

1 Playing (A)-Part: Thinking Poly-Cultural Societies after
2 Multiculturalism

3 Dr. Meirav Aharon Gutman¹

4 ¹ Technion - Israel Institute of Technology

5 *Received: 14 December 2013 Accepted: 3 January 2014 Published: 15 January 2014*

6 **Abstract**

7 This paper considers citizenship in a culturally diverse society through ethnography in the
8 Israel Andalusian orchestra. The orchestra was established in 1994 in the immigrant city of
9 Ashdod by the second generation of North African Jewish immigrants. The establishment of
10 the Andalusian Orchestra looks, at first sight, like one more case of ethnic revival that one
11 should explore as multicultural citizenship, but research shows that it does not fit into the
12 multicultural mold. Thus, research that began as an exploration of multicultural citizenship
13 turned into ethnography of the politics of classification in Israel. This paper offers an
14 alternative way of thinking, analyzing citizenship in a polycultural society and focusing
15 especially on the dialog between the state and different ethnic groups. This approach involves
16 investigation not only into the second generation of immigrants in a modern city, but also into
17 the concept of multiculturalism itself.

19 *Index terms*— politics of classification, second generation, iron cage of ethnicity.

20 **1 Introduction**

21 The story is about Neighbourhood 'A'. Rabbi Meir Amar came to me to ask for the use of the community center
22 for the special morning prayers, the "Request Songs". I told him: You've got it. At four o'clock in the morning
23 I woke Lasry up in the pouring rain. By the time we got there we were all wet. We asked ourselves, what
24 idiots, what on earth are we doing here? When we got to the main hall, we were amazed: the room was packed.
25 Someone pushed a prayer book into our hands. What we got was three hours of a spiritual experience. I felt
26 that something was happening here, a community event, a musical and cultural one. They invited us, young
27 academics, to a table and treated us as honored guests. But people had brought their food with them, the
28 amplification was faulty, and they put pictures of holy men up for sale, to cover their costs. We got annoyed
29 -is this way to do culture? Still, we understood that it wasn't their fault they just didn't have the conventional
30 framework to express themselves. I saw that, and I wasn't there to complain but to create. I put my idea down
31 on paper and sent it to the mayor of Ashdod. No answer. A few months later, I got a call from him: Come at
32 once, I have this idea to found a world center for sacred songs.

33 (Malka, The founder of the Israeli Andalusia orchestra).

34 In the last decade of the Twentieth Century, theories have developed concerning the flourishing of cultural
35 enterprises, and treating them as demands for the recognition of cultural difference (Kymlicka 1995). The
36 present article aims to question the concept of multiculturalism, both as a theory and as a tool for field research.
37 Multicultural citizenship seemed to be a way to define and understand how people settle their identity, both
38 as citizens and as ethnic subjects, identities that often "run up against one another" (Comaroff 2003). Hence,
39 Kymlicka's notion of multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka 1995) appeared to be a promising tool for analyzing
40 one of the cultural enterprises of the second generation of immigrants to Israel from North Africa -the Israel
41 Andalusian Orchestra. However, every attempt to fit the field research on which this paper was based into the
42 language of multicultural citizenship raised more questions than answers.

1 INTRODUCTION

44 It became clear that multiculturalism has to be viewed as a constructed category, rather than a natural
45 phenomenon, raising questions of how people use it, what contribution it makes to different social groups, and
46 under what conditions. These questions demand new ways of thinking about the relationship of culture to
47 social stratification and power (Swidler 1986), opening the door to questions concerning cultural aspects of
48 social inequality. DiMaggio (DiMaggio 1992) argues that examining the production of high culture involves
49 understanding how the "making of meaning" shapes social institutions. Thus, research that began as an
50 exploration of multicultural citizenship turned into ethnography of the politics of classification, where findings in
51 the field contradicted accepted theory.

52 Early in my research it became clear that "multiculturalism" was not only the language of researchers, but
53 that the subjects of this research, the founders of the Israel Andalusian Orchestra, were familiar with it and
54 with its implications. The way they interpreted the experience of the first generation of immigrants led them
55 to reject the use of the concept. They refused to adopt difference, the central component of the multiculturalist
56 way of thinking, demanding instead recognition as an integral part of Israeli society, not merely by right of their
57 ethnic identity. They rejected uniqueness as the basis of their claim, on the grounds that "nowadays everybody
58 is unique", to use the words of one of them. Furthermore, establishing the orchestra was not an effort to revive
59 a culture, but rather one more case of invasion of tradition (Hobsbawm 1992).

60 From this perspective, multiculturalism can be explored as one strategy among others that people use to gain
61 recognition. Indeed, as far as these founders were concerned, it was not even a very successful one. They were
62 knowingly constructing a culture by asking themselves how a tradition that their immigrant parents brought
63 with them could be accepted as high culture by mainstream Israeli society.

64 Ethnographical study of the Andalusian Orchestra sheds light on the construction of identity in general, and
65 of ethnic identity in particular. In the 90s, there was a flowering of sociological research which posited the term
66 "identity" as a central tool for the unraveling of individual and group existence in the society. The ethnography
67 of the orchestra encapsulates the fact that the main demands of the immigrants was for economic, social and
68 cultural recognition and existence (Taylor 1992).

69 In the course of establishing the orchestra, a number of methods of presentation were examined. The method
70 which the founders selected, what they called "the right model", was to perform Andalusian music within the
71 outward forms of a western classical orchestra, that is to say in formal suits and bow ties, with a preponderance of
72 string instruments, under a conductor, with a printed program, and with a Friends of the Orchestra association,
73 all of which were absent from the source. They saw this as a new way to make use of their inherited culture to
74 become a modern national enterprise. It was this understanding that brought the research back to its starting
75 point for review, this time investigating not only citizenship as it was experienced by the second generation
76 of North African Jews, but the theories of multiculturalism as well. A study of the relationship between the
77 state and the Andalusian Orchestra involves a close look at a struggle for classification that identifies the
78 institutions that operate in the field. The question of what multiculturalism is (both as a concept and as a
79 set of institutionalized practices) in the eyes of the second generation of Jewish immigrants from North Africa
80 to Israel, brings multiculturalism into question as an empirical reality that has to be understood in the wider
81 context of economics and politics.

82 Several steps are required to create new research as Vertovec (2007) urges us to do in his important introduction
83 to the special issue of Ethnic and Racial Studies.

84 The first step is to distinguish between the language of the field and the language about the field. In the
85 course of writing field diaries, it became clear that multiculturalism is *emic*, the language of the field. Comaroff
86 (2003) suggest that the concept of "polyculturalism" provides a more useful tool for analyzing social variety than
87 the term "multiculturalism". The concept of polyculturalism includes both multiplicity and the politicization of
88 the relations that arise from that multiplicity.

89 The second step is to analyze a cultural phenomenon at the meeting point of the structures and the agents
90 -that is, between state institutions and its subjects (Vertovec 2007). In this case, not so much the orchestra and
91 the state themselves as the relationship between them. The state is both the source of funding and the source
92 of social recognition and legitimization, and hence it is not a matter of the ethnography of the state or of a
93 particular cultural enterprise, but of the meeting point of the two. It is here that bureaucracy, nationalism, law
94 and liberalism come into the picture, together with social aspirations.

95 The third step, emphasizing analysis within the wider social context, is to ask what multiculturalism means
96 to groups of minorities whose rights are recognized but who experience poverty under a neoliberal policy (Postero
97 2007). The social climate during the period of this research was formed by years of economic depression and the
98 second intifada (Palestinian revolt). The Jewish public discourse in Israel during that time was dominated by
99 nationalism, on the one hand, and neo-liberalism (the ruling policy in the field of economy, under the Minister
100 of Finance, Benjamin Netanyahu), on the other. The budget for cultural enterprises was cut progressively from
101 \$95 million in 2003 to \$56.4 million in 2004. In the second year of the research, the players of the orchestra were
102 not paid for seven months. Thus, even ten years after it was founded, the orchestra was still struggling for its
103 existence and for official recognition.

104 The Subjects: Between the promise of belonging and social marginality 'Minority individuals suspended in
105 limbo between the promise of full integration and the fear of continued exclusion' Geoff Denchquted by ??auman
106 (2001: 94).

107 The current section discusses a second generation of immigrants into the modern nation state, Israel, whose
108 national and religious identity enables them to take part in state and society, but whose social marginality is
109 nevertheless preserved by strong social forces.

110 It is impossible to understand the story of the Andalusian Orchestra without taking into account the
111 suppression of local cultures that non-European immigrants brought with them to Israel in the 1950s and
112 early 1960s. To a great extent, the orchestra was a response to this cultural and social fracture, when they
113 were lumped together under the term "Mizrahim" (Shohat 1988) [a term denoting immigrants from Islamic
114 countries]. "Country of origin" became a useful category for sociologists in describing the ladder of class in Israel,
115 with European and North America Jews at its head, followed by the Jews from Asia, then Jews from Africa,
116 Palestinian citizens of Israel and, at the bottom, Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Semyonov
117 1987).

118 Cultural suppression was made possible by the total dominance that the established forms of culture held over
119 art and culture (Shenhav 2005), including the field of music ??Seroussi 1984). The culture of the Mizrahim,
120 insofar as it enjoyed the status of culture at all, was not granted the resources that would enable it to flourish or
121 maintain any quality. From this perspective, culture can be seen as a political mechanism for excluding minority
122 groups. Cultural oppression constructs social marginality and is reinforced by it.

123 The history of Moroccan Jewish music in Israel typifies the extent of this deliberate cultural destruction and
124 what arose from the dramatic circumstances of this great wave of immigration (Pelez 1999). This suppression
125 of "alien" cultures led to the near-extinction of the customs of Moroccan Jewry in Israel. Many of the musicians
126 and singers of sacred music became a part of the proletariat of the predominantly secular Zionist revolution, with
127 the result that many of them were forced to abandon their music just to earn a living. In such circumstances
128 there was no chance of forming musical ensembles and playing professionally. In addition to this process, the
129 leaders of the musical scene became split up, in the name of settling peripheral areas of the country, putting the
130 older generation of musicians into an impossible situation. Dr Eilam-Amzalig, musicologist and first conductor
131 of the orchestra, stated:

132 The human element of Andalusian music was very low, both culturally and musically. This is easy to show:
133 they were limited to playing at parties and celebrations. They were capable of banging on an oudh or a violin,
134 but the musical continuity, the musical knowledge and culture were lost to them. Look at the players who are
135 used to playing loudly: the nobility of the instruments has got lost over the years of playing at Bar Mitzvot,
136 weddings and parties. What you have to do there is to play over everything else, over the eating and the noise
137 of the crowd.

138 Nonetheless, there were still some among them who were recognized over the years as special phenomena, due
139 to their expertise in classical Arabic and Hebrew and the esoterics of music. However, any chance of bringing
140 up a second generation without a conservatory, without music groups for young people and without documented
141 music was doomed to failure. Even the few who continued with this musical activity treated their work as if they
142 belonged to a closed guild and took on no pupils.

143 The Israel Andalusian Orchestra was founded by Dr Yehiel Lasri and Motti Malka in two stages in Ashdod, a
144 pre-planned immigrant city. In 1988, together with Sammi Almagrabi, Eli Ben Hammo and Aryeh Azulai, they
145 established the Center for Sacred Songs and Poetry, which became, and remains to this day, a training school
146 for singers of sacred songs and musicians who play the traditional instruments. In 1994, there was a division,
147 and the orchestra was put on a new footing. It was established as a classical orchestra, with a preponderance of
148 string instruments absent from the original format.

149 There were forty-five instrumentalists, consisting of two groups. The first was called, in local usage, "the
150 authentics", and all the rest "the orchestra". Most of the "authentic ensemble" were, and still are, immigrants
151 from North Africa and Israelis of Mizrahi origin.

152 The First Violin, however, was a Palestinian, an Israeli citizen from Majd el Krum in Western Galilee, and most
153 of the "orchestra" consists, to this day, of immigrants from countries of the former Soviet Union or native-born
154 Israelis.

155 How could the second generation found an orchestra under conditions of cultural oppression? How could they
156 dream about a classical orchestra, with a preponderance of string instruments, when very few of their people
157 knew how to play the violin? During the early Nineties, there was a huge wave of immigration to Israel from the
158 countries of the former Soviet Union. Among them were many musicians who, under the state policy of dispersing
159 the population, were settled in Ashdod. These new immigrants provided the founders of the orchestra with cheap,
160 professional western musicians. The second generation of immigrants from North Africa were able to empower
161 their "burden" and present it as "culture", in order to gain social status, only thanks to these immigrants from
162 the CIS.

163 By 2006, the orchestra had 4,000 subscribers. Most of these were first or second generation Moroccan Jews.
164 Most of the musicians played from notes, on classical instruments, such as the violin, viola, cello and double bass,
165 but next to these was an ensemble of traditional Andalusian musicians who played the oudh, mandolin, guitar,
166 camandja, darbuka and tahr drums. Integral to Andalusian music is the accompanying vocal. For hundreds
167 of years, both Muslims and Jews wrote lyrics to the music, in Arabic and Hebrew, and over the years these
168 lyrics became the main part of a tradition of worship among Moroccan Jewry. Texts in Moroccan Arabic were
169 interwoven into the Hebrew, so that the content would be understandable. This genre was known as "al-matroz"

3 METHODOLOGY

170 (the weave). In the program that were distributed at concerts, the words appear in Arabic, but written in Hebrew
171 letters, since most of the audience can not read Moroccan Arabic -though perhaps half can speak it.

172 Even ten years after the orchestra was established, its founders were busy morning to night in defining their
173 vision and their form. The raison d'être of the orchestra was an ongoing process of constructing a cultural
174 identity. It became apparent early on that there was no common knowledge available: there was no common
175 understanding of "This is how we usually do things". In one conversation Malka spoke about his meeting with
176 Dr. Buzaglo, a philosopher and the son of one of the important musicians of North African Jewry, Rabbi David
177 Buzaglo. 'You have to help me to create a language', Malka told him, 'I need more words and arguments, we have
178 to write a new dictionary'. This developmental flux facilitated our investigation into the politics of classification.

179 2 II.

180 3 Methodology

181 The present paper is based on four years of ethnographic study in the modern national city of Ashdod, Israel
182 (Aharon 2005). After a year of preliminary exploration, the study concentrated on the Andalusian Orchestra, over
183 a period close to three subscription seasons . This involved attendance at many concerts, sitting side by side with
184 the subscribers, recording backstage events, talking to the musicians in their dressing rooms and traveling with
185 them. Interviews were held with dominant figures in the municipality. The research even involved attendance at
186 synagogues at four o'clock of a winter's morning. It also involved inquiries concerning the history and music of
187 North African Jewry.

188 In a first telephone conversation with Malka, the managing director of the orchestra, I asked his permission to
189 visit the orchestra. His answer was surprising: 'I've been waiting years for this telephone call'. It was an answer
190 that opened the door to a deep and frank dialogue. Malka and Lasri, the founders of the orchestra, came to Israel
191 from Morocco as toddlers. Both of them are religious, charismatic and able in the fields of politics and power.
192 They were very welcoming, viewing the fact that a researcher saw fit to devote the topic of a doctorate to the
193 orchestra provided them with authoritative proof of its importance. As a result, the research on the orchestra
194 itself became an important part of their quest for recognition. For example, when Malka was told that the work
195 had been presented at the AAA conference in Washington D.C, he requested the Abstract in order to put it
196 on the Orchestra's web site, 'You see', he smiled, 'It's not every day that people talk about the orchestra in
197 Washington.'

198 In the majority of ethnographic studies there is a distance between the researcher and the reality under study,
199 but in this case the distance was minimal. The discourse concerning multiculturalism represents a meeting of
200 an enlightened subject and political academia. Major Israeli academics have been requested by state authorities
201 to write papers on the topic of policy regarding culture; others led the establishment of social organizations
202 that became dominant in the demand for multiculturalism. Malka, Dr. Lasri, Dr. Avi Ilam Amzalig (the
203 first conductor) and Asher Canfo (chairman of the orchestra) took part in the intellectual discourse concerning
204 multiculturalism. They attended discussions and conferences, and published essays and papers in a variety of
205 publications. Thus, my position as the one who wrote about them became yet another voice in a field in which
206 the writers and the subjects of research constantly changed places.

207 The condition of second-generation immigrants at the time provided a unique methodological moment which
208 gave observers, including social scientists, a standpoint from which to analyze culture both within and beyond the
209 borders of culture, thereby helping them to explore the construction of major social categories such as ethnicity
210 and citizenship.

211 Theory: Between "ideals", "empirical reality" and "concepts"

212 It was Walter Benjamin (Moses 2003) who proposed the use of the meeting point between the "ideals",
213 "empirical reality" and "concepts" as a research tool:

214 State and statements (ideals)

215 [Citizenship]

216 People and concepts Empirical reality This triangular model will be followed to analyze the citizenship
217 undertaken by this second generation of immigrants who were looking for both social recognition and making a
218 living. At the point of the triangle is the utopian ideal of modern nationalism, which promises a national culture
219 that embraces everyone. On one side of the base is the empirical reality, which is how the ideal actually works out
220 on the ground (where it will be shown how state actions often contradicted formal state pronouncements), and
221 at the third point we find the people themselves, that second generation whose very existence embodies multiple
222 identities. It is in the space between these points that different categories of citizenship are negotiated and can
223 be classified.

224 Hence, the model can help us to explore the experience of citizenship in a new light. It turns attention
225 from constituent elements as entities in themselves to the relationship between them, reminding us that social
226 categories, promises and power struggles play out at their meeting point. The triangle reflects tension between
227 its point and its base, between the "big time" (Gurevitz 1997), the national time of promises, declarations and
228 ceremonies and the "small time" of the daily round.

229 The state and society meet at the point where citizenship is found, that is to say at the point where rights,
230 duties and institutions overlap? citizenship is located at the medial point between state and society, exercising the

231 normative control of the relations between the state and the individuals that constitute society (Shafir and Peled
232 2005). Culture, like every social phenomenon, is always stratified. Just as no social movement has succeeded in
233 deleting social stratification, so too no social-cultural movement has succeeded in deleting cultural stratification.
234 Hence, the principal of equality of value may be a heartfelt catchword, but it is never brought to reality in any
235 cultural system (Shavit et al 2000).

236 In more recent years, the official pronouncements of the state, which also form a part of the public discourse,
237 aim to present enlightened nationalism by shuttling between the demand for homogeneity and tolerance toward
238 groups of minorities. In this case, multiculturalism came to be a discourse of mere politically correctness. State
239 officials adopted multiculturalism under an interpretation that preserved the core (Western) culture, while yet
240 making some room for other cultures. At the same time, the state practiced a bureaucracy of exclusion by
241 adopting so-called objective criteria, based on official reports and carried into practice by budgetary policy. The
242 orchestra, as a result of its refusal to accept the label "ethnic", became a serious problem, because it blurred
243 the establishment strategy to budget the orchestra, not under the category of "classical orchestra" but as a
244 "special-native-case".

245 Two reports on culture were written at the beginning of the present century by major academics in Israel, at
246 the request of the government, called the Bracha Report (Katz and Hed Sela 1999) and "Vision for 2000" (Katz
247 and Hed Sela 1999). Another document was the budgetary policy, which became known as "the criteria". It is
248 in those parts of the documents, in the small print which the reader tends to pass over, that the fate of whole
249 groups was decided. Why did the government ask for reports on culture? Firstly, to neutralize the power of
250 politicians to interfere with the budget for cultural matters, secondly it was a result of examining the tension
251 between preserving the old institutions and encouraging new enterprises, and thirdly out of a desire to strengthen
252 the connection between the national budget and national objectives, especially social unity.

253 By presenting a policy of enlightened nationalism, the reports try to tread a path between the desire to preserve
254 the ethos of one national culture by protecting the budget for so-called "national institutions" (e.g. the national
255 theater, Habima, and the national orchestra, the Philharmonic) while at the same time showing "tolerance" by
256 promoting what were seen as "other" cultures. They rejected the main and basic demand of the Andalusian
257 Orchestra to be considered as a classical orchestra, as we can see in the following quotation:

258 In 1998, some 40% of the Jewish population attended the cinema, a museum, a popular music show or an
259 evening of light entertainment at least once. Twenty-five percent went to a concert of classical music, 13% to a
260 dance performance, 5% to the opera and 5% to a concert of the Israel Andalusian Orchestra (Katz and Hed Sela
261 1999).

262 The Andalusian Orchestra is in a separate category that the report refuses to consider as classical music. In
263 rejecting this demand, its writers repeated their position that the orchestra belongs in the "ethnic" category. At
264 the same time, the orchestra went through a process of delegitimization, under the label "ethnic symbolism",
265 which placed the Mizrahi identity into the category of an invented one, and its leaders into representatives
266 without a public. "The claim of Mizrahis who demand equality is more statistical (50% of the population) and
267 sociological (identity) than substantial" (Katz and Hed Sela 1999). In "Vision for 2000" (Shavit et al 2000) too,
268 Mizrahi identity is negated as an artificial construct. The writers of the report continue to look for a mono-ethnic
269 national identity (Shavit et al 2000). The orchestra was stigmatized as threatening to split Israeli society.

270 An attempt to understand the overall picture arising from the many details reveals a bureaucracy of exclusion.
271 The policy known as "the criteria" involves supposedly objective support by the state of its national culture. The
272 main parameters for awarding budgets are (a) assessment of quality, which the Cultural Administration mostly
273 divides into "pass" or "fail"; (b) seniority, on the basis that the old should not have to give way to the new. For
274 example, a cultural enterprise can gain the support of the state only after showing two years of activity. The
275 latter criterion of course closes the door to groups who need support from their outset.

276 The research revealed a formal machinery of ranking that lets the Authority maintain and protect what it
277 calls national projects.

278 This system gives the Philharmonic Orchestra the advantage of being "national", while the official policy of
279 multiculturalism provides a lower ranking factor, called "special", that enables the Authority to give relatively
280 tiny grants to groups on the fringes of the hegemonic society.

281 4 b) Part II: people and concept

282 Next, we come to the subjects, the people concerned, who play a major role in defining the situation. The
283 director of the orchestra, Malka, was busy from morning to evening with questions of self-definition and strategic
284 location; not as a therapeutic exercise, but to win recognition and financial support. For example, when asked
285 whether he considered their music as "world music", he answered:

286 As far as I am concerned, our music is world music, in the sense that all the music in the world comes into
287 that category. If mine is world music and

288 5 Global Journal of Human Social Science

289 his is classical music, then mine is not world music at all. And if his is Western classical music, then mine is
290 Mizrahi classical music. When I define my music, I don't use the notion of world music.

291 In other words, ethnic identity has nothing to do with the culture of a particular group, nor indeed with the
292 country of origin of that group. The need to maneuver in a wide range of discourses involved the heads of the
293 orchestra and its players -Moroccans and Russians alike -in questions of ethnic identity, specifically as it concerns
294 movement from the margins toward the center of society. This is a different definition of ethnic identity: the
295 attempt to "get in", to be "correct", to win a budget, to gain recognition. Such an identity -in this case, Mizrahi
296 identity -does not arise from the question of origin, but from the desire to move from the social periphery to the
297 central, established positions.

298 The "Vision for 2000" Report (Shavit et al 2000) brings into discussion the need to preserve the national core
299 culture. Groups that do not belong to Western culture were promised funds in return for their recognition of the
300 centrality of Western culture.

301 6 This was Malka's reply:

302 Someone wanted Western, Ashkenazi [i.e., European] culture to be THE Israeli culture. In my opinion, they
303 failed. The facts speak for themselves. There is a struggle going on, both concealed and open, about what Israeli
304 culture is to be. My contribution is to say: let every cultural sector come out in all its glory, in full force, in its
305 fullest expression, with its strength and its people, and from the junction of them all we will get one good central
306 power. In one of my articles, I asked, what is culture for your understanding? Mozart? Rachel the Poetess?
307 What about David Avidan and Hanoch Levin? [The last three are Israeli writers who could be considered to
308 typify the established culture.] That's the heart of the matter! Tell me -don't hold back. I say that the core
309 will come from both this one and that one. David Avidan -I've nothing against him, but his poetry does nothing
310 for me. The poetry of Rabbi David Buzaglo is what does it for me -it's canonical. They say that the core is
311 Ashkenazi stroke Western culture, and on the fringes let the Beduin, the Druze, the Maimuna [a Mizrahi festival]
312 come out with their mats and dances and we'll take a look and say Oi, oi, oi, natives [Malka used the English
313 word] and so on. Oi, oi, oi, I'm not having that! Malka went on more quietly:

314 The problem is one of resources. If all that culture were carried on with private money, if they were to bring a
315 hundred million dollars, they could do what they like. But the moment that it's a question of public money of all
316 the shareholders, both mine and theirs, in my opinion it should be divided out in a way that all the shareholders
317 can enjoy the dividends. That's not what happens.

318 In saying this, Malka expressed the essential standpoint of the orchestra, that it is central to Israeli society
319 and the Israeli culture. They did not seek to select or point to differences, and thereby adopt the category of
320 ethnicity. In their understanding, the dangers of the ethnic label lay behind all talk of differences. Hence, the
321 orchestra refused both the bait and the stigma of "difference". Malka saw clearly that every controversy on the
322 topic of culture came down to a controversy on resources.

323 The experience of the previous generation taught him that any expression of willingness to accept the ethnic
324 label would forever leave them on the periphery of society.

325 As a case study, let me go into details concerning a meeting between the heads of the orchestra and the Culture
326 Administration. This meeting took place in the summer of 2003, and encapsulates the politics of classification.
327 The context of the meeting explores a new facet of analysis: the summer of 2003 was the summer of the second
328 intifada, a time of terror, fighting and deep economic recession. It was at a time when the orchestra had not
329 been able to pay the wages of its musicians for seven months. Malka opened the meeting by saying:

330 It was important to us, as heads of the orchestra, not to come to the meeting as members of a needy minority.
331 What we wanted was to be a proper part of Israeli society. After all, we pay our taxes, we do our army service.

332 In other words, their request for a budget was not based on difference, but on their desire for legitimacy and
333 equal partnership. As they saw it, emphasizing the difference might bring advantages in the short term, but it
334 would harm them in the long term.

335 Where multiculturalism is concerned, it's a matter of the "special" factor. We objected to that. We don't
336 want to be labeled as "natives", with an agreement for the 6% allocated to special cases, which ended up at four
337 per cent. That was supposed to be divided up between all non-Western classical orchestras, and in the end, they
338 added baroque groups and groups that play period instruments as well. It's nothing but fraud.

339 From a legal point of view, the special factor simply doesn't work. Besides, I don't want to be treated like one
340 of the natives. How much are you giving to multiculturalism?

341 Dr. Lasri added: It bothers you that we compare the Andalusian Orchestra with the Philharmonic.

342 The head of the Cultural Administration answered: "The nation isn't divided into Andalusian and
343 Philharmonic. We've only just paid for an east-west concert. There is only one national orchestra, and that's
344 that. Don't try to compete with it."

345 Volume XIV Issue III Version I

346 7 (C)

347 Year 2014

349 An argument about the status of the Philharmonic as the national orchestra developed. 'Where is that written?'
350 asked Malka. 'I'll take it on myself to clarify that point. It has to be documented somewhere,' answered the
351 vice-chair.

352 She was forgetting that the unwritten agreements are the strongest ones.

353 Malka asked her to say in her own voice that the orchestra is Mizrahi Classical Orchestra. She refused. 'You
354 don't understand what classical means,' she answered, and Malka responded: 'Classical means anything that is
355 excellent, in the sense of that particular taste. Those mistaken assumptions are embedded into the Establishment,
356 and there's no way that it won't influence your decisions if you won't define us as classical.'

357 That made her angry. She banged on the table: 'It's ethnic. It belongs to a particular group. It's just
358 fashionable at the moment.' Malka got angry too and banged on the table. 'That's just labeling. It's not labeling
359 on one condition, though: if I'm ethnic, then Beethoven is ethnic too.' This made everyone laugh in amazement.

360 The meeting was closed on the understanding that the head of the council, who had been trying to calm the
361 sides down throughout the meeting, would examine the possibility of adding to the budget under the heading of
362 'needy cultural institutions'.

363 What comes out of this discussion is that, contrary to formal pronouncements by the state on 'culture for all',
364 the moment that some cultural enterprise tries to get support in the name of national unity, the state protects
365 the hegemonic groups, and affixes the label "ethnic" on to even the second generation of immigrants, and then
366 grants them their lesser budgets accordingly. Malka's question, 'How much are you giving to multiculturalism?'
367 put the actual use of the term into a ridiculous light.

368 Contrary to multicultural expectations, Malka refused to talk in terms of different cultures. He was perfectly
369 well aware that if he accepted that term, he would be put right back into the ethnic niche, a "native", as he put
370 it.

371 Why did the officials repeatedly demand that the heads of the orchestra define their music as ethnic or east-
372 west music? According to Regev (1998), this classification is a continuation of the "melting pot" ideology: "Its
373 creators serve the national idea and in fact make a form of music that is subordinated to the concept of building
374 an Israeli identity." This contention gains reinforcement when comparison between the Philharmonic and the
375 Andalusian Orchestras is treated as the ultimate threat. The officials of the Authority demanded again and
376 again that the orchestra should not compare itself to the Philharmonic, that the latter was something special,
377 and when they were pressed made it clear that they considered this to be a basic understanding that required
378 no documentation. Shenhav and Yonah (2005) explain this phenomenon: The dominant culture in Israel was
379 envisaged and engineered from the beginning as an ethno-national Zionist one, and not as a people's culture. The
380 established élite and the state institutions conferred on its creators such kite-marks as "national poet", "national
381 theater", "National museum", "national library" or "national literature".

382 However, in view of the policy of criteria, a whitewash of the cultural and social priorities was revealed, in
383 that the committee was forced to invent a special status for the Philharmonic Orchestra in order to preserve the
384 level of its budget. The chairperson of the criteria committee declared to the people of the Andalusian Orchestra,
385 "We made our judgment without any preconceived ideas, don't be suspicious." Lasri and Malka tried to tear off
386 the disguise of objectivity, asking "Who are the judges? Who are these people who sit on the committee?" and
387 the chairperson turned the whole question on its head by declaring, "It's you, by claiming to represent women,
388 Mizrahis, Arabs to the committee, who have introduced a subjective and alien element into the system". For
389 a moment, the heads of the orchestra were tempted to make their demands on the grounds of being a "special
390 case", but Malka recognized that this strategy would be a failure, because "everyone's special now". He went
391 back to the main track, declaring that they were the equals of the big orchestras and should receive their budget
392 accordingly. c) Part III: empirical reality It is not enough to record and analyze "front of the stage" interactions:
393 they are only one side of the picture, and not the most important one. Behind the scene, in the places that
394 concrete decisions are taken, another kind of policy is shaped. There are key people in the bureaucracy whose
395 position enables them to deal with the reality of a polycultural society. They are not people who are out to
396 change the world, but aim to keep things quiet by means of mechanisms that bypass bureaucracy and by using
397 personal connections.

398 When a number of key persons work that way over a period of time, a new Establishment statement is created,
399 one that often flies in the face of the formal pronouncements, but never publicly opposes them. The case of the
400 criteria committee shows how opening sidedoors to granting a budget gave birth to major social categories, which
401 in turn gave rise to shadow policies that encouraged the politics of identities and, at the same time, to formal
402 pronouncements on the importance of "social glue". For instance, if you came from the CIS and wanted to set up
403 an Israeli theater, you could get a budget from the Ministry of Absorption, as a Russian. A Druze who wanted
404 to set up an Israeli dance group, had to declare himself a member of a minority, and get his budget from the
405 Council for Minority Culture.

406 In other words, these key people did not announce a new agenda. They adopted the existing one, and were
407 able to recite the chain of events that brought it into being. However, they were aware of exceptions, inherent
408 mishaps that, according to them, were neither deliberate nor the result of error. In point of fact, by their long
409 drawn-out handling of such exceptions, they created a new agenda for the bodies dealing with recognition and

410 connections, where cases fell into bureaucratic and organizational gaps. This activity gave rise to a new reality,
411 as the reports on culture themselves reveal.

412 For example, according to Katz and Sela (1999), in order to obtain financial support from the Ministry of
413 Culture, it was necessary to prove continuous existence for at least two years to obtain a grant -and even that
414 was conditional on the Ministry receiving a higher budget, since it would not be at the expense of any existing
415 body. In that case, how is it possible to become a supported body? How is it possible to "get in" in the first
416 place? How can one support oneself for those two years? One answer given by the Bracha Report is that one
417 can first obtain a modicum of support as a special project, and become a regular, fully supported institution
418 at the end of the period. Another solution is to gain support under a different fiscal heading, for instance as a
419 religious body, or as an organization of new immigrants (as the Gesher Theater did), and thereby gain support
420 from another government ministry. In other words, to become a candidate for support, the body or institution
421 concerned is forced to go through the very politics of identities that it opposes.

422 Hence, the identity of cultural enterprises in Israel has been defined by slipping them through the cracks
423 in the bureaucratic obstacles, cracks that enabled new immigrants from the CIS to obtain support for the
424 Gesher Theater, or a grant being given to a sale of Judaica, justified by calling it artwork. When the Culture
425 Administration rejected a request for support of "neighborhood art", new resources were found to set up councils
426 for neighborhood culture. The result has been that bureaucrats have created routes that bypass the criteria -by
427 right of the politics of difference -and have thereby won peace and quiet.

428 As a result, the first request of the orchestra to be treated as an equal among orchestras failed, on the grounds
429 that, according to those who made the decisions, it did not meet the criterion of quality. The Ministry would
430 only grant it the status and budget of an "ethnic project".

431 9 IV.

432 10 Conclusions

433 Ethnic minorities are first and foremost the product of enclosure from outside, and only secondly, if at all, the
434 outcome of self-enclosure ??Bauman 2001: 94).

435 This research began as an Israeli case of multicultural citizenship and ended up as ethnography of the politics
436 of classification. It explored the experience of citizenship as a struggle for existence and recognition, where the
437 process of classifications became the turning point to win legitimacy and budget. The founders of the Andalusian
438 Orchestra rejected the option of winning their claim as "natives". By rejecting this, they rejected any claim on
439 behalf of difference, a category that, in their understanding would preserve their social marginality. Consequently,
440 multicultural citizenship failed to define citizenship as it is experienced by second generation North African Jews
441 in Israel.

442 Multiculturalism should have come under the academic microscope as an empirical reality, as one of many
443 strategies that people use to present and advance their case. Instead, it became a theory, a tool for analyzing
444 social reality in polycultural societies. Under the influence and authority of American academic discourse, this
445 way of thinking became widespread in Israel too.

446 The following questions arise on public and academic floors: 'Does multiculturalism threaten the very existence
447 of the modern nation state?' and 'Is multiculturalism the last chance of the state to deal with its internal variety
448 in a moral way?' Questions like these are essential to committed academic discourse, that is, any scholarship
449 that accepts the responsibility of being involved in society. The point is, though, that such questions do not
450 contribute to research on the expanded variety of cultures in a society.

451 In our analysis of the policy of funding the arts in Israel, it is argued that by its public statements the state
452 present enlightened nationalism, and yet at the same time the state practiced a bureaucracy of exclusion by
453 adopting "objective criteria" for funding. The refusal of the heads of the orchestra to accept the label "ethnic"
454 and their demand for equal treatment were seen as a threat to the status quo.

455 The narrative and actions of the orchestra make it clear that its leaders were full partners to the definition of
456 the situation.

457 Contrary to what intuition might suggest, they did not make their demands on the basis of the right to be
458 different, or for their uniqueness, but fought for the right to be recognized as equals in Israeli culture. But the
459 whole point is to be recognized as equal as who you are -Arab, Moroccan, Jew, or whatever.

460 The sole contribution of the Culture Administration to multiculturalism was its proposal to grant the orchestra
461 a budget as a special case. The orchestra recognized this as a trap that condemned it to the periphery, where it
462 would have to share limited finances with dozens of other special cases.

463 The concept of multiculturalism serves élites as a mechanism to defend their social status. The terms 'core
464 values' and 'the right to culture' are additional forms of the fear of the 'other'. Had the Andalusian Orchestra
465 not been seen as a threat, there would Volume XIV Issue III Version I 60 (C)

466 certainly not have been any problem in its inclusion in the category of "orchestra", nor would the Establishment
467 have condemned it to the periphery, as threat to the center, thereby reducing it to cheap productions.

468 Theoreticians of multiculturalism would argue that the state was obeying the system of liberal multiculturalism,
469 by distinguishing between center and periphery, between the hegemonic culture and a secondary one, whereas
470 the leaders of the orchestra stood for a polycentric culture, i.e., with a number of centers.

471 I suggest that the ethnography presented here is one of the fears of losing hegemony. This is rationalized by
472 such terms as "dropping standards", "loss of character" and "harm to national institutions", but it is clearly a
473 reaction to the internal conflict between liberalism and the results of massive immigration from countries of the
474 Third World: in such cases liberalism becomes a double-edged sword

475 In rejecting the proposal of the culture administration, the heads of the orchestra rejected the concept of
476 multiculturalism, which they saw as just one of the strategies of the hegemony to advance its own interests. It
477 is worth noting that this standpoint in no way involves any rejection of the concepts of nation and state, in a
478 country where nationalism has always been a major factor. Indeed, its spokesmen stressed its fulfillment of the
479 duties to the state: "We pay our taxes and serve in the army", he said. They based their claims on excellence,
480 but also on representing half of the Jewish population, a proposition that negated any assertion that the Mizrahi
481 identity is "special". Their standpoint was that they were therefore entitled to centrality in society.

482 The concept of multiculturalism blossomed among radical intellectuals because it provided them with a new
483 language for talking about democratic utopia and moral society, but it ignores the ideological power of these
484 concepts and the fact that it is useless when it comes to explaining the activities of groups which reject talk
485 about the right to difference, and want to play on center stage. Theoreticians of multiculturalism would no doubt
486 claim that this was the policy of the liberal state, preserving the distinction between the center and the periphery,
487 between the hegemonic culture and subcultures, whereas the heads of the orchestra treated multiculturalism as
488 polycentric, as if aiming to multiply centers.

489 The motivation and driving force of the orchestra are expressions of human, political and cultural hunger for
490 recognition and reward. In fact, it was not the aim of the heads of the orchestra to create a multi-centered
491 society, or to redefine the relationship between the center and the periphery. The explosive nature of the dialogue
492 between them and officials of the state was the outcome of the tension between a sense of being under threat
493 and losing power, on the part of the agencies of the nation state, and the experience of its subjects that the
494 nation state is a powerful and relevant player. Although transnational links were established by the orchestra
495 with Jewish communities in Canada and Europe, these did not present any real alternative to links with the
496 state.

497 The dynamics behind the scenes presented above document and analyze how the shadow policy, created through
498 complex organizational and personal processes, feeds the politics of identities, even while public declarations
499 oppose such a thing. The result is that the imaginary community -and it makes no difference whether it retreated
500 in the face of globalization, as Appadurai (1990) says, or changed its appearance while hanging on to its power
-paves the way to an imaginary community of differences. ^{1 2}



Figure 1: 1 :

¹Playing (A)-Part: Thinking Poly-Cultural Societies after Multiculturalism
²© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

-
- 501 [Katz and Sela ()] , E Katz , H Sela . 1999. Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute. (Bracha Report)
- 502 [Shafir and Peled ()] *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, G Shafir , Y Peled . 2005. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 504 [Sa'ada-Ophir ()] *Between Israeli and Mizrahi identities: musical hybrids from Ashdod*, G Sa'ada-Ophir . 2001. Israeli Sociology. 3.
- 506 [Sarussi ()] *Change and continuity in the Prayer Songs of Moroccan Jews.* , Pa'amim, E Sarussi . 1984. 19 p. .
- 507 [Dimaggio ()] 'Classification in Art'. P Dimaggio . *American Sociological Review* 1987. 52 (4) p. .
- 508 [Bauman ()] *Community: Seeking Safety in an Insecure World*, Z Bauman . 2001. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- 509 [Shavit ()] 'Culture Certificate, Vision'. Z Shavit . *Israel Ministry of Science*, (Jerusalem) 2000. 2000.
- 510 [Appadurai ()] 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy'. A Appadurai . *Public Culture* 1990. 2 (2) p. .
- 512 [Regev ()] *From 'Camel, my camel' to Tippex, Faces' Teachers*', M Regev . 1998. Union Publications. p. 5.
- 513 [Pearlson ()] *Great rejoicing tonight: Jewish-Arab music*, I Pearlson . 2006. Tel Aviv: Riesling Publications.
- 514 [Semyonov and Epstein ()] *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water: Non-citizen Arabs in the Israeli Labor Market*, M Semyonov , N L Epstein . 1987. ILR Press. Cornell University
- 516 [Vertovec ()] *Introduction: new directions in the anthropology of migration and multiculturalism?* *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, S Vertovec . 2007. 30 p. .
- 518 [Kymlicka ()] *Multicultural Citizenship*, W Kymlicka . 1995. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 519 [Taylor (ed.) ()] *Multiculturalism and the 'Politics of Recognition*, Charles Taylor . Gutman, A (ed.) 1992. 1992. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (The Politics of Recognition)
- 521 [Grey ()] *Now We Are Citizens*, Postero Grey , N . 2007. Stanford University Press.
- 522 [Regev ()] *Oudh and guitar: the musical culture of Israeli Arabs*, M Regev . 1993. Ra'anana: Center for the Study of Hebrew Society in Israel.
- 524 [Aharon ()] *Planning and living in the modern national city: the limits and limitations of Israeli citizenship in 2000*, M Aharon . 2005. (PhD), Tel Aviv University (PhD Thesis)
- 526 [Pelez ()] 'Reflection of the east in Hebrew songs' G Pelez . *The Challenge of Sovereignty: Creation and Thought in the First*, M Iin, Ben-Or (ed.) 1999.
- 528 [Comaroff and Comaroff ()] 'Reflections on liberalism, polyculturalism, and ID-ology: citizenship and difference in South'. J Comaroff , J Comaroff . *Africa. Social Identities* 2003. 9 (3) .
- 530 [Comaroff ()] 'Reflections on the colonial state, in South Africa and elsewhere: faction, fragments, facts and fictions'. J Comaroff . *Social Identities* 1990. 4 (3) .
- 532 [Sarussi and Carasanti ()] *Researching the liturgical music of Algeria*, Pa'amim 91), E Sarussi , E Carasanti . 1991.
- 534 [Shohat ()] E Shohat . *Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the point of view of its Jewish victims*. *Social Text*, 1988. p. .
- 536 [Swidler ()] A Swidler . *Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies*, 1986. 51 p. .
- 537 [Gurevitz (ed.) ()] *The double site of Israel*, Z Gurevitz . E. Ben Ari and Y. Bilu, (ed.) 1997. Grasping Land. New York State University Press
- 539 [Hobsbawm and Ranger ()] *The Invention of Tradition*, E Hobsbawm , T Ranger . 1992. Cambridge University Press.
- 541 [Levy and Jacob ()] 'The Multiculturalism of Fear'. T Levy , L T Jacob . *Critical Review* 1996. 10 (2) .
- 542 [Moses ()] *Walter Benjamin and the Spirit of Modernism*, S Moses . 2003. Tel Aviv: Riesling Publications.
- 543 [Shenhav and Yonah ()] *What is multiculturalism? On the paucity of the narrative in Israel*, Y Shenhav , Y Yonah . 2005. Tel Aviv: Bavel Publications.