

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Music Circulation and Transmission

in Tbilisi, Georgia

A dissertation filed in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Ethnomusicology

by

Brigita Sebald

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology
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Professor Timothy Rice, Chair

This dissertation, based upon two years of ethnographic research in Tbilisi, Georgia, questions how popular music travels from the performer to the audience and how it circulates among audience members. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the state-run music industry collapsed, taking the infrastructure for music distribution with it. In the years since, a music industry has not been rebuilt due to uncertain economic realities and a shaky political situation. Because of this, performers have difficulty spreading their music through the mass media or by selling it, and alternative distributory methods have developed. The concept of distribution, which is often associated with the activities of the music industry, is replaced with circulation, expressing music's de-centralized movement and the role individuals play in making music move. This dissertation establishes two spheres through which music circulates: the first is characterized by a higher level of control by the government

and by businesses, and musicians have limited access to it; the second involves a lower level of control, and therefore musicians and audience members can more easily utilize it. Certain musical styles, such as *estrada* and ethno-music (a combination of popular and traditional styles) are favored in the first, while other styles, such as heavy metal, circulate almost exclusively in the second. After describing the musical genres found in Georgian popular music and the various channels through which music circulates, the dissertation analyzes how musicians gain access to the more controlled sphere of circulation through the patronage of media professionals and of political figures. Using a framework developed from actor-network theory, the dissertation then analyzes the kinds of technological configurations in play as music circulates by tracing the movement of digital files on radio and television, the Internet, and on mobile phones. The final section explores the role that music circulation plays in building social capital. Displaying a familiarity and fondness for certain genres and styles can convey a high social status, while others are associated with lower status. Modified theories of the circulation of material culture are used to examine how music can function as a gift, thereby building communities based on shared tastes.

The dissertation of Brigita Sebald is approved.

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TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION KEY

The Georgian language has several unique features that make its words difficult to incorporate into an English-language text. First, transliteration is necessary. Second, it contains a series of sounds that are not found in any Western European language and that are difficult to explain to a non-linguist. Third, its consonant-to-vowel ratio is quite high, so that words can seem daunting for the reader to try to pronounce. Consider, for example, the Georgian word for “sixteen,” *teqvsmet’i*. The center part of the word has four consonants in a row, and each one must be pronounced separately without the addition of vowel sounds.

To aid the reader, I am including a transliteration and pronunciation chart, based on the system endorsed by the Georgian government. The Georgian National System occasionally uses two Latin characters for a single one in Georgian, but the result renders a close approximation of the sound of the Georgian language. The pronunciation guide is largely borrowed from Howard Aronson’s *Georgian: A Reading Grammar* (1989). Where equivalent sounds could not be identified in a Western European language, I have included Aronson’s linguistic description of the sound. According to my own observations, the glottalized voiceless stops are pronounced with a tiny, explosive puff of air; the voiced fricative *gh* sounds like the French *r*, but more guttural; and the glottalized *q* sounds like a person is choking. I cannot think of a more elegant-sounding way to explain the last sound. Georgian is not a very heavily accented language, but generally there is a slight emphasis placed on the first syllable.

In the text of this dissertation I have placed transliterations of quotations in footnotes so that Georgianists can check the accuracy of my translations. The Georgian character set does

not contain capital letters, but I have added them to the transliterations for the comfort of the reader.

When a Georgian word or name is known internationally, I have used the familiar spelling.

Georgian character	Transliteration	Pronunciation
ა	A	French, <u>pa</u> tte
ბ	b	<u>B</u> ox
გ	g	<u>G</u> ot
დ	d	<u>D</u> ot
ე	e	<u>G</u> et
ვ	v	<u>V</u> oice
ზ	z	<u>Z</u> oo
თ	t	<u>T</u> ot
ი	i	<u>B</u> it
კ	k'	Glottalized voiceless stop, k, no equivalent in English
ლ	l	<u>L</u> ittle
მ	m	<u>M</u> en
ნ	n	<u>N</u> ose
ო	o	German, gl <u>o</u> cken
პ	p'	Glottalized voiceless stop, p, no equivalent in English
ჟ	zh	meas <u>u</u> re
რ	r	<u>R</u> ed
ს	s	<u>S</u> ob
ტ	t'	Glottalized voiceless stop, t, no equivalent in English
უ	u	<u>B</u> ook
ფ	p	<u>P</u> ot
ქ	k	<u>C</u> ot
ყ	gh	voiced fricative, no equivalent in English
ჩ	q	glottalized, k, no equivalent in English
ც	sh	<u>S</u> hot
ძ	ch	<u>C</u> hop
წ	ts	<u>T</u> sar
ჭ	dz	kud <u>z</u> u
ხ	ts'	Glottalized voiceless stop, ts, no equivalent in English
ჯ	ch'	Glottalized voiceless stop, ch, no equivalent in English
ბ	kh	<u>L</u> och
ჯ	j	<u>J</u> ot
ჰ	h	<u>H</u> at

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my committee – Timothy Taylor, Anthony Seeger, and Mitchell Morris – enriched the theoretical framework I employ. My dissertation writing group read every single draft that I produced. Rebecca Dirksen, Veronica Pacheco, Charlotte D'Evelyn, and Katie Stuffelbeam met with me once a week to offer constructive criticism. Liz Macy helped avert several last-minute disasters. Finally, Stacey Meeker of the UCLA Graduate Writing Center made my writing sound clearer and more elegant than it would have been otherwise.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE: DEFINING THE TOPIC

A Perplexing Fieldwork Dilemma

November 2007. My arrival in Tbilisi, the capital city of the Republic of Georgia (in Georgian, *Sakartvelo*), was decidedly inauspicious. Mass protests at the Parliament Building had just been broken up by the police and the military, and a state of emergency had been declared a few hours before my plane landed. After leaving the airport only to dodge tanks on the city streets, the taxi driver delivered me to the apartment I was to share with a handful of other researchers. It was 4 am and the electricity had been shut off, so no one could hear me knocking or ringing the doorbell. I spent my first few hours in the field sleeping in a dark abandoned stairwell.

Unfortunately, my arrival predicted the dismal tone of the entirety of my first trip to the field. I knew before I arrived that I wanted to research popular music, but once in the country I found that even finding popular music was a challenge. It seemed to me that live performance was at the heart of ethnomusicological field methods, and therefore I needed to attend concerts in order to get started. I just could not find any, though. Scouring newspapers and magazines and listening to radio and TV ads failed to provide me with any leads: there were simply no announcements about concerts. I quickly discovered that I had no idea how to become informed about musical happenings.

I did not give up hope, though. It was not as if popular music did not have an audience in Georgia – I could see all kinds of people listening to it on the bus and in the streets. The music was there, but I was enough of a cultural outsider that I did not know how to find it. I tried other methods to learn about local popular music, such as looking in record stores and talking to as many people as possible. There were only two such stores and kiosks, both located in the most posh, touristy sections of the city.¹ No matter when I dropped by, they were practically abandoned; no one seemed to want to buy the mp3 albums of American and Russian rock and pop that lined the shelves. One of the stores had a tiny section devoted to Georgian music, but it was filled with albums of traditional music, which was not what I wanted. The people that I asked, almost all contacts from the Conservatory, did not deny the existence of Georgian popular music, but they said it was too horrible and tasteless for them to contemplate studying and they seemed not to know anything about it.

My big breakthrough happened after about two months in the field. A friend of one of my roommates invited us to a concert where one of her friends was performing. Finally I was going to attend an actual popular music concert by a local band! The group, *Mgzavrebi* (Passengers), had formed only a few months prior, but it already had enough of a following to attract an audience of several hundred people. For the life of me, I could not figure out how all those people knew that the concert was taking place, since the music was not played on television or the radio and there were not any advertisements of the concert in the local press. It was puzzling to say the least.

A few months later, I knew the group well enough to sit down and interview one of its members, the singer Nini Dedalamazishvili. Out of curiosity, I asked how they advertised their

¹ These are GURU Music in the Vak'e neighborhood and Shardeni Music Box in the downtown area.

concerts, and she replied that aside from a handful of posters near the university, the group members simply sent out mass mobile phone SMSs to their friends, who forwarded it to their friends, and so forth. These means garnered an audience of several hundred people. Mgzavrebi did not have a record contract and was in the process of recording a demo CD, yet I heard their songs played more than those of any other local band on cell phones all over the city. Even though they had yet to enter a studio, someone had taped their songs and people were sharing it. I found homemade videos for their songs on YouTube and Georgian downloading sites; the band even had one such video for the song “Mtvare” (Moon) on their MySpace homepage. In fact, Nini Dedalamazishvili complained to me that the widespread prevalence of taping and sharing their music hurt their chances of working out an arrangement to broadcast their music on a local television station, which was the reason why they were paying out of their own pocket to record an album and to create entirely new videos. Somehow, their music was getting to their audience prior to the intervention of a record company or the mass media.

The Missing Scaffolding: Where is the Music Industry?

During my fieldwork in Tbilisi, a persistent question kept showing up in different guises in many of the places where I worked: why was it that despite the fact that the Georgian economy is stronger than it has ever been since the collapse of the Soviet Union² and corruption is the least it has ever been (*World Bank* 2012), the music industry has disappeared? In order to address this question, it is necessary to backtrack a bit and discuss what the purpose of a music industry is, what it consists of, and what it does. The function of a music industry is to produce music and then to get it to consumers, thereby generating profits. Producing music

² According to the CIA World Factbook, the GDP per person in 2011 was \$5,400, while in 2000 it was \$2,300.

involves not only writing, arranging, and recording music, but also putting it into a format so that it can be made available to those who wish to purchase it, like pressing CDs and creating digital files suitable for downloads. The enormous task of getting music to the audience includes making the consumer aware of the music in question through such means as advertising and airplay on radio and television, and making the music available for purchase through a vast network of distribution. Behind all this activity lies a single motivation: making money from music. If money could not be obtained from music by selling it, using it for advertising, or by other means, companies would not invest such an enormous amount of time and effort into it.

In the classic model of the music industry, distribution involved making music available in a physical format for the consumer to purchase. In other words, 78s, LPs, cassettes, and CDs had to be shipped from the plant where they were assembled to “brick and mortar” stores where the consumer could buy them. This process involved a large infrastructure, including not only pressing plants, but also distributors who managed shipping and made sure that stores received as many copies as they needed without an excessive surplus, and, finally, the stores themselves. Because of the size of the infrastructure involved, a great deal of money had to be invested into making a musician’s product available. It was therefore necessary for a musician to have an affiliation with a record company with the necessary cash to get the job done. Record companies can be divided into two categories: major labels and independent labels. The major difference between the two is that major labels own their own channels of distribution, while independent labels typically contract out distribution to the major labels.³

³ For further explanation of the music industry, see Donald Passman’s *All You Need to Know about the Music Business* (2009). This volume is a favorite reference source for Georgian musicians who are trying to educate themselves about the international business of music-making.

The major change lauded in so much of the literature about the music industry over the last twenty years in ethnomusicology and popular music studies concerns the Internet and its power to bypass record companies' control of distribution. The Internet is capable of disseminating music in a non-physical format as digital files, and that makes physical copies of recordings redundant. It is no longer necessary to press recordings and ship them to stores because digital transfers move music from producers to the audience in (essentially) one step. Theoretically, this should mean that a musician can distribute music and build an audience without having to go through the rigmarole of dealing with a record label. This is not quite true, though, because large-scale distribution on the Internet still can involve an outlay of cash and a network of connections that exceed what many musicians can mobilize. In order to reach a sizeable audience, it is necessary to have the best equipment, perform in ever-larger venues, and have one's music available on media that reaches the largest possible audience. All these things are difficult without the kinds of resources that a record label can provide (Katz 2004, Lysloff and Gay 2003, Burkart 2005, Jones 2002, McCourt and Burkart 2003, Breen and Forde 2004, Bustamante 2004, Fox 2004, Leyshon 2005, Styvén 2007).

What does it mean, then, when I say that there is no music industry in Georgia? Georgian musicians have almost no way to capitalize on their musical knowledge and skills because the crucial elements that attach music distribution to monetary compensation are missing. There are virtually no record labels that have the ability to make music available to the public. At present there are three local recording companies in Georgia, and none of them are affiliated with international conglomerates. These include Bravo Records, the oldest label in Georgia; Step Records, which was founded to manage a local music festival called

Altelevision, and Sanda Records, which showcases several rock bands (*Tbilisi Forum* 2011).⁴

According to several musicians with whom I spoke, it is completely possible to record an album, as long as it is self-funded. All a musician needs is the equivalent of several months' salary to buy instruments, another few months' salary to fund recording sessions and press CDs,⁵ and then the musician can carry the resulting product to a bookstore or music store (there are two of them, after all!) where their fans can purchase them.

But no one will purchase them, as one musician informed me after his band's album sat on a shelf for six months without selling a single copy. This is because music is so widely available for downloading on the Internet or for trading via mobile phones that no one would think of purchasing it. Musicians have no choice but to post their music directly to downloading sites, which does not make them a profit, but at least it makes their work available to an audience. Internet distribution has proved to be a double-edged sword.

In fact, technological changes to the methods of distribution have actually hindered the development of Georgian popular music. This situation is keenly felt by local musicians to be a major hindrance to further innovation in the Georgian music scene. The following excerpt from a thread in a forum for musicians and fans summarizes local viewpoints about the role a music industry could play in musical innovation.

I'll start with the banal: As I think over the last two or three years, has anything helped the Georgian musical scene? I agree with several people here, if they are even a little knowledgeable about how the music industry operates in developed countries, that nothing has helped. ...In short, it is the old, familiar market. The USSR's *estrada* and show business continues. I was dreaming of the day when a record label would appear in

⁴ Confirmed in an interview with Shota Darakhvelidze and through attendance at a music festival by Sanda Records.

⁵ A new recording studio, Fresh Fish Records, advertised the rates for its services on an online message board. A rehearsal costs GEL 15 (USD 9) per hour and a live recording costs GEL 30 (USD 19) (*Tbilisi Forum* 2010).

Georgia – foreign or not, but a Georgian one would be even better...In this case I mean specialized musical publishing houses, which search for independent music in the entire range of genres...The main point is that the label should have a vision of what music they want to publish.⁶

A question appears – the means??? No one will found mega-corporations....The conversation is about local independent labels. Any person can make a label and release CDs, for example, a pressing of 500. Here there isn't so much a conversation about massiveness [of music labels], as about the circulation of new music. Five hundred will be quite enough.⁷

The profits?? ... The owners are not so much oriented towards profits, which either don't exist in Georgia, or simply cannot be seen....⁸

I do not have any illusions that Georgians are the most talented people in the world – anyone who makes this fascist statement fundamentally hampers the country IMHO [in my humble opinion] and shuts people's brains. But I have this hope that if the conditions are created, if the above-mentioned publishing house is made, new music movements will be encouraged...this small organization will bring about an extremely positive influence on a clear circle of the population... I really want to be able to listen to Georgian groups (*Tbilisi Forum*, accessed 15 October 2012).⁹

⁶ Davits'qeb banalurd: bolo ori-sami ts'elia vpikrob, odesme raime eshveleba kartul musik'aluri stsenas? Dametankhmeba araerti ak, tu odnav chakhedulia imashi tu rogor op'erirebs ganvitarebul kveqnebshi musik'aluri industria, rom am sakhit araperits ar eshveleba.... Mok'led, dzveli, natsnobi bazari. Sabch'ota est'rada da shoubiznesi grdzeldeba. Me k'i votsnebob dgheze, rodesats sakartveloshi namdvili rek'ord leiblebi gachndeba – utskhuri to ara, kartuli maints da es uk'etesits ikneba.... Am shemtkhvevashi vguliskhmob sp'etsializebul musik'aluri gamomtsemlebe, romlebits sp'etsipiur, damouk'idebel musik'as edzeben mtel rig zhanrebshi. Mok'led, amas mnishvneloba ara akvs – mtavaria rom am leiblebs unda kondet imis khedva, rogori musik'is gamotsema undat.

⁷ Chndeba k'itkhva – sakhsrebi?? Erti – rom megak'orp'oratsias aravin ar aarsebs... Saubaria lok'alur, damouk'idebel leiblebe. Leibli nebismier adamians sheudzlia gaak'etos, gamostses sidiebi tundats 500-iani t'irazhit. Ak masuriobaze ar aris imdenad lap'arak'i, ramdenadats akhali musik'is gavrtselebaze. Tu 500-ze met'is dabech'dvis da gamotsemis sashualeba ar aris 500-its sak'marisi ikneba.

⁸ Mogebe?? Am shemtkhvevashi saerto sakmeshia mteli ambavi, anu imdenad mogebaze ar aris orient'ebuli aseti ts'amots'qebebi, ramdenadats akhali da saint'ereso zhgheradobis ts'akhalisebaze, romelits sakartveloshi an arsebobs, an ubralod ver chans.

⁹ Me ar makvs imisi iluzia, rom kartvelebi qvelaze nich'ieri khalkhia msoplioshi – am pashist'ur gantskhadebas vints ak'etebs, element'arulad kveqnis ganvitarebas aperkhebs imho da uk'et'avs t'vins khalkhs. Magram me imis imedi makvs, rom tu p'irobebi sheikmneba, gak'etdeba zemotkhsenebuli gamomtsemlobebi, ts'akhalusdeba

The user places particular emphasis on the importance of distribution to the development of a local music scene. In particular, he or she wants a publishing house to issue just enough CDs to accommodate the relatively small number of fans in the country. The relationship the user describes is in contrast to what is usually assumed in the literature on popular music scenes. In the introduction to *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal, and Virtual*, Richard Peterson and Andy Bennett state that music industries develop organically out of scenes and are composed of local clubs, promoters, and record companies that support live performance (2004:4-5). Such efforts are also commonly referred to as a DIY (do-it-yourself) music industry. The forum comment above implies an entirely different relationship between music scenes and the music industry, where the health and continuing growth of a music scene depends upon distribution enabled by record companies and stores. Later in the same thread on *Tbilisi Forum*, a user discusses why a DIY music industry has not caught on in Georgia.

Georgian bands have two basic problems: lack of money and laziness.¹⁰

For the first nothing can save it [the situation] – when I don't have money for rehearsal or a laptop or a guitar or a basic drumset. The second (laziness) comes from two factors: either enthusiasm becomes tiresome to you [as a band] or if 20 people tell you that you are cool your head thinks you are stars already (the so-called Georgian “alternative” scene is brimming over with this).¹¹

akhali musik'aluri modzraobebi da uakhlesi t'rendebi musik'is p'roduktsiashi. Me martla minda, rom kartul jgupebs vusmende.

¹⁰ Kartuli jgupebs ori dziritadi p'roblema akvt: upuloba da sizarmatse.

¹¹ P'irvels verapers ver ushveli – rotsa elemet'alurad k'ombis an git'aris an lep't'op'is an sarep'et'itsios puli ar gakvs chem khles izam, meore (sizarmatse) gamomdinareobs 2 pakt'oridan: an entuziazmi gbezrdeba an 20 k'atsi get'qvis magari kharo uk've varsk'vlavebi goniati tavi. (Asatebit gadavsebulia e.ts'. kartuli “alt'ernat'iuli” stsena) .

Furthermore isolation characterizes all groups, all of them have their own kinfolk, friends and “listeners”, who go to the group’s concerts and then drink beer.¹²

In such a small country, in such a small musical scene – why can these groups not pick up a DIY movement?¹³

What hinders you?¹⁴

The same: snobbery and laziness (*Tbilisi Forum*, accessed 15 December 2012).¹⁵

The user then goes on to explain how an attempt he and his friends made to put together a concert at the university failed because the administration and the performers could not work effectively together. He or she states that the inability to work together is the major reason why the alternative music scene in Georgia is dying out and why it has not led to the development of a local music industry. Instead of the impetus rising from below, from the efforts of participants in Georgian popular music, leadership must be imposed from above in the form of a record label.

“V Obshche, Distributsiya Ne Proiskhodit” (In General, Distribution Does Not Happen)

Terminology kept getting in the way of explaining my ideas to other people both in the field and at my university. When I first tried to ask questions I said that I was interested in the Georgian music industry and distribution, only to receive blank stares. As one anthropology professor phrased it, “*v obshche, distributsiya ne proiskhodit*” (Russian, in general, distribution

¹² Garda amisa qvela jgups akhasiatebs chak’t’iloba, qvelas qavs tavisi sanatesao, samegobro da “msmeneli”, romelits dadis am jgupis k’ontsert’ebze da k’ontsert’ebis mere ertad svaven luds.

¹³ Aset p’at’ara kveqanashi, aset p’at’ara musik’aluri stsenaze – rat’om ar sheudzliat am jgupebs aagoron igive moshni D.I.Y. modzraoba?

¹⁴ Ra ushlit khels?

¹⁵ Igive: snobizmi da sizarmatse.

does not happen). Clearly, that term was not useful because it was too closely associated with the kind of large-scale business that does not exist in Georgia. This confirmed what I already knew, but did not yield any information on what had replaced the music industry so that listeners could access music. I tried another term, dissemination, but this only caused confusion and in general did not lead to any results at all. Finally, a few fellow Georgianists and I sat down and I explained what I meant, trying to avoid tricky terminology altogether. I wanted to know, I said, how music got from performers to the audience. One of my colleagues, an anthropologist, said that my question sounded similar to ones posed in studies about the circulation of material goods. I finally had found a satisfactory term for what I was observing in practice: circulation.

Framing the topic of this dissertation as circulation is in some ways unique, although it relates to several key debates in popular music studies and in ethnomusicology. To explain, I deepen my definition of circulation by comparing it to several other terms that appear with more frequency in related literature: distribution and dissemination. These occur most often in studies of technology and the music industry. The debate goes something like this: until about 20 years ago, the only way to distribute recordings of popular music (i.e., to get it from performers to audience) was through the music industry. A performer simply had to have a record deal, albums sold in music stores, and songs played on the radio and television in order to be heard at all (Negus 1999; Burnett 1996). Technological developments such as the Internet afforded musicians the chance to retain primary control over the distribution of their work, thereby bypassing the music industry altogether (Athique 2008; Manuel 1993; Breen 2004; McCourt and Burckart 2004; Styvén 2007; Jones 2002).

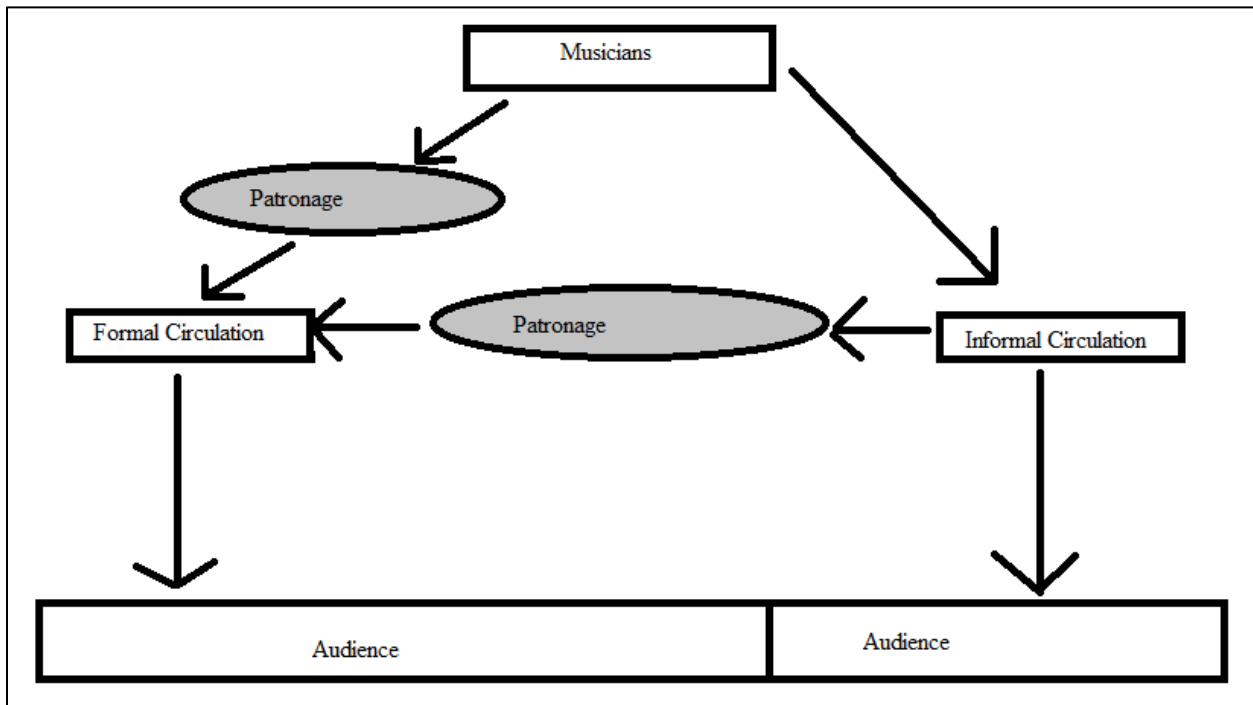
My dissertation research presents a different situation from this because there is no music industry in Georgia. Within the debates on technology, new forms of distribution are posed in contrast to and in subversion of the music industry, whose very lack of presence defines the topics being studied. Copyright law, particularly in regards to the extensions of the terms that have been added to it in the past 50 years, has been designed to protect the music industry's role as the principal distributor of popular music (Brooks 2005; Bishop 2005; Frith 1988; Frith and Marshall 2004; Stobart 2010). Like the case with technological debates, discussions over copyright law are usually done in *contrast* to the music industry (Katz 2004). Finally, piracy is perhaps the most obvious place where opposition to the music industry defines the topic, as the very term piracy invokes subversion of the music industry (Melton 1991; Marshall 2003; Marshall 2005). A study of piracy in four countries conducted by the Social Science Research Council points out that in Russia, piracy serves the function of circulation (their word choice), meaning that the point is not to make money, but simply to make cultural products available to the general public (*Social Science Research Council* 2011).

To represent this lack of presence of the music industry in Georgia, I have replaced the term "distribution" with "circulation," which implies a more multi-directional musical flow. By reframing the discussion about distribution as circulation, I am widening the debate to include a variety of new topics. Several of the ones discussed in the various chapters of this dissertation are not necessarily covered in ethnomusicology and popular music studies at all, but they are of great importance to Georgian popular music. These include the effect of government and private patronage on patterns of circulation, and the role that social networks play in developing local musical taste.

Breaking Down Circulation into Its Constituent Parts

The core of my dissertation is built around an image that represents circulation of music in Georgia in its simplest form (Fig. 1.1).

1.1. Music circulation.



I explore the relationship between two spheres of musical activity: the formal mode of music circulation and the informal mode, represented by the two enjoined circles shown in the figure above. The first is characterized by methods that in other parts of the world might be considered part of the music industry, including mass media like radio and television as well as the kinds of live music performances that attract hundreds and possibly even thousands of people. The similarities between mass media and live performance in this case are that they require a great deal of money to maintain them and they are more closely regulated than other kinds of musical activity in Georgia, though I do not consider them to be a music industry per

se, as they do not have an infrastructure for making money from music. The second, the informal mode, consists of all the non-regulated ways music moves from person to person, including downloading music from the Internet, passing it from person to person, and smaller, more intimate forms of live performance. This mode of circulation is less regulated by the government and virtually anyone has access to it.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I divide the process of circulation into three phases. First, musicians must gain access to various circulation channels, and there are a host of factors that determine whether a CD will be recorded and made available to the public, whether their music circulates through mass media, and whether they will perform in front of thousands in the formal mode of circulation; or whether their music will circulate through downloading and trading and they will play a few times a year in small clubs (if at all) in the informal mode of circulation. One of the primary factors that influence the mode of the circulation is the support and patronage of the government or powerful and wealthy private individuals.

In the second phase of the model above, music has left the performers and passes through various means of technological transmission to reach its goal, the audience. The form that this transmission takes is dependent on the particular configuration of carriers that are assembled together. In the formal mode of circulation, this can include such things as hearing music through the mass media or buying a CD. The informal mode of circulation can take quite a unique shape in Georgia, though. At the heart of the informal mode of circulation are digital music files, which can be passed through any number and kind of physical carriers. Most digital files in Georgia are posted onto downloading sites, and that is where this phase begins

in the informal mode of circulation.¹⁶ Many Georgians either do not have access to the Internet, or do not have good enough connections to download music, though, so other technologies are necessary to spread music to the widest possible audience. Generally mobile phone technology supplements Internet circulation, both as a listening device and as a means of transmitting files. Social media such as Facebook is also commonly used to circulate music.

Finally, in the third phase of circulation, the audience makes use of music. There is always a human hand involved in spreading music, and in this phase circulation plays a role in the formation and maintenance of cultural groups. In Georgia, the effect of circulation is felt in two ways. First, the act of engaging in circulating music solidifies personal relationships in social networks. Several theorists have analyzed the role of gift-giving in building communities (Mauss 1990; Munn 1986). I assert that when Georgian youth share digital files with each other, whether through Facebook or by trading, they are solidifying their social networks and creating an age-based community. Second, music serves as a way of accumulating social capital by allowing one to display taste. Social capital is extremely important in Georgian society; one's livelihood depends upon knowing the right people and having the appearance of education and refinement. In a country where material resources are quite limited for many, social capital becomes doubly important. Among young people, openly displaying one's musical taste on social network sites serves to show one's place in the upper classes.

A Brief Overview of Circulation in Eastern Europe and Central Asia

¹⁶ According to several musicians with whom I spoke, music files are commonly placed on downloading sites by the musicians themselves. This is part of the first phase of circulation, where the musician decides whether or not to present their music through the informal mode of circulation or through the formal mode.

Part of the reason Georgia has a different climate for circulation compared to the United States and Western Europe is because the history of the development of popular music is completely different. The technologies that make audio recordings and their companion forms of mass media were introduced around the same time as the Soviet Union was founded in 1917, so recordings there always existed within a socialist system. Starting in 1964, all formal record production was distributed by a single state-controlled company, Melodiya (Gronow 1975). The actual selection of recordings available was limited to what the state approved, which did not include rock or jazz at least until the late 1970s because the music was believed to represent capitalist values (Cushman 1995). Countering this heavily restricted distribution system was a network of people trading homemade copies of recordings either smuggled into the Soviet Union from Western Europe or taped off Western radio stations. This process was known as *magnitizdat*, and included people ranging from Beatles fans to the errant conservatory piano student wishing to learn to play jazz. A similar distribution system for subversive print materials, called *samizdat*, was a highly punishable offense, but *magnitizdat* was generally ignored by authorities (Otar T'at'ishvili, p.c.).

In the late 1980s, when the Soviet Union entered a period of economic liberalization, it became permissible for bands that had become popular through *magnitizdat* to re-release their homemade recordings through Melodiya and for private individuals to open recording companies. However, with the subsequent collapse of the Soviet system and the rapid economic decline in the years following, many of the companies were short-lived (Cushman 1995). At the same time, at least within Georgia, the Soviet-style cultural industries were gradually dismantled, including the state-controlled centralized radio and television stations that employed full-time pop and jazz musicians, the recording companies, and even the music

education system that was responsible for producing pop stars (T'at'ishvili, p.c.). In Russia and other larger former Soviet republics, international recording companies entered the field and gained ascendance, transforming the Soviet system into an extension of the Western music industry (Kurkela 1993).

When file sharing on the Internet became common in the early 2000s, getting music without having to pay for it became common once again. Downloading became so popular in Russia that the music industry collapsed, only to be saved by revenue from live performances. The previous relationship between recordings and live performance flip-flopped: where it used to be that live performances functioned as a vehicle for selling records, it became the situation that recordings – obtained for free or otherwise – served as an advertisement for concert tickets (David MacFadyen, p.c.).

In the Caucasus, the relationship between trading recordings and concert performances was slightly more complex. Like in Russia, the music industry collapsed due to a poor market for entertainment, but in Georgia's case performance revenues could not make up the monetary difference (Ekaterine Diasamidze, p.c.). The entire country has a population of 4.6 million (much smaller than Russia's 140 million potential ticket buyers) and, outside of Tbilisi, there are not many concert venues. As an added consequence of having so few potential audience members, the international music industry did not express much interest in local musicians (*Tbilisi Forum*, accessed 15 July 2012).

Relevant Literature

As I have demonstrated, a system of circulation that exists independently of the music industry is not without historical precedent in the Soviet era (i.e., as *magnitizdat*), so it is necessary to examine whether factors influencing the development of this system are presented

in the relevant literature in ethnomusicology and musicology. Circulation was an indirect concern because the process was markedly different from that of the music industry to which many Western scholars are accustomed. In the literature on post-Soviet music, other theoretical concerns predominated, such as nationalism and politics, as well as one or two pieces on the development of cultural industries. My dissertation's space in the body of research done in this geographic region, then, is to take the concerns presented in the Soviet era and update them for the post-Soviet one, since I believe that in some ways the practice of sharing music files derives from the free sharing of recordings in Soviet-era *magnitizdat*.

Considering that the fall of communism precipitated an enormous change in the economic system of the entire Soviet world, this topic occurs extremely rarely in the literature on post-Soviet music. The major treatments of the Soviet music industry were done by Pekka Gronow, a Finnish scholar, and by Nicholas Glossop (Glossop 1991; Gronow 1975). In addition, Cushman's ethnography of the rock scene in Leningrad has some details about record producers (Cushman 1995). In Eastern Europe, Anna Szemere described the cultural industries in Hungary in the mid and late 1980s (Szemere 2001). The largest treatment of the integration of Eastern Europe and Russia into the international music industry is an article by Vesa Kurkela published in *World of Music* in 1993, which describes the introduction of the international music industry into Eastern Europe (Kurkela 1993). This material presents a relatively thorough picture of the initial transformation from a planned to a capitalist music economy and its effect on how music circulated, but in the twenty-year period since the fall of the Soviet Union the technological and economic landscape of the former Soviet countries has changed dramatically.

The greatest amount of literature about popular music in the former Eastern Bloc deals with the fall of communism. This material overwhelmingly takes a political framework, with most authors advancing the thesis that the leakage of popular culture into Eastern Europe from the West weakened Soviet ideology and possibly even contributed to the fall of the Iron Curtain. The penetration of popular music into Soviet territories can be seen as a byproduct of peer-to-peer circulation of recordings, since access to Western products was available only to the few that were able to leave the Soviet Bloc and then they spread it through the underground. Examples of this literature include *Rocking the State: Rock Music and Politics in Eastern Europe and Russia*, a collection of essays edited by Sabrina Ramet, and the research of Jolanta Pekacz in Poland and Anna Szemere in Hungary (Pekacz 1994; Ramet 1994; Szemere 2001).

In general, previous research about Georgian music does not address the topic of circulation either. The amount of scholarly literature on popular music and popular culture is quite small, represented by the works of perhaps three scholars. One native-born sociologist at Tbilisi State University, Lika Tsuladze, writes about popular culture, although not specifically about popular music. Her scholarship concerns how Georgian youth use elements of global and local culture to create their own identities through a process of *bricolage* (p.c.). Only two ethnomusicologists have touched on Georgian popular music: Lauren Ninoshvili and Nino Tsitsishvili. Ninoshvili, who received her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 2010, uses a linguistic framework to analyze the use of nonsense vocables in Georgian popular music both in her dissertation (Ninoshvili 2010) and in an article published in 2009 in *Popular Music and Society* (Ninoshvili 2009). The overall scope of her research covers the linguistic development of Georgian traditional songs and their appeal for non-native singers. Nino

Tsitsishvili, a native Georgian who received her Ph.D. from Monash University in Australia, has done research on non-Georgian elements of Georgian traditional music, in particular the *duduk*, an Iranian-Caucasian aerophone (Nino Tsitsishvili, p.c.). She also gave a paper about gender in a Georgian folk-rock band at the 2006 Society of Ethnomusicology meeting in Honolulu, Hawaii, which states that rock music subverts the typical gender positions in Georgian musical life because female singers are common, in contrast to the maleness of traditional polyphonic singing groups (Tsitsishvili 2006). None of these scholars address how circulation works, so my research represents a different approach to Georgian music.

Concerning the post-Soviet era, I begin with the literature published about Central Asia and the Caucasus, which does not really describe the status of the music industry. The most information on the region is found in two themed issues in *Ethnomusicology Forum* (2005) and *Popular Music and Society* (2009). Although the articles in *Ethnomusicology Forum* were not necessarily centered on popular music, one article in particular, Franco Spinetti's "Open Borders: Tradition and Tajik Popular Music: Question of Aesthetics, Identity and Political Economy," deals with popular culture. Its theoretical framework concerns nationalism, which is typical for ethnomusicological literature about the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (Spinetti 2005). The three articles in *Popular Music and Society*, authored by Lauren Ninoshvili, Megan Rancier and Tanya Merchant, all explicitly deal with popular culture in Eurasia. I described Ninoshvili's work above (Ninoshvili 2009). Rancier's article deals with a set of Kazakh music videos that convey to some degree or other nostalgia for the pre-Soviet past. The article's theoretical framework builds upon the conceptions of nationalism that the use of traditional culture implies (Rancier 2009). Merchant's article also deals with nationalism, although in Uzbek rather than Kazakh culture. She specifically looks at the way

that Uzbek *estrada* (state-approved light popular music) singers simultaneously convey that they are a part of modernity while retaining ties to traditional culture (Merchant 2009).

Another body of literature deals with post-Soviet popular music in Russia and the more prosperous regions in Eastern Europe. I consider this material to be somewhat separate from the material about cultural industries in the Caucasus and Central Asia because of the greater wealth and economic stability of the countries involved. Russia's size makes it a larger target for the international music industry, so it is more integrated with world markets. Because of Eastern Europe's closer geographic proximity to centers of the music industry in Western Europe, it is necessarily more influenced by it than the Caucasus and Central Asia. While nationalism is still a favorite topic other theoretical concerns like gender and sexuality make an appearance (Sugarman 1997).

Very little research on popular music was published by native scholars trained in their home countries; a few short articles about Russian rock were published by Ekaterina Dobrotvorskaya and Irina Orlova, and the noted journalist Artemy Troitsky had *Back in the USSR*, his history of Soviet rock music, translated into English (Dobrotvorskaya 1992; Orlova 1991; Troitsky 1988). This material, as well as the research published by American-trained scholars, is overwhelmingly Russian-focused, dealing with the other republics tangentially. In general, all the sources describe the development of rock music as a subculture whose relationship to the West and to capitalism challenged Soviet political ideologies. The most notable example of this kind of writing is Thomas Cushman's *Notes From Underground: Rock Music Counterculture in Russia*, an ethnography of the Leningrad rock scene in the mid and late 1980s and its relationship to wider Soviet popular culture (Cushman 1995). Of particular interest to many scholars has been the creation of an indigenous genre, *avtorskaya pesnya* (lit.,

authored song), a genre of poetry accompanied by guitar that has been popular throughout the second half of the twentieth century as well as the adulation of its foremost star, Vladimir Vysotsky. Some of this literature deals in a minor, mostly descriptive way with the technology used to disseminate popular culture, such as the homemade *magnitizdat* cassettes circulated by fans (Daughtry 2006; Lazarski 1992; McMichael 2005; Rauth 1982).

PART TWO: PRESENTING THE FIELDWORK

Location of Research

The Republic of Georgia lies in the South Caucasus, a region defined by the Caucasus Mountains, which are the dividing line between Europe and Asia. This geographic area is surrounded by the Russian Federation, Turkey, and Iran. The other two countries of the South Caucasus include Armenia to the south of Georgia and Azerbaijan to the east. Georgia is approximately the size of the state of West Virginia (around 70,000 square kilometers) and has a population of 4.5 million. A little over a third of its population (1.6 million people) lives in its capital city, Tbilisi (1.2).

1.2. Map of Georgia, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia11/georgia_sm_2011.gif.



The country's dominant language is Georgian, which is not related to any major language and has three other members in its language family (Kartvelian): Svan, Laz, and Mingrelian. These three are spoken in regions in the western part of the country. Approximately 4 million people in the world speak Georgian as their first language. Georgian is notoriously difficult for foreigners to learn, as the structure of the language is quite complex, featuring polypersonal verbs and split ergativity.¹⁷ Words heavily feature clusters of up to eight

¹⁷ Polypersonal verbs contain subject-object agreement, in contrast to Indo-European languages that have only subject agreement. For instance, the verb *miqvarkhar* means 'I love you,' where *mi-* stands for 'I' and *-khar* stands for 'you.' Other forms of the verb include *miqvars*, which means 'I love it,' where the suffix *-s* implies a third-person object; *giqvarvar*, 'you love me,' where *gi-* gives a second-person subject and *-var* implies a first-person object; and *uqvars*, 'he loves it,' where the subject and object are both in the third person. Other tenses of the verb either require different subject-object markers or they reverse the grammatical functions of the ones above, so that *mi-*, *gi-*, and *u-* specify objects rather than subjects. This is in contrast to the Russian *lyublyu tebya*, where only the subject, 'I,' is implied by the verb and the object, 'you,' requires a separate pronoun. Essentially, split ergativity means that the grammatical functions of the cases change according to the verb tense. In the present, future, and imperfective tenses nominative serves as the subject case and dative is the direct object, while in the aorist and optative tenses the ergative signals the subject and nominative functions as the direct object. Georgian has an additional past tense which distinguishes between information gained from direct observation and that which is gained from other people, where the dative is the subject and nominative is the direct object.

consonants. Favorite examples are *gvprtskvi* (გვერცხვი, you peel us) and *mts'vrtneli* (მწვრთნელი, trainer). The language also has its own writing system, developed in the 5th century. The *mkhedruli* (მხედრული, military) alphabet, in use since the eleventh century, is demonstrated in this paragraph.¹⁸ The complete alphabet is shown in the Transliteration and Pronunciation Guide accompanying this dissertation.

Currently, Russian is the second most frequently used language, spoken with some degree of fluency by almost everyone that attended school during the Soviet period. The country has a comparatively large population of minorities which rely upon Russian rather than Georgian.¹⁹ The government under President Saakashvili has been making a strong push for English to become the second language. Beginning in fall 2010, the program Teach and Learn Georgia brought nearly two thousand English speakers to Georgia to work as teaching aids in towns and villages all over the country. Reception was quite mixed among the foreign participants as well as among Georgians, mainly over administrative problems the first year, the high cost of importing teachers, unspecified or partially specified expectations for the aides, and the fact that they were in competition with locally-trained English teachers. This program affected my research in that I was frequently assumed to be a member of the teaching corps.

A Brief Overview of Georgian History

Throughout history, Georgia has only had three periods of independence: the 12th and

¹⁸ Elsewhere in this dissertation I only use the transliteration in Latin script.

¹⁹ According to the CIA Factbook, ethnic Georgians make up 83.8% of the country's population, Armenians 6.5%, Azerbaijanis 5.7%, and Russians 1.5%. The remaining 2.5% is unidentified. These figures make Georgia quite multicultural in comparison to the other two countries of the South Caucasus. Armenia's population is 98% Armenian and 1.3% Kurdish, and Azerbaijan's population is 91% Azerbaijani (CIA Factbook, accessed 4 October 2012).

early 13th centuries under Queen Tamar; the years between 1918 and 1921, after emancipation from the Russian Empire and before joining the Soviet Union; and 1991 to the present. Various parts of Georgia have been at times part of the Roman Empire, the Persian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. In the late eighteenth century King Irakli II of Kartli-Kakheti (East Georgia) feared that a Persian invasion would weaken the use of Christianity as the dominant religion, so he appealed to and was granted protection from the Russian tsar. This did not stop the Russian army from abandoning Tbilisi to invaders in 1785 and 1795, but still by 1801 Georgia became part of the Russian empire. At the time, the city of Tbilisi was mainly home to an Armenian middle class of financiers and tradesmen, while most Georgians, whether peasants or nobility, lived in villages. As the century wore on, though, more and more Georgian noblemen were educated in other parts of the Russian Empire and moved to Tbilisi equipped with knowledge of Marxism and nationalist movements in other parts of Europe. They formed the first newspapers and other parts of the cultural industries. By the time the Russian Empire fell in the 1910s, many Georgians were ideologically prepared to form a sovereign state ((Suny 1994).

In the early 1920s Georgia became a part of the Soviet Union. As Stalin and several other prominent political leaders were born in Georgia, the republic's fate was in some ways much better than that of some of the other ones during the 1930s and 1940s. The territory became one of the centers of the so-called second economy for several reasons. Its climate is relatively mild, and it is possible to grow fruit and vegetables in all but the coldest months of winter. Georgians gained a huge profit by traveling to Moscow and other northern cities with their produce in the winter and selling it at a huge profit. In a related vein, several luxury items were produced in Georgia – primarily tea, mineral water, and wine – and these items produced

a large profit in the second economy.

Three autonomous republics were granted special political status in the Georgian SSR because each was home to an ethnic minority: the Laz lived in Adjara on the Black Sea near the Turkish border; the Abkhaz in Abkhazia on the Black Sea near the Russian-controlled North Caucasus; and the South Ossetians in South Ossetia, located in the north-central part of Georgia below the Caucasus Mountains. Because both Abkhazia and South Ossetia had linguistic and ethnic ties to the North Caucasus, they declared themselves separate countries from Georgia after independence.

Georgia underwent several revolutions during the post-Soviet years. The first president, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, was ousted during a military coup in January 1992, and several years of civil war followed. Eduard Shevardnadze, after having been First Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party leader from 1971 to 1986 and then the Foreign Minister of the USSR until 1991, became the second president in 1995. His presidency was more stable than Gamsakhurdia's, although corruption became a serious problem. By 2003 it was evident that local elections were fraudulent, and Mikheil Saakashvili took power in 2003 after the peaceful Rose Revolution. During my first month in the field (November 2007) Saakashvili stepped down following a series of protests, but he was reelected the following January and remained president for the rest of my fieldwork period.

Methodology

Fieldwork Timeline

My fieldwork in Georgia consisted of three different research trips using a combined methodology of participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, and archival

research. The purpose of Trip One, funded by a Fulbright IIE fellowship, was to acquire some fluency in Georgian and Russian and to do exploratory research for developing a dissertation topic. My primary activities consisted of intensive language lessons, reading source materials in the library of the International Center for Traditional Polyphony, studying the *p'anduri*, a three-string indigenous lute, with an instructor at the State Folklore Center, and observing concerts and doing informal interviews with performers.

The actual experience of Trip One was a disaster. My fieldwork began in November 2007, precisely on the day that massive riots were quelled with military force and a state of emergency was declared throughout the city. Subsequent events included President Saakashvili stepping down from office to run for reelection, yet more rounds of protests due to the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections, and a hunger strike so that parliamentary elections would be called in the first place. By far the greatest disaster was at the end of the trip, when a conflict over the autonomous region of South Ossetia led to a full-scale war between Russia and Georgia in August 2008. Since the outskirts of the city I was living in were bombed, the American Embassy called for an evacuation of all unnecessary American personnel (including researchers), and I joined a bus caravan to Yerevan, Armenia. These events brought Trip One to an abrupt end.

After this dramatic conclusion to my first trip, I feared that I would never have a chance to return to Georgia to complete my fieldwork. Fortunately, that did not prove to be the case. Trip Two was a six-week period from mid-August to late September 2009, funded by a language study grant from UCLA's Center for European and Eurasian Studies. My dissertation topic had narrowed to the point that I knew I was interested in the media, so in addition to

intensive Georgian language studies I conducted observations and did interviews at three different radio stations.

Trip Three was a year-long excursion from September 2010 to September 2011, funded by a fieldwork grant from the UCLA International Institute. My research interests had narrowed even further to music circulation, and I employed methods ranging from observation to interviewing to archival research. Though not as dramatic (or traumatic) as Trip One, Trip Three was not exactly free from incidents, including a terrorist bomb exploding in November 2010 just a few blocks from where I lived, and an attempted revolution in May 2011.

Circumstances That Shaped the Fieldwork Process

In addition to the political events mentioned above, I encountered several difficulties during my fieldwork that influenced the amount and type of data available to me. Most of them can be attributed to my status as both as a foreigner and as a woman. My red hair instantly marked me as a foreigner and I received a great deal of attention because of it, even to the point where people were photographing and filming me on the streets. Georgians have the reputation of being quite hospitable, but the way they treat foreign women is markedly different from the way they react to foreign men. All foreigners are objects of a great deal of curiosity, and Georgians usually feel free to approach men, ask them questions, and oftentimes invite them to their houses for tea or meals. Like men, women will be stared at, but people view them suspiciously and will not freely interact with them. It is also generally not typical for women to approach strange men and initiate conversations. Because of this, young men would occasionally act as if I was seducing them when I attempted to interview them, and then they would publicly boast about it to their friends, thereby making me an object of ridicule.

Going to concerts at clubs, whether alone or with friends, could be quite a trying experience due to local assumptions that foreign women engage in prostitution. I learned very quickly to leave smaller concerts before they ended because people would try to follow me home.²⁰ For these reasons I relied on alternative methods to engage with local music fans, meeting them through acquaintances at the university and talking to them away from the concert setting. I also came to use online forums because they gave me access to public discourse about popular music outside an interview situation.

Another difficulty concerned language usage. I studied Georgian and Russian intensively both before and during all my fieldwork periods. Getting a chance to utilize it, though, was actually quite difficult, since many Georgians are eager to test their English-language skills with a native speaker. This frequently led to situations where I would initiate an interview in Georgian and my partner would immediately proudly announce that they could speak English, so we would converse in that language. Eventually, it would become clear that he or she could not speak fluently enough to articulate all his or her thoughts, so I would try to switch back to Russian or Georgian, and the remainder of the interview would be a tug of war between the three languages. I tried to compensate for possible misunderstandings by checking the meaning of key words in different languages: if a word was used in English I would state its equivalent in Russian or Georgian to confirm that my colleague and I understood each other. To maintain a level of accuracy in my data, I confirmed as much information as possible either with sources written in Georgian (such as the Forum comments described below) or with colleagues.

²⁰ For a more thorough discussion of the harassment of foreigners at the time of my research, see the blog post “Talking Past Each Other: Western vs. Georgian Perspectives on Harassment,” written by a Teach and Learn Georgia volunteer (*Georgia on My Mind*, <http://peripateticpedagogue.wordpress.com/2011/12/30/harassment-perspectives/>, accessed 4 October 2012).

Types of Data Collected

The overall amount of material I collected during my three trips is relatively large and diverse. Participant observation was conducted at approximately twenty lessons with professional musicians, forty public lectures, and over a hundred concerts in a variety of genres ranging from classical to traditional to popular. My interviews, both formal and informal, range from the heads of local culture institutions and the directors of major radio stations to college students interested in rock and pop music. I collected over 3,000 .mp3 files and 500 videos from downloading sites in the .ge domain. Over a hundred hours of television and radio broadcasts were also recorded onto my computer. Dozens of pieces of Georgian music journalism on the bands I observed and interviewed were collected as well as over 100,000 comments from online forums.

INTERVIEWS. The interviews I conducted fall into three types: unrecorded discussions with radio personnel in conversations ranging from half an hour in length to multiple sessions of several hours each; recorded and unrecorded interviews with musicians in a variety of genres, from folk and classical to heavy metal; and mostly unrecorded interviews with audience members, who were mainly students from local universities. These interviews were conducted in the above-mentioned mixture of English, Russian, and Georgian. In addition, I spoke in Russian with a retired official from the Georgian Author's Society about copyright law. Many of my radio interviews were facilitated by Ekaterine Diasamidze-Graham, a former program director of the local classical station and a Ph.D. student of Dr. Joseph Jordania's in the anthropology department at Tbilisi State University. Other interviews were arranged by Timothy Blauvelt of the American Councils office in Tbilisi. I interviewed

personnel and observed broadcasts at the radio stations Muza, Folk Radio, Radio GIPA (the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs), Beat FM, Avto Radio, Fortuna, Fortuna +, and Ardaidardo.

Conversations with musicians were mainly facilitated by American and Georgian friends. My most lengthy and recorded interviews were with Nini Dedalamazishvili of the popular ethno-rock band Mgzavrebi (Passengers); Zaza Khutsishvili of Vakis Parki, one of the most famous rock bands of the late 1990s and early 2000s; and Shota Darakhvelidze of a number of different heavy metal bands. I also had many unrecorded conversations with Nana Valishvili, a member of the folk choir Mzetamze, as well as a semi-structured interview with that entire group.

My interviews with audience members were facilitated by several people, including the anthropologist Hulya Sakarya with her former student research assistants at Tbilisi State University, and approximately ten were held with students I met through Dr. Lika Tsuladze at Tbilisi State University. A few conversations were held with students at Tbilisi State Conservatory, and these were arranged by John Graham and Ekaterine Diasamidze-Graham. Lastly, Nino Tsitsishvili was tremendously helpful in providing me with a list of possible contacts.

CONCERTS. For the first year of my research, I attended relatively few popular music concerts but a significant number of classical and folk concerts. This was partially because of a general lack of popular concerts during that time and partially from my ignorance about how Georgians advertise such events. Jazz concerts are held on a semi-regular basis through the Tbilisi Jazz Festival, but the tickets are prohibitively expensive, so the only jazz event I attended was a free American Embassy-sponsored concert at the Conservatory in November

2007. Approximately five internationally-known superstars perform in Georgia every year, but as the tickets prices are roughly equivalent to a month's salary for the average Georgian, their concerts have a limited attraction. In December 2007 I saw the Columbian singer Shakira at a free concert sponsored by President Saakashvili's political party before the presidential elections held the following month. During my third trip to Georgia I attended a number of popular music concerts, including all but two of the major festivals.

CLASS SESSIONS. During the fall of 2010 I attended several graduate level classes at Tbilisi State University, mainly for the purpose of meeting students. One course was on post-Soviet politics and was taught through an English-language degree program sponsored by the Soros Foundation. The other was an anthropology seminar on youth subcultures, taught exclusively in Georgian by Lika Tsuladze. The course's reading materials consisted of standard texts on subcultural theory, including Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979), Sarah Thornton's *Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Social Capital* (1996), and David Muggleton's *Inside Subculture: The Postmodern Meaning of Style* (2000). Dr. Tsuladze was kind enough to let me tape several of the classes, and several discussions about youth culture and popular music have loosely informed Chapter Six.

ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES. In addition to attending classes at Tbilisi State University, I regularly attended lectures and symposiums on a variety of topics relating to Georgian culture, history, and politics. The most relevant for my research was the International Symposium for Traditional Polyphony held at the Tbilisi State Conservatory in October 2010. This event included papers and discussions every day for a week as well as concerts every night. Although none of the papers concerned Georgian popular music and culture, the event afforded me the chance to network with local and international scholars. I also attended lectures nearly every

week as part of a works-in-progress series at the Caucasus Research Resource Center. Most international scholars are asked to present their topics, as are many of the major local academicians. These lectures were quite helpful in developing a sense of the current trends in Georgian research.

JOURNALISM. While in the field I also spent a great deal of time collecting journalism on contemporary popular music, both from English-language and Georgian-language sources. Popular culture journalism, with the exception of tabloids, is mostly available on the Internet. The English-language materials I used consisted primarily of reports on *EurasiaNet*, a highly respected website financed by the Open Society Institute. I mainly used the cultural reporting by Pamela Renner, a personal acquaintance who concentrates on dance and film; Molly Corso; and Giorgi Lomsadze. These reports confirmed trends that I had already noticed in my fieldwork, such as the general decline of local cultural industries, and the role of popular music as propaganda. Georgian-language sources include *Tabula Art*, a publication similar to *Time* magazine in the United States that contains profiles of popular musicians and a history of alternative rock in the 90s, and *Tskheli Shok'oladi* (Hot Chocolate), a chain of magazines throughout the Caucasus that contains occasional profiles of musicians as well as pieces criticizing the media. Both of these magazines are available both online and in print. Exclusively web-based material primarily consists of *Muzame*, which frequently reviews the larger local concerts, and blogs such as the English-language *Georgian Live Music*.

GEORGIAN-LANGUAGE WRITTEN MATERIAL. Since popular music is not the sort of topic written about by local musicologists, I did not do research on it at the Conservatory. Instead, I collected a few sources about folk music. Most helpful in developing my ideas were *Kartuli Khalkhuri Simgheris Shemsrulebloba* (Performance of Georgian Folk

Song) by Edisher Garakanidze (2007), which contains a useful section on the professionalization of Georgian folk music, *Kartuli Musik'is Isto'ria* (A History of Georgian Music) by Vladimir Donadze, Otari Chijavadze, and Giorgi Chkhikvadze (1990), *Kartuli Polk'lorist'ik'is Ist'oria* (A History of Georgian Folkloristics of the Nineteenth Century) by Temur Jagodnishvili (2004), and *Kartuli Ponochnats'erebi Utskhoetshi* (Georgian Phonogram Recordings Abroad) by Anzor Erkomaishvili (2007). While much of this material does not play a large part in this dissertation, as it concerns folk music, some of these sources provide background information for Chapter Two.

I also collected works at the Parliamentary Library on the history of the Georgian mass media. Most useful were the timelines of the development of radio in the Georgian SSR, as well as histories of radio after the fall of the Soviet Union. These sources include *Sakartvelos Radios Ist'oria* (The History of the Radio of Georgia) by Eldar Iberi, Tea Mzhavanadze, and Nana T'alakhadze (2009); *Nark'vevebi Radios Ist'oriidan* (Essays from the History of Radio) by V. P. Tadumadze (1955); and *Epek't'uri Menejment'i da PR Radosa da T'elevisiashi* (Effective Management and PR in Radio and Television) by Nino Imnaishvili (2009).

SURVEYS. In places, I use survey data to demonstrate that the patterns of circulation I am presenting are part of larger societal trends relating to media usage. I did not conduct the surveys myself, but rely upon the work of professional research organizations. In particular, I utilize the Media Surveys of 2009 and 2011 done by the Caucasus Research Resource Center, and a radio survey commissioned by the Georgian National Communications Commission that was carried out by BCG. The Caucasus Research Resource Center is supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eurasia Partnership Foundation, USAID and local universities. The organization has offices in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Its 2011 media survey was

commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and consisted of a nationwide sample size of 2,009 interviews. The 2009 media survey was commissioned by the European Commission and had a nationwide sample size of 1,768 people. The BCG radio survey had a sample size of several hundred phone interviews. In addition to these surveys I have also used CRRC's research on social capital in Georgia from 2011, which was funded by USAID.

TELEVISION AND RADIO. Starting in August 2009 I began to take a critical look at Georgian music radio and television, since they are a crucial way that popular music reaches its audience, and in the course of my fieldwork I eventually did observations at approximately six radio stations and one television station. The process generally involved interviewing the program manager or one of the DJs and observing shows from the booths. My most thorough fieldwork was done at Radio Muza, Georgia's only classical station, due to the generosity of Ekaterine Diasamidze-Graham, its programme director.

PLAYLISTS. In order to examine exactly which genres of music and which musicians circulate in the mass media, I am relying upon playlists from various media sources. Since it was not feasible for me to transcribe the songs that were played on all stations even for the space of a week, I use information available for alternative sources. One of the music television stations in Georgia, Tbilisi Music Box, makes the all songs it plays available for download (for a fee) onto computers and mobile devices. In addition to advertising them on the television, the entire catalog is available online. I took this catalog a fairly thorough example of the videos the station plays.

I also utilized a playlist of sorts for radio. None of the pop music stations list their catalog of artists in the same way the Tbilisi Music Box does, so I could not get a sense of the overall breadth of the musical repertoire for radio. GORBI Gallup International observes

Georgian radio stations to make a list of the twenty most popular songs, and makes it available on the blog *Official Georgian Weekly Top Twenty*. The vast majority of the artists in the top twenty lists are of American or European origin. I tabulated this data from November 2007 to October 2011 to get an overview of the kinds of music played on Georgian stations. This data was then used to present a picture of Georgian popular music as it appears via radio.

A kind of playlist was developed of the musicians that appear in concerts. After the ethnographic portion of my research was completed, I discovered a thread on *Tbilisi Forum* that was used to advertise concerts called *apisha* (playbill). The concerts on it were listed either by fans or by club owners. After going through this thread, I compared the concerts it listed during my third field trip (October 2010 – October 2011) against the ones I had noted in my fieldnotes to check its thoroughness and its veracity. Major events like festivals were underrepresented, but the list of concerts in smaller venues was fairly complete. I use this data to augment my coverage of concert life in Tbilisi.

SOCIAL MEDIA. I use social media, and in particular Facebook, in several different ways. Facebook emerged in 2010 as a dominant force in Internet activity in Georgia, and has grown at a rapid rate. Many events are almost exclusively popularized through social network sites, and several of the music clubs posted weekly schedules of their events. I spent hours each week looking at my friends' Facebook pages to find out which events they were attending. I also took advantage of the fact that Georgians are prolific about posting music videos online to get a sense of musical tastes and interests, and an analysis of this appears in Chapter Six.

Since Facebook has become an important tool in Georgian social life, I tried to learn the general rules of interacting socially on it from a Georgian perspective. To that end, I spoke with Mariam Amashukeli, a graduate student at Tbilisi State University, who was conducting

research on Georgian Facebook users, and she provided me with a wealth of information on the general history of social media usage in Georgia over the last ten years, and what Georgians do with social media.

ONLINE FORUMS. While I was in the field, as well as during the periods in the United States between field trips, I spent a great deal of time monitoring online activity in Georgia. The most useful and detailed information was available through online forums, specifically *Tbilisi Forum*. According to the website www.top.ge, which tracks Internet usage and updates on a daily basis, the *Tbilisi Forum* is the eighth most visited site in the .ge domain, and during my field period it was generally the third or fourth most popular site. When I came to Georgia in October 2010, several anthropologists told me that I should look at it because the threads were quite indicative of Georgian public life.

The Tbilisi Forum is divided into sections depending on the interests of the user.

1.3 Threads on Tbilisi Forum.

TITLE OF THREAD	NUMBER OF COMMENTS
Politics (<i>p'olit'ik'a</i>)	5,623,747
Sports (<i>sp'ort'i</i>)	5,022,057
Women and Men (<i>kali da mamak'atsi</i>)	1,989,012
Automobiles (<i>avt'omobilebi</i>)	1,633,376
Science and Education (<i>metsniereba da ganatleba</i>)	1,153,460
Audiophilia (<i>melomania</i>)	1,096,314
Culture and Art (<i>k'ult'ura da khelovneba</i>)	1,020,361
Health and Medicine (<i>janmrteloba da meditsina</i>)	975,799
Mass Media (<i>masmedia</i>)	581,731
Weapons (<i>arsenali</i>)	452,131
Beauty and Fashion (<i>silamaze da modi</i>)	350,781
Tbilisi	340,389
Flora and Fauna (<i>plora da pauna</i>)	329,150
Business and the Economy (<i>biznesi da ek'onomik'a</i>)	219,238
Psychology (<i>psikologia</i>)	191,692
Travel Club (<i>mogzaurta k'lubi</i>)	174,927
Cuisine (<i>k'ulinaria</i>)	154,775
Employment in Georgia (<i>dasakmeba sakartveloshi</i>)	134,134
Law (<i>samartali</i>)	87,765
Construction and Remodeling (<i>mshenebloba da remont'i</i>)	54,767

In the section on audiophilia there are 231 threads on foreign music and general music interest, 486 threads on classical music, and 745 threads on Georgian music (comprising 57,127 individual comments). I concentrated on reading the Georgian music threads, of which the majority either give guitar tablature or are dedicated to various Georgian bands. Most of the information I use comes from only a handful, in particular ones on Georgian music in the world market, record companies in Georgia, the Georgian show business, both old and new, and the future of the Georgian music scene. All this material is publicly available online, and the posters retain their anonymity through the use of screen names.

Of course, it must be asked whether this information is reliable, since comments on the Internet are notorious for being written by anyone, regardless of their level of knowledge. The people that I talked to about the *Forum* all agreed that is probably one of the most honest and

complete sources on Georgian life and people's interests. Because of the rising threat of the secret police, Georgians sometimes have a tendency to tell researchers either what they think is expected or what will keep them out of trouble.²¹ This obviously complicates oral interviews and makes the resulting information a bit suspect. Because Internet users are anonymous, people are more likely to speak the truth.

I use *Forum* comments in several specific ways. First, the comments on it demonstrate that the problem outlined at the beginning of this chapter is of genuine concern to audience members and not just to me. Second, the comments provide crucial public feedback on the opinions of major musicians on the shape of the Georgian music industry. Third, in rare cases I use them as a source for facts, but whenever possible I verify the information elsewhere through interviews, personal observations, or written sources. Many times, it is quite obvious that the information is coming from a primary source.²² In general, forum comments provide a crucial view of the Georgian music industry from those who make and listen to popular music.

DOWNLOADING SITES. Georgians are prolific music and video downloaders, and I use downloading sites in several ways. Video streaming sites were an excellent source for audio clips, music videos, and other source materials, and I collected a great deal of material for analysis from them. In many cases, downloading sites were the only place where I could obtain music samples.

PART THREE: SUMMARIZING THE RESULTS

Chapter Two lays out the various music genres that are part of the soundscape in

²¹ At a meeting of Georgian and foreign anthropologists in summer 2011, senior scholars from Tbilisi State University and the University of Georgia commented that everyone has become more cautious about speaking with researchers in the last several years.

²² For instance, in a thread on a new recording studio, the owner/manager posted the price for recording sessions.

Tbilisi. It is organized according to a typology that was related to me by several different scholars and music professionals, which equates different genres with the status they convey upon the listener. There are no genres of popular music that are uniquely Georgian; instead, many musicians perform internationalized styles, and occasionally mix in elements of traditional music as they desire. The chapter starts with a breakdown and comparison of three different versions of the hierarchy of genres in Tbilisi, and theorizes about the way that it is structured, so that older genres are considered to convey more status than newer ones. It then moves to a description of the various genres mentioned in the hierarchy, beginning with the ones that convey the most status, and moving to the ones with the least. Part of the difficulty in classifying genres in Tbilisi has to do with the labels that Georgian musicians place upon styles. Rock groups are notorious for placing themselves into a number of different sub-genres, and there are many hybrid musicians that combine rock with hip hop or electronica. This can make for a somewhat messy and confusing hierarchy. Pop music provides another example of the slippery usage of genre terminology. In particular, I discuss the similarities and differences between the categories *estrada*, *popsa*, and *shoperis musik'a* (also known as driver's music or sometimes marshrutka pop).

Chapter Three serves a dual purpose: first, it provides a general overview of the world of contemporary popular music as it relates to circulation in Tbilisi during the time of my fieldwork, and second, it lays out the distinction between the formal and informal modes of circulation in its present iteration. The chapter begins with a metaphor for how the two modes of circulation work. I pose that music circulation has a comparable logic to the one governing local transportation. While buses, taxis and the subway exist in abundance, most Georgians seem to prefer traveling by marshrutka, a kind of privately-owned minibus that travels on

informal and unlabeled routes throughout the city. In the same manner, Georgians seem to prefer being exposed to acquiring new music through the informal mode of circulation.

The rest of the chapter is devoted to the three different aspects of popular music in Georgia that I believe are the most relevant to circulation. These include the mass media, which appears to be the expected way for music to circulate. Most of the literature on popular music from the pre-digital age describes radio and television programming as an outgrowth of the music industry and thus it had tremendous importance on the formation of listening practices and musical taste. It served as a vehicle for monetary gain to musicians because as the audience became exposed to new music, they bought albums and tickets. The problem with using this approach in Georgia is that hardly anyone listens to the radio, and because of radio's relatively small listening audience, it is not a very useful tool for music circulation. A great many Georgians watch television, but not necessarily music-related fare, so that is not a terribly effective way of circulating music either.

Turning from the mass media, I look at other ways music circulates in Tbilisi. Selling music through shops, kiosks, and especially bazaars was quite common in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and several bands and singers were relatively successful supporting themselves this way. This has died out in recent years, though; at present there are only two shops devoted to music in the entire city. According to participant-observation and interviews, downloading and trading files are now the most common way to get music. In addition to several popular downloading sites, I describe the ways that social networks and mobile phones are used for acquiring music.

Live performance is the oldest way to circulate music. Similar to the case of selling music in shops and kiosks, the amount of live performance activity has drastically diminished

in the past several years. Smaller venues are increasingly either driven out of business or discontinue live music because of the newfound prevalence of massive shows sponsored either by the government or by private companies which feature multiple bands and use high-quality equipment. Tickets are either free or so cheap that expenses cannot be recouped. Essentially, this means that a fair number of shows per week at a variety of venues has been replaced with one massive show every month or so. In addition to covering many of the performance venues that I attended, this section provides an overview of the major genres I encountered during fieldwork, from *estrada* to rap.

Chapter Four examines the connection between the two spheres of formal and informal modes of circulation. Music does not just stay in one sphere; it passes back and forth between the two. When musicians need help in order to get access to radio stations or to play at large concerts, and this causes them to jump from the informal mode of circulation into the formal mode. Patronage thus serves as a kind of gateway the two spheres.

Chapter Five tackles music circulation as a technological system. The basis for this chapter partially derives from ethnomusicological studies of the relationships between the Internet and changes in music distribution in the United States and Europe, which I referred to at the beginning of this chapter. I believe that there are three principal weaknesses with these arguments: first, they sound a bit technologically determined, as they imply that technological changes are responsible for distribution changes; second, they place too much emphasis on the role of the Internet in changing distribution, when much of the world has limited access to it and there are other technologies that have reshaped music distribution; and, third, distribution has not changed as much as many scholars had predicted it would in the late 1990s and early

2000s. If anything, the last few years have seen a buildup of the music industry's infrastructure on the Internet.

Using actor-network theory, I shift the technological debate a bit by focusing on circulation as a technological system and put several forms in dialogue with each other and with the people that use them. While this theory is uncommon in ethnomusicology, it is one of the dominant paradigms in the sociology of science and technology, and its methodological utility comes from its ability to show as both how technology shapes society and how society shapes technology. The chapter begins with a demonstration of the circulation patterns that are implied in many of the theorists used in popular music studies. I derive a model for the mass media from the Frankfurt and the Birmingham School. I then look at some of the literature on the Internet to derive a model for both streaming and peer-to-peer circulation methods, and I show how it is related to the mass media model. Finally, I derive a model of mobile phone circulation from the sociologist Hans Geser. Unlike peer-to-peer file sharing on the Internet, the social horizon for mobile phones is finite. Finally, I show the "tail effect," where songs from the Internet get traded on mobile phones. Finally, I end by discussing two examples of the use of technology in circulating music. In the first, I receive recordings of the composer Gia Qancheli using all the technologies diagrammed in the chapter's model: I first see the music on a friend's mobile phone, and then I receive files she has downloaded from a website via an Internet peer-to-peer utility. In the second, I discuss the widespread practice of posting and trading music via Facebook.

Chapter Six examines the role that music circulation plays in building communities among music audiences. As a starting point, I relate the methods of music circulation discussed in Chapter Five with the musical hierarchies discussed in Chapter Two. The first part of the

chapter surmises that when fans share music videos on Facebook or give music via mobile phone, they are publicly displaying their taste level to their peers. I survey the literature written about status and musical taste in sociology to provide a backdrop to how a taste culture develops in Georgia through hand-to-hand music circulation. Since particular genres are associated with a high social status, when Georgians post videos on Facebook, they are building their social capital, and enacting a particular social hierarchy.

The second section of the chapter analyzes another effect of circulating music via the Internet and mobile phones through a theoretical framework derived from the works on gift-giving in the anthropology of material goods. Due to the poverty experienced by most teenagers, Caucasian and Central Asian youth cultures are not built around consumption, a circumstance also noted by the sociologist Stefan Kirmse in his work with youth cultures in Kyrgyzstan (Kirmse 2010: 391). Because of this, I found it difficult to apply theories of consumption to music cultures and found it more useful to analyze music circulation in terms of gift-giving. In particular, I refer to Marcel Mauss's (1990) and Nancy Munn's (1986) work on the value added to material objects in the process of gift-giving in the Kula ring in Papua New Guinea. In their work, the objects being traded retain traces of the people who share them, and cement the relationships that form the basis of a community. In a similar vein, when Georgian youths trade music files with each other, they are building a community.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion of this dissertation. It goes over the thread connecting the entire dissertation – circulation – and summarizes what each chapter adds to my argument. It concludes by addressing why musicians make rock music when they have virtually no change⁴ of making a living from it. I believe that they do this in order to join in with the international discourse of popular culture.

CHAPTER TWO: GEORGIAN MUSICAL GENRES

Introduction

Chapter Two provides a snapshot of the various genres of contemporary music performed in Tbilisi, and as such it serves as a background for the rest of the dissertation. A model of music circulation is presented in Chapter One, demonstrating a division between formal and informal modes. As I investigate in Chapter Three, the division between the two is built on differences of genre: certain ones circulate on television and radio while others circulate through less formal means. Such a split is even represented in concerts, as certain kinds of musicians perform in large, well-funded venues, and the others play in small venues whose owners have difficulty making ends meet. In this chapter, I discuss the musical genres themselves, and how they are conceptualized and defined by local musicians and audience members.

How is the "genre divide" between the formal and informal modes of circulation negotiated? One of the major points of demarcation occurs according to the status conveyed by each genre. Some styles of music are heavily associated with various social classes: classical and jazz are a signifier of taste and education, while rap and pop are emblematic of the lower classes and those that live in the provinces. Rock music is generally favored by the middle classes, but even within rock there are differentiations between sub-genres. Another cleft occurs as a result of nationalistic sentiments. Musicians that include elements of traditional music in their work are generally favored by the government and supposedly by the much of the public and this makes a difference in where and how such music circulates.

The structure of this chapter follows a typology of genres related to me by several people who are knowledgeable about the music scene in Tbilisi; it is organized according to the status associated with each genre, beginning with the highest-ranking genres and working to the lowest. Most of the genres described are not Georgian in origin, and in fact there is no particular one that is completely Georgian other than traditional music. Instead, a handful of musicians incorporate elements of traditional music into other genres to make hybrids such as ethno-rock, ethno-jazz, and so forth. I have placed these hybrids near the top of the genre hierarchy, although such a placement can be problematic, as I discuss below. In general, though, traditional musicians and Georgian hybrid musicians are at the top of the pyramid, followed by classical and jazz. American and British rock follows closely behind, with 1970s classic and progressive rock and 1990s grunge and alternative given the most favor. Many Georgian rock bands emulate the groups that are typical of these genres, either by covering their songs or by performing songs inspired by them. Hip hop and pop (which is variously called *estrada*, *popsa*, or *marshrutka pop*) make up the bottom of the pyramid.

PART ONE: A GENRE HIERARCHY, OR, HOW TO BE A *K'AI T'IP'I* (GOOD SORT)

Hierarchy A: A Sociologist's Viewpoint

My modus operandi in most interviews was to ask about the kinds of music respondents preferred, and on three occasions the result was a spontaneously produced typology of genres organized according to which were the “best” music listened to by the “best” people. The first person to give me such a hierarchy was the Tbilisi-based sociologist Lika Tsuladze. On a hot afternoon in late May 2011, she laid out the ways her students conceptualized the differences between music genres. For her, the term “popular” implied music that is simple and easily

understood: genres that are more difficult to grasp are at the top of the hierarchy in terms of the social status they convey, while simple and degenerate ones are at the bottom. Dr. Tsuladze ordered the hierarchy thusly: classical music is at the very top, followed closely by jazz. American music can be complicated for Georgians to understand because it is not their native musical language, and thus listening to it conveys status. In particular, classic rock (from the 1960s and 1970s) is very popular with young people due to its relative complexity. The bottom of the hierarchy is occupied by *popsa* and hip hop. Dr. Tsuladze stated that *popsa* is well-liked, but it is incredibly simple and it always functions as background music. Rap is not well-liked at all, and is associated with the lowest classes.²³

Dr. Tsuladze explained the importance of nationalism in Georgian popular culture on several occasions, and her position is elaborated upon in her paper “Youth Culture in Modern Georgia – A Case of Westernization or Invention of a New Tradition?” (2009). The majority of the respondents in her research stated that they listened to folk music more than pop, and by this they meant modernized hybrid settings by bands like Shin (Home), an ethno-jazz group (Tsuladze 2009:38). In conversation, she told me that it is important to maintain the uniqueness of Georgian music in the face of Russian hegemony. During one of the seasons of *Geostar*, a television show similar to *American Idol*, the winner was a young man that was not particularly gifted at singing standard Western pop music, but who sang Georgian traditional music beautifully. Dr. Tsuladze explained that the reason this singer had won was because the audience felt that male polyphony was an important symbol of Georgian identity and their country’s representative should be skilled at it.

²³ The ethnomusicologist Nino Tsitsishvili concurs about the low status of hip hop. She writes that such music is associated with uneducated village people who have only recently come to Tbilisi (Tsitsishvili 2009).

Hierarchy B: A Music Professional's Viewpoint

Temur Kacharava, the founder of Beat FM (an electronica radio station), gave me a second classification of genres, which in many ways is strikingly similar to Dr. Tsuladze's one. He worked at the local jazz station before starting Beat FM, which has a broadcast radius of eighteen kilometers. While he was demonstrating to me the kind of repertoire played on the station, he explained that the most popular (i.e., commonly listened to) genre in Georgia is updated settings of the kind of music played at *supras*, long feasts that celebrate major occasions. These pieces are frequently recorded in contemporary arrangements and sung by musicians like Nani Bregvadze and Nino Chkheidze. While he would not play for me an example of this kind of music for me due to the fact that he disliked such music, I am fairly certain from discussions with others about these musicians that this is the same genre described as *popsa* by Lika Tsuladze, and which other people call *estrada*. In contrast to Tsuladze's report, though, Kacharava stated that traditional polyphonic music is not at all popular in the sense that many people listened to it on a regular basis, and while hybrid pop and rock groups are well-liked, he did not care for them. The only Georgian musician he seemed to admire was Irakli Charkviani, a hard rock musician and poet who died in 2006. For him, genres like jazz, rock, and electronica carry a high level of prestige, and he described the audience for his radio station as people employed at banks and the like, which is a very respected profession in Georgia.

At the same interview, Kacharava cautioned me about taking people's descriptions of their favorite music at face value. Several people had told me that they prefer jazz most of all, and he scoffed at this and told me to ask them for the names of specific musicians, as most

Georgians equate jazz with George Benson and James Brown.²⁴ The same situation holds true for classical music: while many people claim they love it, very few actually listen to it. In particular, the classical radio station Muza earned his ire, as he believed it would not exist without the patronage of First Lady Sandra Roelofs.

In the above genre schema, Kacharava is contrasting two separate ideas: what is popular and what is prestigious. While Dr. Tsuladze defines popular music by characteristics that are implicit in musical composition (i.e., simplicity and understandability), Kacharava measures a music's popularity by the number of people that listen to it. He does not place a value judgment on it other than to state that personally he does not care for it. By taking a stance that is critical of those that claim to like classical music and jazz, he confirms the two genres' places at the top of a hierarchy that is built around social status. Incidentally, I found a similar situation concerning traditional Georgian music. A number of young people told me that polyphonic singing was their favorite genre, but when I asked to see the collection of music they kept on their phones, it would be full of American rock music. Kacharava's favorite genres – electronica and rock – seem to fit somewhere in the middle of Dr. Tsuladze's hierarchy around where she places classic rock.

Hierarchy C: A Student's Viewpoint

Yet another system of genre classification was provided by Mariam, a graduate student in the anthropology department whom I met in Dr. Tsuladze's subcultural theory seminar. She wrote her master's thesis on the use of social networking websites by Georgian youth, and I

²⁴ In Georgia, James Brown is considered to be a jazz musician, and this is part of the reason Mr. Kacharava believed that many people truly did not understand jazz.

interviewed her about file-sharing. In the twenty or so interviews she conducted for her thesis, many of her peers placed a high level of importance on maintaining an image of “coolness” online, which she expressed by the phrase *k’ai t’ip’i* (a good sort). Youths with this high level of status generally live in the Vak’e neighborhood, come from wealthy families, and vacation in France or Spain for several weeks during the summer. All of these things must be made extremely evident in their Facebook profiles in order for them to keep their high social position. Displaying the best music is another part of conveying status, and this is done by constantly posting videos on one’s Facebook wall. Miriam said that she routinely spends hours looking for just the right song, and then agonizes over whether her friends will like them or not. In general, the best music means American rock from the 1970s and 1980s, but never American pop, because everyone has access it. New music and undiscovered bands do not convey much status, because no one knows whether they are the “best” music yet. Jazz and classical music are never posted, but the Georgian ethno-jazz group 33a and the local hard rock musician Irakli Charkviani convey sufficient coolness to have a high status.

Miriam’s description gives a slightly different perception of the social status conveyed by various genres, as she is significantly younger than both Lika Tsuladze and Temur Kacharava, and students have a different perception of which are the most important genres. Jazz and classical music do not have a high social status for younger people; instead, that top position goes to a select number of local hybrid musicians or to American rock music.²⁵ In Dr. Tsuladze’s schema, this would fall somewhere in the middle of the hierarchy. Miriam’s

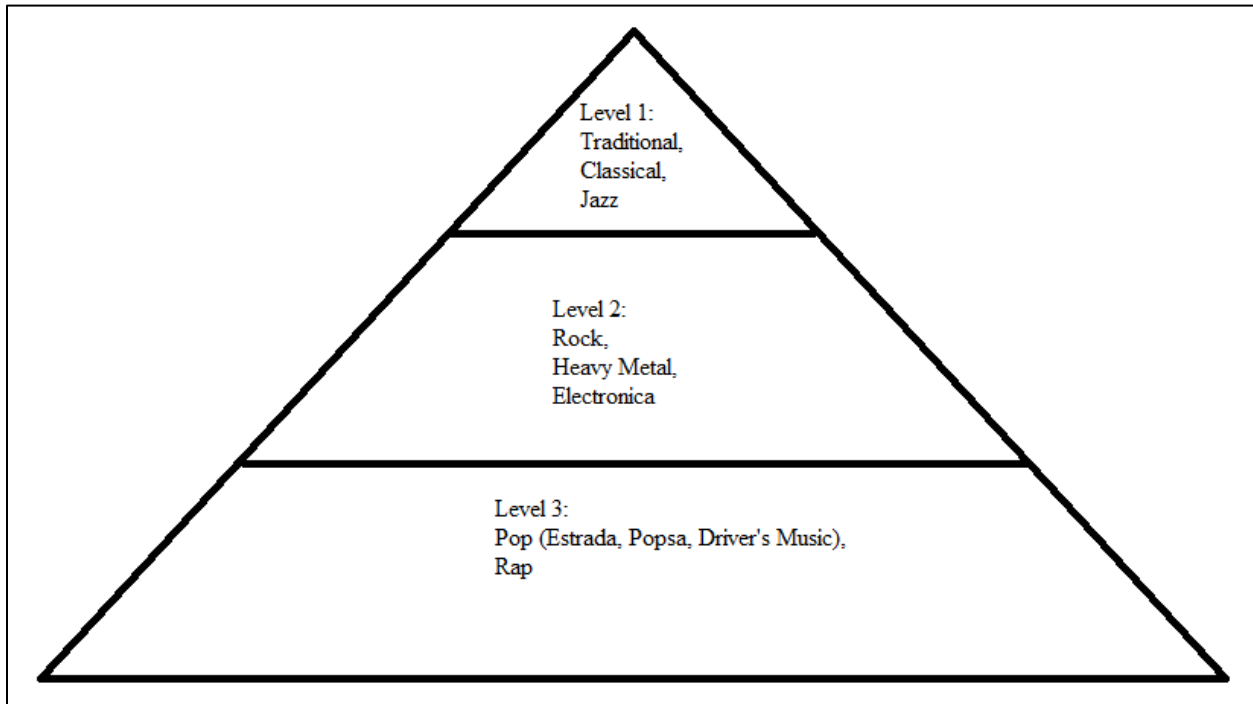
²⁵ In other interviews and in observations at concerts, I noticed that the particular types of American rock music favored by young people are 1970s progressive rock and grunge music from the 1990s.

account agrees with both Dr. Tsuladze's and Kacharava's, however, in granting very low prestige to pop and hip hop.

A Comparison and Synthesis of the Hierarchies

To what do these three typologies refer? They are not necessarily indicative of the personal preferences and values of the three people who described them to me; if that were the case, I would expect much more divergence between a university professor in her mid-thirties, a twenty-something college student, and a young-ish media professional. Instead, all three take music as a signifier of social class, and that accounts for the lack of variation between the accounts. All three of the hierarchies they described have approximately three layers: a top layer, generally occupied by jazz, classical, traditional, and hybrid genres; a middle layer, which is given to Western rock music and (for Kacharava, at least) electronica, as well as to the Georgian musicians that perform in the same styles; and a bottom layer that all three agree belongs to pop and hip hop (Fig. 2.1).

Figure 2.1. A genre hierarchy.



The differences between the three hierarchies can partially be traced to the positionality of the person describing the genre. Dr. Tsuladze, who can be considered to be a member of a high status group due to her occupation as a professor, places a high value upon the genres that convey a very high status. Her position is quite different from Miriam, a twenty-something year old student whose friends prefer the kinds of genres Dr. Tsuladze would consider to be at the middle of the genre hierarchy. For older generations, *estrada* might be nearer the top of the hierarchy rather than at the bottom.

Miriam's account of the genre hierarchy for young people seems to be fairly consistent with wider trends among her peer group. I noticed over a period of several years that rock and electronica videos are frequently posted on Facebook by Georgians in their teens and twenties, and the youths I saw at concerts listened to bands that musically emulate rock from the 1970s and 1990s. On *Tbilisi Forum*, several threads were dedicated to people listing their favorite

albums or the albums they felt were the most significant. Commenters writing in these threads listed bands like the Beatles, Pink Floyd, and Led Zeppelin the most frequently, alongside such bands from the 1990s as Nirvana, U2, and Radiohead. In addition, about once a month various clubs and cafes in Tbilisi would hold either cover nights, where local bands would play the greatest hits of 1970s and 1990s rock, or they would show movies like Pink Floyd's *The Wall* (1982, based on an album that was recorded in 1979). All these activities add credence to the idea that rock music from the 1970s and 1990s is highly valued and holds a great deal of status for young people.

PART TWO: THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRYING TO DEFINE GENRES

A debate exists in popular music studies between the use of the terms style and genre, particularly in relation to two related matters. Both terms have to do with establishing similarities and differences between pieces to organize them into categories and John Fiske states that this is in order to create expectations in audience members about what they will hear or see (2011:109). While the term style is preferred in musicology, genre is used to refer to almost the same thing in media and cultural studies (Moore 2001:432). Since all these fields inform popular music studies, this contradictory use of terminology can be unclear. A second debate concerns how style and genre come to be defined. In "Categorical Conventions in Music Discourse: Style and Genre," Allan Moore develops a more comprehensive definition of the two terms. He states that both relate to musical gestures, but that style refers to the manner of their articulation while genre refers to their identity and context: "This distinction may be characterized of 'what' an art work is set out to do (genre) and 'how' it is actualized (style)"

(Moore 2001:441). As such, genre is defined by its cultural context while style operates within the musical piece.

In the following section I use the term genre to bring my work into dialogue both with Moore's definition and with Robert Walser's *Running with the Devil* (1993), which draws attention to the role of the music industry in placing labels upon genres in order to make them sell.²⁶ I do not seek to categorize musicians or their works by musical characteristics, and therefore I do not use the term style. Instead, I describe the expectations developed by audience audience members. The terms I use to describe genre come from descriptions that bands utilize on Internet sites like MySpace and last.fm. The purpose of these sites is to draw the attention of both (Western) audiences and the music industry, and since the term genre is the one preferred in this arena, I employ the term in this dissertation. Certain websites that are commonly used by unsigned bands ask musicians to either categorize their style or to compare themselves to major international recording artists. The problem I quickly encountered was that either the labels were so specific that I could not group them together, or bands used so many tags for their styles that they seemed a bit meaningless.

Heavy metal provides a telling example of the first instance, where labels became extremely specific. There are many sub-genres of metal music, they can get very specific, and understanding the differences between them requires a great deal of expertise of the heavy metal culture. One of the most prolific metal bands in Georgia is UR, which defines itself as a progressive metal band (*Reverbnation*). Another popular metal band that plays many of the same festivals as UR is Defenders of Tanelorn, and they call themselves a death metal band

²⁶ The way the music industry operates in placing genre labels is explored further in Keith Negus's *Music Genres and Corporate Cultures* (1999), which concerns less the musical definitions of the terms and concentrates more upon how the structure of the music industry is complicit with conceptions of genre.

(*MySpace*), while another, Angel of Disease, labels themselves as a progressive death metal band (*Metal Archives*). I have heard bands describe themselves with such specific tags as a melodic death metal, depressed metal, and so forth. For the purposes of this dissertation, I have placed all metal bands under a single category, but I keep them somewhat separate from rock bands because there are a number of concerts dedicated solely to the genre.

Even rock music provides complexities when it comes to genre-labeling, in particular because bands give themselves as many labels as possible. The category of "alternative rock" seems to be particularly porous, and nearly every band in Tbilisi uses it as part of their genre description. In a way, this is not a misnomer, considering that one of the defining characteristics of alternative music is that it exists outside of the mainstream, and most Georgian rock music is ignored by the mass media. Still, it can be quite difficult to know where to draw the line between various types of rock music.

Defining pop music is quite thorny as well. This situation is a bit different, because Georgian pop singers label themselves simply as pop. In conversations with audience members, the terms "*estrada*," "*popsa*," and "pop" were used seemingly interchangeably, and I struggled to get a sense of the differences between the three terms.

Part Three: The Top of the Hierarchy

Polyphonic Music

March 8, 2011. Tonight's concert is called "Martve" (offspring) and the logo on the posters advertising it is two baby birds facing each other while singing, with the years 1978-2011 written underneath. I am not entirely sure what the concert is honoring, but it is a major musical event. I get to the

Philharmonia at around 7:05, shortly after the concert is scheduled to start, and I am so worried about missing something important that I practically run to the ticket booth to buy my ticket. As I come inside I see swarms of young men outside the hall in red and black chokhas, and as I take my seat in the balcony there are about fifty men dressed in similar fashion performing on stage. Like several other concerts of traditional music I have attended, this one seems to be intended to show the historical continuity of Georgian folk ensembles: video clips of older performances are broadcast on the screen over the stage, and then the ensemble recreates the piece live. In one aspect this choir is totally unique, though. This is the first time I have ever seen a woman perform in a male ensemble.

The second ensemble, which I am almost certain is the Anchiskhati Church Choir, comes out wearing long choir robes in light blue trimmed with white. They sing a religious chant in a much less robust style than the first choir (softer dynamics, a darker and rounder vocal timbre) while the video screen shows pictures of deceased members of the original choir. I do not enjoy the performance as much as I would like, though, because the people around me are moving around and talking on their phones, and a woman in the row behind me has a small child that keeps crying "Lik'a Lik'a," which I think is the name of the woman sitting next to me.

Two other choirs perform, and one of them sings part of an opera by the composer Paliashvili with soloists from the Opera House. The finale involves a mass choir formed from all the concert's constituent choirs, including seven

three or four year-old boys dressed in very tiny chokhas. I videotape the mass choir until everyone gets up and herds to the front of the hall. The movement disturbs my filming, so I stop.

Polyphonic music includes the institutionalized version of folk music and the traditional music from which it is derived. In other words, if the Conservatory or the State Folklore Center researches it or sponsors concerts of it, then I have placed it in this category. Traditional Georgian music almost always means vocal music, specifically sung by men. I attended at least twenty performances of folk music at the Conservatory, the Opera House, and the Philharmonia, and only a few of them featured instruments. I also only saw a handful of groups that included female performers. Most tellingly, I witnessed several gatherings of school-age ensembles at the Conservatory, the Philharmonia and at a high school in Saburtalo, and none of the performers were female or played instruments.

In the Georgian polyphonic style, there are three independent vocal parts: the lead part occupies the middle male range, a bass drone accompanies it and the top voice does a style of rapid yodeling called *k'rimanch'uli*. The performance may begin with the two antiphonal groups singing together, but as the piece continues each group will at first sing a line individually, and, as the volume and tempo increase towards the end, the group hockets individual words.

Most of the concerts of folk music I attended consisted of a number of groups, each performing a few songs of this style. In performances, each man wears a *chokha*, a style of dress found throughout the North and South Caucasus (Fig. 2.2). Choirs can have as little as six and as many as several hundred members. Some groups may deviate from the wearing a

chokha with regional costumes and may also include traditional dancing. Georgian folk choirs will occasionally include instrumental accompaniment of the *p'anduri* (an Eastern-Georgian three-stringed lute) or the *changuri* (a slightly larger Western Georgian four-stringed lute) (Fig. 2.3).

2.2. A boys' massed choir wearing *chokha* at the Conservatory.



2.3. A girls' choir accompanied by *changuri* at the Conservatory.



The institutions where folk music is maintained are generally supported by the state or by private patrons. These include the Tbilisi State Conservatory, which contains a musicology department that appears to focus almost exclusively on Georgian music. Polyphonic music is protected by a UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage grant, and the resulting money helped found the International Center for Traditional Polyphony at the Conservatory. It has also allowed Georgian musicologists to digitize older recordings of folk music and to put on a bi-annual international conference, which I attended in October 2010. In addition to these activities, the Conservatory sponsors between ten and twenty concerts per year. The other

major institution for folk music is the State Folklore Center, which was founded in the mid-twentieth century and which conducts ethnographic projects on a regular basis throughout Georgia. In the winter and spring of 2008 I took several months' of panduri lessons with Nana Valishvili at the Center. According to her, their purpose is to preserve the authenticity of Georgian folk music, and they work closely with many villages, advising them on how to remain true to performance practices established in the early twentieth century. If the village members choose to deviate from these practices, their relationship with the Center is terminated.

Georgian Classical Music

December 2, 2010. Tonight I decide to attend one of the concerts from the Tbilisi Wind Music Festival, which is being held for a week at the Conservatory. As a bassoonist, I take advantage of every all-too-rare opportunity to hear bassoon concerti and chamber music for winds. I am excited.

The Wind Music Festival is partially sponsored by Nescafe, and when I buy my ticket I am given two single-serve samples of instant coffee. Then I take a seat in the four or fifth row of the hall, near enough to the stage so I can watch the players closely. The first piece is Paul Hindemith's bassoon and trumpet concerto, and I am embarrassed to note that even though I have not performed for several years, I still have the odd reaction of wanting to stand up when the orchestra rises to attention as the conductor walks on stage. I am quite impressed by the bassoonist's playing because he blends quite well with the

trumpet and is not buried in terms of volume.²⁷ Hindemith's piece is followed by a piece e-flat clarinet by Mendelssohn.²⁸ The second half of the concert consists of three concerti, but, as none of the soloists are bassoonists, I do not pay attention with the same breathless excitement as I do for the first half.²⁹

European classical music has been a part of Georgian musical life since the mid-nineteenth century. After the country was folded into the Russian Empire in the early 1800s, soldiers began to establish posts of Russian culture, including a Russian-language theater. As the Georgian aristocracy started to receive their educations abroad and founded a nationalist movement in Tbilisi, they began to build major Georgian cultural institutions. To this end, the Opera House and Ballet Theater was built in 1846 by Chief Governor of the Caucasus Mikheil Voronstov (*History of the Opera and Ballet Theatre*), and the Tbilisi State Conservatory was founded in 1917.

The most important composer of the pre-Soviet and early Soviet periods was Zakaria Paliashvili, who is commonly regarded as the founder of Georgian classical music. He composed in a wide variety of genres, including symphonic music, choral pieces, and the operas *Absalom da Eteri* (Absalom and Eteri) (1919) and *Daisi* (Twilight) (1923), which remain part of the repertoire of the Tbilisi Opera House to this day (Fig. 2.4). In the late Soviet and post-Soviet period, one of the most well-known composers was Gia Kancheli, who

²⁷ Performed by Bram van Sambeek (Principal Bassoon, Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra) and Frits Damrow (Principal Trumpet, Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam).

²⁸ Concert Piece no. 2 in D minor, op. 114. Performed by Levan Tskhadadze (founder and artistic director, Tbilisi Wind Festival) and Kim Rijks.

²⁹ J.S. Bach, Double Concerto for Oboe, Violin, and Orchestra in D minor, BWV 1060, performed by Maurice Bourgue (Principal Oboe, Orchestre de Paris) and Natalia Gabunia; J.M. Molter, Concerto for D Clarinet and Strings in D Major, performed by Harmen de Boer (Principal Clarinet, Dutch Radio Philharmonic Orchestra); Samuel Barber, Capricorn Concerto for Flute, Oboe, Trumpet, and Strings, performed by Kersten McCall (Principal Flute, Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam), Giorgi Gvantseladze (Principal Oboe, Munich State Opera Orchestra), and Giorgi Shamanauri.

currently lives in Belgium. Like Paliashvili, Qancheli composed in a wide variety of genres, but he is most well-known for musical theater, and he was the director of the Rustaveli Theater for approximately twenty years.

2.4. A production of *Daisi* at Tbilisi Opera House.



Jazz

Georgians are quite proud of the history of jazz in their country, and, according to a lecture put together by the State Conservatory for the United States Embassy, they consider it to be one of the centers of the genre in the former Soviet Union. Jazz has a great deal of

prestige attached to it, as evidenced by the fact that two of the most high-profile (and expensive) music events are devoted to the genre. These are the Black Sea Jazz Festival, which has been held in Batumi every summer since 2007 (*Black Sea Jazz Festival*) and the Tbilisi Jazz Festival, which holds concerts sporadically throughout the year. Performers are not always locals; moderately well-known European musicians and some relatively famous American musicians have performed, such as Erykah Badu in 2011. Both series are produced by Eastern Promotions, and, judging from their website, the company is based in Germany and manages concerts throughout the former Soviet Union. As far as I know they are the only concert promoters in the country

Ethno- Hybrids

February 14, 2011. Tonight's concert is Nino Katamadze and her band, Insight.³⁰ I feel the need to dress up since it is being held at the Philharmonia, and when I get there I am glad I bothered to do so. Despite the fact that I arrive five minutes after the concert is scheduled to begin at 7 pm, there are still a ton of people milling about outside. Since this is my first concert at the Philharmonia, I do not know where the box office is located, so I go up to some people and ask in Russian where to buy tickets. Judging from their expressions, I suspect that they do not speak Russian often, but at least they point me in the right direction. The ticket is 20 lari (USD 12.50), which is relatively expensive, and I am practically sitting in the back row of the balcony. Despite the cost, the venue is packed. The hall in the Philharmonia appears to seat between two

³⁰ Before this, I saw the group perform at the Day of Youth Festival in Kazan', Russia in June 2009.

thousand and three thousand people and it is fairly nice but not intimidating. Everything is covered in wood paneling, so the acoustics are fairly good. I find my seat in between two couples and wait another ten minutes or so for the concert to begin. The girls on the left hand side of me are Georgian, judging by their appearance, but they are chatting in Russian, comparing how long we will have to wait versus how long the concert will last. They are incredibly excited to see Katamadze perform.

The basic setup is a guitarist, a bassist, a drummer, and Katamadze herself. Before she comes out, the band plays a jazz piece featuring a soprano saxophone mimicking a duduki (a double reed aerophone common throughout the Caucasus). When Katamadze takes the stage, she is wearing the same dress from the posters and promotional materials: bright red with a round skirt wired to stand out from her body like she has a hula hoop extending from her knees. Underneath, she wears light blue heavy tights and no shoes.

Nino Katamadze and Insight perform seven or eight songs, and then the band takes a break, while she sings a song with a Georgian men's choir. They are not really doing traditional polyphony, though, but some kind of harmonized table song. Katamadze leaves the stage, and the choir sings one piece alone. Then she returns and performs with one of the professors of traditional music from the Conservatory, I believe. Finally, Insight comes back and they perform several more songs with the usual setup, before inviting a string quartet and harpist onstage to do two or three songs with the ensemble. This is the most appreciated part of the evening, judging by the crowd's reaction. Everyone in

the audience sings, even when she is scating, which seems a bit odd. The song Suliko, a setting of poetry by Akaki Tsereteli (1840 – 1915), is another crowd favorite where everyone sings along. After two more pieces, the concert ends.

In addition to performers who play American-style jazz music, there are several well-known groups that perform a fusion style generally known as ethno-jazz or ethno-rock. These groups are quite popular and perform at larger state-sponsored music festivals such as Tbilisoba, a celebration of Tbilisi's identity held every fall, and Art Geni, a festival of Georgian arts held in June at the ethnographic museum. According to Lika Tsuladze, ethno-jazz and ethno-rock bands are popular because they are symbols of Georgian national identity, which is "fashionable" among youths (Tsuladze 2009), and representative groups include Shin (Home), 33a, Zumba, Nino Katamadze, and Mgzavrebi. In the table below I list the major ensembles that are considered to be ethno-hybrids and the ways they classify themselves for Western audiences (Fig. 2.5).

2.5. Ethno-Hybrid Ensembles in Tbilisi.

MUSICIAN	STYLE	SOURCE OF CLASSIFICATION
33a	Reggae, Folk-rock	MySpace
Mgzavrebi	Acoustic/Folk/Freestyle	MySpace
Nino Katamadze	Ethno-Jazz	MySpace
Shin	Folk/Jazz	MySpace
Stumari	Acoustic/Experimental/Folk	MySpace
Zumba	Jazz/Ethno-Jazz/Folk-Rock	Reverbnation

The musical qualities that differentiate ethno- ensembles from standard jazz and rock are generally the inclusion of Georgian instruments and traditional vocal styles. Shin, a German-based group of Georgian expatriates, performs only rarely in Georgia – I only saw

them once at the Tbilisoba festival in 2010. Their concert setup includes such standard jazz/rock instrumentation as a guitar, electric bass, piano/synthesizer, and drumset, but they also include a panduri (an indigenous 3-stringed lute) and a duduki, a double-reed aerophone of Persian origin that is found throughout the Caucasus.³¹ Their music also features a great deal of jazz-like improvisation using the kinds of vocables typical of the *k'rimanch'uli* of Georgian polyphonic music.

PART FOUR: THE MIDDLE LAYER

Rock

November 29, 2010. The first concert I attend at the Rock Club features the Sticklers and the Georgians. I do not want to miss anything so I get there a little before 7 pm, when the doors are supposed to open. I watch the group that gathers in the street outside the club, and they do not move inside until around 7:30. Most of the people look like they are in their late teens and early twenties, and they are not dressed in a style associated with any particular music subculture, although a few of them are wearing T-shirts for American bands. I am one of the last to go inside and I get stuck in line. Tickets are GEL 5 (USD 3.13) or 7 (4.38), depending on whether the audience member wants beer, and the actual tickets are paper airplanes of various colors. The club is very tiny – about fifteen feet by fifty feet – and is dimly lit with a low, curved ceiling. At one

³¹ The duduk is commonly thought of as an Armenian instrument in the West; however, Georgian ethnomusicologists have told me that it is of Persian and not Armenian origin. They do not claim that it is a Georgian instrument, but they simply transfer its origins from one foreign nationality to another. The fact that much of the Caucasus has a shared culture gives credence to their argument. For a more complete treatment of the contested nature of the duduk in the Caucasus, see Natasha Kipp's article, "Creating a Cultural Battlefield: Musical Masterpieces and the Role of UNESCO," in *Cultural Paradigms and Political Change in the Caucasus* (Tsitsishvili 2010).

end near the door is a tiny bar and I position myself in the back opposite it. Tables line the sides of the hall (perhaps two or three per side) and over them hangs posters and memorabilia from various Western rock groups. There are perhaps a hundred people present.

After I am in the room for about five minutes a guy comes up and asks if I am a friend of his friend, one of the Teach and Learn Georgia people. I say no, but he offers to let me sit at his table anyway (I decline because I want to watch and observe, and this turns out to be a huge mistake). At around 7:45 the Sticklers start their portion of the performance. In my opinion, they are pretty good, a punk band that does a lot of covers as well as some original music. Their covers include the Sex Pistol's "Anarchy in the USA" as well as a Clash tune whose name I cannot remember. The audience is quite enthusiastic and I see a lot of moshing, to the point that I am afraid I am going to get hit.

Halfway through the Sticklers' performance, another guy comes up to me and offers me a shot of vodka. He stands approximately eight inches in front of me and asks me in Georgian if I am Jewish (ebraeli khar?).³² I say I am from America and he seems quite shocked by that. He leaves when I said I do not understand because of the noise level, but then he comes back about ten minutes later, evidently after asking a friend how to say "Jewish" in Russian (yevrei). Yet again I reply that I am not Jewish but Christian, this time in Russian, and he just stands there, less than a foot away from me, and stares,

³² One of my language instructors had been Jewish, so I was familiar with the term.

*blocking any possible way for me to exit. I text a friend that I am intimidated by the situation and end up leaving the venue before the show is over.*³³

The majority of rock bands in Tbilisi do not differ sonically from their American and Western European counterparts. The instrumentation is quite standard – drums, guitar, bass, and so forth – and the language used is either English or Georgian. Rather more significant, I think, is the particular way that Georgian musicians emulate Anglo-American popular culture, and the sub-genres of rock in which they perform.

A few of the favorite sub-genre labels that Georgian rock bands assign themselves are alternative, indie, and grunge. In American parlance, indie and alternative refer to very nearly the same thing, a kind of rock music that emerged outside the purview of major record labels in the 1980s and early 1990s. Bands that perform in an indie or alternative style generally have a slightly less polished or overproduced sound than rock bands that have the backing of major record labels, because less money was involved in producing them. It is not uncommon for Georgian rock bands to label themselves as grunge, a genre that died out almost twenty years ago in the United States. Grunge refers to an alternative/indie music scene that developed in Seattle in the late 1980s and early 1990s which musically combined heavy metal and hardcore punk. The lyrics were considered to be thematically darker than the mainstream rock of the time: rather than focusing on drinking or partying, common topics included suicide and drug overdoses. When grunge bands like Nirvana became famous internationally around 1991, their style of dress became notorious for its dressed-down, messy aesthetic of flannel shirts, ripped clothing, hiking boots, and unwashed hair. After the suicide of Nirvana's lead singer Kurt

³³ Later on I discovered that members of the Jewish community in Georgia are stereotyped as red-heads, so his question was not as strange as it seemed at the time.

Cobain in 1994, grunge music went into decline and had virtually disappeared by the mid to late 1990s (Fig. 2.6).

2.6. Rock bands in Tbilisi.

MUSICIAN	STYLE	SOURCE OF CLASSIFICATION
Alubali	Rock	Last.fm
Bakur Burduli	Alternative/Power-Pop/Rock	MySpace
Buddhuza	Alternative/Pop/Rock	MySpace
Butaforia	Alternative/Punk/Hardcore	
Circus Closet	Acoustic/Indie/Pop	MySpace
Comic Condition	Rock/Punk	Reverbnation
Dog Weather	Alternative/Rock	MySpace
Irakli Charkviani	Indie Rock	MySpace
Ketrine da Me	Alternative	MySpace
Kibatono (Yes Sir)	Classic	Last.fm
Lado Burduli	Rock/Alternative	Geo Live Music
Landmark	Indie/Post-Punk	MySpace
Loudspeakers	Alternative/Indie	Geo Live Music
Mirror Illusion	Rock/Grunge/Alternative	Reverbnation
Monoplane	Punk/Alternative/Grunge	Geo Live Music
Mts'vane Otakhi (Green Room)	Alternative	Last.fm
Mutual Friends	Alternative/Indie Rock/Pop Rock	Reverbnation
Nali Band	Bluegrass/Classic Rock/Rockabilly	MySpace
Nebo CCCP	Russian Rock/Alternative/Grunge	Georgian Underground
Paata Charashvili	Grunge	Soundclick
Pink Panther	Post-Punk/Brit-Pop	Pink Panther blog
Play Paranoid	Alternative/Indie	Reverbnation
Plus Master	Alternative/Progressive	Reverbnation
Pornopoezia	Punk/Alternative	Geo Live Music
Prani	Folk Rock	MySpace
Ketato	Alternative/Rock/New Wave	Reverbnation
Rema	Alternative/Numetal/Progressive	Reverbnation
Sanda	Soft Rock/Folk/Acoustic	MySpace
Shadow's Eye	New Wave Grunge	MySpace
Shuki Movida (Light Came)	Rock/Alternative	Last.fm
Sour Skin	Rock/Grunge/Alternative	Reverbnation

SPID (AIDS)	Alternative	Last.fm
Tetanus	Alternative/Punk	MySpace
The Georgians	Indie/Brit-Pop/Alternative	Reverbnation
The Smile	Folk/Rock/Acoustic	Geo Live Music
The Sticklers	Rock/Pop-Punk/Garage Rock	Reverbnation
Ts'erili (Letter)	Alternative	Ts'erili's blog
Utsnobi (Stranger)	Alternative	Last.fm
Vodka Vtraiom	Alternative/Grunge/Punk	Reverbnation
Young Georgian Lolitaz	Indie/Alternative	Last.fm

Many Georgian rock bands consciously emulate American popular music. One of the most obvious examples of this is the proliferation of cover concerts. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, it was typical for placards on the streets to advertise concerts of major Western bands, and the actual concerts themselves would consist either of Georgian bands playing covers, or of recordings of Western bands being played in concert settings. This practice continues in a modified version today. During my dissertation year, cover concerts were held about once a month or so at various venues. At one such concert I attended, a celebration of Nirvana lead singer Kurt Cobain's birthday, several fairly well-known local groups played a variety of Nirvana songs. The playlists are generally announced in advance, with not only the name of the bands that are performing, but the actual songs that they are covering.

Georgian rock fans show respect to major Western artists in other ways as well. I quickly noticed in 2010 that T-shirts of Western rock bands had become very common among young people, which seemed strange considering I could not recall seeing a single one during my previous research trip in 2007 and 2008. These T-shirts look like the ubiquitous ones available at any large concert in the United States, and generally feature such bands as Nirvana. Kurt Cobain's image is a typical one that appears emblazoned across the chests of many young Georgian men, as is Marilyn Manson's. A small group of Georgian teenagers wear these shirts

as regular street clothing, but they can be seen almost constantly at rock concerts (Fig. 2.7). Even when Georgian rock fans do not wear T-shirts citing their affiliations for Western rock bands, they dress to emulate the styles associated with various genres. In particular, they seem to prefer the kinds of clothing typical of the Seattle grunge scene in the early and mid-1990s: flannel shirts, torn jeans, and hiking boots.

2.7. A rock fan wearing an Ozzy Osbourne T-shirt at Altvision.



These fans go to a great deal of effort to build wardrobes that resemble those of Western rock audiences. It is simply not possible to buy concert T-shirts in Georgia – I never

saw them available. I asked one rock fan where he got his T-shirt, and where his friends got them, and he replied that they ordered them online from American stores, and his came from the retailer Hot Topic. Until around 2009 the only way to obtain items from abroad was to have them shipped to a friend in the United States and have it either carried by and or shipped privately via DHL. Shopping habits changed in 2009 when a company called USA2Georgia was founded. This shipping firm allowed Georgians to have online purchases sent to a warehouse in the United States, and once enough goods were gathered, a cargo plane shipped them to Georgia. The cost is comparatively cheap at only eight dollars a kilo, and this allowed Georgians to obtain a better quality and a greater variety of goods than they would be able to purchase in stores. This is how Georgian youths acquire their concert T-shirts. Considering that the total cost of one includes buying it online, plus shipping it to a warehouse in the United States, plus the cost of flying it to Georgia, a Hot Topic T-shirt can cost between 50 and 100 dollars. That is a great deal of money to spend in order to affiliate oneself with a particular Western musician.

Towering over all other local rock musicians is Irakli Charkviani, also referred to as *mepe* (king, ruler), a poet and rock musician who died in 2006 at the age of 45. Charkviani came from a prominent family: his grandfather was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian SSR's Communist Party from 1938-1952 and his father is Georgia's current ambassador to the UK. He joined his first rock band in 1976, but did not become famous until 1988, when his album was released by Melodiya. During the 1990s and early 2000s, Charkviani released a series of albums and toured in Russia and in Eastern Europe (*Georgian Live Music*). After he died of heart failure in 2006, he became a symbol of Georgian rock music, and he was the single most frequently cited musician by musicians and audience

members in the interviews I conducted. He also has 40,000 fans on Facebook, the largest number I have seen for a Georgian musician.

Heavy Metal

June 2, 2011. U.R's performance on the second day of Tbilisi Open Air Alter / Vision is noteworthy because it is accompanied by perhaps the most enthusiastic crowd response I have ever seen in Georgia. Even as the band is setting up, a huge number of people gather and start cheering and screaming. A mosh pit forms where guys without shirts hit each other and run around. Strangely enough, the mosh pit migrates from one part of the audience to another. During one song it is located to the far right of the stage, and during another it is right in front of the stage. I get quite annoyed because people start flinging open water bottles around and tossing them in the air. I get soaked a couple of times, which makes me cranky.

Heavy metal should properly be considered a sub-genre of rock music, and is characterized by a sizeable amount of amplified distortion, overall loudness, and virtuosic guitar playing (Walser 1993). Unlike other rock sub-genres in Tbilisi, heavy metal has a relatively defined scene attached to it. This may be in part due to several festivals that occur each year specifically devoted to heavy metal music, and to the fact that several internationally-known metal bands have performed in Georgia, such as Sweden's Dark Tranquility and Brazil's Sepultura in July 2011.³⁴ Metal musicians across the globe use a number of sub-sub-genre classifications, and Georgian bands are no different, as is shown in the chart below (Fig. 2.8).

2.8. Heavy metal bands in Tbilisi.

MUSICIAN	STYLE	SOURCE OF CLASSIFICATION
Angel of Disease	Death Metal/Progressive Metal	MySpace
Defenders of Tanelorn	Death Metal/Folk/Metal	MySpace
Diabolus Sanctus	Black Metal	MySpace
Duality	Alternative Metal	Soundclick
Efemera	Metalcore/Melodic	Reverbnation
Eldrine	Alternative Rock/Nu-metal	Wikipedia ³⁵
Kairmorkhen	Metal/Punk	MySpace
Nina's Dimension	Metal/Rock	MySpace
Pastor	Thrash Metal/Symphonic Metal	Tbilisi Forum
PI Light	Metal/Alternative/Rock	MySpace
Psychometria	Metalcore/Deathcore	Facebook
Sweet Poison	Metal/Experimental/Melodic	Reverbnation

The two bands that should be particularly noted on this list are Eldrine and PI Light, due to the attention they have received internationally. Eldrine represented Georgia in the 2011 Eurovision Song Contest, where they placed ninth overall. PI Light received a record contract from a small label located in New Jersey, which makes them fairly unique among Georgian rock musicians.

Electronica

June 11, 2011. Me and My Monkey (Me da Chemi Maimuni) perform on the Saturday night of Tbilisi Open Air Alter / Vision at around 9:30 or 10. I am standing right next to the speakers in front of the stage at the beginning of the set, and the volume is overpowering. The last time I saw the group perform was

³⁴ Sepultura was scheduled to perform at a metal festival in Batumi in July 2011, but they cancelled about a month before the event took place due to concerns over the region's political instability.

³⁵ Why Wikipedia, a notoriously unreliable source of reference data? The pages for musicians on the site are maintained collaboratively between performers and their fans, therefore the musical categories listed on it represent a kind of agreement on musical genre.

at Altvision Newcomers in October (and I did not realize who they were) so I do not have any specific expectations.

The group has two members: one does programming on a laptop and the other plays the guitar. Clearly, the group is the big draw of the evening: the crowd goes nuts when they come on stage and start enthusiastically dancing. This contrasts with the behavior of the crowd in general during the festival, which is quite calm.

Electronica is very closely associated with alternative rock music in terms of the audience that listens to it. In general, electronica is characterized by the fact that musicians do not play standard rock instruments such as the guitar and drums. Instead, they use computer programming to create musical sounds, and while performing live the stage contains one or more computers. According to the above-mentioned owner and program director of a radio station that plays electronica, it is fast becoming a high-status genre in Tbilisi. A number of electronica groups perform in Tbilisi (Fig. 2.9).

2.9. Electronica groups in Tbilisi.

MUSICIAN	STYLE	SOURCE OF CLASSIFICATION
Accidental Lover Boyz	Electronica	Last.fm
Giga Mikaberidze	Electro-Acoustic/Lounge	MySpace
Kung Fu Junkie	Pop Electronica	Last.fm
Mts'vane Otakhi	Experimental Rock/Electronica	Geo Live Music
Me and My Monkey	Electronica/Indie	ReverbNation
Natalie Beridze	Electronica	MySpace
Nikakoi	Electronica	Yahoo Music
Okinawa Lifestyle	Electro/Tropical	MySpace
The Forest	Electronica/Deep/Minimal	ReverbNation

Two electronica groups have a strong local following and perform on a semi-regular basis. The first is Me and My Monkey (*Me da Chemi Maimuni*), which was formed in 2007 by Sandro Chinchaladze. He was joined in 2008 by Gacha Bakradze (*Reverbnation*). In 2011, the duo announced on their Facebook page that Bakradze would be leaving the group, and he was replaced by Vazha Marr. Me and My Monkey is perhaps the most successful electronica group in Georgia; according to their blog, they perform in Georgia and nearby countries approximately once a month, including many of the major festivals like Altvision and Electronauts (*Me and My Monkey*). They have also performed in Western Europe, and released the track "The Mind of Many" via the Internet through the German label UKW Records (*MySpace*).

Another major electronica group in Georgia is Kung Fu Junkie, which also formed in 2007. The description the group provides in their Soundcloud page is that they are a "pop electronic circus of happy sad Chinese robots, urban shaolin monks, red lipsticks and smart drugs." (*Soundcloud*). Like Me and My Monkey, Kung Fu Junkie performs regularly at many of the major music festivals in Georgia.

PART FIVE: THE BOTTOM OF THE HIERARCHY

Hip Hop

January 22, 2011. I get to the Rock Club at around 7:30 and there are a few people milling around outside buying tickets. After waiting five or six minutes, I go inside. The doors to the venue are not open yet, perhaps because the band is doing a sound check, so I stand in the hallway with about a dozen other people. Tonight's performers are K!d, a rapcore group that mixes punk

and rap. Their logo is of a little boy urinating. At around 7:45 the bouncer lets us into the venue, and most of the people go to the six tables lining the sides of the room. A couple of girls come over near where I am standing in the back, but not to talk to me. They want to look at the memorabilia on the walls. I notice some people glancing over at me, but no one is staring and no one harasses me.

At around 8 pm, the band is ready to play. It consists of five members: four male and one female. The singer has long hair and black eye makeup on his right eye similar to the markings football players use during games (or he has a black eye). He is wearing the T-shirt of a heavy metal band and longer shorts (Georgian men do not typically wear shorts, even in summer). There are two guitar players. One (on stage right) is dressed very conventionally, with short hair and a button-down shirt over a T-shirt. The other is shirtless with eye makeup, smeared red lipstick, and Xs made of black electrical tape over his nipples. The drummer looks to be the youngest of the group. All I can see of him are his braided dreadlocks. The bass player is a woman, and she looks surprisingly conventional, kind of like a hip grad student. She seems somewhat older, maybe twenty-five or twenty-six and she wears glasses and shoulder-length hair.

Not only are all the songs in English, but the banter between songs is in English as well. The singer commands the audience to be silent, which does not work, and he often has them yell things back to him (like fuck). At one point he even says, "Everyone here likes to fuck. Say fuck!" By around 8:15 more and more people are starting to show up and the area between the tables begins

filling with people. Up near the stage there are a lot of people filming the mosh pit, especially one girl that is doing a bizarre combination of a hippie interpretive dance and head-banging. A lot of the women in the audience have surprisingly long hair, and this one in particular has left it black and dyed the ends green.

The first set takes about 45 minutes, and by the end of it I am tired and feeling quite conspicuous. Because I am going to a punk show the following night, I decide that it is all right to leave before the show is over. Little do I know that this is the only performance involving any kind of variation of rap that I will see in Tbilisi.

There are very few hip hop musicians in Georgia: a number of threads on *Tbilisi Forum* have debated whether the genre can even be considered to exist at all in the country. The general consensus seems to be that while there are a few hip hop performers (Fig. 2.10), one cannot really consider the genre to truly exist in Georgia because there is no particular scene devoted to it in the same way that there is a dedicated group of rock fans (*Tbilisi Forum*). I must admit that I never had a chance to attend a hip hop concert in Tbilisi because of the rarity of performances of the genre.

2.10. Hip hop performers in Tbilisi.

MUSICIAN	STYLE	SOURCE OF CLASSIFICATION
Bedina	Rap	Tbilisi Forum
BERA	Hip Hop	Wikipedia
DJ Kabu	Rap	Forum
Emkay	Hip Hop	Soundclick
Jeronimo	Rap	Forum
K!D	Rapcore	Poster

Leks-Eni	Rap	Tbilisi Forum
Pancho	Hip Hop	Last.fm
Shavi P'rintsi	Rap	Tbilisi Forum
Onise	Hip Hop	Tbilisi Forum

The father of Georgian hip hop is Shavi P'rintsi (The Black Prince), who began performing in the 1990s. One of the most well-known hip hop performers right now is BERA, who has his music played a great deal on radio and television. BERA's proper name is Bera Ivanishvili, and he is the son of the current (as of the last week of October 2012) Prime Minister, Bidzina Ivanishvili. His family acquired a personal fortune of several billion dollars in Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and they were based in France for many years. Bidzina Ivanishvili is one of the major patrons of local arts institutions such as the Georgian National Museum and the Opera House, and his bank, Cartu Bank, funds many of the large rock festivals. BERA became popular around 2009, and in late 2010 his father declared an intention to start a political party, called Georgian Dream, which would challenge President Saakashvili's party, Georgia United, for control of the country. BERA's largest hit to date is his song, "Georgian Dream," which was regularly played on the radio and its video on television. In late September 2012, Georgian Dream won a majority of the seats in the parliamentary elections, and Bidzina Ivanshvili subsequently became Prime Minister.

Pop

April 1, 2011. Tonight's estrada concert is at the Sports Palace, which is blessedly free both of cigarette smoke and sexual harassment. The show is sponsored by Red Bull, so I get a free can when I go inside. I do not drink it at

first, but sip some of it after the performers take the stage. I never realized how much Red Bull tastes like cough syrup.

The first act of the evening is the Eliava Street Boys, a cover pop group. They are dressed unusually – one is wearing red tartan pants with the crotch around his knees, and another has a quasi-military getup. They cover pop classics translated into Georgian, including songs by the Backstreet Boys ("As Long as You Love Me," "I Want it That Way"), Britney Spears' "...Baby One More Time," Everything But the Girl's "Missing," and at least one song by the Black Eyed Peas ("I Gotta Feeling").

The audience seems a bit tentative in their reaction. I am seated near the top of the bleachers in the basketball stadium directly in front of the stage, but most people are sitting on the sides. I would guess that there are between five hundred and a thousand people in attendance, which sounds like a huge amount but does not nearly fill a quarter of the arena.³⁶ For a few of the songs, people move down to the floor to stand in front of the band, but they are not moving around or dancing.

Between the first and the second sets is a DJ performance for about 15 minutes, and then Vera Brezhneva takes the stage. She is Ukrainian, but works as the presenter on a Russian game show. This part of the evening is just standard Russian popsa. She has four backup dancers, two female and two male, and the female ones are dressed in stripper-like outfits. Towards the middle of the set the girls go off stage and stripped down to bras, panties, and

³⁶ The arena holds approximately 11,000 people.

thigh-high stockings, and Vera Brezhneva brings some guy from the audience on stage, blindfolds him, and has one of the backup dancers give him a lapdance. Before the lapdance she joked in Russian that one of the men in the audience can take her on a sightseeing tour after the concert, and apparently this man happens to have a good car. The rest of the concert passed without similar incidents.

Any time I have had a discussion with anyone about popular music in Georgia, three different terms are used: *estrada*, *popsa*, and *shoperis musik'a* (driver's music).³⁷ Each one carries a slightly different connotation and conveys different things depending on the situation in which it is used. I received an unexpected crash course on how popular music genres are defined in Georgia from Lika Tsuladze. When I initially explained my project to her (in English, as she has studied at several American universities), I used the term "popular music" without thinking, meaning it in the sense that it is used in American academia, i.e., any genre of music that has been developed within a framework of commodification. Later, as Dr. Tsuladze introduced me to the head of the sociology department, an expert on Georgian media, she used the term *popsa* in Georgian, which I thought was an equivalent to popular music. Immediately, the professor got a look of incredulity and slight disgust on his face, which he quickly concealed. I heard him ask Dr. Tsuladze a few minutes later whether I was really serious about studying "that music they play in restaurants," and he said that he probably could not help me. Dr. Tsuladze's graduate students had a similar reaction when I said I was studying

³⁷ *Shoperis Musik'a* can also be called *marshrutka pop*. Both terms have the same literal meaning, since *shoperi* means chauffeur in Georgian, and thus alludes to the driver of a *marshrutka*.

popsa (again, thinking it was the equivalent of the term popular music): they could not believe that anyone would be interested in such a subject.

A few months after these incidents occurred, I met a lovely anthropology professor at Tbilisi State University who was also an amateur musician. As we were conversing in Russian, I said that I was interested in *populyarnaya muzyka* (popular music), and she clarified whether I meant *estrada*. I said, of course, and as well as other genres like rock and rap. She was delighted and said she loved *estrada*, and a few days later she introduced me to a local jazz composer and vocal coach. As I talked to more and more people about local music it became more and more obvious that these two terms – *popsa* and *estrada* – sometimes referred to the same musicians, and I got the impression that they were referring to the same genre. To make matters even more confusing, the term *shoperis musik'a* or even marshrutka pop was used in reference to these same musicians.

Basically, the broadest term for popular music that carries the most neutral meaning is *estrada*. This genre was developed as the main light musical genre in the Soviet Union as a response to the encroachment of Western pop music. The term literally means "stage" in Russian, and it can refer to any kind of light entertainment, including things like circus acts. In reference to music, it generally indicates a vocal-based style. Early Georgian *estrada* singers such as Inola Gurgulia in the 1950s and 1960s sang in a lounge-like style and were accompanied by a piano, organ, or guitar. By the 1970s and 1980s (and continuing until today), *estrada* singers used synthesizers and occasionally instrumental ensembles as accompaniment. The term can be used to refer to any vocal genre of popular singers and I have even heard American singers like Michael Jackson referred to using it.

In Georgia, *estrada* is the dominant style of music that is played on the radio and seen on television, and it is the genre which Temur Kacharava called the most popular in Georgia (Fig. 2.11). Live performance generally takes place at restaurants, where elderly singers accompany themselves with synthesizers. While the term *estrada* is aesthetically neutral, its meaning has become somewhat politicized because of a misunderstanding of a Georgian law that was passed in 2010. Parliament made it illegal to do any maintenance to Soviet-era monuments and landmarks, and people interpreted that to mean that singing Soviet-era Russian-language *estrada* was forbidden. Many people were upset about this, because the older generation enjoy listening to and singing older Russian-language music.

Popsa is a derogatory term for newer forms of *estrada*. In his book *Estrada?!*, David MacFadyen uses the term *popsa* in reference to Russian boy bands of the late 1990s and early 2000s, but he does not define what it means (2002:25). As I saw in Tbilisi, people used the term *popsa* to refer to any kind of vocal music that was deemed to be somewhat tasteless. *Shoperis musik'a* (or its equivalent term *marshrutka pop*) refers to vocal music that is played in various forms of transportation, including taxicabs, *marshrutka*, and the bazaars attached to metro stations. I describe this scenario further in Chapter Three. Based on the trips I have made via *marshrutka* to neighboring countries and conversations I have had with other scholars, this kind of music is heard throughout the Caucasus and Central Asia. In addition to the kinds of vocal music mentioned above, *shoperis musik'a* can also include instrumental music, usually similar to Georgian folk music and incorporating synthesizers along with traditional instruments like the flute. I asked people at the Conservatory about this kind of music, and no one could tell me where it originated or who performs it.

2.11. Pop singers in Tbilisi.

MUSICIAN	STYLE	SOURCE OF CLASSIFICATION
Ani Siradze	Pop, World	Reverbnation
Anri Jokhadze	Pop	Wikipedia
Dato Khujadze	Pop	Wikipedia
Diana Gurtskaya	Pop	Wikipedia
Kuchis Bich'ebi (Street Boys)	Pop	MySpace
Nini Badurashvili	Pop	IMDB
Nini Shermadini	Pop	Last.fm
Nino Chkheidze	Pop	MySpace
Nodiko Tatishvili	Pop	Wikipedia
Salome Korkotashvili	Pop	Last.fm
Sakhe (Face)	Pop	Last.fm
Seisheni	Pop	Reverbnation
Sons of Carpenter (SOC)	Pop/Alternative/Indie	Reverbnation
Sopo Khalvashi	Pop	Wikipedia
Stepane & 3G	Pop	Wikipedia
Str!ng	Brit-Pop/Pop-Rock	Last.fm
Vakhtang Kikabidze	Pop, Estrada	Wikipedia

Estrada (or *popsa*, or *marshrutka pop*) is the style of music most frequently played on radio and television. Its major performers, listed above, do not generally perform at the large festivals that are populated with rock bands, but at the more exclusive lounges, clubs, and restaurants, particularly in resort areas. I attended one major pop concert in Tbilisi at the Sports Pavilion, featuring the Ukrainian singer Vera Brezhneva, who hosts a television show in Russia, and the Eliava Street Boys. The latter group performs covers of major Western pop groups like the Backstreet Boys and Destiny's Child that have had their lyrics translated into Georgian. Several of these musicians have represented the country at the Eurovision Song Contest: Sopo Khalvashi sang in 2007, Stepane & 3G were chosen in 2009, and Anri Jokhadze sang in 2010. Diana Gurtskaya represented Russia for Eurovision in 2009. A few others have significant recording and performing careers outside Georgia. Dato Khujadze is a popular

performer in Russia and Israel, and Nini Shermadini sang on the Greek version of the reality television show X-Factor.

Conclusion

This chapter describes the major genres represented in Georgian popular music, organized according to the levels of status that Georgians ascribe to them. For the sake of space, I have not teased out the subtle nuances between various sub-genres of rock music, and I also have not gone into a great deal of detail about specific performers. I have, however, listed the particular ways that Georgian bands describe themselves in the charts included with each genre, and I have provided some background information about the performers that appear most frequently in the chapters that follow. At certain points in the rest of the dissertation I refer to these genres and musicians, and this chapter should serve as a reference point so that the reader can keep them straight.

CHAPTER THREE: MODES OF MUSIC CIRCULATION

Introduction

In Chapter One, I stated that problems concerning circulation are part of what is unique about Georgian popular music. The fact that there is very little formal infrastructure for distributing it means that alternative methods have developed. This has led to a system of music circulation that is unlike anything described in the literature on popular music due to a pronounced division between formal and informal modes of circulation. This chapter provides evidence of this split by examining the various channels through which music flows from the musician to the audience. As such, it provides a kind of institutional overview of popular music.

Sections on the mass media, music sales, and live performance are interspersed with snapshots of daily activities that are related to circulation in some way. The first vignette provides a metaphor for the difference between the formal and informal modes of circulation by comparing it to the city's transportation system. Buses and the metro are run by the city and get people virtually anywhere they need to go, but most people still prefer to take a *marshrutka*, a private transportation system that covers almost every side street but is banned from the main thoroughfares because it clogs up traffic. This is followed by a section on the mass media. The next vignette, which precedes a section on selling and downloading music, describes a trip to the *bazroba*, a local bazaar attached to the train station. Finally, the section on circulation through live performance is accompanied by an excerpt of two music events that occurred on the same night. One was a jam session held in an underground walkway below the

center of downtown Tbilisi, and the other was a free government-sponsored concert of an ethno-jazz ensemble in the tourist part of the city. These vignettes are meant to bring the concept of circulation to life.

The Official Way is Not Always the Best Way

I am standing on Aghmashenebelis Gamziri (Aghmashenebeli Avenue), the main thoroughfare in my neighborhood, Chughureti, at 10:30 on a Wednesday morning. Chughureti was re-built in the mid-19th century after the Persian invasion destroyed most of Tbilisi, and the buildings around me give the impression of not having been painted or repaired since then. For approximately ten years after the Soviet collapse, this neighborhood was the center for Tbilisi's criminal activity; wealthy Georgians and expatriates who went there risked being taken hostage or murdered. Since President Saakashvili came to power the neighborhood has been gentrified and is now home to a middle-class Georgian and Turkish population.

My plan for the day is to go to the bazroba – a market constructed out of wooden stalls and tarps outside the central train station – to buy a showerhead to replace the one that disintegrated in my hands the previous morning. The bazroba has nearly everything a person could possibly want, so I am confident they will have it. Afterwards, I intend to return home and then meet a prospective interview contact and attend a music festival. Peace Corps volunteers in the Caucasus say that it is only possible to get three things done in a day (sometimes one of those things might be brushing one's teeth), and, after numerous attempts at greater productivity, I have learned that this is true. Consequently, my day has been scheduled around the Peace Corps Rule: bazroba, interview, and concert.

As I stand there, I debate with myself over how I want to travel to the bazroba. One option would be to walk a half mile to Marjanishvili Avenue and take the metro to the train station adjacent to the bazroba. I take the metro regularly since it is hard to find another form of transportation from Chughureti across the Mt'k'vari River to the center of Tbilisi. It seems a bit silly, though, to walk a half mile to travel one metro stop when there are other alternatives available.

My neighborhood is served by a few public buses, and I start to peer at the placards on their sides to determine the major stops on their routes. A year or two before my first trip to Georgia in 2007, Saakashvili bought a fleet of European-style buses to replace the dilapidated Soviet-era ones. A taxi driver told me that these are called "Sandra buses" because the father of Sandra Roelofs, the President's wife, arranged the sale. Upon arrival in Georgia, the buses were stripped of "unnecessary" accoutrements like heat and air conditioning, so they are freezing in winter and stifling in the summer. As luck would have it, the number 27 has vagzlis moedani (train station) listed after my street, but by the time I figure this out, the bus is pulling away.

I could travel by marshrutka, a uniquely post-Soviet form of transportation (Fig. 3.1). Marshrutki (from the Russian word for itinerary) are bus / taxi hybrids, and they are the preferred method of travel for most Georgians due to their convenience. In the 1990s, the government had a hard time keeping up with the city's transportation needs, and informal privatization filled the gap with white vans that seat between 10 and 15 people. Like a bus, each one travels a designated route, and, like a taxi, they can be flagged down anywhere. It is usually possible to get from anywhere in the city to anywhere else directly. The problem with

taking one is that there are no schedules. Everyone in the city just seems to know which marshrutka goes where, and that makes it incredibly hard for a foreigner to navigate.

3.1. A marshrutka on Aghmashenebeli Avenue.



One of the more pleasant aspects of marshrutka travel is the music that blares inside them. The particular genre is called shoperis musik'a (driver's music) or, simply, marshrutka pop in recognition of the fact that the largest radio listening audience is inside taxis and marshrutki, and it is marked by a mixture of Georgian instrumental music with a combination

of traditional and jazz/pop instruments. For instance, a typical song might have drums, guitar, bass, synthesizer, and a shepherd's reed flute playing the melody. Some drivers prefer a mix of 1970s estrada or modern Russian pop. The same kind of music is also played outside metro stations, where small catch-all markets form.

As I stand on the street corner, a part of me toys with the idea of skipping the concert tonight and leaving Tbilisi for the rest of the week. It would be relatively easy: just head to the Didube metro station, pay a few lari (perhaps USD 3), and get in a marshrutka waiting in the nearby parking lot. With so little effort I could go to Gudauri, a skiing village in the mountains near the Russian border; to my friend's family's house in her natal village; or to Batumi, a locally famous resort town on the Black Sea near Turkey. It would even be possible to go to a different country; for just 40 lari (USD 24), I could go visit a fellow researcher in Yerevan, Armenia. Of course, any of these trips would mean three to six hours crammed on a small seat next to women carrying enormous bags – or worse, sitting on a stepstool next to the sliding door – while bouncing along dirt roads listening to the interminable driver's music. I shake my head, decide to be responsible, and board a marshrutka for the bazroba.

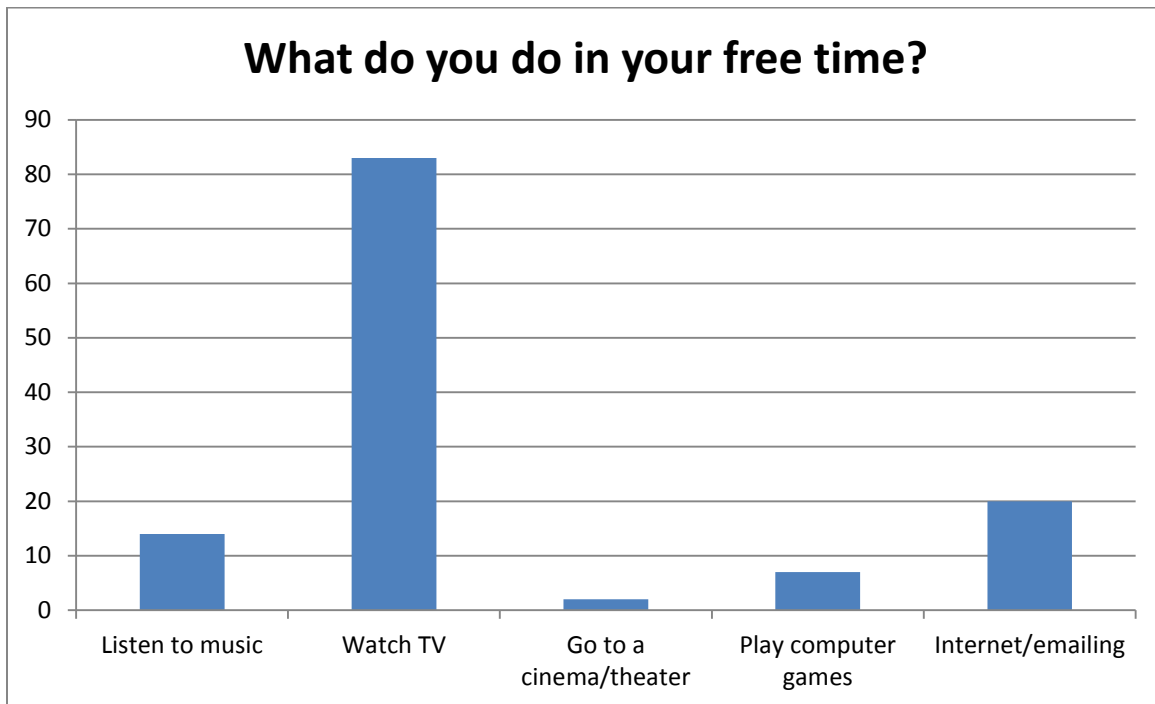
Mass Media, Or, How Music Should – But Actually Does Not – Circulate

Just as one would expect that buses would be the most common and practical way to move around the city, mass media would seem to be the most obvious place for music to circulate on a grandiose scale. This is not the case, though, as the mass media audience for music is actually rather small.

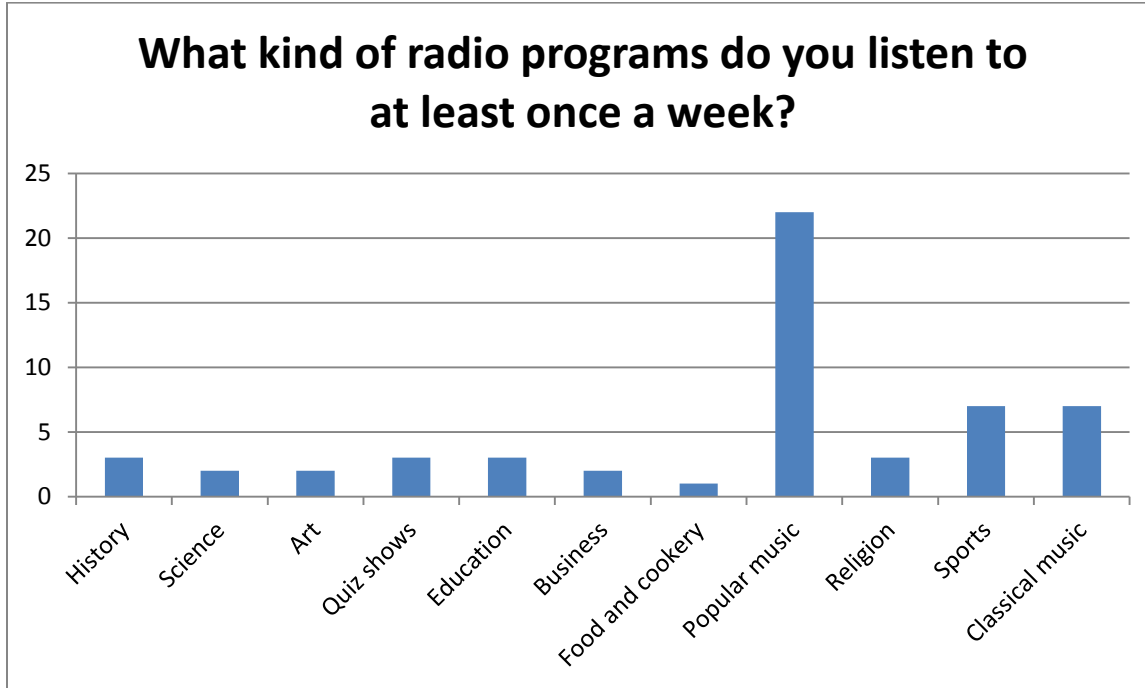
Radio Plays a Lot of Popular Music...But No One Listens to It

The first figure below illustrates the relative dominance of various media forms in the daily lives of many Georgians (Fig. 3.2). Television is obviously by far the most popular and Internet usage has a much more limited following. These two media forms will be discussed later in the chapter, but I will begin with radio because it is the medium that plays the most popular music. There are around twenty-seven radio stations in Tbilisi, but the size of the radio audience is quite small. In the CRRC 2011 Media Survey, 70% of respondents said that they do not listen to the radio. The main part of the audience consists of taxi and marshrutka drivers and they prefer popular music over any other kind of programming, as illustrated in the second figure below (Fig. 3.3).

3.2. Free time. Based on data from CRRC Media Survey 2011.



3.3. Radio programs. Based on data from CRRC Media Survey 2011.



Radio stations in Tbilisi run the gamut in business models from public broadcasting, to Western-style conglomerates, to tiny stations with a listening radius of just a few kilometers. According to a survey conducted by the Georgian National Communications Commission (GNCC), the stations Georgians listen to most frequently are Ar Daidardo (7.0%), Radio Imedi (4.9%), Fortuna (2.3%), Fortuna + (2.1%), and Pirveli Radio (1.6%). Of these, Ar Daidardo, Fortuna, and Fortuna + are all part of the same parent company, Radio Sakartvelo, which also owns Avto Radio and the television station Tbilisi Music Box. The company is run similarly to Western radio stations: each has a clear vision and a distinct playlist developed from their own market research. Ar Daidardo plays Georgian music such as *estrada*. Fortuna and Fortuna + have a format similar to American Top 40 radio, although Fortuna + is geared towards a slightly younger audience. Both of these stations are most popular with teenagers and young

adults. Radio Imedi is owned by the same private company as the television station of the same name, and Pirveli Radio is part of Georgian Public Broadcasting. I was not able to do interviews at the latter two stations.³⁸

Other stations cater to more specific listening tastes and have more limited broadcast radii. When applying to the GNCC, each station must identify a vacant spot for the local audience that their programming can fill, and, if their vision is strong enough, they are granted a license. The actual cost of acquiring a license is small, but the equipment for running a station can be quite expensive, including renting a space, buying the technical apparatus, and acquiring recordings. In the case of Radio Muza, the classical station, colleagues from a Dutch radio station donated recordings, but others use downloaded music or, as with Folk Radio, recordings from the National Library.

In general, copyright is not enforced. When I interviewed a DJ from Radio GIPA, I asked whether the radio charged businesses that listen to them, and subsequently received a long lecture on the evils of profiting in any way from music. The issue of copyright and royalties came up with a number of stations, regardless of whether I asked or not, as several station managers seemed to feel obligated to tell me how they did or did not observe copyright law and pay royalties. A retired official from the Georgian Author's Society said that his agency was similar to the American organization ASCAP, and he did not believe any mechanism existed for collecting or distributing mechanical royalties. Such licenses grant a statutory compulsory license for any recorded music to be played on the radio and television at a set fee; in the United States it is currently about 9 cents per song.

³⁸ My fieldwork at radio stations consisted of interviews and observations at MUZA, Radio GIPA, Folk Radio, Beat FM, Avto Radio, Fortuna, Fortuna +, and Ar Daidardo.

The programming format for Georgian radio can be very different from American radio. It is a common principle in Western radio programming that the style of music should be tailored to match the activities of the typical listener; for instance, many stations play upbeat or well-known favorites during peak listening times and more esoteric music when the audience is smaller. In Georgia, the peak listening time is between 10 am and noon, and between 6 and 9 pm, much later in the day than for American stations. The concept of a peak listening time only applies to stations familiar with Western programming methods; others have their own ways of organizing their playlists. For example, in an interview in 2008, the program director of Radio Muza said that she had never heard of creating a playlist based on a station's audience's activities during various parts of the day, but the next summer she described a very detailed method for scheduling music according to daily patterns. In general, Radio Muza plays chamber music in the morning and orchestral works in the evening; at around 10 pm they play folk music or contemporary music, and once a week a painter does a show about the relationship between music and art. Originally, the station aired contemporary music earlier in the evening, but they received several complaints from listeners that the music was unpalatable.

Folk Radio (affiliated with the State Folklore Center) alternates Georgian folk music and Western folk music in different hours, and saves its more esoteric programming for the nights and weekends. This includes programs on folk dancing and Georgian cuisine, poetry readings, and live broadcasts in various villages. Radio GIPA (affiliated with the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs) is partly a music station and partly an English-language news station, so their playlist aims very consciously at a foreign audience. For one, their broadcasting day begins much earlier than at other stations, at 7 am rather than 10 am, because,

as their program manager explained to me, foreigners generally wake up earlier than Georgians. The station broadcasts the news in the early morning and early evening, and the rest of the time they play American rock from the 1970s. Beat FM, an electronica station, considers its target audience to be people listening at work, so they play somewhat lighter music during that time. Finally, the stations Fortuna, Fortuna +, Avto Radio and Ar Daidardo all carry out extensive audience research, which was not made available to me. Their playing schedules are very similar to the kinds used in the United States, including playing their most popular artists and songs during peak drive times.

Genres That Circulate Via Radio

What kinds of music are played on Georgian radio stations? Based on my own listening, I theorized that the disjuncture between the formal and informal modes of circulation was partially based on genre; that is, that pop and rap are played more frequently on the radio than rock music. Since radio is closely tied to the formal mode of circulation, this might mean that rock music is excluded from one of the most visible means for spreading music. To examine whether or not my supposition was correct, I needed a kind of overview of the music played on radio, a large picture of the way that genre schemes are represented in the mass media. The data for this was available on the website *Official Georgian Weekly Top Twenty*, which gives the top twenty songs played on Georgian radio every week, as collected by GORBI Gallup International. From this data, I compiled a list of the musicians that appear frequently on Georgian radio, contained in Appendix I of this dissertation.

Appendix I contains every artist that appears in the top twenty between November 2007 and September 2011, their country of origin, and the style of music they perform. Styles were

assigned using information from music websites, particularly Wikipedia and MySpace. I used the classifications that musicians gave themselves. In general, these match the kinds of terms musicians from other countries like the United States use to describe themselves: rock musicians label themselves according to whatever sub-genre they perform, estrada singers generally refer to themselves as pop musicians, and ethno-musicians label their music as folk-rock, folk-jazz, or the like. The question might arise of whether these are native categories, and whether Georgian musicians use other terms to describe international styles as well as the kinds of music they perform. In my research, I found that the least difference in terminology existed in relation to rock, electronica, and rap, perhaps because they are international styles that have been introduced to Georgia. Local or Soviet-derived genres use different terms, because they are marketing themselves towards a Western audience on the Internet. Even in Georgian-language sites, Western-derived genre names are used, therefore these are the terms I employ in Appendix I.

The majority of the playlists of Georgian radio consist of Western music. Of the 591 musicians that have appeared in the top twenty lists, sixty-five are Georgian, and another twenty are from former Soviet territories, including Eastern Europe.³⁹ Musicians from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom together are represented by 389 of the musicians featured on the radio, or just over 65% of the playlist. The rest includes 86 musicians from various other parts of Europe, 13 from Australia and Japan, 15 from Latin America, and three from Africa. It can therefore be observed that Georgia is not necessarily inundated with cultural products from Russia and its other close neighbors; instead, Western popular culture is the dominant influence, at least on the radio.

³⁹ This includes Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia, Kazakhstan, Romania, Russia, and older recordings from the USSR.

Why are so many of the musicians from North America and Europe, and relatively few from Georgia's closer neighbors like Russia? Part of this has to do with attitudes towards Russian popular culture. Older styles like Soviet-era *estrada* are liked and respected, particularly by older audience members who grew up with such music. Newer Russian styles appear to be greatly disliked, and I was given explanations ranging from the perceived terrible quality of the music to (particularly from women) its overt sexuality. Moreover, there has been an active rejection of popular culture from Russian and from the other Soviet republics, particularly since the war of 2008. It is not a secret that in the past Russia has exercised a certain degree of cultural imperialism over the Caucasus, and a rejection of their popular culture is symbolic of a turn away from their influence and control.

The turn away from Russian influence is tied to a turn towards Europe and America, and that is reflected in the playlists of local radio stations. Among the former Soviet territories in the Caucasus and Central Asia, Georgia has most actively sought the political patronage and approval of Europe and Americas – President Saakashvili's government frequently announced that they were seeking membership in NATO and the European Union. The government's ideological stance, which is quite popular, is perhaps reflected in the countries of origin of the music played on local radio stations.

The music played on the radio has been reduced to the following eight categories: electronica,⁴⁰ rock,⁴¹ hip hop,⁴² pop,⁴³ jazz,⁴⁴ Latin,⁴⁵ R&B/Soul,⁴⁶ and other.⁴⁷ Each of these

⁴⁰ This includes chillout, club, dance, dance-pop, deep house, DJ, electrohouse, electronica, electropop, Eurodance, house, techno, techno-house, trip hop, and alternative dance.

⁴¹ Rock includes alternative, blues-rock, folk-rock, funk-rock, hard rock, heavy metal, indie rock, jazz-rock, nu-metal, piano rock, post-grunge, progressive rock, psychedelic rock, pub-rock, punk, surf rock, and new wave.

⁴² Among the genres classified as hip hop in this dissertation are alternative hip hop, Christian hip hop, rap, and rap-rock.

represents multiple sub-genres listed in Appendix I. Pop is the most frequently played genre, and is represented by 147 artists. Rock takes second, with 112 musicians. Particularly popular among rock sub-genres are alternative (25 musicians) and classic rock (40 musicians). Hard rock and heavy metal make up only nine musicians. Soul and R&B are extremely well-represented considering the relative rarity of Georgian performers of the genres: they comprise 82 different musicians. Of those, R&B is particularly popular, with 53 musicians. Electronica is represented by 76 musicians. Of all the different types of electronica, house music is the most popular, represented by 20 different musicians. Hip hop makes up another 55 musicians, but no particular sub-genre predominates. Latin music and jazz are relatively unpopular, with 20 and 18 musicians, respectively (Fig. 3.4).

⁴³ Pop includes Britpop, disco, Eurodisco, Indie pop, Persian pop, pop-rock, easy listening, pop-punk, powerpop, synthpop, and Estrada.

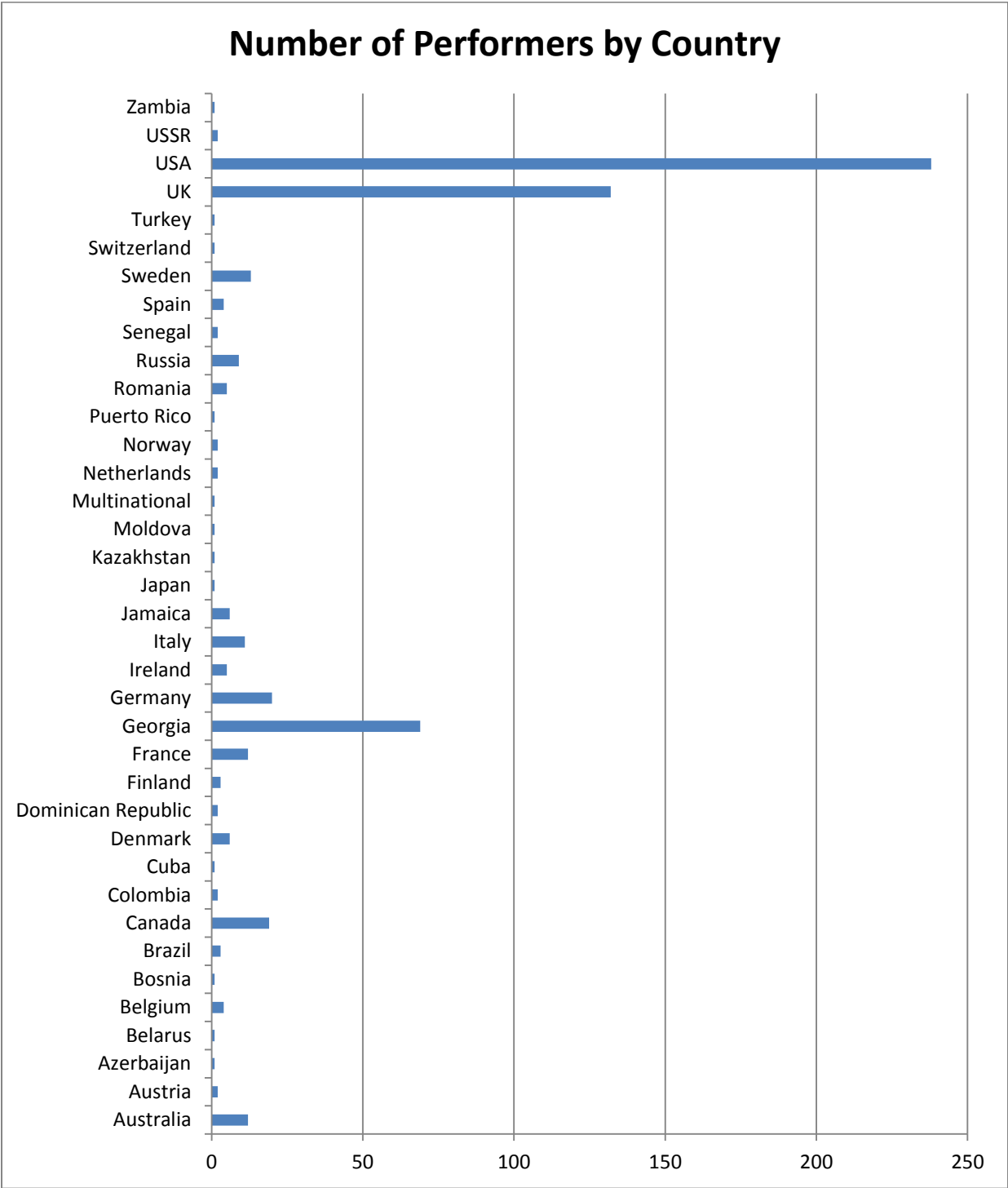
⁴⁴ Jazz includes acid jazz, big band, crossover jazz, downtempo jazz, jazz-funk, smooth jazz, and swing.

⁴⁵ Latin music includes Latin rock, Latin pop, bossa nova, reggae, reggae fusion, rumba, and salsa.

⁴⁶ This includes gospel, R&B, and soul.

⁴⁷ These genres include adult contemporary, afro-beat, blues, country, ethno-, folk, funk, g-funk, and mbalax.

3.4 Radio performers by country.



The Georgian performers that appear in the top twenty lists are a microcosm of the general trends on the radio (Fig. 3.5).

3.5. Georgian musicians on the radio.

MUSICIAN	GENRE
33a	Ethno
Amik'o	
Anri Jokhadze	Pop
Ashlee	Emo
Bakur Burduli	Alternative/Power-Pop/Rock
BERA	Hip Hop
Buk'a Managadze	Pop
Dato Archvadze	Pop
Dato Khujadze	Pop
Dervishebi	
Dueti Georgia	Pop
Ek'a K'akhiani	Pop
Emkay	Pop-Rock
Giga Agladze	Pop
Giga Mikaberidze	Electro-Acoustic
Giorgi Datiashvili	
Giorgi Pochkhua	
Goga Meskhi	
Insaiti	Ethno
Irakli Charkviani	Rock
Irakli Nozadze	
Kartveli Momghdrlebi	Ethno
K'akhaberi, Nina, and Tik'a	
K'ork'ot'a	
Kuchis Bich'ebi	Pop
Lex-Seni	Hip Hop
Ligalaiz	
Lika Shubitadze	
Maia Baratashvili	Jazz
Mamuk'a Chark'viani	Estrada
Mark'o Met'reveli	
Mast'eri	

MUSICIAN	GENRE
Merab Sepashvili	
Mgzavrebi	Ethno
Mis Tik'a	
Mts'vane Otakhi	Alternative
Nat'o Gelashvili	Pop
Nato Metonidze	Pop
Niaz Diasamidze	Ethno
Nik'o Gomelashvili	
Nini Badurashvili	Pop
Nini Karseladze	Pop
Nini Shermadini	Pop
Nino Chkheidze	Pop
Nino Katamadze	Ethno
Nodik'o T'at'ishvili	Pop
K'ork'ot'a	
P'ancho	Hip Hop
P'ap'aratsi	
Prani	Folk-Rock
Salome K'ork'ot'ashvili	Pop
Sakhe	Pop
Seisheni	Pop
Sopo Nizharadze	
Sopo Khalvashi	Pop
Stefane & 3G	Pop
Str!ng	Pop-Rock
Tak'o Melikishvili	
Tamuna Amonashvili	
Tik'a Jamburia	
Utsnobi	Alternative
Vak'is Park'i	Rock
Zumba	Ethno

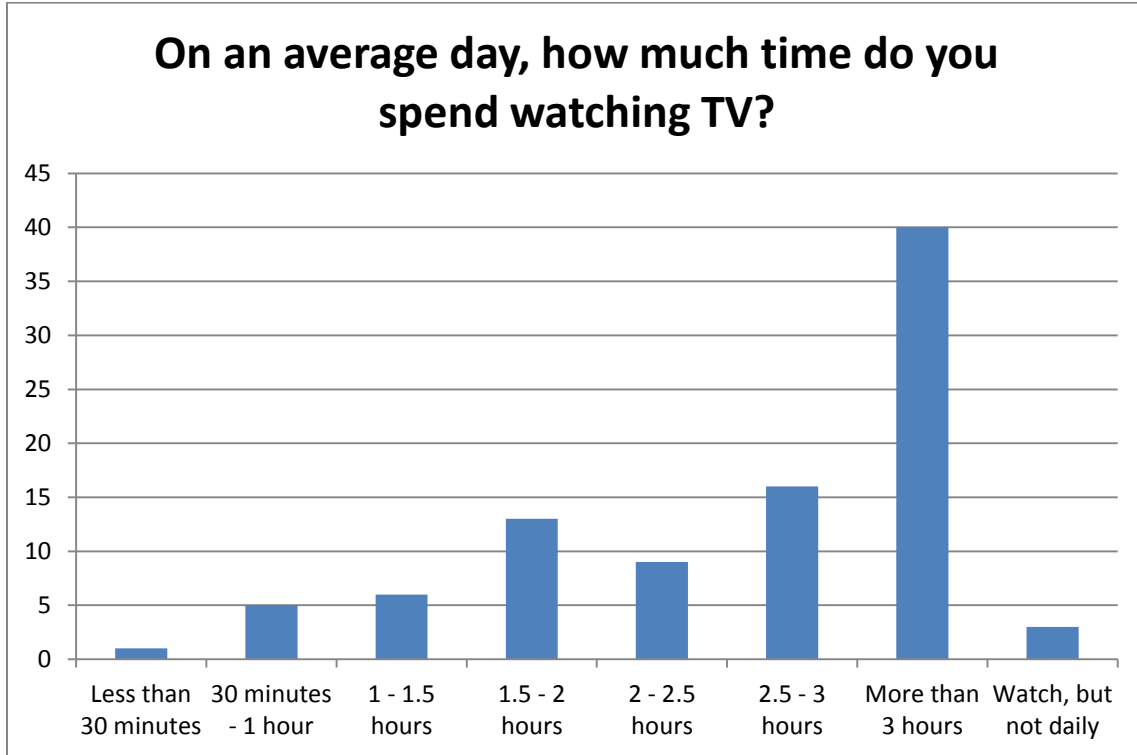
The vast majority are pop singers, whether boy bands like Kuchis Bich'ebi, *estrada* singers like Mamuka Charkviani, or quasi-R&B performers like Nini Shermadini. Rock definitely has a much smaller representation among Georgian performers than it does among international musicians, but it is represented on the list. There is a small number of hip hop

performers on the radio because there are not many in the country. To summarize, the overall genre trend on the radio leans towards pop and rock, with a healthy dose of electronica and African American genres like R&B and hip hop. Radio makes up a significant part of the formal mode of circulation, and in the next section I compare its trends with the genre composition on television.

Television Has a Wide Audience...But Not Much Music

Television is the most popular mass medium in Georgia. According to the CRRC 2011 Media Survey, not only did 83% say they watched television in their free time, but 40% said they watched more than three hours per day on average, as illustrated in Figure 3.6. In my experience of Georgians in their living environment, the television is almost always on, even though the sound might be muted or they might be watching inattentively. This practice of using the television as background noise has been discussed in communications research in other former Soviet territories as well (Ibold 2010:526).

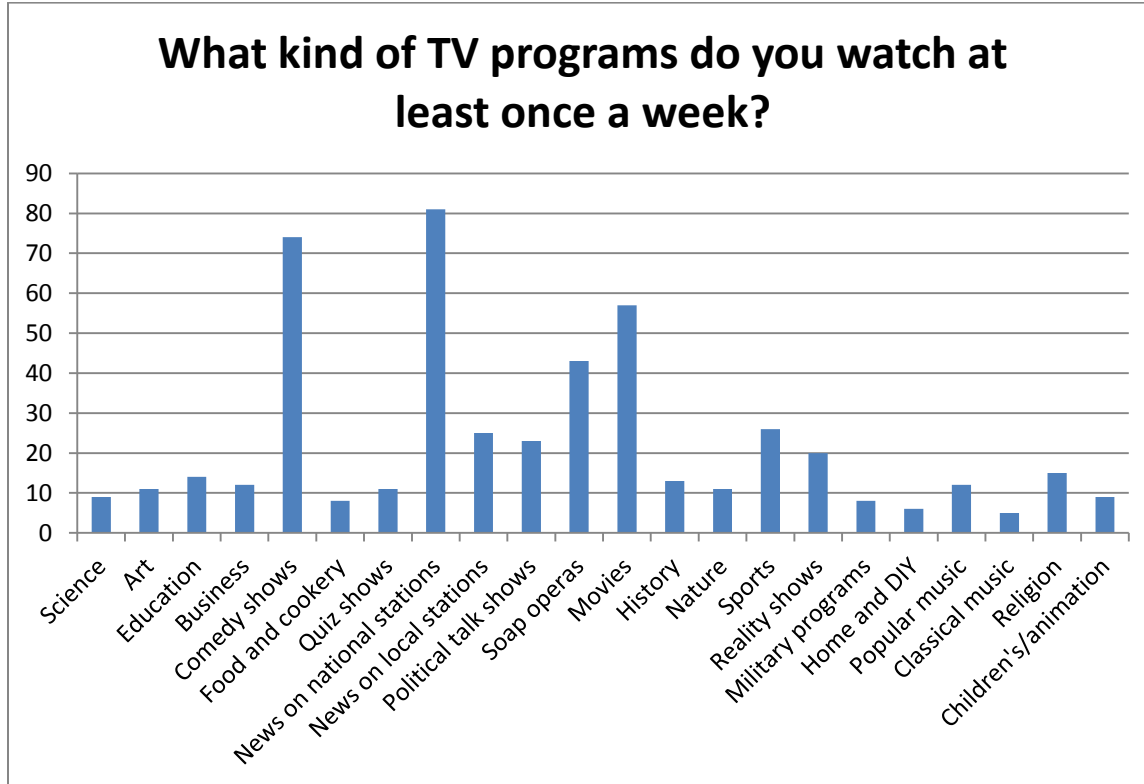
3.6. Watching TV. Based on data from CRRC Media Survey 2011.



Georgians have access to both broadcast and cable television. The four major broadcast channels are Rustavi 2, Mze, Imedi, and Georgian Public Broadcasting. Cable television is mainly Russian-language movie channels and international versions of Western fare such as the History Channel and Animal Planet. Popular music plays a limited role on television. According to the CRRC 2011 Media Survey, when asked, only 12% of Georgians watch popular music on television at least once a week, and 5% watch classical music.⁴⁸ The relative popularity of various kinds of television programming is illustrated in Figure 3.7 below. Note that popular music is not one of the top choices.

⁴⁸ Data on traditional music are not available.

3.7. Types of TV programs. Based on data from CRRC Media Survey 2011.



There are two channels that exclusively air popular music on television: Tbilisi Music Box and P'irveli Stereo (Stereo 1). Both stations have a similar programming format. Half the hour is devoted to Georgian videos, and half to American and European ones. The videos shared on the channel are usually light pop and dance videos, while rock, rap and electronic bands are not usually favored so much. Tbilisi Music Box's and P'irveli Stereo's purpose is to sell songs and videos that can be downloaded onto a mobile phone, like a televisual catalog. When videos play, a text number appears at the bottom of the screen, and, if the audience member texts it, a video will be delivered to them via MMS message. Music videos appear in other places as well, primarily live performance videos on Maestro during the day and a few shows on other channels. Other places where popular music can be seen are on airings of major

concerts and competitions. Examples of concerts being aired are Altvision Newcomers and Altvision Open Air in October 2010 and June 2011. Competitions include one for the best band in Georgia, which took place in May 2008, and *Geostar*, which is similar to *American Idol*.

Musicians may sign distribution deals with these channels to make exclusive videos available for cellular download. In January 2008 I observed such a video being filmed. Because my roommate was close friends with the singer and spokesperson for Mgzavrebi, she was asked to make a cameo in the band's first video, and I tagged along. Because the fan-made video for the band's biggest hit at the time, "Mtvare," (Moon) could not be distributed on television, they asked a friend who was a promising film director to shoot a new one. It was produced in a large room at the Rustaveli Theater, Film and Television University and used equipment borrowed from the school. The video fulfilled the part of the group's contract to make an exclusive *k'lipi* (music video) for distribution on television.

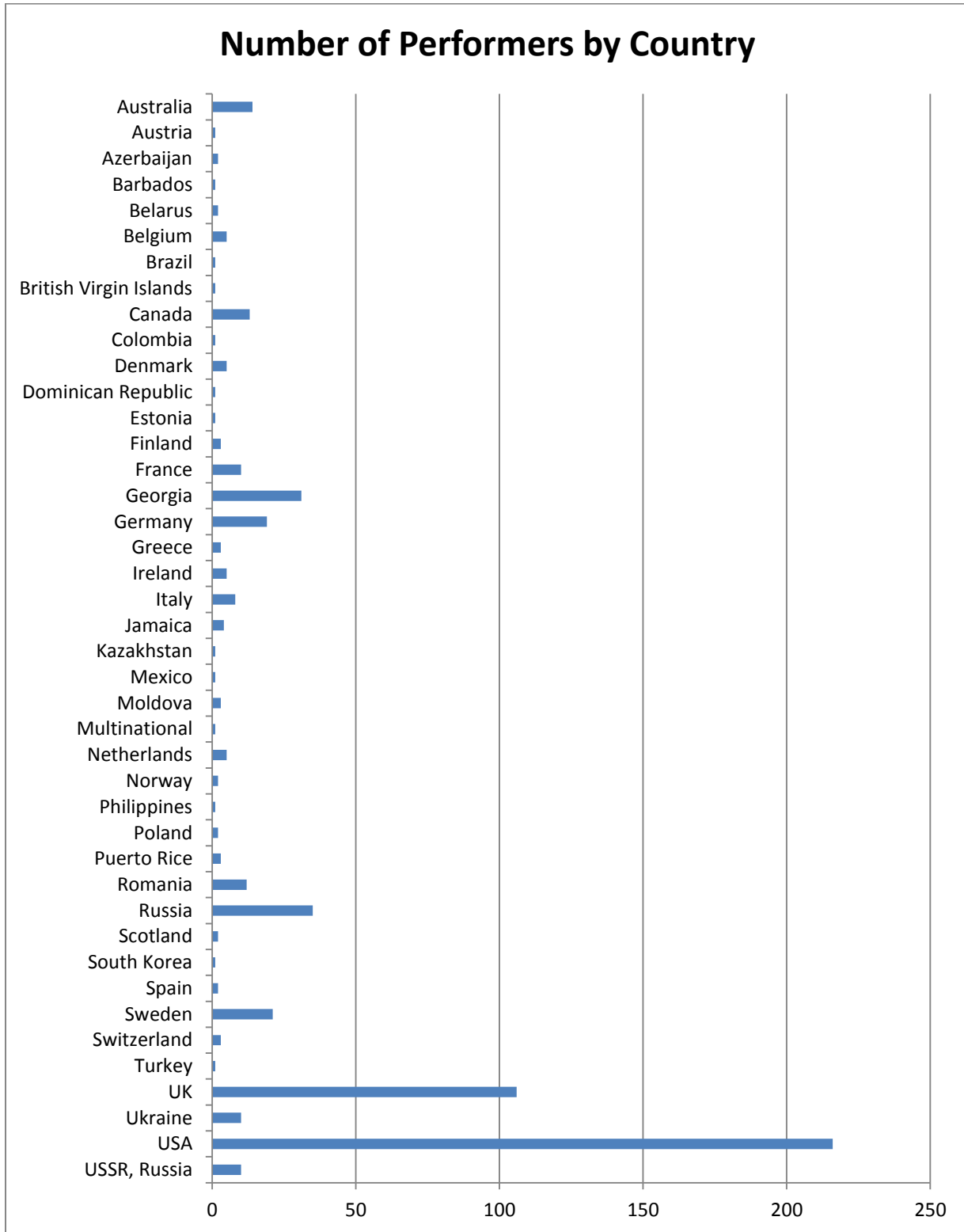
Genres That Circulate Via Television

As a representative sample of the kinds of music played on Georgian television, I analyzed the video playlist for Tbilisi Music Box. Both P'irveli Stereo and Tbilisi Music Box make the songs and videos they air available for download either via MMS on mobile phones or over the Internet. I went to the station's website to access the entire catalog of songs and considered it to be representative of the music videos played on the station. P'irveli Stereo does not make their catalog available online, and Maestro has re-oriented most of its scheduling from music to news. Although Tbilisi Music Box's playlist does not give a complete picture of the genres available on Georgian television, it can be considered a fairly accurate sample,

especially because its catalog is fairly similar to P'irveli Stereo's, based on a viewing sample taken in summer 2009. Appendix II contains the musicians whose works are available for download from Tbilisi Music Box, along with their genres and countries of origin. The classification of genres was adapted primarily from Wikipedia, otherwise I used the genre titles from musician-generated profiles on MySpace or Facebook.

Tbilisi Music Box's online catalog contains approximately 600 musicians and is divided by alphabet, so that all the musicians whose names use the Latin alphabet are listed together, all those using Georgian are together, and all those using Cyrillic are together. Musicians from forty-two countries are represented, with the most originating either in the United States and Canada (229) or the United Kingdom (106). Another 92 musicians come from various countries in Western Europe, including Scandinavia, fourteen are from Australia, thirteen are from Latin America, and three are from Asia. One hundred nine musicians are from former Soviet republics or Soviet territories, and of those just 31 are from Georgia. The countries origin of 33 musicians could not be identified. Based on the above data, it can be surmised that the dominant musical influence for Georgian audiences – at least as it is filtered through television – is from the United States and Western Europe, and not from Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union. Presumably the Euro-American influence is due to the same reasons I identified in regards to radio. Considering that half of each hour is devoted to Georgian music videos, the thirty-three local musicians whose videos are in the station's playlist receive substantially more repetitions than the other 560 or so non-local musicians (Fig. 3.8).

3.8. Television performers by country.



Many different genres are represented in Tbilisi Music Box's playlist; most of them, however, can be classified under the categories discussed in Chapter Two: electronic and house music,⁴⁹ pop,⁵⁰ rock,⁵¹ hip hop,⁵² heavy metal,⁵³ R & B,⁵⁴ jazz,⁵⁵ and *estrada*.⁵⁶ The genres which could not be incorporated into the above categories include Adult Contemporary, Bachata, Blues, Bossa Nova, Country, K-Pop, Laiko, New Age, Reggae, and Reggaeton. Pop is the most common genre, with 206 musicians listed. It is followed by electronic music, with 91 musicians, and rock, represented by 78 musicians. The genres that Georgians consider to be African American make up a healthy slice of the playlist, which contains 67 hip hop musicians, 54 R&B musicians, and five jazz musicians. Heavy metal has a fairly small place on the playlist, with just eleven musicians, and Soviet-derived genres comprise nine musicians.

Georgian music television – based on this playlist – is mainly oriented towards pop, with a healthy dose of hip hop and R&B, despite the fact that these genres are considered to be lower on the hierarchy of genres. Rock music is definitely represented, but what about the specific kinds of rock that seem to be highly valued by Georgian youth, particularly ones from the 1970s and 1990s? Of the musicians that many people I spoke with cited as being important

⁴⁹ Included under this category in Appendix I are Club, Dance, Dance-Pop, Dance-Punk, DJs, Drum and Bass, Dubstep, Electronica, Electropop, House, Techno, Techno-House, Trance, and Trip Hop.

⁵⁰ The category pop includes Brit-Pop, Indie Pop, Operatic Pop, Persian Pop, Pop, Pop-Rock, Pop-Country, Pop-Jazz, Pop-VIA, Pop-Disco, Pop-Muzika, Pop-Punk, Pop-Rap, Pop-Rock, New Wave, and Synthpop.

⁵¹ Rock includes Alternative, Folk-Rock, Freestyle, Funk, Indie-Rock, Latin Rock, Post-Hardcore, Progressive Rock, Psychedelic Rock, Punk, and Rock.

⁵² Hip Hop includes Garage-Hip Hop, Hip Hop, Rap, and Rap-Rock.

⁵³ The category Heavy Metal includes Glam Metal, Hard Rock, Heavy Metal, and Industrial Metal.

⁵⁴ Included under R&B are Gospel, R&B, and Soul.

⁵⁵ The various kinds of jazz represented in Appendix I are Big Band, Crossover Jazz, Jazz, and Smooth Jazz.

⁵⁶ Estrada includes both Estrada and Vocal-Instrumental Ensembles (VIA).

from the 1970s, Eric Clapton, John Lennon, Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd, Queen, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones appear on the playlist. From the major musicians of the 1990s, Coldplay and Green Day are included on the playlist as well. Thus, the kinds of music that Georgian youths seem to value can be found on television, but in fairly small quantities and they are overshadowed by a large quantity of pop and hip hop, genres which are not as popular with youth (Fig. 3.9).

3.9. Georgian musicians on television.

MUSICIAN	GENRE
Ani Siradze	Pop, World
Anri Jokhadze	Pop
Bera	Hip Hop
Dato Khujadze	Pop
Dzvali & Mari	Hip Hop/Folk
Efemera	Alternative
Ek'a K'valiashvili	Pop
Eldrine	Rock
Goga Meskhi	Pop
Jujebi & Buba	
Kuchis Bich'ebi	Pop (boy band)
Leks-Seni	Rap
Mark'usi	
Mast'eri	
Mindoza	
Niaz Diasamidze	Reggae/Ethno-Rock
Nik'o Gomelauri	
Nini Badurashvili	Pop
Nino Chkheidze	Pop
Nino Dzots'enidze	
Nodik'o T'at'ishvili	Pop
Pornopoezia	Punk/Alternative
Rodrigesi	
Salome Korkotashvili	Pop
Shotik'o Boch'orishvili	
Sopo Tevzadze	

St'epane & 3G	Pop
St'ringi	Brit Pop/Pop-Rock
Tik'o Andghuladze	
Verik'o T'urashvili	

The majority of the Georgian musicians that appear on Tbilisi Music Box sings light pop music (such as Nino Chkheidze, Dato Khujadze, Kuchis Bich'ebi, and St'epane & 3G) or are rappers (such as BERA and Leks-Seni). The only ethno-musician included on the playlist is Niaz Diasamidze, the singer for 33a. The local rock bands played on Tbilisi Music Box include Eldrine, Efemera and Pornopoezia. It appears that the same trend found with international musicians is true of Georgian musicians: pop is preferred on television, while only a limited amount of rock is played.

Now, Where Can We Get Music?

As I am sitting on the marshrutka heading to the train station, I start idly texting a friend of mine to tell him that I am going to the bazroba. He needs to buy thicker curtains for extra insulation for his cracked windows, and we agree to meet near the metro in about half an hour. This gives me enough time to get to the train station and find what I need. After wandering around confusedly, I find the section that sells housewares and I tell in Russian the first seller I see that I want to buy a shower.⁵⁷ In short order I am the possessor of a new showerhead and have been given directions on how to install it.

⁵⁷ In Georgia, many apartments have makeshift showers that consist of hooking a hose to the sink; the bather stands over the bathroom's central drain in the floor. Thus, when I asked for a showerhead, I was asking for a shower (Russian, *dush*).

I wind my way through a set of stalls selling clocks, batteries, and massive amounts of konfeti (cheap sugary candy) as I try to find the metro next to the train station. After getting temporarily mired down inside a part of the main building selling furniture and every kind of gold jewelry imaginable, I finally find the metro station and my friend waiting impatiently for me. In addition to curtains, he wants a new warm wool cap and a radio hookup for his cellular phone. My friend is much more familiar with the layout of the bazroba than I am, and he believes that he can buy a cap in one of the stalls inside the main building, where spaces go to reputable international stores and merchants that have purchased an official license. Sure enough, my friend finds a nice woolen cap there.

As my friend and I head downstairs to the electronics section, we pass a single kiosk selling DVDs, and I stop to take a look. Unlike the nearby bustling areas carrying telephone equipment, no one but us comes near this stall. In an attempt to do research, I look for anything related to Georgian music, but all I see are some mp3 albums of Uriah Heep, a British hard rock band that was popular in the 1970s. Aside from a few old animated films, there does not appear to be anything Georgian-produced there at all, just dubs of American and Russian films and video games. My friend tugs me away from the stall and we head outdoors to the back end of the marketplace to look at fabric goods.

We enter this part of the market through the most claustrophobic place imaginable: the clothing market. From the tarp-covered rafters, as well as from the partitions separating the stalls, hang row upon row of clothes: jackets, pants, shirts, women's undergarments, and everything in between. A few weeks earlier, the police came to this part of the market and arrested most of the sellers because they did not have a license and thus were not reporting their income, but most of the sellers have now reappeared.

As we pass from the clothing area to a smaller tarp city of domestic furnishings, there is a table tucked into a corner that has CDs lying on it, as well as a small boom box playing "taxi music," the same folk/jazz music heard in marshrutki and taxis. The CDs available on the table are of mainly Georgian and Russians musicians, but I do not buy one because a fellow musicologist forewarned me that all of this music is available online for free. I was even told which websites to use if I wanted the music.

Where Georgians Acquire Music

If the previous section largely destabilizes the notion that mass media as the main way that Georgians get music, this one establishes how they do get it. I will first cover acquiring music in its physical form, for example, through technologies like CDs and cassettes. Although selling physical recordings of music was quite popular fifteen or even ten years ago, this kind of transaction has all but disappeared due to technological developments. The Internet is relatively new to the South Caucasus, and outside Tbilisi usage is quite low. For that reason, many use the file storage capacity of cellular phones as a way to both acquire and listen to music.

The CD Store (Or Kiosk): A Dying Phenomenon

G.U.R.U music store is located on a corner of Ch'avch'avadze Ave. in Vake, an offshoot of Rustaveli Ave., the city's main thoroughfare. Its size is about 25 feet by 25 feet and each wall is lined with display cases and bins. The front wall showcases computer games. To the right of the front door is the sales counter, which has enough room behind it for three people. The wall to the left

of the front door has three separate displays. The front one has what appear to be new CDs. I particularly noticed a few that looked like compilations from clubs like the Buddha Bar in the United States. There were a few Russian-language labels, but most were in English. In previous visits to the store in 2008 and 2009, this area held mp3 albums, but these are gone, possibly because the government is cracking down on pirated albums. The CDs in this container were the most expensive, ranging in price from GEL 24 (USD 15) to 30 (18.75).

Farther back was another bin containing Georgian music. Like the first display, this too reflected changes over time. In 2008 and 2009, the majority of CDs in this bin were of folk music, but I noticed a definite shift towards rock and ethno groups. Performers like 33a are more prominently displayed. The bottom part of the display contained DVDs, a few of which were of folk music, but most were of established estrada and ethno performers like Bakur Burduli, Vakhtang Kikabidze, and Nino Katamadze. The DVDs were labeled in Georgian, but a lot of them had English titles as well, perhaps their manufacturers are trying to appeal to a market outside Georgia.

The bin farthest back on that wall holds what appears to be used CDs. The ones in the top part of the display are English and American mainstream rock bands like System of a Down (an Armenian-American metal band), and the bottom bin had a few Russian CDs, some pop, and even one of Vladimir Vysotsky, the most well-known performer of avtorskaya pesn'ya (in Georgian, saavi'oro simghera), a kind of guitar poetry. The wall facing the front door holds movies, mostly American ones, but with Russian titles on them. I did not

see any movies that were produced in Georgia or that had been dubbed into Georgian. The wall containing the sales counter had a few bins mostly of music videos.

There are only two real CD stores in Tbilisi: one in Vak'e, and another on Shardeni Street. DVD stores are slightly more popular, and several sell a few CDs alongside the DVDs and video games. Based on their location, both stores seem to be targeted towards foreigners looking for Georgian music. The store in Vak'e is in the most expensive neighborhood in the city, and most of the expatriates of any nationality live there. Only rarely are there customers inside. The majority of what the store sells are Western CDs, either as secondhand copies or as MP3 CDs, where all the available albums of a particular artist – say, Elton John – are put on a single CD. New and legally manufactured copies of CDs are practically nonexistent. There is a smattering of Russian-language albums, usually of bands that were popular in the Soviet era, and a few albums of Georgian music, of which the majority are folk music. Albums are priced between GEL 10 (USD 6) and 20 (USD 12), depending on how many discs they contain as well as their condition. It also sells DVDs, mostly Russian-language bootlegs of American movies, and these sell for between GEL 30 (USD 18) and 50 (USD 30).

The other CD store is on Shardeni Street, a tourist area that branches off from Rustaveli Avenue in central Tbilisi. Many of the stores and restaurants there are aimed at foreigners – they sell trinkets and such – and the stores are comparatively busy. Unlike the Vake store, the sales clerks all speak English, and they are prepared to point out the kinds of Georgian albums that might appeal to people of all tastes. When I told the sales clerk I was interested in Georgian pop, she directed me towards an album by Zumba, an ethno-jazz-rock musician.

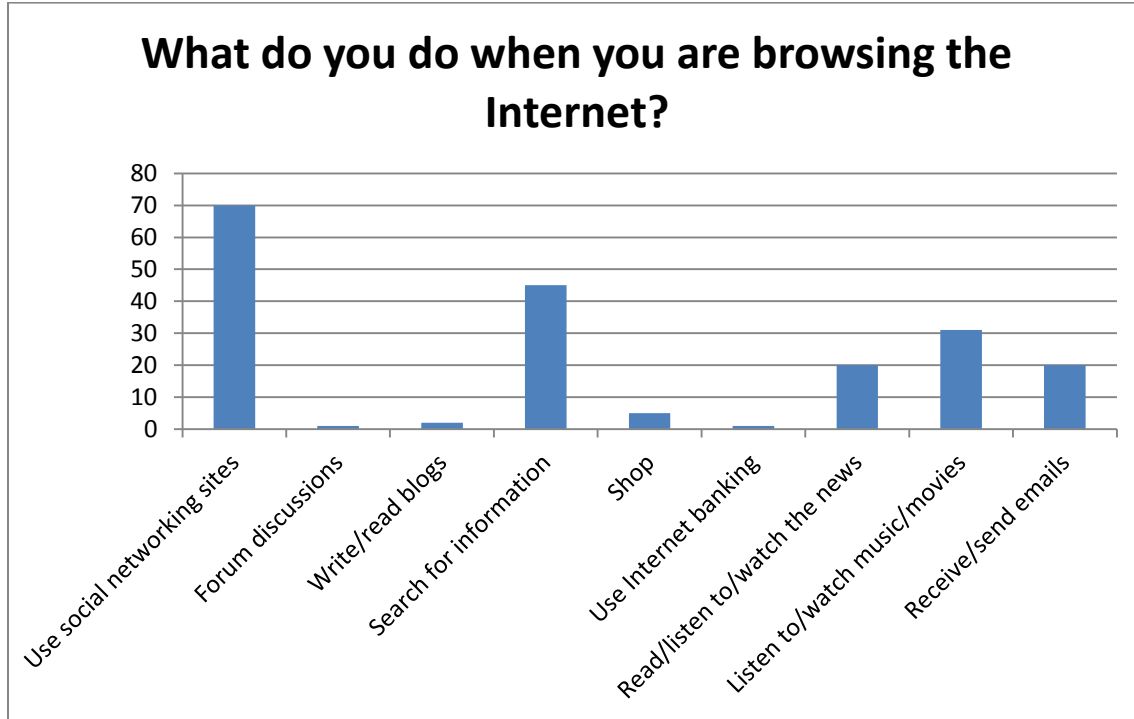
As described in the beginning of this section, music can also be bought at the *bazroba*. CDs there are much cheaper than those at stores – at GEL 5 (USD 3) as opposed to 15 or 20 – and they are most certainly homemade. These are not aimed at tourists and wealthy people, but at regular Georgians, and the genres represented in such kiosks reflect taste differences, as these are more likely to be Russian and Georgian *estrada* as well as Western rock and pop, and less Georgian folk music. In general, sales of even this kind of music have dropped off because it is possible to get the entire available catalog online for free.

The drop in sales of recordings has impacted the lives of many musicians. In the early 2000s, the vogue in Tbilisi was for musicians to record Georgian-language versions of famous rock and pop songs, and to sell them at the *bazroba*. With the introduction of online file sharing and with the greater restrictions placed on informal economic activity, musicians lost that part of their income.

Getting Music on the Internet

As illustrated in Figure 3.10 below, when Georgians access the Internet, they are most likely to be checking social network sites. Facebook in particular is an incredibly important tool for finding new music. Since my fieldwork began in 2007, there has been a significant change in the kinds of sites Georgians use. Currently there are three main choices: Facebook, Skype, and *Odnoklassniki* (Homeroomers), a Russian site used throughout the former Soviet Union.

Figure 3.10. Activities on the Internet. Based on data from CRRC Media Survey 2011.



Since I discuss the ways that Georgians acquire music over Facebook in Chapter Six, I confine the discussion here to several of the major websites from which Georgians download music. For the sake of privacy of the people who gave me information about websites, I do not give the names of the four sites described below. Instead, I describe them as Website A, B, C, and D.

In summer 2007, a group of friends and I were talking about our preferences in movies and music, and, because a number of the pieces discussed were unfamiliar to me, it was suggested that I should acquire them over the Internet. Two sites in particular were mentioned, Website A and Website B. Website A is a downloading site where Georgians can acquire all manner of materials including movies, television programs, music, games, and pornography. A bar at the top guides the user to the type of material desired, and a bar at the side lists each

type's sub-genres. For instance, television is divided into serials, documentaries, educational programming, and so forth. When one clicks on the link at the top, a catalog in alphabetical order in Latin script appears; catalogs of only Georgian or Russian materials can be singled out. Website B is similar kind of site that is organized in a similar fashion, but, unlike Website A, it cannot be accessed from the United States.

Website C was described to me by an acquaintance as the Georgian version of YouTube: it is a streaming site where users can upload short videos of their choice. The videos can be divided by type – music, television, sports, advertising, pornography, and so forth – or the site can be searched for individual titles. The section devoted to music has just over 14,000 selections, but most of them have only a few hundred views. In my experience, when Georgian youths want to upload or watch streaming videos, they go to YouTube. Website C can be accessed freely from the United States.

Website D is a downloading site geared specifically toward music. Judging from the links posted on *Tbilisi Forum*, it is a particular favorite with rock, heavy metal, and electronica audiences, who do not post much material on Websites A and B. Its catalog cannot be accessed from the United States.

Telephones

When a foreigner arrives in Tbilisi, the first thing to do is buy a phone and a SIM card. Georgian phones (even the cheapest models) have many more capabilities than American ones. For one thing, they are almost always equipped with radio capabilities, and the ear buds work as a receiver. People also use them quite frequently as media storage devices, keeping songs and videos on them, like a multifunctional Ipod. Of course, Georgian phones were doing this

for several years before it was common for American phones to be used that way. File transfers are not as common now as they once were, but when they are done it is either by MMS or by Bluetooth. This process is further described in Chapter Five.

Listening to Music in Large and Small Settings

I come home and try to reach some of my contacts, and then at 3 o'clock I prepare to go to Tbilisoba, a festival held every October. Tbilisoba celebrates the city's culture, and similar festivals are held in other large towns throughout Georgia. For several years, the festival was merely an excuse for internally displaced people (IDPs) to sell shashlyk, meat roasted on a spit, but in recent years it has turned into a series of musical and artistic events.⁵⁸ I decide to follow Aghmashenebeli Avenue in the direction away from the train station to see if it crosses the river, and, in fact, it connects to the dry bridge market, a small bazaar for housewares, jewelry, and trinkets. The other side of the bridge is occupied by a crowd of makleri, people buying and selling apartments and other real estate. As I cross the bridge I get a call from Kristine, a contact from the university, asking me to meet her in half an hour at the national museum. After a bit of confusion over which national museum she means, we go to an art gallery next to the Sioni Cathedral. After going inside I start to ask her questions about herself, but the electricity goes out and we are asked to leave. Because we do not know what else to do, we wander around the city center while chatting.

⁵⁸ The full schedule of concerts at Tbilisoba 2010 is as follows: October 22 – Rock concert at Gldani Park, Vakis Parki at Club 33a, Manana Menabde at theater “Samepo Ubani”; October 23 – national folk group at Shardeni Street, “Multinational Georgia” exhibition of folk instruments at Museum of Georgian Folk instrument; “Shin” and “Es Ari at Chardini Street; October 24 – National Minorities Folk Group Concerts at Old Tbilisi Bath Area, “Vera District Melodies at the Glass Bridge.”

Kristine starts to tell me about her listening tastes: she never listens to Georgian pop or rock, and she prefers traditional music because it is a symbol of her country. When I ask to see the music on her phone, however, she plays a lot of Pink Floyd for me. She also tells me that she listens to Pink Floyd every day, and that rock music makes her feel free. Kristine says that she sometimes goes to concerts in clubs, and that she usually finds out about them from her friends.

At around six o'clock, after we have been chatting for about an hour, Kristine leads me up the street to Freedom Square, the main part of the city center. We go down into the perekhod (underground crosswalk) beneath the square, and I hear music being played. In the middle of the passageway there is a drum set, an electric guitar (who knew there were electrical outlets down there?), and someone holding a small hand drum. It seems that our trip around the city center was not spontaneous after all, as Kristine's friends are holding an impromptu jam session with a rotating cast of singers, guitarists, and drummers. The only constant is the man playing the drum kit. Passersby occasionally jump in to pluck out chords on a guitar or bang the drums along with the musicians.

Kristine leads me over to one of the broken window display cases and makes a spot for me to sit down. Another girl immediately introduces herself and asks if I am from America. When I reply in the affirmative, she gives me a keychain with a pig on it as a souvenir. As we talk she tells me that she is a singer, although not a professional one, and that she loves the Western bands Radiohead and Coldplay. In fact, later on she gets up and performs a Radiohead song. Most of the songs are from the 70s: the Beatles, Rolling Stones, and Pink Floyd seem to be popular choices. Some people have brought food and beverages like bread, cheese, sausages, coke, quinces, and beer and they share with everyone. At around 8 pm, I

decide to leave because I want to see Shin, a Georgian ethno-jazz-rock band based in Germany, perform on Shardeni as part of Tbilisoba. Kristine comes with me, along with a few of her friends. They follow us to the mouth of the perekhod and ask me to come back again, to join them either here or in another perekhod nearby.

We head back in the direction of Leselidze and Shardeni streets in order to hear Shin play at around 8 or 9 pm. The stage for the free concert is set up near the river next to a statue of David the Builder, and there are a few hundred drunk and enthusiastic people in attendance. As the band launches into a song using the panduri, an indigenous three-stringed lute, as well as a polyphonic choir, the group next to me breaks into traditional dance. It continues like this for an hour or so, until the concert ends.

Live Music in Tbilisi

In this section, I present an overview of live music performance, first by describing the venues where events normally take place and then covering the genres and bands that regularly perform in the city. The data I am using comes from observations at a number of events over the course of two years, and from analyzing an online forum dedicated to advertising live music (*Apisha*, Tbilisi Forum). In general, the live music scene for popular music in Tbilisi is quite small. According to the 2009 CRRC Media Survey, only 1% of people spend their free time going to restaurants, bars, and clubs,⁵⁹ a fact which is quite evident from the small number of venues devoted to live performance. Lika Tsuladze conducted a series of interviews with her students and their peers about their leisure habits. Generally, students at TSU are among the

⁵⁹ The question was not asked in the 2011 Survey. Caucasus Research Resource Center, 2009, Media Survey, retrieved from <http://www.crrc.ge/data/> on 26 January 2012.

wealthier classes in the capital, but financial limitations are still pressing. When asked about going to clubs and attending concerts, many replied that while they wished to participate in club- and concert-going, they attended them once a month or less due to the high cost attached (Tsuladze 2009:36).

In the interviews I conducted with university students, many said that they enjoyed live performance, but they were hampered by several factors. First, the cost was a problem. One young man spent about a third of an interview complaining about the fact that Sting was going to come to Batumi (a resort town on the Black Sea) but that the price of tickets was more than the average Georgian makes in a month. Even concerts that do not feature world-class entertainers are often too expensive for Georgians to attend frequently. I attended a concert at a small club featuring two relatively popular local bands, the Georgians and the Sticklers. Arriving around 15 minutes after the start, I was stopped on my way inside by a group of about fifteen teenagers, who informed me that the tickets cost GEL 7 (USD 4) and that none of them could afford that price. Another problem that was occasionally cited by young people was difficulty finding out about music events. Concerts are frequently advertised either by posterage or by word-of-mouth. Even if a young person is interested in attending concerts, if he or she does not know the right people, finding out about events beforehand can be difficult.

Advertising Concerts

Relatively few events are advertised in a public manner. Where and how notifications about concerts happen depends on the size of the concerts. Many are advertised by word of mouth and by telephone. Of course, this kind of advertising only works if audience members are “in the loop,” so to speak. A newer trend has been to advertise events on Facebook, and

several smaller venues do not publicize concerts in any other way. Like word-of-mouth, in order for Facebook advertising to be effective, one must know the right people in order to be invited to events. Many venues have some sort of a presence on Facebook, but only one that I know of posts its event schedule on their profile. Generally, venues or bands create “events” using Facebook’s calendar function, and one must either be invited to it or find out about it by searching through the calendars of friends and acquaintances. It is also fairly common for events to be posted by band members, fans, or venues on a specific thread in the section of *Tbilisi Forum* dedicated to audiophiles called *apisha* (placard), . This is particularly effective because the people that participate in the audiophile threads, as dedicated music fans, can safely be assumed to attend concerts at least somewhat regularly. The list of concerts available on *Tbilisi Forum* stretch from September 2009 (the thread’s beginning) to September 2011, and I refer to it occasionally throughout this section.

Larger concerts are advertised with posters (*apisha*). Because there is a certain cost associated with printing them up, this method is only used for concerts that are expected to attract at least several hundred people. Posters range from simple black-and-white Xeroxes (Fig. 3.11) to colored photographs on heavy-weight paper (Fig. 3.12). Only certain parts of the city are used for postering, and people know where to check for concert listings, and during my fieldwork I found that wandering around looking for posters was a tedious but effective way to stay informed about musical events. Posters generally appear in the city center on Rustaveli Avenue, particularly around the book sellers and across the street from the McDonald’s, the area in Hero’s Square near the zoo, and in the center of Saburtalo. I have also seen posters in the underpass near the university and on the central bulletin board in the university’s main building.

3.11. Xeroxed poster for a concert at a local club.



3.12. Expensively reproduced posters on Rustaveli Avenue.



Finally, in addition to the above-mentioned advertising methods, large concerts that involve major musicians use television and sometimes radio. These events are held at larger indoor venues or in outdoor settings. Examples of this sort of advertising include Nino Katamadze's concert at the Philharmonia in mid-February 2010, Altervision Newcomers at the Sports Pavilion in late October 2010 and Altervision Open Air at the Hippodrome in mid-June. Because the venues involved are so large, it is necessary to use types of advertising that will

draw in a large crowd, and mass media reaches more people at once than more grassroots approaches.

A Calendar of Music Events

Most Georgians do not go to restaurants, bars, and nightclubs. The major live performance events are large concerts that have the advantage of showcasing a number of popular performers at a relatively low ticket price. Admission to a concert at a club with one band averages around GEL 10 (USD 6.25), whereas for about the same price at a large festival a concertgoer can see between five and ten musical acts over a period of several hours. These major concert events are spaced throughout the year, but the majority occurs during the summer. Large festivals include:

(1) TBILISOBA, a celebration of the city's history and diversity. Once used as a way for Internally Displaced People (IDPs) to sell *shashlyk*, it has turned into a major event for the city. In October 2010, Tbilisoba festivities included a concert of the ethno-jazz group *Shin* in Shardeni near the downtown area and a rock festival in Gldani Park.⁶⁰ Admission for these events was free.

(2) ALTERVISION NEWCOMERS.

October 30, 2010. I do not know where the Sports Palace is, but while in the metro on the way to Altervision Newcomers I follow a group of teenagers who look like they are probably going to the concert, and they lead me right to it. Fortunately, the Sports Palace is right on top of a metro station, so I do not have much of an opportunity to get lost. Outside the building in the parking lot

⁶⁰ Shin's performance at Tbilisoba is described earlier in this chapter.

next to the McDonalds (adjacent to the concert hall) are about one or two hundred kids milling around, as well as a red carpet and a dozen or so people selling concessions and souvenirs. I walke closer to the groups of kids at the entrance and notice a few that are dressed like Goths. They have tickets in their hands, so I realize my next task is to find the ticket booth. I walk around the building to the side, purchase a ticket for 10 lari (USD 6.25), and head inside.

My ticket is for section 14, almost directly in front of the stage, in a row near the top. Of course someone is sitting in my seat, so I move down the row and sit about five feet from a guy that is smoking and staring around. The people in the bleachers are mostly in groups of two to four, and they are smoking and drinking beer they had brought with them. Some people are also standing around on the floor of the stadium. The far end of the floor has two stages: a large one that looks to be about 30 feet by 70 feet with a band setup and some television screens, and a small stage to the right that is about 10 feet by 20 feet and it has a DJ table at one side. House music is being played rather loudly and the bass thumps painfully from a set of speakers suspended from the ceiling.

At around 8:50 the lights go off and a spotlight focuses on the small stage while people start screaming and thumping on the backs of the bleachers, but the first band does not perform until 9:15. The singer, a girl, is dressed in a punk-like outfit with a plaid skirt and purple hair, but the band's music does not match the look. They playe one song and then walk over to the smaller stage to be interviewed by a man in a gray suit wearing a yellow hard hat. Between the

first and the second acts there is a pause of about ten minutes, during which a DJ performs and stagehands change the set.

The second band is also fronted by a woman, who sounds suspiciously like Serj Tankian from System of a Down (possibly because of her propensity for growling roars). The band members are dressed in silver, and they are the only ones to use pyrotechnics like fireworks and flames at the front of the stage. Like the first band, they are interviewed on the small stage, and the lead singer is asked to demonstrate her impressive screaming abilities. The last performer is a DJ, whose set I enjoy very much.

In general, the audience's behavior is fairly low key, but as the night wears on, I notice that groups start to receive more cheers from the audience. As the audience gets louder, though, more and more people are leaving. By around 11 pm, the rows in front of me on the bleachers are almost empty. Awards are presented at 11.15, and afterwards the evening's MC becomes the DJ for the "after-party." I take the metro home at around 11:30.

Altervision began in May 2009, when Georgia's entry to Eurovision was censored for its open criticism of the Russian leader Vladimir Putin. In response to this, President Saakashvili withdrew Georgia's entry and started an international festival for politically-oriented music, held on the same day as that year's Eurovision competition. While the majority of performers were Georgian, a few came from other European countries. The original Altervision was followed in the fall by Altervision Newcomers, a showcase for local bands. Both events have continued in subsequent years. In 2010, Altervision Newcomers was held on October 30 at the Sports Pavilion.

(3) NEW YEAR'S concerts, held between New Year's Eve and Christmas (January 7 in the Orthodox calendar), are free events staged in Republic Square in downtown Tbilisi. They generally include children's music as well as *estrada*, but in January 2011 a free rock concert was also held in Gldani Park.

(3) TBILISI OPEN AIR ALTER / VISION.

June 11 and 12, 2011. Tbilisi Open Air Alter / Vision, runs from 5 pm to after midnight on Saturday and Sunday, but I do not arrive until 7:30 due to a torrential downpour. As I walk to the hippodrome along Tamarishvili Prospekt, I can already hear the festival's music thumping away.

The venue – the hippodrome – is basically an open field surrounded on two sides by bare, wooded hillsides and on the other two sides by Soviet-style high-rise apartment blocks. The area where the concert took place is an open field surrounded by a makeshift plastic fence about a quarter or a third of a mile inside the park. Like many of the larger concerts I have attended in Georgia, Open Air Alter / Vision is sponsored by Red Bull and various other sources. The tickets cost 5 lari (USD 3) per day, and many people I see near the entrance are wearing tags signifying press affiliations or other kinds of participation in the show.

The concert area is set up so that the concessions stands form a kind of ring in the back; near them some of the audience sits on picnic blankets. Somewhat closer to the stage is a crane camera and a tent with the control booth inside of it. In front of that area a crowd is standing up and actively listening to the concert. I walk around the outer area and then I go nearer the

stage, progressively moving in closer as the night wears on. Most of the people in the front look like they are between the ages of 14 and 24. Some people that look a bit older are standing near the back and I see a couple of little children running around.

As usual, the genders segregate themselves. For the most part young women stay in groups of two to four, dancing with each other and photographing themselves. They also generally stay in groups with the same people for most of the evening. Young men form groups as well, but they move between groups quite frequently.

On Sunday the crowd is a little bigger, probably because it is not raining. The ground is dry, so more people are sitting down in the back outside the main concert area. A lot more people are standing outside the blocked off area, presumably because they want to listen to the music but cannot afford the entrance fee. Once again, I arrive at around 7:30, missing the first couple of bands. Three groups in particular stand out in my head: a funk-type band whose name I cannot remember, U.R., and a British band called the Fades. The funk band is memorable because the music of that genre seems unexpected in Tbilisi. The British band also seems anachronistic, mostly because it is incredibly apparent that they are foreign and because they announce that they were arrested the previous night. I do not want to miss the last train of the night, so I leave immediately after their set.

Open Air Alter / Vision is held in late May or early June and is one of the largest concert events of the year. In 2011 it was held at the Hippodrome in the Saburtalo neighborhood. The festival consists of a weekend of concerts, beginning around noon each day and continuing until about midnight. The majority of bands are local, but a few are brought in from Europe. In 2011 this included The Fades from the United Kingdom, Herr Styler from France, Wallace Vanborn from Belgium, The Nice Sharp Pencils from the United Kingdom, and Moodorama from Germany. In general, the local bands with the largest followings were scheduled to perform around 9 pm; at this time the size of the crowd was at its peak at about 600 people. The European bands followed this at 10 pm, and the crowd started to dissipate by 11.

(4) The BEER FESTIVAL.

June 25, 2011. There is a posting on Facebook from the band Mgzavrebi that they are performing at the Beer Festival at 7 pm this evening. I did not even know that there was a beer festival, but of course I want to hear the band play. As an afterthought as I am leaving my apartment, I text a friend, who agrees to join me in a couple of hours.

The festival is taking place in Revolution Square behind the European supermarket and is sponsored by Natakhtari, one of the country's largest beverage manufacturers. As I arrive at around 6:45, it looks like there are about a thousand people present, as well as ten or fifteen beer and food tents, face painting, clowns, and beer girls (blondes dressed in extremely short-skirted Bavarian dirndls). I wander over to the stage at the far end of the square and to listen to a group I had never seen before. They finished their set after about ten minutes and I think to myself, here comes Mgzavrebi. No. The announcer says

that the band is running late and will not be performing for a while. In the meantime they hold a drinking contest and four or five men compete in chugging a meter of beer.

Another group of which I have never heard does covers of Queen and Lynyrd Skyrnyrd, so I leave to go buy a soda. The European supermarket is the most crowded I have ever seen it, and everyone was buying beer produced by companies other than Natakhtari. I head back to Revolution Square at around 8 pm, worried that I missed Mgzavrebi's performance. They have not gone on stage yet. While Sting plays over the loudspeakers the announcer says that the band has arrived and will set up soon. I wander around and my friend texts me to say that she is on her way.

Finally, at around 8:30 the band comes on, and they play for about an hour. Clearly no one has lied to me about Mgzavrebi being the most popular band in the country. In sharp contrast to the restrained behavior I generally see at large concerts, everyone in the audience knows their songs, sings along, and dances. Like at other concerts, I see a split in audience behavior based on gender. The young women segregate themselves and dance in groups, while young men do not dance unless they are pawing their female partners. When the music starts to sound more like folk music, the dancing became more folk-like. After Mgzavrebi's set finishes, my friend, who has gone to concerts with me in the past and has experienced the kinds of sexual harassment at clubs, remarks that now she understands why I do research on this kind of music.

June 26, 2011. On the second day of the beer festival I arrive a little after 8 pm and am just in time for 33a's set. The group is a jazz-like band combining electric guitar and bass with a flute player and a singer who occasionally plays a bowed lute. Oddly enough, they have a big dog on stage the whole time. A crowd gathers at the end of the set, but they are not as enthusiastic as at Mgzavrebi's set.

Prani performs immediately after 33a. I have never seen him perform before, but I understand he is great friends with the members of Mgzavrebi and he closely resembles their musical style. He is very popular and a lot of people keep shouting the names of his songs. Unfortunately it rains during his set, but a lot of people stay anyway.

This event, sponsored by the beverage company Natakhtari, was held for two days in mid-June in Republic Square in downtown Tbilisi. This event attracted a much smaller crowd than Open Air Altervision, but, unlike Altervision, admission was free. The Beer Festival started in the early afternoon and continued until around midnight or 1 am, with the bands with the greatest followings performing at around 7 or 8 pm. While Altervision featured mainly rock or electronic music, the Beer Festival had more pop and folk performers, such as Mgzavrebi, Prani, and 33a.

(5) ART GENI (Gene), a week-long arts/crafts/music festival held at the Ethnographic Museum, occurs in mid-July. Before the festival comes to Tbilisi every summer, it tours several places in various parts of the country. When the festival is at the Tbilisi Ethnographic Museum, its activities generally consist of displays and sales of artwork and crafts in the main part of the museum, punctuated by demonstrations of traditional song and dance (Fig. 3.13). In

the evening, a crowd of several hundred gathered in an open-air auditorium for performances of well-known musicians, including Nino Katamadze and Zumba.⁶¹

Figure 3.13. A traditional ensemble performing at Art Geni 2011.



(6) Various metal concerts held several times throughout the year, advertised as “BLITZKRIEGS.” During my dissertation period, these were held in October 2010, and February and May 2011 at Night Flight, one of the larger night clubs. The bands that perform

⁶¹ The performers at Art Geni in Tbilisi in 2011 were: July 15 – Khidi and ABC; July 16 – Detsishi, Outsider; July 17 – Prani, Family; July 18 – Gordela; July 19 – Nino Katamadze and Insight; July 20 – The Pond Pirates (Austria); July 21 – Chvneburi, ReggaeON; July 22 – Zumbaland; July 23 – 33a; July 24 – Sukhishvili (dance troupe).

are generally either Georgian or Armenian. In summer 2011 a large outdoor metal festival took place in Batumi, a resort town on the Black Sea near the Turkish border, which featured several internationally well-known metal bands such as Sweden's Dark Tranquility and Brazil's Sepultura. Unfortunately, Sepultura cancelled about a month before the festival due to concerns over tensions with Georgia's breakaway regions, to the disappointment of local metal fans.

(7) The MUSIC 4 MUSIC Festival.

June 18, 2011. The first concert of the Music 4 Music Festival at Atoneli Theater, a small auditorium seating about a hundred people, is preceded by an on-camera interview with what I assume is the head of Sanda Records. The first group is Shusha, a five-piece ensemble. The singer (who also plays guitar), the guitarist, and the bass player are all female, while the drummer and the keyboardist are male. Before the performance begins I note that the audience is predominantly male, but a bunch of women walk in and sat at the front of the room just before the first set. They turn out to be enthusiastic fans and I get the distinct impression that they are personal friends of the members of the group. All of their songs are in English. In addition to their original songs, they do a cover of Adele's "Rolling in the Deep," which I do not enjoy – the song demands a particular vocal quality that the group is lacking. When the group finishes their set, the girls in the front start chanting "Shusha, Shusha" but the group does not do an encore.

There is a brief pause and then Play Paranoid takes the stage. All of the band's members are male and they seem to be good friends with the guys sitting

*around me in the back of the auditorium. Their instrumentation consists of a singer/guitarist, another guitarist, a bassist, and what I suspect is the same drummer from Shusha's performance. The singer is a bit out of tune, but the guitarist is quite strong. Their set lasts about an hour and then the concert is over.*⁶²

June 19, 2011. I am early for tonight's concert, and when I got into the hall there is only one other person there. At around 8:40 the concert begins. Tonight is The Sticklers, the Georgians, and Mutual Friends. In all, the bands were better than yesterday's groups, but I am more convinced than ever that everyone in the audience is either a friend of the group or a rabid fan.

The Sticklers seem like an all-purpose rock band, doing mostly new material. They do a cover of Blur's "Song 2" that is their most popular song from the evening. In the second set, I am impressed by the fact that the singer of the Georgians can actually sing live. The drummer for the Sticklers is the same performer from last night. I do not know if this is because the groups do not have a regular drummer so they bring in a ringer, or if Sanda Records just has a rotating group of musicians for all their bands.

The Georgians do entirely new material, and the quality both of their playing and of their singing is much higher than I have seen in many other

⁶² The complete lineup for the Music 4 Music Festival is: June 18 – Shusha, Play Paranoid; June 19 – The Sticklers, the Georgians, Mutual Friends; June 20 – Elsinor, The Pulse, Kanudos; June 21 – Altrium, Window; June 22 – You Are, Noah, X-MachinE, Industrial City; June 23 – Lazy, + Master, Outsider; June 24 – Radioactive, Pink Panther, Inner Voice; June 25 – Ani Pavliashvili and Sound Vision, Kibatono; June 26 – I Can, Ketrine & Me, Sanda. All concerts were held at Atoneli Theater.

groups. The fans respond quite enthusiastically. At one point the singer announces that the group is going to play a certain song, and several people in the audience asked for a different one.

Before the third band, Mutual Friends, starts performing, the singer of the Georgians announces that he is going to leave to catch a marshrutka, and the same thing is repeated by a lot of people in the audience. About half of them leave before Mutual Friends start playing, and a few more sneak out during their set. I do not go because my apartment just across the river from the Theater and I can walk home. Mutual Friends has a couple of malfunctions, including the bass player having to change instruments halfway through their performance. The drummer seems to be unfamiliar with the band's material, and at one point the bassist coaches him on what to play. The singer even gives a visible cut-off at the end of a song. Mutual Friends does mostly covers of punk songs, including one of the Clash and a really awful version of "Hit the Road Jack" that is way too fast.

While not an annual event, the Music 4 Music Festival featured a number of popular rock bands over a period of a week in mid-June 2011 at the Atoneli Theater. The event was organized by the group Sanda on behalf of Sanda Records, a fledgling local record company. Between these large festivals, concerts are held at clubs, restaurants, bars, and, occasionally, theaters.

Venues

The number of proper concert venues in Tbilisi is quite small, numbering less than a hundred in all. They can be divided into several types: large spaces specifically designed for concerts and other kinds of performance activities; outdoor areas like parks; clubs; and restaurants. Obviously, the money involved in procuring these spaces varies quite a bit, which can affect choice since the artist many times pays for it out of his or her pocket.

Two performance spaces are preferred by popular musicians with large fan bases: the Sports Palace and the Philharmonia. The first is a basketball stadium in Saburtalo. It was renovated in 2007 and seats around 25,000 people. According to one musician, in the late 1990s and early 2000s pop concerts were held at the Sports Palace nearly every night, but during my stay in Tbilisi in 2010 and 2011 only about five concerts were there. Ticket prices at the Sports Palace are relatively expensive at between GEL 10 (USD 6) and 25 (15) each (Fig. 3.14). The Philharmonia, another large venue, is an important landmark in Soviet pop culture history because it was the site of the first official rock concert in the Soviet Union in 1980 (Troitsky 1988). During my first trip to Georgia it was being renovated, but it reopened in 2009. The Philharmonia sits in a little square that juts out into two busy streets at the top of a hill, and it has other entertainment venues tucked underneath it, including the Elvis Cafe, Amirani Cinema, and club Déjà vu (Fig. 3.15). Other theater-like venues include the Conservatory, where folk, classical, and occasionally jazz concerts are held in the main hall; the Opera House, which is directly across Rustaveli Avenue from the Conservatory (open for my first year but renovated in the second) (Fig. 3.16); Rustaveli Theater; Symphony Hall (being renovated my first year but open in the second); the Children's Theater (Fig. 3.17), a several-hundred seat auditorium where groups like Mgzavrebi occasionally hold concerts; and Atoneli Theater, a space with a hundred or less seats where Mgzavrebi held one of their first

concerts in 2008, and where the Music 4 Music festival was held in June 2011. Rock concerts are also occasionally held in the auditoriums various universities. Tbilisi State University sponsored a week of events for students at the end of the school year in 2011 (which I did not attend due to a lack of a student ID card), the International Black Sea University (a joint Georgian-Turkish institution) held a music festival in March 2010, and the Medical University has hosted several concerts, including one by Mgzavrebi that I attended in the spring of 2008.

3.14. The Sports Palace.



3.15. The Philharmonia before renovation.



3.16. The Opera House before renovation.



3.17. The band Mgzavrebi performing at the Children's Theater in 2008.



Extremely large concerts are generally held at outdoor venues, the most typical being Vak'e Park, the Hippdrome, Gldani Park, the Ethnographic Museum, and Mtats'minda Park. These have the advantage of providing a great deal of space without as much overhead cost as an indoor space. The types of concerts that are generally held at outdoor venues have multiple performers and last for several hours. Examples of these kinds of concerts include the Open Air Altermision festival, featuring many rock and electronic bands from Georgia and several European countries, which was held in June at the Hippodrome (3.18); and a weekend-long electronica festival held in Vak'e Park in July 2011.

3.18. Tbilisi Open Air Altrvision at the Hippodrome.



On very special occasions music festivals are held in the streets in downtown Tbilisi, causing temporary traffic closures. These generally coincide with major events in the local calendar, such as Tbilisoba, where the ethno-jazz group Shin played in Shardeni, a side street close relatively close to the Parliament Building. Republic Square in the middle of the downtown area was blocked off for the New Year's concerts in the first week of January 2011, and for the Beer Festival in June 2011 (fig. 3.19).

3.19. The Beer Festival on Republic Square.



Clubs occasionally feature live music performance. Tucked in an alleyway adjacent to Rustaveli Avenue, the Rock Club has had a spotty history. It was closed for the entirety of my first trip, was open from October 2010 to about mid-May 2011, and then it closed again. The venue's Facebook page claimed it was closing for the summer, but when I checked the sign was taken down and the space had been transformed into a Turkish disco bar. As of 2012, the Rock Club has been reopened. Despite this, the Rock Club hosts the majority of popular music performances in Tbilisi, as is demonstrated in Appendix III. Of the approximately 250 concerts listed in the *apisha* thread on *Tbilisi Forum*, 85 were held at Rock Club. For the majority of my

time there, its schedule was as follows: Monday it was closed; Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were "Art Nights"; and Friday, Saturday, and Sunday were concerts as long as acts were available. I attended a number of shows at Rock club because it was one of the only spaces that made their schedules readily available. The Art Nights were a collaborative effort between the club and www.lib.ge, an online library that was the most popular place to get reading material. Usually these art nights consisted of a poetry reading with rock musicians accompanying. Shows at Rock Club began around 7 pm. Tickets cost between GEL 5 (USD 3) and 10 (USD 6), and it was not uncommon to see groups of people standing in the alleyway in front of the venue lamenting the fact that they did not have enough money to get into the club. The kinds of bands that play at Rock Club include classic rock bands, Russian and Western cover bands of all sorts, rap groups, heavy metal, hardcore, and punk, among others. Attendance at the club also varies. According to their Facebook events page list, which I monitored quite religiously for several months, art nights generally have around 30 reservations. Very popular bands like U.R. might have 300 or 400 people, but the average night attracts between 60 and 120 attendees at the most.

Another spot specifically designed for concerts is the Beatles Club, which was closed during 2007 and most of 2008 but open for my trip in 2010 and 2011. Beatles Club has a slightly different clientele than Rock Club. It is meant to attract foreigners, and it advertises its schedule on info-tbilisi.com, a website designed for expatriates. The prices there are more expensive than Rock Club, and it is more of a sitting-and-eating establishment, compared to Rock Club which has a cover charge and a small bar but people are allowed to bring in their own beverages. More mainstream bands than at Rock Club also play at Beatles Club.

The last venue really intended for concerts is Club 33a. Unlike the others, which are located in the downtown area, Club 33a is in Vak'e Park. It is owned by a popular jazz-rock band. Ordinarily 33a is just a restaurant, but it has an open-air amphitheater attached to it where concerts can be held when the weather is good. Unlike Rock Club and Beatles Club, which theoretically pay the performer, Club 33a's space must be rented, and it can cost more than GEL 900 (USD 545) to put on a concert.

A few nightclubs occasionally put on concerts. These venues prefer DJs to bands, though, and their number and type constantly changes due to frequent closures. Of the major clubs, the ones that can be relied upon to hold music events on a semi-regular basis include Night Flight (formerly called Night Office), GURU Club, Magti Club, and the Bamba Room. Night Flight guests DJs from Europe on a fairly regular basis, and provides the location for the Blitzkrieg Metal Festivals on a semi-annual basis. The GURU club, which closed in 2011, is a dance club that holds mainly DJs. Magti Club, which is owned by one of the country's largest mobile phone operators, generally holds concerts of jazz and blues several times a month, but on occasion rock bands play there, as, for instance, the group Sour Skin in December 2010. The Bamba Room is another small nightclub that has a house DJ and occasionally hosts guest DJs like The Forest in 2009.

A regular restaurant gig is pretty much the only way a musician can make a steady income, but these are incredibly hard to come by. The restaurants that hire regular live entertainment mostly feature either traditional Georgian singing or Soviet-era estrada. Bars are more likely to permanently or semi-permanently hire rock bands to play cover songs. Most frequently, small restaurants and clubs will occasionally have bands play for one or two nights or a week. In addition, to the tiny number of restaurants and bars that offer regular employment

to musicians, the restaurant Purpur occasionally holds small concerts featuring well-known bands, such as The Georgians and Okinawa Lifestyle in 2010.

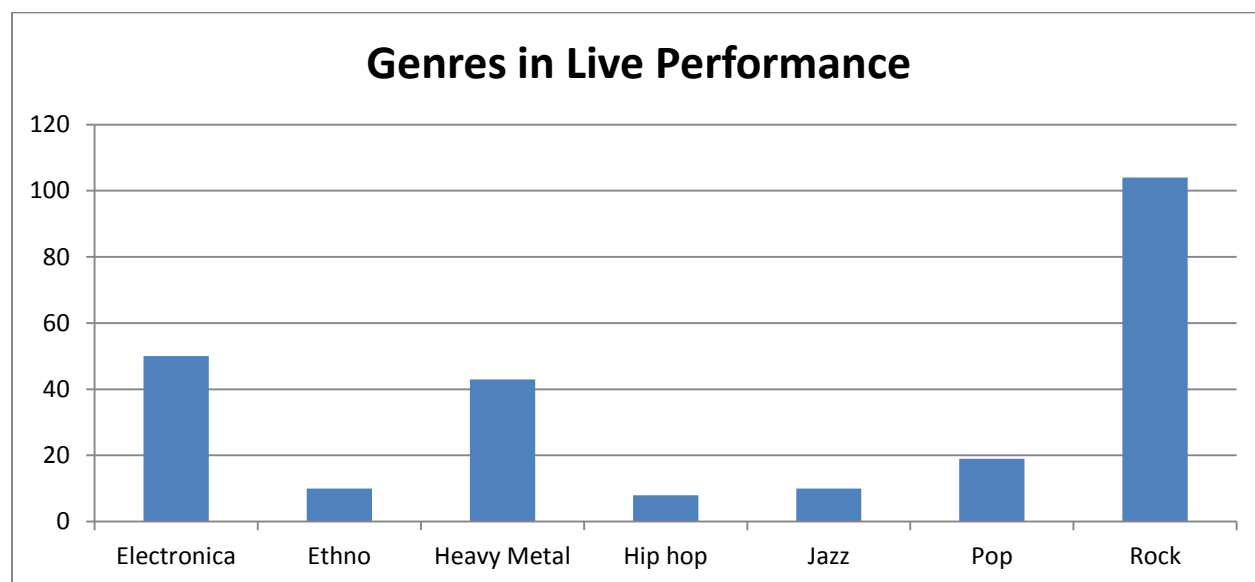
Music Genres Represented in Live Music

Not only is the number of venues where popular music can be played quite small, but the actual number of concerts is fairly limited. Several musicians told me that they generally perform less than ten times a year. To demonstrate how often bands perform, I used the section of Tbilisi Forum dedicated to advertising concerts to create a calendar of musical events from the thread's beginning in September 2009 to September 2011 (*Tbilisi Forum*, accessed 17 October 2012). I checked the completeness of this data by comparing the concerts it listed to the events I had notated in the winter and spring of 2011, when I was in the field and actively tracking advertisements of concerts through media, postering and word of mouth. I did not use the *Forum* as a source of information at that time. In general, the list is complete enough to give a picture of the amount of popular music concert activity in the city. The data analyzed below is available in Appendix I.

From November 2007 to September 2011 *Tbilisi Forum* mentioned 262 music events, and the vast majority of them were rock concerts. As with radio and television, I divided up music groups into six genre categories: rock, pop, electronica, heavy metal, hip hop, and jazz. Rock and heavy metal by far predominate, with 104 and 43 performances. Electronica also makes up a noticeable portion of concert life in Tbilisi, with 50 performances. Pop and hip hop, which together make up a substantial portion of the playlist on television and radio stations, are comparatively weakly represented: nineteen pop performances took place, and there were only

eight hip hop concerts. Concerts with ethno-hybrids are similarly rare, with just ten over a period of two years (Fig. 3.20)

3.20. Genres in live performance.



How do these numbers compare to radio and television? There is a strong difference, most noticeably in the case of pop. While pop by far predominates in the mass media, it is rarely heard in live performance, at least at the kinds of concerts favored by participants on *Tbilisi Forum*. Rock and electronica are popular in both live performance and on the mass media, but a crucial difference comes in the amount of airtime Georgian rock and electronica musicians receive. Only six groups made it into the top twenty list for the radio, out of the 64 total Georgian musicians. A similar situation is true with television: only three rock bands are on the playlist, and the rest are either rap or hip hop. It seems that the rock music that makes it into the mass media is almost all foreign-created.

What other things can be observed about concert life in Tbilisi based on the events advertised on *Tbilisi Forum*? As stated in Chapter Two, cover concerts are quite common. Over two years there were (at least) eleven covers concerts, and nearly all of them were for classic rock bands from the 1960 and 1970s or for 1990s alternative music acts.⁶³ Just one concert celebrated such classic Soviet rock bands as Akvarium, Kino, and Televizor. In addition to covers concerts, special nights were devoted to such events as watching Pink Floyd's *The Wall*, watching videos of Slipknot and Slayer concerts, and celebrating the release of Metallica's *The Nimes*. These events serve to tie Georgian rock groups to international rock scene.

Certain venues seem to be strongly associated with particular kinds of music. The most obvious is Rock Club, which almost always features rock and heavy metal bands, with the occasional electronica musician. Jazz concerts always happen at high-end venues like the Philharmonia and the Conservatory; and pop concerts happen at exclusive restaurants like Purpur and more expensive venues like 33a. In general it appears that genres like pop and jazz are performed at exclusive venues with a high ticket price, while rock, heavy metal, and electronica are performed either at small clubs with low ticket prices or at large festivals.

How does all this concert data relate to the formal and informal mode of circulation? First, it shows that there is indeed a schism between the two modes. The mass media can be considered to be typical of the formal mode of circulation, which is characterized by a high level of regulation and control. In this mode, pop music takes center stage, as well as internationalized genres like R&B and hip hop. Live performance, particularly at small clubs,

⁶³ The bands that were covered include Led Zeppelin, the Beatles, Queen, the Rolling Stones, Guns n' Roses, AC/DC, Black Sabbath, Nirvana, Sonic Youth, Meat Puppets, Hole, Stone Temple Pilots, Alice in Chains, Pearl Jam, Smashing Pumpkins, Audioslave, Soundgarden, Metallica, The Black Crowes, EST, Pantera, Deep Purple, Pink Floyd, and Radiohead.

is typical of the informal mode of circulation, since there is very little government or industry control of those activities. In contrast to the formal mode, pop and hip hop have very little presence in live performance in Georgia, at least according to the users of *Tbilisi Forum*. Rock, heavy metal, and electronica are the favorite genres, and, with the possible exception of the band Str!ng, the bands that perform the most frequently do not make it onto the radio. It appears that there is in fact a “genre divide” between the formal and informal modes of circulation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to summarize how circulation works in Tbilisi. What emerges from an examination of mass media, Internet usage, music sales, and live performance is essentially a broken, or at least fragmented, system. The place where music is supposed to go and the place where Georgians get it is completely different. Music circulates through both formal means in the mass media and through informal means via interpersonal trading on the Internet and telephones, as well as through live performance. In much of the West (i.e., countries that are firmly rooted in capitalism), the music industry injects music into the mass media because that is where audience members are presumed to encounter it. The audience can then buy music from a seller that has a business relationship with the record companies that produced the music. This is a very centrally controlled model. For a variety of reasons, Georgians do not pay as much attention to music in the mass media, but instead get it from alternative sources that are not centrally controlled. Part of the reason the music in the mass media does not necessarily

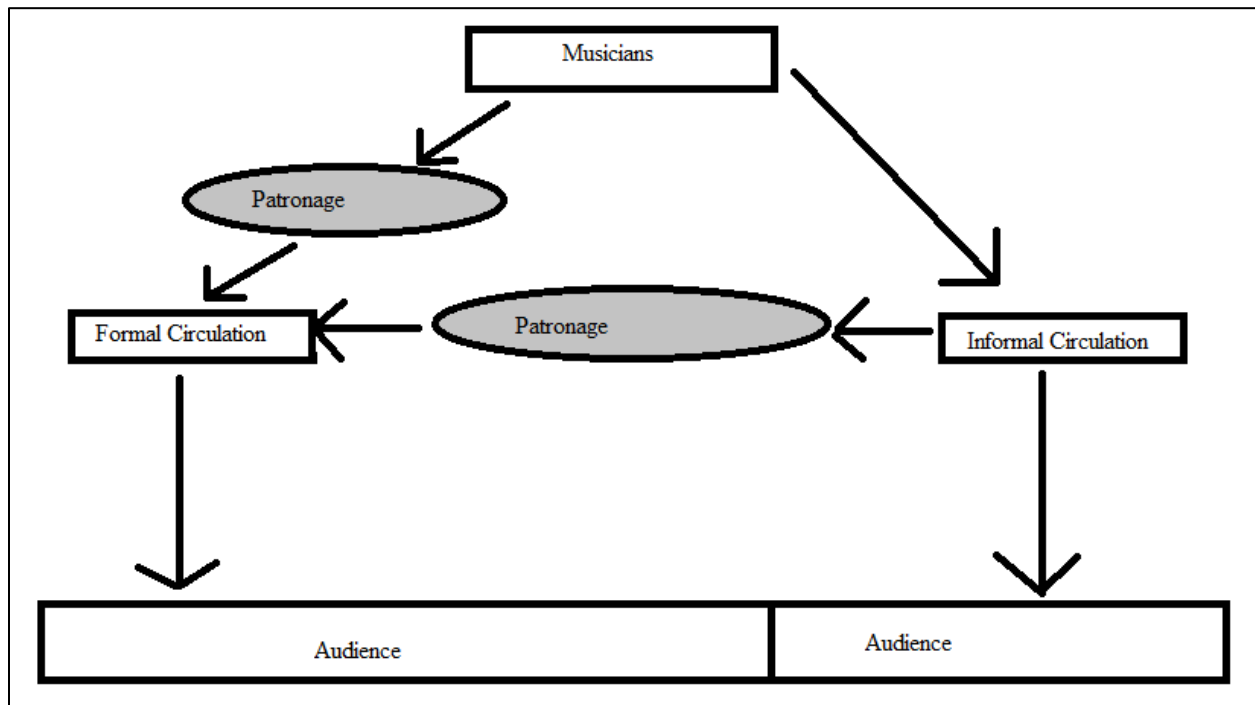
reflect popular taste (at least for young people) is because a mechanism other than the market determines what will be played. In the next chapter I discuss who determines whether music circulates through the formal or informal mode, and how that determination is made.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE INTERSECTION OF CIRCULATION WITH PATRONAGE

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine what happens when music first begins to circulate. I proposed a model in Chapter One (repeated in figure 4.1 below) where music can pass through a formal mode of circulation, through an informal mode, or through both, and I stated that one of the crucial differences between the two is the level of control and regulation that is exercised upon them by the government and other institutions. The informal mode of circulation is accessible to everyone: any musician can put their recordings on the Internet and can (relatively) easily put on live performances at small clubs or in underground passageways like the jam session I observed under Freedom Square described in Chapter Three. The formal mode of circulation allows music to reach a wide audience, but it is much harder for musicians to penetrate. There are certain barriers in place that make it difficult to record and release an album, to have music played on the radio and television, and to perform in large festivals. In order to penetrate this mode of circulation, musicians need a facilitator, commonly referred to as a *p'at'roni*, whose influence allows musicians to have the widest possible access to the means to circulate their music.

4.1. Circulation and patronage.



Because Georgians use the term *p'at'roni* to describe these facilitators, it seemed to be appropriate to analyze this situation from the perspective of patronage. This concept does not appear very frequently in ethnomusicology, although it can be argued that the situation described above – where musicians need help to develop their careers – is not at all unique to Georgia. Because patronage is not found much in the ethnomusicological literature, I had to look further afield, and I quickly ran into a bit of a stumbling block. The concept of patronage appears in many different bodies of academic literature, and can be used in a number of different ways. Within musicology, it generally refers to an economic system that existed in pre-industrial Europe, where musicians were hired by royalty and the aristocracy to write music for performances at court. By this measure, patronage died out in the capitalist era and is

generally incompatible with a modern music industry. In anthropology, though, patronage has a much broader meaning. Like in the musicological definition, patrons are individuals that provide work or access to crucial resources, but their roles are not confined to a particular historical period. Instead, patrons connect an informal economy to a formal one.

In Georgia, both kinds of patronage occur, and I provide a case study of each. The questions I seek to address in this chapter are the following: (1) What are the cruxes of the anthropological and musicological points of view of patronage? (2) What are the similarities and differences between the two? (3) What can the concept as it exists in musicology bring to anthropology, and vice versa? I illustrate both views of patronage with two case studies.⁶⁴ The first describes the development of Georgia's only classical station, Radio Muza. The Georgian audience for classical music is quite small, so there was not really any commercial need for a radio station. Instead, President Saakashvili's wife, Sandra Roelofs, arranged to fill what she saw as a blank spot for Georgian listening audiences by finding anonymous donors to fund the day-to-day operations of the station and to train the staff in Western Europe and the United States. While the music involved in this example is not from the same genres discussed in the rest of this dissertation, the situation described is significant because it demonstrates how patronage can sometimes defy the logic of the market system, specifically by allowing a relatively unpopular musical style to flourish on the airwaves.

The second case study concerns the conglomerate Radio Sakartvelo and the four stations it owns (Fortuna, Fortuna +, Ar Daidardo, and Avto Radio). Because these stations individually have among the largest listening audiences in the country, their program directors

⁶⁴ Patronage in the arts is extremely common in Georgia, and many of the patrons are major political figures. For that reason, it was quite difficult to get musicians to talk about their relationships with patrons. Rather than put anyone in an awkward position, I have deliberately chosen examples that are as neutral as possible in order to focus upon the role of patronage in regards to circulation.

have a great deal of input on the music that makes it into the mass media and thus over whose music circulates in the formal mode of circulation. One of the program directors developed a working relationship with a well-known pop singer, leading to a huge advance in her career. This musician frequently acts as a go-between for lesser-known performers: if she recommends them to the program director, it is much more likely that their music will make it onto the radio airwaves. As I heard from one disgruntled rock singer, this creates an unfair advantage for certain musicians, and makes it so that access to the media is not determined by musical quality or by popular response. Like the case with Radio Muza, the logic of patronage competes and sometimes clashes with the market system.

PART ONE: A MUSICOLOGICAL VIEW OF PATRONAGE

A great deal has been written about the institution of patronage and its role in the lives of musicians in Western Europe, and much of it examines individual patrons and their relationships to specific musicians (Brobeck 1995; Chibbett 1976; Clark 1992; Gianturco 1988; Hulse 1985; Hulse 1991; Kisby 1997; Long 1983; Macey 1996; Ongaro 1988; Perkins 1984; Philipps 1976; Piperno 1999; Plumley 2003; Ruiz Jimenez 2009; Starr 1992). In general, the patronage depicted in these sources is restricted to an economic institution that existed prior to the late eighteenth century in which composers and performers were in the employ of royalty or members of the aristocracy. Patrons offered composers either long-term employment or a commission for individual pieces. In exchange, composers dedicated music to their patrons on pieces of music, and that increased their benefactors' prestige.

With the rise of the middle class during the Industrial Revolution, patronage became obsolete. Larger audiences attended concerts and the opera, and they also bought sheet music,

creating new sources of revenue for musicians. Musicians could also offer lessons to the general public, which was another type of income. The introduction of a market for music not only made patronage unnecessary, but it virtually wiped it out as far as musicologists are concerned. Evidence of the commonness of this viewpoint can be found in any music history textbook:

The Europe of the Old Regime, of the sometimes benevolent despotism and of the classic ideal, began its protracted dissolution with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. As the old world dissolved, the system of musical patronage which had persisted since the Renaissance dissolved with it, for though the Congress of Vienna set out in 1814 to revitalize the corpse of pre-revolutionary Europe, it could not restore the aristocratic wealth on which not only the social and political life of the eighteenth century had depended but which had also made possible its artistic achievements (Raynor 1976: 1).

The crux of the musicological version of patronage seems to be that it offered employment to musicians and other artists in a pre-capitalist system. The genres that were supported by patrons were not necessarily popular with the general public, but they did not need to be, since musicians did not receive any compensation from them. It was more important that a patron like the music than that the public like it. What makes a patron prefer a certain kind of music or favor certain musicians over others? The answer has to do with what patronage does for patrons: it provides prestige. High genres rather than traditional music were preferred because they were a symbol of elite culture, and thus they reinforced the patron's role at the top of society. Patrons were also seen as being benevolent and charitable they allowed high culture to exist and that supposedly benefitted society as a whole.

Case Study I: Radio Muza

Radio Muza is the only classical station in Georgia, and it is also the radio station where I did the most extensive fieldwork due to a relatively lengthy professional relationship with its former program director, Ekaterine Diasamidze-Graham. The station was founded several months before I came to Georgia for the first time, and it began broadcasting in the summer of 2007. Its genesis began with the wife of President Saakashvili, Sandra Roelofs, who was a frequent listener of classical music while growing up in the Netherlands. After she became the First Lady of Georgia, she noticed that it was impossible to hear classical music on Georgian media. Once Roelofs identified a need for a classical station, she and a team of musical experts drew up a proposal for one, which was then submitted to and approved by the Georgian National Communications Commission in 2006 on the strength of their artistic vision. Funding for the station was provided by a group of donors who wished to remain anonymous. The station's staff was not hired from a pool of media professionals, who are well trained in presentation but not necessarily in music. Instead, Roelofs and the experts specifically targeted students from Tbilisi State Conservatory for their musical knowledge, figuring that it would be easier to train musicians in how to be broadcasters than to train broadcasters in how to be musicians. At that time, Ekaterine Diasamidze-Graham was pursuing a doctorate in musicology after having obtained a master's degree from the St. Petersburg Conservatory, and she originally auditioned to be an announcer. Due to her impressive knowledge both of classical music and of Georgian music, though, she was given the position of program director.⁶⁵

To ensure that the station was run to the same standards as its Western European and American counterparts, Roelofs and her team arranged for the staff to be trained by

⁶⁵ Diasamidze-Graham retired from the station in 2011 after marrying an American musicologist and moving to the United States.

professionals from a classical station in the Netherlands. They also sent Diasamidze-Graham on several trips to the Netherlands and the United States so that she could observe and do brief internships at classical and public radio stations. Special drives to get people to donate CDs were also held in the Netherlands so that Radio Muza would have recordings to play. This kind of close mentoring relationship with Western stations is very atypical in Georgia. The only other station I came across that used American-style programming principles was Radio Sakartvelo, which was reportedly founded by an American, and even there program directors were not sent abroad for training.

Several of the radio professionals with whom I spoke reacted to the advantages given to Radio Muza by their patrons. The general view was that a classical station was not strictly necessary in Georgia because very few people listen to the genre,⁶⁶ and that the station would not exist at all but for the sponsorship of Sandra Roelofs. Radio Muza's large operating budget was a sore spot for some as well. While most stations of a comparable size barely eked by, Radio Muza had enough money to train people abroad. Some of the station managers seemed a bit jealous that Radio Muza did not have to worry about appealing to the public and soliciting commercial sponsors because they were entirely funded by private donors and thus could broadcast any music they wanted.

Modern-Day "Court" Patronage

Who is the patron in this case? Although anonymous donors provided the financial backing for the station, ultimately the patron is Sandra Roelofs herself due to her influence in

⁶⁶ Radio Muza commissioned a research study from the organization BCG to determine the size of their listening audience and the popularity of classical music. Both were found to be so tiny that they were barely represented in the findings.

getting the station founded and in locating financial patrons. Sandra Roelofs has taken an extremely active role with Radio Muza, even going so far as to host a weekly program on contemporary European classical music. In a way, this demonstrates that personal influence can be just as important an attribute in a patron as monetary wealth.⁶⁷

Two things are especially significant in regards to patronage in this example. First, without Sandra Roelofs' patronage, the station could hardly exist in the free market due to the unlikelihood of finding commercial sponsors in a free market. Second, Radio Muza appears to have a more stable financial situation through patronage than similar niche stations that operate with commercial sponsors. Among the small radio stations where I conducted observations, the ones that appeared to have operating budgets adequate to meet their needs were piggy-backed on to cultural or educational institutions, such as Folk Radio with the State Folklore Center and Radio GIPA with the Georgian Institute for Public Affairs. Patronage has proved to be a huge windfall for Radio Muza, for it allows them to operate independently.

One might wonder how the case of Radio Muza is different from an American National Public Radio (NPR) station that functions through pledge drives. It could be argued that the two are similar because they both are sponsored by government figures. They differ, though, in the way they receive patronage. NPR's creation was a result of an act of Congress, and its funding comes piecemeal from large and small donors as well as from government funding. Radio Muza was created on the initiative of Georgia's First Lady acting as a private citizen (albeit with enormous personal influence), and its funding is a direct result of her role as a

⁶⁷ Using Sandra Roelofs' personal influence is a fairly common tactic to persuade the public to get involved in research and public welfare. For approximately six months in 2011 a sign hung next to the subway track in Rustaveli Station in downtown Tbilisi, urging people to participate in a cancer screening. Large print at the bottom informed the public that the work was being carried out with the approval of Sandra Roelofs.

patron. It is because of this (as well as the fact that everyone referred to her as the station's patron) that Radio Muza's existence can be considered to be an instance of patronage.

What does this example illuminate about the way that patronage functions among musicians in Georgia? The fact that Sandra Roelofs could get a radio station funded based on her influence shows that the local version of patronage has less to do with giving money and more to do with possessing power and connections. In many ways, Roelof's role with Radio Muza is very similar to that of aristocratic patronage in the pre-capitalist era. As the President's wife she occupies a very high position in society, where she makes her benevolence as a patron known by sponsoring education (she has a Ph.D. in linguistics and used to teach at Tbilisi State University), health initiatives, and music and the arts. Her choice of genre to support is significant for several reasons. First, classical music is associated with elite culture, and being tied to it in the public eye increases her prestige. Second, classical music is often associated with increasing the edification of the public, so Radio Muza could be credited with increasing the taste level and sophistication of the general public. This is seen as a benevolent act that helps build Georgian culture, particularly since Radio Muza sponsors local composers and broadcasts live performances of their music. In this way, the station benefits Sandra Roelofs by increasing her prestige in the eyes of her country, and it benefits the country by supposedly improving the musical options available on the radio.

This example also illuminates a certain level of tension within the Georgian economic system. In some ways the logic behind patronage contradicts that of the free market system. Whereas in patronage all an institution or performer needs to survive is the approval of a generous benefactor, in the free market the one that appeals to the widest audience wins the greatest gains. In other words, there is a contradiction between whether musicians should

appeal to a very narrow audience, where individual have a great deal of money, or to a wide audience, which collectively exerts economic strength.

PART TWO: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW OF PATRONAGE

Patronage was a popular topic in anthropology until the 1960s, when a number of books and articles dealing with the subject in the context of the Mediterranean and Latin America were produced. These, of course, dealt more with political patronage – frequently referred to as clientelism – than with artistic patronage. Definitions frequently emphasized that it was a relationship between two parties of unequal status and power, from which each derived some sort of benefit (Silverman 1965:176; Boissevain 1966:18). For the client, this frequently meant access to an outside world or to institutions (Michaelson 1976:282), while the patron either received monetary benefits, greater prestige, or community support (Kenny 1960:14).

The crux of patronage in the anthropological view lies in the benefits that can be accrued by the client (Silverman:178). Patronage was typically studied in societies that were either in the process of developing capitalism or that had a strong informal economy (Michaelson:282), where patrons served the crucial function of being “points of articulation” between the clients in the informal economy and the formal economy (Lomnitz 1978:186). Essentially, when institutions in the formal economy appeared to be corrupt or inefficient and could not fulfill their role of properly distributing resources, patronage acted as a stopgap measure (Galt 1974:191-193).

In many ways, the above definition fits well with the musicological one. Musical patronage was built around two people or institutions with vastly different places in the social hierarchy: composers and performers generally had low status, while the aristocracy and

royalty were at the pinnacle of society. The benefits to both parties were clear. One gained a living, and the other gained prestige. It is a bit more difficult to make the latter part of the definition fit with musicological patronage. Aristocratic patrons did not so much act as points of articulation between differing economic systems as offer a chance for profit when ways to earn an income were scarce.

Case Study II: Radio Sakartvelo

This case study concerns how a popular musician goes about getting his or her recordings broadcast on the radio. As I explained in Chapter Three, while radio is not widely listened to, it has the potential to reach a large audience and it can also act as a doorway to other aspects of the formal mode of circulation, such as television and performance opportunities at large festivals. Several interview subjects described to me the way that patrons operate in Georgian radio stations, essentially deciding which musicians' recordings receive auditions and which do not.

Zaza Khutsishvili is the singer in a well-known Georgian band, Vak'is Park'i (Vake Park), whose career began in the 1980s when he was a minor rock musician in the Soviet Union. His current band formed in 1996, and they quickly found success, even being named the best band at the "Margarita-96" festival later that year. By the early 2000s the group was one of the most popular in the country, their music was broadcast regularly on the radio and television (at that time only the station Maestro existed), and they successfully sold cassettes of Georgian-language covers of well-known American rock songs at the bazaars.

When I spoke to Khutsishvili in the summer of 2011, he had become fed up with what he considered to be corruption in the Georgian music market, and he had even gone so far as to

appear on a Georgian talk show with several other famous musicians to speak openly about what he considered to be unfair treatment. In his opinion, the “best time” for Georgian musicians – meaning the time it was easiest for musicians to penetrate the formal mode of circulation – coincided with his band’s period of greatest success, the late 1990s and early 2000s. At that time, the *modus operandi* for many musicians was to take their recordings to the program manager at radio stations and at Maestro, and, if the program director thought the music was of sufficient quality, it was played for at least a period of several weeks. If the recording got a favorable response from the audience, measured by the number of letters and phone calls about it, the song stayed on the station’s playlist for a lengthier time.

You see, at the end of 90s, I think it was the best market for music because there was a special music channel called Maestro, which was like MTV. It was really a very honest channel: everybody could bring their records and videos and if their work was of some quality the station put it in the charts and played it six times a day. Whether the song remained on the air after a period of two weeks was dependent on how many people demanded it through telephone calls or SMS messaging. This process was very honest. If somebody's product was better sold it was just the market, like any product, like music, like cultural products, like every product. If somebody wants to buy it, nobody has the right to say that it is not high quality or low quality. It's just a matter of the market.⁶⁸

For Khutsishvili, this system of auditioning and testing recordings on the airwaves based on popular response was the essence of the free market, where the best performers have the greatest success, and where the audience has a measure of control over which performers it hears.

⁶⁸ Khutsishvili wanted to be interviewed in English, and the quote above has been edited for grammar.

In the mid-2000s the climate changed for Georgian musicians, and Khutsishvili's views on the music market in Georgia soured for two reasons. First, his band stopped receiving regular invitations to perform at large festivals, which he suspected was due to a few offhand negative remarks he had made about the government. Vak'is Park'i had to go far afield to find performance opportunities, and when I spoke to him most of his band's concerts were being booked in Azerbaijan. Second, he noticed that it was more and more difficult for musicians to get a fair shot at having their music played on the radio. Unlike when Vak'is Park'i first received media exposure by taking their recordings down to the station, program directors were becoming less and less accessible. If a band were to hand over a recording, and even if it contained brilliant music and flawless production, most likely it would sit on a shelf and never be listened to. Khutsishvili considered this to be the death of the capitalist system in Georgia, and he compared the situation to that of the Soviet Union.

I found out more details about how program directors select music through a series of lengthy interviews with a DJ from Avto Radio, a member station of the conglomerate Radio Sakartvelo. As we discussed how the station chooses among Georgian musicians, he happened to mention that one of the conglomerate's program directors had a working relationship with Lela Ts'urts'umia, an extremely well-known Georgian estrada singer. This program director was the first person to play Ts'urts'umia's music on the mass media, and he or she was responsible for jumpstarting Tsursumia's career. In exchange, the singer played an informal role as an agent for lesser-known singers. Essentially, if Ts'urts'umia recommended a musician to the program manager, her or her recording was listened to, and thus was more likely to make it onto the air. Since Radio Sakartvelo operates the most four most successful radio stations and one of the three music television stations in the country, it can be surmised that both

Ts'urts'umia and the program director have a large role in shaping the overall sound on the country's airwaves.

This example very clearly demonstrates how patrons act as a gateway from one system into another. Lela Ts'urts'umia acts as a patron for other musicians, and she helps some move from circulating their music simply posting recordings on downloading websites to getting them significant exposure on some of the largest media outlets in the country. She is essentially acting as a bridge between the informal mode of circulation and the formal mode. Like the case with Radio Muza, her role as a patron is not predicated upon the exchange of money, but on wielding influence, which in this case is Ts'urts'umia's opinion in the eyes of a program director.

Also similar to the case of Radio Muza, this example exposes the tensions between patronage and the capitalist system, as both involve different forms of logic. According to Zaza Khutsishvili, it did not used to be necessary to have a facilitator act on one's behalf in order to have one's music move into the formal mode of circulation. All a musician had to do was take their recordings to the station, and they got their fair shot at making it onto the airwaves. Once the music received exposure, and if the public liked it, the music would keep being broadcast and the musician had a greater chance of being successful. With the situation now, a musician needs someone to gain access to the mass media, and Khutsishvili thought that this was not fair and that this was not progress towards capitalism.

Perhaps the most curious part of this case study is the fact that to Khutsishvili patronage in the radio seems like a regression to the Soviet way of doing things. It seems that rather than getting closer to a market system, Georgia is moving farther away from it. Many people acknowledged to me that this was the case, and that it used to be easier for musicians to

capitalize upon their work, but that it was increasingly difficult to get access to the mass media and even to get live performance opportunities. No one could tell me why this was the case, other than vague accusations of government corruption and manipulation of the local market. I cannot really give a definitive answer why it is much harder for musicians to make money in Georgia. As I see it, there is a tension between patronage and the free market, and the balance changes between the two. It just so happens that right now in regards to music the situation is weighted towards patronage, and that appears to have weakened the role of the free market.

A Georgian View of Patronage

p'at'roni – (1) feudal lord, serfowner, seigneur, lord, master; (2) owner; (3) protector, patron, guardian.

p'at'ronoba – (1) sponsorship, patronage, protection; (2) mastery, dominance (Rayfield et al. 2006: 1070).

The first time I came across the term *p'at'roni* was during conversation practice in a language class as I tried to explain to my teacher that my landlord had arranged for me to do interviews at several radio stations. I went home that day with the impression that the term was roughly the equivalent of the English word landlord or the Russian *khozyain*, which refers to a good caretaker or owner. Soon, though, I heard the term used in other contexts. A fellow researcher referred to the head of a local college who had a lot of connections as her *p'at'roni* because he guided her work. Interestingly, several teenage girls referred to male relatives using the term, by which they meant people that had been charged with watching over their public behavior and protecting their virginites. In the last case, a *p'at'roni* would be responsible for making sure that the girls' skirts were not too short, that inappropriate makeup and nail polish

was not worn, and for ensuring that suitors proposed marriage within an appropriate time frame (anything from two weeks to six months). Finally, people would refer to their *p'at'roni* in discussions about economic matters. Musicians as well as people in other professions always seemed to have someone that was advocating for them and arranging the next step in their employment or their careers. The term was even used in reference to the owners of local radio and television stations, who were generally politicians interested in having their agendas popularized through favorable news reporting.

What is the thread that ties these disparate meanings together? In all these instances, a *p'at'roni* functions as a caretaker, whether it be looking after and managing someone's apartment, her virginity, or a career. *P'at'ronoba*, the concept of patronage, revolves around sponsorship and advocacy. Having a sponsor in Georgia is of critical importance because it can be nearly impossible to gain access to resources or to people without one. This was vividly brought to light for me during the research process: any time I attempted to approach someone for an interview, he or she would either refuse, or, more likely, say yes and then claim to be sick for the next several months. If I really wished to talk to someone, I had to find someone that would vouch for me and who would arrange for the interview. Patronage functions among Georgians function in much the same way: if they want to acquire something, they find someone who has the necessary connections to facilitate the transaction.

The idea of a patron as a gatekeeper or bridge seems to be extremely effective in regards to Georgia and is a central part of my conception of how circulation works. As I explained above, patrons oftentimes are necessary in Georgia to make things happen, and without them many Georgians would have a difficult time advancing their careers. Musicians need patrons to provide opportunities, whether it comes in the form of financial support or

wielding influence. In Chapter One I demonstrated that the largest possible circulation of music is necessary for a musician's success, so many times what patrons provide for musicians is access to the means for circulating music. The informal mode of circulation is available for all to use: anyone with an Internet connection can place recordings on a downloading site or upload a video to YouTube. It is also comparatively easy to perform at small clubs; lots of bands do it. These circulatory techniques, though potentially very effective, do not provide the legitimacy that the mass media and performance at large festivals does, though. To gain access to these opportunities, a patron is necessary, and thus the patron acts as a bridge from the informal mode of circulation to the formal one.

CHAPTER FIVE: CIRCULATING MUSIC VIA TECHNOLOGY

Introduction

So far in this dissertation, I have laid out two competing modes of music circulation, one characterized by regulation, which I have called the formal system, and the other by more free-flowing access, called the informal system. In this chapter, I ask an important question: what role does technology play in music circulation in Tbilisi? After all, both human beings and technology work together to make it so that music can travel from performers to audience members.

Although they do not determine how music circulates, technological forms present possibilities that Georgians have exploited in various ways and that have helped shape various patterns of circulation. One of the most distinctive features of Georgian music media is that it incorporates three vastly different technological forms: the mass media (radio and television), the Internet, and mobile phones. The first, as I explain later in this chapter, lends itself well to the formal mode of circulation, while the latter two are used more for informal circulation. Within the informal sphere, the Internet and mobile phones lend themselves to quite different forms of social interaction. In this chapter I will be looking for the ways that Georgians have adapted these technologies so that music flows back and forth between them to develop a more detailed map of musical movement and exchange.

In order to do this, I take a somewhat unusual approach in ethnomusicology by adopting actor-network theory – as described in the writings of Bruno Latour, John Law, and

Michael Callon – from science and technology studies.⁶⁹ The basic tenet of this theory is that the social is comprised on its most basic level of a network of heterogeneous materials, including both animate and inanimate objects.⁷⁰ This has troubled some scholars because it grants the same level of agency to both (Taylor 2001: 32-33). This potential theoretical difficulty is acknowledged by scholars that work within an actor-network framework:

Actor-network theory is analytically radical in part because it treads on a set of ethical, epistemological and ontological toes. In particular, it does not celebrate the idea that there is a difference in kind between people on the one hand, and objects on the other. It denies that people are *necessarily* special. Indeed it raises a basic question about what we *mean* when we talk of people. Necessarily, then, it sets the alarm bells of ethical and epistemological humanism ringing (Law 1992: 383).

This agency that actor-network theorists describe, though, is not the same concept described in other social theories: to have agency means to be the central node around which a network forms. Instead, Law argues that actors are themselves networks, as society, organization, and artifacts help define personhood. Because the network that comprises personhood functions smoothly the majority of the time, it disappears through a process called punctualization, where the different components of the network are truncated and the whole network appears as a single unified action (Law 1992: 383-385). Only when the network breaks down do its individual parts become obvious. In this chapter, I seek to reverse the process of punctualization to make the network involved in musical exchange more obvious. I systematically take apart the network formed by sharing digital music files and look at the

⁶⁹ For another usage of actor-network theory in the field of ethnomusicology, see Eliot Bates, “The Social Life of Musical Instruments,” *Ethnomusicology* 54, no. 1 (2012).

⁷⁰ According to John Law, “[the heterogenous network] lies at the heart of actor-network theory, and is a way of suggesting that society, organizations, agents and machines are all *effects* generated in patterned networks of diverse (not simply human) materials. “Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity.” *Systems Practice* 5 (1992): 380. Emphasis in original.

ways that people and various kinds of technologies interact. What would appear to be a punctualized network – a simple transference of a digital file from one person to another – actually involves a complex set of mediations. In Chapter Six, this network goes back to being punctualized and I examine the community that emerges from sharing music files.

Marianne de Laet and Annemarie Mol explore the role of human and technological networks in an article on the Zimbabwe Bush Pump. They argue that a pump is not simply a physical object coming out of the ground. It is the community that needs the pump and that uses and maintains it, the instructions and tools that are used to install and repair it, the inventor and the company that manufactures it, and the government that monitors its water quality. Conversely, the pump comes to define the people that need it as a community, the company that manufactures it as an organization, and it gives special purpose to the government that monitors it. In this way, all parts of the network contribute to the definition of all the other parts, and so they all have equal agency. It just so happens that the central node of this particular network is a *pump* and not a human being (2000). Mol and de Laet further argue that even human agency is comprised of a punctualized network, and this can be demonstrated when the network collapses. Ordinarily, a person is seen as a single, unified actor. When that person becomes sick, though, it becomes obvious that his/her network contains doctors, medications, food, surgical tools if necessary, as well as many other people and things (Mol and Berg 1994). In this way, agency itself is a network.

The advantage to using actor-network theory in the context of this chapter is twofold. First, it handles the social and the technological equally well, so that it is not necessary to switch analytical registers between the two (Callon 1986). Since in this chapter I am examining the role that technology plays in shaping the pattern of circulation in Tbilisi, it is quite helpful

to be able to put the social and the technological in dialogue with each other. Second, while actor-network theory can be troubling as a social theory, it works very well as an analytical tool, which, I believe, is how Latour intended it to be used. In *Reassembling the Social*, Bruno Latour composes this argument in the form of an imaginary discussion with a graduate student who wishes to include actor-network theory in his research:

Student: So what can [actor-network theory] do for me?

Professor: The best it can do for you is to say something like, ‘When your informants mix up organization, hardware, psychology, and politics in one sentence, don’t break it down first into neat little pots; try to follow the link they make among those elements that would have looked completely incommensurable if you had followed normal procedures.’ That’s all. ANT can’t tell you positively what the link is.

S: So why is it called a ‘theory’ if it says nothing about the things we study?

P: It’s a theory, and a strong one I think, but about *how* to study things, or rather how *not* to study them – or rather, how to let the actors have some room to express themselves.

S: Do you mean that other social theories don’t allow that?

P: In a way, yes, and because of their very strengths: they are good at saying *substantive* things about what the social world is made of. In most cases that’s fine; the ingredients are known; their repertoire should be kept short. But that doesn’t work when things are changing fast. Nor is it good for organization studies, information studies, marketing, science and technology studies or management studies, where boundaries are terribly fuzzy. *New* topics, that’s what you need ANT for (Latour 2005: 141-142).⁷¹

One of actor-network theory’s core ideas is that researchers should start with a kind of blank slate; it is dangerous to assume the presence of structures in society *before* beginning research on them. Actor-network theory begins by tracing visible patterns of associations, out of which structures might arise (Latour 2005: 13). In this way, actor-network theory functions more like

⁷¹ Emphasis in original.

a methodology than an actual social theory.⁷² I refer to the structures that develop from music circulation in Chapter Six.

PART ONE: THE DIGITAL MUSIC FILE IS THE PUMP

In this chapter, as well as in Chapter Six, I propose that communities are formed around the exchange of music. The idea behind this particular section comes from de Laet and Mol's example of the Zimbabwe Bush Pump. Just as the introduction of a pump has shaped the communities into which it was adopted in a certain way, communities in Georgia have formed around sharing digital music files. The music file acts in the same way as the pump, as it helps form and mold the interactions that surround it. In this chapter, I am particularly interested in the interaction between the technologies that are used to share music, and the actions of the people sharing the music. I explain how this works on the micro level of personal interactions by describing one particular instance of music sharing, where an acquaintance gave me a recording of the Georgian classical composer Gia Qancheli. I chose this particular example out of many similar instances not because it was especially significant, but because all of the major types of technologies that facilitate music transfers are in play. Later in the chapter, I discuss how certain types of technologies lend themselves to particular kinds of interactions.

Sharing Music at McDonald's

One day in late November 2010, as I was walking home from my class on post-Soviet politics at the University, I decided to stop in at McDonald's to use the Internet and check my

⁷² For an excellent discussion of the interaction between structures and actor-network theory, see Annemarie Mol and Marc Berg's article on the relationship between the guidelines of knowledge on anemia and the practice of diagnosing it in a clinical setting. "Principles and Practices of Medicine: The Co-Existence of Various Anemias." *Culture Medicine and Psychiatry* 18 (1994): 247-265.

email. The Internet had not been working in my apartment because one of the families with whom I shared a connection had not paid their electricity bill. As I was ordering a snack, I discovered that two women from my class were also there, and they invited me to join them. We started chatting, and they were very curious about why I was in Georgia and, more specifically, sitting in on their class. I told them that I was a researcher from a university in California and that one of the things I was interested in was the use of popular music in local propaganda, a completely plausible explanation for my presence in a class on politics. In exchange, they told me their opinions of our professor (overwhelmingly positive – he went to Oxford) and the Georgian educational system in general (quite negative).

At some point, we began discussing music, and I asked about which kinds they liked. One of them, a young woman named Iveta, said she very much enjoyed classical music like Mozart and Beethoven, and that it made her very happy to hear it as she studied. I had heard this line about only listening to classical and Georgian folk music several times before from other young people, only to discover that they preferred musicians like Pink Floyd and King Crimson. As a test, I asked if I could listen to the music she had on her mobile phone, figuring that it would be filled with the usual American and European rock and pop. As it turned out, she was telling the truth. There was in fact a great deal of music by Mozart as well as a number of American showtunes on her regular playlist. Some of the Georgian names listed were unfamiliar to me, so I asked her about several of them. Her favorite was Gia Qancheli, a composer of various genres including Georgian musicals who currently lived in Belgium. Qancheli was employed at the Rustaveli Theater in Tbilisi for many years during the Soviet period, and he won the USSR State Prize in 1976 (*Living Composers Project*). Iveta particularly enjoyed his compositions for musical theater, and, since I was interested, she

offered to give me several files of his music. I was quite curious about how this was going to happen, since I had seen and heard about many music transfers from phone to phone. Several students had told me that they used Bluetooth to trade files, in much the same way the technology was used to share business cards in the United States. We could not do this, however, since my phone did not have the capacity to store large files, so we agreed that she would send them to me over the next few days via Skype.

A few days later, after I accidentally messed up several music transmissions by terminating my Skype connection too quickly, we both happened to be logged in at the same time. Iveta messaged me a compressed version of files she had acquired from a popular downloading site and I stored them on my computer for listening at a later date. Since my mobile phone was quite cheap and lo-tech, I was not able to transfer the files onto it and use it as a listening device in the way that Iveta had.

Tabulating Musical Transactions

When acquiring music through technology, it seems to me that the idea of a transaction—the moment when music moves from one technology to another—is important. In live performance, there are no technological intermediaries: music goes straight from the performer to the listener. Other kinds of transmissions require at least one technological transaction separating the audience from the performer. With popular music a possible path of transactions could be: (1) performer to mixer; (2) mixer to master recording; (3) master recording to duplicates; (4) duplicates to audience member. For the purposes of this chapter, I am interested in the kinds of transactions that occur with digital music files, since it is rare for recordings to be bought and sold in Georgia.

The above example includes several transactional moments utilizing various kinds of technology. There is a long chain connecting the initial performance of the Qancheli's pieces to my receiving them. The first several steps did not involve me directly, so they can only be inferred. At some point someone must have performed the four steps outlined in the previous paragraph, as based on the quality of the recordings, they are not concert bootlegs. In those four steps, the music does not yet exist as the digital file that I received. The next step was (5) for someone to use a computer to transfer the recordings into a compressed digital file (.mp3), which is the form that Iveta gave to me. This person then (6) uploaded the digital files onto a popular downloading site in the .ge domain.⁷³ Iveta (7) downloaded the files onto her computer, and she then (8) transferred them onto her mobile phone in order to listen to them as she went about her business in the city. This is where I enter the story, as Iveta let me see the files as we sat outside McDonald's. I expressed a desire for them, so we (9) transferred the files over Skype. Ordinarily, I should have been able to (10) put them onto a mobile phone, but mine was not suitable.

The pathway from the initial performance to me involved ten separate technological transfers, utilizing recordings, computer programs, the Internet, and mobile phones. In the end, all of these activities resulted in a closer relationship between Iveta and myself. The fact that she gave me the digital files meant that we shared a common interest (in the music of Gia Qancheli), and that gave us something to talk about. Our friendship would not have developed in the same way had we each bought recordings of Gia Qancheli or separately downloaded his music from an online catalog. It was built around the digital file and, had we found a number of other people who were similarly interested in Gia Qancheli, we could have built a small

⁷³ The names of the digital files contained the address of the website where Iveta acquired them.

community of lovers of Georgian musicals. This type of scenario is the kind that lends itself to analysis with actor-network theory. An inanimate object – in this case a digital music file – plays a role in shaping the interactions surrounding it. Of course, the digital file does not have actual agency; Iveta and I were the ones that decided what happened to it. However, the digital file did shape the relationship between us.

Part Two: Exploring the Potentialities of Technological Forms

In his landmark study *Understanding Media: The Dimensions of Man*, Marshall McLuhan penned the famous line, “The media is the message,” by which he meant that the actual form of a technology had more potential for change than the content associated with it (1994: 7). Which has more power to transform society, the news broadcast on the television or television itself? McLuhan’s most basic example is that of an electric light: “It is a medium without a message, as it were, unless it is used to spell out some verbal ad or name. This fact, characteristic of all media, means that the ‘content’ of any media is always another medium” (McLuhan 1994: 8). Subsequent chapters of *Understanding Media* describe the effects upon society of such diverse media as money, the printing press, and the phonograph. For this, McLuhan’s work has been rightfully criticized for being technologically deterministic, but its utility is the vast array of technologies that can be encompassed under its rubric. In the section that follows, as I model the overlap of the different ways music flows via technologies, I do not mean to imply that technologies determine patterns of music circulation. Certain media forms, however, lend themselves to various kinds of movements and interactions, and thus they require a model or models that can encompass multiple patterns. I take the diagram developed

in previous chapters, with the two enjoined circles, and refine it to show the different kinds of musical interactions that it can potentially encompass.

Modeling Circulation through the Mass Media

In the formal system of circulation, the technologies used – primarily television and radio – are characterized by their ability to let a relatively small group of cultural producers reach a large audience. Timothy Taylor refers to this as a "top-down" model, where the focus remains on cultural products and their effects on audience members (Taylor 2001: 23). This mode of circulation was both described and critiqued by the Frankfurt School, most famously for ethnomusicologists by Theodor Adorno and his critique of the 'culture industry.' In Adorno's portrayal of the mass media, the audience is characterized as a flock of sheep that passively accepts the ideologies infused into popular culture and the mass media by cultural producers. Such a viewpoint is inherent in his choice in naming mass media and its associated trappings of the culture industry:

In our drafts we spoke of 'mass culture.' We replaced that expression with 'culture industry' in order to exclude from the outset the interpretation agreeable to its advocates: that it is a matter of something like a culture that arises spontaneously from the masses themselves, the contemporary form of popular art.... The culture industry intentionally integrates its consumers from above (Adorno 1991: 98).

In Adorno's view, this system is crucial to preventing the public from thinking and thus from rebelling against their enslavement to capitalism.⁷⁴ In this model of circulation, music and

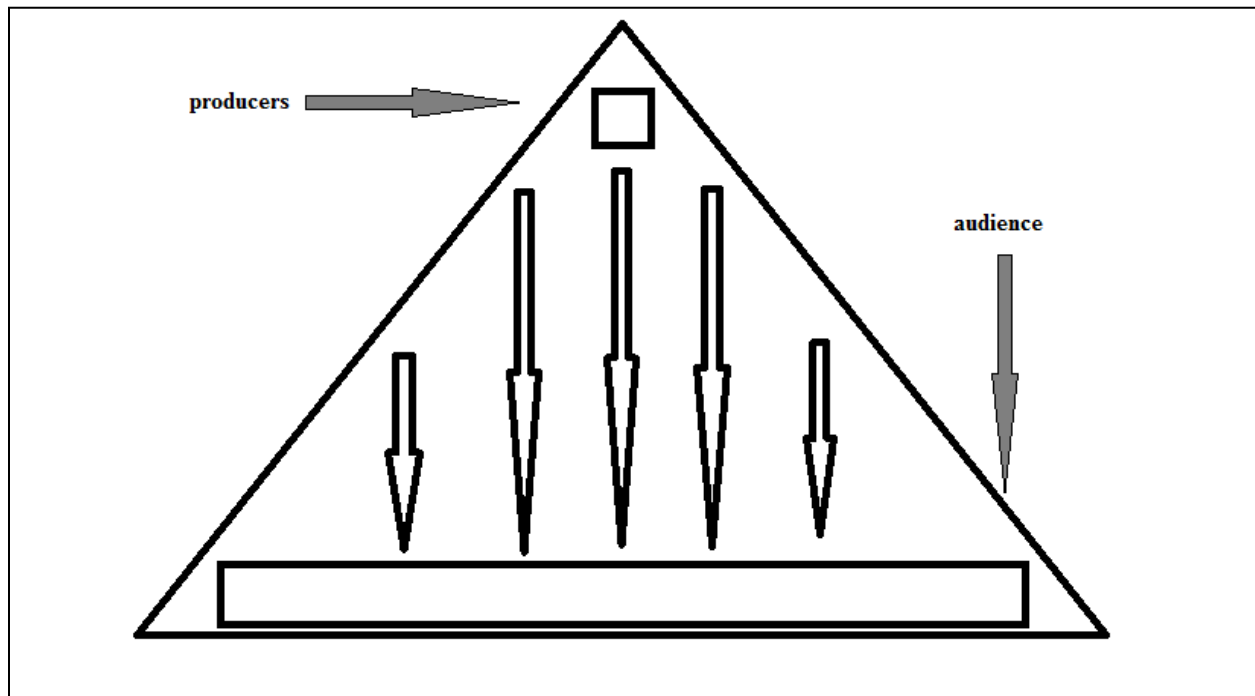
⁷⁴ According to Adorno: "For all musical life is dominated by the commodity form; the last pre-capitalist residues have been eliminated. Music, with all the attributes of the ethereal and sublime which are generously accorded it, serves in America today as an advertisement for commodities which one must acquire in order to hear music. If the advertising function is carefully dimmed in the case of serious music, it always breaks through in the case of

other cultural products flow downwards from a single source (the culture industry) to the audience, who has very little input into the shape of cultural products:

Thus, although the culture industry undeniably speculates on the conscious and unconscious state of the millions towards which it is directed, the masses are not primary, but secondary, they are an object of calculation; an appendage of the machinery. The customer is not king, as the culture industry would have us believe, not its subject but its object (Adorno 1991: 99).

Adorno's model leaves no room for reverse circulatory flow from the audience to the producers; in fact, he expressly excludes it. Moreover, there is no place for interaction between audience members. Such a system can be represented pictorially thusly (Fig. 5.1).⁷⁵

5.1. The Frankfurt School circulation model.



light music.” Theodor Adorno, “On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression of Listening,” in *The Culture Industry* (London: Routledge, 2001): 37-38.

⁷⁵ Throughout this chapter I will be using thought models. They are not intended to represent all the complexities contained in the works of the theorists I am referring to. Rather, they are meant to illustrate a particular aspect of circulation implied by the theories.

This model takes into account part of the range of possibilities of technological interactions available through radio and television at the time of Adorno's writing. Of course, it was possible to have mass media users interact both with the culture industry and with each other, but Adorno did not see it that way. The major weakness of this model should be obvious: people always interpret what they see and hear, and they always have some degree of agency in defining usage of media as well as its content.

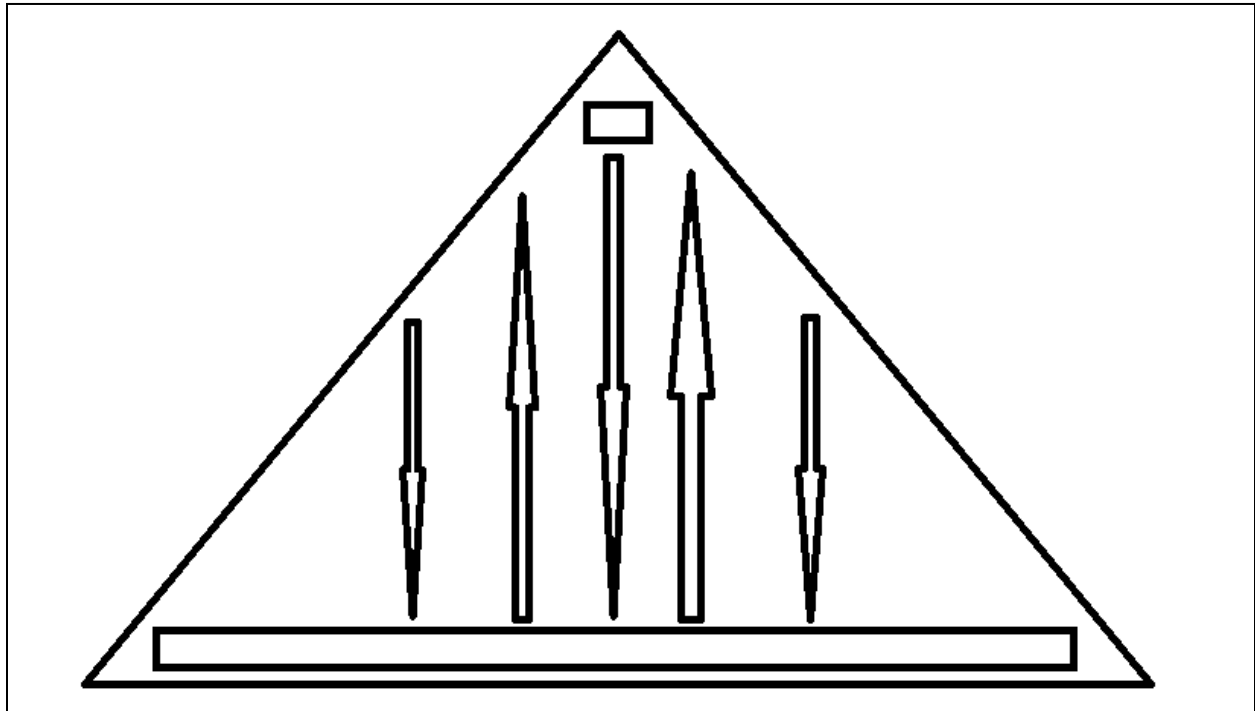
According to Taylor, a different mass media model is offered by the Birmingham School and others of its generation, one that takes into account audience members' agency (2001: 23). In this approach, the many ways the audience re-interprets media products are taken into account. According to Stuart Hall, encountering television and radio involves a process of translation, where the meanings inscribed into the cultural product by the producers meet the expectations and understandings of the audience and the resulting effect is a synthesis of both.

Traditionally, mass communications research has conceptualized the process of communication in terms of a circulation circuit or loop. This model has been criticized for its linearity – sender / message / receiver – for its concentration on the level of message exchange and for the absence of a structured conception of the different moments as a complex structure of relations. But it is also possible (and useful) to think of this process in terms of a structure produced and sustained through the articulation of linked but distinctive moments – production, circulation, distribution / consumption, reproduction (Hall 1980: 128).

Taylor calls this a "bottom-up" approach, where the direction of media flows is changed to include the back-and-forth play of interpretations (2001: 23). As can be seen from the following visual representation of the Birmingham School's circulation model, the basic shape remains the same. A relatively small number of cultural producers distribute cultural products

to a much larger audience. The major difference is that the model now includes the ability of the audience to reinterpret and reshape cultural products, represented by arrows going in both directions (Fig. 5.2).

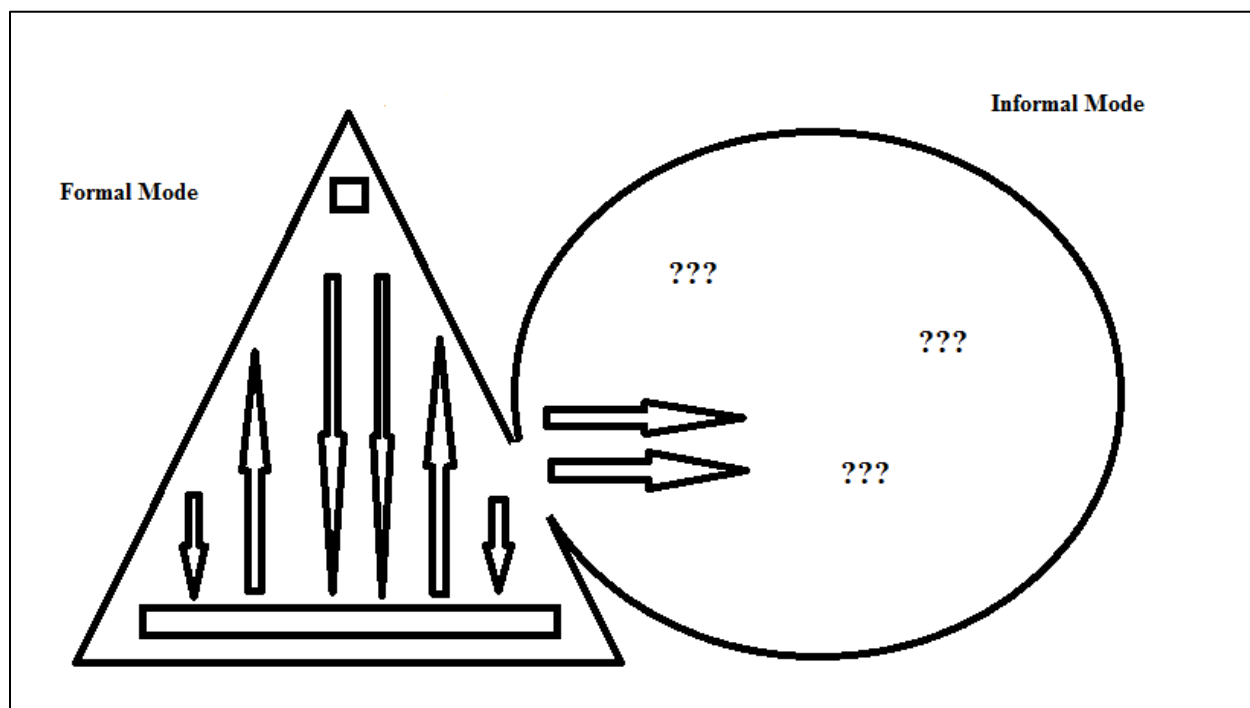
5.2. The Birmingham School circulation model.



Both the Frankfurt School's model and the Birmingham School's model might apply to the formal mode of circulation in Georgia, but certainly not to the informal mode. Typically, radio and television have been used to distribute music from the cultural industries to the audience. The Birmingham School's model may prove to be more useful, since it encapsulates the ways in which audiences reinterpret media material. There is one difficulty, however, in transposing either of these models to the Georgian context. Adorno is explicit that the culture industry is situated within a capitalist context, and that the razzle and dazzle of popular music

and popular culture masks structures of domination and ideological manipulation. This same assumption is present in the Birmingham model as well. Although Georgia is now a capitalist country, the patronage system which was common in the Soviet era still partially controls the mass media, as I described in Chapter Four. As Roumaia Deltcheva points out in a discussion of Bulgarian mass media, the ideological content of Soviet mass media was never exactly subtle, and it certainly was not designed to further a capitalist agenda (1996:306). Still, the model of circulation, where a small group of producers disseminates cultural products to a large audience, who (according to the Birmingham School) can actively interact with its message, should be applicable. In returning to the model of formal and informal modes of circulation, if the circle of the formal mode is replaced with the triangular effect described in theories of mass media, the resulting diagram thus far looks like this (Fig. 5.3):

5.3. A new model of circulation systems.



The shape of circulation in the informal mode remains to be teased out, as is the location of the junction between the two.

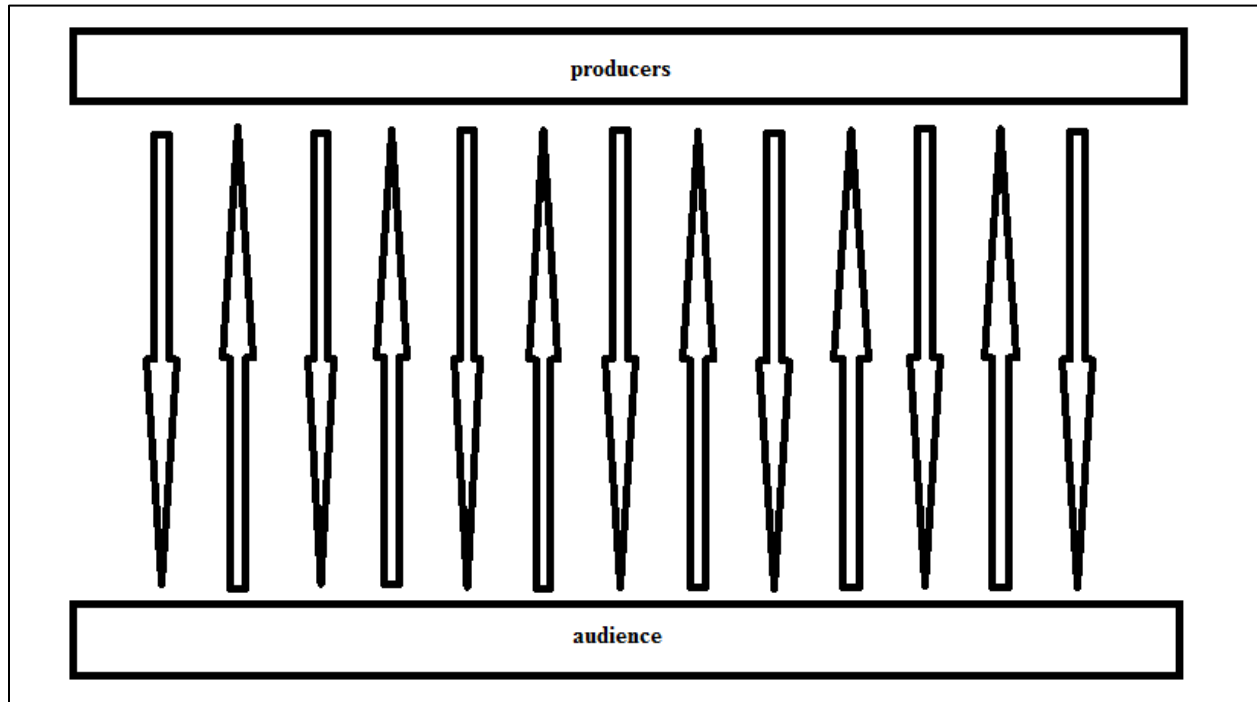
Modeling Circulation via the Internet

As stated throughout this dissertation, the informal system of circulation, that which is not characterized by regulation, uses a different media model. I have already described how this works in Chapter Two. The two kinds of activities that make up this system are Internet downloading and person-to-person file sharing through technologies like Skype and mobile phones. I will consider the shape of circulation in both of these separately. The general model of circulation for the Internet has been covered extensively in media studies and in ethnomusicology (Katz 2004: 177-210; Breen 2004; Jones 2002; Lee 2005; Leyshon 2005; Styvén 2007). The genius of Internet distribution is that anyone with access to the appropriate technology can make their music available for a widespread audience:

What is particularly interesting about these technologies is that they give greater control of music selection to the end user, allowing people to freely share music online and, in this way, undermine the power that the popular music industry has over its consumers. Such technologies further distort the landscape by allowing unsigned artists to distribute their own recordings on a scale heretofore unthinkable, establishing new musical careers and reinvigorating past pursuits (Lysloff and Gay 2003: 9).

Theoretically, this would mean that the number of producers is equal to the number of audience members, and the resulting model would look like this (Fig. 5.4):

5.4. An Internet distribution model.

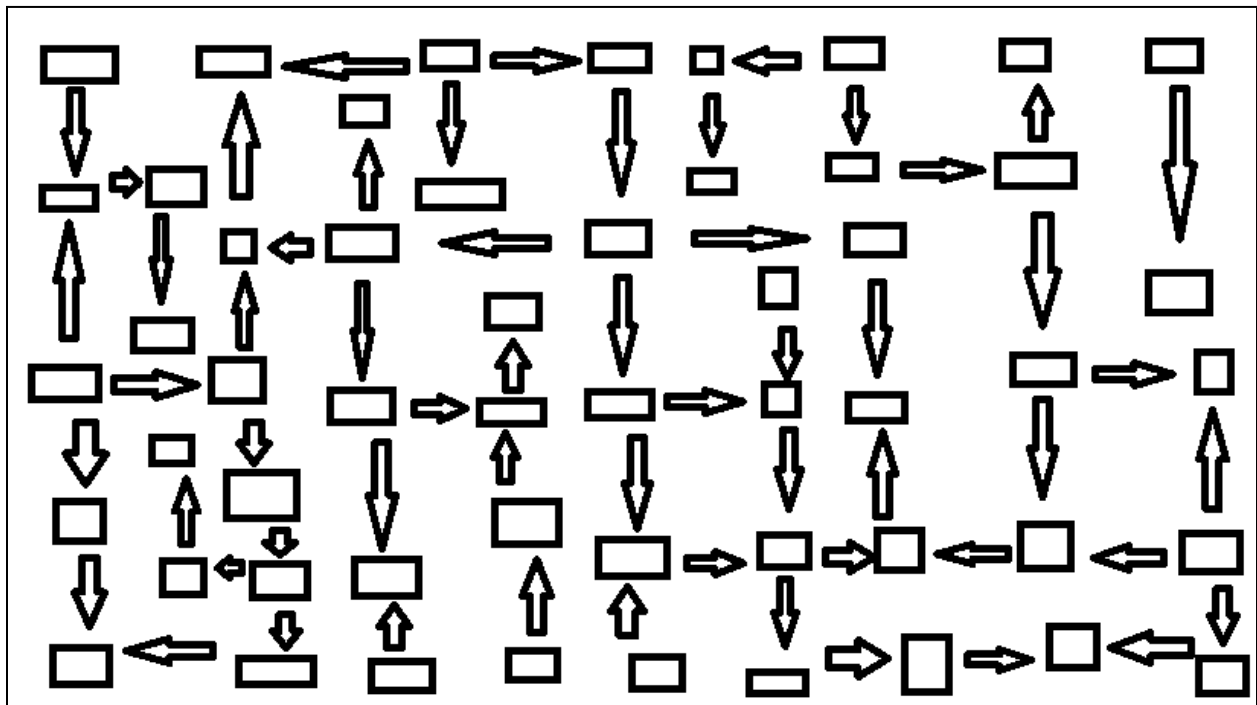


Of course, this model does not account for the many different types of ways to get music over the Internet in Georgia, including downloading websites, streaming, and using technologies like Skype.

In general, acquiring music over the Internet can be divided into two types. The first kind, typified by streaming sites like YouTube, involves two transactions: (1) someone uploads a digital file to a central database, and (2) another person streams or downloads it. In this type of musical exchange, a single digital file could potentially go to many different audience members. Unlike the triangle-shaped model shown above, however, the number of people that can potentially circulate a file is limitless. Anyone can put a video on YouTube and be considered a cultural producer. The second kind, which uses technologies like Skype, involves a single transaction. The digital file moves from one Internet user to another without having to

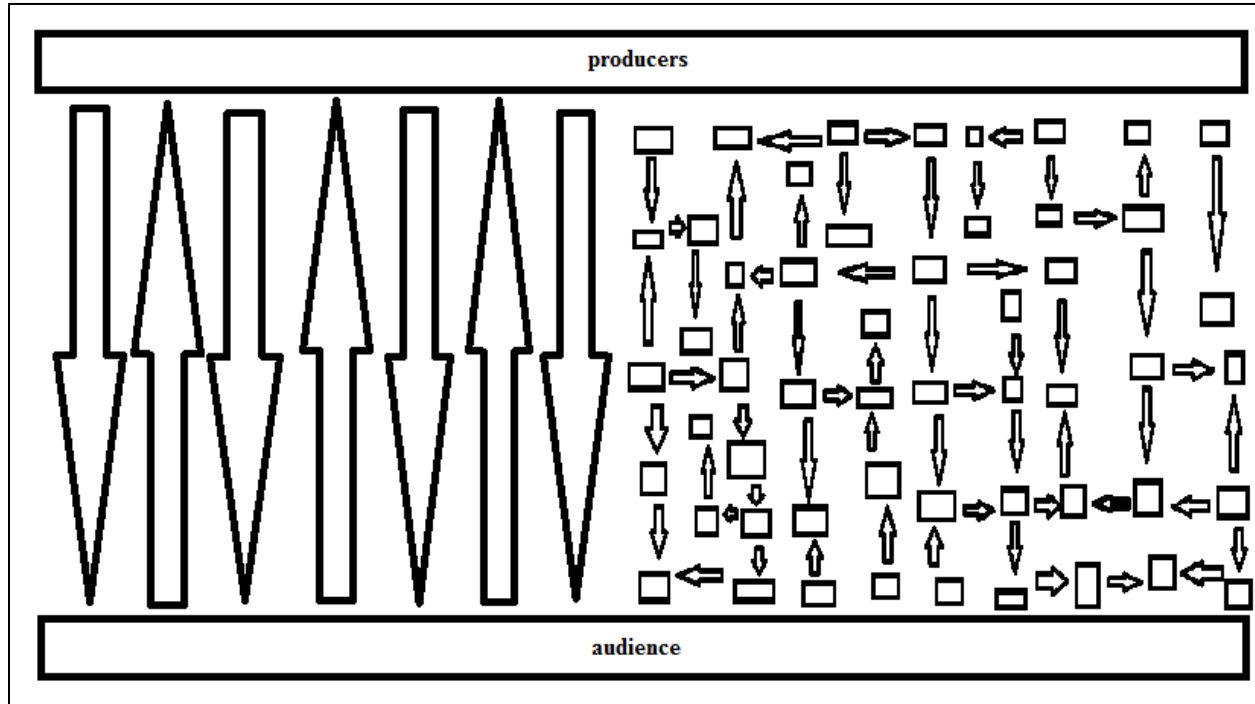
be uploaded to a database. Any type of peer-to-peer sharing uses a single transaction pattern. The first acquisition pattern can be described through the model above, but the second needs a tweaked version. While it is true that the number of producers and the number of audience members can theoretically be equal, it takes many different transactions for music to circulate as widely as it would if it were uploaded to a central database. If a person were to make a song available via Skype, it could technically reach millions of people, but only through numerous transactions: one person would share it with another and another and another in an interminable chain. The resulting model might look like this (Fig. 5.5):

5.5. A Peer-to-Peer Internet distribution model.



A resulting model of the Internet would include both spheres of activities potentially shared by the same group of producers and audience members (Fig. 5.6). After all, one person is capable of taking a song and sharing it using both methods.

5.6. A New Internet Distribution Model.



Modeling Circulation via Mobile Phones

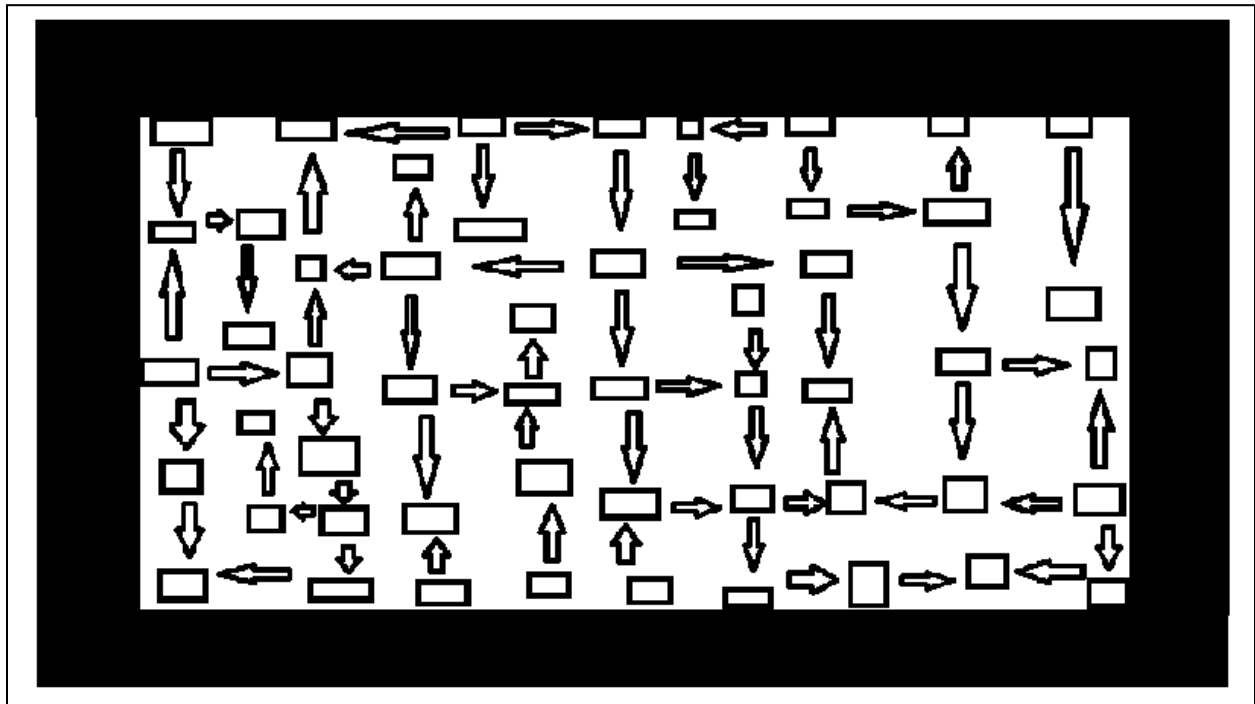
The mobile phone presents another kind of technological exchange. Like the case with peer-to-peer file sharing, acquiring music via mobile phone involves multiple transactions. A model of mobile phone sharing would look very similar to that of peer-to-peer sharing on the Internet. After all, both involve music passing from person to person to person through discrete transactions in a chain-like effect. A crucial difference, however, is the relationship between the two parties sharing music: when a person downloads or streams music, it can most likely be

assumed that he or she does not personally know the other person involved in the transaction. Both are anonymous users, so sharing music does not speak to their relationship at all, let alone strengthen it. Lysloff wrote about friendships and communities developing out of sharing music on the Internet, but the relationship involved does not develop at the moment of sharing, nor does it generally predate the first transaction (2003).

The case with the mobile phone is different, though. Although they are technically capable of doing mass distribution,⁷⁶ phones are generally used in person-to-person transfers. Moreover, the parties involved in the musical transaction generally know each other beforehand, even if they simply happen to become acquainted on the streets moments before the transaction takes place. One does not simply send music to a random stranger. As Hans Geser pointed out in his pioneering study, mobile phones have an entirely different effect on communities than the Internet. While the Internet is capable of expanding social horizons, leading to a potential growth in the size of a community, the mobile phone shrinks it by strengthening pre-existing social ties (Geser 2004). As a model, it might look something like this, where the heavy lines indicate the boundaries of the community (Fig. 5.7):

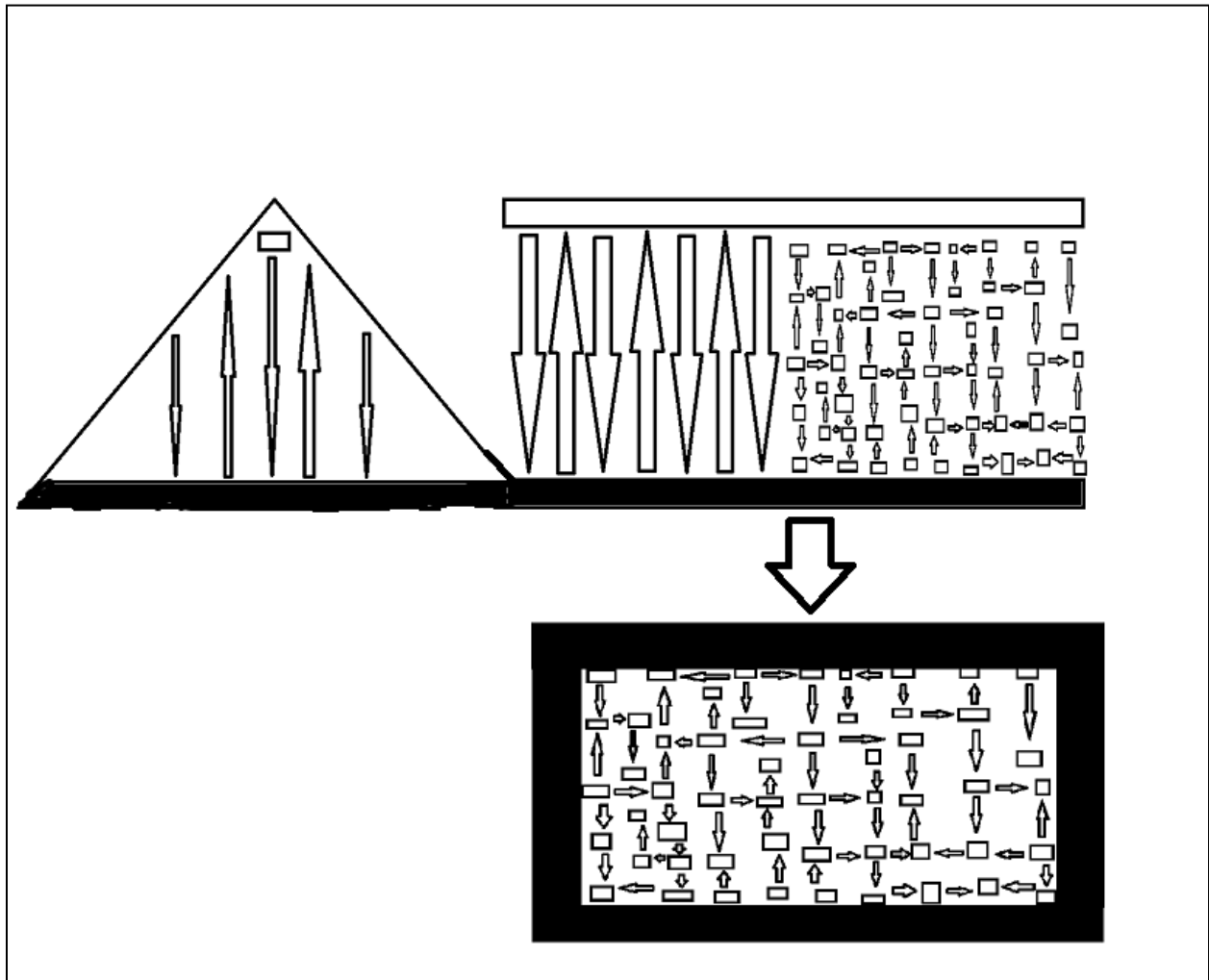
⁷⁶ In Georgia people sometimes program their phones to send out greeting or advertisements to everyone within a certain radius. For instance, on New Year's Eve I received well-wishes from someone who wanted to reach the entire neighborhood. This is quite expensive and so it is rarely done, and I have never seen music shared in this way.

5.7. A mobile phone distribution model.



As I envision it, Internet and mobile phone circulation fit together in a kind of tail effect: one person downloads a song from the computer onto his or her phone, and then shares it with many others. Because of this person-to-person interaction, the informal system of circulation cannot be described as either top-down or bottom up. Instead, it is a combination of a top-down and a side-to-side model (Fig. 5.8). The formal mode of circulation and the informal mode are connected through their audience members, who then may or may not share it with each other via mobile phones.

5.8. The complete model.



The Musical Network

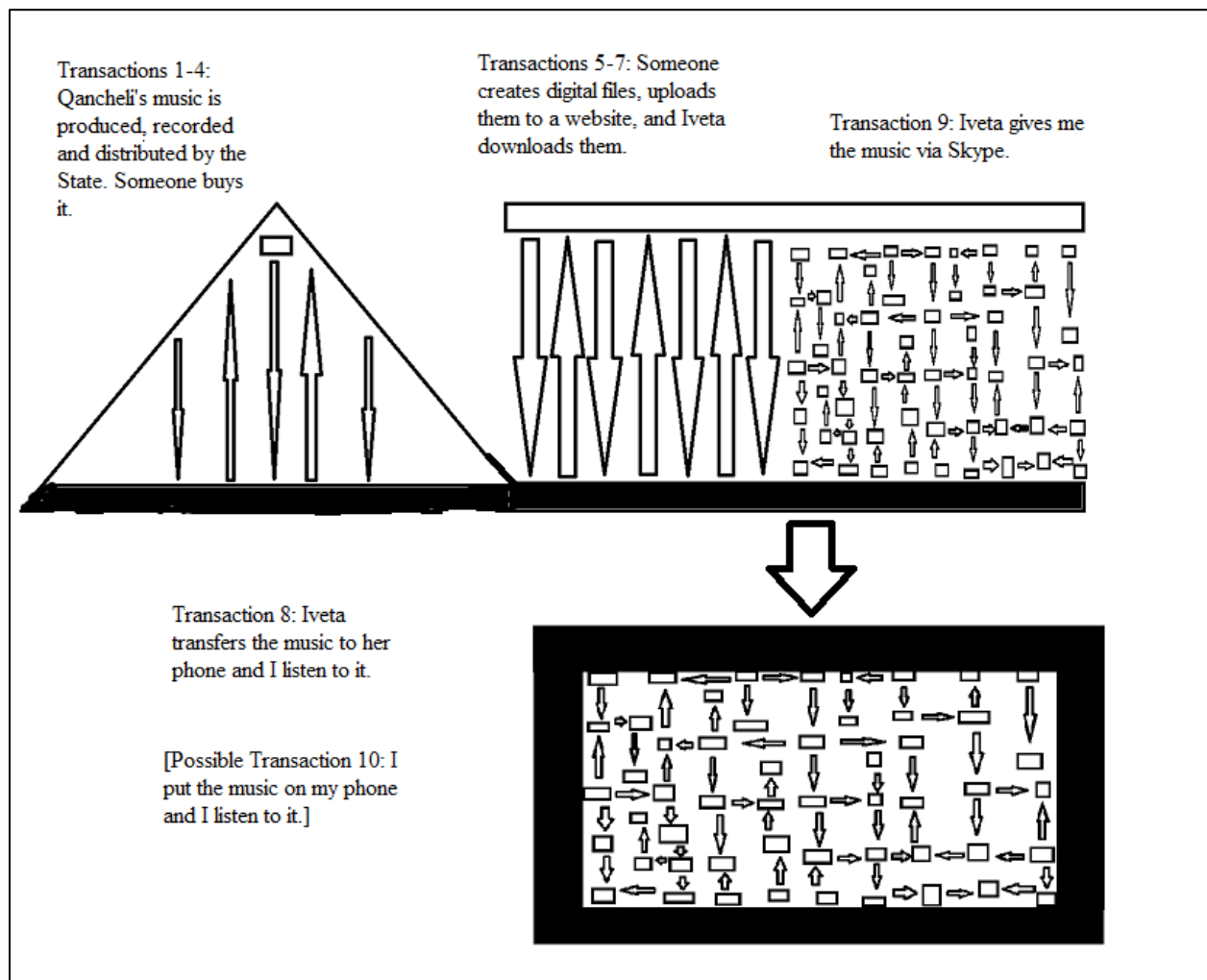
In the example given earlier in the chapter, all of the media forms mentioned are in play, and it is fairly easy to trace the flow of music from person to person through them. The music originated in the mass media model. In the Soviet period, music composition and production were part of a huge state-controlled apparatus; theaters and the mass media were all part of the same system. His music was likely recorded during the Soviet era and played on

commercial radio, and it is featured on contemporary European classical radio as well. From there, someone took the recordings, transferred them into digital format, and posted them on the Internet for others like Iveta to download. After downloading the files, Iveta then transferred them to her phone, which she used as a personal listening device. As she was riding the bus or a marshrutka or walking down the street, she could pull out her phone and listen to the music that was stored on it. The mobile phone also allowed Iveta to display music to other people. In the above example, the fact that I asked to see her phone was not at all culturally inappropriate. Georgians are incredibly proud of their mobile phones, and it is not uncommon for someone to spend one or two months' salary on a handset. Because of their power as a status symbol, people are quite likely to pull their phones out to proudly display them to other people. I have even had people hand me their phones so that I could play a game on them, even when my phone was present.

In this case, though, my phone presented a bit of a limitation. I personally have never placed too much emphasis on the phone as a technology, so when I went to Georgia I purchased a cheap one, not realizing that I could not participate in the incredibly common practice of using my phone as a playback device, let alone trading files on it. To get around this limitation, we used another technology, in the form of peer-to-peer transmissions on the Internet. Even though I kept them on my computer, I am sure Iveta assumed that I was going to transfer the files onto my mobile phone and listen to them as I walked around the city.

The flow of digital music files in this example proceeded thusly: mass media to the Internet (single transaction) to mobile phone to Internet (peer-to-peer) to – as Iveta thought – mobile phone. The example thus draws upon every single piece of the model I set up earlier in the chapter (Fig. 5.9).

5.9. Map of musical transmissions.



Conclusion

This chapter has examined the flow of music from person to person via a number of different technological carriers using actor-network theory. What I have not done yet is mention anything about the culture where these transactions exist. As I specified at the beginning of the chapter, actor-network theory is not a social theory as much as a method for dissecting and analyzing a group of heterogeneous materials. In this case, the materials

involved are music, various kinds of media, and people. I have merely been tracing the network that results from combining all these things together. In the next chapter, I examine the cultural structures that arise out of sharing music in the rock music subculture. This chapter serves as a foundation for that discussion.

CHAPTER SIX:

BUILDING COMMUNITIES THROUGH MUSIC EXCHANGE

Introduction

This dissertation has followed the diagram shown in Chapter One, covering the choices musicians navigate to allow their music to circulate and the system of human and technological interactions that allow music to move. This chapter explores what happens when music circulates among audience members in the informal mode of circulation. In particular, I ask how the act of sharing and exchanging music affects the relationships between the members of social circles. Two patterns of interactions emerge: (1) giving and sharing music builds a community of audiophiles, and (2) within music-sharing communities, social hierarchies develop based on genre preferences. The process through which Georgian youth acquire music through personal exchanges drives the development of such taste-based hierarchies, and the result is a community organized in part by the ways in which music circulates.

The idea that music can help form communities is not new to ethnomusicologists; very few scholars examine the role that exchange plays in the process, though. One prominent example is Rene Lysloff's research with groups of computer music composers exchanging music on the Internet (2003). Like Lysloff, I am particularly interested here in the exchange of digital files, and not in trading repertoire through live performance. Digital files require a carrier for transmission and exchange, and that is why it was necessary to break apart the ways that people interact with technology, as I did in Chapter Five. In this chapter, I punctualize the technological aspects of musical transmission and focus upon the human interactions that emerge from it. Downloading music and trading it back and forth cannot really be considered

part of a market system because no money is involved and no one derives any economic benefit from it, therefore I consider it to be a kind of gift-based economy, such as the kinds described by Marcel Mauss and Nancy Munn. Gifting results in bringing communities closer together and it increases the personal prestige of the giver. In the Georgian context, giving music helps consolidate a community of music fans, and personal prestige is acquired through displaying one's taste level through music selection.

The chapter begins with an overview of Georgian youth culture from high school to marriage. It then focuses on the ways social circles in Georgia are organized, and how this organization shapes interactions among group members. I then focus on how one particular social circle – my own, in fact – trades music and other multimedia materials, and how that informs the formation of the group. I then turn to Facebook, which has become one of the dominant technological forms through which Georgians share music with each other. In particular, I look at the way Georgians post music videos on their personal profiles, the process through which they choose these videos, and how their friends interpret them. Facebook has become one of the ways that the hierarchy of music genres described in Chapter Two is expressed.

Georgian Youth Culture

Georgian youth encompasses a period from around age fourteen⁷⁷ to approximately age twenty-four or so, and is characterized by passage through high school, college, and, for some, graduate school. For women, it definitively ends upon marriage, which typically happens sometime before age thirty. My ethnographic work with Georgian youth is skewed towards

⁷⁷ According to the sociologist Lika Tsuladze, age fourteen is approximately the age where Georgians are considered to have entered adolescence (p.c.).

women for several reasons: first, I made most of my acquaintances through graduate programs at Tbilisi State University, where the majority of students are female, and, second, as a female researcher I found it much easier to interview women than men for the reasons covered in Chapter One.

For Georgians, youth culture generally begins in high school. Several key differences separate the experiences of Georgian schoolchildren from those of Americans.⁷⁸ First, Georgian students carry the same small cohort of classmates from their earliest school days all the way until high school graduation, and they tend to develop very close and lasting friendships with the others in their cohort. All classes are taken together with these classmates. At the end of the year, students wear white shirts to school so that their cohort can sign them, a practice roughly analogous to signing an American yearbook. Second, Georgian schools do not offer extracurricular activities. If parents wish their students to take lessons in music or sports, they must pay to do them elsewhere. Third, at the end of high school students take national exams, and as it is generally accepted that classroom teaching is insufficient to do well enough to get into university, private tutoring is necessary. Many high-school age students either go to very few classes or do not go to classes at all during their final year of high school in order to focus on working with a tutor.

High school is not seen as a place of social interaction to the extent that it is in the United States. I once spent an evening watching the movie *Mean Girls* (2004) with a group of male and female Georgian friends. The film is an adaptation of the Rosalind Wiseman's self-help book *Queen Bees and Wannabes* (2002), which analyzes the ways that American teenage girls sabotage each other. This movie was baffling for my friends, mainly because they could

⁷⁸ This section is based on conversations with Georgians in their twenties that were recalling their high school days. All the people with whom I spoke were over the age of eighteen.

not understand why school was the center of social life and why it was considered by many Americans to be the best period of their lives. For Georgians, social circles form elsewhere.

The narrow social horizon of high school widens a bit upon entering university. Admission is granted to a specific department where students remain until they graduate. However, college students have the chance to meet a new cohort of students that may have come from other parts of the country or from different schools in Tbilisi. I found that university students were the most active in terms of socializing with each other and in taking part in activities like attending concerts. For those whose families lived farther away from the central district of Tbilisi where Tbilisi State University is located, the fact that they could come into the city every day for classes gave them a greater opportunity to socialize.⁷⁹

One of the most persistent problems facing Georgian youth is lack of money, and this plays a deciding factor on their leisure activities. Roberts describes how post-Soviet youth have become masters at the art of either spending very little money or not spending money at all (2010: 543). For instance, a female friend of mine from a comparatively well-off middle-class family once complained that she only had a daily budget of GEL 5 (USD 3.13), and nearly all of that was taken up with transportation fees. According to Roberts and Pollock, the most common leisure activities in the South Caucasus are low-cost ones like drinking, smoking, and watching television, which are not done at restaurants and cafes, but either in people's homes or in public places like parks (2009: 593). For music lovers, the general lack of money for leisure activities means that concerts and buying recordings are replaced with cheaper or free activities such as the jam session in the underpass described in Chapter Two or downloading

⁷⁹ DeYoung reported a similar pattern among Kyrgyz university students, who would take public transportation to the city center for classes, but oftentimes would spend their time sitting on park benches socializing with friends (2010).

music. If a person wishes to attend a concert, he or she generally seems to wait for larger festivals, which are slightly more expensive than club concerts, but which have the advantage of being able to see multiple bands under one admission price.

As people move through their college life, they start to transition into careers. In general, I found that it was comparatively easier to find jobs at a young age rather than an older one due to the fact that young people's education and training more closely resembles post-Soviet values. During this stage, both men and women are still part of public life, although attendance at concerts and other music activities can somewhat decline for all but the most dedicated fans. Like in high school, the behavior of women is closely monitored by their *p'at'roni*, who, for young women, can oftentimes be their brothers or other relatives of a similar age group. Men and women can socialize in mixed-gender situations, but do not generally develop individual, one-on-one friendships.

Typically a woman's role in public life changes after marriage, which generally will happen sometime in her twenties. At that point, she is expected to have too many other concerns to spend much time attending concerts and listening to music. In fact, I once engaged in an academic disagreement with a student in a class on youth culture in Tbilisi over whether music subcultures should be defined by age group. While I maintained that people in their twenties and thirties could be active rock music fans, my Georgian colleague argued that once women marry they are too busy to care about such things. Men frequently maintain a public life outside the home well into their thirties, but, based on my observations of the people who attend concerts, they do not generally engage in music activities.

Social Circles

A person's social circle generally develops sometime during their youth. Social circles in Georgia are not equivalent to anything experienced in the United States, as they can be quite exclusive and do not have particularly fluid boundaries. The Caucasus Research Resource Center conducted a study on social capital in Georgia funded by USAID with the goal of ascertaining why larger-scale businesses (in particular, farmer's co-ops) had difficulty developing despite the fact that they would benefit the economic situation of many Georgians.⁸⁰ The CRRC identified two different types of social capital: bonding and bridging. Bonding capital holds together social groups like extended families and CRRC found that it was quite high among Georgians, many of whom lived, worked with, and trusted their families to an unusual degree. Bridging capital, which allows people to form productive associations with others outside their immediate social circle, was unusually low among Georgians, making it difficult for people to form groups like business associations (2011).

For youths, this combination of bonding and bridging capital generally results in tightly bound social groups based on family associations, age, and common interest. These circles do not necessarily mix with each other, nor do people move from one social circle to another. This was demonstrated quite vividly to me during my first year in the field. Several of my American roommates (all in their early twenties) decided to throw a party in the American college style, with lots of alcohol and dancing, and they all invited numerous acquaintances. One roommate had close connections to the Georgian theater scene, so she invited a group of actors, while another roommate and I invited friends from the popular music scene and from the local film scene. Unfortunately, the party came to a disastrous end when a fight broke out on our front porch, and Lado, a member of a well-known pop band, was bashed over the head with a

⁸⁰ CRRC's findings were reported in a series of presentations and in a briefing paper available on their website (<http://www.crrc.ge/research/projects/?id=2>, accessed 16 November 2012).

handgun and then knifed in the shoulder (no serious or permanent damage was done). I was absolutely horrified over this – only partly because I was hoping to do an interview with the musician – so the next day one of my roommates and I met with Nino, a member of Lado’s social circle, to apologize profusely. Nino assured us that the knife fight was not a big deal, and that as soon as she entered the party she knew such an event was going to happen. According to her, any time two or more social circles are brought together in Georgia, things can get violent. Supposedly, this was particularly true at weddings, although I personally have never seen such a thing happen. She cautioned us that in the future we should never try to mix social circles together, as they should stay separate.

In this example, the social groups were interest- and occupation-based, although they can be built around other factors like family connections. Social circles impacted my research in many different ways. First, when I began my research I was repeatedly cautioned about the difficulty of penetrating the social circle of rock music fans, which was seen as being too tightly knit to accept a female foreign researcher. Second, I found that music was frequently circulated among social groups. One day in late December 2010 a female college-age acquaintance named Tak’o and I were discussing my research, and when I explained that I wanted to know how and from where Georgians get music, she looked at me like I was crazy. Of course, they get it from other people in their social circles, she said. How else would people get music?

Trading Music

When Tak’o spoke about getting music from members of her social circle, she was referring to two things: (1) physically trading files via a variety of different technologies, and

(2) introducing friends to new music by posting videos and songs onto social networking sites like Facebook. The former is a relatively established practice in Eurasian countries and can encompass such diverse activities as Soviet-era *magnitizdat* and the contemporary exchange of materials using mobile technologies.⁸¹ This kind of exchange is defined by the fact that the people involved in it have some level of acquaintance with each other before the transfer, and that the transfer is predicated on that relationship. The latter, most commonly done on Facebook, does not involve a transfer of materials or files, but it is similarly built upon a friendship between the people sharing files.

In trying to determine what sharing music among members of social groups actually does, it seemed expedient to consider it as a form of gift-giving and to apply theories about the exchange of material goods. A classic version of these theories is found in the work of Marcel Mauss (1990). His research, which encompassed the Kula ring of Papua New Guinea and the Potlatch of the American Northwest, takes gift giving as a total system involving economics, religion, and law (5-6). In the Kula ring, men travel from island to island by boat in order to share beaded necklaces and bracelets, and giving these items away shows that one has honor and generosity. Of course, the person who acquired the object is required to return a gift of equal or greater value, and an exchange relationship begins. In the Potlatch ceremony, participants destroy part of their belongings in order to demonstrate that they have an excess of wealth. Both ceremonies have in common the fact that participants are building social capital and displaying their prestige. In the Kula ring, the exchange relationship also adds value to the objects that are being circulated (Mauss 1990: 11). Simply put, these necklaces and bracelets

⁸¹ Katy Pearce, a professor of communication at the University of Washington, has extensively studied sharing jokes and various kinds of multi-media materials via mobile phones in nearby Armenia, and she has done preliminary research on the topic in Azerbaijan as well (Pearce 2011).

come to represent the giver and his relationship to the receiver, and exchanging them becomes a way to bind the community together.

I consider sharing music files to be a kind of gift for several reasons. First, it is a transaction built upon exchange, but it is not part of a market system. One of the theoretical implications of the kinds of exchanges Mauss describes is that it is an economic system which is not built around a market (1990: 4-5). Given that there is no exchange of money or even any bartering being done in the examples to which I referred, it would not be particularly productive to examine music sharing through a neoliberal capitalist lens. Even though the youths may not participate in a total system of giving which Mauss ascribes to the Kula, the idea of gift exchange still has some utility. Second, theories of gift-giving focus upon the relationships between the giver, the receiver, and the community, which is one of my primary concerns in this chapter.

Several scholars have applied theories of gifting to music downloading, and they appear to be mostly drawn to the fact that the theory works particularly well for a non-market economy. For example, Currah examines the tensions between market and non-market exchange in the creation of artistic works. As he sees it, in order for artistic creation to stay healthy, it is necessary for ideas to circulate freely through sharing as well as for artists to be able to profit upon them:

A balance between commodities and gifts is essential. An excessive degree of commodification and control (through property rights risks the enclosure and *under-utilization* of creative works; while an excessive degree of sharing and freedom (through gift-exchange) risks the implosion and *under-production* of creative works. The legal regime known as ‘copyright’ was instituted by the English state in the late eighteenth century to manage the tensions inherent in creativity (Currah 2007: 468).

Currah and several others believe that the balance between artistic creations as gifts and as commodities has tipped towards the former because of changes in distributing technologies. Leyshon, for example, applies gift-giving theories to early Internet peer-to-peer file sharing such as Napster (2003). A possible weakness in his argument is that the people involved in exchanging goods are not acquainted with each other, so the addition of value attributed to the exchange process is lost. Lingel and Namaan argue that value is added during the gift process through the extra labor involved in creating digital files, which, in his example are homemade concert videos posted on YouTube, and that there is an expectation of a reciprocating trade even though partners are anonymous (2011).

One of the weaknesses of the approach taken by Currah, Leyshon, and others is the opposition they set up between gifts and commodities. Challenging this approach has recently been one of the trends in the literature on exchange theory and material culture. It is easy to see where this opposition has developed, as it comes from Mauss himself and the way his theories have been applied elsewhere. Mauss was writing primarily in reference to the kula ring, and he also references the potlatch ceremony of the Pacific Northwest and historical evidence dating back to the Roman Empire. His examples have two things in common: first, they all use gifting as a viable method for maintaining a sense of community, and second, they are *not* capitalist and therefore objects do not function as commodities.

The difference between gifts and commodities comes from the way value is added to objects. Commodities derive their value partly from their utility and partly from their worth in relation to other objects; this idea is detailed in Marx's explanation of use-value and exchange-value (1996). With gifts, value can be derived from another source because they embody the relationships people have with their surroundings and with each other. In *The Fame of Gawa*,

Nancy Munn examines this very problem of how value is added to objects through participation in the kula ring. The objects being exchanged externalize the social processes of their place of origin, and thus come to represent the entire society (1986). This special kind of value cannot be accounted for in the theories of commodification in Western economics.

When scholars like Currah and Leyshon apply gift and exchange theories to the Internet, they seem to be primarily trying to account for the fact that websites and digital files do not have any exchange-value attached to them because they are not monetized. Because of this, Internet materials are not considered to be commodities, and their logic seems to be that if they are not commodities then they must be gifts. Their analysis does not account for the kinds of additional value that gifts acquire, as described by Nancy Munn. As I see it, trading music in Georgia offers a reading much closer to what Mauss originally examined because music trading stems from an established relationship and the people involved in it have person-to-person contact. Chapter Five provides an example of sharing music that involved downloading sites, mobile phones, and more, and I described the effect that sharing music had upon my relationship with the trader. Essentially, sharing music formed a bond between us, and it enriched our friendship. When I listen to the music of Gia Qancheli, I am reminded of Iveta, and I reciprocated the trade by introducing her to several American musicals of which she had never heard.

An additional theoretical difficulty exists in reference to Leyshon and Currah's work, and it is one that I seek to avoid in my research. It leads back to the notion that objects can be either gifts or commodities. The problem with that approach is that it seems to assume that objects function *either* as a commodity *or* as a gift, and never as both. Arjun Appadurai posed a substantial critique of this approach in his edited volume *The Social Life of Things* (1986). In

it, he develops the concept of regimes of value, of which gifting is one and commodification is another. Objects move fluidly between regimes of value, and different regimes of value can even exist at the same time. One example of such an approach can be found in Fred Myers' edited volume *The Empire of Things* (2001). In particular, several of the included authors examine the movement of objects from traditional cultures to the international art market. In this case, the objects in question function in a gift-based economy at their point of origin, but their value is renegotiated when they become commodities. The point where objects transfer from one regime of value to another is a place where boundaries are contested and where each system transforms the other.

The example of digital music files used in this dissertation represents another place where boundaries between regimes of value are being negotiated, but moving in the opposite direction from the cases Myers mentions. Instead of objects being transferred from a gifting economy to a commodity-based one, music that originated as a commodity takes on additional value as a gift. The majority of songs that Georgians are trading have their origins in the international music industry, where they most definitely are treated as commodities. In Georgia, they are divorced from some of their exchange-value, and take on gift-value. The distinction Leyshon and Currah make between gifts and commodities does not hold up well, but that does not mean that exchange theory is not appropriate for my research. I am particularly interested in the value ascribed to music through its ability to symbolize relationships and its ability to become the basis of a social hierarchy, and all of this lies in the realm of gift and exchange theory.

Trading music happens on a community-wide scale in Georgia, particularly within the social circles described above. It is even one of the things which can cause such social circles

to form. As an example, I refer to the trading within the social circle to which I was assumed to be a member by Georgians, which was that of foreign researchers and young NGO workers. I use an example of my own social circle rather than a Georgian one because it was within this group that I was most actively involved in trading and collecting digital files.

Because I am a foreigner, most Georgians assumed that my primary social circle consisted of other foreigners of approximately the same age and similar occupation and I received several comments from Georgians that I had to have an acquaintance with certain people "because we were in the same social circle." One of the activities in which my social circle and I engaged was the trading of multimedia materials, and, as I observed, Georgian social circles did much the same thing. Most of the files we traded originated on the Internet, generally from Georgian or Russian downloading sites. Because so many of us (including myself) had slow or sporadic connections, we could not access as many materials as we wanted. What we lacked in Internet speed, though, we made up through community effort. I would hear through the grapevine that certain people had managed to download certain things, and if I dropped by their apartment with my laptop, that person would let me copy the file. When people would leave the country, they would share the contents of their hard drives with many different people. Although my particular social circle was the nexus of most of my trading activities, I engaged in this kind of acquisition with Americans, Georgians, Russians, and Armenians. When I returned to the United States I had acquired several external hard drives full of material that had at one point come from the Internet, but which I had not personally downloaded.

My social circle was bound together as a community through several things. We were all foreigners living in Georgia, so we had similar problems with living in an unfamiliar city.

As researchers and NGO workers, we had similar interests and many of us attended some of the same social events like academic lectures and weekly choir rehearsals of Georgian traditional music. The fact that we shared downloaded material with each other seemed to strengthen our relationships with each other, though, as it revealed our common interests in other aspects of our lives. Good trading partners would ideally have similar kinds of taste in music, television, and films, so that the materials acquired would be desirable. Letting someone see a personal entertainment collection is a bit of an intimate act because it can reveal unexpected sides to one's personality, and there can be an attached fear that a prospective trading partner will reject one's collection as uninteresting or even tasteless and stupid. When a group of good partners were found, meaning ones whose collections contained the most interesting materials, subsets within our social circle formed, reinforced by our common taste. Essentially, we became an even closer group due to the fact that we were foreign researchers/NGO workers *and* we loved science fiction *and* we loved 1980s rock bands and so on and so forth.

Georgian social circles function much the same way, where common tastes bind individuals together. One such example is the interest groups on Tbilisi Forum. As I described in Chapter One, certain threads are devoted on the site are devoted to .automobiles, politics, science, and, of course, music. Many different people comment in these threads, but there are certain users that seem to spend much of their time responding to others' comments and engaging in discussions on their particular interests. In the section of the Forum devoted to music, there are repeated requests for people to share their music by posting links to downloading sites where files can be obtained. According to one person who writes on Tbilisi

Forum, these core members arrange to meet in person occasionally, and it is one of the ways that the social circle based on rock music has formed.

Building Taste Cultures on Facebook

Trading files with friends involves exposing one's personal media collection to others, with the result that certain people gained a reputation for having certain specific tastes. Sub-circles of traders based on having the same taste emerged as a result. The same pattern among Georgians is very visible on Facebook, where pockets of people with similar musical preferences are brought to light. When I was in Tbilisi for the first time in 2007, Internet usage was restricted to about seven percent of the country's population and a local community of Facebook users did not appear to exist. Those people that used the site seemed to have connections to people in Western countries. In 2010, when I commenced upon a year of dissertation research, not only had the number of people with Internet access quadrupled, but almost twenty percent of the general population had a Facebook account. Everyone I knew that was under forty was attempting to "friend" me.

A result of Facebook's new prominence was that the musical tastes of all my Georgian friends were readily apparent. Rather than writing status updates or links to newspaper or magazine articles, the Georgians I knew were obsessively posting music videos. Occasionally these videos were of Georgian musicians, but more frequently they were of Anglo-American music like the 1970s bands Pink Floyd and Led Zeppelin, or alternative music from the 1990s such as Nirvana and Radiohead. Imagine my surprise when several people told me that they literally spent hours agonizing over choosing these videos, wondering whether their friends would "like" them or not. This seemed like a great deal of time and energy to expend over

songs that were already familiar to their cohort of friends. As I came to understand, this practice of sharing videos on Facebook was an extension of the kind of sharing digital music files that I had seen in person, and it illuminated the way that gift-giving builds prestige through music.

Several sociologists have written about taste cultures, and they generally acknowledge that there is some sort of a relationship between social stratification and taste. Music is frequent object of study in such works because, as Bryson notes, it is an effective place to draw symbolic boundaries between social groups (1996: 884), and Chan and Goldthorpe further state that music shows the point of delineation between social classes (1996: 4). Tanner et al. point out that frequently a hierarchy among musical genres exists. Although popular music can be associated with the lower classes, some genres within it have the weight of legitimate culture (2008: 118-119). The Georgian hierarchy of genres is described in Chapter Two, where classical, traditional music, and jazz are at the top; rock and electronica are in the middle; and pop music (particularly the kind created in Georgia) and hip hop are at the bottom.

Perhaps the best known of these studies of stratification through taste is Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984), which argues that one's taste in music, art, food, and so forth is in part a product of class levels as expressed by occupation, education, and other things. In Bourdieu's argument, the number of people in each class gets progressively smaller as it moves from the least to the most elite. The taste expressed by different classes has a similar structure: the elite classes are more discerning about the materials they consume, so the things they consider to be tasteful make a much smaller set than the one preferred by the lower classes. Because Bourdieu sees that taste cultures roughly mirror class structure, his theory has been referred to as the 'homologous' model (Chan and Goldthorpe 2006; Peterson 1992; van Eijck

2001). Richard Peterson advanced a different argument about the relationship between social stratification and class in 1992. Rather than having a more selective and thus narrower taste, the elite class in America liked a much broader range of genres than the lower classes. For instance, in surveys Americans with less education and income seemed to prefer one genre such as country music or hip hop, while people with more education preferred a wide range of genres, including the same ones preferred by the lower classes. Peterson calls this the omnivore-univore model (1992: 244). Lopez-Sintas et al. posit that members of elite classes prefer both lowbrow and highbrow genres because it allows them to cross social boundaries (2008: 82).

In the case of Georgia, musical taste seems to be patterned similarly to what Bourdieu describes. If the relationship between social stratification and taste were to resemble the American pattern, members of the Georgian elite class would prefer rock music and hip hop equally as much as classical and jazz, whereas I saw an open disdain shown towards certain genres. In both the homologous model and the omnivore-univore model, specific genres are symbolic of elite culture, the most obvious of which is classical music and opera. The same holds true in Georgia: classical music and jazz are associated with the upper class, and professing to have knowledge of them and to like them is tantamount to saying that one is at the very least well-educated. The radio station manager with whom I spoke in Chapter Two warned me to be wary of such taste performances, because people might mislead me about their social status by showing a fondness for genres about which they actually knew very little. Performances of taste and, therefore, of status occur quite frequently on Facebook, as Georgians routinely post music videos for their friends to watch and enjoy.

The Introduction of Facebook into Georgia

Georgian Internet habits have changed dramatically over the last twelve years. According to the CIA Factbook, there were 20,000 internet users in 2000, or just .4% of the population. Between 2006 and 2009, the last year information was available, Internet connections increased fourfold, from 330,000 to 1.3 million. When I arrived in Georgia in 2007, it was still a bit difficult to find a decent Internet connection at an affordable price, but by 2010 nearly everyone I knew was online. The Caucasus Research Resource Center conducted a survey on media usage in 2011, and 42% of people ages 18 to 35 use the Internet on a daily basis. Social networking sites were overwhelmingly the favorite destination: 82% said it was one of their most frequent activities, compared to 33% for watching movies and 21% for checking email. Based on observation of my acquaintances, Georgians have a tendency to go online sometime in the evening, and to stay near a computer until one or two in the morning. In my apartment building, I shared a connection with four or five different families, and at around 8 pm the speed of the Internet would slow down dramatically and stay that way until after midnight, most likely because a number of people would be online at once.

Facebook became the dominant social networking site around 2009. Before that, those Georgians that were using the Internet generally used a Russian site called *Odnoklassniki*, which refers to the cohort of classmates that Georgians have from elementary to high school. *Odnoklassniki* developed in 2006 and is popular in several of post-Soviet countries where Russian is spoken as a second language, most notably in Armenia. In Russia, *Odnoklassniki* was eclipsed by the newer site *V Kontakte* (in contact) several years ago, but the site still remains popular. Facebook became more popular than *Odnoklassniki* in Georgia for several reasons. First, there was a nominal fee to register on *Odnoklassniki*, something around three

dollars, and that discouraged some people from joining. Second, the site's servers are located in Russia, which makes some Georgians nervous about possible spying, particularly after the Georgian-Russian war of 2008. Third, *Odnoklassniki* did not have the capability for people to share multimedia, which Facebook did.

Sometime in 2009, Georgians discovered Facebook in a big way: as of the time of writing about 890,000 Georgians have a Facebook profile. Many Georgian businesses use it, and I even found that when businesspeople or organizations said they were building a website, they almost always meant a Facebook profile. More than one person informed me that using *Odnoklassniki* was passé, and really only done by people out in the provinces. Part of Facebook's attraction was the ease with which it was possible to establish an Internet presence compared to setting up a blog or a website, but another big draw, according to several young people I spoke with, was that the site allowed people to display their tastes in music by posting musical examples to their profiles.

To illustrate how Georgians use Facebook as a status game and how local musical taste develops, I offer contrasting accounts of the behavior of two individuals. One can be considered to take an active role in developing and propagating musical taste, and the second demonstrates how other people follow the taste dictated by others. While I am focusing on two specific people, the kinds of behavior they exhibit was typical of what was described during interviews and what I witnessed when interacting with people on Facebook. The first person, Ana, is a graduate student in the anthropology department at Tbilisi State University and is an active Facebook user. As she told me, the point of having a Facebook profile is to show everyone that one is a *k'ai t'ip'i*, which literally means a good sort. For those that have come from the upper classes and that have a great deal of money, this is done by openly referring to

the neighborhood where one lives, the shops one patronizes, or showing pictures from vacations to Spain or France. For those that do not have the resources to display such expensive taste, such as Ana herself, status is displayed through things like musical choices.

Ana generally does not write statuses on Facebook; her sole activities on the site are posting music videos and commenting on the ones her friends post. The motivation behind her choice of songs is quite simple: getting people to press the "like" button. Having no one react to her postings makes her feel like a social outcast, hence the agonizing over choosing the right video. Fortunately, this does not happen very often, as her closest friends are socially obligated to respond to her every single post. It is considered to be very rude to ignore a close friend's postings, so when Ana does not feel like she wants to spend much time on Facebook, she temporarily deactivates her profile.

The music that Ana likes to post varies from relatively unknown British and American rock bands from the 1970s and 1980s to some of the more well-known Georgian musicians, such as the band 33a and the deceased rock musician and poet Irakli Charkviani. When I asked her about the music that she absolutely would never consider posting to her profile, she listed, among other things, any kind of Russian estrada or popsa and most Georgian popular music singers. She said that her friends would think she was completely devoid of taste and judgment if she posted music like that on her profile. When Ana is on the Internet at night, she typically spends an hour or two on YouTube or on Georgian downloading sites actively searching for music clips to add to her profile, and she likes to have a store of examples waiting so that she has time to carefully consider how her friends might react to her choices. According to Ana, this kind of behavior is very typical of her friends, who spend a great deal of time either posting videos or watching each other's videos on Facebook.

Ana's pattern of Facebook usage contrasts with T'at'ia, an undergraduate student in the anthropology department of the same university. T'at'ia is not especially interested in music but she likes to listen to it sometimes, particularly rock from the 1970s and soul music from the 1960s. She does not attend concerts very often, and she lamented the fact that she only ever found out about the concerts of the bands she like after they occurred. Although T'at'ia prefers certain genres, occasionally she likes to listen to something new and unfamiliar, and when that urge strikes she turns to Facebook because it is quicker and easier than spending several hours searching YouTube and downloading sites. Specifically, T'at'ia looks at her friends' profiles to search through the music videos they have posted. When she finds a video she likes, she begins to concentrate on the poster's profile, looking through more of the videos that person has posted. She also goes to YouTube and to download sites to find more works by the musician whose music she liked.

This kind of behavior, which is very typical in Georgia, has two results. First, it allows people to build status in the eyes of their peers. I do not know whether Ana and T'at'ia are "friends" on Facebook, but if they are, and if T'at'ia finds that she likes Ana's choices of videos, then Ana would gain more status and would seem more like a *k'ai t'ip'i* to T'at'ia. Musical taste plays a role in determining one's place in the social hierarchy; the more people that believe that one has taste, the more sophisticated one seems and the more important one appears. For people like Ana, who do not have enough money to engage in other high-status activities like expensive vacations and living in the best neighborhoods, music serves as an extremely versatile tool for developing and displaying one's position in society.

Of course, it is not obligatory to participate in this game of status and taste on Facebook. T'at'ia does not seem to feel the need to display her musical preferences online and

she is more of a passive observer. Not everyone is as invested as Ana in using music as a status tool, but among music fans, such displays are relatively common. People even change their preferences in reaction to the people around them, as, for instance, with the number of youths with whom I spoke that said they preferred traditional music over all other genres when in fact their phones were filled with other kinds of music. The important thing for them was the way that they appeared to their friends and to me, a foreign researcher.

Conclusion

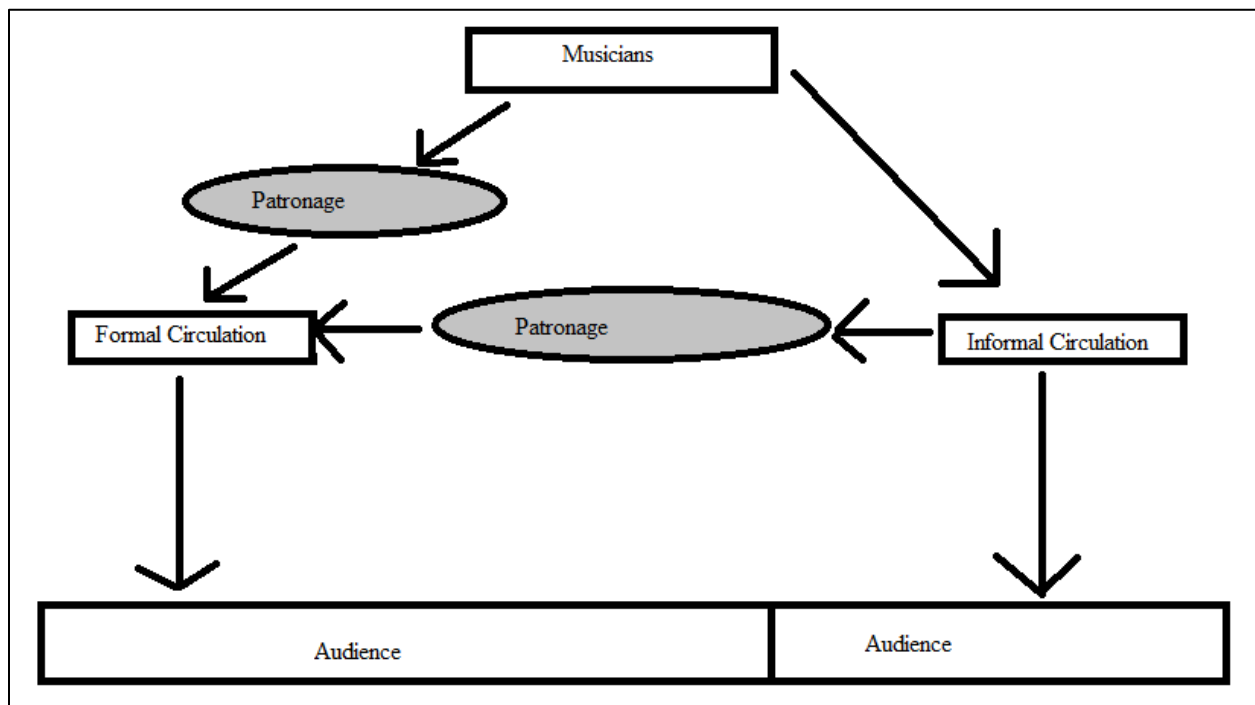
This chapter examines two closely related phenomena: (1) exchanging music to build community and (2) developing and displaying prestige. When people share music with each other, they find commonalities with each other, and this leads to a closer relationship. As more and more people get involved in trading because they like the same materials, a taste-based music culture emerges. Circulating music is thus actively involved in building social circles and communities of friends. Personal prestige develops out of the trading process because certain individuals have materials that others like, while others do not. Those that display more desirable music either through personal exchange or on Facebook seem more prestigious. What makes music seem desirable? Many people would say that the music is “good,” but on closer inspection the music that appears good is most often linked to the middle classes. For Georgian youths, that very often means American rock music from the 1970s and 1990s, or electronica, while for the older generations prestigious music most likely would be classical music or jazz. Music thus becomes a symbol of social standing, and this is displayed through circulation and exchange.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

In this dissertation I lay out a model of music circulation, wherein music moves from the performer to the audience (reproduced as Figure 7.1 below).

7.1. A model of music circulation.



Subsequent chapters lay out the differences between the formal and the informal mode of circulation (Chapter Three), examine the ways that music enters the formal mode (Chapter Four), analyze the technological formations through which music passes (Chapter Five), and look at how music circulation aids in community formation and builds personal prestige

(Chapter Six). Here, I summarize the major points made in each chapter, and then pose two final questions that may spur future directions in research on Georgian popular music. The first question concerns why Georgians make popular music in the first place. Can their motive be as uncomplicated as wanting to attract members of the opposite sex? They certainly do not do it to become rich and famous, for, as I have demonstrated, the chances of that happening are slim to nonexistent. A related question revolves around their choice of genres in which they participate. Why are Georgians drawn to certain types of popular music and not to others? Why perform rock music? Why not *estrada* or ethno-music? Answering these questions is tricky, as none of the people with whom I spoke gave a specific reason either for being drawn to certain types of music or for spending limited time and resources performing, but, based on observations, I surmise that it might have something to do with joining into international popular culture and participating in a discourse of Westernization.

Summary of Argument

The first part of Chapter One sets out the subject of this dissertation and the reasons why I chose it. When I arrived in Tbilisi I had a difficult time locating popular music, particularly live performances, and eventually I learned that this was because music was circulating in places where I did not think to look and in ways that were not necessarily visible to me. The formal mode of circulation is somewhat dysfunctional in Georgia: audience members do not pay attention to the radio and television, perhaps due to the fact that the genres that circulate there are not as popular with young people. Once I began to do research on the subject, I learned that there had been two contrasting ways for music to spread among audiences members during the Soviet period, when *magnitizdat* helped to popularize genres

like rock and *avtorskaya pesnya* (*saavi'oro simghera*) that were not allowed to circulate via the state-controlled record company and mass media channels. It also became apparent from listening to musicians that problems with circulation were seen as a huge hindrance to the continued health of the Georgian rock scene. Because there are very few record companies that can finance musicians and that have distribution networks attached to them, Georgian musicians have difficulty getting their music to audience members in a way that generates profit for them.

In later sections of the chapter, a brief history of Georgia is laid out, and I discuss the dissertation's methodology at length. Due to my position as a foreign woman, I found that the information I could collect through interviews was not as rich as I wanted it to be, so I augmented it with surveys, online forum comments, written materials, taped broadcasts and so forth. This material was used to give as broad a perspective on Georgian popular music as possible.

Chapter Two lays out the various music genres that are examined in this dissertation. The beginning of the chapter presents three separate typologies in which people with whom I spoke described the various levels of prestige associated with different genres. These hierarchies are fairly similar in the ways they are structured, with traditional and classical at the top; rock and electronica in the middle; and pop and hip hop at the bottom. From there I briefly describe each of the genres, mentioning the general musical characteristics of each as well as some of the most pertinent Georgian performers. It can be quite tricky to draw distinct lines between some of the genres, partially because different people define them in different ways and partly because of the specificity or, conversely, the non-specificity of the terms used. This was particularly true with the three terms used to describe pop music – *estrada*, *popsa*, and

shoperis musik'a (also known as marshrutka pop) – as well as with the way rock musicians assign sub-genres to themselves. Because the fact that Georgians are quite fond of rock music from the 1970s and 1990s is important to Chapter Six, I discuss the ways in which rock fans show their allegiance to these genres through their dress and through the concerts they attend.

Chapter Three serves several different purposes. On one level, it offers an overview of the ways that Georgian popular music circulates, in particular focusing on the mass media like radio and television, music sales through record stores and kiosks and at the bazaar, the Internet (explored in more depth in Chapter Five), and in live performance. On another level, it deepens the examination of the informal and formal modes of circulation by taking a closer look at the genres that pass through each. I postulate that rock music, which seems to be a particular favorite among college-age Georgians, is underrepresented in the mass media (the formal mode) compared to its overwhelming presence in live performance (the informal mode). To determine whether this is in fact true, I looked at representative playlists from radio stations and a television station, and I compared it to a list of concerts that took place over a period of about two years. Although rock music is played on the mass media, the frequency with which it is heard is much less than that of pop and rap, and the rock bands that are played are almost without exception foreign in origin. Radio and television also do not play the particular sub-genres that are popular with Georgian youth such as 1970s rock and heavy metal. The opposite situation is true with live performances. Most of the concerts that took place feature rock bands, and pop and rap concerts are quite rare. It appears that there is in fact a distinct difference between music in the formal mode and music in the informal mode of circulation.

Chapter Four examines how music enters into circulation. Most musicians can easily post their music on YouTube or on downloading sites, and it is comparatively simple to perform at small clubs, but getting access to the radio and television and being asked to perform at large festivals is a little more difficult. To get music into the formal mode, musicians need help, and that comes in the form of patronage. In Chapter Four I make a distinction between musicological and anthropological patronage, and I offer a case study of each. One of the cases involves getting an entire genre played on the mass media. Sandra Roelofs, the wife of President Mikheil Saakashvili, established the first radio station in Georgia devoted entirely to classical music. She found anonymous donors to support the station, Radio Muza, and arranged for its staff to be trained in Western radio practices. I compare her role as a patron to that of the historical aristocracy. In the anthropological view of patronage, patrons use their influence to collect clients, and they function as gateways to other levels of society. To illustrate this, I describe the relationship between the *estrada* singer Lela Ts'urts'umia and the program director of Radio Sakartvelo. According to one of the conglomerate's member station's DJs, if a musician wants to be heard, he or she must go through Lela Ts'urts'umia. At the end of the chapter, I lay out local definitions of the term *p'at'roni* (patron) and *p'at'ronoba* (patronage), and compare them to the anthropological and musicological conceptions of the term.

Chapter Five lays out the groundwork for Chapter Six. In it, I investigate the various kinds of possibilities of social interactions that are suggested by various kinds of media, in particular the mass media, the Internet, and mobile phones. Technologies do not determine the ways in which people interact with each other, but in many cases people take advantage of some of their capabilities. I then take actor-network theory, a common paradigm in technology

studies, to map out the network surrounding transfers of a digital music file. One of the most controversial points about actor-network theory is that it has an unusual take on agency, where the agent is the thing around which a network forms. The agent can be either a person or an inanimate object, but its agency lies in the fact that it has a role in shaping the interactions that surround it. In this chapter, I place a digital music file at the center of a network in order to examine the human and technological interactions that surround it. I am interested in the ways transferring and sharing files can lead to relationships forming between people. In this case, the digital music files has a very, very limited form of agency in that its transfer is the thing that causes the relationship to form.

The kinds of relationships built upon sharing music are the subject of Chapter Six. I extend Marcel Mauss's theory of gift exchange to examine the way that communities form around shared taste. When Georgian youths trade digital music files with each other, a connection forms between them based partly upon the act of exchange and partly upon a shared taste. I then look at Facebook as a place where such exchanges play out in order to determine how the hierarchy of genres described in Chapter Two develops and how Georgians use sharing music to build and display personal prestige.

Unanswered Questions and Future Research Directions

In the end, I address one last question: why do musicians make popular music when odds are that they will never see any profits from it? I can only speculate, as no one brought this up in a conversation and no one wrote about it online. A possible reason could be that young men perform in order to attract the attention of the opposite sex. Such a motive is common in other parts of the world, so one would expect to see a similar case in Georgia. If

that were the case, popular music could play an important role in reordering the ways in which Georgian young men and young women form relationships with each other.

I find it very difficult to answer this question because of my own place and presence in the fieldwork process. As a relatively young, foreign woman, I could not ask questions about such a topic either of men or of women and expect to get anything like a thoughtful or truthful response. Young women seemed to be eager to impress upon me their status as “good girls,” while young men would have taken that question as showing an undue amount of interest in their personal lives. It would be interesting to know whether and how popular music is reshaping relationships in Georgia, but, in short, this researcher is not suited to the task. The question of whether Georgians make popular music to attract the opposite sex must therefore go unanswered in this dissertation, and I leave the topic for someone else to examine.

Perhaps another way to answer the question of why Georgians make popular music is ask about the significance of the particular genres musicians choose to perform. Why rock from the 1970s and 1990s? Why not *estrada* or ethno-music (at least for young people)? Why not Western pop or hip hop? What does rock music offer to them that other genres do not possess?

I believe the answer has something to do with legitimacy. The bands to which Georgian youths are drawn – Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd, the Beatles, Nirvana, Radiohead, and the like – form the core of the canon of rock music, and their importance to international popular culture is undeniable. The older of these bands, particularly the Beatles, were highly influential for youths in the Soviet period. At that time, rock music served as a symbol of protest of Soviet control. Bands like the Beatles were associated with capitalism, and thus were seen as a threat to the communist ideology. With the fall of the Soviet Union, rock music no longer needed to

function as a symbol of capitalism. I would hazard a guess that rock music is associated with Westernization, with the prosperity to which many Georgians aspire. By listening to and emulating rock bands like Led Zeppelin and Nirvana, perhaps Georgian youths are not only showing a desire to join in with international popular culture, but are trying to demonstrate that they are capable of making *good* music, and that their contributions are as valuable as everyone else's in the world. Perhaps the reason why Georgian youth are drawn to rock music and not to Western pop music or *estrada* is because of the legitimacy the genre proffers upon those who perform it. Perhaps that is why Georgians listen to and perform in rock bands when it is almost impossible for them to gain material benefits from it. At this point, it would be difficult for me to hazard a more definitive answer to this question, and perhaps this is the next step my research should take.

The connection between circulation – the topic of this dissertation – and identity formation is not tenuous at all. As I discussed in Chapter Six, the process of circulation creates value. Music becomes imbued not only with the connotations of class expressed through levels of taste, but it takes on value from its association with the person who gives it. Circulation involves display, and what does display do but produce identity in the eyes of one's associates? A future direction of this research project might involve shifting the focus from circulation to display in order to examine the identities that result.

Nevertheless, this dissertation takes a significant step in the examination of popular music in ethnomusicology. Because of the primacy of the music industry to the creation of popular music, its role as a central distributor has not been problematized. The fact that musicians can get their music to move around without the assistance of record labels and formal distributors is unusual, and it demands a theoretical approach that has not been used

before in relation to either popular music studies or to media studies. It is my hope that by focusing on circulation and applying theories of gifting and exchange, my work will spur critical examinations in other parts of the world.

GLOSSARY

Apisha	A poster or placard used to advertise concerts, plays, and other events.
Avtorskaya pesnya	Russian, literally, authored song. A genre of poetry accompanied by guitar. In Georgian, the genre is usually called <i>saavt'oro simghera</i> , which has the same literal meaning.
Bazroba	Open-air bazaars generally attached to transportation hubs.
Changuri	A four-stringed plucked lute found in Western Georgia.
Chokha	The traditional Georgian costume for males.
Chughureti	A neighborhood of Tbilisi on the left bank of the Mt'k'vari River.
Duduki	A double reed aerophone found throughout the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East.
Estrada	Russian, literally, stage. A Soviet and post-Soviet genre of light popular song.
Internally Displaced Person (IDP)	A refugee in his or her own country, displaced from the town or region of origin. Georgia has IDPs from Abkhazia and South Ossetia.
Kartvelian	The South Caucasian language family which is composed of Georgian, Svan, Laz, and Mingrelian.
K'ai T'ip'i	Literally, a good sort. A person who has a great deal of social capital.
K'lip'i	A music video.

K'rimanch'uli	The uppermost part in traditional male polyphony, which contains a great deal of wide leaps and ornamentation.
Laz	A language spoken in the province of Adjara in Georgia. It is in the same language family as Georgian.
Magnitizdat	An underground system of distribution that existed during the Soviet period, where people would trade homemade copies of recordings.
Mak'ler	Literally, broker. The Georgian equivalent of a real estate agent.
Marshrutka	Russian, from <i>marshrut</i> , itinerary. A private taxi-bus that operates on most streets in Tbilisi, goes to many towns and villages throughout the country, and is available to go to major cities in several nearby countries. Like a bus, a marshrutka carries a group of passengers – generally up to twenty – and it follows a pre-determined route. Like a taxi, a marshrutka can be flagged down by passengers at any point on its route.
Melodiya	The state-run record company in the Soviet Union.
Mepe	King, ruler.
Mgzavrebi	Passengers.
Mingrelian	A language spoken in the province of Mingrelia in Georgia. It is in the same language family as Georgian.
Mtvare	Moon.
.mp3 album	A collection of mp3s burned onto a CD and sold in stores. One disc can contain the entire repertoire of a musical group.
P'anduri	A three-stringed lute from the eastern part of Georgia.

Perexod	Russian, a tunnel that crosses underneath major streets that allows for pedestrian traffic. Usually they are lined with cobblers, watch repairmen, and kiosks selling cheap clothes, street food, and housewares.
Polypersonalism	A linguistic principle wherein verbs must agree with both a sentence's subject and its indirect and direct objects.
Popsa	A derogatory term for post-Soviet pop music.
Saburtalo	A neighborhood in Tbilisi.
Sakartvelo	The name for the Republic of Georgia in the Georgian language.
Shashlyk	Russian, meat – usually lamb – roasted on a spit.
SMS	Short message service, a type of text messaging with mobile phones.
Samizdat	Literally, self-published. An underground system of reproducing written texts by hand and circulating them in the Soviet Union.
Shoperis Musik'a	Literally, driver's music. A genre of popular music common to many of the post-Soviet republics that is played in taxis, marshrutki, and at train stations.
Split Ergativity	A linguistic concept where in certain verb tenses the subject case of the present tense becomes the object case.
Supra	Literally, tablecloth. A traditional feast that can take many hours and that has a series of prescribed toasts.
Svan	A language spoken in the province of Svaneti in Georgia. It is in the same language family as Georgian.

Tbilisoba	A festival of Tbilisi's identity that is generally held in October.
Vagzlis Moedani	Literally, train station. Since 2011 called <i>sadguris moedani</i> (station square), it is the central train station in Tbilisi. The former title comes from the Russian <i>vokzal</i> (train).
Vak'e	A neighborhood in Tbilisi that was built in the 1940s and 1950s.

APPENDIX I:
PERFORMERS ON THE RADIO⁸²

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
23:45	Pop/Hip Hop	Russia
2Pac	Hip Hop	USA
3 Doors down	Rock	USA
30 Seconds to Mars	Rock	USA
33a	Ethno	Georgia
4 Non Blondes	Alternative Rock	USA
50 Cent	Rap	USA
Abba	Pop	Sweden
AC/DC	Hard Rock	Australia
Ace of Base	Pop	Sweden
Adam Lambert	Pop	USA
Adele	Pop	UK
Aerosmith	Rock	USA
Afroman	Hip Hop	USA
Akcent	Dance-Pop	Romania
Akon	R&B/Hip Hop	USA, Senegal
Al Green	R&B/Gospel	USA
Al Jarreau	Jazz	USA
Alanis Morissette	Alternative Rock	Canada
Alcazar	Eurodance	Sweden
Alesha Dixon	R&B/Hip Hop	UK
Alex Gaudino	Electrohouse	Italy
Alexandra Stan	House/Pop	Romania
Alexia	Eurodance	Italy
Alicia Keys	R&B	USA
All American Rejects	Alternative Rock	USA
All Saints	R&B	UK
Alla Pugacheva	Estrada	USSR, Russia
Amik'o		Georgia
Amy Winehouse	Soul/R&B	UK
Anastacia	Pop	USA
Andy Grammer	R&B	USA

⁸² The data presented here is compiled from the blog *Official Georgian Weekly Top Twenty* (www.ogwtf.blogspot.com), accessed 5 September 2012. Titles of songs have been omitted.

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Andy Williams	Pop	USA
Angie Stone	R&B	USA
Animals	Blues/Rock	UK
Annie Lennox	Pop	UK
Anri Jokhadze	Pop	Georgia
Arash	Persian Pop/Hip Hop	Sweden
Arctic Monkeys	Indie Rock	UK
Aretha Franklin	Soul/Jazz/Blues	USA
Artful Dodger	R&B	UK
Ashanti	R&B	USA
Ashlee		Georgia
Ashlee Simpson	Pop	USA
Ashlee-Emo		Georgia
Ashley Tisdale	Pop	USA
Astrud Gilberto	Bossa Nova	Brazil
A-Studio	Pop	Kazakhstan
Atomic Kitten	Pop	UK
Auburn	Pop	USA
Avril Lavigne	Pop-Punk	Canada
Axwell	Deep House	Sweden
B.O.B.	Hip Hop	USA
Backstreet Boys	Pop	USA
Bakur Burduli		Georgia
Barry White	Soul	USA
Beatles	Rock	UK
Beats and Styles	Pop	Finland
Bebe	Pop	Spain
Bebel Gilberto	Bossa Nova	Brazil
Beenie Man	Reggae	Jamaica
Ben King	Soul	USA
Bent	Electronica	UK
BERA	Hip Hop	Georgia
Berlin	New Wave	USA
Beyonce	R&B/Pop	USA
Big Time Rush	Pop	USA
Bill Medley	Soul	USA
Bill Withers	Soul	USA
Billie Myers	Rock/Pop	UK
Billy Joel	Rock	USA

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
BJ Thomas	Country	USA
Black Eyed Peas	Hip Hop	USA
Blink 182	Rock	USA
Blondie	Rock	USA
Blue	Pop	UK
Blue System	Pop	Germany
Blues Brothers	Blues	USA
Bob Dylan	Rock/Folk	USA
Bob Marley	Reggae	Jamaica
Bob Sinclar	DJ	France
Bobby Caldwell	Soul	USA
Bobby Darin	Jazz/Blues/Rock	USA
Bobby McFerrin	Jazz/Reggae	USA
Bomfunk MCS	Hip Hop	Finland
Bon Jovi	Hard Rock	USA
Boney M	Eurodisco	Germany
Boy Kill Boy	Alternative Rock	UK
Boyzone	Pop	Ireland
Boyzz Barrio	Latin Pop	USA
Brat'ya Grim	Rock	Russia
Brian McFadden	Pop	Ireland
Britney Spears	Pop	USA
Bruno Mars	Pop	USA
Bryan Adams	Rock	Canada
Buena Vista Social Club	Latin	Cuba
Buka & Jaba		Georgia
Busta Rhymes	Rap	USA
Cake	Alternative Rock	USA
Calvin Harris	Electropop	UK
Candi Station	Gospel/Soul	USA
Cardigans	Rock	Sweden
Cat Stevens	Folk-Rock	UK
Cee Lo Green	R&B	USA
Celine Dion	Pop	Canada
Serebro	Pop	Russia
Chamillionaire	Hip Hop	USA
Cherish	R&B	USA
Cheryl Cole	Pop	UK
Chicago	Progressive Rock	USA

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Chicane	Electronica	UK
Chris Brown	R&B	USA
Chris de Burgh	Rock	UK
Chris Isaak	Rock	USA
Chris Norman	Pop-Rock	UK
Chris Rea	Pop-Rock	UK
Chris Squire	Progressive Rock	UK
Chrisette Michelle	R&B	USA
Christina Aguilera	Pop	USA
Chuck Berry	Rock/Blues	USA
Ciara	R&B	USA
Citizen Cope	Alternative Rock	USA
Coldplay	Rock	UK
Connells	Alternative Rock	USA
Counting Crows	Alternative Rock	USA
Craig David	Garage/Hip Hop	UK
Crazy Frog	Dance	Germany
Cue	Pop	Sweden
Curtis Mayfield	Soul	USA
Cyndi Lauper	Pop	USA
D. Banner	Hip Hop	USA
Daft Punk	Electronica	France
Daniel Beddingfield	Pop	UK
Daniel Merriweather	R&B	Australia
Daniel Powter	Rock	Canada
Danni Minogue	Pop	Australia
Dante Thomas	R&B	USA
Darren Hayes	Pop	Australia
Dato Archvadze		Georgia
Dato Khujadze		Georgia
David Archuleta	Pop	USA
David Guetta	Electronica	France
David Lee Roth	Hard Rock	USA
De Phazz	Downtempo Jazz	Germany
Deep Side	House	Romania
Vitalic	Electronica	France
Dennis Edwards	R&B/Soul	USA
Depeche Mode	Synthpop	UK
Dervishebi		Georgia

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Desireless	Pop	France
Des'ree	R&B	UK
Destiny's Child	R&B	USA
Diana King	Reggae	Jamaica
Diana Ross	R&B/Soul	USA
Dido	Pop	UK
Dima Bilan	Pop	Russia
DJ Smash	House	Russia
DJ Tiesto	House	Netherlands
Dmitriy Koldun	Pop	Belarus
Don McLean	Folk	USA
Donna Lewis	Pop	UK
Doors	Psychedelic Rock	USA
Duck Sauce	House	USA/Canada
Dueti Georgia		Georgia
Duffy	Soul	UK
Dusty Springfield	Pop/Soul	UK
Eagle Eye Cherry	Pop	Sweden
Eagles	Rock	USA
Eamon	R&B	USA
Edward Maya	House	Romania
Edwyn Collins	Alternative Rock	UK
Ek'a K'akhiani		Georgia
Ella Fitzgerald	Swing/Pop	USA
Elton John	Rock	UK
Elvis Costello	Pub-Rock	UK
Elvis Presley	Rock	USA
Eminem	Hip Hop	USA
Emkay		Georgia
En Vogue	R&B	USA
Enrique Iglesias	Pop	Spain
Enur	Dance	Denmark
Eric Benet	R&B	USA
Eric Clapton	Rock	UK
Eric Prydz	House	Sweden
Eros Ramazzotti	Adult Contemporary	Italy
Estelle	R&B	UK
Ester Dean	R&B	USA
Eternal	R&B	UK

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Eurythmics	Synthpop	UK
Eva Cassidy	Soul/Jazz	USA
Eve	Hip Hop	USA
Everclear	Alternative Rock	USA
Everything But the Girl	Alternative Rock	UK
Fabio Concato	Jazz	Italy
Faithless	House	UK
Fall Out Boy	Pop-Punk	USA
Fatboy Slim	Trip Hop	UK
Fedo Mora	Electronica	Italy
Feist	Indie Pop	Canada
Fergie	Pop	USA
Fiona Apple	Piano Rock	USA
Flo Rida	Hip Hop	USA
Fools Garden	Indie Rock	Germany
Fort Minor	Alternative Hip Hop	USA
Frank Sinatra	Pop/Jazz	USA
Frankie Valli	Rock	USA
Franz Ferdinand	Indie Rock	UK
Fugees	Hip Hop/Soul	USA
Gala	Eurodance	Italy
Gareth Gates	Pop	UK
Gary Moore	Blues-Rock	UK
George Harrison	Rock	UK
George Michael	Pop	UK
Geri Halliwell	Pop	UK
Giga Agladze		Georgia
Giga Mikaberidze		Georgia
Gigi D'Agostino		Georgia
Gina G	Dance	Australia
Giorgi Datiashvili		Georgia
Giorgi Pochkhua		Georgia
Gipsy Kings	Rumba/Pop	France
Gisella Cozzo	Pop	Australia
Global Deejays	House	Austria
Gloria Gaynor	Disco/R&B	USA
Gnarls Barkley	Funk/Alternative Hip Hop	USA
Goga Meskhi		Georgia
Goran Bregovic		Bosnia

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Gorillaz	Alternative	UK
Grand Tourism	Electronica	France
Green Day	Punk	USA
Groove Armada	Electronica	UK
Guns 'n' Roses	Rock	USA
Gwen Stefani	Pop	USA
Gym Class Heroes	Rap-Rock	USA
Haddaway	Dance	Germany
Hellogoodbye	Powerpop	USA
Hilary Duff	Pop	USA
Hoobastank	Post-Grunge	USA
Hooverphonic	Electronica	Belgium
Horny United	Electronica	Germany
Ian Carey	House	USA
Iggy Pop	Punk Rock	UK
Incognito	Acid Jazz	UK
Infernal	Pop	Denmark
Inna	Electropop	Romania
Insaiti	Ethno	Georgia
INXS	Rock	Australia
Irakli Charkviani		Georgia
Irakli Nozadze		Georgia
Ismael Lo	Mbalax	Senegal
Ja Rule	Hip Hop	USA
Jack Johnson	Folk-Rock	USA
Jamelia	R&B	UK
James Blunt	Pop-Rock	UK
James Brown	R&B	USA
James Morrison	Soul	UK
Jamie Cullum	Crossover Jazz	UK
Jamie Foxx	R&B/Hip Hop	USA
Jamiroquai	Jazz Funk	UK
Janet Jackson	R&B	USA
Janis Joplin	Blues Rock	USA
Jason Derulo	R&B	USA
Jason Mraz	Pop-Rock	USA
Jay Sean	Pop	UK
Jay Z	Pop	USA
Jefferson Starship	Rock	USA

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Jennifer Lopez	Pop	USA
Jerry Ropero	House	Germany
Jessie J	Pop	UK
Jean Roch	Electronica	France
Joe Cocker	Blues/Rock	UK
Joey Negro	House	UK
John Legend	R&B	USA
John Paul Young	Pop	UK
JoJo	Pop	USA
Jordin Sparks	R&B	USA
Jose Padilla	Chillout	Spain
Joss Stone	Soul	UK
Juanes	Latin Pop/Latin Rock	Colombia
Just Jack	Dance Pop	UK
Justin Bieber	Pop	Canada
Justin Timberlake	Pop	USA
Kaiser Chiefs	Pop	UK
Kanye	Hip Hop	USA
Kardinal Offishall	Hip Hop	Canada
Kartveli Momghdrlebi		Georgia
Kat Deluna	Pop	Dominican Republic
Kate Nash	Indie Pop	UK
Katie Melua	Blues	UK
Katy Perry	Pop	USA
K'akhaberi, Nina, and Tik'a		Georgia
K-Ci & Jojo	R&B	USA
Keane	Alternative Rock	UK
Kelis	R&B	USA
Kelly Clarkson	Pop	USA
Kelly Osbourne	Pop-Rock	UK
Kelly Rowland	R&B	USA
Keri Hilson	R&B	USA
Kesha	Pop	USA
Kevin Rudolf	Rock	USA
Khadja Nin	Afro-Beat	Belgium
Kid Cudi	Alternative Hip Hop	USA
Kirk Franklin	Gospel/Christian Hip Hop	USA
K-Maró	Hip Hop	Canada
K'Naan	Hip Hop	Canada

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Kool and the Gang	Jazz/R&B/Soul	USA
K'ork'ot'a		Georgia
Kuchis Bich'ebi		Georgia
Kylie Minogue	Pop	Australia
La Bouche	Eurodance	Germany
La Roux	Electropop	UK
Lady Gaga	Pop	USA
Laid Back	New Wave	Denmark
Laleh	Pop	Sweden
Lauryn Hill	R&B/Hip Hop	USA
Led Zeppelin	Rock	UK
Lemar	R&B	UK
Lemon Ice	Pop	Germany
Lena Meyer	Pop	Germany
Lenny Kravitz	Rock	USA
Leona Lewis	Pop	UK
Leonid Rudenko	Dance	Russia
Lex-Seni	Hip Hop	Georgia
Lexter	Pop	Spain
Ligalaiz		Georgia
Lighthouse Family	Pop	UK
Lik'a Shubitadze		Georgia
Lil Wayne	Hip Hop	USA
Lily Allen	Pop	UK
Limp Bizkit	Nu-Metal	USA
Linda Ronstadt	Rock/Folk	USA
Linkin Park	Rock	USA
Lionel Richie	Soul/R&B	USA
Lisa Stansfield	R&B	UK
Little Man Tate	Indie Rock	UK
Lloyd Banks	Hip Hop	USA
Lonestar	Country	USA
Louie Austen	Jazz/Electronica	Austria
Louis Armstrong	Jazz	USA
Love.bog.ge		Georgia
Ludacris	Hip Hop	USA
Luniz	Hip Hop	USA
Lupe Fiasco	Hip Hop	USA
Lynden David Hall	R&B/Soul	UK

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
M People	Dance	UK
Macy Gray	R&B	USA
Madcon	Electropop	Norway
Madison Avenue	House	Australia
Madonna	Pop	USA
Maia Baratashvili		Georgia
Mamuk'a Chark'viani		Georgia
Mandy Moore	Pop	USA
Mann	Hip Hop	USA
Marc Anthony	Salsa	USA
Mariah Carey	R&B	USA
Mario	R&B	USA
Mario Vazquez	R&B	USA
Marion Raven	Rock	Norway
Marisa Monte	Pop	Brazil
Mark Knight	Electronica	UK
Mark Medlock	Pop	Germany
Mark'o Met'reveli		Georgia
Maroon 5	Pop Rock	USA
Marque	Folk/Reggae	USA
Martin Solveig	House	France
Marvin Gaye	R&B/Soul	USA
Mary J. Blige	R&B	USA
Massive Attack	Trip Hop	UK
Mast'eri		Georgia
Matisyahu	Reggae	USA
Mattafix	Hip Hop	UK
Mavericks	Country	USA
Maxi Priest	Reggae	UK
MC Hammer	Hip Hop	USA
Meat Loaf	Hard Rock	USA
Melanie C	Pop	UK
Merab Sepashvili		Georgia
Metallica	Heavy Metal	USA
Method Man	Hip Hop	USA
Metro Station	Alternative Rock	USA
Mgzavrebi	Ethno	Georgia
Michael Buble	Big Band	Canada
Michael Franks	Smooth Jazz	USA

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Michael Gray	Electronica	UK
Michael Jackson	Pop	USA
Michael Squire	Alternative	Australia
Miguel Migs	Deep House	USA
Mika	Pop	UK
Milow	Pop	Belgium
Mims	Hip Hop	USA
Adriano Celentano	Pop	Italy
Mis Tik'a		Georgia
Moby	Electronica	USA
Modjo	House	France
Mo-Do	Techno	Italy
Mohombi	R&B	Sweden
Moloko	Trip Hop	UK
Morcheeba	Trip Hop	UK
Mousse T	House	Germany
Mumiy Troll'	Rock	USSR, Russia
Muse	Alternative Rock	UK
Musikk	Club	Denmark
Mutya Buena	Pop	UK
Mts'vane Otakhi		Georgia
N-DUBZ	Hip Hop	UK
Nancy Sinatra	Pop	USA
Nat King Cole	Jazz	USA
Natalie Imbruglia	Pop	Australia
Natasha Beddingfield	Pop	UK
Nat'o Gelashvili		Georgia
Nato Metonidze		Georgia
Nayer	Pop	USA
Negrocan	Electronica	UK
Nelly	Hip Hop	USA
Nelly Furtado	Pop	Canada
New Kids on the Block	Pop	USA
New Radicals	Jazz-Rock	USA
Ne-Yo	R&B	USA
Niaz Diasamidze	Ethno	Georgia
Nickelback	Alternative Rock	Canada
Nicki Minaj	Hip Hop	USA
Nicole Scherzinger	Pop	USA

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Nik'o Gomelashvili		Georgia
Nini Badurashvili		Georgia
Nini Karseladze		Georgia
Nini Shermadini		Georgia
Nino Chkheidze		Georgia
Nino Katamadze		Georgia
No Doubt	Pop-Rock	USA
Nodik'o T'at'ishvili		Georgia
Norah Jones	Adult Contemporary	USA
Oasis	Rock	UK
Oceana	Reggae/Hip Hop	Germany
Olivia Newton-John	Pop	Australia
Omarion	R&B	USA
One Republic	Pop-Rock	USA
K'ork'ot'a		Georgia
Outlandish	Hip Hop	Denmark
Owl City	Electronica	USA
O-Zone	Pop	Moldova
Ozzy Osbourne	Heavy Metal	UK
P. Diddy	Hip Hop	USA
P.J. Proby	Pop/Easy Listening	USA
P'ancho		Georgia
Panic! At the disco	Pop-Rock	USA
Paolo Conte	Jazz	Italy
Paparatsi		Georgia
Pappa Bear	Hip Hop	Netherlands
Paris Hilton	Techno-House	USA
Paul McCartney	Rock	UK
Pecho		Georgia
Peter Andre	R&B	UK
Peter Gabriel	Progressive Rock	UK
Pink	Pop	USA
Pink Floyd	Progressive Rock	UK
Pitbull	Hip Hop	USA
Pixie Lott	Pop	UK
Prani		Georgia
Prince	Funk/R&B	USA
Prince Royce	Latin Pop	Dominican Republic
Pussycat Dolls	Pop	USA

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Queen	Rock	UK
R. Kelly	R&B	USA
R.E.M.	Alternative Rock	USA
R.I.O.	Reggae	Germany
Radiohead	Alternative Rock	UK
Randy Crawford	Jazz/R&B	USA
Rasmus	Electronica	Sweden
Razorlight	Indie Rock	UK
Reamonn	Pop-Rock	Germany
Red Hot Chili Peppers	Funk-Rock	USA
Remy Shand	R&B	Canada
Ricky Martin	Pop	Puerto Rico
Rihanna	Pop	USA
Rob Thomas	Alternative Rock	USA
Robbie Williams	Pop-Rock	UK
Robin Thicke	R&B	USA
Rolling Stones	Rock	UK
Room 5	House	Belgium
Rosanna	Pop	UK
ROX	Pop/Soul	UK
Roy Orbison	Rock/Country	USA
Rozalla	Dance	Zambia
Sade	Smooth Jazz	UK
Safri Duo	Electronica	Denmark
Safura	Pop	Azerbaijan
Salome K'ork'ot'ashvili		Georgia
Santa Esmerelda	Disco	USA
Santana	Latin Rock	USA
Sakhe		Georgia
Schiller mit Heppner	Electronica	Germany
Scorpions	Heavy Metal	Germany
Scouting for Girls	Pop-Rock	UK
Seal	Soul	UK
Sean Kingston	Reggae Fusion	USA
Sean Paul	Reggae	Jamaica
Seisheni		Georgia
Selena Gomez	Pop	USA
Serhat	Electronica	Turkey
Shaggy	Reggae	Jamaica

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Shakira	Pop	Colombia
Shania Twain	Country	Canada
Shanice	R&B	USA
Shayne Ward	Pop	UK
Shirley Bassie	Pop	UK
Shola Ama	R&B	UK
Seisheni		Georgia
Simon & Garfunkel	Folk-Rock	USA
Simple Plan	Pop-Rock	Canada
Simply Red	Pop/Soul	UK
Sinead O'Connor	Alternative Rock	Ireland
Sister Sledge	R&B	USA
Smokie	Pop-Rock	UK
Snap	Eurodance	Germany
Snoop Dogg	Hip Hop	USA
Snow Patrol	Alternative Rock	UK
Sophie Elise Bextor	Electropop	UK
Sopo Nizharadze		Georgia
Sopo Khalvashi		Georgia
Spice Girls	Pop	UK
Spiller	Dance	Italy
Stacie Orrico	Soul/Contemporary Christian	USA
Star Dust	House	France
Stefane & 3G		Georgia
Stevie Wonder	Soul/Pop	USA
Sting	Rock	UK
Str!ng		Georgia
Sugababes	Pop	UK
Sunrise Avenue	Alternative Rock	Finland
Sunshine Reggae	Reggae	Jamaica
Superfunk	Funk	USA
Superman Lovers	House	France
Suzanne Vega	Alternative Rock	USA
Swedish House Mafia	House	Sweden
T.I.	Hip Hop	USA
Taio Cruz	Pop	UK
Take That	Pop	UK
Tak'o Melikishvili		Georgia
Tal Bachman	Rock	Canada

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Tamuna Amonashvili		Georgia
Tanita Takaram	Pop	UK
Tatu	Pop	Russia
Tavares	Pop/R&B	USA
Taylor Swift	Country	USA
Temptations	R&B	USA
Texas	Pop	UK
The Cloud Room	Indie Rock	USA
The Connells	Alternative Rock	USA
The Fray	Alternative Rock	USA
the Guess Who	Rock	Canada
The Hoosiers	Pop-Rock	UK
The Kelly Family	Pop	USA
The Killers	Indie Rock	USA
The Last Shadow Puppets	Indie Rock	UK
The Lively Ones	Surf Rock	USA
The Mamas and the Papas	Folk-Rock	USA
The Real Thing	Soul	UK
The Throne	Hip Hop	USA
The Wanted	Dance-Pop	UK
The Who	Rock	UK
Tik'a Jamburia		Georgia
Timbaland	Hip Hop	USA
Tina Karol	Hip Hop	Russia
Tina Turner	Rock	USA
Tinchy Stryder	Hip Hop	USA
Tinie Tempah	Hip Hop	UK
TLC	R&B	USA
Toby Mac	Christian Hip Hop	USA
Tokio	Hard Rock	Japan
Tom Novy	House	Germany
Toni Braxton	R&B	USA
Toploader	Britpop	UK
Tracy Chapman	Folk	USA
Train	Rock	USA
Travie McCoy	Hip Hop	USA
Travis	Alternative Rock	UK
Trick-Trick	Hip Hop	USA
U2	Rock	Ireland

<u>Artist on Radio</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>
Utsnobi		Georgia
Uma2rman	Pop-Rock	Russia
US5	Pop	Multinational
Usher	R&B	USA
Vak'is Park'i		Georgia
Vanilla Sky	Pop-Punk	Italy
Warren G	G-Funk/R&B	USA
Westlife	Pop	Ireland
White Town	Alternative Dance	UK
Whitney Houston	R&B	USA
Will Smith	Hip Hop	USA
Will.I.Am	Hip Hop	USA
Wiz Khalifa	Hip Hop	USA
Wyclef Jean	Hip Hop	USA
Youssou N'Dour	Mbalax	Senegal
Yves Larock	House	Switzerland
Zumba	Ethno	Georgia

APPENDIX II:
PERFORMERS ON TELEVISION⁸³

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
3 Doors Down	Rock	USA
30 Seconds To Mars	Rock	USA
3OH!3	Electropop	USA
50 Cent	Rap	USA
77 Bombay Street	Folk-Rock, Indie-Rock	Sweden
ABBA	Pop	Sweden
Ace Of Base	Pop	Sweden
Adam Lambert	Pop	USA
Adele	Pop	UK
Adrian Sina & Sandra N	Dance-pop	Romania
Adriano Celentano	Pop, Rock	Italy
Aerosmith	Rock	USA
Agnes	Pop, Dance, R&B	Sweden
Air	Electronica	France
Akcent	Dance-pop	Romania
Akon	R&B, Hip Hop	USA, Senegal
Alesha Dixon	R&B, Hip Hop	UK
Alex C & Yass	Pop	Germany
Alex Gaudino	Electrohouse	Italy
Alexandra Burke	R&B, Pop	UK
Alexandra Stan	House, Pop	Romania
Alexis Jordan	R&B, Pop	USA
Alicia Keys	R&B	USA
All Time Low	Pop-Punk	USA
Allstar Weekend	Pop	USA
Amy Winehouse	Soul, R&B	UK
Andreea Banica	Pop	Romania
Anggun	Pop, Rock	France, Indonesia
Anthony Louis & RvJ King		
Antonio Banderas & Los Lobos		
Anya		
Arash	Persian Pop, Hip Hop	Sweden
Arcade Fire	Indie-Rock	Canada
Armin Van Buuren & Sharon	Trance	Netherlands
Army Of Lovers	Dance	Sweden
Artful Dodger	R&B	UK
Asher Roth	Hip Hop	USA
Ashley Tisdale	Pop	USA
ATAC		
ATB	DJ	Germany
Avril Lavigne	Pop-Punk	Canada
B.B.King & Eric Clapton	Blues	USA
B.O.B	Hip Hop	USA
BABY D	Rap	USA

⁸³ Data is compiled from the online playlist for *Tbilisi Music Box* (www.musicbox.ge), accessed 15 August 2012. The titles of individual songs are not included.

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Backstreet Boys	Pop	USA
Bad Meets Evil & Bruno Mars	Hip Hop	USA
Baptiste Giabiconi	Pop	France
Barry White	Soul	USA
Basic Elements	Dance, Hip Hop	Sweden
Basshunter	Electronica	Sweden
Benny Bennasi	DJ	Italy
Beyonce	R&B, Pop	USA
Big Mountain	Reggae	USA
Big Sean & Nicki Minaj	Rap	USA
Big Time Rush	Pop	USA
Bigbang	K-Pop	South Korea
Birdman	Rap	USA
Black And Jones	Trance	Germany
Black Eyed Peas	Hip Hop	USA
Blink182	Rock	USA
Blondie	Rock	USA
Bloodhound Gang	Rock	USA
Blue	Pop	UK
Bob Sinclar	DJ	France
Bomfunk MC's	Hip Hop	Finland
Bosson	Pop	Sweden
Bow Wow	Rap	USA
Boyz II Men	R&B	USA
Brandon Flowers	Rock	USA
Brandy	R&B	USA
Brighi		
Britney Spears	Pop	USA
Bruno Mars	Pop	USA
BT		
Busta Rhymes	Rap	USA
Cali Swag District	Hip Hop	USA
Calvin Harris	Electropop	Scotland
Camo		
Candy		
Cardigans	Rock	Sweden
Cascada	Dance	Germany
Cee Lo Green	R&B	USA
Celine Dion	Pop	Canada
Charice	Pop	Philippines
Chase & Status	Electronica	UK
Cher	Pop	USA
Cher Lloyd	Pop	UK
Cheryl Cole	Pop	UK
Chicane	Electronica	UK
Chris Brown	R&B	USA
Chris Cornell	Rock	USA
Chris Rea	Pop-Rock	UK
Chris Willis	Gospel	USA
Christian TV	R&B	USA
Christina Aguilera	Pop	USA
Ciara	R&B	USA
Cinema Bizzare	Rock	Germany
Clare Maguire	Pop	UK

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Claudia Cream	Pop	Romania
Cobra Starship	Dance-Punk	USA
Cody Simpson	Pop	Australia
Colbie Callait	Pop	USA
Coldplay	Rock	UK
Colette Carr	Pop	USA
Common	Hip Hop	USA
Corina	Dance-Pop	USA
Craig David	Garage, Hip Hop	UK
Cranberries	Rock	Ireland
Crazy & The Brains	Freestyle	USA
Crazy Frog	Dance	Germany
Cypress Hill	Hip Hop	USA
Daddy Yankee	Hip Hop, Reggaeton	Jamaica
Damian Marley	Reggae	Jamaica
Dan Balan	Dance, Pop	Moldova
Daniel Merriweather	R&B	Australia
Daniel Powter	Rock	Canada
Dappy	HipHop	UK
Dario G	Dance, Trance	UK
Darren Hayes	Pop	Australia
David Archuleta	Pop	USA
David Guetta	Electronica	France
David Tavare	Dance	Spain
Deepside Deejays	House	Romania
Demi Lovato	Pop	USA
Depeche Mode	Synthpop	UK
Des'Ree	R&B	UK
Desaparecidos	Post-Hardcore	USA
Despina Vandi	Laiko	Greece
Dev	Electropop	USA
Dido	Pop	UK
DJ Antoine	House	Switzerland
DJ Fresh	Drum and Bass	UK
DJ Khaled	Hip Hop	USA
DJ Layla	Dance	Moldova
DJ Meg		
DJ Smash	House	Russia
DMX	Hip Hop	USA
Don Omar	Reggaeton	Puerto Rico
Dr Dre	Hip Hop	USA
Drake	Hip Hop	Canada
Duck Sauce	House	USA-Canada
Duffy	Soul	UK
Edward Maya	House	Romania
Eldar & Nigar	Pop	Azerbaijan
Eldrine	Rock	Georgia
Eliza Doolittle	Indie-Pop	UK
Ellie Goulding	Indie-Pop	UK
Emily Osment	Pop	USA
Emin	Jazz	Azerbaijan
Eminem	Hip Hop	USA
Emma Bunton	Pop	UK
Empire Of The Sun	Synthpop	Australia

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Enrique Iglesias	Pop	Spain
Enur Feat Natasja	Dance	Denmark
Enya	New Age	Ireland
Eric Clapton	Rock	UK
Eric Prydz	House	Sweden
Eric Saade	Dance	Sweden
Eric Turner	Alternative Rock	USA
Eros Ramazzotti	Adult Contemporary	Italy
Eskmo		
Esmee Denters	Pop	Netherlands
Estelle	R&B	UK
Eurythmics	Synthpop	UK
Eva Simons	Pop	Netherlands
Evanescence	Rock	USA
Eve		
Example	Hip Hop	USA
Faithless	House	UK
Fall Out Boy	Pop-Punk	USA
Far East Movement	Hip Hop	USA
Fatboy Slim	Trip Hop	UK
Fedde Le Grand	Dance	Netherlands
Fergie	Pop	USA
Flo Rida	Hip Hop	USA
Florence & The Machine	Indie Rock	UK
Foster The People	Indie Pop	USA
Frankmusik	Electropop	UK
Franz Ferdinand	Indie Rock	Scotland
Freemasons	Dance	UK
FreeSol	Hip Hop	USA
Friendly Fires	Indie Rock	UK
Gabriella Cilmi	Pop	Australia
Gareth Gates	Pop	UK
George Michael	Pop	UK
Geri Halliwell	Pop	UK
Girlicious	Pop	USA
Girls Aloud	Pop	UK
Global Deejays	House	Austria
Good Charlotte	Pop-Punk	USA
Gorillaz	Alternative	UK
Green Day	Punk	USA
Greyson Chance	Pop-Rock	USA
Guns'n'Roses	Rock	USA
Guru Josh Project		
Gwen Stefani	Pop	USA
Gym Class Heroes	Rap-Rock	USA
Hedley	Pop-Punk	Canada
Helena Paparizou	Laiko	Greece
Hi Tack		
Hillary Duff	Pop	USA
Hinojosa		
Holly Valance	Pop	Australia
Hollywood Undead	Rap-Rock	USA
Hot Chelle Rae	Pop-Rock	USA
Hurts	Synthpop	UK

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
I Blame Coco	New Wave	UK
II Divo	Operatic Pop	Multinational
Inna	Dance-Pop	Romania
Iyaz	R&B	British Virgin Islands
J-Five		
J. Cole	Hip Hop	USA
Jadakiss	Hip Hop	USA
Jadyn Maria	Pop	Puerto Rico
Jamelia	R&B	UK
James Blunt	Pop-Rock	UK
James Morrison	Soul	UK
Jamie Cullum	Crossover Jazz	UK
Janet Jackson	R&B	USA
Jason Derulo	R&B	USA
Jason Mraz	Pop-Rock	USA
Jay Khan	Pop	UK
Jay Sean	Pop	UK
Jay-Z	Hip Hop	USA
Jean-Roch	House	France
Jennifer Lopez	Pop	USA
Jeremih	R&B	USA
Jessica Simpson	Pop	USA
Jessica Sutta	Pop	USA
Jessie J	Pop	UK
JLS	R&B	UK
JMSN	R&B	USA
Joe Cocker	Blues, Rock	UK
Joe Jonas	Pop	USA
John Lennon	Rock	UK
John Mayer	Pop-Rock	USA
JoJo	Pop	USA
Jonas Brothers	Pop-Rock	USA
Jordin Sparks	R&B	USA
Justin Bieber	Pop	Canada
Justin Timberlake	Pop	USA
Kanye West	Hip Hop	USA
Kaskade	House	USA
Kat Deluna	Pop	Dominican Republic
Kate Ryan	Dance-Pop	Belgium
Katherine		
Katie Melua	Blues	UK
Katy B	Dubstep	UK
Katy Perry	Pop	USA
Kaye Styles	Pop	Belgium
Kazaky	Pop	Ukraine
Kelis	R&B	USA
Kelly Clarkson	Pop	USA
Kelly Rowland	R&B	USA
Kenny G	Jazz, Adult Contemporary	USA
Keri Hilson	R&B	USA
Kerli	Pop	Estonia
Kesha	Pop	USA
Kevin Rudolf	Rock	USA
Keyshia Cole	R&B	USA

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Kid Cudi	Alternative Hip Hop	USA
Kid Rock	Rock	USA
Kimberly Cole	Pop	USA
Kings Of Leon	Rock	USA
Kip Moore	Country	USA
Knaan	Hip Hop	Canada
Knee Deep		
Kristinia DeBarge	Pop	USA
Kylie Minogue	Pop	Australia
La Roux	Electropop	UK
Labrinth	R&B	UK
Lady Antebellum	Country	USA
Lady Gaga	Pop	USA
Laleh	Pop	Sweden
Lana Del Rey	Indie-Pop	USA
Led Zeppelin	Rock	UK
Leighton Meester	Pop	USA
Lenny Kravitz	Rock	USA
Leona Lewis	Pop	UK
Leonid Rudenko	Dance	Russia
Lil Wayne	Hip Hop	USA
Lily Allen	Pop	USA
Linkin Park	Rock	USA
Lisa Stansfield	R&B	UK
Lloyd	R&B	USA
LMFAO	Pop	USA
Luciana	House	UK
Ludacris ft. Shawna	Hip Hop	USA
M.I.A.	Electronica	UK
M.Pokora	Pop	France
Macy Gray	R&B	USA
Madcon	Electropop	Norway
Madonna	Pop	USA
Mads Langer	Pop	Denmark
Maino	Hip Hop	USA
Mando Diao	Alternative Rock	Sweden
Mann	Hip Hop	USA
Marco Carpentieri	House	Italy
Mariah Carey	R&B	USA
MaRina		
Marius		
Mark Medlock	Pop	Germany
Maroon 5	Pop Rock	USA
Martin Solveig	House	France
Mary J. Blige	R&B	USA
Mary Mary	Gospel	USA
Massive Attack	Trip Hop	UK
Matt Cardle	Pop-Rock	UK
Matteo		
Max Barskih	Electro-Pop	Ukraine
MCFLY	Pop-Rock	UK
Medina	Pop	Denmark
Meena K		
Melanie C	Pop	UK

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Melanie Fiona	R&B	Canada
Metallica	Heavy Metal	USA
Metro Station	Alternative Rock	USA
MGMT	Indie Rock	USA
Michael Buble	Big Band	Canada
Michael Jackson	Pop	USA
Mihai Ristea	Pop	Romania
Miike Snow	Indie-Pop	Sweden
Mika	Pop	UK
Mike Posner	R&B	USA
Miley Cyrus	Pop	USA
Milk Inc	Dance	Belgium
Milow	Pop	Belgium
Miranda Cosgrove	Pop-Rock	USA
Moby	Electronica	USA
Modestep	Dubstep	UK
Modjo	House	France
Mohombi	R&B	Sweden
Morandi	Pop	Romania
Muse	Alternative Rock	UK
My Chemical Romance	Alternative Rock	USA
N.E.R.D.	Funk	USA
Nadia Oh	Electropop	UK
Nas	Hip Hop	USA
Natalia Kills	Pop	UK
Natalia Lesz	Pop	Poland
Natalie Imbruglia	Pop	Australia
Nayer	Pop	USA
Ne-Yo	R&B	USA
Nelly	Hip Hop	USA
Nelly Furtado	Pop	Canada
Nickelback	Alternative Rock	Canada
Nicki Minaj	Hip Hop	USA
NICKO		
Nicole Scherzinger	Pop	USA
NikitA	Pop	Ukraine
Norah Jones	Adult Contemporary	USA
Novi Novak	Hip Hop	USA
OK Go	Alternative Rock	USA
Ola	Pop	Sweden
Olly Murs	Pop	UK
One Direction	Pop	UK
One Republic	Pop-Rock	USA
Owl City	Electronica	USA
Ozzy Osbourne	Heavy Metal	UK
P.Diddy	Hip Hop	USA
Panic At The Disco	Pop-Punk	USA
Paramore	Alternative Rock	USA
Paris Avenue	Techno-House	Belgium
Paris Hilton	Pop	USA
Patrick Stump	Pop-Punk	USA
Paul Van Dyk	Trance	Germany
Pendulum	Drum and Bass	Australia
PH Electro	Electronica	Germany

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Pharrell Williams	Hip Hop	USA
Pigeon John	Hip Hop	USA
Pink	Pop	USA
Pink Floyd	Progressive Rock	UK
Pitbull	Hip Hop	USA
Pixie Lott	Pop	UK
Placebo	Alternative Rock	UK
Plain White T's	Pop-Punk	USA
Plan B	Hip Hop	UK
Polarkreis18	Pop	Germany
Prf. Green & Maverick Sabre	Hip Hop	UK
Prima J	Pop	USA
Queen	Rock	UK
Quest Pistols	Pop-Rock	UK
R.I.O.		
Radio Killer	Pop	Romania
Ralph Good	Electronica	
Rammstein	Industrial Metal	Germany
Randi		
Raphael Saadiq	R&B	USA
Rebecca Black	Pop	USA
Red Cafe	Hip Hop	USA
Red Hot Chili Peppers	Funk Rock	USA
Ricky Martin	Pop	Puerto Rico
Rico Bernasconi	House	Greece
Rihanna	Pop	USA
Rob Dougan	Trip Hop	Australia
Rob Thomas	Alternative Rock	USA
Robbie Williams	Pop-Rock	UK
Robert M	Electronica	Poland
Robert Miles	Electronica	Italy
Robyn	Pop	Sweden
Roll Deep	Hip Hop	UK
Romeo Santos	Bachata	USA
Roxette	Pop-Rock	Sweden
Royksopp	Electronica	Norway
Sade	Smooth Jazz	UK
SafetySuit	Alternative Rock	USA
Safri Duo	Electronica	Denmark
Samim	Dance	Switzerland
Santana	Latin Rock	USA
Sarah Connor	Pop	Germany
Sasha Lopez	Electronica	Moldova
Savage Garden	Pop-Rock	Australia
Scorpions	Heavy Metal	Germany
Scouting For Girls	Pop-Rock	UK
Seal	Soul	UK
Sean Kingston	Reggae Fusion	USA
Sean Paul	Reggae	Jamaica
Selena Gomez	Pop	USA
Sender		
Serge Devant		
Sergio Mendes	Bossa Nova	Brazil
Shaggy	Reggae	Jamaica

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Shakira	Pop	Colombia
Shapes of Race Cars	Rock	USA
Shontelle	R&B	Barbados
Simple Plan	Pop-Rock	Canada
Slipknot	Heavy Metal	USA
Snoop Dogg	Hip Hop	USA
Snow Patrol	Alternative Rock	UK
Sonic Syndicate	Heavy Metal	Sweden
Sophie Ellis-Bextor	Electropop	UK
Space Capone	Funk	USA
Space Cowboy	Pop	UK
Sting	Rock	UK
Sugababes	Pop	UK
Sunrise Avenue	Alternative Rock	Finland
Superbus	Rock	France
Swedish House Mafia	House	Sweden
Sweetbox	Pop	Germany
Swizz Beatz	Hip Hop	USA
T-Pain	Hip Hop	USA
T.I.	Hip Hop	USA
Taio Cruz	Pop	UK
Take That	Pop	UK
Tantrum Desire	Drum and Bass	UK
Tara		
Tarkan	Pop	Turkey
Taylor Berrett		
Taylor Swift	Pop, Country	USA
The All American Rejects	Alternative Rock	USA
The Asteroids Galaxy Tour	Pop	Denmark
The Bangles	Rock	USA
The Baseballs	Rock	Germany
The Beatles	Rock	UK
The Beloved	Post-Hardcore	USA
The Cataracs	Hip Hop	USA
The Corrs	Folk Rock	Ireland
The Darkness	Glam Metal	UK
The Disco Boys	House	Germany
The Doors	Psychedelic Rock	USA
The Downtown Fiction	Pop-Rock	USA
The Fray	Alternative Rock	USA
The Game		
The Glitch Mob	Electronica	USA
The Hardkiss	Electronica	USA
The Killers	Indie Rock	USA
The Maneken	Electronica	Ukraine
The OverUnder		
The Pretty Reckless	Hard Rock	USA
The Pussycat Dolls	Pop	USA
The Rasmus	Alternative Rock	Finland
The Rolling Stones	Rock	UK
The Saturdays	Pop	UK
The Script	Alternative Rock	Ireland
The Ting Tings	Indie-Rock	UK
The Veronicas	Alternative Rock	Australia

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
The Verve	Alternative Rock	UK
The Wanted	Dance-Pop	UK
The XX	Indie-Pop	UK
Three 6 Mafia	Hip Hop	USA
Tiesto	House	Netherlands
Tim & Jean	Indie-Pop	Australia
Timbaland	Hip Hop	USA
Timo Maas	House	Germany
Tinchy Stryder	Hip Hop	USA
Tinie Tempah	Hip Hop	UK
Tiziano Ferro	Pop	Italy
Tokio Hotel	Pop-Rock	Germany
Tom Boxer	House	Romania
Tom Novy	House	Germany
Toni Braxton	R&B	USA
Tony Bennett	Pop, Jazz	USA
Train	Rock	USA
Travie McCoy	Hip Hop	USA
Trey Songz	R&B	USA
Twenty Twenty	Pop-Rock	UK
Two Door Cinema Club	Indie-Rock	UK
Ultra Nate	House	USA
Usher	R&B	USA
Vanessa Hudgens	Pop	USA
Vanilla Sky	Pop-Punk	Italy
Vazquez Sounds	Pop	Mexico
We The Kings	Pop-Punk	USA
Westlife	Pop	Ireland
Whitney Houston	R&B	USA
Will I Am	Hip Hop	USA
Will Smith	Hip Hop	USA
Willow Smith	R&B	USA
Wiz Khalifa	Hip Hop	USA
Wonderland Avenue	Electronica	UK
Wynter Gordon	Pop	USA
YarosLOVE	Techno	Ukraine
Yasmin	Pop	UK
Yelawolf & Kid Rock	Hip Hop	USA
Yolanda Be Cool	Club	Australia
Young Jeezy	Hip Hop	USA
Yves La Rock	House	Switzerland
Zion		
Ani Siradze		Georgia
Anri Jokhadze	Pop	Georgia
Bera	Pop	Georgia
Goga Meskhi		Georgia
Dato Khujadze	Pop	Georgia
Efemera	Alternative	Georgia
Ek'a K'valiashvili		Georgia
Verik'o T'urashvili		Georgia
Tik'o Andghuladze		Georgia
Leks-Seni	Rap	Georgia
Mark'usi		Georgia
Mast'eri		Georgia

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Mindoza		Georgia
Niaz Diasamidze	Ethno-Rock	Georgia
Nik'o Gomelauri		Georgia
Nini Badurashvili	Pop	Georgia
Nino Chkheidze	Pop	Georgia
Nino Dzots'enedze		Georgia
Nodik'o T'at'ishvili	Pop	Georgia
Pornopoezia	Punk, Alternative	Georgia
Rodrigesi		Georgia
Salome K'ork'otashvili	Pop	Georgia
Sopo Tevzadze		Georgia
St'epane & 3G	Pop, Disco	Georgia
St'ringi	Pop-Rock	Georgia
Kuchis Bich'ebi	Pop	Georgia
Shotik'o Boch'orishvili		Georgia
Dzvali & Mari		Georgia
Jujebi & Buba		Georgia
23:45	Pop	Russia
5iveSta Family	Pop-Rap	Russia
A-Studio	Pop	Kazakhstan
Anzhelika Varum	Pop-Disco	USSR, Russia
Ani Lorak	Pop	Ukraine
Assorti	Pop	Russia
3 Band'Eros	R&B	Russia
Bi-2	Alternative Rock	Belarus
B'yanka	R&B	Belarus
Valerii Meladze	Pop	Georgia
Valerii Leont'ev	Pop	USSR, Russia
Vera Brezhneva	Pop	Ukraine
VIA Gra	Pop, VIA	Ukraine
Vintazh	Pop	Russia
Vitas	Pop	Russia
GlyukoZa	Pop	Russia
Gorod 312	Pop, Rock	Kyrgyzstan
Graducy	Pop-Rock	Russia
DDT	Hard Rock	USSR, Russia
Diana Gurtskaya	Estrada	Russia, Georgia
Dima Bilan	Pop-Muzika	Russia
Diskoteka Avariya	Pop-Rock	Russia
Elena Terleeva	Estrada	Russia
Yolka	Pop	Ukraine
Zhanna Fricke	Estrada	Russia
Zveri	Pop-Rock	Russia
Zemkyane	VIA	USSR, Russia
Zemfira	Rock	Russia
In'-Yan		
Irakli		
Irina Dubtsova	Estrada	Russia
Karina Koks	Pop	Russia
Kipelov	Hard Rock	Russia
Kitai	Pop-Rock	Russia
Korneliya Mango		
Kristina Orbakaite	Estrada	USSR, Russia
Ksenniya Greis		

Artist on Television	Genre	Country of Origin
Lyudmila Gurchenko	Estrada	USSR, Russia
Lera Masskva	Pop	Russia
Maksim Rais		
Mumii Troll'	Brit-Pop	USSR, Russia
Murzilki		
Hastya Zadorozhnaya	Pop	Russia
Nikolai Baskov	Estrada	Russia
Nikolai Noskov	Hard Rock	USSR, Russia
Nyusha	Estrada	Russia
Potap	Blues	Ukraine
Sergei Zverev	Rock	Russia
Sergei Lazarev	Estrada	Russia
Serebro	Pop	Russia
Slava		
Sofiya Rotaru	Estrada	USSR, Ukraine
T-KILLAH	Hip Hop	Russia
Timati	Hip Hop	Russia
Timur Rodrigues	Pop	Russia
Tokio		
Umaturman	Pop-Rock	Russia
Filipp Kirkolov	Estrada	USSR, Russia
Fabrika	Pop	Russia
Chi-li	Pop	Russia
Yuliya Savicheva	Pop-Rock	Russia

APPENDIX III:
CONCERTS LISTED ON *TBILISI FORUM*⁸⁴

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
9/29/09	Sunny Universe		Conference Hall	3
10/2/09	DJ Beatnik	Electronica	Wakanda	
10/3/09	Kung Fu Junkie	Electronica	Movement Theatre	7
10/3/09	Green Mama Blues Factory Bak'ur Burduli String Rail Side Gia Salagishvili and Ketii Orjonik'idze Sons of the Sun Japaridze Brothers LOD PI Light Jam Session	<i>Covers of Led Zeppelin: classic rock</i>	National Museum	10 or 20
10/3/09	Destination	Electronica	Republic Square	10
10/3/09	Gasp		Wakanda	
10/3/09	Sunny Universe		Conference Hall	3
10/3/09	Antipop/Dexin DJ Set	TelepopMusik	GURU Club	
10/9/09	Mirror Illusion Outsider	Rock	33a	5
10/23/09	Ketrine & Me ABC Vitamin The Sanda The Georgians The Forest Cynic Guru Me and My Monkey Defenders of Tanelorn Rema Mirror Illusion Georgian Version Pornopoezia Temple Headz	Rock/Heavy Metal		3 or 1
10/25/09	Mgzavrebi	Ethno	33a	
10/27/09	Marcus Miller	Jazz	Tbilisi State Concert Hall	

⁸⁴ Data is compiled from *Tbilisi Forum* (www.forum.ge), accessed 28 June 2012.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
10/27/09	James Carter Quintet	Jazz	Tbilisi State Concert Hall	
10/28/09	Medeski, Martin, and Wood	Jazz	Tbilisi State Concert Hall	
10/30/09	Kurt Elling Sings Coltrane	Jazz	Tbilisi State Concert Hall	80/70
10/30/09	Scott Kinsey Group	Jazz	Tbilisi State Concert Hall	
11/1/09	Kool and the Gang	R&B	Tbilisi State Concert Hall	120/110
11/5/09	Dubfire	Electronica	Philharmonia	
11/8/09	The Goblins Labyrinth April String Sanda Blues Factor Comic Condition	<i>Covers of Beatles, Queen, Rolling Stones, etc.: Classic Rock</i>	National Music Center	20 or 10
11/10/09	Karaoke Mafia Club		London Pub	
11/13/09	Injection Horizont Evolution Circus Closet Unlucky Jonathan	Rock	Sport Café	
11/14/09	Lila Land Mirror Illusion Dito Lagvilala Efemera Rema Stryfe Extasy	Rock/Heavy Metal	Deda Ena Skate Park	Free
11/14/09	SOC	Pop	Purpur	
11/19/09	Qetato	Rock	33a	10
11/20/09	The Forest	Electronic	Bamba Room	
11/22/09	Mgzavrebi	Ethno	Mtats'minda Park	8 lari
12/5/09	Jose Padilla	Electronica	GURU Club	
12/5/09	T. Blues Mob Blues Factor	Blues	Magti Club	20
12/6/09	Gigi Gogoch'urebi		Tbilisi National Music Center	7
12/12/09	Sanda	Rock	Magti Club	20
12/12/09	Circus Closet Tetanus Black Moon Monoplane	Rock	Actor's house Theater	5
12/18/09	Spandera Compandera		Purpur	Free
12/20/09	Nebo SSSR	Rock	33a	10

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
12/28/09	Loudspeakers Sour Skin Play Paranoid Landmark	Rock	Atoneli Theater	5
12/29/09	Pornopoezia Mirror Illusion	Rock	Rock Club	10
12/29/09	String	Pop	Shardeni	Free
12/30/09	Comic Condition	Rock	Rock Club	10
1/2/10	Jamie Lewis Timo	Electronica	GURU Club	50
1/2/10	Landmark Labyrinth	Rock	Rock Club	10
1/3/10	Goblins Sanda Labyrinth String Blues Factor Comic Condition Pornopoezia	Rock/Heavy Metal	Children's Park near Samgori Metro	Free
1/9/10	PI Light Adyta	Rock/Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
1/15/10	Sanda Comic Condition Sons of Carpenter	Rock/Pop	Rock Club	10
1/16/10	Vodka Vtraiom Kaimorkhen 25 Kadr Mutual Friends Lady Heroine The Georgians Play Paranoid Gigia Rechviashvili Dog Weather Magnituri Dghe	Rock	Tbilisi Medical University Hall	15-20
1/17/10	33a Zumba Mgzavrebi Prani Khidi String Bakur Burduli Lado Burduli Smile Mtvaris Klubi Sopo Aslanishvili Me and My Monkey	Rock/Ethno/Electronica	Tbilisi Medical University Hall	15-20
1/17/10	Me and My Monkey We Are Sweet	Electronica	33a	10
1/18/10	Nodiko Tatishvili Datuna Mgeladze Sopo Bedia Giorgi Sesiashvili	Pop	Tbilisi Medical University Hall	15-20

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
	Boris Bedia Salome Bakuradze Nini Niklauri Ani Kekya Tika Shakaduriani			
1/23/10	Mutual Friends The Georgians	Rock	Rock Club	10
1/23/10	Mgzavrebi	Ethno	33a	
1/28/10	Lado Burduli	Rock	Rock Club	10
1/29/10	Finalists of Geostar and Star Academy DJ Santo from Moscow	Pop	Triumph Club	50, 30
1/29/10	Pink Panther Nuance Megalomania	Rock	Purpur	Free
1/30/10	String Loudspeakers	Rock/Pop	Rock Club	10
1/31/10	Defenders of Tanelorn Pastor	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
2/6/10	Pornopoezia Labyrinth UR	<i>Covers of Guns n' Roses, AC/DC, and Black Sabbath: Rock/Heavy Metal</i>	Rock Club	10
2/6/10	ReggaeON	Reggae	33a	10
2/7/10	Rock Stage Evolution The Next Station Pastor Burn	Heavy Metal	Beatles Club	5
2/13/10	Diabolus Sanctus Monofucktura	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
2/14/10	Nali Band	Rock	Rock Club	
2/19/10	Obrigado ZE Sid BigCrow Avatar Zen	Electronica	Club Room	20
2/19/2010	Fly Dog Weather Shadow's Eye	<i>Covers of 90s alternative rock bands: Nirvana, Sonic Youth, Meat Puppets, Hole, Stone Temple Pilots, Alice in Chains, Pearl Jam, Smashing Pumpkins, Audioslave, Soundgarden</i>	Rock Club	10
2/19/10	Mutual Friends Loudspeakers	Rock/Pop	Purpur	Free
2/20/10	Mirror Illusion	<i>Covers of Nirvana: Grunge</i>	Rock Club	10
2/20/10	Sopo Aslanishvili		33a	10
2/21/10	Rock Stage Smoking The Pulse The Next Station	Rock	Beatles Club	5

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
2/21/10	Sunny Day		Rock Club	10
2/25/10	Nene Kvinikadze		Rock Club	5
2/26/10	LilaLand	Electronica	Rock Club	10
2/27/10	UDU Project Irakli Koiava Guram Machakariani		Rock Club	10
2/28/10	Adyta Pastor	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
3/3/10	Sanda	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
3/6/10	State of G		Rock Club	10
3/7/10	Kairmorkhen Enema		Rock Club	10
3/10/10	Pink Panther Nuance Indigo Child Black and white	Rock	University	3
3/11/10	Robi Kukhianidze		Rock Club	5
3/12/10	PI Light	Rock/Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
3/13/10	Okinawa Lifestyle Mutual Friends Landmark	Electronica	Rock Club	10
3/13/10	The Forest	Electronica	Night Office	
3/14/10	The Georgians Ketrine & Me ABC Rema Vitamin Mirror Illusion Pornopoezia The Forest	Rock/Heavy Metal/Electronica		
3/17/10	Landmark The Georgians Next Station Lady Heroine Sunny Universe	Rock	University	3
3/18/10	Pancho	Hip Hop	Rock Club	5
3/19/10	Uriah Heep	Rock/Heavy Metal	Philharmonia	50-150
3/19/10	Psychometria Bohema	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
3/20/10	Paata Charashvili Circus Closet	Rock	Rock Club	10
3/23/10	The Georgians Pastor Indigo Child Mutual Friends	Rock/Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
3/27/10	Shadow's Eye Next Station	Rock	Rock Club	10
3/28/10	UR and Friends	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
3/29/10	Pink Panther Loudspeakers Vodka Vtraiom The Sticklers	Rock/Pop	University	3
4/1/10	Nino Basharuli		Rock Club	5
4/2/10	Sinamorata		Rock Club	Free
4/4/10		<i>Tribute to Monsters of Rock Concerts, Moscow 1991: Covers of AC/DC, Metallica, The Black Crowes, EST, Pantera</i>	Rock Club	
4/6/10		<i>Recording of a Slipknot Live Concert</i>	Rock Club	
4/7/10	Dark Tranquility	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	
4/10/10	Efemera Sweet Poison	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	
4/11/10	Buttaforia Indigo Child	Rock	Rock Club	
4/12/10	Nino Katamadze Niko Gogelauri	Ethno	Philharmonia	35-50
4/15/10	Nata Janashia		Rock Club	5
4/15/10	Pink Pantera Vodka Vtraiom Mutual Friends Kairmorkhen	Rock/Pop	University	3
4/15/10	Prani	Ethno-	Philharmonia	20
4/16/10	Sweet Gentlemen Play Paranoid Evolution Shusha	Alternative/Indie	Rock Club	10
4/17/10	April Next Station		Rock Club	10
4/21/10		<i>Recording of a Slayer Live Concert</i>	Rock Club	3
4/22/10	Gia Toidze		Rock Club	10
4/23/10	Kairmorkhen	Heavy metal	Rock Club	10
4/24/10	Vova Mogeladze		Rock Club	10
4/28/10	Robi Kukhianidze		Rock Club	5
4/29/10	Monoplane	Rock	Rock Club	5
4/30/10	String	Pop	33a	10
4/30/10	Pancho	Hip Hop	Rock Club	10
5/1/10	Always be cool		33a	10
5/1/10	Psychometria Bohema Incarnate Defenders of Tanelorn	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
5/1/10	Pornopoezia	Rock	Wakanda	Free
5/1/10	Jazz Festival	Jazz	Conservatory	
5/5/10	Kairmorkhen Pink Panther	Rock	Ilia State University	3

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
	Nuance Irana Bairamashvili Giorgi Tskhvariashvili			
5/7/10	Zumba	Ethno	33a	10
5/8/10	Salome Korkotashvili	Pop	33a	10
5/8/10	Jazz Festival and Jam Session	Jazz	Philharmonia	
5/8/10	Tornike Luka Zghenti	Electronica	Wakanda	
5/9/10	ReggaeON	Reggae	33a	10
5/13/10		<i>Covers of Deep Purple</i>	Club Triumph	
5/14/10	Caspar K DJ Art	Hip Hop	GURU Club	
5/15/10	Me and My Monkey The Forest	Electronica	Gudiashvili Garden	Free
5/15/10	The Georgians Ketrine & Me ABC	Rock/Pop	Shardeni	Free
5/15/10	Mirror Illusion Pornopoezia Rema	Rock/Heavy Metal	Abano	Free
5/15/10	Me and My Monkey The Forest	Electronica	Gudiashvili Garden	
5/15/10	Caspar K DJ Art	Hip Hop	Club GURU	
5/23/10	Sanda	Rock	Purpur	
5/28/10	Lado Burduli	Rock	33a	
5/29/10	Kung Fu Junkie Me and My Monkey Okinawa Lifestyle	Electronica	33a	7
6/5/10	Double illusion The Sticklers Belizer	Rock	Vake Park	
6/12/10	Mgzavrebi	Ethno	Kus Tba	120
6/16/10	Angel of Disease Defenders of Tanelorn Psychometria Dismoral	Heavy Metal	Khorava Theater	15
6/19/10	Nali Band Comic Condition UR	<i>Covers of Paul McCartney: Classic Rock</i>	33a	10
6/25/10	Kazim Koiunju	Folk-Rock	Mziuris Ria Ampitheater	
6/26/10	Berlabe Dog Weather Nameles Stuff Giorgi Spanderashvili Levan Managadze Vodka Vtraiom Valeri Khachidze	Rock	Bar Baiti	5

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
6/26/10	Next Level G4B Jujebi Grafiti Kritikosebi	Pop	Hawaii Club	20
6/27/10	Presentation of J.arti	<i>Film about Georgian rock scene</i>	Café Salve	
6/27/10	Stumari	Ethno	Magti Club	
6/30/10	Kozmana	Electronica	Wakanda	10
7/2/10	Misha Andguladze Band of Gipsies George's Portrait Avto Nacarashvili Mirror Illusion Shadow's Eye Lasha's Band N-Ge Kapilony	Rock	Rustaveli Movie Theater	9
7/12/10	Nino Basharuli and Friends Agora Laik Band		33a	10
7/18/10	Mirror Illusion Kairmorkhen Freak Show Butaforia Crusaders Nobby The Pushing Pills	Rock/Heavy Metal	Aleksandri's Garden Globus Club	5
7/23/10	Accidental Lover Boyz	Electronica		
7/23/10	khd			
9/11/10	Telescope 25 Kadr Sour Skin Butaforia The Sticklers Monoplane	Rock	Globus Club	5
9/12/10	Fly Freak Show Giga Rekhviashvili Antifreez Minda da Vtkhri Kairmorkhen	Rock/Heavy Metal	Globus Club	5
9/18/10	Nik Cereteli Obrigado Otory Big Crow ZE Sid	Electronica	Lisi Lake Open Air	20
9/25/10	Xsector Dark Garibov Michael & Levan The Forest	Electronica	Club Pako Johns	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
	Chaos			
10/9/10	Sanda	Rock	Atoneli Theater	5
10/17/10	Rema Psychometria Dismoral Divahar ex-Sworn Angel of Disease Im Nebel Adyta	Heavy Metal	Night Flight	
10/21/10	Nali Band Comic Condition UR Shadow's Eye String	Rock/Heavy Metal	Gldanis Parki	Free
10/22/10	Inner Voice Sour Skin The Georgians Ironyc The Sticklers Fizzy Drink Shusha Loudspeakers	Rock	33a	
10/23/10	High Voltage	Electronica	Club Triumph	10
10/23/10	Smile Loudspeakers Mutual Friends	Rock/Pop	Rock Club	8
10/24/10	Pastor	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
10/25/10	Nina's Dimension Heavy Cross The Goblins	Heavy Metal	Beatles Club	20
10/26/10	Sweet Poison Ironyc	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	5
10/30/10	Altelevision Newcomers	Rock	Sports Pavilion	
10/31/10	Ts'erili Telescopi	Rock	Rock Club	8
11/6/10	Nightwish "End of Era"		Café Cockatoo	
11/6/10	Kibatono The Window Ann and Friends	Rock	Atoneli Theater	7
11/7/10	Nevermind Forrester	Rock/Heavy Metal	Rock Club	8
11/7/10		<i>Release of Metallica's "Nimes"</i>	Café Cockatoo	
11/12/10	Junky Bitz SPID	Rock	Rock Club	10
11/13/10	Berika Irakla	Rock	Magti Club	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
11/14/10	White Linked Tomas Caspar.K	Electronica	GURU Club	
11/16/10	Rain Sultanov	Ethno	Magti Club	
11/19/10	Sour Skin	Rock	Rock Club	8
11/20/10	New Tone CIDF Ts'ato Tsereteli Urban Games Kung Fu Junkie Mamm Kakadu Tomma Nika J Bero Gia Shengelia Jorjick	Pop/Electronica	Chiatura	
11/22/10	Silly Things High Voltage		Rock Club	30
11/25/10	Sanda	Rock	Magti Club	
11/27/10	The Georgians The Sticklers	Rock/Pop	Rock Club	5
11/27/10	Tornike Gio Shengelia Jorj Kancheli Greenbeam and Leon Sanda	Rock	Lisi Lake Open Air	
11/28/10	Reign Dischord	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	
11/31/10		<i>Viewing of Pink Floyd's "The Wall"</i>	Café Cockatoo	
12/4/10	Gotham		Rock Club	8
12/9/10	Monoplane	Rock	Rock Club	
12/11/10	The Forest	Electronica	Night Flight	
12/16/10	Dan Tepfer Trio	Jazz	Tbilisi Event Hall	
12/17/10	Silver Side	Rock	Rock Club	8
12/19/10	PI Light Sweet Poison Noise Expiration Dendis Taoba Ne Dlya Tebya Berlabe	Heavy Metal	Globus Club	5
12/24/10	Dischord Vertical Decay	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	5
12/28/10	UR Freak Show	Heavy metal	Globus Club	10
12/31/10	Kozmana	Electronica	Bude Bar	20
1/15/11	Pink Panther	Rock	Rock Club	5

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
1/22/11	KID	Heavy Metal/Hip Hop	Rock Club	5
1/23/11	Silver Side	Rock	Rock Club	5
1/26/11	Alubali and Bakur Svanidze	Rock	Rock Club	5
1/30/11	DJ Rudi	Electronica	City Club	
2/1/11	DJ Kids	Electronica	Classic Bar	
2/5/11	Rap Rise and Friends	Hip Hop	Rock Club	10
2/18/11	Sanda	Rock	Rock Club	8
2/19/11	UR	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
2/27/11	Sweet Poison Ironyc X-Machine PI Light Defenders of Tanelorn Im Nebel Bohema	Heavy Metal	Night Flight	15
3/4/11	Evergreen Railway		Rock Club	5
3/8/11	Butaforia Pink Panther Freak Show Sadgasm NMA	Rock	Globus Club	5
3/13/11	Shadow's Eye	Rock	Rock Club	8
3/17/11	Tania Maria	Jazz	Philharmonia	
3/18/11	Onise	Hip Hop	Rock Club	8
3/19/11	Natalie Beridze Nikakoi	Electronica	Parachute	Free
3/19/11		<i>Covers of Russian Rock: Kino, Chaif, DDT, Akvarium, Grazhdanskaya Oborona, Zvuki My, Alica, Aukcyon, Splin, Televizor</i>	Rock Club	5
3/20/11	Group Duality DJ Gio Live Band		City Club	15
3/25/11	UR	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	10
3/26/11	Sanda	Rock	Sublime Club	
3/27/11	Dee Wasserman aka Kozmana		Salve	
3/31/11	Robi Kukhianidze		Rock Club	5
4/1/11	Freak Show Tetri Bileti	Rock	Rock Club	5
4/8/11	Gia Toidze		Rock Club	10
4/9/11	Junky Bitz	Rock	Rock Club	
4/9/11	The Fool Kung Fu Junkie	Electronica	Wakanda	Free
4/9/11	Tomma	Electronica	Parachute	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
	Chipo			
4/10/11	DJ Rembo	Electronica	Parachute	10
4/10/11	Dischord, Psychometal	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	
4/14/11	DJ Rembo	Electronica	Bamba Room	
4/15/11	Jazz concert	Jazz	Rustaveli Theater Small stage	10, 12
4/16/11	Shadow's Eye Electromouse Onise	Hip Hop/Rock	Rock Club	10
4/22/11		<i>Covers of Radiohead</i>	Rock Club	5
4/23/11	Enema Bisector		Rock Club	10
5/13/11	UR	Heavy Metal	Rock Club	Free
5/20/11	Nikakoi Drone	Electronica	Night Flight	150, 200
5/20/11	Beatnik Brothers		Radi Club	
5/22/11	Saturnus Daeron Dismoral	Heavy Metal	Night Flight	20-25
5/25/11	Meti Noize Donor		City Club	
5/26/11	Kung Fu Junkie	Electronica	Wakanda	
5/27/11	Tomma Chipo	Electronica	Antidote Club	
5/28/11	Junky Bitz X-Machine Im Nebel Hels SS	Rock/Heavy Metal	Rock Club	5
6/3/11	Rema	Rock/Heavy Metal	Club déjà vu	
6/9/11	Crossroads Blues Band	Jazz	Magti Club	20
6/11/11	The Benedicts Mutual Friends Smile Ketrine & Me Me and My Monkey Z for Zulu The Fades Herr Styler Wallace Vanborn The Forest	Rock/Electronica	Hippodrome	
6/12/11	Desiderata Exit Pornopoezia Salio Space Jam UR Stringi The Nice Sharp Pencils	Rock/Heavy Metal	Hippodrome	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost (GEL)</u>
	Moodorama Greenbeam and Leon			
6/18/11	Shusha Play Paranoid	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
6/18/11	Alubali	Rock	Mtats'minda Park	Free
6/19/11	The Sticklers The Georgians Mutual Friends	Rock/Pop	Atoneli Theater	10
6/20/11	Elsinor The Pulse Kanudos	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
6/21/11	Altruism Window	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
6/22/11	You Are Noa Industrial City	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
6/23/11	Lazy Plus Master Outsider	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
6/24/11	Radioactive Pink Panther Inner Voice	Rock/Pop	Atoneli Theater	10
6/25/11	Ani Pavliashvili and Sound Vision Kibatono	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
6/26/11	I Can Ketrine & Me Sanda	Rock	Atoneli Theater	10
7/6/11	Plus Master Altruism The Georgians Sanda The Sticklers The Pulse Outsider Lazy Kibatono Inner Voice Vodka Vtraiom Radioactive Dro-21 Pink Panther Ani Pavliashvili and Sound Vision Elsinor	Rock	Medical University	5
7/27/11	Kung Fu Junkie Lady Heroine Sophie Villy Z for Zulu Loudspeaker Landmark Jorjick	Rock/Pop/Electronica	33a	10
7/17- 18/11	Dark Tranquility Metsatoll	Heavy Metal	Angisa Stadium	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Artist</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>(GEL)</u>
	Cemetery of Scream			
	Carthagods			
	Metal Scent			
	Moribund Oblivion			
	Sepultura			
	Divahar			
	DOT			
	Signs			
	Rema			

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