parts of the world. As an example of the use of cosmopolitan musical styles in Suriname, Bilby states that “reggae and calypso (both cosmopolitan styles) have been the main types of music to create a cosmopolitan music in Suriname” (1999: 256). On the other hand, multimusical refers to musical systems such as Malian music that are not played globally but have been popularised by the *World Music* industry. In what follows, I will show different examples where I endeavoured to apply multimusicality in Hassan ’s album, *El Aaiun egdat*.

Multimusicality: Musical influences related to the *Haul* modal system and not recognised as cosmopolitan

Rahy El Aaiun egdat (Track 30) is a song in *entamas* mode. *Entamas* is a mode which is similar to a minor pentatonic scale except for a few passing notes (see Appendix 2). In this song, I mixed *entamas* with Wassoulou music based on my previous experiences with Ramata Diakite.¹²⁰ Wassoulou music contains major and minor pentatonic scales coming from the traditional harp, called the *kamalengoni*.¹²¹ As a result, the minor pentatonic scale from Wassoulou music and the *entamas* mode in the *Haul* modal system was a perfect musical combination suggesting a new “groove” in Saharaui

¹¹⁹ In addition, I include my classical guitar training, flamenco, jazz, Latin and bossa nova. I can even include my first years playing guitar with local punk bands in Alicante from 1995 to 1998.

¹²⁰ Ramata Diakite was a Wassoulou female singer who was very popular in Mali during the 1990s. She had a tour in Spain in which I collaborated as her guitarist in 2008.

¹²¹ More information about *kamalengoni* and other hunters’ harps mostly found in the Wassoulou region can be founded in Charry’s book *Mande music* (2000: 69).

music. In this way, I easily created a new riff which sounded innovative to Saharai *Haul. Rahy El Aaiun egdat* is the first type of “multimusicality” where a western guitarist plays a combination of two musical systems (not culturally inherited), both of them based on the same scale. Further, in this case, creativity in Hassan ’s music has been influenced by Wassoulou music and *Haul*. As Rasmussen states: “learning about music through lessons and informal apprenticeship as well as performing have been important components of my fieldwork” (A. K. Rasmussen, 2004: 215). Following Rasmussen’s view, I related the personal understanding of the *Haul* musical system with musical influences acquired during my fieldwork in Mali in November 2006 (L. Gimenez, 2014b).¹²²



Transcription 9. *Rahy El Aaiun egdat*: vocal melody and chord progression.



Transcription 10. *Rahy El Aaiun egdat*: Rhythm guitar.



Transcription 11. *Rahy El Aaiun egdat*: Rhythm guitar two.

¹²² This trip was an informal participation with some Malian musicians such as: Sanata Diarra, Omou Sangare or Adama Drame.

In *Arfa* (Track 31), a song in G pentatonic, I also used Wassoulou influences fused with Ali Farka's form of playing the bass line with the thumb as part of the rhythm section. My Wassoulou influences in this song came from a song called *Bamanaya* that I performed with a Malian band called *La banda de Saba* (www.myspace.com/labandadesaba). In *Arfa*, I introduced a common riff from *kamalengoni*¹²³ with a drone bass on the sixth string of my guitar, showing Ali Farka's influence. I introduced a cadence on G-Am 7 which is not common in modern Saharai music. Baba Salama and Alal's compositions also had chord progressions but *Arfa* had arpeggio progressions and not a strummed rhythmic section as previously played by Saharai guitarists. Despite the influence of Salam and Alal's composition, I tried to avoid any strumming in order to provide a distinctive sound to the album, *El Aaiun egdat*. Although, the chord progressions (influenced by Salama and Alal) in this album are predominant in most of the songs, except for *Gdeim Izik* and *Aulad Sahara* (the only songs in strictly traditional *Haul* guitar style). Guitar progressions have a distinctive stamp of modernity in Saharai music, from its beginnings with Nubenegra in 1998. In terms of multimusicality, there is the pentatonic major scale from *lyen*, also found in Wassoulou music. A new style is the bass marking the beat in quavers, characteristic of other Malian music such as Songhay, as popularised by Ali Farka Toure or Tuareg musical styles. Much of this creative process involves a recreation of musical styles personally performed as a cultural outsider although musically accepted in the local Saharai musical culture. Therefore, multimusicality offers an important contribution to Saharai music by performers in such creative processes. As Solis quotes from David Hughes regarding the study of non-western instruments:

If our students do not aspire to and achieve some degree of creativity, then world music ensembles lay themselves to potential charge of doing little more than producing bad copies of (*chimurenga/Haul/blues*) musicians (2004: 15).

¹²³ Kamalengoni is a pentatonic harp instrument with six strings from the Wassoulou region (Mali).



Transcription 12. Vocal melody in *Arfa*.



Transcription 13. Guitar rhythm in *Arfa*.



Transcription 14. *Chimurenga* guitar in *Arfa*.

In *Adumua* (Track 32), I was inspired by the Tuareg guitar style of Tinariwen and Tartit.¹²⁴ I learnt this style with the guitarist Adama Drame during my time in Mali in 2006.¹²⁵ In *Adumua*, I included some melodic lines that were also inspired by the pentatonic minor scale, with influence from *seinicar* (see Appendix 2). According to

¹²⁴ Tuareg guitar style is based on hammers-on and pulls-off on my right hand (observed as a left handed guitarist).

¹²⁵ During my staying with Adama Drame in Bamako (Mali) in November 2006, I had the opportunity to combine my knowledge on *Haul* music with Tuareg guitar style.

Dominguez, the combination of both (Tuareg and *seinicar* mode) was one of the most powerful musical innovations of the album *El Aaiun egdat* (interview, 17-12-2012). The main innovation of *Adumua* for Saharai music is that the song is minimalist and repetitive as in a desert-like landscape.¹²⁶ Tuareg musical influences impute Hassan 's music with a sense of organised structure and flow based on other styles from the desert.¹²⁷ *Adumua* is a minimalistic song in *seinicar*, a pentatonic minor scale but with a few different passing notes from *entamas* (see Appendix 2). Tuareg music is also characterised by pentatonic minor or major scales. Thus, multimusicality in *Adumua* can be seen as an exercise of reinventing traditions by an ethnomusicology student. This point coheres with Solis who observes that “we [ethnomusicologists] are interpreters, creators, re-creators, and moulders of those musical cultures in the academic world” (2004: 11). In other words, as an ethnomusicology student, I use non-inherited musical styles to interact with the *Haul* musical system (as another non-inherited style). Such a use of musical styles provides a new musical language in the attempt to imitate other forms of playing guitar.



Transcription 15. *Adumua* vocal melody.



Transcription 16. *Adumua* accentuated melodic notes on the guitar to create a Tuareg feeling.

¹²⁶ This point insists on Appadurai's definition of ethnoscapes (1990) previously explained in Chapter Three

¹²⁷ As mentioned earlier, Manuel Dominguez was always told by other *World Music* critics that Saharai music was very anarchic. In fact, when I listen to music from Tinariwen, Tartit or Bombino with Mariem Hassan, the Saharai artists always points out that Tuareg music is very repetitive.

In this case, combining different non-inherited musical styles in Hassan's songs does not bring me a clear understanding of the social contexts where these styles originated. However, by composing music with Hassan, there is an understanding of the intercultural context in which this music was composed. In other words, the only clear understanding of the social context is during the mediation between Hassan, Hanevi, Nubenegra and myself while composing *Legneiba* or any other song composed for the album *El Aaiun egdat*.



Transcription 19. *Legneiba* vocal melody.



Transcription 20. *Legneiba*: rhythmic guitar.



Transcription 21. *Legneiba*: guitar two.

Yalli mashi anni (Track 34) is a homage to *Ali Farka Toure*. The chord progression is inspired by *Ali*'s song called *Asco*. The rhythmic section of this song is a repetitive cycle which sounds separated from the guitar *ostinato*. However, the sense of separation between guitar and *tbal* produces a distinctive sound between a binary (*tbal*) and ternary (guitar) rhythm. The other difference is that for Hassan this song is in *lyen* (pentatonic major) and for me it is pentatonic minor. This musical innovation is due to our different

perceptions of the same song. In fact, this type of creativity is spontaneous and arises as a means of artistic communication. As Silverman states:

Musical communication is not the magic key to unlock a particular essence. Rather it is one of the many modes of communication, such as dance, food, touch, proxemics, language, smell, all embedded in shared history, shared associations, and shared consciousness (1995: 312).

Following Silverman's statement, I cannot perceive *Yalli mashi anni* in a pentatonic major scale because the chord progression of this song compels me to play either in A minor or in C major (the chord progression used for this song). In my case, multimusicality in *Yalli mashi anni* is based on Songhay music from Niafunke in the Timbuktu region of Mali. Malian blues is different to American blues because of the semitones applied in the passing notes in Malian blues. In other words, in American blues, there are no semitones outside the pentatonic scale perceived as passing notes.¹³⁰ Hassan's perception of *Yalli mashi anni* is always based on *lyen*, as mentioned previously, the pentatonic major scale in the *Haul* musical system. In *Yalli mashi anni* is based on two different rhythmic and melodic perceptions of the song leads to new forms of bimusical improvisation. In my opinion, the importance of the social interaction between two musicians using two different musical systems can lead to new ways of understating harmony and rhythm for both musicians. Moreover, the assimilation of not using the same musical system in the interaction of two musicians is important to avoid the imposition of power structures during the compositional process. One should note that the type of bimusical negotiation which was occurring in *Yalli mashi anni* also occurred in different ways throughout the entire process of composing *El Aaiun egdat*.



Transcription 22. *Yalli mashi anni* vocal melody and chords.

¹³⁰ Desert blues is characterised by the use of semitones in a pentatonic scale.



Transcription 23. *Yalli mashi anni* guitar melody.

Cosmopolitan bimusicality: Musical styles recognised globally used in Hassan's music

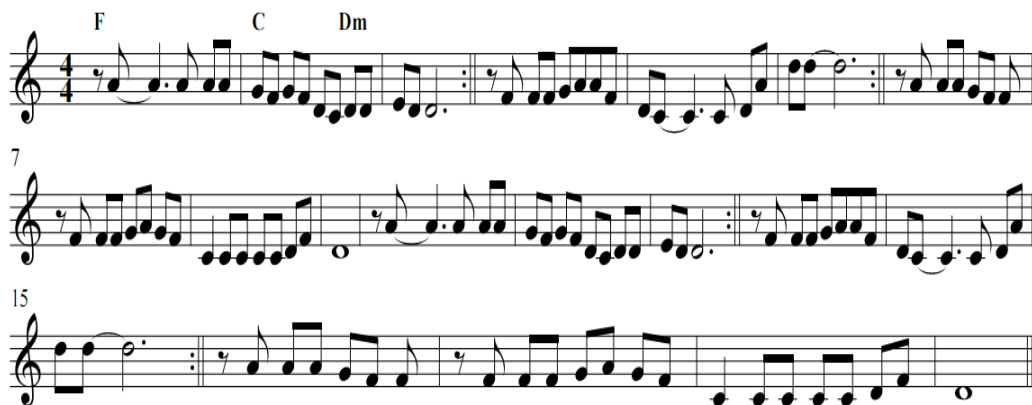
With respect to the cosmopolitan bimusicality in the album *El Aaiun egdat*, Hassan's music becomes cosmopolitan through musical innovation provided by international musicians. Cosmopolitanism includes the traditional use of her voice and the percussive section of *tbal* performed in a western context. By "cosmopolitan bimusicality" one can define the complex musical and cosmopolitan process in which Hassan's band is involved. This point is consistent with Solis's view on ethnomusicologists as cosmopolitan agents:

Most ethnomusicologists can be said to have entered a sort of no-man's land in which we examine our ethno-cultural allegiances not only during foreign research (2004: 12).

In *Arrabi al Arabe* (Track 35), three qualities make this song representative of "cosmopolitan bimusicality". The Saharai musical identification is evidenced in the *dubka* rhythm on the *tbal* (see Appendix 3) and in Hassan's voice. The cosmopolitan ingredients in *Arrabi al Arabe* are based on a chord progression and a second guitar riff played in ostinato. Initially, I composed a three chord progression on F-C-Dm which can come from any western pop song. The inspiration to use a three chord progression in *Arrabi al Arabe* came from Lou Reed's *Walking on the wild side*. Later, in search of a repetitive and cyclical cadence in those three chords I played a *chimurenga* staccato riff in the background.¹³¹ The recreation of Saharai musical culture in Hassan's album

¹³¹ *Chimurenga* influences were due to my participation with Zimbabwean artists such as Chartwell Dutiro, Stella Chiweshe, Adam Chivso and Hope Masike, from 2003 to 2009. Hassan's *World Music*

in *El Aaiun egdat* is through non-Saharaui performers contributing to new musical influences in Saharaui music. In this case, previous knowledge of *chimurenga* music and a western pop chord progression influenced the compositional process of *Arrabi al Arabe*. Equally noteworthy, Hassan is not aware of the new musical arrangement influenced by *chimurenga* music or western pop progression but observes such musical innovation as part of the interaction with her international band. This point addresses the importance of cultured habitus by an international band as a form of producing new forms of musical production (P. Bourdieu, 1987: 203).



Transcription 24. *Arrabi al Arabe*: vocal melody and chords.



Transcription 25. *Arrabi al Arabe*: *chimurenga* staccato guitar.

Tarham ya Allah Shuhada (Track 36) is a blues in a minor key with an influence of Ali Farka's style. The chord progression is rather regular although not entirely, as the root chord Gm, sometimes changes into other chords depending on the vocal melodies. Nevertheless, qualities of cosmopolitan blues are prevalent throughout the song. Another sign of blues in this track is the introduction of the harmonica. The harmonica

ensemble in this song is a conglomerate of distinctive types of music studied in previous years as a student of ethnomusicology at SOAS (2001-2004).

sound is the only musical timbre in this album that reflects a strong connection with American blues. In addition, during my guitar solo, I introduce three different musical languages: Songhay passing notes through the pentatonic minor, American blues through bending notes and minor key-related solos from jazz progressions.¹³² I define the inclusion of different musical styles in a song as the capability of using multiple sets of techniques at the same time. It is not only important to have multiple musical resources to include in Hassan's music but to be able to socially interact with her in a way that the new musical influences are adopted by the Saharai artist. Hassan's decisions to include new musical influences is also influenced by her conviction to innovate Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in different social contexts either in the west or in the camps.



Transcription 26. *Tarham ya Allah Shuhada* vocal melody and chords.



Transcription 27. *Tarham ya Allah Shuhada* introductory riff with guitar.

¹³² Nevertheless, critics in newspapers describe this song as blues (Deneslow, 2012). Deneslow did not discuss or recognise the Malian influence and preferred to describe this song as “desert blues”. In my view, the problematic statement by Deneslow demonstrates how he prefers to exoticise Hassan's instead of attempting to understand the musical interaction with her international band.

Siyant laydad (Track 37) is the most experimental song from the album. This song is a Saharai traditional tune about showing the elders respect. The guitars and saxophones are played in a free-style, with no regard for traditional harmonic ways of constructing a Saharai song. This song denotes the marriage of a traditional song as localised with a psychedelic guitar style one may deem cosmopolitan. The idea of this song was inspired by Dominguez who wanted a traditional song with irregular sounds in the background. According to Hassan, *Siyant laydad* is the first song she learnt to sing (interview, 1-8-2012). Thus, tradition and modernity suggest the concept of “cosmopolitan bimusicality” in this song. Moreover, the interaction between Mariem and her international band in this song is not as influential as Dominguez idea as a producer to improvise without harmonic arrangements in a traditional song. This type of mediation between Dominguez and Hassan suggests that he is not only the producer using a type of empowered structure to decide which songs are introduced in *El Aaiun egdat* but, he also participates in the creative process of this album with musical ideas like in the song *Siyant laydad*. Therefore, I argue that the concept of mediation is not always dominated by non-creative music producers and their commercial canons of musical production in the studio.



Transcription 28. *Siyurant laydad* vocal melody.

Ana Saharaia, *Eftat almayal* and *Almalhfa* were songs primarily composed (regarding the chord progression) by Donohue and Jovanovic. These songs were initially performed in the refugee camps in November 2011. Later, Jovanovic’s harmonica riffs were replaced by new melodic lines on the saxophone during the recording sessions in Madrid. These three songs contain “cosmopolitan bimusicality” because they were primarily composed by musicians who, coming from Europe, were not familiar with the *Haul* musical system. The “cosmopolitan bimusicality” in these songs is probably more unconscious than the rest of the songs composed for this album; because Donohue and Jovanovic were not familiar with the *Haul* musical system.

Ana Saharaui (Track 38) is a cadence I-IV-V in D minor.¹³³ There are hundreds of songs with this cyclical formula in blues, pop or rock. Nevertheless, Hassan's voice, softer than usual, offers a new type of timbre in Saharaui music and a new way of singing for a *Haul* singer. *Ana Saharaui* demonstrates the capacity of Hassan to fuse the *Haul* musical system with other cosmopolitan styles. According to her, this song is in *entamas* or pentatonic minor. Hassan is also able to produce a type of cosmopolitan quality in *Ana Saharaui* by singing differently in the *entamas* mode. The aim of Hassan singing more softly in this song is in order to provide a "jazz singer feeling" similar to Chet Baker's voice. Thus, cosmopolitanism is not only examined in Hassan's international band but also in the artist's forms of interacting with the *Haul* modal system. Thus, cosmopolitan music is not only defined by the social context in which that music is composed but by the capability of the musician to include cosmopolitan musical styles in his/her songs.



Transcription 29. *Ana Saharaui* vocal melody and chords.

Eftat almayal (Track 39) is a cyclical song in Bm-F#-A. It is a marching song where Hassan's voice enters in a non-pedal note on B minor. The way the chord progression and the voice follow is innovative. This song is in *leboer*, one of the most difficult modes in which to include chords because there is no possibility of constructing western triadic chords (see Appendix 2). *Leboer* is in a pentatonic mode having five notes; however, this mode contains a characteristic semitone, which in European classical music or jazz harmony would disrupt the harmonic system.¹³⁴ Nubenegra has valued

¹³³ This song is in an irregular cycle of Dm-Gm-Dm-A7.

¹³⁴ *Eftat almayal* shows the commercial risk in recording a type of song that goes away from the harmony most *World Music* listeners are accustomed to. Critics can be disrespectful about this song due to the illogical harmony of this song from the western classical point of view.

Eftat almayal as innovative for the originality between the melodic lines of Hassan and its guitar harmonic progression. As a result, this song was included in the album. The recognition and assimilation of having two musical systems in one song also demonstrates the possibility of interacting with different harmonic arrangements in *Eftat almayal*. As previously mentioned, during the compositional process, improvisation is a form of social and musical interaction that can lead to new ways of understanding melody and harmony. This point also echoes Solis' statement about ethnomusicology students "trying to achieve some degree of creativity in *World Music* ensembles" (2004: 15). In *Eftat almayal*, there is a degree of creativity caused by the social and musical interaction with Hassan and El Hanevi in an intercultural context. For this reason, the importance of the contextualisation and the social interaction between Hassan with her band leads to a better understanding of how she represents her transcultural capital in *El Aaiun egdat*.



Transcription 30. *Eftat almayal* vocal melody and chords.



Transcription 31. *Eftat almayal*: chimurenga guitar staccato.

Almalhfa (Track 21) is a song inspired by early American blues but within an original melodic vocal part in Hassan's voice (Manuel Dominguez's interview, 15-12-2012). The lyrics of this song speak of the Saharai women wearing their *malhfes*.¹³⁵ The harmonica provides this song blues reminiscences as it doubles the main melodic riff of this song in pentatonic major notes. The use of American blues in *Almalhfa* produces a

¹³⁵ *Malhfa* is the traditional costume for Saharai women.

type of “cosmopolitan bimusicality”. The harmonica is used to re-enact the timbre of any blues song, the decision to interact with American blues was actually determined by Dominguez as the initial idea of the album *El aaiun egdat* was meant to include such a musical style. American blues as a cosmopolitan style was created by the music industry by exposing such musical style globally. Turino defines the use of musical cosmopolitanism in a certain type of music as a bilateral relationship between the local music and the global sounds (2003: 59). In *Almalhfa*, the use of blues is suggested by Nubenegra because of its interest in attracting other types of audiences. According to Dominguez, as discussed in Chapter Three, his initial interest in Saharai music in the 1970s was because of its familiarity with American blues, therefore, he wanted to achieve a type of musical fusion between blues and *Haul* for twenty years. The use of cosmopolitanism in *Almalhfa* is also the result of the power structure in the mediation between producer and musicians. The concept of musical cosmopolitanism is not based on musical equality and appreciation of musical styles because it values certain global beats more than “not known styles” globally. Thus, when Dominguez decides to use American blues in Hassan’s music, it involves a type of mediation in which cosmopolitanism is used as a form of attracting a blues audiences based on its global familiarity.



Transcription 32. *Almalhfa* vocal melody and chords.



Transcription 33. *Almalhfa* accentuated notes on the guitar.

Traditional bimusicality: A Spanish guitarists playing *Haul* music

With regard to traditional bimusicality, *Gdeim Izik* (in *seinicar*) and *Aulad Sahara* (in *fagu serbet*) are the only songs played in traditional *Haul* in the album. By traditional *Haul*, I refer to the usage of traditional *Haul* tuning on the guitar with its respective techniques to accompany the *tbal* and voice (see guitar in Appendix 1). Traditional *Haul* in this album means that the guitar and bass attempt to imitate the traditional sound of *Haul* based on the free use of the modes (see Appendix 2). Nevertheless, as the guitarist of Hassan's band, I had the musical knowledge required but not the linguistic skills of the Saharai. Their musical and cultural knowledge is defined as *azawan* or a way of accompanying the voice on the guitar through similar melodic motifs in the singing (see Chapter Two). Many Saharais informed me that *azawan* requires one to speak Hassanya and to know the emotion of the lyrics at any moment; otherwise, *azawan* is not possible to achieve. As Hassan's guitarist, it was more valued when I fuse *Haul* modes with other influences rather than trying to sound traditional.

In any case, as Solis states, "we [ethnomusicologists] recreate and reinvent musical traditions" (2004: 15). This point confirms that the ethnomusicologist is not a bearer of musical cultures but rather negotiates the music studied with his/her own musical background. Following Solis' statement, I negotiate the use of *Haul* with Hassan in a glocal and intercultural context; therefore we experience such a context by interacting socially and musically during this compositional process. The use of traditional *Haul* as a form of bimusicality still does not refer to the complete understanding of Saharai musical culture. Traditional bimusicality was specific to the social and musical interaction with Hassan during the making of *El Aaiun egdat* in Spain. Thus, by using the traditional forms of performing *Haul*, the musical negotiation between a transnational Saharai artist and a Spanish musician in Spain (as a glocal context) produces new forms of musical and glocal syncretism in the *Haul* modal system. Kiwan and Meinhof would possibly refer to this musical and social phenomenon as "the transnational circulation of music between North and South" (2011: 7). In my view, the songs *Gdeim Izik* and *Aulad Sahara* are relevant to this research because they do not only debate the circulation of Saharai *Haul*, but also the importance of the compositional process in a glocal context as a way to understand the integration of Hassan's transcultural capital with international musicians in such context.

In *Gdeim Izik* (Track 5), there is an introduction or *mawal* with no tempo. A *mawal* consists of free style singing in which the guitar has to respond to the voice with similar notes sung by the singer. In other cases, there are resources such as musical variations composed in *entamas* to fill up the gaps between each melodic phrase sung by Mariem Hassan. These variations are called *falsetas* in flamenco. Either in *flamenco* or in *Haul*, the number of musical resources in each mode denotes the ability of the guitarist. In *Gdeim Izik*, I play *entamas* which is also a pentatonic minor scale but played faster than *seinicar*. However, Hassan sings in *seinicar*, the only reason being that the poem rhymes differently to *seinicar* but both modes are almost similar as they are performed in pentatonic minor. In general terms, my musical knowledge of *Haul* can sometimes be confusing due to my ignorance of the Hassanya language as is the case with this song. In terms of musical aesthetics, Hassan and I have different views. My knowledge of different musical systems creates certain generalisations in the *Haul* musical system that is not valid for Hassanya speakers who are specialised in *Haul* music. Thus, one realises that traditional *Haul* also requires the use of Hassanya in order to achieve musical professionalism. On the other hand, despite the traditional aesthetics in this song, the guitar lines differ from other Saharaui artists such as Nayim Alal or Baba Salama. As mentioned earlier, an ethnomusicologist cannot produce a mere copy of the music studied; therefore, should provide new musical textures to certain traditional music (T. Solis, 2004: 15). However, in my view, new musical textures provided by an international musician to Hassan's music are the result of a musical and social interaction between two musicians. Thus, new musical textures in Hassan's music are not only based on the traditional forms of playing *Haul*. For this reason, I describe the compositional process of *Gdeim Izik* as traditional bimusicality or "new ways of using traditional *Haul*" by the musical interaction between Hassan and I.



Transcription 34. *Gdeim Izik* vocal melody and chords.

Aulad Sahara (Track 40) sounds traditional because the rhythm and melody of *fagu serbet* is easily defined by its 6/8 beat; and ornamented trilled notes on the guitar. This song is very repetitive or minimalist as the guitar and *tbal* maintain a constant melody and rhythm throughout. *Fagu* is one of the more distinctive modes in Saharawi musical identification because it mostly alludes to epic stories of war. One can encounter at least one song in *fagu* in each album, for instance: *Ragsat naama* in *Shouka*, *Shauda* in *Deseos*, *Viva el Polisario* in the compilation *Sahara, tierra mia*. In this case, *Aulad Sahara* is dedicated to the fallen martyrs in the war against Morocco from 1975 to 1991. Thus, this song contains a form of nationalist memorial to the Saharawi martyrs during the war against Morocco. The lyrics in *Aulad Sahara* are also based on the national (also transnational) discourse of decolonising Western Sahara. Such mediation between a traditional sound in the mode *fagu* and the lyrics based on Saharawi nationalism highlights the importance of identification and resistance (as refugees) in the use of traditional bimusicality. As Tuhoy states, “the study of musical nationalism examines the mutual transformative process of making music national and of realizing the nation musically (2006: 226).

On the other hand, the use of traditional bimusicality in these songs aims to represent the political and transcultural capital of Hassan globally. The use of Saharawi nationalism in Hassan’s songs is probably one of the most powerful social interactions between the Saharawis and international agents. In general, one has to note that nationalism in African countries has been the most powerful political and social response during the fight against colonialism. For instance, from the early phases of decolonisation in African countries, Fanon said “to make a revolutionary song is not

enough”. A revolutionary song must represent the new African nation and, being a living part of Africa, an element of liberation” (2007: 167). In this sense, *Aulad Sahara* is more than a discourse or a lament for the people assassinated during the war against Morocco. This song represents and presents the transcultural identity and Saharai nationalism internationally.



Transcription 35. *Aulad Sahara* vocal melody.

The public’s response to *Aulad Sahara* and *Gdeim Izik* in the camps has been positive. The reason for this acceptance is due to the appreciation for innovation in Saharai musical culture. The open response in Saharai *Haul* denotes that Saharai music does not only reside in the influence of classical *Haul* performed by local people. Moreover, by playing *Haul* in a traditional way in the musical interaction between Hassan and I, my participation also supports Saharai nationalism and its musical culture from a glocal context. Thus, glocalisation is also a direct link between Hassan’s music, its transnational contextualisation and its relationship with the glocal context where Hassan interacts with her international band. As a result, a song composed by Hassan and I re-enacting Saharai *Haul* in a glocal context obtains a new transnational and musical dimensions by the use of Saharai nationalism and *Haul* modes.

In general, the prominent influence of the *Haul* musical system in the compositional process of *El Aaiun egdat* made me compose all the songs in according to *Haul* modes and rhythms (see Table 10 below). Therefore, Hassan’s album would be a type of traditional bimusicality used in the project in order to understand Hassan’s musical background as an essential tool for fusing Saharai *Haul* with other influences. The songs were classified according to the poetic rhymes which also denoted melodic phrases from the mode in which the poem has been written.

Entamas	Seinicar	Fagu	Lyen	Leboer/ tehrar

				(chawada) and lebteit
- <i>Arrabi al Arabe</i> (Dm) - <i>Ana Saharauiia</i> (Dm)	- <i>Adumua</i> (G) - <i>Rahy El Aaiun egdai</i> (C) - <i>Tarham ya allah shuhada</i> (Gm) - <i>Gdeim Izik</i> (D)	- <i>Aulad Sahara</i> (D) - <i>Siyant laydad</i> (E)	- <i>Annasr shouru tetnada</i> (D) - <i>Yalli mashi anni</i> (Am) - <i>Almalhfa</i> (F)	- <i>Eftat almayal</i> (leboer in Bm) - <i>Arfa</i> (tehrar in G) - <i>Legneiba</i> (lebteit in C)

Table 10. *Haul* modes in the songs recorded in the album *El Aaiun egdat*.

Serbet	Agarran	Agassar	Dubka
- <i>Rahy El Aaiun egdat</i> - <i>Tarham ya allah shuhada</i> - <i>Aulad Sahara</i> - <i>Arfa</i> - <i>Gdeim Izik</i> - <i>Legneiba</i>	- <i>Siyant laydad</i>	- <i>Yalli mashi anni</i>	- <i>Arrabi al Arabe</i> - <i>Annasr shouru tetnada</i> - <i>Adumua</i> - <i>Ana Saharauiia</i> - <i>Eftat almayal</i> - <i>Almalhfa</i>

Table 11. Table of rhythms in the album *El Aaiun egdat*.

The final resolution of such bimusical process by Nubenegra

In the bimusical analysis of the compositional process of the album *El Aaiun egdat*, there were more than 20 songs composed, of which Nubenegra chose sixteen. This section helps to understand the power structures of communication between Nubenegra, Hassan, and her international band during the compositional process. It is important to understand Nubenegra's final decision in the compositional process of Hassan's album because the record label's interests are linked to cultural, global, and commercial power structures related to the music industry.

On December 9, Nubenegra came to Villena to hear all the songs chosen for the next album. On the day, there were intense arguments and criticisms about the songs that we composed, recorded on my digital recorder, and sent by email to Dominguez on a daily basis. The experience was successful and constructive as we introduced multimusical, cosmopolitan and traditional influences [cosmopolitan bimusicality] in Hassan's music. However, Donohue did not incorporate the blues sound required by Nubenegra.¹³⁶ Dominguez' criticism of the compositional process in Villena was that Donohue did not contribute enough to the composition of most of the songs. The reason for his limited contribution was due to his lack of knowledge of *Haul* and other African styles. However, the involvement of Donohue on rhythm guitar was regular although not vibrant or reflected in the new songs for the album. This problem demonstrates that the knowledge of cosmopolitan styles was not sufficient if Donohue did not intend to understand the *Haul* musical system. The issues of not understanding the *Haul* musical system gave rise to misunderstandings during the musical negotiation of Saharai musicians and international participants. In my view, cosmopolitanism is a concept to define a certain social context but not to conceptualise the intercultural musical interaction (2011: 119), in this case, in Hassan's international band. Thus, due to the lack of musical understanding between Donohue and Hassan, Nubenegra's final decision was to prescind from the participation of the American guitarist in Hassan's music.

With respect to the use of musical cosmopolitanism, in my view, Nubenegra's suggestion, which was to use American blues or what is globally called "blues of the desert," was an obstacle to Saharai *Haul* in the compositional process of *El Aaiun egdat*. As Solis quotes, "'Rights' and 'Wrongs' actually do exist" (2004: 2) and the different melodic intervals between pentatonic scales from the *Haul* modal system and American blues meant that the use of American blues was a misjudgement. In the attempt to use American blues in Hassan's music, Dominguez was influenced by the band Juju led by the Gambian Juldeh Camara (lead vocals, ritti and talking drum) and the English guitarist Justin Adams. Nubenegra's director gave me Juju's album "Tell no

¹³⁶ The compositional process attempted to experiment with different ways of approaching Hassan's music. The atmosphere was relaxed as everything developed in the lounge of my house while she or El Hanevi would make tea and sing, Ryan and I would play guitar. There were many days that we would go to bed at 2 am or later due to the high consumption of green tea with sugar.

lies” (Real World, 2009) to find some ideas about how to fuse American blues and rock with Hassan’s music. However, when I heard Juju’s album “In trance,” in my view, there was no sign of musical bimusicality between both artists. Moreover, I found a type of opportunistic musical cosmopolitanism by Adams towards Camara’s musical style. In other words, I heard a blues band with a ritti¹³⁷ and Camera singing in his vernacular language. I then informed Dominguez about my lack of inspiration from Juju’s music. I also told him my opinion about the musical duo and the impossibility of composing an album with Hassan influenced by Juju’s music. Then, I explained to Dominguez how I wanted to compose songs with Hassan.

For Hassan’s album, my first goal was to have a social and musical understanding of and with the saharai artist through a personal interpretation of the *Haul* modal system. Later in the compositional process, I would introduce the different types of bimusicality previously mentioned. During the following of this compositional process, the fluidity and easy construction of songs between Hassan, El Hanevi, and myself was reflected in the two dozen songs composed during ten days in Villena. In this case, the social structures of communication between Saharai musicians and international collaborators [personal contribution to Hassan’s music] demonstrate a fluid understanding in the creation of *El Aaiun egdat*. In such circumstances, creativity is based on the mutual understanding of two different musical systems [bimusicality]; which provides the social coexistence of different musical cultures.

In conclusion, this section shows how Dominguez attempted to produce an album by Hassan influenced by blues and rock fused with Saharai music. The idea for this album production was replaced by a new form of social and musical interaction with the *Haul* modes and with Hassan’s music. Therefore, the mediation and interaction between Hassan, Nubenegra and myself came to a mutual agreement of how musicians’ creativity can provide different types of bimusicality which are not only based on American blues and rock.

Copyrights of Hassan’s songs in the album *El Aaiun egdat*

¹³⁷ The ritti is a two stringed fiddle name differently across west Africa. For instance, the Songhay in Mali call it *njarka*.

In this section, I describe the final resolution and decision - making process of copyright problems in the musical negotiation between Hassan, Nubenegra, and myself. There is a description of how Hassan's songs in the album *El Aaiun egdat* were legally registered. This section also helps to understand the request of international musicians to obtain copyrights to Hassan's songs. The conversations about the ownership of Hassan's songs were between Nubenegra and the international musicians. This section examines Nubenegra's decision –making process for the ownership of the copyrights for the songs in the album *el Aaiun egdat*. This point is consistent with Breidenbach and Zukrigl who say “when looking at copyrights and patent law, we witness how old power relations are challenged by studio musicians and music arrangers” (2001: 112). Following Breidenbach and Zukrigl views on copyrights, there is an examination of how Nubenegra mediates the final decisions about Hassan's copyrights. After the time spent in Villena, Donohue decided to abandon this project for personal reasons and to return to the USA. In January 2012, Jovanovic and I met in Berlin to introduce harmonicas into Hassan 's songs for the album *El Aaiun egdat*. During the compositional process, Jovanovic was away from this project for two main reasons. One of them was that he wanted to sign a contract with Nubenegra outlining a payment agreement per song. However, due to the critical economic situation of Nubenegra, the label did not want musicians demanding a higher income. The second reason was that Jovanovic wanted to rearrange the songs I composed with Hassan, claiming that the songs lacked blues and rock qualities. He also wanted some copyright fees from these musical arrangement. The third problem with Jovanovic and Nubenegra was about the social and musical interaction based on the incursion of blues sounds in Hassan's music. Jovanovic did not intend to understand or to interact with the *Haul* modal system, thereby producing a cosmopolitan product similar to the one discussed above about Juju.

With regard to the copyrights of Hassan's songs in *El Aaiun egdat*, Nubenegra and I agreed that Hassan would receive my rights to the songs (see Figure 24). There were ethical reasons involved in my decision as Hassan's only means of making a living is through music. In addition, the music industry is in a situation where royalties from copyright can be one of the few ways that Hassan can benefit. In my view, it was an honour to be her guitarist, further, the personal experience gained from the creative

process in her music was sufficient to satisfy my expectations in this research. As Frith and Marshall state “ignoring copyright means ignoring one of the key structural features of the music industry” (2004: 2) and unique legal sign of authorship by the composer. Thus, the clarification of how Nubenegra and the composers involved in Hassan’s songs came to an agreement to give the copyrights exclusively to Hassan is a “key structural feature” in the interaction between the participatory agents in the making of *El Aaiun egdat*.

The only benefit that Nubenegra could offer Jovanovic was the payment of 50€ per instrument recorded in each song. Jovanovic’s idea was to record double bass and harmonicas in every song; in addition to obtaining benefits as an arranger. Finally, Jovanovic gave up on this project due to the lack of economic and moral understanding between Nubenegra and Jovanovic.

As Volgsten and Akeberg affirms “intellectual property rights consist of economic rights (or copyrights) and moral rights” (2006: 336). As mentioned above, one ethical aim of this project was to cede to Hassan and the Saharai poets copyright for the songs composed in *El Aaiun egdat*. Another moral aim in this project was to collaborate with Hassan’s music as a gesture toward the recognition of Saharai composers globally instead of seeking economic benefits as western musicians.

Autorizo y cedo mis derechos de autor de cualquier obra que
pueda estar reflejada en las composiciones del disco del 2012 de
Mariem Hassan.

Firma



Luis Giménez Amorós

Socio SGAE 96524

Villena 17 diciembre 2011

The final arrangements in Madrid with saxophones and fretless bass in Hassan's music

In January 2012, two weeks before recording the album, Hassan's band consisted of only Hassan, El Hanevi and me (the primary people who composed all the songs for this album and who were still in the project). At this point, Dominguez decided to contract a bass and saxophone player for the making of this album. These musicians were Hugo Westerdahl on the bass and Gabriel Flores on flutes and saxophone.

In this section, I examine the new musical textures in Hassan's music due to the incorporation of Hugo Westerdahl on the fretless bass and Gabriel Flores on saxophone and flutes. The new musical timbre incorporated by these two western musicians produced a new musical interaction with Hassan's music different from the compositional process between Hassan, El Hanevi and I. Meintjes believes that, it is important to analyse the timbre of the instruments recorded in the making of an album because, "together, these micro sound analyses point to the significance of timbre in the production of feeling" or a musical product (2003: 13). Regarding timbre, as proposed in this section, there is an examination of Flores and Westerdahl's sound and interaction with Hassan's music. Flores is familiar with the *Haul* modal system because he has played Saharai music in the refugee camps previously. He is the director of the first music school called "Enamus" in the *wilaya* of 27 *Febrero* inaugurated in November 2011. In addition, Flores is a skilled musician and has built many of his own wind instruments. For the album *El Aaiun egdat*, he played saxophone, flute, and Vietnamese jaw's harp. Thus, Flores and Westerdahl were involved with Saharai music in distinctive ways: Flores as music teacher, and Westerdahl as producer of Saharai music with Nubenegra. Moreover, Westerdahl had the experience of recording all the Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, however, he was not familiar with the musical interaction of Saharai music.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Westerdahl has been the owner of Axis studio and the sound engineer of the eleven albums of Saharai music released by Nubenegra. Further, he collaborated as a studio-musician in Hassan's *Deseos* and *Shouka* albums.

When Nubenegra incorporated Westerdahl and Flores into Hassan's band, we met in Madrid three days prior to the recording of the album *El Aaiun egdat*. The final process of arranging the music took place in Nubenegra's office where there was a practice room to rehearse. The musical timbre incorporated by Westerdahl on a fretless bass and Flores mainly on saxophone were essential to giving a different texture to *El Aaiun egdat* than on previous albums recorded by Nubenegra. Westerdahl played well-defined bass lines while Flores doubled them on the guitars and composed new riffs. Despite their interest in *Haul* music, the cosmopolitan styles such as blues or jazz prevailed at the time of arranging Hassan's songs. Sometimes I provided musical references to Westerdahl and Flores considering the *Haul* modes and a few riffs where it was required to play together; thus, having melodic intervals related to Saharai music.

Nevertheless, Nubenegra still asked Flores and Westerdahl to provide a blues sound, something that was assigned to Donohue and Jovanovic initially in the making of this album. Westerdahl easily introduced blues on the bass lines which gave strength to the rhythms on the *thal*. By "blues bass lines" I refer to the use of pentatonic scales marking the strong beat of the *thal*. Flores had a more difficult task because he had to introduce saxophone and flute providing a different musical atmosphere related to blues music in each song. Flores also used pentatonic scales to approach the required blues sound by Nubenegra and added glissandos (or bendings) in the melodic lines. Thus, Westerdahl and Flores also musically innovated Hassan's music.

With regard to the saxophone lines in *El Aaiun egdat*, the wind instrument offered a distinctive sound to the album and to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in general. The use of saxophone timbres in Hassan's album was: melodic riffs repeated in *Arrabi al Arabe* or *Ana Saharai*; funky timbre inspired sound in *Adumua* and *Eftat almayal*; or doubling the guitar melodies in *Tarham ya Allah shuhada* and *Almalhfa*. On the other hand, the flute offered an experimental texture in songs such as: *Rahy El Aaiun egdat* and *Legneiba*. The flute did not provide in any case, a touch of *Haul* but of experimental music. Flores incorporated his musical skills through cosmopolitan influences from jazz, blues or funk. This type of musical cosmopolitanism is related to

his social and musical interest in Hassan's music. Moreover, Flores acknowledges the *Haul* modes, therefore, his musical collaboration in Hassan's songs can be defined as cosmopolitan bimusicality. On the other hand, Donohue and Jovanovic's participation in Hassan's music was not bimusical because they were not interested in the use of the *Haul* modal system in Hassan's music. Donohue and Jovanovic attempted to use global or cosmopolitan sounds characterised by the use of certain musical timbres related to blues and rock. As Turino highlights that the term global sometimes simply implies "not local sounds" (2003:52). Thus, the term global pays more attention to the imposed global sounds in the interaction with a transnational artist than the Saharai translocal sounds.

Flores demonstrated that cosmopolitan styles were easy to incorporate into any type of music, especially in melodic instruments once the structure of a song is completed. However, he wanted to show that his musical and social interaction with Hassan evolved into certain microtonal arrangements based on the *Haul* modes. For instance, in *Tarham ya Allah shuhada* and *Adumua*, there were a few passing notes in a pentatonic minor scale that he had to incorporate from the melodic intervals used in the *Haul* modes. This point is consistent with Marcus and Solis who state that the microtonal arrangements are essential in the making of an album with a new musical system (2004: 165). In general, his inclusion in the Hassan's songs provided new textures from a wide array of wind instruments and incorporated a new musical timbres in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

On the other hand, Westerdahl played the same fretless bass in the album. The bass timbre was soft in contrast to the strident and high pitched electric guitars, wind instruments and *tbal*. Westerdahl's role in Hassan's band offered a different texture with the sound of his bass guitar in Hassan's music that had never been seen or heard before in Saharai music. His contribution with the fretless bass was essential to the final result of this album. There was a characteristic sound in this electro-acoustic bass when he slides in search of the right note, the bass produced a type of extra percussive "noise". This percussive sound produced by the bass usually reinforced the strong beat of the *tbal*. In other cases, there was a blues or rock line as for instance in *Siyant laydad*, *Tarham ya Allah shuhada*, *Ana Saharai* and *Almalhfa*. It was interesting that all these

songs are the ones with cosmopolitan influences; whereas the ones with multimusicality were followed by the strong accent of the *tbal*. In the songs defined in this thesis as multimusical, the search for the strong beat of the *tbal* provided Westerdahl with more confidence. Such confidence was because he was not familiar with the *Haul* musical system although he was familiar with the timbre of the eleven Saharaui albums recorded in his studio. Despite the fact that Westerdahl did not learn the musical aspects of *Haul* music, he did incorporate the knowledge of modal jazz and syncopated bass lines that were not common in Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra. This point coheres with Rasmussen's general views on Arabic music and its openness to the creation of new sounds.

In addition to the scales, the special intonation, the great rhythms, the dynamic repertoire, and the central role of improvisation, one of the things I find exciting about Arab music is the musical texture produced by the interaction between musicians (A. K. Rasmussen, 2004: 218).

However, one should not note that Westerdahl's intention to improvise over Hassan's songs did not take into consideration the social and musical interest in Hassan's use of the *Haul* modal system. In my opinion, Westerdahl could have easily learnt the *Haul* modes because of his experience in recording all the Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra but he decided to interact with Hassan's songs according to his own use of blues and jazz in Hassan's music. Westerdahl was, therefore, the only musician that Nubenegra allowed into the band and who did not interact with the *Haul* modes during the making of *El Aaiun egdat*. The fact that Westerdahl was also the sound engineer of the album may have influenced a type of power relationship between Dominguez and himself that the rest of Hassan's musicians (including Hassan) did not acquire from the Spanish record label.

Meintjes observes that in the studio, there is always tension and social structure based on power to make decisions that are hierarchically followed by producers, sound engineers, and musicians (2003: 8). Meintjes' statement is illustrated clearly in the case of the compositional and recording process of *El Aaiun egdat*, in which, Nubenegra had more trust in Westerdahl's suggestions (as sound engineer) than the rest of the

musicians. According to Westerdahl, however, this professional confidence conceded by Nubenegra was achieved after twenty years producing most of their albums (25-6-2012).

Recording plan in Axis studios in Madrid in January 2012

This section analyses the process of recording the album *El Aaiun egdat*. There is a study on the interaction between the musicians, the sound engineer [Westerdahl] and Nubenegra. Further, there is another study of the mediation [the points of view on Hassan's recording by the different actors involved] and general organisation for recording this album. The study of the mediation includes the live recording of the songs and the previous rehearsals in order to clarify the structures of each song.

The album *El Aaiun egdat* was recorded live by all the members of Hassan's band. The live recordings aimed to show what it is like playing in live performances; the recording process was intended to simulate a live performance. Wind instruments were recorded later when the musical structure of every song was recorded by other instruments. The second guitars were also added after playing live with the rest of the band. Nubenegra's idea for this album was for improvisation during the recordings. Considering the improvisational factor, mediation between western musicians, Saharai musicians, sound engineer, and Nubenegra had distinctive points of views with respect to the music recorded. Mediation offers multiple opinions although the final decisions in the making of the album depend on the most powerful agents (L. Meintjes, 2003: 261) as is the case with Nubenegra.

Meintjes affirms that multiple opinions are negotiated and created not only by the experience of recording and that they include the social practice or political struggle by way of strategic "power structures of communication" (2003: 261). Power structures are a type of hierarchy used in order to make decisions, in this case the pyramid is composed of: Nubenegra at the top, the sound engineer in the middle level, and western and Saharai musicians at the bottom level. The record label is responsible for investing in this musical project, while the rest of the actors are employed by Nubenegra as composers or musicians. This type of hierarchy does not change in the compositional process, although, decisions in the studio are decisive and permanent in the album.

In order to make final decisions during the compositional process, Nubenegra organised a schedule for the recording plan. The plan was to record three or four songs daily. In the morning, the musicians would rehearse the three or four songs in Nubenegra's rehearsing room and they would be recorded in the evening at Axis studio. In this way, the album was recorded in eight days. During rehearsals in the morning, the band improved musical arrangements, the introductions, and finales of the songs. The incorporation of wind instruments for each song was negotiated with Dominguez. In the end, there were wind instruments in most of the songs in the album. Rehearsals provided us with sufficient time to prepare three or four songs every morning. I have to emphasise that the compositional process in Villena was respected and the new musical incorporations were enriching the original idea of each song. Rehearsals reinforced the components of Hassan's music and built the confidence of Dominguez as the producer. Therefore, in this case, the power structures of communication between Hassan's band and Nubenegra were mostly productive, participatory, and satisfactory for the agents involved in the making of Hassan's album.

In the studio, Dominguez and Schubert-Wurr were the music producers and Westerdahl the sound engineer and bass player. Hassan, El Hanevi and I were the musicians recording live (including Westerdahl playing the bass). In the recording studio, the songs were recorded in one or two takes each. Hassan's skill in recording was impressive as most of her leading vocals were recorded in one take. Dominguez informed me that her albums were recorded in one or two takes at the maximum. After the live recording sessions every evening, the incorporation of extra guitars, wind instruments, *agarits*¹³⁹ or clapping were recorded after the live session. During the recording process, Dominguez and Schubert-Wurr interacted with the sound engineer about the general sound of the band although with more emphasis on Hassan's vocal parts. As a case in point, in *Ana Saharaui*, the voice sounds soft and with more reverb sound than other songs recorded in this album. Thus, the timbre of Hassan's voice was negotiated between Nubenegra and the sound engineer and did not include the Hassan's opinion.

¹³⁹*Agarits* are the ululations

At the end of the recording process, we recorded eighteen songs in eight days and fourteen were chosen for the album. When all the songs were recorded, Dominguez asked me to come to the studio to record some blues guitar because he intended to introduce the musical tone of blues in the album. I tried to introduce blues guitar sounds in each song. Some of the guitar tracks I recorded during that time were incorporated; providing good dynamics to the final idea of the album, thus I introduced a new type of cosmopolitan feel to Hassan's album. The inclusion of blues sounds was still based on cosmopolitan bimusicality because the *Hawl* modes were the foundation of each song melodically and rhythmically, therefore the incorporation of American blues sound did not disrupt the social and musical interaction with traditional Saharai music. For instance, in *Arfa*, I recorded a guitar playing glissandos that re-enacted the sound of American blues that musically enrich this song in *lyen*. Thus, the initial mediation between Nubenegra and myself, to include American blues was not predominant in the album but contributed to provide a new musical timbre to *El Aaiun egdat*. This musical negotiation between Nubenegra and I also demonstrates that the Spanish record label, as the most empowered agent in the making of *El Aaiun egdat* is also flexible to negotiate the initial plan of producing Hassan's album.

During those days, Flores was also asked to improve or incorporate some saxophone and flute lines in the songs recorded. Once all the instruments were recorded, Westerdahl and Dominguez completed the final editing. Westerdahl, as sound-engineer, had to adjust most of the tracks of every song due to the live recording not being recorded with a metronome. Dominguez told me that all of the Saharai albums recorded by Westerdahl did not use a metronome. Once the final adjustment of every song was made, Dominguez listened to them in order to decide which tracks would be in the recording, in some cases, he left out some extra guitars and some experimental tracks recorded by Flores and in others, new sounds such as saxophones and fretless bass provided an original texture to Hassan's album. The introduction of saxophones and fretless bass in Hassan's music incorporated new musical timbres in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

The final collaboration was with Valentin Iturat on the drums in *Adumua, Ana Saharaiia* and *Tarham ya Allah shuhada*. Iturat was not part of Hassan's band therefore

his contribution to the album was the only incorporation of a studio-musician in the album. Iturat incorporates a cosmopolitan bimusicality into the album due to the manner in which he plays the drum. For instance, his role assigned by Dominguez was to play a drum kit track for *Ana Saharaia* and *Tarham ya Allah shuhada* in order to sound more bluesy and thus, cosmopolitan. In both songs, he uses brushes on the snare drum in order to produce a soft sound in the background that still reinforces the rest of the tracks previously recorded. In *Adumua*, the 6/8 rhythm on the snare drum is also played with brushes. In other words, the role of the drums in *Adumua* is to provide a sense of regular on-beat rhythm to this song. Iturat provides a type of musical cosmopolitanism to the songs previously recorded, therefore, this type of musical collaboration in Hassan's music could be defined as cosmopolitan arrangements. This type of musical arrangements only provide more timbres to the production of *El Aaiun egdat*. The musical negotiation and mediation between Iturat and Nubenegra is only in the studio and not during the compositional process. For this reason, in this section, the use of musical cosmopolitanism has been shown in different forms. Firstly, the power structures between the record label, sound engineer and musicians. Secondly, the different types of interactions and musical cosmopolitanism between the agents mentioned above. Lastly, how a studio musician incorporates new musical textures in the recording.

In conclusion, despite the hierarchy shown in the final decisions made by Nubenegra and the sound engineer in Hassan's recordings, they respected the compositions made by Hassan, El Hanevi and I in Villena. Later, the musical interaction with Flores and Westerdahl reinforced the structures of the songs composed in Villena and incorporated new timbres into Hassan's music. Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* is the result of a social and musical negotiation between two transnational musicians (Hassan and El Hanevi), international musicians and a Spanish record label in a glocal context.

Glocalisation and general observation about the cultured and musical habitus involved in the construction of the album *El Aaiun egdat*

This section focuses on analysing the social interaction of the people involved in the compositional and recording process of *El Aaiun egdat*. It includes a comparison of the compositional process of this album with previous Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. In this way, I aim to address the main changes made by international

musicians to Hassan's music. Later, I include a discussion on some additional theoretical aspects of this thesis such as glocalism, innovation and memory. Glocalism is used in regards to the space where the making of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* occurred. In addition, this section analyses how Hassan's international band combines the *Haul* modal system with other musical styles in such glocal context. This creative and musical process of composing songs within the same national context is what Ritzer has defined as "glocal" (2003: 193).

The compositional process shows how a traditional sound can be transformed by the knowledge and musical tastes of the participants involved, defined in this chapter as multimusical, cosmopolitan, and traditional bimusicality. This chapter denotes a different study to previous chapters in which there is only communication between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra. In this chapter, I include international musicians representing the transcultural capital of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. This type of bimusicality is possible when musicians find themselves in the same glocal context.

Glocalisation refers to the musical encounters in the form of compositional process, recordings, or live performances. Each member of Hassan's international band resides in different parts of Spain. El Hanevi lives in Bilbao, Hassan in Sabadell, Westerdahl and Flores in Madrid, and myself in Alicante [although I reside for part of the year in Grahamstown, South Africa]. Thus, meetings to rehearse were probably easier than they were previously with *Leyoad* when some components of the band had to come from the camps for international tours. Hassan's international band is based on a national context because all her band's members come from different national contexts but reside in Spain. However, the rehearsals and the final compositional process of Hassan's album happened in a glocal context, Madrid.

Therefore, glocal is how one can define the social context of Hassan's band during and after the composition process. Everyone involved in her album *El Aaiun egdat* resided in Spain during the composition of the songs, and Nubenegra's office is based in

Madrid.¹⁴⁰ Glocalisation is also a form of defining the social context where the creative process of this album, regarding decisions and different ways of perceiving the same song occurred through different musical systems mostly influenced by *Haul*; modal jazz, and pentatonic blues. Thus, glocalisation defines the interaction of Mariem Hassan with international musicians and the Spanish record label.

The creative process between Mariem Hassan and I is defined in this thesis as “bimusicality”. The term bimusical embraces the array of musical styles with the *Haul* musical system in her music. My personal musical background is based on previous ethnographic musical research in Africa as well as other cosmopolitan styles such as blues, rock or jazz, which I performed previously. In other words, in Hassan’s music I tried to apply different musical systems learnt in my career as a performer and as a student of ethnomusicology.

Further, in this section, I draw on Meintjes’ idea of “musical innovation” to address the musical incursions in Hassan’s music led by international musicians. Later, her songs undergo new changes during the recording sessions provided by the sound engineer and producer.

The first phase of musical innovation is through the musicians and defined as bimusical. The second phase of musical innovation is based on the interaction of musicians with western agents [Westerdahl and Dominguez] in the studio. In musical terms, the innovation and reinvention of Saharai music in this glocal context has been of great importance in the global *World Music* market and for Saharai music. In addition, glocalisation is also examined as part of what Bourdieu defines as “cultured habitus” (1987: 203) because a glocal context is always linked to the different social structures of communication such as translocalism, transcultural capital and globalisation. In other words, Hassan’s interaction with her international band in the making of *El Aaiun egdat* is not only the result of a new musical product produced in a glocal context but how this album later offers a new relationship between Nubenegra, Saharai people and the

¹⁴⁰ Even when there is a concert, Hassan and her band are sometimes labelled as of Spanish or of Western Saharan origin as happened in “*World Music Village Festival*” in Helsinki in May 2012.

specific agents of the global market with Hassan as the representative of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra.

Chapter Six

The study of musical performances presenting Hassan 's album *El Aaiun egdat*: Representation and innovation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra

Chapter Five has focussed on the compositional and recording process of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* and her interaction with the different types of hubs such as: I, as an accidental hub through my participant and observant analysis of *El Aaiun egdat*; and Nubenegra as a human hub by producing and promoting this album globally. On the other hand, Chapter Six explores the construction of musical performances between Hassan and her international band (as human hubs) throughout 2012-2013; and the different symbolic representations of her artistic agency on stage (S. Rasmussen, 2005; M. Frishkopf, 2010). Kiwan and Meinhof also refer to human hubs as international musicians working with a transnational singer (2001: 6). According to these scholars, human hubs can also link a transnational singer to "a wide range of artistic, institutional and professional contexts" (*ibid*).¹⁴¹

In relation to the internal musical negotiations for the construction of Hassan's performances between the Saharai artist, her international musicians and Nubenegra, this chapter analyses the new musical arrangements that differ from the final edition of the songs recorded in the album. These new musical structures for her live performances are negotiated between western musicians [Westerdahl, Flores and myself], Saharai artists [Hassan and El Hanevi] and Dominguez. Further, this section compares a different musical negotiation between the compositional process of the album *El Aaiun egdat* in Chapter Five (including the recording process in Axis studio); and the social mediation of the music through performances. As quoted previously, the term 'mediation' is adopted from Meintjes to describe "the process that connects and translates disparate worlds, people, imaginations, values and ideas, whether in its symbolic, social and technological form" (2003: 8). I aim to examine the musical and social contribution of each member of Hassan's band for the final structure of the songs

¹⁴¹ Such a linkage to artistic agents, facilitated by the human hubs, is proven in Hassan's international band by the contraction of two concerts between 2012-2013: one concert in Espacio Ronda (Madrid) thanks to Westerdahl's friendship with the venue's director; and Hassan's concert in *Festival Noche Etnica* (Villena) thanks to my contact with the festival organiser (see Appendix 9).

played in live performances. Thus, mediation is used in this chapter to analyse the preparation of Hassan's musical performances. Hence, her translocal and transcultural representation of Saharai music becomes cosmopolitan during performances with her international musicians. As a result, there is a new type of identification in Hassan's music, Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and her transcultural representation of Saharai music. Such musical and social communication between the mentioned actors contributes to the debate of the concept 'artistic aesthetics' in different manners [translocal, transcultural and cosmopolitan]. Thus, musical and social aesthetics are linked during the construction of her musical performances and their consequent representation on stage.

Considering the new artistic representation of Hassan by way of her international band, this chapter uses Joseph's studies on Arab women and their artistic agency (2012). Joseph states that Arab women's agency is relational to local and national culture but is never represented as individual artists. (2012: 9). Thus, for Joseph, Arab women are seen as objects of desire when they are exposed in live performances either for local, national, or international audiences (*ibid*: 10). Joseph continues by saying that Arab women are mere subjects and not seen as individuals of "nation-states, which generate the domains of government agencies, non-governmental agencies (civil society), international NGOs with their funding priorities and powers, local and national laws (especially family laws), and international conventions" (*ibid*: 15). In most cases, as seen in Chapter Four, Hassan's artistic agency in musical performances is complicated by the Western Sahara conflict, Hassanya culture, *Haul* music and Arab exoticism, among other social and cultural attributes. In Chapter Four there is a study of Hassan as an individual *World Music* artist with reference to her body language on stage; the personal decisions to wear traditional clothes; and her transcultural representation as a Saharai artist in the west [exoticism]. In contrast to the study of Hassan's artistic agency in Chapter Four, this chapter focuses on the representation of her live performances when accompanied by her international band (2012-2014). As a result of her collaboration with international musicians, this album offers a new transcultural representation of Hassan's music. Transcultural representation of her music on stage also alludes to her interaction with different structures of communication such as: her translocal relationship with El Hanevi; her relationship with her international band; the

promotion of her international band by way of Nubenegra; and the specific agents of the global market in relation to the press and her audience.

The last section of this chapter is an examination of Hassan's live performances which the press defines as "blues of the desert". I follow Kärja's definition of an "autobiographical approach" in music journalism. Kärja's approach to music journalism offers further examination on the lack of any representation of personal artistic agency in Hassan's music; and its replacement by the definition of "blues of the desert".¹⁴²

Regarding the research methodology, as in Chapter Five, I personally define the study of Hassan's performances with her international band as "music as an innovative transnational practice". The research in this thesis includes the analysis of: the compositional process to arrange the live performances for the presentation of the album *El Aaiun egdat*; the compositional negotiation between traditional *Haul* with other musical styles incorporated by international musicians [music as a symbolic system]; and Hassan's new international band innovating the social image of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra [music as a social behaviour]. In this chapter, the use of Rice's methodology is personally classified as: "music as a symbolic system" for the musical negotiation between the *Haul* modal system and other musical styles; and "music as a social behavior" to examine the representation of Hassan's international band as cosmopolitan (2003: 166).

In reference to the study of transnational habitus in this chapter, there is an emphasis on both a collective form of communication between Hassan, her international band and Nubenegra for the preparation of musical performances; and an individual form of communication by Mariem Hassan representing the transcultural capital of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra with the specific agents of the global market [audience and press], her musicians and Nubenegra. Both forms of communication [collective and individual] are described in this chapter as mediation between Nubenegra, Hassan and her international band. In this thesis, the interaction between the agents mentioned offers two different types of mediation such as: the musical preparation for the

¹⁴² "There are two types of approaching music. One trend is author-and-work centered, and can be divided into historical and autobiographical approach. The second trend is as social history, music in relation to its surroundings, a distinction between musical and extra musical elements" (A. Kärjä, 2006: 5).

recording of *El Aaiun egdat* (Chapter Five); and the different musical arrangements for the elaboration of Hassan's musical performances to present the album (Chapter Six).

Collective communication: Musical constructions in Hassan's performance of *El Aaiun egdat*

This section analyses the collective form of communication between Hassan, her international band and Nubenegra in constructing musical arrangements for live performances. For this purpose, international musicians as Westerdahl or Flores propose cyclical structures of songs in order to have a collective reference. I refer to "cyclical structures of songs" which is consistent with the western popular strophic form of "verse-chorus-verse". On the other hand, Hassan and El Hanevi suggest learning to improvise within the *Haul* modes because Saharai musicians generally compose songs by following the melodic line of the voice. In my view, when there is a band in which some musicians have different musical cultures, each musician depends on his/her musical knowledge and how his/her social and musical interaction with the rest of the musicians provides a new form of collective understanding in Hassan's band. In this section, there is an analysis of how Hassan's band come into a collective form of communication based on the mixture of the *Haul* modal system with other styles.

Later, in this section, there is an examination of Nubenegra's opinions and final decisions in the musical arrangements of Hassan's songs for musical performances. Dominguez' decisions include views on: the importance of incorporating an appropriate musical accompaniment to Hassan's voice; the regular duration of songs considering song structures; and Nubenegra's reflexivity on the introduction of saxophone timbre in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Nubenegra's approval of new timbres and song structures is also related to what Meintjes defines as the "power structures" shaped by record labels over musicians' agency (2003: 11).

As previously mentioned, regarding the musical negotiation between musicians and Nubenegra in Hassan's performances, the arrangements of the songs differ from the arrangements of the album. The new "musical arrangements" for live performances attempted to find a relative accuracy of sound with the timbre and song-structure (beginnings, interludes and finales) of each song of the album. The aforementioned

musical terms were not primarily conceived by Saharai musicians; in this case, Mariem Hassan and Vadya El Hanevi (the *tbal* player). In such circumstances, there were regular misunderstandings between the western musicians (in the search of structure within the songs rather than following the voice as is characteristic of *Haul* music) and Saharai musicians. This situation refers to the idea of “musical innovation” (L. Meintjes, 2003: 8), which relates to the collective communication between the main artist and his/her musicians. In order to achieve musical innovation in Hassan’s musical performances, the interaction between international musicians, Hassan and El Hanevi was firstly based on the attempt to re-enact the sound and song’s structure of the tracks recorded in *El Aaiun egdat*.

Secondly, as an important ethical point for the musical arrangements between Saharai and international musicians, there was a mutual sensitivity towards Hassan’s musical heritage. For instance, international musicians were aware that the most viable option to compose with Hassan would be based on a good knowledge of the *Haul* modes to accompany her voice during live performances. This point is also consistent with Rasmussen who states that:

In Arab music, you follow the singer or, alternatively, the strongest musician. Following the leader or the musician who has the most convincing idea at the moment is one of the aesthetic trademarks of the music (2004: 222).

Nevertheless, the musical negotiation between Saharai and international musicians regarding musical arrangements was endless, as tradition, innovation and the concept of structure were always in conflict. Concerts presenting *El Aaiun egdat* were performed mostly in European countries; therefore, Saharai musicians were in favour of representing the essence of Saharai *Haul* based on the knowledge of the *Haul* modal system. Meanwhile, international musicians wanted to have a cyclical structure in each song because they deemed this appealing to a western European audience. As a result, the musical negotiation between Saharai and western musicians attempted to combine a cyclical structure suggested by western musicians; and improvisation based on the *Haul* modal system proposed by Hassan and El Hanevi. The final combination of cyclical structure and improvisation [based on the *Haul* modal system] helped to incorporate the musical creativity of every member in Hassan’s band. In my opinion, the cyclical structure of Hassan’s songs contributed to a repeated pattern as a musical

reference, thus, the musicians can never get lost even if they improvise because they always return to the song's cycle. This point is consistent with Meintjes who observes that, "social practices are conventionalized but they are also unpredictable and improvised" (2013: 259).

Hassan's live performances of *El Aaiun egdat* proposed a new form of revealing her transcultural capital in which musical representation denotes a change of direction from tradition to innovation [different from the previous dissemination by Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra from translocal music]. New forms of understanding *Haul* music not only by the international musicians but through Hassan's musical arrangements, suggest a new transcultural direction in her music.¹⁴³ Further, since 1998, Hassan's international band offers a new musical product in the *World Music* industry that relates to her musical tastes established during her experience while working with Nubenegra. Such musical interaction between an Dutiro as an African musician and his/her western audience coheres with Perman who says that:

The artist and his/her international musicians introduce unfamiliar music to primarily cosmopolitan audiences in wealthy, industrialised countries. They must accept a lack of understanding on the part of the audience, emphasise their own cosmopolitan preferences, or adapt their sound to approximate the aesthetic sensibilities and listening habits of listeners (2007: 30).

Nubenegra and the musicians in Hassan's band helped to develop and implement a new "cosmopolitan" concept in her musical performances as the Spanish record label insisted on the importance of having an original musical accompaniment in Hassan's *El Aaiun egdat*. Thus, an international musician can be defined as cosmopolitan by the contextualisation of Hassan's band, however, if such musician does not have the musical skills to improvise and to understand Hassan's musical interactions, the cosmopolitan attributes are not visible in the music.

Following Dominguez' views, the international musicians worked deliberately on the reconstruction of Saharawi identification including original arrangements for international performances. During this musical and social process, there was a regular

¹⁴³ This point on the representation of Hassan's new international band will be analysed later in this chapter.

musical tension between tradition and innovation. In other words, there was a musical negotiation between the essential musical values of the *Haul* modal system in contrast to western harmonic arrangements. In addition, the musical negotiation analysed in this chapter coheres with Racy's view on performance by saying that "performance depends on three interrelated factors: compositional devices shared by participants; the artist's musical skills; and the listener's musical disposition and sensitivity communicated through direct emotional-musical input" (1998:103).

Considering Racy's view on performance studies, in practice, during the first performances of *El Aaiun egdat*, there were musical parts that were dependant on musical improvisations; rather than on a clear structure of the songs. For instance, depending on the concert, performances of *Ana Saharaui* were from five to eight minutes. Thus, there were always problems performing the songs during rehearsals because we tended to make them longer than usual. This example shows that rather than "compositional devices shared by participants", there was a conflict between structuring and improvising songs using the *Haul* modal system. The artist's 'musical skills' were not valid in the structuring of songs; thus, western musicians tended to play simple accompaniments which followed Hassan's voice.

Regarding the listener's musical disposition and sensitivity, Nubenegra criticised the musical arrangements of saxophone and wind instruments played by Flores during musical performances (*ibid*). Dominguez often stated that wind instruments in Saharaui music may provoke a type of superficial sound in the new musical product. However, Schubert-Wurr always supported the idea of introducing new elements in Saharaui music, as mostly characterised by *tbal*, guitars, and *agarits* (ululations). In any case, during live performances, the musical texture of wind instruments was accepted as an integral part of live performances.

This point is consistent with Meintjes' view on musical negotiation in which the "tension between the 'authenticity' of performance and the 'falsity' of mediated sound is a discursive tension" (2003: 139). In this case, 'falsity' can be attributed to musical innovation with the incorporation of the saxophone timbre in Hassan's music. In contrast, the term 'authenticity' refers to the musical timbre of the 'past' in Saharaui *Haul*. In my view, the concept of musical modernity draws a parallel with falsity because musical innovation in Hassan's music always implies the integration of new

musical timbres in a traditional style (M. Adileh, 2011: 150). In other words, the term ‘falsity’ also alludes to how the new musical textures are introduced in Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra, such as the sound of the saxophone in Hassan’s music.

In the next section, I describe the musical contribution from each member of Hassan’s band in the preparation for musical performances. In other words, there is an analysis of the participation of each of Hassan’s band members in preparation for performances presenting *El Aaiun egdat*.

Main musical arrangements produced by each musician for live performances and which differed from their contribution in the album *El Aaiun egdat* (music as symbolic system)

In this section, I am drawn to Meintjes’ observations on musical timbre. Meintjes describes timbre as, “the carrier of much more of the affective, generic and social significance imputed to musical expression” (L. Meintjes, 2003: 12). However, this section not only refers to “timbre as a symbolic system” to analyse the social significance of Hassan’s international band, but I analyse the musical contribution of each member of her band and how their individual interaction with her music may evoke a different musical timbre for musical performances. As Rasmussen states, “in addition to the scales, the special intonation, the great rhythms, the dynamic repertoire, and the central role of improvisation, one of the things I find exciting about Arab music is the musical texture produced by the interaction between musicians” (A. K. Rasmussen, 2004: 218). In my view, the concept of Arab music as such is probably abstract and broad. However, the importance of Rasmussen’s statement is that she pays attention to the interaction between musicians during the performance. In reference to that, I compare the musical changes from the recorded album *El Aaiun egdat* to the new musical textures and timbre of live performances. I commence by examining the changes in the guitar for live performances and continue with: Flores on the wind section; Westerdahl on bass; El Hanevi on *tbal* and backing vocals; and Mariem Hassan as the leading vocalist.

In the album, *El Aaiun egdat*, there were three guitars in most of the songs. Meanwhile, during live performances, there was only one guitar. I therefore had to adapt musical arrangements recorded in the album with three guitar tracks, into one guitar during musical performances. Concerning the guitar timbre for Hassan’s performances, I

composed different solos, which combined arpeggios to complete the general sound of the band; and to approximate the timbre of *El Aaiun egdat*. Musical arrangements on the guitar were essential to maintaining good musical dynamics with Hassan's band during live performances. In the case of the presence of two guitars, I could have played the guitar solos in the recording of the album, however, *Arrabi al arabe* is one example of musical arrangements on guitar during live performances such as the concert in Helsinki (25-05-2012) (Video 1). In *Arrabi al arabe*, I tend to play longer solos, which was a characteristic of the first concerts presenting *El Aaiun egdat* (see Appendix 9).

However, in the next concert in Chiasso (Switzerland) (16-06-2012), the guitar sounded more discreet and tended to merely accompany Hassan's voice (Video 2). These mediation between Nubenegra and myself were a result of the record label's final approval of the guitar's arrangements. However, in general terms, Nubenegra was always respectful of my musical ideas since I was the main composer of Hassan's music in the album. From Chiasso's concert, the only change on the guitar timbre was the volume of the guitar while playing *mawals* (introductory parts with no tempo).

According to Dominguez, the guitar sounded strident and loud during the introductory parts of Hassan's songs.¹⁴⁴ The mediation between a record label (as an human hub) and an international musician in Hassan's music is always in search of a particular sound that can indentify the timbre of the album *El Aaiun egdat*. For Sanga, when there is a hybrid musical product as Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*, performances are used to enhance the cosmopolitan attributes of such musical product in cosmopolitan spaces (2011: 193). In accordance with Sanga's point, in my opinion, Dominguez as Nubenegra's director negotiated the guitar's timbre with me in order to imitate the sound of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*.

Regarding the technical preparation during the performance, my main problem was the tuning of the electric guitar during musical performances. I had to tune the guitar differently for six of the songs. In some cases, I only had to tune the sixth string from E to G. However, songs like *Rahy El Aaiun egdat* or *Gdeim Izik* required that I tune all the strings into DADDAD (starting from the first string). In some concerts, tuning the guitar for different songs was problematic because western audiences are not used to having

¹⁴⁴ Dominguez prefers soft guitars while Hassan sings *mawals*.

silence between the songs. However, when I performed in the camps during my research in 2004, tuning the guitar between songs was accepted by the public. Therefore, aesthetics depend on the translocal or transcultural contextualisation of Hassan's performance. As Erlmann states:

I argue that the current concern with the local, the microdynamics of culture, and the communal often emerges from a rather problematic projection of contemporary western notions of locality and community onto social processes elsewhere in the world – projections that are rooted, I believe, in current western concerns with aesthetics as the quintessential, late modern form of ethics (1998:13).

One solution would have been to bring two guitars; one guitar with international tuning and the other guitar with the *Haul* tuning of DADDAD. However, in most of the concerts abroad, we had to take inexpensive flights which meant traveling with only one guitar. As a result, at certain moments, I had to tune the guitar between songs during Hassan's musical performances in Europe.

In the mediation of live performances presenting *El Aaiun egdat*, Flores was responsible for the wind section (saxophone, *ney*, and jaw's harp) and percussion (tambourine and shakers). His use of the tambourine tapping on his right foot was due to the absence of a drum kit in some songs such as *Ana Saharaui* (Video 3).

On the other hand, Nubenegra criticised Flores' performance due to the reed on the saxophone occasionally creating the wrong sound. In my view the casual mistakes, which came from playing the saxophone, should not be considered as crucial by Nubenegra; because they can happen to any member of Hassan's band.¹⁴⁵ In general terms, I have to mention that harsh critiques coming from the label sometimes caused difficult communication between musicians and Nubenegra. These days, one is used to how producers criticise artists on TV shows such as "Pop Idol". However, the role of music producers is to improve a musical product without discriminating against or overvaluing their artists. This point coheres with Webb who says that the important issues to be considered between a record label and musicians should be "the development of producers, the type of record deals, the importance of the record

¹⁴⁵ This point refers to the technical problems on stage as tuning a guitar or the undeliberate displacement of a microphone while El Hanevi is playing the *tbal*.

company personnel, a supportive environment between artists and records labels and the centrality of creativity” (2007: 6).

Following Webb’s views on collective communication, the relationship between Dominguez, Schubert-Wurr, and Flores resulted in an attempt to find musical ties rather than separations due to certain mistakes that occurred on stage. Nowadays, the professional relationship between Nubenegra and Flores is productive and satisfactory. Flores’ confidence on stage has grown through a better knowledge of the songs. Further, he has a better understanding of the *Haul* modes and has combined them with modal jazz and pentatonic scales. Flores offers various musical resources to Hassan’s band, not only in the wind sections; but in the percussive sounds which reinforce the *tbal* sound in songs such as *Adumua* (Video 4). Flores is a perfect example of how Trimillos describes the interaction of a foreign performer with a non-western musical style:

Cultural credibility can be achieved by studying and establishing a performance career within the host society (2004: 45).

In addition, Flores makes regular trips to the Saharai refugee camps where he is the director and founder of the music school *Enamus*. His dynamic relationship with Saharai music does not only reside in Hassan’s live performances. Further, he experiences the coexistence with Saharai people in another transnational context in the camps, which is different to the musical experience with Mariem Hassan in Spain.¹⁴⁶ Flores would offer a type of applied ethnomusicology to Saharai music by his understanding of the *Haul* modal system; and because of his contribution towards the opening of a music school in the camps. In reference to the syllabus content of *Enamus*, and according to the concept of applied ethnomusicology, it embodies the teaching of the *Haul* modal system and learning how to read and write in western musical notation.

Westerdahl, the bass player, had to change bass lines which were not satisfactory to Nubenegra during live performances. Dominguez wanted to approximate the bass-sound to the offbeat bass lines encountered in Algerian *Rai* or Malian blues. Nubenegra’s need to find original bass lines were because Saharai music has not developed any bass-guitar style since the creation of *El Ualy* in 1976. The search for a

¹⁴⁶ These are musical and social experiences have encouraged Flores to arrange a few *tidinit*s (see Appendix 1), even a left-handed *tidinit* for myself to perform with a traditional, classic *Haul* sound.

new bass sound in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra was inspired by musical styles from neighbouring countries across the Saharan desert. As one can observe, the search for a new bass sound was decided by Nubenegra as a human hub. In this musical negotiation between a record label and a musician, Westerdahl's musical perception of Saharai music played an important role in the search of a bass sound for Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Westerdahl's musical perception of Saharai music was not based on the *Haul* modal system, however, his knowledge of blues and modal jazz was essential to compose bass lines for Hassan's music.

With regard to the collective communication of Hassan's band, Westerdahl was essential in structuring the songs for live performances. His view on the construction of Hassan's live performances can be examined in the context of both the bass player and sound engineer of *El Aaiun egdat*. Westerdahl was responsible for addressing all the technical problems such as timing during the recording sessions, provided that we recorded the album without a metronome. In addition, as mentioned in Chapter Five, all the songs in *El Aaiun egdat* were recorded in one take by Westerdahl in Axis studio. One should note that Westerdahl edited and produced this album, therefore, the Spanish musician probably heard *El Aaiun egdat* more than anyone else. For this reason, Westerdahl's musical proposal for live performances of *El Aaiun egdat* was to imitate musical arrangements used in the album. Nevertheless, to follow the aforementioned arrangements counting on the chorus and verses was a complicated task for all of us, given that the album was recorded without any structure. We tried to structure songs like *Ana Saharaia* but the result was always different. In fact, *Ana Saharaia* was a sign that most of the songs should be negotiated by following Hassan's voice. Thus, when she leaves her microphone, we would finish the song by trying to synchronise an ending with the *tbal*'s rhythm. The structure of all the songs for musical performances was a difficult musical negotiation. Westerdahl made notes of all the songs in order to structure them. However, those structures always changed and never worked out exactly twice in the same song. In many cases, this type of work is mostly based on the process of recording an album, but not in a style such as *Haul* which is based on improvisation and one which follows the voice.

During rehearsals, all the members from the band tried to follow everyone's suggestions but the natural inclination was to follow Hassan's voice in order to facilitate musical

communication during the performance. Thus, as previously mentioned, the cyclical patterns in Hassan's songs made by the international musicians and the irregular appearance of Hassan's vocal parts produced a type of musical interaction based on signs between Hassan and her international band. Thus, there is a considerable amount of improvisation in a musical performance and the musical references such as melodic variations or certain chords that warn the singer to sing are essential.

As mentioned earlier, Westerdahl's suggestions were to structure every song according to different sections such as "introduction-chorus-verses-finales". He made notes that everyone tried to follow but instead he would end up arguing and misunderstanding the real structure of the song. As a result, his proposal regarding the structures of the songs was the first problem encountered in preparing the musical performance. Flores and I were more used to performing with a musical structure in the songs in other musical projects; but Hassan and El Hanevi had serious problems with seeing a song divided into different parts. I refer to structure according to what Marcus and Solis's interview with Racy define as the durational musical cycles melodically and rhythmically in each song (2004: 161).

Another area is rhythm. I'm not talking about meter, but also about durational structures of the notes and the pauses. The *qafila*, namely the cadential pattern, is another component that is difficult to execute well (S. Marcus & T. Solis, 2004: 161).

With regard to the rhythm in Hassan's band, El Hanevi was responsible for the rhythmic structure, with the *tbal*. In addition, El Hanevi danced in *Ragsat naama* (Ostrich's dance) and "*baile del tambor*" (dance of the drum) (Video 5).¹⁴⁷ Nubenegra was always satisfied with El Hanevi's work in this project. She maintained a lively sense of rhythm in every performance. El Hanevi also sang backing vocals while playing *tbal*. The Saharai artist performed exactly what she played and sang in the recording of *El Aaiun egdat*.¹⁴⁸ El Hanevi did not add a new musical value to the musical performance that differs from the previous recordings of the songs. Marcus and Solis' interview with

¹⁴⁷ This video combines the dance of "*baile del tambor*" with the rest of the first live performance presenting Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* in Sala Clamores, Madrid.

¹⁴⁸ In this sense, it is more interesting to examine El Hanevi's role in terms of a Saharai woman/local image wearing *melfa*, the traditional dress, and through traditional dances.

Racy relates to the attempt of El Hanevi to maintain Saharai musical tradition with international musicians:

I have been playing with jazz and flamenco groups, and have composed in various experimental styles. However, I want to make the traditional sound a viable option (S. Marcus & T. Solis, 2004: 164).

Finally, Mariem Hassan was the main reference on stage and the criticisms of her voice and movements in every song were detailed by Nubenegra. Regarding musical innovations for the performances that differ from the album, the Saharai artist did not include musical arrangements in live performance. The musical arrangements for the preparation of her musical performances were based on guitars, bass and wind sections.

However, Hassan received criticism from Nubenegra regarding the long spaces between the vocal parts which were usually shorter in the songs recorded in *El Aaiun egdat*. According to Dominguez, the problem of “timing and structure” within the songs in live performances was permanent with the band *Leyoad*; and with the other Saharai bands promoted by Nubenegra. As one can observe, the different interpretations of musical and cultural aesthetics between Hassan and Nubenegra are used to negotiate her transcultural capital. This type of musical disagreement is consistent with Nettle’s observation on “music and musical thinking” between “producer and musician”. Nettle states that:

The ways in which the musician thinks about his music depends in large measure on ways in which they think of the world at large. And within that context, the ways in which society thinks about the concept of music, about music in culture, about musicians, may determine much about the way in which the musicians of that society think their music (1994: 147).

Regarding Hassan’s agency on stage, the Saharai artist offers different movements to point out what is occurring during the performance. For instance, the artist dances towards her musicians while they play solo parts. She received criticism from Nubenegra about the way she was moving and wearing her *melfa*. The Saharai artist refused to wear her traditional dress in any other way than the one she regularly wears it. In general terms, for a Saharai singer, the way the *melfa* is worn cannot be judged by an outsider. Further, her image in live performances is designed to represent the

Saharaui nation in exile and Arab feminism among other possible representations. As mentioned earlier, Hassan's artistic agency coheres with Joseph's view on Arab women's representation in live performances stating that "agency is relational, a social performance, thus, creativity is a relational achievement" (S. Joseph, 2012: 9), and not entirely a personal achievement.

In general terms, this section has shown the musical dynamics offered by each of her musicians. Hassan's musicians were aware of the cultural confrontations between western music harmony and the *Haul* musical system. In addition to this, the different arguments from each musician regarding the structure of each song completed the final musical arrangements for Hassan's performances. On the other hand, the fact that Dominguez was not a musician limited his arguments about the sound Nubenegra wanted to achieve with Hassan's international band. In some cases, the misunderstanding between the record label and musicians regarding musical arrangements led to fierce arguments during the planning of musical performances. Nevertheless, there was always a productive debate between the musicians and Nubenegra (Dominguez and Schubert-Wurr) that led us to discuss musical arrangements after every performance. This included watching all the concerts on video in order to improve the next musical performance. The possibility of having an opinion on the musical construction of Hassan's performances created a participatory atmosphere. However, the last word was always reserved for Nubenegra as producers, managers, and distributors of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*. In sum, the process of constructing Hassan's live performances as a *World Music* ensemble coheres with Perman's views that it is not only about the representation of music but to analyse the musical construction of live performances among individuals and group decisions (2007: 27).

In addition, Meintjes' views on timbre assist the analysis of the musical and social significance of Hassan's international band (2003: 12). The first reference to elaborate the musical performance was the attempt to capture the sound of the album, *El Aaiun egdat*, during the rehearsals. Second, the agents involved [Hassan, and her international band and Nubenegra] had to negotiate new musical arrangements to be played during performances. Finally, the overall sound of Hassan's band should represent a new cosmopolitan timbre in Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra. As previously

mentioned, cosmopolitanism does not only states the contextualisation of Hassan's international band but the musical skills and understanding of Hassan's musical system based on the *Haul* modes.

Stage talk to present songs during musical performances

After discussing the musical changes for live performances with every member of Hassan's international band, another essential factor in the planning of live performances was the presentation of songs (in English or Spanish, depending on the place of the performance). During performances I was responsible for introducing each song. The presentation of the songs to the public was to explain what Hassan was singing. Dominguez wrote the introductions for each song in order to have a reference for what is called "stage talk". In this section, I use Bealle's observations on stage talk in order to show that introducing songs can be a direct form of communication "less formally constrained than music and can be used in broadly creative ways to link the performance to a particular perceived past" (1993: 64). Bealle refers to the importance of "placing" the listener in the song. The form in which I introduced the songs grabbed the attention of the public in different ways. In this case, I, as a non-Saharaui person, presenting the songs offered a new type of individual communication representing Hassan's band during performances. As Bealle affirms, "the construction of identity in stage talk is important and involves the sociocultural construction of the band" (1993: 65). In addition, stage talk is represented as part of the interaction between Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra and the audience; this includes the concept of the "specific agents of the global market" through explaining Hassan's songs to an unknown international public in concerts.

During live performances, there were certain changes in the theme of some songs. For instance, *Yalli mashi anni* (Your desertion) is a song Hassan dedicated to me as a sign of friendship and affection. However, Dominguez decided to present this song as homage to Ali Farka Toure; because Hassan adores his music. The other reason to pay homage to Ali Farka was because the guitar in *Yalli mashi anni* is clearly influenced by the Malian musician (see the concept of "multimusicality" in Chapter Five).

Another opportunity during "stage talk" was to use the introduction of the songs to highlight political or social issues. For instance, in *Arfa* (a children's song where

children ask older people for sweets during *Eid el kebir* (The lamb's feast), Dominguez suggested that I say "Saharai children, as well as Saharai adults, are fed-up of tales and are asking for things that are more concrete" (referring to the resolution of the Western Sahara political conflict). Another political presentation was for the song *Gdeim Izik*. I introduced this song by saying "Spain behaved ridiculously by turning a blind eye to Moroccan repression in November 2010". According to Dominguez, the explanations are in favour of the Saharais and "stage talk" has to represent the Saharai point of view (interview, 3-06-2011). Thus, Hassan's concerts are also an opportunity to introduce this music culture replete with its social and political context to global audiences.

In other songs that are related to international events such as *Arrabi al arabe* (Arab Spring), the introductory explanation is that "this is a salutation to all the Arab people who are fighting to be liberated from oppression". This song speaks to the experience of other Arab people such as Tunisians or Egyptians during the social unrest in 2011 and 2012. When I presented this song during a concert in Helsinki at *World Village Festival*, Arab people began to wave their respective flags from Arab countries (see Video 1). Through the explanation of *Arrabi al arabe*, Saharais and other Arab people find a common social struggle.¹⁴⁹ For Biddle and Knights, the Arab Spring is a concept that could be based on "the politics of location formed by distributed networks" (2007: 2) across the Arab world and especially in North Africa. In this case, when the song *Arrabi al arabe* is presented on stage, a certain sector of the Arab world responds to the "stage talk" not only by waving their nation's flag but by affirming their political and social convictions by a global movement such as the Arab Spring.

In conclusion, "stage talk" is a way of informing people about the songs in a language that the public can understand. Thus, the audience obtains a better idea of what the songs are conveying or are introduced to relevant themes about which Mariem Hassan has been inspired to sing. Stage talk is usually assigned to me as a fluent English and Spanish speaker, however, when we play in Spain, sometimes, there are more Saharais than Spanish people at the concerts. In these cases, Hassan also introduces her songs in

¹⁴⁹ *Arrabi al arabe* is a type of song that does not relate directly to the conflict of Western Sahara but to a social movement originated in the Maghreb countries.

Hassanya after my explanations in Spanish. Stage talk shows another type of communication with the audience (as part of the specific agents of the global market).

Another form of collective communication: Interactive live performances as a trio in Festival du Sahel (Senegal)

In this section, I examine another form of collective communication between Nubenegra, Mariem Hassan and her musicians. The agents mentioned prepared an educational concert in Senegal to introduce Saharawi music to an international public. Hassan's musical performance can have different purposes (entertainment, educational and academic) depending on the aim of the concert. This section offers an examination of Hassan's educational performances in Senegal in comparison to the performances presenting *El Aaiun egdat* previously examined.

In 2012, Dominguez decided to offer another type of educational concert different from the live performances that presented the album *El Aaiun egdat*. In November 2012, at *Festival du Sahel* in the desert of Loumpoul (Senegal), Nubenegra organised a concert in one of the *jaimas* (tents) and performed by El Hanevi, Hassan and myself. This repertoire was accompanied by visual images shown while we performed. The songs for this concert were divided into three translocal categories: traditional songs (lullabies, wedding songs, children and traditional songs); religious songs (*medej*); and political songs related to the Western Sahara conflict.

Traditional	Religious	Revolutionary songs
<i>Arfa</i> (children's song)	<i>Ya Arabi</i>	<i>Sbar</i>
<i>Terwah</i> (wedding song)	<i>Sid el Bashar</i>	<i>Magat milkitna dulaa</i>
<i>Tirka</i> (lullaby)		<i>Gdeim Izik</i>
<i>Syant laydad</i> (song about the ancestors)		<i>Adumua</i>
		<i>Yasar Geidu</i>

Table 12. Hassan's repertoire for a concert in Senegal

The fact that the songs were accompanied by images was attractive for the audience. In addition, Dominguez did a brief introduction of all the songs before we performed them.

In this performance, El Hanevi and I accompanied the vocal parts and occasionally played short solos between the verses of each song. In terms of preparing this performance, it was easier than preparing performances presenting the album *El Aaiun egdat*. The fact that there were only three people and we all understood traditional *Haul* musical codes (based on improvisation of the modes and following the singer's voice) made this repertoire easy to elaborate. In fact, Hassan was more comfortable in this type of traditional show as a trio than with the quintet because the musical interaction was only with the *Haul* musical system and not with song's structures as in the songs from *El Aaiun egdat*. Oloo defines this type of musical interaction based on a traditional musical system as "structural patterns of sound" (2007:178) that represents a musical tradition.

One should also emphasize that when Hassan's band performed in Senegal for educational purposes. The musical interaction with the *Haul* modes created a type of social performance as a medium for informing about Saharawi musical culture to the Senegalese audience. Therefore, the use of *Haul* modes not only shows the way in which Hassan is more comfortable with singing but also represents her transcultural capital from the camps.

On the other hand, Hassan's trio proposed a new musical challenge for me, as a non-Saharawi guitarist, performing Saharawi songs recorded by Saharawi guitarists such as Baba Salama, Boika, or Nayim Alal. The trust and support from Nubenegra, Hassan and El Hanevi towards my musical contribution helped me find a space in this repertoire. I even created my own version of the songs on the guitar because that is a sign of virtuosity in the *Haul* guitar style. This repertoire helped me discover that, in the *Haul* guitar, one has to find one's own *falsestas* (musical variations in each mode). My *falsestas* were based on a mixture of the *Haul* modes and other styles previously mentioned in Chapter Five. As Trimillos states, "the term authenticity applied to *World Music* ensembles is problematic (2004: 28)". In this case, authenticity means the way in which I improvise traditional songs and do not try to imitate other Saharawi guitarists. As one can observe, that the term authenticity has multiple meanings in this chapter. Previously, I spoke about Flores musical innovation by playing the saxophone in Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra or by using the *Haul* modes. In this case, the use

of the *Haul* musical system by a non-Saharaui may offer another type of authenticity provided by an outsider musician in the representation of Hassan's transcultural capital.

Hassan's repertoire improved gradually since musical communication under improvisation always develops into a better understanding of musical resources as shown by the relationship of Hassan, El Hanevi, and me. The only clear points in this repertoire were the *mawals* (introduction without rhythm and guitar responding to the solo vocal part) and the rhythm in each song. In the guitar, as long as I was performing in the mode in which the song was written, I could play different musical variations and usually never the same variations.

Hassan and El Hanevi had a fluid musical interaction with the *tbal* and vocal parts, which has been achieved through six years of playing together internationally. The three of us sometimes discussed how improvising and knowing the musical system of *Haul* music helped us to construct a rapid and efficient repertoire. In contrast, we also discussed the difficult task of structuring songs with the quintet presenting *El Aaiun egdat*. For instance, Westerdahl was never interested in learning the *Haul* musical system; but rather focused on the mixture of jazz and blues found in Saharaui music. For this reason, he was not part of this musical formation formed by El Hanevi, Hassan, and myself. In reference to Arab music, Rasmussen highlights, "the understanding of improvisation has been one of the musical characteristics of Arab music" (2004: 220). Therefore, the ability of having a collective form of improvisation based on the *Haul* modal system resonates with Rasmussen's views on Arab music who states that:

Recordings of Arab music produced within the last ten years or so suggest that there is an audible move away from the spontaneous live quality of Arab music toward the 'organized' sound of the west (2004: 220).

In the case of Flores, he was very interested in the *Haul* musical system due to his involvement with Saharaui people. He introduced flutes to *Tirka* during the trio concerts. In addition, he has made more *tidinits* in order to play them in this repertoire and to introduce more traditional sounds in Hassan's band.¹⁵⁰ As a result, his

¹⁵⁰ This type of musical incorporation in traditional songs can be defined as "multimusical" (see Chapter Five).

participation in Hassan's trio is mostly induced by the attempt to interact with the *Haul* modal system.

In sum, this type of educational concert as a trio contributed to creating a new band representing Hassan's transcultural capital. By transcultural, I refer to the attempt to re-enact how Saharawi music is performed in the camps when it is represented in other social contexts. Thus, the musical performance did not depend on song structures, but rather on the *Haul* modal system and its forms of improvisation. As a result, the musical interaction involved in this musical performance is based on the musical language of the Saharawis without using western harmony on the guitar. The representation of Hassan's transcultural capital by using the *Haul* modes also demonstrates that the use of a traditional musical system produces another type of musical performance defined as educational in this thesis. This point is consistent with Oloo who states that a musical system is like "most forms of narrative language and is not merely descriptive" (2007:179) but representative.

Academic interventions: Workshops, debates, and conferences at the University of Salamanca (USAL)

In this section, I examine in detail the Saharawi music workshop in Salamanca, in November 2012. This event, called *Jornadas de musica Saharaui* (Saharawi music workshops), consisted of a week of activities including: Hassan's concert, dance workshops, debates about Western Sahara, its music and the screening of documentaries related to Saharawi music. This section examines another type of collective form of communication between Saharawi artists, organisers, scholars, and Nubenegra. This section is related to the concept of accidental hubs which identifies individuals involved in the study of Saharawi music in different forms but who are able to promote this music in academic and institutional spaces (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 7). This section also addresses that idea that the exposure of Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra is not only through educational or musical performances but also through the creation of academic forums such as *Jornadas de musica Saharaui* at USAL.

The weeklong workshops consisted of a team composed of Manuel Dominguez, Zazie Schubert-Wurr, Mariem Hassan, Vadya El Hanevi, Eduardo Contreras (ethnomusicologist), Baba Jouly (ex-vice minister of Culture), Lamin Alal (poet) and myself.

The workshops began with Dominguez talking about his experience of recording Saharai music and how it developed from 1998 up to the present. Dominguez described his involvement with Saharai music in the camps and globally through Nubenegra as explained in Chapter Three. He explained how Nubenegra, as a record label and a human hub promoted Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the music industry. After Dominguez speech, the audience asked questions relating to how Nubenegra promoted Saharai music knowing that the Spanish government is against the principles of the PF. Dominguez commented on the problems of obtaining visa permits for the Saharai musicians living in the camps to perform in Europe, however, he did not encounter any other serious problems with the Spanish government in promoting Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For Taylor, the problems confronted by western record labels that are bringing non-western artists to Europe are based on colonialism, imperialism, and the impact of globalisation (2007: 1). To a certain extent, I agree with Taylor because Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is affected by a colonial and imperial problem provoked by Spain and how the Spanish government prevents Saharais from having refugee status or even refuses to facilitate the process of obtaining visa permits to perform in Europe. There is also a problem based on the impact of globalisation because Saharai musicians cannot have global encounters because of the imperial and colonial problems mentioned above. In other words, a Saharai musician is not able to obtain a visa permit or generally to have access to travel internationally as do citizen from western countries.

In the second part of the workshop at USAL, Baba Jouly and Lamin Alal (the brother of Nayim alal) commented on how Saharai music developed in the refugee camps before the arrival of the Spanish record label in 1998. Jouly and Alal mostly examined the use of *Haul* modes musically and its poetic forms in songs such as *Magat milkitna dula* or *RASD*. Therefore, they discussed the concept of translocal music. By translocal, I refer to how music is composed in the camps by Saharai musicians and their interaction with the PF and their translocal audience. Jouly and Alal also highlighted the importance of how *Haul* as a musical and poetic form of composing music, connects with Saharai people since the forced exile in 1976 when the poet Beibuh and the musician Kaziza introduced the *Haul* musical system in the camps (see Chapter Two). In my view, they pointed out that the *Haul* modal system is connected to the concept of social memory because it connect with sets of social practices such as

social gatherings (weddings or births) or political rallies in the camps (J. Olick & J. Robbins, 1998:106).

At this point, Alal and Jouly explained the use of Hassanya poetry in *Haul* music to the audience at USAL. Lamin Alal conducted a master class in the use of *gaaf* (ABAB) and *talaa* (ABBB) rhymes (see Chapter Two). In this event, the participation of the faculty of Arab philology helped to create a debate about the lack of knowledge about Hassanya as an Arab dialect. Nonetheless, most of the audience as non-Hassanya speakers were able to differentiate the uses of poetic rhymes in *gaaf* and *talaa* in Saharawi music. Such a linguistic study of the use of poetic rhymes in Saharawi music by a local poet addressed the relevance of poets in Saharawi music recorded by Nubenegra.

The next activity, demonstrating the *Haul* musical system (modes and rhythms) to the students, was led by Hassan, El Hanevi and myself. In order to bring awareness about the *Haul* modes to the ethnomusicology students who attended the workshop, I wrote all the *Haul* modes in western musical notation. We also played songs in different modes to see if the students could differentiate between them. In order to revise the concept of the *Haul* modal system, Hassan and El Hanevi played songs in different *Haul* modes and rhythms. Thus, firstly I attempted to show the *Haul* modal system with western musical notation in order to analyse the modes with the music students at USAL. Secondly, Hassan and El Hanevi demonstrated that the study of the *Haul* modal system is not as rigid as the concept of modes in western music because in *Haul* music the melodic lines ascend and descend differently along a song.

The ethnomusicologist Trimillos highlights that teaching a non-western musical system implies “alternative modes of knowledge acquisition” (2004: 25). However, in this workshop, the *Haul* musical system was taught by an outsider through western musical notation and by insiders. Such contrast between the concept of modes in *Haul* by insiders and outsiders attempted to define the different *Haul* modes. However, the conclusion of this master class in the use of the *Haul* modes was that the use of modes in Saharawi music is not rigid and the modes cannot be defined by western academic modes of knowledge. For this reason, the modes shown in Appendix 2 are a personal approximation of the *Haul* modal system but not a definitive record of them.

Later, the dance workshop was the most popular in terms of attendance by students from different faculties of the USAL. El Hanevi was the dance teacher while Hassan played *tbal* and I taught some guitar techniques. The dances taught in this course were based on the three dances of *fagu*: *bleida*, *charha* and *serbet*. The dance workshop provided a new type of body language experience to the USAL's students. By participating in musical activities such as dance workshops, one begins to understand a social form of interacting with a specific culture (S. A. Reily, 2006: 6). The dance workshop also addressed the importance of Saharai dance as an essential part of the *Haul* modal system. Therefore, at the workshop at USAL, the study of *Haul* included the study of its music, poetry, and dance

The last activity before the concert was the screening of some documentaries on Saharai music including *Los mares del desierto* (L. Gimenez, 2006) and *Mariem Hassan: The voice of the Sahara* (M. Dominguez, 2008). This part of the workshop is related to the concept of accidental hubs because the documentaries' directors promote Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the music industry and in academic institutions. The documentaries were followed by a debate on the project called "cuentame abuelo" (trans. "tell me grandfather") about the study of Saharai music in the camps.¹⁵¹ After the presentation of the project "cuentame abuelo" there was a debate described as a "round-table on Saharai music" in which Flores, Baba Jouly and I participated. The debate was rich in terms of the different interests in Saharai music. In addition, the interest of the debate was that there was extensive participation by a Saharai musician such as Jouly and accidental hubs as Flores and myself. However, this debate ended up being more informative about how each of the participants approached the study of Saharai music.

The last activity in Salamanca was Mariem Hassan's concert in the theatre "Juan de la Encina". The students participating in the Saharai music workshops enjoyed a better understanding of the music played during the concert. Thus, a week of academic, interactive and historical research on Saharai music in Salamanca was concluded with the confirmation that Mariem Hassan and her band could not only create different types

¹⁵¹ Eduardo Contreras (ethnomusicology professor in Salamanca) and his students went to the Saharai refugee camps with Nubenegra in 2011. During that time, they interviewed many poets and musicians of traditional songs before the Saharai revolution of 1975.

of concerts, as a trio and quintet, but that the subject of Mariem Hassan and Saharai music can be included as an activity in academic institutions. This workshop was of great interest to scholars and students in different faculties such as sociology, anthropology, politics, and Arab philology. At present, Dominguez is trying to organise similar workshops on Saharai music at other universities. Therefore, since the creation of Hassan's international band for the making of the album *El Aaiun egdat*, the use of musical performances is multiple according to the institution interested in Hassan's performances. Thus, Hassan's performances are used for entertainment purposes at music venues, educational purposes as in Senegal or academic as at USAL. The multiple possibilities of Hassan presenting her transcultural capital in musical performances primarily depends on Nubenegra acting as a human hub that provides accessibility to other human hubs which intends to promote Saharai music rather than Hassan as an individual artist.

As a personal observation, in this academic event at USAL, I emphasise Joseph's view on artistic agency in which the importance of Mariem Hassan's music never resides in her personal artistic agency but on her cultural exoticism in the western world (2012: 1). As a social and cultural icon of the Saharai people and having lived in the refugee camps, she is always an attraction for conferences in *World Music* festivals or related events. During 2012-2013, Hassan was interviewed before performing in Helsinki, Chiasso (Switzerland), *Festival du Sahel* (Senegal), *Universidad of Salamanca* (Spain) and *Babel Med* (Marseille-France). The conferences or interviews were always related to the Western Sahara conflict and her artistic career representing her country. However, the real importance of such academic encounters with her is the introduction to Saharai music.

With regard to the "hubs" involved in *Jornadas de musica Saharai* at USAL, this can be divided into two sections: the analysis of USAL as a human hub, and the "participant-objectivation" of Saharai music. In reference to USAL as a human hub, the Spanish University has contributed by encouraging different faculties to study Saharai music not only with a weeklong workshop, but also including the research project in the camps *Cuentame abuelo*. Considering the "participant-objectivation" of this workshop, one can analyse the object, being the music, and the subject, being the social context (P. Bourdieu, 2003: 281). In other words, Saharai music is the object;

and the subject is also the participants (as the social context) involved in this workshop and how they study different aspects of this music [or the different subjective opinions]. In this thesis, I also use Bourdieu's concept of "participant-objectivation" when the actors involved in the study of Saharai music are not part of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Therefore, "participant-objectivation" can be useful for the study of the different types of promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in different social contexts. In this case, the educational workshops about Saharai music at USAL demonstrate that in such social context, the musicians and curators are not the only participants in the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra but one should include the students who are able to learn and participate in the promotion of Saharai music.

Performance studies on the representation of Mariem Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* (music as social behaviour).

This section examines the decision –making processes about the repertoire presenting the album *El Aaiun egdat* in Hassan's concerts. Previously, I have examined the individual agency involved in each of the participants in her band including: a personal study of the stage talk, the examination of her trio representing her translocal culture in Senegal, and the concept of "participant-objectivation" or the different types of hubs involved at the workshop at USAL. In this section, I focus on both: Nubenegra's opinions with respect to the stage line of Hassan's band during performances (that includes the performance study of Hassan and her international band on stage); and Dominguez' decisions to include songs from the album *El Aaiun egdat* from previous recordings of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. In general, this section emphasises the concept of mediation in relation to the empowered relationship of Nubenegra about Hassan and her international band.

According to Nubenegra, the most important part in Mariem Hassan's concerts is the manner of representing the Saharai transcultural capital. Saharai musical and cultural elements in her concerts are the body language, traditional dress such as the *melfas*, and

traditional dances by El Hanevi. This point is consistent with Rasmussen's view on musical tradition in global performances of Tuareg music:

Tuareg verbal art performance of tales, songs, and poetry - including bodily gestures and postures are equally important. Thus the griots provided another important 'voice' in this representation of culture and memory (2005:816).

The cultural values that Saharai music represents in western countries is always uncertain as the global audience that attend Hassan's concerts can be varied (western, Arab, Saharai and African). Her concerts not only offer cultural values and nationalist ideology as seen in Chapter Four, but include different opinions by the diversity of audiences watching her performances in Europe. In this thesis, the types of audiences in Hassan's performances are inward-directed (Saharai transnational identities) and outward-directed (western audiences) performances as two audiences influenced by different social contexts (J. Baily, 2005: 217). Moreover, the number of perceptions, depending on the social contexts of the listener, is endless. For instance, Hassan is seen as a music ambassador by the global market while other Saharais anonymously criticise her for innovating Saharai music in the album *El Aaiun egdat*. In fact, artistic agency in this chapter can be analysed according to many social factors, as Frishkopf affirms:

Resulting transformation to musical context, style, form, genre, timbre, modality, rhythm, poetry, aesthetics, ethics, performance practice and criticism, transmutations to creative roles, gender roles, celebrity, norms of behavior and image, oral traditions, processes of transmission, social networks of artists and listeners, changes to the music economy, the forces and relations of music production, financial flows and concentrations, integrations and synergies, patronage, professionalism, distribution, consumption, and articulations with the global media system; shifts in listening roles and practices, meanings, and experiences; the list is endless (2010:42).

Frishkopf offers a large number of internal and external factors that may change Hassan's social representation with her international band during 2012-2013. In any case, her social behaviour is based on her traditional Saharai representation: being dressed in a *melfa* and the use of her musical skills based on the *Haul* musical system. Nevertheless, Frishkopf demonstrates that influential factors behind Hassan's artistic agency through her international band are relevant. For instance, the social impact of

her international band does not only reflect the transcultural capital of Saharai music; but also cosmopolitan capital in the *World Music* market. As a result, her audience highlights the importance of Nubenegra's decision to select non-Saharai members for Hassan's representation in the global market.



Figure 25. Mariem Hassan's international band with Hugo Westerdahl, Vadya El Hanevi, Luis Gimenez and Gabriel Flores (from left to right) (courtesy of Nubenegra).

In April 2012, the album *El Aaiun egdat* was on the market waiting to be presented at performances throughout the year. The first concerts were in May at: *Sala Clamores* (Madrid), *World Music Village* (Helsinki) and *Festate* (Chiasso, Switzerland). In terms of the stage line of Hassan's international band, Nubenegra decided the band should remain static while she moved around the stage singing and sometimes dancing. The visual impact of her performance was critically analysed and decided by the Spanish record label. Therefore, another type of negotiation different to the recording sessions was necessary in order to construct live performances with Hassan's international band. In this mediation between Hassan and Nubenegra, there is a social structure in which the Spanish record label dictates how the Saharai artist should move on the stage. This type of mediation is what Meintjes defines as "processes of empowerment" (2003: 260),

in this case, by a record label because Nubenegra directs and decides how Hassan should behave, dance or move during her musical performances.

Another decision taken by Nubenegra was that the band would perform the new album and include a few songs from previous recordings. The final resolution was only to use *Ragsaat naama* (in *fagu serbet*) and *el baile del tambor* (the dance of the drums, in *fagu lebleida*) from the old repertoire [before the introduction of the international band]. Due to a high content of traditional *Haul* in her old repertoire, these songs sounded different with the new band. As previously mentioned, Hassan's band did not learn how to play the *Haul* modal system except myself. Therefore, the general sound of *Ragsaat naama* and *el baile del tambor* probably provoked disapproval by international and local audiences familiar with Hassan's music. This point is consistent with Rasmussen's that global performances "provide a fascinating site for exploring the relationship between cultural representation and memory construction" (2005: 795) in contrast to musical innovation through international musicians in Hassan's live performances. In fact, in 2012-2013, during Hassan's musical performances, Nubenegra always considered the possibility of only playing the songs in the album *El Aaiun egdat*. However, the Saharai audiences frequently asked Hassan to perform traditional dances and for that reason Nubenegra included *Ragsaat naama* and *el baile del tambor* in the repertoire. As one can observe, Nubenegra's decisions to include traditional songs was because of its interaction with the Saharai transnational public residing in the various places at which the performances took place. This interaction between the record label and the Saharai public in Hassan's concerts demonstrates that Nubenegra's decision to include traditional songs is based on the will to satisfy local musical tastes and the representation of the Saharai transcultural capital in the west.

- 1 EFTAHT ALMAYAL Abriendo caminos
- 2 ANNASR SHOURU TETNADA La victoria
- 3 ADDUMUA Lágrimas nos llama
- 4 ARFA
- 5 ARRABI AL ARABE Primavera Árabe
- 6 ANA SAHARAUIA.
- 7 GDEIM IZIK
- ~~8 RAG-SAT NAAMA -a vestuz-~~
- 9 YALLI MASHI ANI Tu abandono
- ~~10 RAHY EL AAIUN EGDAT Arde El Aaiún~~
- 11 RAHY EL AAIUN EGDAT Arde El Aaiún
- ~~12 SIYANT LAYDAD El legado de los ant~~
- ~~13~~ 14 ALMARA Mujer
- ~~15~~ 12 SIYANT LAYDAD El legado de los ant

Figure 26. Mariem Hassan's repertoire with her international band in Helsinki.

In order to analyse Hassan's artistic agency and her international representation in the global market, I show different examples of how she is described by music journalists (as part of the specific agents of the global market). The aforementioned examination contrasts journalists' opinions with the internal construction of musical performances by her band, as described earlier in this chapter. For this reason, in the next section, I examine articles on Hassan's musical performances presenting *El Aaiun egdat*.

Mariem Hassan's musical performances defined by the press as blues of the desert

This section examines the social representation of Mariem Hassan in musical performances in the international press [as part of the specific agents of the global market]. In this section, Kärjä's view (2006) on music journalism examines how Hassan's music is socially represented as 'blues of the desert' and not as an individual artist. Following Kärjä's theory of "autobiographical" music journalism, her representation in musical performances is defined as the "autobiographical approach". This concept refers to the representation of Saharai music through the singer Mariem

Hassan in relation to the concept of “blues of the desert”. As one can observe, the term “autobiographical” is not entirely correct as she represents a musical culture rather than a personal or biographical artistic agency. This point is consistent with Joseph’s view on her agency during performances as a “relational achievement” (2012: 9) in relation to Saharai musical culture and not the personal achievement of Mariem Hassan as an international artist.

There are innumerable music magazines on *World Music* and they define Saharai music as ‘blues of the desert’. This definition originated from popular British magazines such as *Songlines* or *Folkroots* (H. Rammant, 2006 & J. Cornwell, 2006). In addition, global record labels such as *Rough Guides* are responsible for promoting the music as ‘blues of the desert’ in CD compilations (2010). In the definition of ‘blues of the desert’ one finds different communities across the Sahara, the biggest desert in the world. The concept of ‘blues of the desert’ or rather ‘blues of the Sahara desert’ in this case, is an obvious sign that music journalism is defined by geographical regions in most of the *World Music* magazines. In this ‘desert box’ one finds Tuareg bands like *Tinariwen* (Algeria-Libya-Mali), *Tartit* (Mali), *Etran Finatawa* (Niger), *Bombino* (Niger) or Hassanya artists as *Dime Mint Abba* (Mauritania) or Mariem Hassan (Western Sahara). The number of musical styles in the Sahara desert is diverse. For instance, Saharais have a unique musical system called *Haul*, which is composed of eight melodic modes (*entamas*, *seinicar*, *fagu*, *sgaller*, *leboer*, *lyen*, *lebteit* and *tehrar*) and seven well defined rhythms (*bleida*, *charha*, *serbet*, *agarran*, *medra*, *agassar* and *doubka*) (see Appendix 1, 2 and 3).

The concept ‘blues of the desert’ is based on exoticism and commercialisation, reasons that are obviously not intended to provide a realistic definition of a musical culture; but rather aim at labelling musical styles in the most commercialised manner. For instance, in the album *Desert Blues*, a compilation by *Rough Guides*, lists musicians who were never based in the Sahara desert such as the Malian artists Amadou & Mariem, Ali Farka Toure or Basekou Kouyate whom are not part of Saharan culture or even geographically based in the Sahara. A previous compilation called *Ambiances du Sahara: Desert blues 1* (Harmonia mundi records, 1998) also appears with artists who are not based in the Sahara such as Yossou N’Dour, Oumou Sangare, Baba Maal and

again Ali Farka Toure. In this form of narrow categorisation, music compilations in the *World Music* market are based on exoticism, linked to colonial ‘othering’, which leads to ‘classifying music into geographical boxes’. This point is consistent with Taylor who says that the “appropriation of non-western music” (2007: 1) is still categorised by colonial powers in the west. As shown above, Hassan is part of this colonial categorisation of music organised by the *World Music* industry.

In this section on autobiographical music articles, I describe two different types of music journalism in which Mariem Hassan’s music, as the main Saharai representative, is classified as ‘blues from the desert’. These examples are chronologically organised and defined as ‘the desert box’ with Hassan’s album *Deseos* (2005) and ‘personal-global’ with the album *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). The first type of article personally defined as ‘the desert box’ aim to analyse the critiques on Hassan’s album *Deseos* when the term ‘blues of the desert’ was widely established by music journalists in three magazines: *Songlines*, *Folkroots* and *Global Rhythm*. The second example about the journalistic concept ‘blues of the desert’ is related to Mariem Hassan’s last album *El Aaiun egdat*. In the second example, the examination of the critiques of her album *El Aaiun egdat* contains personal criticism by the music journalist, thus journalists impose their own view on Saharai music despite their lack of knowledge about *Haul* music. This type of article I consider as ‘global-personal’ opinions in contrast to Kärjä’s view on ‘autobiographical’ music journalism.

In March 2006, *Deseos* was nominated number two in the *World Music* market by “*World Music* Charts Europe” (<http://www.wmce.de>). Being among the most recognised albums in Europe, one would think that this should be enough for music journalists to inform themselves about the originality of Saharai music. Music journalism is not only about decisions comparing certain music to another style such as blues which is more familiar to the global market. The reader should expect these professionals to do the relevant and proper research on Saharai music. However, even in articles on the same album such as the one written by Helene Rammant in *Folkroots*, there is a quote describing Hassan’s music as “gritty guitar blues a la Tinariwen” (2006). The rest of this article describes the Saharai situation as refugees and offers only a short explanation of the *Haul* modal system. Another critique of Hassan’s album

Deseos is by Jane Cornwell in *Songlines*. Cornwell foregrounds Hassan's social and personal contexts, firstly as a Saharawi refugee and then as a refugee living in Barcelona. However, Cornwell does not hesitate to end by saying "this personal album will finally see Mariem Hassan crowned queen of the desert blues" (2006). The articles mentioned above show the need to classify Hassan's album 'blues from the desert' with obvious connotations of American blues. Cornwell is not the only one making this overstated comparison; an article by Phil Freeman on Hassan's album *Deseos* reiterates this:

When you hear the *muezzin's* call to prayer from atop North African or Middle Eastern minarets, can you imagine John Lee Hooker's spare, haunted acoustic guitar beneath it? If so, take that combination and put the voice into a weathered but proud desert woman and you're halfway to understanding the astonishing music of Mariem Hassan (P. Freeman, 2006).

In the second category of articles classified as 'personal-global', I examine reviews on the last Mariem Hassan album *El Aaiun egdat* (2012). Her agency remained similar to her album *Deseos*; although including her international band as a sign of modernity in *Haul* music. For instance, in Ruano's article on www.musika.co.uk on *El Aaiun egdat*, there is a sign of musical influences incorporated coming from other African regions such as Wassoulou in Mali or *chimurenga* guitar from Zimbabwe [defined in this thesis as multimusicality]. She also alludes to the fact that there are non-Saharawi musicians in this project:

More revolutionary than ever, legendary Saharawi singer Mariem Hassan launches her new album, *El Aaiún Egdát (El Aaiun on Fire)*. An exploration of diverse styles, this new adventure has taken Saharawi music to a completely different space, following recent trends of modernising traditional styles. Hassan slightly distances her music from the desert blues that characterised her previous work, perhaps because there are no Saharawi guitarists accompanying her this time, but rather opens herself to new influences, from Mali to Zimbabwe (V. Ruano, 2012).

However, not all the music journalists are satisfied with the incorporation of non-Saharawi musicians into Hassan's band. Moreover, they critique the new musical influences provided in *El Aaiun egdat*. For instance Robin Deneslow in *The Guardian*

critiques the fact that Hassan's band is not on the same level as the quality of her singing:

The band aren't always as impressive as Hassan herself, and she is at her best showing off her thrilling, powerful voice with minimal backing, as on the title track and *Gdeim Izik*, an intense and furious song of suffering and resistance (R. Deneslow, 2012).

This critique coheres with Bruce Miller's review on this album in the blog *Rootsworld*. Bruce was enthusiastic with *Shouka* (2010), Hassan's previous album to *El Aaiun egdat*. The change of sound and new influences of non-Saharaui musicians in the new album provoked a lack of respect for the evolution in her music. Hassan wanted a new album with new influences and non-Saharaui musicians but the 'purist' *world musikers* are not in favour of it; and Miller is one of them. He even dares to say that there are sampled *mbiras* in the album even if, in fact, I recorded them live in studio. He refers to the harmonica as tasty but in the album it is the only instrument that was not played by a professional player. I was the harmonica player in the album and do not play it professionally. In other words, Miller regards *Shouka* as the real Saharaui "blues" not contaminated by western musicians.

In fact, her last LP, *Shouka*, dug deep into guitar-driven sand dune stomps that dispensed with much of the western additives and gave the best of the current crop of "desert rock" bands a run for their collective money. Yet, with *El Aaiún Egdat* (El Aaiun is Western Sahara's largest city; Egdat means 'on fire'), the bluesy-bent note guitar fills, as well as the woodwinds of Gabriel Flores dominate, much to the frustration of anyone who fell in love with her via *Shouka*. (B. Miller, 2012).

There are many articles reviewing every Saharaui music album released by Nubenegra. However, I chose two distinctive albums from 2006 and 2012 in order to examine the concept of "blues of the desert" through articles defined as "autobiographical" by Kärjä (2006: 5). The first example was on the critiques of her album *Deseos* in order to examine the term 'blues of the desert'. The second example defined as 'global-personal' examines the critics of her album *El Aaiun egdat* and its international band. The articles defined as 'global-personal' tend to contain personal critiques by the music journalist, imposing his/her opinions on a global public. The music journalist's vague and

exoticised opinions about Hassan's music are problematic not least because of their powerful impact in the media. Moreover, in my opinion, the global-personal opinions by music journalists are a continuous refusal to admit historical, cultural, and contextual realities in the music analysed.

Music journalist's opinions on Hassan's albums and her musical performances are part of the specific agents of the global market communication with Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. The interaction between Hassan and the music journalists is usually abstract and in search of commercial attributes such as her description as 'blues of the desert'. In this section, I aimed to compare the relationship between the specific agents of the global market [music journalism and Mariem Hassan]; and the previous analysis on the real agents involved in the elaboration of her musical performances. In addition, I aimed to demonstrate that *World Music* journalists, in many cases, use canons of writing that tend to exoticise the music of Hassan. Moreover, they create an abstract or simplified idea of what Hassan's transcultural capital represents globally. This section opens up a criticism about the use of music journalism in Hassan's music and how it shapes the global opinion about the artist's identification. This point is consistent with Eldridge who states that music made by transnational communities in the west tends to not only be classified as exotic but also interpreted as "immigrant music" by the western media (2005: 174). The concept of "immigrant music" is generally in most of Hassan's articles analysed in this section because the music journalists use the 'harshness' of her status as refugee coming from the Sahara desert and the fact that she now lives in Barcelona as a fetishized opportunity for western audiences to 'watch her' during live performances. Equally problematic is that these music journalists openly define Hassan's music by using "global journalistic canons" by defining her music as "desert blues". In any case, if Hassan's music could be defined as "immigrant music," then, such a study should be interested in the examination of the different power structures of communication involved in Hassan's artistic recognition by the PF, Nubenegra or the specific agents of the global market. However, the journalists do not engage with these complexities. Rather, as Kiwan and Meinhof state, a transnational musician coming from an African country and recognised in the western world (but not internationally or globally) constantly negotiates his/her agency and identity by how the media recognises such music (2011: 6). Therefore, one could argue that Hassan's

artistic recognition in the west is shaped by music journalists' articles and how they negotiate her identity and agency in the global market.

Participant and observant views on the construction and representation of live performances with Mariem Hassan in 2012

This section is a discussion of what it is like to be a participant and observer of the research process in: thinking about Saharai music; musical thinking in Saharai music; tradition and innovation; the differences between playing at Saharai weddings and international representation of Saharai music through Mariem Hassan. Baily's observations are concerned with the aforementioned ethnomusicological aspects by: the acquisition of performance skills by the researcher, the study of musicality, learning, and musical cognition learned by imitation, watching others closely, role status and identity giving social advantages for the researcher to play well, participant observation in musical cultural contexts, finally the post-fieldwork when people know about your skills and ask you to participate in traditional gatherings (2001: 96).

Following Baily's observation on the participant and observant ethnomusicologist, the construction of musical performances in Hassan's band during 2012 has been the most relevant in this ethnographic study. This chapter demonstrates that Hassan's band was not formed only to present the album *El Aaiun egdat*, but also to participate in different musical performances, workshops, and criticism on the press. The difference between the recording studio and public performances is in terms of music and of visual representation on stage. The importance of the concept insider/outsider resides in the similitude with participant/observant. Music is participant when you are part of that music through your participation, and you are outside it when you listen to it as a listener. This personal statement debates the action of making music as a direct attitude of integration in a glocal social context.

With regard to the audience's response (as part of the specific agents of the global market) at Hassan's concerts, it was always positive. There were no incidents by people against the Saharai cause as happened in Cuba in 1980 when Moroccans threw stones at the Saharai artists, including Hassan (www.mariemhassan.com). This demonstration by western audiences towards Hassan's transcultural capital denotes an understanding of the Saharai cause, and the special care in defending one's culture. Saharai

identification remains intact despite the musical changes made by international musicians in Hassan's music. In other words, despite the cosmopolitan attributes of her international *El Aaiun egdat*, there is a primary determination to show Saharai transcultural values. As a result, she continues being a cultural representative of Western Sahara; rather than representing herself as an individual artist. In regards to the Hassan's international band, there is a glocal reflection of the musical atmosphere in which Hassan moves around in Spain.¹⁵² As Rasmussen states:

In sum, all these finer voices of local and global, 'folk/ popular' and academic interest need to be heard for more nuanced understanding of 'cosmopolitan' identity and memory in diaspora performance processes (2005:807).

¹⁵² In my view, the array of activities in which I have been involved represents a personal interest in and passion for Hassanya musical culture. My approach to Saharai music has been due to my knowledge of the Western Sahara conflict through Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in my hometown of Villena in Spain. The first time I was called to perform in solidarity with Western Sahara was in 1998 when I did not know about Saharai music. In this concert, I played by myself. Later, I started to study ethnomusicology at the *School of Oriental and African Studies* (SOAS) in 2001 and Saharai music was attractive to me as one of the ex-Spanish colonies in Africa (including Equatorial Guinea).

Since November 2004, when I did my first fieldwork as an ethnomusicology student in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf, my participation in Saharai music has been ongoing in different social contexts. The different contexts I experienced ranged from performing at Saharai weddings in Spain to being Mariem Hassan's guitarist in the last two years. One never knows how much one is an insider or outsider while playing music that represents not only a musical tradition, but a political struggle of refugees since 1975. The question of being an insider/outsider is of ethnomusicological interest because I have fused Saharai *Haul* with other musical styles. Thus, my compositional process with Mariem Hassan has been relevant as a composer thanks to my ethnomusicological research on Saharai music since 2004.

Therefore, the question of either being insider or outsider is not as relevant as the process of composing music with Mariem Hassan. In this case, music is not about identity but about performing, jamming or arranging a song. In other words, musical negotiation is the real identification of music beyond anthropological questions of social or the political associations of certain music styles. Therefore, in the construction of musical performances with Mariem Hassan, the importance of the musical communication on stage is more important than the question of identity. The real importance on stage is the music and the performance itself. From this view, the representation is not as relevant if the music is not attractive and interesting as a participant/insider of this music and for the outsider/public. Therefore, the question of insider/outsider can be similar to participant/observant regarding the action of performing music rather than the identification from each musician in Hassan's band in the sense of musical performance, all the musicians are identified with her band because we all participate in the construction and arrangement of the musical performance.

In "musical thinking" or "musical participation" during Mariem Hassan's musical performance, the question that may be suggested by the audience of "why does an international musician play with Mariem Hassan" is not as important as the real performance: the concert is the authentic experience rather than the search for local Saharai authenticity on stage.

Considering Rasmussen's view on cosmopolitanism, the transnational habitus involved in Hassan's music has evolved in the formation of a cosmopolitan/international band. Nevertheless, Nubenegra's aim for her artistic career is the insistence on the representation of her transcultural capital through her music. In such circumstances, the combination of the translocal, transcultural and cosmopolitan structures of communication in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra not only provides a local/global exposure; but a "North-South" musical circulation in musical performances. Therefore, performances are a type of social interaction that directly connects to Hassan with the local and foreign public. Such relationship between Hassan and her public is part of the study on the "specifics agents of the global market". In the study of the relationship between Hassan and the specific agents of the global market, this chapter has included an analysis of articles written by music journalists on her music. Hassan's audiences' and music journalists' opinions have contributed to examine the specific interaction between Hassan and the specific agents of the global market during her performances accompanied by international musicians.

In sum, this chapter has provided the study of Mariem Hassan's performances during my participation in her music from 2012-2014. Such personal interaction with her during the entire process of composing and presenting the album *El Aaiun egdat*, contributed to the analysis of this chapter on her musical innovation and representation of her performances.

This chapter has also emphasised the mediation based on power structures of communication between Nubenegra, Hassan and her international band. Moreover, there has been an analysis of another type of interaction based on power structure about the music journalism on Hassan's music. In both cases, Nubenegra and music journalism as part of the global market demonstrate that the concept of habitus is linked to different types of powerful structures in which the musicians tend to be powerless in the final decisions of representation made by Nubenegra or the music journalists. Equally noteworthy, the concept of hubs shows another type of power relationship between Nubenegra (as a human hub) and the different types of concert organisers (as human hubs) in relation to Hassan or any musician representing Saharai music

recorded by Nubenegra. This chapter has demonstrated that the types of musical performance offered by Nubenegra have been at entertainment, educational or academic events. At USAL, the participants are not only the musicians and curators but also the students. Such a social phenomenon illustrated the concept of “participant objectivation” by Bourdieu (2003). I discussed that participants are everyone involved in the interaction of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and that includes the public during performances or students attending at USAL’s workshop. I also included as participative the study of every social context in which Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra has been promoted. In my opinion, the study of the social context in which Hassan’s music is performed is useful for the analysis of where Saharai music, as transnational music, is promoted. Moreover, the contextualisation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra helps to analyse the different structures of communication (Spain as spatial hub, Nubenegra and international musicians as human hubs, the PF as institutional hub and myself as an accidental hub) between the different hubs in the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

This thesis analyses the interaction between a transnational community and a Spanish record label. Chapter Seven embodies the personal conclusions about the social structures of communication involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from each chapter. In order to be more precise, I have divided my conclusions into three main areas: theoretical conclusions with regard to transnational studies in ethnomusicology and the application of habitus (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011; P. Bourdieu, 1987); a conclusion based on Rice's methodology of "time, place, and metaphor in musical experience and ethnography" (2003); and general conclusions regarding the common points between the theoretical aspects and the research methodology in this thesis.

Theoretical conclusion: The study of transnational music beyond its community

In this thesis, I argue that transnationalism does not only imply the migration of a community in another temporal or permanent location, but includes its interaction with external agents outside the community. Thus, future ethnomusicological studies on transnational music should not be limited to its transnational contextualisation, but should include its interaction with external agents in a global context. In order to show the limitations of other ethnomusicological studies on transnational music and its community, I have examined other scholars' publications such as Bilby (1999), Swedenburg (2004), Baltzis (2005), Eldridge (2005), Baily (2005), Rasmussen (2006), and Imre (2008)). As demonstrated in this thesis, these scholars are mainly focused on how a transnational community maintains its musical traditions in a new context. The new context may introduce new elements in the music, however, the mentioned scholars do not address that changes in music are mainly produced by the interaction with actors outside the community such as record labels (Bilby, 1999) or music technology found in the new location (Baily, 2005).

In this thesis, the importance of analysing the interaction between Saharai music and Nubenegra is to prove how it produces the dissemination from the music made in the camps, and the commodification of this music in a global context. In order to analyse the relationship between the mentioned agents, the use of Bourdieu's concept of

habitus, and the ethnomusicological study of transnational music by Kiwan and Meinhof have been essential.

Habitus has been used to address the main social structures of communication to promote, disseminate, commodify and innovate Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. The main actors involved in this study have been: the PF as institutional hub; the Spanish record label which includes the role of a human hub to facilitate the encounter of Saharai music with the global market; Mariem Hassan as the representation of the transcultural capital in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra; my participant and observant views in this thesis [composing, performing and analysing] as an accidental hub; the camps and Spain as the main spatial hubs; and the specific agents of the global market in reference to the external agents mentioned in this thesis such as music magazines, music festival promoters or music journalists.

Considering the amount of agents and spaces in the transnational habitus of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, at first, there was a personal sense of deterritorialisation in the social structures of communication. Deterritorialisation does not mean a lack of social context but multiple contexts in the social relationship with the actors involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra (M. Kearney, 1995: 552). In this thesis, transnational Saharai musicians do not move within structured societies because they move around two social contexts at the least, which are Spain and the refugee camps. In such social circumstances, there is a clear deterritorialisation from Western Sahara in the habitus of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Nevertheless, despite the multiple spatial hubs in this thesis, Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra contributed to the creation of an imagined and central “habitus” in Saharai musical culture in a global context. Such a transnational artistic platform created by Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra included a symbolic and artistic evocation towards the national dream of decolonising Western Sahara. The publication and live performances of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra has contributed to creating solid structures of communication between: the PF, transnational and global audiences, Nubenegra, and international musicians participating with Mariem Hassan. Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra has also resulted in the attempt to link the different Saharai transnational communities in the world by performing in the west.

Later, in this thesis, Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1987) also helped to elucidate the structures of communication involved in Hassan's representation of her transcultural capital globally through Nubenegra.¹⁵³ The concept of habitus aimed to visualising the social layers that sustain Hassan's representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. In order to examine Hassan's interaction with her international band, I used specific phenomenons related to the concept of habitus defined by Bourdieu as "cultured habitus" (1987) and "participant objectivation" (2003).

In this thesis, cultured habitus dealt with the social contextualisation of the making of Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* by the Saharai artist, El Hanevi, international musicians, a western sound engineer in the studio, and Nubenegra (1987: 203). The concept of cultured habitus was used to contextualise the interaction and power structures between the musicians, the sound engineer, and a record label. Further, it did not only contribute to explaining the social contextualisation in the making of Hassan's *El Aaiun egdat* but also to how the musical and social interaction between the agents mentioned led to a new form of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. As a result, Bourdieu's concept of cultured habitus has been able to define new forms of artistic interaction in an intercultural context.

On the other hand, Bourdieu's concept of "participant objectivation" (as related to habitus) helped to understand the objectives of promoting Hassan's music internationally. Thus, the participant was Hassan and the objectivation was always the global representation of Hassan's transcultural capital by Nubenegra. Bourdieu also states that the participant is the individual or the subject and the objectivation is the objective or development of a certain social structure (2003: 281). Bourdieu, as a sociologist also claimed that the object is the social structure in which a community

¹⁵³ Bourdieu's concept of habitus contributes to facilitate the relationship fact that Saharai people are sociable with other cultures which may not happen with other transnational communities in Spain. Saharai transnational communities in Spain are well reputed by their peaceful character and generally supported in their social cause by some Spanish citizens. Since the Saharai revolution, Saharais report that there has not been any crime or suicide in their society (Ahmed Fadel interview, 2-11-2004). Therefore, the peaceful nature of the Saharais is well known in the Spanish society despite some racist events as the famous case of certain woman who did not want to rent a house to Saharais because they were Arabs (R. Tristan, 2001).

moves (*ibid*). Therefore, if one can address the different layers of communication in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, it can contribute to its social development. However, in this thesis, I argue that Bourdieu did not address the power structures of certain agents. For instance, after analysing the different agents involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, the interaction of Saharai musicians has always been fragile and dependant on the decisions made by more powerful agents such as Nubenegra or the specific agents of the global market. As a result, the development of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra does not converge as an equalitarian social relationship between musicians and a record label but is shaped by Nubenegra's final decisions to disseminate, commodify, and promote Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra globally. Therefore, Bourdieu's concept of "participant objectivation" as related to Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is based on power structures in which the transnational musicians offer their musical creativity to Nubenegra. Later, the record label also has the power to decide or may re-arrange their songs before the publication and promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

In reference to Kiwan and Meinhof's studies on transnational music, there is a study of the musical, social and transcultural capital of the music; but there is no attention paid to the economic capital. The main focus of this study is the cultural and social capital of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and the economic factors of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra are not analysed. Since 2009, according to Manuel Dominguez, there has been a significant economic loss for the record label and the financial management of Nubenegra has been unsustainable. Due to this critical situation, since 2009, Nubenegra promotes Mariem Hassan without any substantial economic benefit (Manuel Dominguez interview, 15-12-2011). For that reason, the importance of this thesis is the musical and social relationship between the Saharai artist and the Spanish record label. I further contend that the present interaction of Hassan and Nubenegra contributes to contrasting the multiple examinations of transnational habitus exposed in this thesis. For Stock, the emphasis on individual musicians representing their musical culture addresses the importance of individual choices and how it can be compared (2001: 5), in this case, between Hassan's representation of her transcultural capital and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in general.

Kiwan and Meinhof also helped to define the different types of hubs in the relationship between Saharai music and Nubenegra. According to the authors, the concept of hubs not only defines the different agents involved in transnational music but helps to provide a structural perspective about the circulation of transnational music (2011: 4). These scholars contributed to the importance of the social interaction and North-South circulation of music between Saharai musicians and the record label. The interaction between Nubenegra and transnational Saharai musicians also evolved into different types of musical communication. For instance, as the result of this communication, Nubenegra, as a human hub, has released Saharai albums in the form of compilations and solo artists. The realisation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra also implies a good knowledge of the global market and forms of introducing Saharai music by Nubenegra. As a case in point, Nubenegra succeeded in the presentation of the triple album *Saharais* in 1998 when the CD box was nominated number one by *World Music Charts* and *Songlines* (J. Winn, 1998).

The consequent construction of the transnational band *Leyoad* by Nubenegra was another result of the interaction between both parties [Nubenegra and Saharai musicians]. Such relationship between Nubenegra and *Leyoad* also involved the interaction of the PF as an institutional hub. According to the definition of institutional hub by Kiwan and Meinhof, institutional hubs refer to “the key role played by certain organisations located both in the South and North which work to support the work of migrants” (2011: 7). Therefore, the PF is an institutional hub because it is placed in the camps (South) and its delegations in Spain (North). In diplomatic terms, the PF acted as an institutional hub when Saharai musicians had to deal with visa permits to come to Europe with their Saharai national refugee ID or Algerian passport (as provided by the country of asylum). The PF (as an institutional hub) also provided the opportunity for Saharai musicians to go to Europe for international tours and to record music with Nubenegra in Madrid. Thus, an institutional hub such as the PF provided the real possibility of having a permanent group of Saharai musicians travelling to perform, or record in Spain. In addition, as result of the negotiations between the PF and Nubenegra, the Spanish record label (as a human hub) was able to promote Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

In this thesis, the concept of human hub relates to power structures between a record label and transnational musicians. Nubenegra as a human hub of Saharai music adopted a form of power relationship based on the possibilities of bringing musicians from the camps to tour in Europe. Later, this relationship developed into other types of representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra facilitated by the Saharai musicians that resided in Spain. Therefore, any type of representation of Saharai music was always finally defined and decided by Nubenegra.

In this thesis, the musical analysis of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra explored the concept of translocal music in the camps and its consequent dissemination, commodification and innovation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in Spain. Since 1998 Saharai musicians working with Nubenegra have negotiated and included new changes in their music introduced by the Spanish record label, western producers and international musicians. Due to this musical negotiation, Saharai musicians have incorporated chord progressions and blues bendings notes on the guitar. In addition, these new musical elements in Saharai guitar have been introduced in the translocal music of the refugee camps. As a result, musical innovations in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra circulate in the two social contexts of this thesis, Spain and the refugee camps, which is why the study of the relationship and exchanges between multiple and transnational locations of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra are important.¹⁵⁴

In addition, I have included the concept of bimusicality (M. Hood, 1960) to examine the compositional process of Mariem Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*. In particular, I used the concept of bimusicality to examine the way in which international musicians and western producers incorporated new musical textures in her music. Moreover, in the realisation of the album *El Aaiun egdat*, the compositional process, and musical

¹⁵⁴ A friend from the Western Sahara, Brahim Alibaiba once relayed that he has to listen to Alal's song *Polisario Vencera* using headphones because Saharai revolutionary songs are banned in the occupied territories. Saharai transnational communities in other countries also circulate the music released by their compatriots with Nubenegra. For instance, when we went with Mariem Hassan to perform in Finland, there were about twenty Saharais who lived in Helsinki and came to watch the concert and even gave us food (*couscous* with smoked salmon) for our trip back to Spain. There is a wide circulation of Saharai music in every transnational Saharai community, especially because of the website www.arso.org which provides Saharais around the world with all the Saharai political and cultural news.

arrangements between Hassan and myself demonstrated how Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is intertwined with translocal, transcultural and cosmopolitan contexts. Kiwan and Meinhof considered the possibility of examining the compositional process between a transnational artist, like Hassan with international musicians as human hubs. However, during the making of Hassan's *El Aaiun egdat*, I introduced another type of transnational circulation of music between myself as an accidental hub promoting Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra; and as a participant in the compositional process of Hassan's music. In order to include such study in the examination of transnational music, I defined the contextualisation in which the compositional process happened as glocal (Brenner, 1998). Glocalisation is defined as the accumulation of different types of cultural and transcultural capital in a certain cosmopolitan context such as Villena or Madrid during the compositional process of Hassan's *El Aaiun egdat*. The focus on Mariem Hassan's music (as the main representative of Saharai music in the western world) and its internal relationship with Nubenegra has occupied one half of this thesis because of my involvement with both agents from 2012-2014.

Hassan's popularity in the global market has been used to represent her transcultural capital in the west. Kiwan and Meinhof (2011) define the transcultural capital as the musical representation and recognition of a migrant's music in the west (*ibid*: 8). However, her value as an individual artist has not been recognised in the global market. For this reason, I have incorporated the study of both Mariem Hassan as a representative of the transcultural capital of Saharai music by using the concept of transcultural capital, and as a talented and skilled Arab-African female artist by using studies on Arab women. Joseph claims that such problems with Arab artists in Europe lies on the subliminal foundations of exoticism and patriarchal societies in many western societies (2012: 1).

With regard to the examination of Hassan's agency as an individual artist, I include the study of her artistic career in Western Sahara, the refugee camps and in Spain with Nubenegra. Hassan's compositional process consists of working with translocal poets for her lyrics, with her musicians for the *Haul* modal system, and with Nubenegra for the representation of her transcultural capital. In this thesis, the opinion of music journalists (as part of the specific agents of the global market) and Hassan's audiences

about the music of the Sahara desert are part of the specific agents of the global market. The study of specific agents of the global market 's opinion of her artistic agency serves as a contrast with the internal interactions happening with the agents mentioned above. Thus, this thesis argues that the use of exoticism by the *World Music* industry and music journalism on Arab singers produces a new form of transnational habitus in the west.

On the other hand, the artistic construction of Mariem Hassan as the representative of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is a sign of a remarkable and fluid relationship between Mariem Hassan and Nubenegra. This event marked a historical moment that was the representation of Saharai people musically through Mariem Hassan. The decisions involved in the musical construction of a solo artist were due to the distinctive talent of Hassan with *Leyoad* since 1998. Thus, her musical talent gained international recognition primarily through promotion by Nubenegra. Despite Hassan never having a stable band, she has been active on the global scene as a singer from 2005 to the present day, more than ten musicians have accompanied her, as solo artist, from 2005-2013. According to Nubenegra, it was easier to have a distinctive Saharai artist than an entire Saharai band due to the diplomatic problems of obtaining visas (E. Fungairiño, 2011). Hassan has resided in Spain since 2002 because of her husband's work visa which has provided Mariem Hassan and her family with permanent residency in Spain. As a result, the Saharai artist is able to play internationally, initially with her Algerian passport, and later, through obtaining Spanish citizenship. The circulation of Hassan's artistic agency from Spain to the camps through Nubenegra has led her to consider the obtention of a Spanish passport in order to avoid any diplomatic issues while touring internationally. For Kiwan and Meinhof, the circulation of transnational music depends on the cultural and social platform provided by human hubs in the west (2011: 4). However, in this thesis, I discuss that transnational musicians like Hassan also depend on government's policies in Spain, which are not considered as human hubs by Kiwan and Meinhof.

Due to the Spanish laws on immigration, Mariem Hassan's band sometimes consisted of western musicians and at other times of Saharai musicians. At present, in the case of Saharai musicians, Vadya El Hanevi (*tbal* player) resides in Bilbao. Bilbao is part of the Basque country and is the only province in Spain that unconditionally offers

Saharais housing benefits and permanent visa permits in Spain. For that reason, El Hanevi has been the only Saharai musician permanently accompanying Hassan's solo career since 2005. In addition, Hassan has been virtually accompanied by the main Saharai transnational poets residing in the refugee camps who are: Beibuh, Lamin Alal, Zaim Alal, Mohamed Salec and Bachir Ali. These poets have been writing songs for Saharai musicians since the forced migration to Tindouf in 1975. In such circumstances, Hassan and the poets involved in her music confirm the continuum in the ancient relationship between a singer and a poet in composing songs. In addition, these poets have been the *Haul* mentors to her since 1976 and there is a cultural and social memory involved in her solo career through her relationship with the poets.¹⁵⁵ In this thesis, social memory refers to the "sets of social practices" (J. Olick & J. Robbins, 1998:106) such as the use of the *Haul* modal system to compose music in the camps and to become the foundation of Saharai music since they live in the refugee camps.

Mariem Hassan's artistic construction as a solo artist is a constant communication between: Saharai poets, Saharai musicians, international musicians, the Spanish record label, and her representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra both internationally and to local audiences. Since 1998, social and musical interactions in her music (including the different formations of her band) have been through Nubenegra's decision to choose the most appropriate musicians to accompany her voice. In other cases, the artist would find his/her own band members; but Hassan has not been able to find Saharai musicians in Spain because there is hardly any Saharai community in Sabadell (where Hassan resides since 2002). In addition, Hassan is a housewife and cannot be a full time artist despite her recognition in the *World Music* scene. One of the most recent examples can be found in some of the festivals where we presented the album *El Aaiun egdat* (2012) where Hassan has been one of the highlighted stage lines. For instance, in *Festival du Sahel* in Senegal, the faces of the visual promotion of this festival in November 2012 were Ismael Lo and Mariem Hassan. Yet, international

¹⁵⁵ Hassan still composes songs with the artistic construction of classic *Haul* (see Chapter Two). Firstly, the lyrics are written by a poet in a certain *Haul* mode. Secondly, Hassan invents a melody in the mode of the poem. Finally, the musicians (either westerners or Saharais) compose the music accompanying the poem and Hassan's vocal melody. On the other hand, Hassan's international band attempted to arrange Hassan's songs without any knowledge of Saharai music; thus, forming a cosmopolitan and transcultural encounter in Hassan's music.

recognition in the world music market does not guarantee a good economic reward despite Hassan's popularity.

Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*, particularly the musical and social construction of this album has been of great importance in confirming the cosmopolitan character of her music. Hence, the musical integration by Hugo Westerdahl, Gabriel Flores and myself has brought new ideas and innovation to her music. As a result, Saharai music has been innovated by external actors. This album shows that her music continues evolving in each of her albums. Dominguez has been the main musical ideologist and visionary of Hassan's musical evolution and artist representation, for instance, in the construction of the song *Shouka* in which the eight modes in a classical *Haul* recital are played (*entamas*, *seinicar*, *fagu*, *sgaller*, *leboer*, *lyen*, *lebteit* and *tehrar* or *chawada*), or in other fusions with American blues as in *La tumchu anni*. For the album *El Aaiun egdat*, Dominguez wanted to construct an album that brings blues and Saharai *Haul* together as a way of approaching western and American audiences; and to innovate Hassan's music. Apart from his participation in the album *El Aaiun egdat*, the musicians involved in her band have been of great importance in the musical and social innovation in her music. Further, Hassan's music represents a new form of communication with international musicians; and in the global market. In the case of her international band, there has not only been a social and musical integration in her music; but her accompanists have been musicians, composers and arrangers in her album *El Aaiun egdat*.

In conclusion, the concept of hubs has allowed for differentiation between different types of agents in the making of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and Hassan's music in particular. Kiwan and Meinhof addressed and defined the agents involved in the circulation of transnational music in the west, however, they did not examine how such a relationship evolves, producing new forms of circulating transnational music by its interaction with a record label, a western producer or international musicians.

With regard to the relationship between music journalism and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, Saharai music is not defined or represented in the same way by the different information sources like music magazines, newspapers, and internet resources.

It is interesting to observe that before the term blues ‘of the desert’ came into use through international artists such as Ali Farka Toure or Tinariwen, Saharai music was not part of the ‘desert box’. The obsession with classifying music by geographical location has contributed to forming the concept of ‘blues of the desert’ and to enable compilations being filed under the name of ‘desert blues’ by *Rough Guides* (2010). Therefore, it was not surprising that Saharai music was also put into the ‘desert box’, including its commercial term ‘desert blues’ by many western magazines (J. Cornwell, 2006). On the other hand, national newspapers in Spain, the United Kingdom, Germany or France, reflected the social and political reality of the Saharai through their articles (J. Gomez, 1998). In this sense, newspapers tend to be more informational rather than their commercially exotic music magazine counterparts. On the other hand, on Saharai websites such as www.arso.org, there is a tendency and necessity to elevate Saharai music as nationalist in order to enhance the Saharai struggle in the world.

In general, all types of articles written about Saharai music by the press are of academic interest because they have provided and promoted information about Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Nevertheless, the construction of Saharai musical identification has been different in national newspapers from different countries in Europe, music magazines or Saharai websites. The examination of the media representation of Saharai music has given a distinctive external point of view to the rest of the chapters more focussed on the internal relationship of Saharai music and Nubenegra. This relationship between Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and the media is what Kiwan and Meinhof define as the politics of globalisation (2011: 9). These scholars mention that transnational musicians are able to humanise the concept of globalisation because they suffer the consequences of such phenomena by being defined as immigrants in the west or the criticism of their music by globalised music journals (*ibid*). In relation to that, Kiwan and Meinhof were useful to the examination of Hassan’s relationship with the specific agents of the global market.

In sum, transnationalism and habitus have been useful to analyse the structures of communication involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. Moreover, such a relationship between Nubenegra and Saharai music has evolved into the dissemination, commodification, promotion, and innovation of Saharai musical culture. Bourdieu has helped to visualise and examine the social contextualisation and agents in which

Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra transpires. On the other hand, Kiwan and Meinhof have been useful for the specific study on the circulation of transnational music between the camps and Spain.

Conclusion based on Rice's research methodology "time, place, and metaphor in musical experience and ethnography"

Regarding Rice's research methodology on "time and space Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra implies the representation of Saharaui music globally from 1998-2013. The way of seeing time as "chronological and historical, or experiential and phenomenological" (2003: 162) has been applied to two sections in this thesis. In the first three chapters, I use non-experiential sources, in the form of interviews and documents. The non-experiential sources support my musical analyses from Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra which is later contrasted with the chapters that explore my phenomenological experience with Mariem Hassan and Nubenegra, during 2012-2013. Both experienced and non-experienced "time" is necessary for well-informed ethnographic analyses. Thus, the subject of this thesis is Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra, its transnationality, and its transformations through decisions made in different times and spaces between Saharaui musicians and Nubenegra.

In terms of space, this global musical representation of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra embodies primarily the national homeland (Western Sahara), and the Saharaui refugee camps in Algeria. As a result, the transcultural capital of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra is multilocalized in the spaces mentioned above. In the case of this thesis, there is an extra relationship of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra with the global market. To illustrate this relationship, I have focussed on certain aspects of the global market such as music journalism, or the audience attending Hassan's concerts or other bands formed as a result of Saharaui music recorded by Nubenegra. In conjunction with Rice's concept of space, I have adopted the term "spatial hubs" to address the social spaces where Saharaui musicians and Nubenegra interacted with each other (N. Kiwan & U. H. Meinhof, 2011: 7). In other cases, I identified the space of musical and social relationship as glocal (N. Brenner, 1998: 1). Glocal refers to the encounter in both, Villena between Hassan, El Hanevi and me during the process of

composing the album *El Aaiun egdat*, and in Madrid where we recorded the album at Axis studio.

Rice's method also refers to the multiple settings of a type of music where local and global constantly appear as a dialogue (2003: 160). Rice's point is consistent with my ethnographic data as there was no central location of research but rather the multiple relations between a group of Saharai musicians and a record label. Saharai musicians interviewed in this thesis have been either in the camps or in different towns in Spain. In addition, the multiple locations of Saharai musicians provided a sense of transnational temporal space either in Spain or in the camps in Algeria, but never in the homeland of Western Sahara. Furthermore, the information gathered in this thesis by Saharai musicians provided multiple opinions about the study of transnational habitus in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. For instance, as observed in this thesis, the social experience of Hassan with Nubenegra differs from Nayim Alal's interaction with the Nubenegra. As a result, the musicians' views not only depended on the social context where they were located, but in their relationship with Nubenegra. Thus, the same ethnomusicological study can have multiple social settings in which people produce, experience and understand music. This point is consistent with Rice who claims that, "this 'sense of place' varies from person to person, time to time, and narrative to narrative" (2003:161).

Rice's concept of metaphor: music as art metaphor, as social behaviour, as a symbolic system, has contributed to the research methodology of this thesis (2003:166-67). According to Rice, music metaphors aim to understand the "musical behaviour" of certain types of music. In other words, Rice's metaphors helped to conceptualise (in a metaphorical meaning) the actions and thoughts involved in the interaction between Saharai music and Nubenegra. "Music as art metaphor" examines the translocal capital in the camps and the study of the new Saharai music created in the same spatial hub. In this case, "art metaphor" refers to the "processes of performing and composing music, the musical products resulting from those processes and its reception" (*ibid*) in the camps by local audience and the PF. Later, "music as social behaviour" is used to analyse the relationship between Saharai musicians and the Polisario Front (PF) with Nubenegra. Such relationships between a translocal musical culture and the Spanish label "enact past or present social structures in which they may model alternatives to

existing structures and they may help to imagine future structures” (*ibid*). In this thesis, Rice’s metaphor of “music as social behaviour” refers to the dissemination and commodification of translocal Saharai music through Nubenegra. “Music as a symbolic system” refers to the representation of Mariem Hassan as the music ambassador of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the global market. Hence, her symbolic representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is used to examine the various significations of the Saharai artist as an individual singer in the global market: as an Arab singer, the induced exoticism of the *World Music* industry towards her symbolism, and her artistic agency on stage representing the transcultural capital of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Finally, using a new concept, which I defined as “music as an innovative transnational practice” helps to describe and understand Mariem Hassan’s relationship with her international band during the recording process and musical performances of the album *El Aaiun egdat*. The concept of metaphor in this thesis is self-reflexive because it attempts to observe Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from different social, musical, and cultural aspects involved in the area of the research. Music as art examines translocal music however, when this music is negotiated with Nubenegra, it obtains a new social structure and takes on new forms of social behaviour. Further, the other metaphors, for example symbolism and innovation, are the result of the relationship between the Saharai musicians, PF and Nubenegra with the global market.

Therefore, in metaphorical terms: Nubenegra, Saharai musicians, international musicians and their impact in the global market are the four main pillars of “musical behaviour” examined in this thesis. Nevertheless, those metaphors are limited and a mere classification according to certain perspectives in the musical behaviour provided by “time and space” in an ethnographic research. In my view, as mentioned in Chapter One, metaphors are infinite despite following and using Rice’s methods to construct this thesis. Rice’s metaphors helped me to reach and explore different conclusions on the transnational habitus of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in each chapter, however, the multidimensional views that Rice offers cannot be limited to his four metaphors. Thus, I included another concept based on “music as an innovative transnational practice” in Chapters Five and Six.

Another useful resource of Rice's methods is that it allows for the inclusion of the personal perspective of the ethnographer in the ethnography. For instance, Rice states that the author's observations regarding his/her musical knowledge can lead to different conclusions, in which "we are all individual music cultures" (2003: 156). Rice's observation later in the article that the personal knowledge of the ethnomusicologist is essential was of importance in this study, in which: "The self-reflexive project of self-identity in modernity, understood as a social process, provides the rationale and foundation for subject-centered musical ethnography" (T. Rice, 2003:158)

For instance, personal interest in ethnomusicology and Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra were essential for this epistemology. In addition, the personal participation in Mariem Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat* has, in my view, enriched this study not only as a participant and observer of Saharai music, but also to incorporate my musical knowledge to the area of research.¹⁵⁶ My own role as an active musician in the compositional process, directed the approach and conceptual framework of this thesis, which is based on a personal interest as ethnomusicologist in this area of research. For that reason, Rice states that the approach of the ethnomusicologist is usually under the image of a cosmopolitan agent; analysing a type of music and cultural experience that has been acquired in his/her life (2003: 173).

To sum up, the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra and how this music has been incorporated into the global market reflects an exercise of social and musical relationship between a refugee transnational society and a Spanish record label; therefore, a reflection of the musical and social circulation between western societies and Saharai music. Moreover, in this thesis, there is an emphasis on the interlinked social structures of communication in SRMN and Rice's research methodology has been useful to frame this study as multidimensional. In other words, this thesis has provided a study of transnationalism and habitus in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra from different perspectives such as translocal, interaction between Nubenegra and the PF, transcultural representation of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra by Hassan and Hassan's interaction with her international band.

¹⁵⁶ Musical knowledge was based on academic and personal musical experiences acquired from African musical styles and cosmopolitan music such as blues or jazz.

General conclusions

This section, explores the links between the theoretical and methodological conclusions of this thesis. These conclusions will show that the use of transnationalism and habitus with Rice's research methodology has served, also, to obtain ethical conclusions about Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

Saharai people have been forced by the Moroccan government to live in a transnational context (either in the camps or in other countries). Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is a testimony to the fact that countries oppressed by unjust international laws can use their music as a means of political expression to the world. According to Nubenegra, audiences attending Hassan's concerts have become aware of the social situation of the Saharais through their music rather than through other informational resources. The importance of the promotion of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra in the western world and the willingness of Saharais to share their nationalist ideology and cultural ties with the Hassanya culture demonstrates that Saharai music is in constant evolution. This point proves that the circulation of Saharai music evolves in translocal (in the camps) and transcultural (in Spain) spaces.

Beyond Saharai resistance, Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra is a rewarding experience of mutual respect by both parties. Thus, ethics form an integral part of the encounter between all parties involved in the musical process, without which there would not have been a fluid and long lasting relationship between Saharai musicians and Nubenegra. Everyone involved in the construction of Saharai music is attracted by the musical modes, rhythms and forms of singing Saharai *Haul*. Moreover, being involved in the creation of Saharai music also, indirectly, denounces the Moroccan occupation of their homeland, Western Sahara, and their political situation as refugees in Algeria.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ As a case in point, in June 2012, I was invited to a Gnawa festival in Essaouira (Morocco), but I was unable to attend because I had an Algerian visa, which showed I had visited the Saharai refugee camps. Mariem Hassan and other people in Nubenegra recommended that I not go to Morocco because their security forces could find out that I was Hassan's guitarist and this would mean I would automatically become a "persona non grata" in Morocco. This has been the first time that political disputes in North Africa have affected my travel as a musician.

As mentioned earlier, in the study of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra, one encounters the complexity of the construction of modern Saharai music through nationalism and local cultural values. Such complexity is firstly by the study of the *Haul* modal system and later the examination of the translocal capital in the camps. The awareness of both the music and its social context is essential in most of the ethnomusicological ethnographies as the acclaimed ethnomusicologist Merriam initially affirmed in her book, *The anthropology of music* (1963). In this thesis, the dual concept of “transnationalism and habitus” offers new forms of analysing ethnomusicological ethnographic studies. Transnationalism and habitus address constant changes and negotiations between: a musical style, its social context, and its transcultural capital in relation to other international agents (Nubenegra) involved in that music. Thus, Bourdieu’s notion of habitus helped to address the social and cultural structures of communication and agents involved in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra. On the other hand, Kiwan and Meinhof introduced the concepts of transnational hubs in this thesis which helped in understanding the different types of agents involved in the habitus of Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra.

The ethnographic data in the form of personal and musical experience with Mariem Hassan has been essential in this thesis. Mariem Hassan’s contribution to Saharai music has offered *Haul* music the distinctive marriage with other styles such as Malian music, and cosmopolitan styles such as blues or jazz. At the same time, previous to my personal musical contributions to Saharai music, Hassan and Saharai musicians had already began to include chord progressions in Saharai *Haul*. Therefore, this thesis is not only based on participant observations but reinforces the concept of transnational habitus as it continues to influence decisions in the construction, creation and evolution of modern Saharai music.

In sum, my general conclusions demonstrate that this research in Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra offers a range of ethical conclusions based on the importance of studying transnational music. The ethical conclusions are primarily focussed on the understanding of the contextualisation of Saharai music as transnational. Later, the examination of the *Haul* modal system according to Saharai musicians and poets is fundamental to appreciating such music. Finally, when there is an understanding of

Saharaui music and its social context, then, there can be an examination of its relationship with Nubenegra. Thus, in this thesis, the general conclusion aims to demonstrate the use of ethics in order to organise this research.

Saharaui music: Suggestions for further research

This thesis has only covered particular topics and focused on certain musical constructions. Thus, this thesis remains open to debate and revision for scholars who may consider certain inclusions important to this body of literature. The study of Saharaui music [in musical terms] and lyrics also offer different areas, which I have decided to leave for further research. One of the areas of particular interest is the continuous debate about the real use of the *Haul* modal system in Saharaui music. *Haul* modes are constantly debated by many Saharaui musicians and poets who differ in opinion about each of the particularities in melody from each mode. It seems that the concept of modes is based on poetry rhymes but not on melodic intervals; therefore, it is difficult to find common points in terms of *Haul* modes. This problem has been encountered since my first fieldwork trip on Saharaui music in November 2004 in the refugee camps of Tindouf when I released a documentary about Saharaui music called *The seas of desert* (L. Gimenez, 2006). As a personal suggestion, the study of classic *Haul* in Mauritania through *igagwen* could resolve many issues regarding the musical system also used and inherited by Saharaui in the Hassanya world. In any case, the study of the *Haul* modal system in Mauritania would help to contrast the information provided in this thesis: as a result would offer more opinions about the use of the modes.

Another critical question, regarding Saharaui music, is the historical study of Saharaui music before the forced exile in 1975. On this topic, one can find considerable information in the religious *medej* songs. Nevertheless, no one has researched the religious and more traditional Saharaui songs still prevalent in Western Sahara. The difficulties to conduct such historical research about Saharaui music lies on the prohibition by the Moroccan government to promote such music in Western Sahara. To be more precise, Morocco has banned Saharaui music in Western Sahara when the lyrics of a Saharaui song contains political connotations. However, when the Saharaui music played in Western Sahara has only cultural connotations, the Moroccan

government allows the Saharauis to perform in their homeland. As an example, there is a Saharai group from Dajla (Western Sahara) called *Doueh* that promotes Saharai culture but, in addition, the band supports the Moroccan occupation of Western Sahara. This Saharai band has released an album entitled *Zayna Jumma* (Sublime Frequencies records, 2012) and tours internationally. In such circumstances, the study of Saharai music in Western Sahara can be a valuable area of research in the future.

The last suggestion about potential research on Saharai music would be an analysis of the different bands in the refugee camps and how they differ from each other. In my previous thesis about Saharai music in the refugee camps (2012), I analyse the music and its social context but I do not discuss how bands such as *Estrella Polisaria* or Nayim Alal evolve in a refugee context. In other words, how these bands are sustainable and what type of innovation they offer to Saharai music in the refugee camps. This study could explore the musical scene in a Saharai refugee camp. Such study could examine the social context of musicians who perform for their translocal community within a refugee camp, which could also offer interesting ethnographic innovations.

Finally, I would like to emphasise that everyone involved in this thesis has been open and willing to contribute his or her knowledge about the area of research to this body of work. My relationship with Mariem Hassan and Manuel Dominguez, especially, has been exemplar. The opportunity to research and write this thesis has made me value, even further, Saharai musical culture and respect Mariem Hassan as an example of a humble and great *World Music* artist. I would like to conclude this thesis with a few words that Mariem Hassan said one time during the recording sessions in Axis (Madrid) in January 2012. This comment is a sign of respect to any musical culture and especially to her, a singer that has sacrificed her life to her nation, Western Sahara:

A singer is like a white blanket. If you throw a drop of black ink into it, the whole blanket will turn black so ... please, let me sing in the way I know (M. Hassan).

Appendix 1¹⁵⁸

Instruments in *Haul* music

Tidinit: A string instrument made out of an acacia tree for resonance, goat skin and four nylon strings. It is the main solo instrument for playing *Haul* modes. It has two sympathetic strings on both sides and they are called *tichibtin*. The two strings in the middle are the solo strings and they are called *lamhar*. The tuning of the *tidinit* is usually D-A-D-A. The right hand accompaniment part on the *tidinit* is played only with the index finger, and the left hand uses four fingers but not the thumb.



Figure 27. Mohamed Salec playing *tidinit* (L. Gimenez, 2006)

Ardin: A harp made out of a calabash for resonance, a goat-skin and twelve nylon strings. It is a drone instrument used for accompaniment and only played by women. The strings are tuned in a constant repetition of fifths: D-A-D-A-G-D-A-D-A-G-D-A. Sometimes they tune some of the strings to a note related to the mode they are playing.

¹⁵⁸ Appendix 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are taken and changed from my MMus thesis entitled “*Haul* music: Transnationalism and musical performance in the Saharaui refugee camps of Tindouf, Algeria” (L. Gimenez, 2012).



Figure 28. Salma playing *ardin* (L. Gimenez, 2006)

T'bal: A percussion instrument made out of camel's skin and acacia tree. It is more commonly played in modern Saharaui music than in classical *Haul*. Nonetheless, it is a traditional Bedouin instrument from *Trab el Bidan*. *T'bal* is tied with camel's tendons. It is a rounded instrument of no more than 50 cm in length. It is played by women who sit on the ground. The hand technique on *t'bal* consists of two sounds: bass and treble. Depending on the mode, the rhythm can be binary or ternary (see appendix 3).



Figure 29. Sweta playing *t'bal* (L. Gimenez, 2006).

Electric guitar: The guitar has been the bridge between the old *Haul* and modern *Haul* music. It is tuned D-A-D-D-A-D (*entamas* and *seinicar*). Although, depending on the mode, the third string can generally be tuned to F (*leboer*, *lyen*, *lebteit* and *chawada*) or E (*fagu*, *sgaller*). The Saharaui electric guitar has two extra frets between the second and fourth fret in order to play quarter-tones. The guitar technique is based on the *tidinit* traditional way of playing. The main elements in playing Saharaui guitar are based on *tidinit* techniques in the right hand. Nevertheless, the guitar brings up new elements as chords. These are the guitar and *tidinit* techniques in *Haul* music:

Barm: This is a rapid tremolo played with thumb and index.

Barmasaba: Same tremolo as *barm* but with only the index finger.

Lefguea: Same tremolo as *barm* but with index and middle finger.

Elmenfaga: This is a way to strum backwards with the index finger and concluding with the thumb.

Jeri: This is a ternary rhythm played on the guitar with thumb and index fingers.

Medra: This is the basic guitar accompaniment when a poem is recited.



Figure 30. Ahmed Zein playing electric guitar (L. Gimenez, 2006).

Keyboard: This is used in modern Saharai music and has become part of *Haul* since the end of the 1990s. The keyboard also incorporates programmed rhythms and new electric sounds very much influenced by *rai* music from Algeria.



Figure 31. Bepa playing keyboard (L. Gimenez, 2006).

Poets: They are essential for the classical *haul* repertoire. However, in modern Saharai society they are absent on stage as the musicians and singers write their own lyrics for the songs. In Mauritania, poets are still included in the concerts.



Figure 32. Salem reciting poetry (L. Gimenez, 2006).

Singers: The voice is the most acclaimed instrument in the refugee camps and singers are very popular among the Saharauis. Both, modern or classical *Haul* music is without vocals.



Figure 33. Salma singing (L. Gimenez, 2006).

Appendix 2

Musical transcriptions in western notation of the *Haul* modes

1. *Entamas*



2. *Seinicar*



3. *Fagu*



4. *Sgaller*



5. *Leboer*



6. *Lyen*



7. *Lebteit*



8. *Chawada or teharar*



Appendix 3

Musical transcriptions of rhythms in *Haul* music

- *Medha rhythm*



- *Lebleida*



- *Charha*



- *Serbet*



- *Chawada*



- *Dubka*



- *Agassar*



- *Agarran*



\

Appendix 4

Musicians, poets and collaborators for this research

Abdalai Sinima:	Poet from Smara
Ahmed Fadel:	Research assistant from Auserd
Ahmed Larbi:	Translator of Saharai songs into Spanish, from Aiuun, a territory occupied by Morocco
Ahmed Zein:	Guitarist from Auserd
Ali Seibda:	Singer and accordionist from Auserd
Antonio Pomares:	Researcher on Bedouin poetry from Elche, Spain
Aziza Ibrahim	Saharai singer
Baba Jouly	<i>El Ualy's</i> manager from 1982 to 1998
Baba Salama	Saharai guitarist
Bara:	<i>Medhj</i> singer from Auserd
Bepa:	Keyboard player from Smara
Boika:	Saharai guitarist
Ergueibi:	Singer from Auserd
Faknash:	<i>Medhj</i> singer from Dakhla
Fatta:	<i>Tbal</i> player in Deseos
Gabriel Flores:	Mariam Hassan's saxophone player in 2012
Hadhoum:	Saharai singer and <i>tbal</i> player
Hugo Westerdahl:	Sound engineer and Mariem Hassan's bass player in 2012
Ibrahim Alibaiba:	Translator of Saharai songs into Spanish, from El Aiuun, a territory occupied by Morocco
Jeirana:	<i>Medhj</i> singer from Dakhla
Mariam Hassan:	Saharai singer
Mahfoud:	Saharai singer

Nayim Alal	Saharaui guitaist
Kaziza Ibrahim:	Guitarist and composer and <i>El Ualy</i> since 1976
Lamgaifri:	Mariem's guitarist in the album Shouka
Lualy Lehsan:	Poet from February 27
Lamgaifri:	Guitarist from Auserd
Lamin Alal:	Saharaui poet from El Aaiun
Mahjuba:	Dancer from Auserd
Manuel Dominguez:	Director from the record label Nubenegra
Mariem Hassan:	Singer from El Aiuun, a territory occupied by Morocco
Mohamed Salec:	<i>Tidinit</i> player from Smara
Moraksi:	Singer from El Aiuun, a territory occupied by Morocco
Mufid:	Singer from Smara
Nayim Alal:	Guitarist from Smara
Oumm-Edleila Lehzam:	Saharaui singer
Oumm-Erguiya:	Saharaui singer
Salem Mohamed Badi Luely Abdelah:	Poet from Auserd
Salma:	<i>Medhj</i> singer from Auserd
SidahmedBuyema:	Keyboard player from Auserd
Sweta:	Singer from Auserd
Teita:	Saharaui singer
VadyaMint:	Mariem's <i>tbal</i> player since 2005
Zazie:	Nubenegra's assistant
Zaim Alal:	Saharaui poet from El Aaiun

Appendix 5

Brief chronology of the history of Western Sahara.¹⁵⁹

- 700 “Shanaja Berber communities of the Sahara were mostly nomads, pastors and camel drivers. Shanaja communities were later divided into three strong clans: Lamtuna, Judala and Massufa. Arabic scripts and literacy were introduced in Western Sahara by the Shanaja Berber communities. After that, the Arab beni Hassan communities gained political power throughout Western Sahara in the 14th century” (C. El Hamel, 1999: 64).
- 1600 “Towards the end of the 15th century, the mixing of Hassanya Arab and Berber Shanaja societies began to form the Bedouin personality as we know it today and the hierarchy of Bedouin society began to take shape” (A. G. Gerteiny, 1967: 33).
- 1600-1900 “The main families occupying the Western Sahara were Rugueibat, Izargien, Oulad Delim, Oulad Tidrarin, Ait Lahsen and the Aroisen.[The people of] Western Sahara are part of the same broad ethnic group as the Beidan or Moors of Mauritania. They are all descendants of Shanaja Berbers and Hassani communities. The land of the Moors never experienced political unity. It was composed of a number of emirates, confederations and communities” (Tony Hodges, 1983: 30).
- 1960 At the UN, Morocco claims sovereignty over Mauritania and Western Sahara.
- 1966 UN Resolution 2229 obliges Spain to organise a referendum in Western Sahara so that the autochthonous people can freely exercise their right of self-determination. Between then and 1977 six further resolutions of a similar wording appeared.

¹⁵⁹ This brief chronology is provided courtesy of Nubenegra except of the first three quotes provided by other sources cited in the Bibliography.

- 1968 Mohammed Basiri founds the Anti-Colonial Saharai movement “El Polisario” in Smara (Western Sahara).
- 1972 With Resolution 272 the OAU (Organisation of African States) supports the UN demand for a referendum. Meanwhile in a secret meeting the president of Algeria, the King of Morocco and the president of Mauritania agree to divide Western Sahara amongst themselves.
- 1973 On the 20 May the Frente Polisario (name of the Saharai political party) attacks a Spanish military post in the north of the Sahara.
- 1974 As Frente Polisario increases its warlike activities, the Spanish government postpone the statute of autonomy for the Saharai independence.
- 1975 On 22 May Spain declares itself prepared to end its presence in the Sahara. On 20 August Hassan II announces in the newspaper *Maroc-soir* “[b]y October we will know whether we will liberate Western Sahara by military or by peaceful means”. On 6 November the “Green March” of 350 000 Moroccan civil volunteers invaded the Western Sahara. On 14 November the secret three-page agreement of Madrid is signed to cede Western Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania, lacking any basis with respect to international law.
- 1976 The first Saharai refugee camps appear in the Hamada desert, near Tindouf.
- 1980-87 In order to control the occupied territory, Morocco constructs immense fortifications constituting a 2 000 kilometre long wall along the Western Sahara and Algeria.
- 1991 In April, Morocco and the Frente Polisario accept the peace plan recommended by the UN. A referendum is planned to decide upon independence or integration into Moroccan sovereign territory, but Morocco does not adhere to its obligations and thwarts the referendum.
- 2004 My first trip to the Saharai refugee camps of Hamada next to Tindouf.

2011 After 35 years in exile, the situation with the referendum for self-determination remains unclear and is constantly postponed by international organisations such as the UN.

Appendix 6

Authorisation of Nubenegra records to use their songs

Madrid, 5 de Octubre de 2014

Por la presente:

Autorizo a Luís Giménez Amorós,
con número de estudiante G11G6707
de la Rhodes University,
a utilizar las canciones de Nubenegra,
exclusivamente
para el análisis musical de la tesis
en el examen final.

Para que quede constancia, firmo:



Manuel Domínguez Sanz
Director
NUBENEGRA
Magdalena 1
Madrid, 28012
España

NUBENEGRA
Magdalena, 1 - 28012 Madrid

Appendix 7

Songs in Arabic from Mariem Hassan's album *El Aaiun egdat*

Arrabi al Arabe (entamas)

- ثوارات الحرير امز عمها لكديم
وازعها جدير بايعو دلها زاعيم
- بصمودا فتح باب لثورة ذاك الشباب -2
واقفون كالم الصحاب كادي ذاك الحرير
العنوطا راغراب الخوف اورا نسيم
- والزم لا فخر نصر الشعب امصر -3
شوف افمصر لطر لظلم من تحطيم
هذ كامل نكر من لكدم العظيم
- نتقل ذاك ابتما م لين اليمن و الشام -4
علمهم لعنصا م والخيمة والتصميم
والصبر اولالتحام والوحدة والتنظيم
- كام باثورة حية فالجماهيرية -5
فالحك البية شعلت فيها جديم
كيفاح الحرية والتصميم العظيم

Yalli mashi anni (Iyen)

- ياللى ماشى عنى مشيك فيا يحرار 1
انا ما هي منى وانت ما نك صبار
- المسافر ما ودع عين اوراها الدمع 2
الأتررك الودع والرمانة تحمار
- ياللى من واسواس يخلك بسباب الناس 3
بيك قطعوا ياس يفصل لم ولحوار
- بيا تخما م فيك انا وانت فالدار 4
وقتك درت بيدك صورتنا فالجدار
- فيك اكثر تخما مى وتحجلى ايا ماى 5
وايا مكواكلا مى وانسول عن لخبار

Rahy el Aaiun egdat (seinicar)

- 1- راهالعيون اكادات لبطل الما جيد
ا تسمع للغزات صوت النار والحد يد
- 2- الشعب اعل تجاه شور المد البعيد
الين اخير الله واريد الله ايريد
- 3- قط الى شعلتها حشامة المحاسيد
شعلت شعا لنها فا الزات من جديد

Adummua (seinicar)

- 1- عين ادمع ادمع ادمع حتى تسيل بالدمى
- 2- بنالطاح واسمعى ترحيبها بمقدمى
بترية الساقاة اذالع وارتى
- 3- حقلى ترك الضو جاز هنا تيمى
- 4- من هذا لوكر العلم - منذا الصعيد الطيب
لهذ الصرح الرحب حنين قلبى السقيم

Gdeim Izik (seinicar)

- 1- كان لعدو حاصر لعالم وكل عام ازيدو تعتيم-
غير بعد افهاذوليام وضومخيم لكديم
- 2- مثلت القواة التبات خافى من لهب الجحيم-
لا يجيها من لخويات وكطى وامات امرجيم
- 3- لا مضاو السبعات السات ماتخلى عن الا قاليم-
جا يا تو بعدا كلاشات وجيش راقى يرحل واكيم
- 4- عاش مخيم الاستقلال وكل يوم احكم تنظيم-
- ذاك هو خوض النضال اوذاك هو حال التصميم

Almalhfa (lyen)

- 1- للملاحف تتخالف للوان وقليلة
نوعية لملاحف فى العالم جميلة
- 2- تقليدينا يفل والناس الدخيلة
الزين منهم واكل اكثر فى الفضيلة

كان ابغيت المعقول والزين اعلى حيلة -3
زينة ميزة لحفول للقيادات اليلة

ذال طارف عيني وعدل فيها ميلة -4
ملحفتك يا طعيني شركا نا من انيلة

Eftaht almayal (leboer)

وكتن با لنضال والعزم اها ليك -1
طاوى ليل حتلل ل ليكره يا زيك
افتحت المجال وعدلت ليعنيك

رغم امن تهديد والطمس وتشكيك -2
لعدو فالرصيد لك يا كديم ازيك

هب الشعب ادور حقو واعطى فيك -3
من حيران النور لثم اتغلك

حركت الشعوب ولمنها ناسيك -4
حياك بلكلوب بالرح احبيك

Tarham ya Allah shuhada (seinciar)

ترحم يا الله الشهادة البطل ابرار ومخلصين -1
الله فرضا السيادة المبلثورة عشرين

خترودار الخلود السود ديفاعن مجد الدارين -2
ربي جازيهم بالخود فسماء مقام المحسنين

شهادمن اجل الحياة حين البطل ومخلصين -3
ربي جازيهم مجزات واجعلهم فاعلى عليين

لا خالدا كم باستمرار دئيم بيه الواجب يقين -4
بادم الصنعتو لختيار عهدا وصالبة لاتلين

Aulad Sahara (fagu)

يا ولاد الصحراء عفاكم قبل السيل اخير اتونو -1
عن سيل الواد لكما راهو لامحيدة عنو

فعل الخير اخير اتواهو كداللى يعدل منو -2
والخاسر ما ينسن اعليه بيه المامكة سنو

الصلح وزين المهاد الرحلة فا الحرب وفنو -3
جادا عليكم بيه الجواد الله احمدو المنو

Ana Saharaui (entamas)

نختير النعش فرضى حرة-1
انا والجيش فامصر

الجيش ابا ن رد الكرة-2
شور الميدين لول مرة

نباو السباى لا ما فرة-3
ولل لعاى تمر ك برة

ساكى لعاى كم من مرة-4
والطم الجاى واليو حرة

Siyant laydad (Fagu)

اطريك اختيار حرية الرضى-1
واضح لا غبار ذاكو كدي

صياننت لمجاد خلا ه جدي-2
فيدي وانا زاد سكن ياولدى

الخان البلاد ذاك الل عدي-3
عنوظا لم عاد امع متعدي

Annasr shouru tetnada (Iyen)

ما كط راز اشتتنا محال لعدو ما رانا-1
متحز مين ابوحدتنا ومشبثين امبدانا

متقلدين ابلا رادة شجعان وابلا هودة-2
متكالعن الشهادة راد بيظ انوايانا

والنصر شور تتنادة والعهد فدينا امانه-3
محفوظ فاصراع اكلادة ومضان فيدين اضحانا

ما راز اشتتنا محال لعدو ما رانا-4
متحز مين ابحدتنا ومشبثين امدانا

Appendix 8

Songs courteously provided by Nubenegra Records

1. Intifada (Mariem Hassan)	23. La tumchu anni (Mariem Hassan)
2. Magat milkitna dulaa (<i>El Ualy</i>)	24. Shauda (Mariem Hassan)
3. Wanni brassul (Faknash)	25. Mutamaniyat (Mariem Hassan)
4. Uargueziz (<i>El Ualy</i>)	26. Tirka (Mariem Hassan)
5. Gdeim Izik (Mariem Hassan)	27. Tefla madlouma (Mariem Hassan)
6. Shouka (Mariem Hassan)	28. Maatal-la (Mariem Hassan)
7. RASD (<i>El Ualy</i>)	29. Baba Salama (Mariem Hassan)
8. Lualy (<i>El Ualy</i>)	30. Rahy el Aaiun egdat (Mariem Hassan)
9. Wadna (Mariem Hassan and <i>Leyoad</i>)	31. Arfa (Mariem Hassan)
10. Viva el Polisario (Sahara tierra Mia)	32. Adumua (Mariem Hassan)
11. Nar (Nayim Alal)	33. Legneiba
12. El Ziara (Nayim Alal)	34. Yalli Mashi anni (Mariem Hassan)
13. Id Alia (Nayim Alal)	35. Arrabi al Arabe (Mariem Hassan)
14. Hobbi (Nayim Alal)	36. Tarham ya Allah Shuhada (Mariem Hassan)
15. Baba's song (Hugo Westerdahl)	37. Siyant laydad (Mariem Hassan)
16. Mawal chill out (Hugo Westerdahl)	38. Ana Saharauia (Mariem Hassan)
17. Sahara on my mind (Hugo Westerdahl)	39. Eftat almayal (Mariem Hassan)
18. Recuerdos (Hugo Westerdahl)	40. Aulad Sahara (Mariem Hassan)
19. Hechizo de Babilonia (Luis Delgado)	
20. El vergel ignorado (Luis Delgado)	
21. Almalhfa (Mariem Hassan)	
22. Magat milkitina dulaa (Mariem Hassan)	

Appendix 9

Concerts presenting the album *El Aaiun egdat*

25-5-2012 Madrid- Sala Clamores
27-5-2012 Helsinki- World Village Festival
16-6-2012 Chiasso (Switzerland)-Festate
5-10-2012 Madrid- Espacio Ronda
15-11-2012 Salamanca-Teatro Juan del Enzina
25-11-2012 Lompoul (Senegal)- Festival Du Sahel
4-1-2013 Ermua (Basque country, Spain)- Ermua Antzokia
22-3-2013 Marseille-Babel Med
26-4-2013 Malmo-Melodifestivalen (Sweden)
4-5-2013 Goteborg (Sweden)-Clandestino Festival
1-06-2013 Rome-Italy
4-06-2013 Kempen-Germany
5-06-2013 Dusseldorf-Germany
7-06-2013 Brussels-Belgium
8-06-2013 Munster-Germany
9-06-2013 Herne-Germany
10-06-2013 Wuppertal-Germany
11-06-2013 Hagen-Germany
12-06-2013 Koln-Germany
13-06-2013 Wuppertal-Germany
14-06-2013 Detmold-Germany
16-06-2013 Sankt Agustin-Germany
18-06-2013 Hamm-Germany
20-06-2013 Remscheid-Germany
21-06-2013 Gelsenkirchen-Germany
13-07-2013 Villena (Spain)-Somos antixenofobia Festival
8-12-2013 Getxo- Bilbao (Spain)

Appendix 10

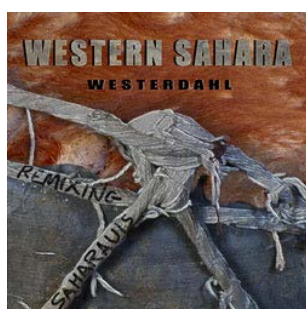
Saharai music recorded by Nubenegra



INN-1137- 1 (2012)



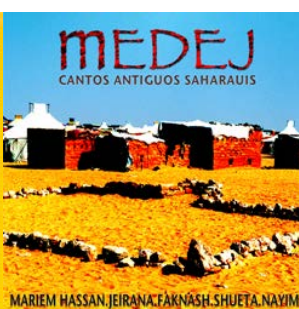
INN 1136-2 (2010)



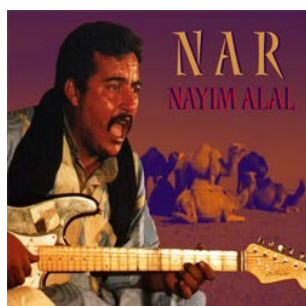
INN 1134-2 (2007)



INN 1128-2 (2005)



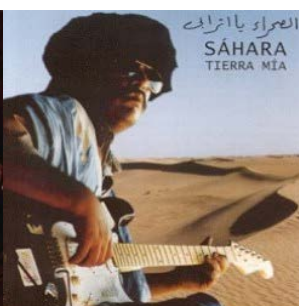
INN 1123-2 (2004)



INN 1117-2 (2003)



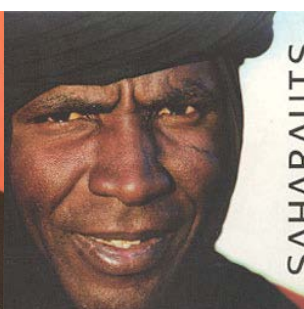
INN 1114-2 (2002)



INN 1.034 (1998)



INN 1.033 (1998)



INN 8.001 (1998)



INN 1.031 (1998)

Discography

Ambiances du Sahara: Desert blues 1 (compilation), 1998. Harmonia mundi INN B00000HF5H

A pesar de las heridas (compilation), 1998. Nubenegra INN 1-(033)

Desert blues (compilation), 2010. Rough Guides INN: B003S897KA

El Ualy: Polisario Vencera, 1998. Nubenegra INN 1-(031)

Hugo Westerdahl: Western Sahara remixes, 2008. Nubenegra INN 1134-(2)

Juju: Tell no lies, 2009. Real World INN 0884108000236.

Mariem Hassan: Aaiun egdat, 2012. Nubenegra INN 1137-2

Mariem Hassan: Shouka, 2010. Nubenegra INN 1136-(2)

Mariem Hassan: Deseos, 2005. Nubenegra INN 1128-(2)

Mariem Hassan and Leyoad, 2002. Nubenegra INN 1114-(2)

Medej: Cantos antiguos Saharais, 2004. Nubenegra INN 1123-(2)

Nayim Alal: Nar, 2003. Nubenegra INN 1117-(2)

Sahara, tierra mia (compilation), 1998. Nubenegra INN 1-(034)

Sahraui (compilation), 1998. Nubenegra INN 8-(001)

References¹⁶⁰

- Abdelkader, D. 2000. *Social justice in Islam*. Maryland: The international institute of Islamic thought.
- Adileh, M. 2011. Arabic music between the hammer of technological creativity and the anvil of cultural identity. *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music*, 42 (1), 145-163.
- Ahmida, A. A. (Ed.). 2009. Introduction. *Beyond colonialism and nationalism in the Maghrib* (pp. 1-15). Basingstoke (Hampshire, England): Macmillan publishers limited.
- Algora, M. D. 2007. España en el Mediterráneo: Entre las relaciones hispano-árabes y el reconocimiento del estado de Israel. *Revista CIDOB d'afers internacionals*, 79/80, 15-34.
- Allan, J. 2011. Nationalism, resistance, and patriarchy: The poetry of Saharawi women. *Hispanic research journal*, 12 (1), 78-89.
- Alvarado, M. J. 2007. *La puerta del Sahara* (DVD). Gran Canarias: Producciones Almacabra.
- Anand, N. & Peterson, R. A. 2000. When market information constitutes fields: Sense making of markets in the commercial music industry. *Organization science*, 11 (3), 270-284.
- Andersson, M. 2010. The social imaginary of first generation Europeans. *Social identities*, 16 (1), 3-21.

¹⁶⁰ The referencing style in this thesis is that of the American Psychological Association (APA) from *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th ed.). (2001). The APA referencing style is also recommended in the booklet "Guidelines for academic writing and referencing" by the Education department at Rhodes University (S. Robertson & J. Cornwell &, 2011).

- Aneas, M. 2005. Una mirada hacia el otro en el trabajo: Paradojas aculturativas en nuestro mundo global. *Abaco*, 43, 15-24.
- Appadurai, A. 1990. Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy 1990. In M. Featherstone (Ed). *Cultural Theory: An Anthology* (pp. 282-295).
- Apter A. 2007. *Beyond words: Discourse and critical agency in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arat, Z. 1998. *Deconstructing images of "The Turkish Woman"*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Asai, S. 1997. Origins of the musical and spiritual syncretism of Nomai in northern Japan. *Asian music*, 28 (2), 51-71.
- Assmann, J. 2011. *Cultural memory and early civilization: writing, remembrance, and political imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Askew, K. M. 2002. *Performing the nation: Swahili music and cultural politics in Tanzania*. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Averill, G. 2006. 'Mezanmi, kouman nou ye? My friends, how are you?: Musical constructions of the Haitian transnation. In J. C. Post (Ed.). *Ethnomusicology: A contemporary reader* (pp. 261-275). New York: Routledge.
- Baaz, M. E. 2001. Introduction: African identity and the Postcolonial. In M. Eriksson Baaz & M. Palmberg (Ed). *Negotiating African identity in cultural production* (pp. 1-15). Stockholm: The Nordic Africa Institute.
- Babiano, J. & Farre, S. 2002. La emigración española a Europa durante los años sesenta: Francia y Suiza como países de acogida. *Historia social*, 42, 81-98.
- Baltzis, A. G. 2005. Globalization and musical culture. *Acta musicologica*, 77 (1), 137-150.

- Barah, M. 2012. El engañoso silencio de Argelia. *Fride*, 75, 1-5.
- Barakat, H. 1985. *Contemporary North Africa: Issues of development and integration*. Worcester: Billing and Sons limited.
- Barbulo, T. 2002. *La historia prohibida del Sahara Español*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino.
- Baroja, J. 1990. *Estudios Saharianos*. Madrid: Ediciones Jucar.
- Baron, R. 1977. Syncretism and ideology: Latin New York salsa musicians. *Western folklore*, 36 (3), 209-225.
- Barendregt, B. 2002. The sound of “longing for home”: Redefining through Minang popular music. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, land-, en volkenkunde*, 158 (3), 411-450.
- Barnes, B. 2000. *Understanding agency: Social theory and responsible action*. London: Sage publications.
- Barz, G. F. 2008. Confronting the field (note) in and out the field: Music, voices, texts, and experiences in dialogue. In G. Barz & T. J. Coley (Eds.). *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology* (2nd Ed.) (pp.206-224). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baily, J. 1996. Using tests of sound perception in fieldwork. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 28, 147-173.
- Baily, J. 2001. Learning to perform as a research technique in ethnomusicology. *British journal of ethnomusicology*, 10 (2), 85-98.
- Baily, J. 2005. So near, so far: Kabul’s music in exile. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 14 (2), 213-233.
- Bardaji, R. L. 2008. La España que no cuenta. *Cuadernos de pensamiento politico*, 17, 31-41.

- Barz, G. & Cooley J. T. (Eds.).2008. *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology* (2nd Ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bealle, J. 1993. Self-involvement in musical performance stage talk and interpretive control at a bluegrass festival. *Ethnomusicology*, 37 (1), 63-86.
- Benabdallah, K. 2009. The position of the European Union on the Western Sahara conflict. *Journal of contemporary European studies*, 17 (3), 417-435.
- Bennett, A. 2004. Music, space and place. In S. Whiteley, A. Bennett & S. Hawkins (Eds). *Music, space and place: Popular music and cultural identity*, (pp. 2-8). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Beltran, C. 2004. Patrolling borders: Hybrids, hierarchies and the challenge of mestizaje. *Political research quarterly*, 57 (4), 595-607.
- Biddle, I. & Knights, V. (Eds.). 2007. Introduction to national popular music: Betwixt and beyond the local and global. *Music, national identity and the politics of location*, (pp. 1-18). Farnham (UK) and Burlington (USA): Ashgate.
- Bilby, K. 1999. "Root explosions": Indigenization and cosmopolitanism in contemporary Surinamese popular music. *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (2), 256-296.
- Blacking, J. 1973. *How musical is man?*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Bockstedt, J. C., Kauffman, R. J. & Riggins F. J. 2006. The move to artist-led on-line music distribution: A theory-based in the digital music market. *International journal of electronic commerce*, 10 (3), 7-38.
- Bohlman, P. 1994. Is all music religious?. In John Michael Spencer (Ed.). *Theomusicology* (pp.3-13). Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Bohlman, P. 2002. *World Music* at the "end of history." *Ethnomusicology*, 46 (1), 1-32.
- Bourdieu, P. 1987. The historical genesis of a pure aesthetic. *The journal of aesthetics and art criticism*, 46, 201-210.

- Bourdieu, P. 1987. What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley journal of sociology*, 32, 1-17.
- Bourdieu, P. 2003. Participant objectivation. *The journal of the royal anthropological institute*, 9 (2), 281-294.
- Bourdieu, P. & Koch, E. R. 1987. The invention of the artist's life. *Yale French studies*, 73, 75-103.
- Bourdieu, P. & Zanotti-Karp, A. 1968. Structuralism and theory of sociological knowledge. *Social research*, 35 (4), 681-706.
- Breidenbach, J. & Zukrigl I. 2001. Up and down the music World. An anthropology of globalization. In A. Gebesmair & A. Smudits (Eds.). *Global repertoires: Popular music within and beyond the transnational music industry* (pp. 105-118). Aldershot (England): Ashgate.
- Brenner, N. 1998. Global cities, global status: Global city formation and state territorial restructuring in contemporary Europe. *Review of international political economy*, 5 (1), 1-37.
- Brinkman, R., & Woolf C. 1999. *Driven into paradise: The musical migration from Nazi Germany into the United States*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Burnett, R. 1996. *The global jukebox*. London: Routledge.
- Burnett, R. 1999. Global strategies and local markets: Explaining Swedish music export success. In A. Gebesmair & A. Smudits (Eds.). *Global repertoires: Popular music within and beyond the transnational music industry* (pp. 9-21). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Byrnes, S. (2001, September 12). After the dictators. *New Statesman*, 30-33.
- Cachon, L. 2002. La formación de la "España inmigrante": Mercado y ciudadanía. *Reis*, 97, 95-126.

- Campbell, P. S. 2000. How musical we are: John Blacking on music, education, and cultural understanding. *Journal of research in music education*, 48 (4), 336-359.
- Cembrero, I. (2010, November 9). La policia marroqui busca a los activistas y organizadores del campamento Saharaui en el Aaiun. *El Pais*. Retrieved January 10, 2011, from http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2010/11/09/actualidad/1289257204_850215.html
- Charry, E. (Ed.). 2012. *Hip hop Africa: New African music in a globalizing world*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Charry, E. 2000. *Mande music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Charry, E. 1996. Plucked lutes in West Africa: An historical overview. *The Galpin Society Journal*, 49, 3-37.
- Clarke, P. B. 1982. *West Africa and Islam: A study of religious development from the 8th to the 20th century*. London: Edward Arnold Publisher.
- Clavin, P. 2005. Defining transnationalism. *Contemporary European History*, 14, 421-439.
- Cleaveland, T. 1998. Islam and the construction of social identity in the nineteenth-century Sahara. *The Journal of African History*, 39 (3), 365-368.
- Cooley, T. J., & Barz, G. 2008. Casting Shadows: Fieldwork is dead! Long live fieldwork!. In G. Barz & T. J. Cooley (Eds.). *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology* (2nd Ed.) (pp. 3-25). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, J. 1989. The impact of mass media and acculturation on the Judeo-Spanish song tradition in Montreal. In S. Firth (Ed). *World Music, politics and social change* (pp. 90-99). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cornwell, J. (2006, March/April). Mariem Hassan: Deseos (review). *Songlines*, 63.

- Comajoan, L. 2010. La enseñanza de lenguas en España y el reto del multilingüismo europeo. *Hispania*, 93 (1), 123-129.
- Connell, J., & Gibson C. 2003. *Sound tracks*. London: Routledge.
- Crapanzano, V. 1995. The postmodern crisis: Discourse, parody, memory. In A. Mandelker (Ed.). *Bakhtin in contexts: Across the disciplines* (pp.137-149). Evanston (Illinois): Northwestern University Press.
- Damis, J. 1983. The Western Sahara conflict: Myths and realities. *Middle East journal*, 37 (2), 169-179.
- Davis, R., Fischer-Hornung, D.& Kardux, J. 2011. Introduction. In R. G. Davis, D. Fischer-Hornung & J. Kardux (Eds). *Aesthetic practices and politics in media, music and art: Performing migration* (pp. 1-11). London and New York: Routledge.
- Degirmenci, K. 2011. "Local music from out there": Roman (gypsy) music as world music in Turkey. *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music*, 42 (1), 97-124.
- Deneslow, R. (2012, May 10) Mariem Hassan: Aaiun Egdat. *The Guardian*. Retrieved September 3, 2012, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2012/may/10/mariem-hassan-el-aaiun-review>
- Den Tandt, C. 2002. Globalization and identity: The discourse of popular music in the Caribbean. In R. Young (Ed.). *Critical studies: Music popular culture identities* (pp. 85-100). Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.
- De la Courbe, S. 1913. *Premier voyage du Sieur de la Courbe fait a la coste d'Afrique en 1685*. Paris: Palais Culturel.
- Del Pino, D. 2005. La inmigración y las relaciones hispano-marroquíes. *Politica exterior*, 19 (108), 55-67.
- Del Pino, D. 2005. España-Marruecos: El necesario reencuentro. *Politica exterior*, 19 (104), 77-92.

- Dijkstra, A. Geuijen, K. & Ruijter, A. 2001. Multiculturalism and social integration in Europe. *International political science review*, 22 (1), 55-83.
- Djelic M. L. & Sahlin-Anderson, K. (Eds.). 2006. Introduction: A world of governance: the rise of transnational regulation. *Transnational governance: Institutional dynamics of regulation* (pp. 1-23). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dominguez, M. 2008. *Mariem Hassan: The voice of the Sahara* (DVD). Madrid: Canal Micro.
- Dominguez, M. (2008, April 12). Artistas: Mariem Hassan. Retrieved, October 10, 2012, from http://www.nubenegra.com/artistas/index_ampli.php3?id=36
- Dominguez, M. (2007, June 14). Mariem Hassan deslumbra en el Habibi beats de Colonia. Retrieved, October 15, 2012, from http://www.nubenegra.com/actualidad/index_comple.php3?id=106
- Doubleday, V. 2006. The frame drum in the Middle East: Women, musical instruments, and power. In J. C. Post (Ed). *Ethnomusicology: a contemporary reader* (pp.109-135). New York: Routledge.
- Dunbar-Hall, P. 2006. We have survived: Popular music as a representation of Australian aboriginal cultural loss and reclamation. In I. Peddie (Ed). *The resisting muse: Popular music and social protest* (pp.119-132). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Duran, L. 1999. Mali. S. Broughton, M. Ellingham & R. Trillo (Eds). In *World Music, the rough guide: Africa, Europe and the Middle East* (Vol. 1, pp. 539-563). London: Roughguide Publisher.
- Duran, L. 1998. Children of the clouds, *Folk Roots Magazine*, 181, 42-49.
- Duran, L. 1995. Birds of Wasulu: The freedom of expression and expression of freedom in the popular music of southern Mali. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 4, 101-34.
- Eagleton, T. 2010. Culture, atheism and the war on terror. *Field day review*, 6, 166-177.

- Echeverria, C. 2007. La cooperación entre España y los países del Magreb en materia de defensa. *Revista d'afers internacionals*, 79/80, 73-86.
- Eldridge, M. 2005. There goes transnational neighborhood: Calipso buys a bungalow. In A. J. Randall (Ed.). *Music, power, and politics* (pp. 173-193). New York: Routledge.
- El Hamel, C. 1999. The transmission of Islamic knowledge in Moorish society from the rise of the Almoravids to the 19th Century. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 29 (1), 62-87.
- Emerson, C. 1995. Introduction. In A. Mandelker (Ed.). *Bakhtin in contexts: Across the disciplines* (pp.1-33). Evanston (Illinois): Northwestern University Press.
- Engel, S. T. 2005. Rousseau and imagined communities. *The review of politics*, 67 (3), 515-537.
- Erlmann, V. 1996. The aesthetics of the global imagination: Reflections on *World Music* in the 1990s. *Public culture*, 8, 467-487.
- Erlmann, V. 1998. How beautiful is small? Music, globalization and the aesthetics of the local. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 14, 12-21.
- Erlmann, V. 1999. *Music, modernity and the global imagination: South Africa and the West*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eyerman, R. 2004. The past in the present: Culture and the transmission of memory. *Acta Sociologica*, 2, 159-169.
- Fanon, F. 2007. *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fargues, P. 2004. Arab migration: Trends and policies. *International migration review*, 38 (4), 1348-1371.
- Farmer H. 1967. *A history of Arabian music*. London: Luzac.
- Feld, S. 1981. 'Flow like a waterfall': The metaphors of Kaluli musical theory. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 13, 22-47.

- Feld, S. 1996. Pygmy POP. A Genealogy of Schizophonic Mimesis. *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 28, 1-35.
- Feld, S. 2012. *Jazz Cosmopolitanism in Accra: Five Musical Years in Ghana*. Duke University Press.
- Fenske, M. & Bendix, J. 2007. Micro, macro, agency: Histortical ethnography as cultural anthropology practice. *Journal of folklore research*, 44 (1), 67-99.
- Fernandez, A. 1998. La emigración como exportación de mano de obra: El fenómeno migratorio a Europa durante el franquismo. *Historia social*, 30, 63-81.
- Fraser, A. 2000. The present and future of the Gypsy past. *Cambridge review of international affairs*, 13 (2), 17-31.
- Freeman, P. (2006, March). Mariem Hassan: Deseos (review). *Global Rhythm*, 14.
- Frith, S. 2000. Music industry research: Where now? Where next? Notes from Britain. *Popular music*, 19 (3), 387-393.
- Frith, S. & Marshall, L (Ed.). 2004. *Music and copyright* (2nd Ed) (pp. 21-53). New York: Routledge.
- Frishkopf, M. (Ed.). 2010. Music and the media in the Arab world: A metadiscourse. *Music and media in the Arab world* (pp. 1-67). Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Fristzsche, P. 2001. Spectres of history: On nostalgia, exile, and modernity. *The American Historical Review*, 106 (5), 1587-1618.
- Fuchs, S. 2001. Beyond agency. *Sociological theory*, 19 (1), 24-40.
- Fuller, G. 1996. *Algeria: The next fundamentalist state*. Santa Monica: RAND.
- Fungairiño, E. (2011, August 18). Los saharauis y la nacionalidad española. *El mundo*, 17.
- Fynn, V. P. 2011. Africa's last colony: Sahrawi people – refugees, IDPS and nationals?. *Journal of internal displacement*, 1 (2), 40-58.

- Garcia, A. 2007. Sobre la memoria historica. *El ciervo*, 56 (670), 20-21.
- Garcia, M. 2005. La mirada de Europa. La identidad de un escenario multicultural. *Abaco*, 2 (43), 25-32.
- Gebesmair, A. 1999. Introduction. In A. Gebesmair & A. Smudits (Eds). *Global repertoires: Popular music within and beyond the transnational music industry* (pp. 1-9). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Gell, A. 1998. *Art and agency: An anthropological theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gerteiny, A. G. 1967. *Mauritania*. London: Pall Mall Press.
- Gerstin, J. 1998. Reputation in a musical scene: The everyday context on connections between music, identity and politics. *Ethnomusicology*, 42 (3), 385-414.
- Gimenez, L. 2006. *Los mares del desierto* (DVD). Alicante: Visualsonora.
- Gimenez, L. 2012. *Haul music: Transnationalism and musical performance in the Saharai refugee camps of Tindouf, Algeria* (<https://www.mysciencework.com/publication/show/1569872/haul-music-transnationalism-and-musical-performance-in-the-saharai-refugee-camps-of-tindouf-algeria>). MMus thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
- Gimenez, L. 2013a. Desert blues: La guitarra en la música saharai, *Contratiempo*, 22. Retrieved, January 12, 2014, from <http://acontratiempo.bibliotecanacional.gov.co/?ediciones/revista-22/articulos/desert-blues-la-guitarra-en-la-msica-saharai.html>
- Gimenez, L. 2013b. Comercialización de la música saharai en el mundo occidental a través de Nubenegra (Madrid, 1998-2011), *Resonancias*, 33, 147-166.
- Gimenez, L. 2014a. Mariem Hassan: La participación primordial de la mujersaharai en la música *Haul*, *Quadrivium*, 5, 168-174.

- Gimenez, L. 2014b. I play Wassoulou, jeli, Songhay and Tuareg music: Adama Drame in postcolonial Mali, bimusical or multimusical?. *El Oido Pensante*, 2 (2). Retrieved June 12, 2014, from <http://ppct.caicyt.gov.ar/index.php/oidopensante>
- Ginsburg, F. 2008. Rethinking the digital age. In D. Hesmondhalgh & J. Toynbee (Eds). *The media and social theory* (pp. 131-144). New York: Routledge.
- Gomez, J. (1998, May 4). Musica en el desierto: Saharauis por un referéndum limpio. *Tiempo*, 16.
- Gomez, C. 2012. Gdeim Izik. A change in the struggle strategies of the Sahrawi population. In B. Tejerina & I. Perugorria (Eds.). *Social to political: New forms of mobilization and democratization* (pp. 62-76). Bilbao: Argitaipen Zerbitzua.
- Gonzalez, M. & Cembrero, I. (2011, October 23). El gobierno tilda de “mera especulacion” atribuir el secuestro a Al-Qaeda. *El Pais*. Retrieved October 12, 2012, from http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/10/23/actualidad/1319359370_583555.html
- Goodman, J. 2005. *Berber culture in the world stage*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Goodkin, D. 1994. Diverse approaches to multicultural music. *Music educators journal*, 81(1), 39-43.
- Green, A. 2004. Individual remembering and collective memory: Theoretical presuppositions and contemporary debates. *Oral History*, 32 (2), 35-44.
- Gronow, P. 1975. Ethnic music and Soviet record industry. *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1), 91-99.
- Guilbault, J. 1997. Interpreting *World Music*: A challenge in theory and practice. *Popular music*, 16 (1), 31-44.
- Habermas, J. 1995. Address: Multiculturalism and the liberal states. *Stanford law reviews*, 47 (5), 849-853.

- Habermas, J. 2004. Religious tolerance: The pacemaker for cultural rights. *Philosophy*, 79 (307), 5-18.
- Hajji, K. 2011. Image culture, media and power. In M. Zweiri & E. C. Murphy (Eds.). *The new Arab media: Technology, image and perception* (pp. 69-80). Reading (UK): Ithaca Press.
- Hakovirta, H. 1993. "The global refugee problem: A model and its application". *International political science Review*, 14 (1), 35-57.
- Hall, T. H. 2007. *Globalization: The key concepts*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Harker, D. 1997. The wonderful world of IFPI: Music industry rhetoric, the critics and the classical Marxist. *Popular music*, 16 (1), 45-79.
- Hart, D. M. 1962. The social structure of the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara. *Middle East journal*, 16 (4), 515-527.
- Halbwachs, M. 1992. *On collective memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hassan, M. (2011, February 20). "Dakhla Festival Morocco" Johnny Clegg no debe participar en un festival a favor de la ocupación ilegal del Sahara Occidental. Retrieved, October 1, 2012, from http://www.saharatoday.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=167:dakhla-festival-morocco-johnny-clegg-no-debe-participar-en-un-festival-a-favor-de-la-ocupacion-ilegal-del-sahara-occidental-comunicado-de-la-cantante-saharaui-mariem-hasan&catid=56:cultura&Itemid=109
- Hattstein, M. 2004. El Islam: Religión universal y civilización. In M. Hattstein & P. Delius (Eds.). *Islam: Arte y arquitectura* (pp. 8-33). Potsdam (Germany): H. F. Ullman publishing.
- Hawkins, S. 2002. *Settling the pop score: Pop texts and identity politics*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Hernandez, F. 1993. From multiculturalism to mestizaje in world culture. *Visual arts research*, 19 (2), 1-12.
- Hertz, C. (2011). Costuming potential: Accommodating unworn clothes. *Museum anthropology review*, 5 (1-2), 14-38.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 1998. The British dance music industry: A case of independent cultural production. *The British journal of sociology*, 49 (2), 234-251.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2008. Neoliberalism, imperialism and the media. In D. Hesmondhalgh & J. Toynbee (Eds). *The media and social theory* (pp. 95-111). New York: Routledge.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. & Toynbee, J. (Eds). 2008. Why media needs better social theory. *The media and social theory* (pp. 1-23). New York: Routledge.
- Hirschkind, C. 2004. Hearing modernity: Egypt, Islam, and the pious ear. In V. Erlmann (Ed.). *Hearing cultures: Essays on sound, listening and modernity* (pp.131-153). Oxford: Berg publishers.
- Hodges, T. 1983. The Origins of Saharawi nationalism. *Third world quarterly*, 5 (1), 28-57.
- Holland, D., Skinner, D., Cain, C. & Lachicotte Jr, W. 1998. *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Hood, M. 1960. The challenge of bi-musicality. *Ethnomusicology*, 4, 55-59.
- Hood, M. 1977. Universal attributes of music. *World of music*, 19 (1), 63-69.
- Hornbostel, E. M. 1909. Vorr schläge zur transkription exotischer melodien. *Sa,elbände der internationalen musikegesellschaft*, 11, 1-25.
- Huang, C. 2005. File sharing as a form of music consumption. *International journal of electronic commerce*, 9 (4), 37-55.

- Huq, R. 2006. *Beyond subculture: Pop, youth and identity in a postcolonial world*. London: Routledge.
- Hutchinson, S. 2006. "Merengue típico in Santiago and New York: Transnational regionalism in a neo-traditional Dominican music". *Ethnomusicology*, 50 (1), 37-72.
- Imre, A. 2008. Roma music and transnational homelessness. *Third text*, 22 (3), 325-336.
- Ivey, B. 2009. Ethnomusicology and the twenty-first century music scene. *Ethnomusicology*, 53 (1), 18-32.
- Jafran Jones, L. 1991. Women in Non-Western music. In K. Pendle (Ed.). *Women and music: A history* (pp. 314-327). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Jankowsky, R. 2010. *Stambeli: Music, trance and alterity in Tunisia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Jensen, E. 2005. *Western Sahara: Anatomy of stalemate*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Johnson, M., & Lakoff, G. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Illinois: University of Chicago.
- Johnson, M. (Ed.). 1981. *Philosophical perspectives on metaphor*. Minesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jones, D. E. 1999. El despliegue transnacional de la industria fonografica: Los casos de America Latina. *Musiker*, 11, 97-115.
- Joseph, S. 2012. Thinking intentionality: Arab women's subjectivity and its discontents. *Journal of Middle East women's studies*, 8 (2), 1-25.

- Kapchan, D. 2007. *Travelling spirit masters: Moroccan gnawa trance and music in the global music market*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Kärjä, A. 2006. A prescribed alternative mainstream: Popular music and canon formation. *Popular music*, 25 (1), 3-19.
- Katumanga, M. 2007. Folk poetry as a weapon of struggle: an analysis of the *Chaka Mchaka* resistance songs of the national resistance movement/ army Uganda. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 129-157). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Kennedy, H. 2007. *Las grandes conquistas árabes*. Barcelona: Editorial Critica.
- Khader, B. 2006. Evolucion de las economias del Magreb (2000-2005). *Politica exterior*, 20 (111), 151-164.
- Kitahara, M. 1966. Kayokyoku: An example of syncretism involving scale and mode. *Ethnomusicology*, 10 (3), 271-284.
- Kearney, M. 1995. The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual review of anthropology*, 24, 547-565.
- Kern, T. 2009. Cultural performance and political regime change. *Sociological theory*, 27 (3), 291-316.
- Kidula, J. N. 2006. Ethnomusicology, the music canon, and African music: Positions, tensions, and resolutions in the African academy. *Africa today*, 52 (3), 99-113.
- Kiwan, N., & Meinhof, U. H. 2011. Music and Migration: A Transnational Approach. *Music and arts in action*, 3 (3), 3-20.
- Koniordos, M. K. (Ed.). 2005. Introduction to networks, trust and social capital. *Networks, trust and social capital* (pp. 3-14). Aldershot (UK) and Burlington (USA): Ashgate.

- Kubik, G. 2000. Interconnectedness in ethnomusicological research. *Ethnomusicology*, 44 (1), 1-14.
- Kruse, F. E. 2007. Is music a pure icon?. *Transactions of the Charles S. Pierce Society*, 43 (4), 626-635.
- Lafrance, M. 2002. A cultural approach to women and popular music. In L. Burns and M. Lafrance (Eds.). *Disruptive divas: Feminism, identity and music* (pp. 1-19). London: Routledge.
- Lange, B. R. 2001. Hypermedia and ethnomusicology. *Ethnomusicology*, 45 (1), 132-149.
- Levin, A. M., Dato-on, M. C. & Rhee, K. 2004. Money for nothing and hits for free: The ethics of downloading music from peer-to-peer websites. *Journal of marketing theory and practice*, 12 (1), 48-60.
- Lippert, A. 1992. Saharaui women in the liberation struggle of the Saharaui people. *Journal of women in culture and society*, 17 (31), 636-650.
- Lipstiz, G. 1999. World cities and World beat: Low-wage labour and transnational culture. *Pacific historical review*, 68 (2), 213-231.
- Logan, C. 2007. The enduring power of Somali “oral political poetry”: songs and poems of peace in the midst of chaos. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 355-376). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Lohman, L. 2010. *Um Khulthum: Artistic agency and the shaping of an Arab legend*. Middletown (Connecticut): Wesleyan University Press.
- Lopes, P. 1999. Diffusion and syncretism: The modern jazz tradition. *Annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 556, 25-36.

- Lopez, B. 1999. El Sahara, España y Marruecos: Historia de un desencuentro. *Politica exterior*, 13 (70), 21-26.
- Lopez, D. 1995. La inmigración en España a fines del siglo XX. Los que vienen a trabajar y los que vienen a descansar. *Reis*, 71/72, 225-245.
- Lopez, M. 2006. El papel de la OUA en el conflicto del Sara Occidental y su influencia en el desarrollo politico de la RASD. *Trabajos y ensayos*, 2, 1-10.
- Lorenzo, O., Herrera, L. & Anastasiu, I. 2007. Social diffusion of music in Spain through the popular press. *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music*, 38 (1), 71-89.
- Lucia, C. 2002. Abdullah Ibrahim and the uses of memory. *British journal of ethnomusicology*, 11 (2), 125-143.
- Luz, D. 2001. La venta de armas a Marruecos. A Maruecos no se le ayuda vendiendo armas. *El vuelo de ICARO*, 1, 115-130.
- Malkki, L. H. 1995. Refugees and exile: From 'refugee studies' to the national order of things. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 495-523.
- Malm, K. 1993. Music on the move: traditions and mass media. *Ethnomusicology*, 37 (3), 339-352.
- Malm, K. 2004. Intellectual property rights and unfair exploitation of traditional music and other traditional knowledge in Africa. In S. Thorsen (Ed.). *Sounds of change: Social and political features of music in Africa* (pp.121-133). Sida information centre international: Edita Sverige.
- Mandaville, P. 2007. *Global political Islam*. New York: Routledge.
- Mankekar, P. 2008. Media and mobility in a transnational world. In D.

- Hesmondhalgh & J. Toynbee (Eds). *The media and social theory* (pp.145-157). New York: Routledge.
- Mano, W. 2011. Popular music as journalism in Africa. In H. Wasserman (Ed.). *Popular music media, democracy and development in Africa* (pp. 91-103). New York: Routledge.
- Manuel, P. 1991. The cassette industry and popular music in north India. *Popular music*, 10 (2), 189-204.
- Manuel, P. 1995. Music as symbol, music as simulacrum: Post-modern, pre-modern, and modern aesthetics. *Popular music*, 14 (2), 227-239.
- Marcus, S. & Solis, T. 2004. "Can't help but speak, can't help but play" (interview to Ali Jihad Racy). In T. Solis (Ed.). *Performing ethnomusicology: Teaching and representation in world music ensembles* (pp. 155-167). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mehdid, M. 2006. For a song: Censure in Algerian rai music. In M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (Ed). *Popular music censorship in Africa* (pp.199-214). Aldershot (England): Ashgate.
- Marcus, G. E. & Myers, F. R. (Eds.). 1995. The traffic in art and culture: An introduction. *Traffic in culture: Refiguring art and anthropology*, (pp. 1-25). London: University of California Press.
- Marques, I.2006. Bourdieu o el "caballo de Troya" del estructuralismo. *Reis*, 115, 69-100.
- Martin, C. 2010. Cesaria Evora: "The barefoot diva" and other stories. *Transition*, 103, 82-97.
- Martin E. & Philips J. 2007. *Algeria: Anger of the dispossessed*. Yale: Yale University Press.

- Martin, P. 1995. *Sounds and society: themes in the sociology of music*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Massot, M. I. 2005. Hijas e hijos de inmigrantes: La mal llamada segunda generación. *Abaco*, 2 (43), 67-78.
- Mc Dougall, E. A. 1983. The Sahara reconsidered: Pastoralism, politics and salt from the ninth through the twelfth centuries. *African economic history*, 12, 263-286.
- Meintjes, L. 2003. *Sound of Africa: Making music Zulu in a South African Studio*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Mercer, J. 1976. *Spanish Sahara*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Merriam, A. 1963. *The anthropology of music*. Evanston (Illinois): Northwestern University Press.
- Middleton, J. & Beebe, R. 2002. The racial politics of hybridity and neo-eclecticism in contemporary popular music. *Popular music*, 21 (2), 159-172.
- Miller, B. (2012, April 4). Mariem Hassan: El Aaiun egdat. Retrieved September 3, 2012, from <http://saharauplod8.blogspot.com.es/2012/04/mariem-hassan-el-aiun-egdat-rootsworld.html>
- Mills, S. 1996. Indigenous music and the law: An analysis of national and international legislation. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 28, 57-86.
- Mitchell, T. 1989. Performance and the postmodern in pop music. *Theatre journal*, 41 (3), 273-293.
- Moghissi, H. 1999. *Feminism and Islamic fundamentalism: The limits of postmodern analysis*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Moore, R. 2003. Transformation in Cuban Nueva Trova, 1965-95. *Ethnomusicology*, 47 (1), 1-41.

- Monson, I. 1999. Riffs, repetitions, and theories of globalization. *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (1), 31-65.
- Montanari, F. & Mizzau, L. 2007. The influence of embeddedness and social mechanism on organizational performance in the music industry: The case of mescal music. *International journal of arts management*, 10 (1), 32-44.
- Mora, C. (1998, October). Sahrauis. *World music one*, 76.
- Morrison, K. 2005. Structuration theory, habitus and complexity theory: Elective affinities or old wine in new bottles?. *British journal of sociology of education*, 26 (3), 311-326.
- Mohsen-Finan, K. 2002. The Western Sahara dispute under UN pressure. *Mediterranean politics*, 7 (2), 1-13.
- Mouzelis, N. P. 2008. *Modern and Postmodern social theorizing: Bridging the divide*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Mphande, L. 2007. If you are ugly, know how to sing: Aesthetics of resistance and subversion. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 377-400). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Mundy, J. 2009. Out with the old, in with the new: Western Sahara back to square one?. *Mediterranean politics*, 14 (1), 115-122.
- Mutonya, M. 2007. Ethnic identity and stereotypes in popular music: *Mugiithi* performance in Kenya. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 157-177). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Naficy, H. 2002. Identity politics and Iranian exile music videos. In R. Young (Ed.). *Critical studies: Music popular culture identities*, (pp. 249-268). Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.
- Nasarre, E. 2009. La encrucijada de la España constitucional (1978- ?). *Cuadernos de pensamiento politico*, 24, 101-120.

- Natarangwi, M. 2007. Hip-hop, westernization and gender in East Africa. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 107-128). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Naylor, N. 2009. *North Africa: A history from antiquity to the present*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Nettl, B. 1983. *The study of ethnomusicology: Twenty nine issues and concepts*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Nettl, B. 1994. "Musical thinking" and "thinking about music" in Ethnomusicology: An essay of personal interpretation. *The journal of aesthetics and art criticism*, 52 (1), 139-148.
- Nielsen, T. H. & Habermas, J. 1990. Jurgen Habermas: Morality, society and ethics: An interview with Torben Hviid Nielsen. *Acta sociologica*, 33 (2), 93-114.
- Nikiprowetzky, T. 1962. "The music of Mauritania". *Journal of the international folk music*, 14, 53-55.
- Noor Al-Deen, H. 2005. "The evolution of rai music". *Journal of black studies*, 35 (5), 597-611.
- Norris, H. 1971. New evidence on the life of Abdula B. Yasin and the origins of the Almoravid movement. *The journal of African history*, 12 (2), 255-268.
- Norris, H. 1968. Shaykh Ma'al-Aynayn al-Qalqami in the folk literature of the Spanish Sahara. *Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African studies*, 31 (1), 113-136.
- Norris, H. 1968b. Shaykh Ma'al-Aynayn al-Qalqami in the folk literature of the Spanish Sahara. *Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African studies*, 31 (2), 347-376.

- Norris, H. 1962. Yemenis in the Western Sahara. *The journal of African history*, 3 (2), 317-322.
- Nurse, K. 2000. Copyright and music in the digital age: Prospects and implications for the Caribbean. *Social and economic studies*, 49 (1), 53-81.
- Nyoni, F. P. 2007. Music and politics in Tanzania: A case study of *Nyota-wa-Cigogo*. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 241-272). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- O'Connell, J. M. 2010. Introduction: Music and conflict. In J. Morgan O'Connell & S. El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (Eds.). *Music and conflict* (1-13). Urbana : University of Illinois Press.
- Olaniyan, T. 2001. The cosmopolitan nativist: Fela Anikulapo-Kuti and the anatomies of postcolonial modernity. *Research in African literatures*, 32 (2), 76-89.
- Olick, J., & Robbins, J. 1998. Social memory studies: From collective memory to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual review of sociology*, 24, 105-140.
- Oloo, A. 2007. Song and politics: The case of D. Owino Misiani. In K. Njogu & H. Moupeu (Eds.). *Songs and politics in eastern Africa* (pp. 177-201). Nairobi: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.
- Omair, K. 2009. Arab women managers and identity formation through clothing. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 24 (6), 412-431.
- Payr, S. & Trappl, R. 2004. *Agent culture: Human- agent interaction in a multicultural world*. Mahwah (New Jersey): Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Peterson, R. A. 2001. Globalization and communalization of music in the production perspective. In A. Gebesmair & A. Smudits (Eds.). *Global repertoires: Popular music within and beyond the transnational music industry* (pp. 119-136). Aldershot (England): Ashgate.

- Patterson, R. 2006. Transnationalism: Diaspora-homeland development. *Social forces*, 84 (4), 1891-1907.
- Pazzanita, A. 1994. Morocco versus Polisario: A political interpretation. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 32 (2), 265-278.
- Perman, T. 2007. Building bridges: The creative process of Chartwell Dutiro. In C. Dutiro & K. Howard (Eds.). *Zimbabwean mbira music on an international stage* (pp. 27-41). Aldershot (Hampshire, UK): Ashgate.
- Pinyol, G. 2007. España en la construcción del escenario euroafricano de migraciones. *Revista CIDOB d'afers internacionals*, 79/80, 87-105.
- Poveda, A. 2007. El proceso de secularización en la sociedad española. *Revista CIBOD d'afers internacionals*, 77, 65-82
- Preston, R. J. 2008. Reflections on becoming an applied anthropologist. *Anthropologica*, 50 (2), 195-205.
- Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th ed.). 2001. Washington: American Psychological Association
- Racy, A. J. 1996. Heroes, lovers, and poet-singers: The Bedouin ethos in the music of the Arab near-east. *The journal of American folklore*, 109 (434), 404-424.
- Racy, A. J. 1998. Improvisation, Ecstasy, and performance dynamics in Arabic music. In B. Nettl & M. Russell (Eds.). *In the course of performance: Studies in the world of musical improvisation* (pp.95-113). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Rammant, H. (2006, January/ February) Mariem Hassan: Deseos (review). *Folkroots*, 73.
- Ramirez, E. 2003. La comunidad polaca en España. Un colectivo particular. *Reis*, 102, 63-92.

- Ramirez, M. 2012. Democracia y crisis de valores: el caso de España. *Cuadernos de pensamiento politico*, 25, 61-75.
- Rasmussen, A. K. 2004. Bilateral negotiations in bimusicality: Insiders, outsiders, and the “real version” in Middle Eastern music performance. In T. Solis (Ed.). *Performing ethnomusicology: Teaching and representation in world music ensembles* (pp. 215-228). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Rasmussen, S. 2005. A temporary diaspora: Contested cultural representations in Tuareg international musical performance. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 78, 793-826.
- Rasmussen, S. 2007. Reformations of the sacred, the secular, and modernity: Nuances of religious experiences among the Touareg (Kel Tamajaq). *Ethnology*, 46 (3), 185-203.
- Ramnarine, T. (Ed.). 2007. *Musical performance in the diaspora*. London: Routledge.
- Reed, D. B. 2005. ‘The Ge is in the church’ and ‘Our parents are playing Muslim’: Performance, identity and resistance among the Dan in postcolonial Cote d’Ivoire. *Ethnomusicology*, 49 (3), 347-367.
- Rees, H. 2003. The age of consent: Traditional music, intellectual property and changing attitudes in the people’s republic of China. *British journal of ethnomusicology*, 12 (1), 137-171.
- Reily, S. A. 2003. Ethnomusicology and the internet. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 35, 187-192.
- Reily, S. A (Ed.). 2006. John Blacking in the twenty-first century: An introduction. *The musical human: Rethinking John Blacking’s ethnomusicology in the twenty first century* (pp. 1-14). Aldershot (Hampshire,UK): Ashgate.
- Reitov, O. & Korpe, M. 2004. Remmy Ongala: Moderating through music. In S. Thorsen (Ed.). *Sounds of change: Social and political features of music in Africa* (pp. 57-69). Sida information centre international: Edita Sverige.

- Reitov, O. & Korpe, M. 2004. Not to be broadcasted. In S. Thorsen (Ed.). *Sounds of change: Social and political features of music in Africa* (pp. 70-86). Sida information centre international: Edita Sverige.
- Rice, T. 2001. Reflections on music and meaning: Metaphor, signification and control in the Bulgarian case. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 10 (1), 19-38.
- Rice, T. 2003. Time, place, and metaphor in musical experience and ethnography. *Ethnomusicology*, 47 (2), 153-177.
- Rice, X. (2010, September 13). Inside Africa's last colony. *New statesman*, 29-34.
- Ritzer, G. 2003. Rethinking globalization: Glocalization/globalization and something/nothing. *Sociological theory*, 21 (3), 193-209.
- Robertson, S. A. & Cornwell, J. 2011. *Guidelines for academic writing and referencing*. Grahamstown: Education department, Rhodes University.
- Rodnitsky, J. 2006. The decline and rebirth of folk-protest music. In I. Peddie (Ed). *The resisiting muse: Popular music and social protest* (pp. 17-29). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Rodriguez, J. A. (Ed.). 2011. *España en Africa: La ciencia española en el Sahara Occidental, 1884-1976*. Madrid: Calamar ediciones.
- Romero, J. & Albertos, J. M. 1993. Retorno al sur, desconcentración metropolitana y nuevos flujos migratorios en España. *Reis*, 63, 123-144.
- Ruby, T. F. 2006. Listening to the voices of hijab. In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 29 (1), 54-66.
- Ruano, V. (2012, April 16). Mariem Hassan: Aaiun egdat. Retrieved September 16, 2012, from <http://www.musika.uk.com/2012/04/mariem-hassan-el-aaiun-egdat/>
- Ruiz, C. 2006. Sahara Occidental: Independencia, paz y seguridad. *Cuadernos de pensamiento politico*, 12, 151-179.

- Sadoh, G. 2004. Intercultural creativity in Joshua Uzoigwe's music. *Africa: Journal of the international African institute*, 74 (4), 633-661.
- Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage books edition
- Saidy, B. 2011. American interest in the Western Sahara conflict. *American foreign policy interests*, 33, 86-92.
- Sanga, I. 2011. Mzungu Kichaa and the figuring of identity in "bongo fleva" music in Tanzania. *International review of the aesthetics and sociology of music*, 42 (1), 189-208.
- Sanger, K. 1995. *When the spirit says sing!*. New York: Garland.
- San Martin, P. 2009. Estos locos cubarauis!: The Hispanisation of Saharawi society (...after Spain). *Journal of Transatlantic studies*, 7 (3), 249-263.
- Santos, A. 2012. Theories of Culture, Identity, and Ethnomusicology: A Synthesis of Popular Music, Cultural, and Communication Studies.
- Sauter, T. & Kendall, G. 2001. Parrhesia and democracy: Truth-telling, wikileaks and the Arab spring. *Social alternatives*, 30 (3), 10-12.
- Sayeh, I., & Es, M. F. O. I. O. 1998. *Les sahraouis*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.
- Schneider, A. 2006. Comparative and systematic musicology in relation to ethnomusicology: A historical and methodological survey. *Ethnomusicology*, 50 (2), 236-258
- Scott, M. 2001. The Muslim call to prayer. V. Danielson, D. Reynolds & S. Marcus (Eds). In *The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music* (Vol. 6, pp. 153-163). New York: Routledge.
- Seddon, D. 2009. Dreams and disappointments: Postcolonial constructions of the Maghrib. In A. A. Ahmida (Ed.) *Beyond colonialism and nationalism in the Maghrib* (pp. 197-229). Basingstoke (Hampshire, England): Macmillan publishers limited.
- Seeger, A. 1992. Ethnomusicology and music law. *Ethnomusicology*, 36 (3), 345-359.

- Seeger, A. 1996. Ethnomusicologists, archives, professional organizations, and the shifting ethics of intellectual property. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 28, 87-105.
- Schlesinger, P. 2008. Cosmopolitan temptations, communicative spaces and the European Union. In D. Hesmondhalgh & J. Toynbee (Eds). *The media and social theory* (pp. 75-91). New York: Routledge.
- Shannon, J. H. 2006. *Music and modernity in contemporary Syria*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Sidi, O. 2008. The right of self-determination and the indigenous people of Western Sahara. *Cambridge review of international affairs*, 21 (1), 41-56.
- Silverman, C. 1995. Forum Comments: Learning to perform, performing to learn. *The journal of American folklore*, 108 (429), 307-316.
- Simonett, H. 2001. Narcorridos: An emerging micromusic of nuevo L.A. *Ethnomusicology*, 45 (2), 315-337.
- Sluss, D. M. & Blake, E. 2007. Relational Identity and Identification: Defining Ourselves through Work Relationships. *The Academy of Management Review*, 32 (1), 9-32.
- Smith, C. 1998. A sense of the possible: Miles Davis and the semiotics of improvised performance. Bruno Nettl and Melinda Russell (ed). *In the course of performance: Studies in the world of musical improvisation* (pp. 261-291). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Smith De Cherif, T. 1993. Western Sahara: A Moroccan style election. *Review of African Political Economy*, 58, 99-105.
- Soja, E. W. 1989. *Postmodern geographies: The reassertion of space in critical social theory*. London: Verso.

- Solis, T. 2004. Teaching what cannot be taught. In T. Solis (Ed.). *Performing ethnomusicology: Teaching and representation in world music ensembles* (pp. 1-22). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Stewart, C. 1999. Syncretism and its synonyms: Reflections on cultural mixture. *Diacritics*, 29 (3), 40-62.
- Stock, J. P. 2001. Toward an ethnomusicology of the individual, or biographical writing in ethnomusicology. *The world of music*, 43 (1), 5-19.
- Stock J., & Chiener, C. 2008. Fieldwork at home: European and Asian perspectives. In G. Barz & T. J. Cooley (Eds.). *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology* (2nd Ed.) (pp. 108-125). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stokes, M. 1994. *Ethnicity, identity and music*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- Swedenburg, T. 2004. "The Arab wave". *Antropologica*, 46, 177-188.
- Tanoukhi, N. & Mazrui, A. 2011. Arab spring and the future of leadership in north Africa. *Transition*, 106, 148-162.
- Taylor, T. D. 2007. *Beyond exoticism: Western music and the world*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Taylor, T. D. 1997. *Global pop: World Music, world markets*. New York: Routledge.
- Theofilopoulou, A. 2012. Morocco's new constitution and the Western Sahara conflict – a missed opportunity?. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 17 (4), 687–696.
- Teeter, E. 1993. Female musicians in Pharaonic Egypt. In K. Marshall (Ed.). *Rediscovering the muses: Women's musical traditions* (pp. 68-92). Dexter (Michigan): Northeastern University Press.
- Tenaille, F. 2002. *Music is the weapon of the future: Fifty years of African popular music*. Illinois (Chicago): Lawrence Hill books.

- Terron, A. 2001. El debate sobre la inmigración en la Union Europea: Marco general. *Revista CIBOD d'afers internacionals*, 53, 13-30.
- Titon, J. T. 1992. Music, the public interest, and the practice of ethnomusicology. *Ethnomusicology*, 36 (3), 315-322.
- Titon, J. T. 1995. Bi-musicality as metaphor. *The journal of American folklore*, 108 (429), 287-297.
- Tong Soon, L. 1999. Technology and the Production of Islamic Space: The Call to Prayer in Singapore. *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (1), 86-100.
- Tortajada, A. 2002. *Hijas de la arena*. Barcelona: Editorial Lumen.
- Trillo, R., & Muddyman, D. 1999. Mauritania and Western Sahara. In S. Broughton, M. Ellingham & R. Trimillos (Eds). In *World Music, the rough guide: Africa, Europe and the Middle East* (Vol. 1, pp. 563-567). London: Roughguide Publisher.
- Trimillos, R. 2004. Some closing thoughts from the first voice (interview to Mantle Hood). In T. Solis (Ed.). *Performing ethnomusicology: Teaching and representation in world music ensembles* (pp. 283-289). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tristan, R. (2001, October 6). Un grupo de músicos Saharauis lleva un mes intentando alquilar un piso. *El mundo*, 35.
- Tucker, J. 1998. *In the house of the Law: Gender and Islamic law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*. Los Angeles: Berkeley University of California Press.
- Tuhoy, S. 2006. The sonic dimensions of nationalism in modern China: Musical representation and transformation. In J. C. Post (Ed.). *Ethnomusicology: A contemporary reader* (pp. 225-243). New York: Routledge.
- Turino, T. 1988. The music of Andean migrants in Lima, Peru: Demographics, social power, and style. *Latin American Music Review*, 9 (2), 127-150.

- Turino, T. 1998. The mbira, worldbeat, and the international imagination. *The world of music*, 40 (2), 85-106.
- Turino, T. 2003. Are we global yet? Globalist discourse, cultural formations and the study of Zimbabwean popular music. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 12 (2), 51-79.
- Turino, T. 2008. *Music as social life: The politics of participation*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.
- Turley, A. C. 2001. Max Weber and the sociology of music. *Sociological forum*, 16 (4), 633-653.
- Vaquero, J. 2007. España y el Sahara Occidental: La dimension bipartidista. *Revista CIDOB d'afers internacionals*, 79/80, 124-144.
- Vandewalle, D. 2006. *A history of modern Libya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vieuchange, M. 1987. *Smara, the forbidden city*. New York: Ecco Press.
- Volgsten U., & Akerberg, I. 2006. Copyright, music and morals: Artistic expression and the public sphere. In S. Brown & U. Volgsten (Eds.). *Music and manipulation: On the social uses and social control of music* (pp.336-365). London: Berghahn books.
- Wade, P. 2005. Rethinking “mestizaje”: Ideology and lived experience. *Journal of Latin American studies*, 37 (2), 239-257.
- Waldinger, R., & Fitzgerald D. 2004. Transnationalism in question. *The American journal of sociology*, 109, 1117-1195.
- Wallis, R. 2006. The changing structure of the music industry: Threats to and opportunities for creativity. In S. Brown & U. Volgsten (Eds.). *Music and manipulation: On the social uses and social control of music* (pp. 287-315). New York: Berghahn Books.
- Wax, M. L. 1993. How culture misdirects multiculturalism. *Anthropology and education quarterly*, 24 (2), 99-115.

- Webb, P. (Ed.). 2007. *Exploring the networked worlds of popular music*. New York: Routledge.
- Weinstein, D. 2006. Rock protest songs: So many and so few. In I. Peddie (Ed). *The resisting muse: Popular music and social protest* (pp. 3-16). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Werbner, P. (Ed). 2008. Introduction: Towards a new cosmopolitan anthropology. *Anthropology and new cosmopolitanism* (pp.1-32). New York: Berg Publishers.
- White, B. W. 2002. Congolese rumba and other cosmopolitanisms. *Cahiers détudes Africaines*, 42 (168), 663-686.
- Whiteley, S. 2000. *Women and popular music: Sexuality, identity and subjectivity*. New York: Routledge.
- Winn, J. (1998, August/September). *Sahrauis*: The music from Western Sahara (review). *Songlines*, 54.
- Wong, D. 2008. Moving: From performance to performative ethnography. In G. Barz & Timothy J. Cooley (Eds.). *Shadows in the field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology* (2nd Ed.) (pp.76-90). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yegenoglu, M. 1998. *Colonial fantasies: Toward a feminist reading of orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Zapata-Barrero, R. 2001. Fundamentalismo estatal de la UE en torno a la inmigración. *Revista CIBOD d'afers internacionals*, 53, 149-176.
- Zartman, I. W. 2007. Time for a solution in the Western Sahara conflict. *Middle East policy*, 14 (4), 178-183.
- Zarzalejos, J. 2010. Identidad y política en España. *Cuadernos de pensamiento politico*, 26, 11-34.
- Zoldberg, A., Suhrke, A., & Aguayo S. 1986. International factors in the formation of refugee movements. *International migration review*, 20 (2), 151-169.

Zoubir, Y. 1990. The Western Sahara conflict: Regional and international dimensions. *The journal of modern African studies*, 28 (2), 225-243.

Zoubir, Y. H. & Benabdallah-Gambier K. 2005. The United States and the north African imbroglio: Balancing interests in Algeria, Morocco, and the Western Sahara. *Mediterranean politics*, 10 (2), 181-202.

Zemp, H. 1996. The/An ethnomusicologist and the record business. *Yearbook for traditional music*, 28, 36-56.

Zunes, S. 1987. Nationalism and Non-Alignment: The Non-Ideology of the Polisario. *Africa Today*, 34 (3), 33-46.