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MOTTI REGEV

Introduction

In recent years, pop/rock has ceased being an exclusive Anglo-American phenomenon. Local styles of rock might be found today in many countries, styles which merge local traditions with the rock aesthetic. Some products of these styles are distributed successfully in the USA and Britain under the large title of ‘ethnic pop’ (sometimes ‘world music’). The work on the emergence of these local styles tends to stress their ‘authenticity’ in one way or another: in the way they reflect political resistance, in the way they express cultural change (Szemere 1983; Fiori 1984; Vila 1987; Duran 1989; Siriyuvasak 1990; Bright 1986; Manuel 1988; Frith 1989). In addition, much of the work tends to be descriptive – there are hardly any attempts to theorise the emergence of pop/rock and its becoming ‘local authentic’ music. One salient exception is the work of Wallis and Malm (1984). They describe a two-way flow of musical elements, in which local or national music cultures both contribute to and pick up from an emerging body of music which they call transcultural. Anglo-American pop/rock is the nucleus of transcultural music. The simultaneous convergence of its influence, of access to music industry technologies, of local music culture and of the will to create something different explains, according to Wallis and Malm, the first stage of transculturation in the countries they studied.

What is missing from this explanation is an account of the social and cultural status of this music. Namely, how does the incorporation of rock aesthetics into local music come to be accepted as ‘authentic’, as reflecting and expressing contemporary local culture.

It is not self-evident, even in the case of so-called ‘folk music’, that a certain style of music ‘belongs’ to a specific community (Redhead and Street 1989). This is even less the case with popular music in general and pop/rock in particular. Being essentially ‘transcultural’, local versions of pop/rock are probably regarded by different groups in their respective local cultures as ‘imitation’, as a subordination to cultural imperialism. In other words, the ‘local authenticity’ of local versions of pop/rock is not a natural quality of the music, which springs from it just because it incorporates rock into traditional music. It is rather a meaning produced for that music by interpreters who believe in the reality of that meaning.

It follows, that in order to understand how a local style of pop/rock becomes the ‘authentic’ music of a certain culture, the object of analysis should be the production of its meaning as such. The ‘local authenticity’ of pop/rock should be understood as the result of the struggle for dominance in the local field of (popular) music, the struggle which results in the construction of the field according to the
aesthetic world view and the interests of the believers in the 'artistry' and 'authenticity' of pop/rock in general.

This theoretical perspective, which is based on Bourdieu's '(cultural) field-theory' (Bourdieu 1968, 1980, 1983, 1990), guides the following analysis of the emergence of Israeli rock and its rise to dominance in the local field of popular music. Following Bourdieu's indication that the sociology of art 'has to take as its object not only the material production, but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work...' and that 'it therefore has to consider as contributing to production not only the direct producers of the work in its materiality, but also the producers of the meaning and value of the work' (Bourdieu 1983, p. 318), the analysis presents the emergence of Israeli rock to dominance as the result of two parallel and interdependent processes: the adoption and adaptation of rock dispositions – including the belief in the 'artistry' of rock – by Israeli musicians, and the consecration of the music produced by these musicians by a rock-oriented 'production of meaning' position in the field of popular music in Israel.

The case of Israel

Till the early 1960s, music in Israel existed under the sign of the ideological dominance and political centralism which characterised Israeli society. This was expressed in two ways. First, the songs themselves dealt mostly with historical events, with the scenery of the land, and with other Zionist motifs. This pre-pop/rock corpus of songs is referred to today as 'Shirei Eretz Israel' – The Songs of the Land of Israel. Second, organisationally, the salient phenomena in Israeli music were the Army Entertainment Ensembles, which served as a channel for the distribution of ideologically saturated music, and as a credential mechanism for performers: most Israeli performers, entertainers and actors who succeeded during the 1970s were graduates of these ensembles. The whole framework in which the music existed was closer to the patterns of 'folk' music than to those of popular music. During the 1960s, a more distinct field of popular music began to crystallise in Israel, influenced by a variety of foreign musical traditions. Towards the end of that decade, however, the influence of Anglo-American pop/rock had become the most salient, and later, during the 1970s and 1980s, it gradually came to dominate the field (Regev 1989). The following description divides the emergence of Israeli rock to dominance into three components: the constitution of a rock-oriented production of meaning position; the formation and consecration of a first generation of 'Israeli rock'; and, as a consequence of these two, the rise to dominance.

Rock oriented production of meaning

The constitution of a rock-oriented production of meaning position in the field of popular music in Israel was a process which involved four stages.

1. Quantitative dominance of Anglo-American pop/rock

'Presence' of popular music is presence of records in the market, their distribution, and playing them regularly on the radio. During the 1960s, Anglo-American pop/rock was far from being the only popular music in Israel. Music from France, Italy
and Greece was quite popular as well. In 1965, for example, next to songs by the Beatles, the Rolling Stones or Bob Dylan, the Top 20 contained songs by French performers such as Michelle Polnareff, Christoff and Adano, or by Italians such as Rita Pavone, Bobby Solo or Little Toni. By the end of the decade the situation had changed, mostly because music editors grew to appreciate Anglo-American pop/rock much more. During the next decades French, Italian and other non Anglo-American music disappeared almost entirely from radio broadcasting in Israel (a wave of Brazilian music in the early 1980s is one notable exception). The same holds for the record market. Local pressing and importing of foreign music has been dominated, since the late 1960s, by Anglo-American pop/rock.

2. Presentation of rock meanings

Alongside the music itself, the belief in the meanings of rock, in its authenticity, was also promoted. At first this was done by reporting the processes of evaluation and artistic hierarchy which took place toward the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. In this period, radio programmes devoted to 'psychadelic', 'underground' or 'progressive' rock emerged in Israel. Scheduled mostly to the evenings, these programmes were edited and presented by local, self-proclaimed rock experts, whose main points of reference were personalities like John Peel in the UK, FM radio in the USA and, generally, the emergent 'serious' rock-journalism of that period. Indeed, during the 1970s, some Israeli newspapers opened special sections for the 'serious' coverage of 'quality' rock. Through that decade, both radio editors and journalists updated their presentations as the general conceptions regarding 'the art of rock' were changing, mostly after 1977.

3. Home-made evaluations

During the 1970s, some local writers and music editors began to evaluate foreign pop/rock by themselves. Confident of their knowledge and expertise, they gradually appropriated a full production of meaning position in the local media. Adopting and translating rock criticism terminology and concepts and, in general, acquiring rock dispositions, they began creating their own evaluations and judgments of rock, constructing thereby their own image as local authorities of rock and pop. Two individuals should be mentioned here: Menahem Granit, whose 'Kzat Aheret' ('Something Different') programme on the IBA popular music station was an influential channel in the acquaintance of Israeli audiences with the sounds of 'the art of rock'; and Yoav Kutner, whose parallel programme 'Rock Plus' on the IDF station, together with his writing, made him the most influential rock critic in Israel.

4. Application of rock criteria to Israeli music

Towards the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s the press in Israel expanded considerably. New magazines and newspapers were established, including regional and urban (Village Voice type) weekly papers. This expansion, together with the opening of Reshet Gimmel (the IBA all-popular-music radio station) in 1976, created a demand for more writers and more writing on popular music and, generally, an increase in the volume of discourse on popular music in the Israeli
media. By this time, however, it was already ‘self evident’ that writing on popular music meant rock writing. Monopolising the media discourse on popular music, both new and older rock writers felt strong and authoritative enough at this point to extend their writing to Israeli music as well. Equipped with rock sensitivities and with a belief in the artistry and authenticity of rock, they set out, beginning in the early 1980s, to evaluate local music by rock criteria and to encourage local rock culture. This meant, first of all, consolidating the consecration of those local musicians who had been incorporating the rock aesthetic for more than a decade, and crowning them, in effect, as the ‘pioneers’ and the elite of Israeli rock.

The elite of Israeli rock

The musical works (i.e., records, songs) which have been consecrated as the first ‘masterpieces’ of Israeli rock, and the group of musicians which produced them, can be characterised along three dimensions. First, the music incorporates a variety of rock components – electric instrumentation, ‘personal’ lyrics, elaborate studio work, etc. – in a way that signalled in the moment of production a break with: themes and patterns that were regarded as ‘typical Israeli’, and in a way that was accepted by the critics as ‘authentic’, ‘credible’ rock. Second, some of this music did nevertheless contain – in melodic lines, in the lyrics – components of traditional Israeli music. Third, most of the musicians involved had graduated from Army Entertainment Ensembles, which means that they produced and performed their local version of rock from an institutionalised position in Israeli culture.

Fourteen musicians form the nucleus of a group which produced a body of records during the 1970s considered to be the ‘beginning’ of Israeli rock and the salient expression of a ‘new’ Israeli culture. The records are, in fact, a series of collaborations, which makes these musicians a sociological group.

Arik Einstein. Arik Einstein is the most prominent popular music performer in Israel. Since 1965 he has recorded more than twenty-five LPs, in which he updated what ‘Israeli’ music is. Practically all his records are credited equally to himself and to a partner. These partners are usually the musical producers, arrangers and main composers of the records. In this way Einstein has also sponsored the career of these partners, who later went ‘solo’. His work might be divided into two major sections. One, ‘new’ songs, recordings of songs written specially for him (sometimes he writes the lyrics), his performance being the ‘original’ version. Outstanding examples are ‘Poozy’ (1969) and ‘Shabul’ (1970) in which for the first time ever an Israeli singer, singing in Hebrew, was placed in front of a typical rock band. With these two records, hailed by the critics as ‘masterpieces’, Einstein gained his position as the one who ‘invented’ Israeli rock. The second section of his work, which dominated his records in the second half of the 1970s, contains Einstein’s versions of ‘Shirei Eretz Israel’, and songs whose lyrics are existing poems by known poets. In a series of seven albums – Good Old Land of Israel – Einstein placed these traditional contents in a pop/rock context, and created thereby a musical declaration regarding the Israeli-ness of pop/rock.

Shmulik Kraus. Kraus was one of the first musicians to work with Arik Einstein. He was the main creative force in the High Windows trio, of which Einstein was also a member. Although not electric in its arrangements, the ‘drive’ of this group’s songs was considered by local critics as the first Hebrew embodiment of rock dispositions and sensitivities. In 1970 Kraus founded another group, Cape of
Good Hope, whose song ‘Ballad to a Kibbutz Departed’ – a mockery of kibbutz life and an appraisal of city life – symbolised the ‘rebellion’ of Israeli rock. Some of the members of this group went on (without Kraus) to form Apocalypse – a group with strong Hendrix/Clapton influences in its sound – whose only record from 1972 was also considered a pioneering ‘masterpiece’ of Israeli rock.

Kaveret. Following the tradition of ‘authenticity’ in rock, Kaveret (beehive) was a self-contained creative unit. The seven members of this group wrote their own songs (music and words), played all the (electric) instruments and even produced their records. The sales figures of their three LPs from 1973–5 were unprecedented in Israel. Catchy tunes, Beatles-like harmonies, word-play and nonsense humour, led the critics to refer to their music as ‘clever pop’. Occasional ‘oriental’ flavours in the melodies and in the instrumentation, and the idiosyncratic
humour, made this pop very local. At the time, Kaveret were interpreted as mocking some of the contents of the Army Entertainment Ensembles, as emptying them of their pathos and ideological seriousness – as a kind of Israeli ‘rebellion’. In retrospect, rock reviewers tended to see Kaveret as an updating of those themes and of that spirit, as its ‘rockisation’.

Shalom Hanoch. This musician is considered as the most committed, in Israel, to rock as art. His musical work over the years embodies the whole set of skills, sensitivities and dispositions expected from a rock artist. He composes his own songs, writes most of their words, sings them in a cracked, raucous voice, plays the electric guitar, records and performs in front of a (changing) rock band, produces most of his records – and declares, time and again, that he is a rock artist, not an ‘entertainer’. Hanoch was Arik Einstein’s partner on the seminal album Shabbul. In 1975 he was the main front-man of the group Tamuz, whose only record is considered a ‘classical masterpiece’ of Israeli rock. After Tamuz, Hanoch continued as a ‘solo’ musician. In all his work, from his early work with Einstein to his most recent, Hanoch has covered a variety of styles: soft acoustic ballads, Beatles-like pop/rock, hard rock, and even bombastic, so-called ‘stadium’-rock. His lyrics range from the most personal to social and political comment. In interviews, Hanoch has insisted that everything he is doing stems from his typical experiences and lifecycle (he grew up in a kibbutz and was a member of the Nahal Unit Entertainment Ensemble), and therefore his music is no less ‘Israeli’ than the songs of Eretz Israel – from which he has been distancing himself.

Yoni Rechter, Shem-Tov Levi, Silmomo Gronich and Matti Caspi. In the 1970s, each of these musicians in his own way brought a measure of music-conservatory sophistication to the emerging Israeli pop/rock. With their background of formal training in classical music, the music they recorded was complex in structure and instrumentation. Their recordings and collaborations in the early 1970s were referred to as ‘experimental’, as a local version of ‘progressive’ rock. Later in that decade, and during the 1980s, Rechter (a former member of Kaveret) and Levi became major collaborators with Arik Einstein on his Good Old Eretz Israel albums. Caspi made two records with Sasha Argov, a notable composer in the Songs of Eretz Israel tradition. These works consolidated the position of these musicians as the contemporary, rock-influenced exponents of the Songs of Eretz Israel spirit.

Ariel Silber, Miki Gavrilev and Yitzhak Klepter. In their collaborations with other musicians, and in their own works, these musicians are regarded as the most committed to simple, basic guitar-rock (Klepter is a highly acclaimed guitar player).

To summarise: from their institutionalised position as graduates of Army Entertainment Ensembles, these musicians have produced, during the 1970s, a body of musical work which presented a balance between heresy and orthodoxy vis-à-vis traditional Israeli music – on the one hand the adoption of a rock aesthetic and rock dispositions, on the other hand ‘covers’ of Songs of Eretz Israel and the incorporation of traditional themes. Two points should be stressed in this context. First, not all the adoptions of rock by Israeli musicians were consecrated. Thus the so-called ‘beat’ groups (in the 1960s) and ‘progressive’ groups (in the 1970s), whose members were not graduates of Army Entertainment Bands, and whose adoption of rock dispositions (including English lyrics) made their music too heretical in relation to Israeli music; the Army Entertainment Bands themselves, whose affiliation – as units of the Armed Forces – disqualified them as ‘authentic’ rockers; and singers/musicians (Zvika Pick being the leading example), whose merging of rock
with Israeli music was regarded by the producers of meaning as lacking ‘credibility’ or ‘authenticity’, all these were excluded. Second, at this point of time, around 1980, Israeli rock was far from a position of dominance in Israeli music. The rock musicians and the producers of meaning did succeed in constructing meanings of ‘Israeli-ness’, authenticity and artistry around the music. However, other styles of popular music, as well as the preservation of the ‘Shirei Eretz Israel’ tradition, were still present in the field and generally considered more ‘Israeli’ than the local pop/rock (singers such as Yehoram Gaon, Hava Alberstein and Shlomo Artzi are prominent examples here). In other words, the crystallising of a rock-oriented production of meaning position, and the musical output of the elite group did establish a position of Israeli rock in the field, but this position was not yet dominant.

The eighties: rock dominates

It was during the 1980s that local pop/rock became dominant in the field of popular music in Israel. The rock-oriented production of meaning, as a monopolistic mechanism of consecration and of crowning, and the elite group, as a credential mechanism, were the main factors that constructed this domination.

Fostering new rockers

The general orientation towards rock, and the presence of ‘quality’ Israeli rock in the media, contributed to the rise of local rock to dominance in two major ways.

Firstly, the local record companies have traditionally worked with the conception that the music which is played most on radio is the music which is going to sell most. With the increase in the amount of Israeli rock played on radio, and with the favourable reviews of local rock (mostly that of the elite group members), CBS-Israel and Hed-Artzi, the two major companies, became much more interested in local rock. Thus, in addition to the continuing work of the elite, the companies offered contracts to a growing number of local rock musicians and groups — with all the accompanying public relations, which made the presence of rock in the media more salient. The work of these musicians was received, in general, with sympathy by the critics. But the sympathy was basically for the phenomenon itself, of ‘professional’, ‘sophisticated’ and ‘credible’ rock being made in Israel. Tislam (a group) and Rami Kleinstein are typical examples of this attitude. Some musicians, however, were immediately crowned as ‘important artists’ and their work consecrated as ‘masterpieces’. This kind of evaluation was granted to musicians whose music was interpreted as a ‘successful’ and ‘authentic’ combination of rock aesthetic with elements of ‘orientalism’ or ‘Mediterranean-ism’.

One such musician is Ehud Banai, whose two records — Ehud Banai and the Refugees (1986) and Karov (1989) — were received enthusiastically by the critics and radio editors. Another notable example is Yehuda Poliker. After two records of straight guitar-rock (as singer, composer and guitarist of the group Benzeen), which earned him high regard as one of Israel’s best rockers ever, he made two ‘back to the roots’ records: his own rock-oriented interpretation of contemporary Greek songs (his parents origin), translated to Hebrew. Then, in 1988, together with his regular lyricist and co-producer Yakov Gilad, he made what most of the critics regard as his ‘masterpiece’ — Ashes and Dust. In this record he merged a variety of musical influences — guitar rock, ‘gothic’ post-punk, Greek and Arabic
music – in order to express his and Gilad’s most personal and unique experience: growing up in Israel as sons of Auschwitz survivors. With this work, with this content, Israeli rock became as ‘locally authentic’ as any art form can be.

The incorporation of ‘oriental’ and ‘Mediterranean’ elements into the rock aesthetic by Poliker, Banai and others, and its appreciation as ‘authentic’, should be understood as a response to, as the Israeli version of the general wave of ‘ethnic rock’, one of the streams of ‘quality rock’ (Talking Heads, Peter Gabriel and others) during the 1980s. It was also a response to the so-called ‘musica mizrakhit’ (a.k.a. ‘oriental music’, ‘cassette music’) phenomenon in Israel. This music, as a kind of oriental pop, challenged the ‘local authenticity’ of both Israeli rock and Shirei Eretz Israel (Cohen and Shiloah 1985; Regev 1986; Halper et al. 1989). With musicians like Banai and Poliker, Israeli rock assessed its dominance both in terms of being contemporaneous with the art of rock and in terms of ‘local authenticity’.
Secondly, the presence of a monopolistic, rock-oriented production of meaning position brought a drastic change in the position of the so-called 'fringe' groups of Israeli rock. With the relative absence of rock critics in earlier decades, most of those groups – mainly playing their own version of the relevant waves in rock ('beat' groups in the 1960s, 'progressive' groups in the 1970s) in small clubs – remained unknown and undocumented. In the 1980s, the contemporary 'fringe' groups (by now mostly 'post-punk' in their styles) became a major focus of attention for rock writers. A scene of 'alternative', 'fringe' and 'avant-garde' groups seemed to emerge in Tel Aviv in the early 1980s, when in fact such a scene had existed, in one way or another, since the mid-1960s. The change was in the media coverage of the phenomenon, not in its existence. Concerts at the Tel Aviv rock clubs by Siouxsie and the Banshees, Bauhaus, Tuxedomoon, Peter Hammill and others, enhanced the aura of the local 'fringe' scene as being with the forefront of rock in that period. Rami Fortis is the prominent musician to emerge from this context to a local and international career (as a member of Minimal Compact). Following Fortis, the 'fringe' position has become a constant supplier of rock groups and musicians – usually evaluated as 'artistic' and 'serious' to the local field. Notable examples are Mashina and the Friends of Natasha.

The elite group as credential mechanism

In addition to their continuing work, the influence of the elite members extended beyond their own music, in two basic ways.

Firstly, support musicians, who had been working with elite members during the 1970s, moved during the following decade to the front of their own musical projects, usually with critical acclaim from the press. Most notable here are female musicians such as Corinne Allal, Asthar Shamir, Nurit Galron and Yehudit Ravitz. Ravitz was a support vocalist in several of the elite group records and later went 'solo'. Her record from 1984, a soft-rock production, and her 1987 record, a Springsteen-influenced production, both containing for the most part her own compositions, made her the leading female rock musician in Israel.

Secondly, elite members themselves, and musicians or producers who have worked with them, engaged in collaborations – as producers, arrangers and composers – with so-called 'middle of the road' singers. These collaborations drastically increased the quantity of pop/rock in the local field. The whole genre of 'middle of the road' has shifted, as a result, into the rock aesthetic. The main examples of this tendency are female singers. Most notable is Ofra Haza, whose shift from typical middle of the road, non-rock, 'schmaltzy' ballads, to 'ethnic' pop paved her way to international success.

Conversion to rock

Another salient phenomenon which supports the dominance of rock is the 'rockisation' of musicians. All through the 1970s, and into the 1980s, musicians who resisted the rock aesthetic occupied a prominent position in the field of popular music in Israel. They adhered to pre-rock, not necessarily Anglo-American styles, or to the Shirei Eretz Israel tradition. During the 1980s, however, some of these musicians converted to rock: they adopted the belief in the 'artistry' of rock and incorporated into their music the basic features of the rock aesthetic. One example
is singer Chava Alberstein. A performer of folk songs and of Shirei Eretz Israel in the 1970s, she then adopted electric instrumentation, collaborated with rock producers and, most significantly, began writing her own material – gaining thereby much appreciation for being an important local ‘rock artist’.

Another example is Shlomo Artzi. A very popular musician since the early 1970s, he more than once expressed his dislike of rock music, referring to it in interviews as ‘noise’. His music in the 1970s was in the tradition of singers like Frank Sinatra or Andy Williams. In the early 1980s, alongside a much publicised ‘self discovery’ process, which was also expressed in his lyrics, he transformed his style drastically. In addition to the self-expressive lyrics, he changed the use of his voice into a shouting, hoarse style of singing, adopted electric instrumentation, and declared in interviews his commitment to ‘art’ and to ‘rock’. Although this change made him even more popular – in fact, his 1980s albums have all been huge commercial successes in terms of the Israeli market – most of the critics remained suspicious and doubtful about his ‘credibility’ as an artist. However, Artzi and Alberstein demonstrate a general tendency in the field of popular music in Israel during the 1980s, to equate ‘artistic’ or ‘authentic’ popular music with the rock aesthetic. Hence the conversion of non-rock musicians into rock, in order to be considered ‘seriously’ as ‘artists’.

Thus, in the 1980s, the transformation of ‘Israeli popular music’ into ‘Israeli pop/rock’ was completed. Pop/rock dominated the local field of popular music in quantitative and qualitative terms. In the second half of the 1980s, about 90 per cent of the local music played on Israeli radio stations was music which incorporated rock elements. In addition, the field was concentrated around an artistic hierarchy which placed at its top those musicians and those works which, from a rock-aesthetic perspective, were defined as the most ‘authentic’.

Theoretical remarks

This section summarises and generalises from the Israeli case of pop/rock, and refers to three theoretical points. One is the general process of the emergence of pop/rock to a position of dominance and of ‘contemporary local authenticity’; second is the nature of this new ‘local authenticity’; and third is the place of pop/rock in larger cultural processes.

Pop/rock becoming ‘local authentic music’

In light of the case of Israel, the emergence of pop/rock to a position of dominance – its recognition as ‘local authentic’ music – might be characterised as the result of a contest consisting of two stages: the first one involving the constitution of a position of pop/rock in the local musical field, the second consisting of the rise of this position to dominance, constructing the field according to its aesthetic world view.

(1) Constituting a position of pop/rock means two things:

(A) Establishing a production of meaning apparatus, which produces rock’s meaning as ‘art’. This point is particularly important, in light of the massive presence of pop/rock which has been grasped, sometimes, as the opposite of good taste, of art, of local authenticity. The crystallising of an authoritative, rock-oriented production of meaning position in the local
field has been, in the case of Israel, the consequence of a strategy consisting of the following steps:

(i) Presentation of rock as art by reporting and citing rock meanings as they were produced in the USA and UK;

(ii) Adoption of rock dispositions, local evaluations of foreign rock and monopolisation of the production of meaning spots in the local media;

(iii) Application of rock criteria for the evaluation of local music.

(B) Producing local rock music which is evaluated by the production of meaning apparatus as 'artistic' and 'authentic', to the point of consecrating some of it as 'masterpieces'. The focus here is on a triangle whose components are heresy, orthodoxy and initial position in the field. The adoption of rock dispositions and of elements of the rock aesthetic, such as amplification, electric instruments, 'personal' lyrics etc. includes, as part of the belief in the 'artistry' of rock, an attitude of heresy towards traditional patterns of music. Justification for this adoption in terms of 'uniqueness' in relation to Anglo-American pop/rock implies, however, a measure of preservation, an amount of orthodoxy to traditional patterns – expressed in musical instruments, lyrics, melody lines etc. In addition, the fusion of rock with local tradition seems not to be accepted as legitimate, at this primary stage, unless it is produced by musicians with traditional credentials. It is this careful dosage of heresy and orthodoxy, produced from an institutionalised position, that enables musicians to claim that their music is no less 'locally authentic' than the traditional. Moreover, with the support of the production of meaning apparatus, the local pop/rock gains recognition as an 'updated' authenticity. Jointly, then, musicians and producers of meaning, relying on their belief in rock as art, succeed in this first stage in crystallising a local position of rock which defines itself and is recognised as 'art', as 'authentic'.

(2) The emergence of pop/rock to dominance is a consequence of the success in establishing an 'artistic/authentic' rock position. The group of musicians who have initially taken this position become by themselves a credential apparatus. Working as producers, composers and arrangers for other, younger performers, or functioning as mentors for musicians who have worked as their sidemen, the elder musicians extend their primal aura to the new ones. The producers of meaning, holding by now a firm position as 'art critics', constantly and exclusively apply rock criteria for the evaluation of local music, resulting in continuous exposure and acclaim for 'unknown' rock musicians. A salient phenomenon here is that of 'rockisation': older musicians, after having rejected pop/rock, now acknowledge the 'artistry' of rock, and are going through a kind of conversion to it, becoming pop/rock performers. Thus, through evaluation and extension of aura, the initial elite group and the producers of meaning construct the local field of popular music, during the second stage, according to their own rock aesthetic world view. The core of the field is taken by a hierarchy which places 'authentic' rock at its top, consecrating it as the true artistic and musical expression of contemporary local culture.
The nature of 'local authenticity'

Music in Israel has been from an early point the focus of contest over the definition of an 'authentic Israeli' identity. The kind of 'local authenticity' which dominated Israeli music - and other local cultures as well - before the coming of pop/rock, might be termed 'singular authenticity'. For its believers, the music that preceded pop/rock symbolised the existence of 'Israeli-ness', of local culture, as something unique and exclusive: a cultural entity which stands by its own, different from any other cultural entity. The 'local authenticity' embodied in pop/rock is of a different kind. It might be called 'dual authenticity'. Pop/rock expresses a conception according to which Israeli culture, or local culture in general, should be, at one and the same time, both local and cosmopolitan. Updated in its contents and patterns with the cultural practices in the large, international metropolis of the West (New York, London), but also locally typical and unique. Israeli rock critics believe that local pop/rock, at its best, when exposed and promoted in the right way, should have artistic (and commercial) success in the USA and UK.

Local authenticity, globalisation, art

What is proposed here is, in fact, a theory of legitimisation: legitimisation, in the local culture, of fusions and of influences which are usually referred to by terms such as 'cultural imperialism' or 'globalisation' of culture.

The Israeli case, as already mentioned in the beginning of this article, is not the only example of adoptions of rock and of the emergence to dominance of pop/rock. These national styles of rock are accepted in the West, in the capitals of rock, as the 'authentic' expressions of cultures at the periphery of the West.

It seems, in light of the Israeli case, that this 'authenticity' is not self-evident. The definition of a musical pattern as typical and unique to a certain local culture, is the result of a contest, of power relations between two basic positions: the position of 'purism', of 'folklore', and the position of pop/rock. The success of producers of local pop/rock in appropriating the position of 'local authenticity' reflects a legitimisation of the penetration of non-local patterns of musical practice. This legitimisation is possible because of the adoption of the belief in the meanings of rock, belief in the 'authenticity' and the 'artistry' of this music. It is an adoption of a principle of hierarchy which ranks popular music products according to their artistic value, as this value is determined by rock aesthetic criteria.

In this sense, the emergence of local pop/rock to dominance is the consequence of the application of the hierarchical distinction between 'art' and 'non-art' which rules in the cultural field of Western culture. The dominance of pop/rock reflects a further application of this principle, of this hierarchy, to cultural forms which were not part of this structure. Indeed it reflects the expansion of the rule of 'art' to a growing number of cultural forms and cultural practices - a process which is central to the so-called 'postmodern' culture.

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Select discography of Israeli rock

(The following list refers to original releases. Some of this music was re-issued in a different form on CD.)

1. The elite group

Apocalypse, Apocalypse. CBS, 1972
Matti Caspi, Matti Caspi. CBS, 1974
Matti Caspi. CBS, 1976

Ark Eisenstein, Poozy. Phenodor-Litranone. 1969
Shoob. Phenodor-Litranone. 1970 (with Shalom Hanoch)
At Aavkor's Grass. Phenodor-Litranone. 1971 (with Miki Gavrielov)
Slow Down. Phenodor-Litranone. 1974 (with Miki Gavrielov)
Sitting on the fence. CBS, 1982 (with Yitzhak Kpletter)
Likes to Stay At Home. CBS, 1986 (with Miki Gavrielov)

Shalom Hanoch, Man Within Himself. CBS, 1977
White Wedding, CBS, 1981
Waiting for Mashia. CBS, 1985

Poozy in Pita. Hed Artzi, 1974

Yitzhak Klepter, Yitzhak. CBS, 1981

Katz Aheret (Somedhin Different) (Shlomo Cronich, Shem-Tov Levi), No Names. Isadisc, 1975 (Hebrew title: Katz Aheret)
Ariel Silver, Ariel Silver. Hataklit, 1977
Ariel Silver and Reish. Hataklit, 1978

Tamou (Shalom Hanoch, Ariel Silver), The Orange Season is Over. CBS, 1976
II. The eighties

Chava Alberstein, Immigrants. CBS. 1986
   London. CBS. 1989
Corinne Allal, Antarctica. NMC. 1989
Shlomo Artzi, Dance. Hed Artzi. 1984
Galit Atar, Mid September. CBS. 1987
Ehud Barai, Ehud Barai and the Refugees. CBS. 1986
   Korov (Nearby). CBS. 1989
Benzeen, Twenty Four Hours. CBS. 1982
   Nightshift. CBS. 1994
Rami Fortis (with Berri Sakharof), Tales from the Box. Nana Disk. 1988
   2400?. Nana Disk. 1990
Ofra Haza, Temptations. Hed Artzi. 1982
Rami Kleinsteine, The Day of the Bomb. Helicon. 1986
Mashina, Mashina. CBS. 1985
   Death Rate Research Association. CBS. 1990
Yehuda Poliker, Ashes and Dust. CBS. 1988
Yehudit Ravitz, Silk Road. CBS. 1984
   Coming from Lane. CBS. 1987
Tislam, Loud Radio. CBS. 1982