MUSIC AND THE GLOBAL ORDER

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■ **Abstract** Often music is used as a metaphor of global social and cultural pro-
cesses; it also constitutes an enduring process by and through which people interact
within and across cultures. The review explores these processes with reference to an an-
thropological and ethnomusicological account of globalization that has gathered pace
over the last decade. It outlines some of the main ethnographic and historical modes of
engagement with persistent neoliberal and other music industry–inspired global myth
making (particularly that associated with world music), and argues for an approach
to musical globalization that contextualizes those genres, styles, and practices that
circulate across cultural borders in specific institutional sites and histories.

INTRODUCTION

The diverse musics prominent in the mass-mediated spaces of urban Western
Europe and North America over the last two decades have challenged habits of
thinking about global modernity in terms of westernization, modernization, ur-
banization, and "cultural gray-out" (Lomax 1968). The critical challenge has been
complicated by the more expansive claims emanating from the music industry
and music press about world music, anxious, in the late 1980s, to inject energy
into record sales and attentive to newly exploitable markets outside their tradi-
tional zones of operation. World music, according to these claims, testified to a
radically new political moment and more equitable cultural relations between the
West and the rest. Defining the proper relationship between the critical agenda and
the rhetoric of those promoting global music commerce has been a major issue.
The problem is not, of course, exclusive to the study of music (see Appadurai
2002, Ferguson 2002, Tsing 2002).

Globalization implies notions of change and social transformation. The critical
questions have been, For whom, For whose benefit, How, and When? Some re-
searchers consider such questions within a relatively recent time frame. Small me-
dia technologies[1] permit easy dissemination of and access to previously unknown,

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[1]I follow Sreberni-Mohamedi's (1994) definition of small media to refer primarily to those
posttransistor and postmicrochip technologies that have transformed global media space.

remote, or socially exclusive musical styles (Manuel 1993). The accelerated trans-national movements of people, capital, commodities, and information energized and crossfertilized music making in the diasporas in the major urban centers of Western Europe and North America and elsewhere (Slobin 2003). The permeability of nationstate borders partially erased by regionalization focused attention on border zones as encounter and creativity sites (Simonett 2001). The approaching (Christian) millennium stimulated musical exchange in (and "as") pilgrimage in anticipation of a dawning new era (Bohlman 1996, 2002). Musical practices heralded general social, political, and epistemic shifts from a modern- to a late- or postmodern order. For others writers, more could be gained by stressing underlying continuities: long histories of musical exchange in colonial and missionary encounter (Bohlman 2003, Radano & Bohlman 2000a); deepening patterns of dependence on metropolitan markets and tastes in music-industry production on the peripheries (Guilbault 1993); the reinscription in new media and its discursive apparatus of colonial conceptions of otherness and difference (Erlmann 1999; Feld 1994, 2000); processes of musical appropriation that both maintain and disguise Western high-modernist aesthetic hierarchies (Born & Hesmondhalgh 2000a); and the reproduction of the hegemonic relationships between centers and peripheries (Taylor 1997).

To tease out shifts in theoretical direction and emphasis in anthropological, ethnomusicological, and other writing on music in the global order is difficult. The period covered in this review (from the late 1980s to 2004) is relatively short. Individual writers, as the paragraph above indicates, can be hard to pin down. Publication dates do not relate simply to the circulation and development of ideas in the field. The dynamics of discussion across rigid disciplinary and subdisciplinary boundaries are complex. Some broad shifts can be detected, though. Critical caution has replaced the highly polarized theoretical positions and millennial anxieties that previously characterized the field. An interdisciplinary frame of reference predominates. Finer-grained historical and ethnographic approaches to global music circulation, with reference to specific genres and sites of intercultural encounter, predominate.

Recent scholarly work may be seen as an attempt to mediate some of the sharply opposed viewpoints of the early 1990s, particularly those of Erlmann and Slobin. Erlmann's vision of music in the global order draws partly on Jameson's analysis of late capitalism, a system geared, in Jameson's view, toward the orderly production and consumption of difference (Erlmann 1994, 1996, 1999; see also Jameson 1991). His view is also rooted in postcolonial critique, in which a colonial global imagination symbolically acknowledges the entangled cultural and historical destinies of the West and the rest, yet mystifies the violently exploitative relations between the two (Moore-Gilbert 1997). Erlmann points to long-term continuities that date back to the 1870s, in which contemporary world music and world beat can be understood in terms of the colonial contexts in which European, Black South African, and Black North American musics circulated and crossfertilized.

Erlmann argues that the period between 1870 and 1920, the high point of European imperial expansion, was a moment of take-off for globalization, after which it took a "single, inexorable form" (Erlmann 1999, p. 15), a mode of representation constituting the dominant narrative of modernity. The late nineteenth century, for Erlmann, was characterized by the panaroma, the fetish, and the spectacle, a representational regime defining colonial selves in relation to colonized others in which "the lives and thinking of large numbers were beginning to be wholly enclosed, structured, and even governed by the images they had created for themselves" (Erlmann 1999, p. 176). The late twentieth century was, by contrast, characterized by an increasing tendency toward the presentational and the mimetic. First world aesthetic production, as characterized by world music and world beat, came to seek the "real presence" of the Other rather than a represented abstraction, an intimate entanglement of sounds and bodies in music and dance underpinned at the ideological level by an "all out relationism" and "empathetic sociality" (Erlmann 1999, p. 177). The signs of crisis are evident, but as Erlmann emphasizes, these are simply the currently visible aspects of a systemic crisis that has been integral to colonial modernity from the outset.

Slobin's methods and conclusions stand diametrically opposed (Slobin 1992, 1993). Where Erlmann sees the expanding and totalizing reach of global capitalism, Slobin sees "no overall sense to the system, no hidden agency which controls the flow of culture in a global world" (Slobin 1992, p. 5). He adopts Appadurai's well-known language of "-scapes," exploring the ways in which they articulate particular translocal musical contexts. He develops and nuances a notion of interacting and mutually defining "sub-," "super-," and "intercultures." Intercultures are further nuanced; Slobin distinguishes "industrial," "diasporic," and "affinity" intercultures, shaped by music industries operating outside of their home base, population movements across nation-state boundaries, and consumer choice, respectively. Developing an array of analytic terms that enable anthropologists or ethnomusicologists to shift and link scales in their analysis, Slobin focuses firmly on local projects, on "micromusical" scenes in which musicians and listeners across Europe and North America (the "West" of his subtitle) learn to code switch, negotiate levels, and give shape, form, and meaning to new musical scenes in a global context.

Slobin is reluctant to see "system" at work at the current moment of globalization and is consequently resistant to building a systemic theoretical language to describe it. He wonders whether "any simple analytical system will capture the pathos and the power of music in today's world of rapid deterritorialization and redrawing of boundaries, constant threat of terrorism or armed conflict, and simultaneity of marketing systems" (1993, p. 10). The analytical terms he proposes (the "-scapes," "inter-," "sub-," and "supercultures") are cautiously qualified as steps toward clarification and description but no more. Both musically and theoretically, all is in flux in Slobin's vision of globalization. Its only consistently organizing force is consumer choice, which, in Slobin's account, offers modern subjects more-or-less limitless opportunities for self-fashioning.

To identify Erlmann and Slobin in terms of a pessimistic Marxian critique on the one hand and an optimistic radical liberalism on the other would be somewhat reductive. Marxian critique often has enthused on the topic of musical globalization. Lipsitz, for instance, saw in globalized electronic media a displacement of the "lost" public sphere of the industrial city (Lipsitz 1994). Swedenburg, Back, and others consider the emancipatory potential of "globalization from below" within a specifically Marxian framework, focusing on the global circulation of Black (Back 1995–1996) or Middle Eastern (Swedenburg 2001) sounds and styles. But Erlmann and Slobin did exchange views, and these exchanges gave shape to a certain theoretical polarization in ethnomusicology in the early 1990s. Erlmann (1996) questioned Slobin's gravitation to the local as the site of resistance, self-fashioning, and transformation and as the appropriate focus of ethnographic research. Slobin, for his part, was reluctant to interpret globalization as a systemic and totalizing system of difference production, and these comments were at least partly directed at Erlmann and the traditions of Marxian critique on which he draws. An opposition between global and local, system and agency, pessimism and optimism, top-down and bottom-up approaches to globalization, and Marxian and liberal has thus been inscribed firmly in the ethnomusicological approach to globalization from the beginning.

Much of that written in recent years may be a mediation of these two positions. The top-down perspective has been localized: Specific global projects are understood in specific institutional contexts. Their capacity to shape the world exactly as they intend has been questioned and their world-shaping rhetoric socially, culturally, and historically contextualized. The major recording corporations no longer are considered the only site of agency in the global circulation of musical style. A number of analyses stress the importance of state, civic, and other institutional sponsors of world music scenes, radio and television broadcasting, small independent record labels, academic ethnomusicology programs, civic arts exchanges, and concert-promoting organizations (see, for example, Brusila 2003, Stokes 1994b). Efforts to understand the relationships, emerging convergences, and conflicts of interest, cultural style, and reckonings of scale in such contexts are well underway.

The bottom-up perspective has been broadened theoretically. The production of locality and place is no longer considered the inevitable and benign result of small-scale, face-to-face interaction, but instead a project in which many actors have an interest and a stake. Locality, as many investigators have stressed, is constructed, enacted, and rhetorically defended with an eye (and ear) on others, both near and far. The millennial anxieties that hovered around the topic of globalization and fed some of the more extreme theoretical pronouncements in the 1990s has given way to a more tempered and phlegmatic tone and a renewed commitment to detailed ethnographic and historical descriptions.

The mediation of top-down and bottom-up perspectives being described here relates in significant ways to Tsing's agenda for an anthropology of globalization (Tsing 2002). Tsing suggests the study of globalization is complicated both by its neoliberal propagandists and by some of its Marxian critics, notably Harvey

(see, in particular, Harvey 1989). For both neoliberals and Marxian critics, according to Tsing, culture dresses up underlying economic processes. If global culture for neoliberals is simply a pleasurable by-product of a world with no borders or boundaries, for Harvey and other Marxian theorists it is an anxiety-ridden space in which subjects struggle to cope with poorly grasped perceptions of economically driven global space-time compression. For Tsing, critics in both traditions problematically put globalization beyond the bounds of human agency, dissent, and resistance, albeit for very different reasons.

Tsing suggests, instead, a grasp of globalization as a set of projects with cultural and institutional specificities; projects that construct, refer to, dream of, and fantasize of, in very diverse ways, a world as their zone of operation. Globalization in this sense is nothing new. What the modern period has added is a certain self-consciousness, a certain obsession with units and scales. She sees "global" and "local" not as places or processes, but as key discursive elements in world-making projects, around which intensifying self-consciousness and anxiety hovers. The institutional and discursive elements of such world-making projects are the focus of her proposal for a critical ethnography of globalization, one that focuses on the "located specificity of globalist dreams" but that also attends to their hegemonic dynamics and the complex processes by which they interact.

What, though, does the subject of music and dance add to such discussions of globalization? In what ways do practices of world making in and through music and dance differ from those that work in and through medical science, religion, film, environmental politics, or computer games? And how have ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, and others responded to this specificity? The field of globalization study is dominated by social science, which often gives the impression of being ill-equipped, or disinclined, to consider issues specific to music and dance. Academic musicology, for its part, has not always welcomed the insights, methods, and technical vocabularies of social science. Many ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, and popular music scholars writing on musical globalization are conscious of a gap and seek to overcome it, with various consequences. These questions are addressed in this review.

GLOBALIZATION THEORY AND WORLD MUSIC

The histories and trajectories of globalization theory in the social sciences and Western neoliberal economic theory are related, rendering particularly difficult the development of an appropriately critical theory of globalization. A characteristic reflex of those writing about music from various disciplinary perspectives is to critique world music, where some of the most pernicious neoliberal myth-making may, indeed, be identified (Brusila 2003, Feld 1994, Frith 2000, Schade-Poulsen 1999, Stokes 2003, Taylor 1997, Théberge 2003, Turino 2000). In effect, these studies are critiques of neoliberal globalization discourse, though one may argue that they are fed by the peculiar energies and anxieties that emerge when

the most deeply naturalized and most pleasure-imbued ideologies are confronted critically.

The term world music is not, of course, remotely adequate for descriptive or critical purposes. The term dates from 1987, when independent record company executives and enthusiasts met in London to determine ways to market to British-based consumers already-circulating commercial recordings of popular musics from many parts of the world. For broadly similar reasons, comparable terms, such as *weltbeat* and *musique mondiale*, emerged elsewhere in Europe at roughly the same time and in Australia a little later (Brusila 2003, Mitchell 1993, Taylor 1997). The term world music was heavily promoted by the music press in the United Kingdom, and later in the United States, and eventually stuck. Billboard began a world music chart and a Grammy category for world music was devised in 1991 (Taylor 1997). The category incorporated various Asian, Latin, African, and Caribbean mass-mediated genres previously well-known in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, London, Paris, and Berlin, both within and outside the diasporic enclaves in which they originally circulated. Also, some ethnographic classics were revived as a result (such as Colin Turnbull's 1957 central African recordings; see Feld 2000). Recording companies and festival organizations such as womad promoted musicians such as Youssou N'Dour, Fela Kuti, Manu Dibangu, Khaled, Aminah, Nusret Fatah Ali Khan, and many others as "world music artists," a definition many would come to understand and accept (if at all) rather slowly (see Dibangu 1994 for an exceptionally self-aware account of the process; see also N'Dour 1992 and Veal 2000, on Fela Kuti).

The expression world music also incorporated the work of rock musicians such as Brian Eno, Peter Gabriel, Robert Fripp, and David Byrne, and later, Sting, Bjork, and others, who incorporate non-Western sounds through multitracking, sampling, and live performance. This rock-oriented musical exoticism was distinguished as world beat in the United States (Feld 1994), though the distinction was not so carefully maintained in Europe. In England, world dance fusion, ethnic techno, radical global pop, and other such terms marked further subcultural distinctions later in the 1990s (Hesmondhalgh 2000). A complex discourse emerged, intended primarily to energize and enthuse compact disk (CD) buyers, and is living its own unruly life in music journalism (*Songlines*, *The Rough Guide to World Music* publications, *Folk Roots*) and on the fringes of academia in conferences, artist-in-residence programs, concert tours, workshops, and academic publications.

An early and persistent critical response to world music, by and large, has been to ignore the pervasive promotional discourse and concentrate ethnographically on musical practices in basic contexts of production, circulation, and consumption (Guilbault 1993, Schade-Poulsen 1999). Guilbault's study of Zouk in the French Antilles described a local industry increasingly transformed by its engagement with the French metropolitan market. Zouk is a popular Caribbean hybrid genre that has an underlying kinship with the complexly Africanized forms of the European quadrille, which have circulated in the Caribbean for over a century, and is thus closely connected to the popular musics of Haiti, Cuba, Dominica, and

other Caribbean islands (see Aparicio 2000, Austerlitz 1997, Averill 1997, Pacini-Hernandez 1995). It was appreciated in the Antilles, however, for its peculiarly local flavor. This local flavor, as Guilbault (1997) describes, developed in a complex interaction with Caribbean and other diasporas in the French capital, with an emerging White liberal taste for *musique mondiale*, and with Parisian recording studios (then heavily subsidized by the French state) ready to experiment with these new creative forces and potential markets.

Local production in the Antilles thus responded to metropolitan demands for a carefully packaged otherness: clean (i.e., Western art music-derived) tonalities, vocal qualities, and instrumental textures with carefully foregrounded symbols of identifiable otherness. Zouk became a significant source of pride for the local government, particularly when a zouk singer and song were eventually chosen to represent a multicultural France in the Eurovision Song Contest. Zouk production was heavily encouraged through subsidies by the local state for export, though Guilbault carefully notes how the promotion of local industry and local identity deepens cultural and economic dependence on metropolitan France.

The fetishization of the local flavor is most intense in the cultural work taking place in and surrounding recording studios, an important site in which world music practices recently have been explored (Langlois 1996, Meintjes 2003, Schade-Poulsen 1999). Indeed, studio workers are often explicitly charged by their owners with the production of a local sound for global consumption, though the "locality" in question must be produced under extraordinarily dispersed and fragmented conditions of production. Gallo's Down Town studio was charged with producing distinctively Zulu sounds of mbaqanga, as Meintjes describes, though it did so with the aid of expensively imported, studio-technology expertise and ideas about African music (Meintjes 2003). Studios specializing in rai, whether in Algeria, Morocco, or France, blend local and global sounds at the mixing board to produce the mystique of Oran, the fabled birthplace of the genre in western Algeria. Studio engineers here, as in South Africa, devise elaborate techniques to elicit manipulable and appropriately local sounds from musicians often profoundly alienated by the conditions of production in studios (Langlois 1996, Schade-Poulsen 1999).

The global dimensions of the local product are often understood in different ways by record companies, studio managers, technicians, and musicians. For many struggling musicians, it would appear that the global stage is a fantasy, shaped by Khaled, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, and other local talents that have improbably disappeared into global space. Studio managers and record companies, by all accounts, easily manipulate such fantasies. Studio managers, such as those described by Meintjes (2003) in the context of mbaqanga and Langlois (1996) in the context of rai, have cultivated significant influence as gatekeepers, though their grasp of the global market for their products and protégées is limited to the networks they themselves have cultivated. Many studio managers, such as the rai *editeurs* in Oujda, Morocco, discussed by Langlois (1996), see themselves quite clearly as part of a structured hierarchy comprising other such gatekeepers, both within the world of rai and elsewhere. Oujda's *editeurs*, for example, produce rai as world

music but aim for a niche at the lower end of the North African and Beur (French Maghrebi) cassette market, as a gap in rai develops and widens between North African–based cassette production and French-based CD production for a broader European and North American audience.

Global strategies, visions, fantasies, and exercises in self-promotion on the part of record companies also should be understood ethnographically, and more research (following Negus 1992) could be done in this area. Working notions of "the world" in recording companies are the outcome of often quite complex conflicts and boardroom discussion, of institutional histories connecting those companies to particular parts of the world, and, it would seem, of a certain element of chance. For example, Barclay was a small Paris-based independent recording company that developed some expertise in marketing French immigrant musics to a broader public alongside its jazz and French chanson operations. They became a subsidiary of PolyGram, a Dutch-German transnational developing a portfolio of small recording companies with experience in European immigrant markets and audiences. Shortly after, Barclay recorded and distributed Khaled's 1992 CD *Didi*, which turned out to be a major commercial success, not only in the Arab world but also across Europe and North America. Its success in Europe and North America was not anticipated by Barclay, judging by the fact that the original 1992 CD only contained transcriptions of the song lyrics in Modern Standard Arabic. Barclay was clearly imagining and prioritizing a mainstream Arab audience, rather than a significant Anglophone or Francophone listenership. If the global visions of companies such as Barclay emerge rather haphazardly, they do so as a result of situated, specific institutional outlooks, cultures, and histories that are amenable to ethnographic description and discussion.

WORLD MUSIC AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

The cultural imperialism hypothesis is clearly a poor guide to understanding the global circulation of music today, whether as world music or anything else. Certainly, the six large, transnational, music-recording companies, the so-called big six[2] (see Burnett 1996), have secured a significant degree of control over and profit from the circulation of music in recorded form across much of the planet (see also Laing 2003). Their own mechanisms for understanding the situation, though, are self-serving and provide, at best, an extremely partial vantage point on the issue of global music circulation (Harker 1997). To consider only the circulation of

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[2]The big six are Time-Warner, Thorn-EMI, Bertelsmann, Sony, PolyGram, and Matsushita. Their efforts to control the global circulation of music recordings have traditionally focused on lobbying for copyright legislation in parts of the world in which cassette and CD piracy is endemic, and on partnerships with local firms to establish local dominance and monopolize retail outlets. For a brief discussion of Raks and PolyGram in Turkey, in many ways typifying the transnationals' strategies in the third world, see Stokes 2003.

recordings, the major players in the industry, despite their best efforts, have little control over copying and piracy endemic across much of the planet or over illegal internet sharing in their own backyards. They certainly have no control over the meanings, practices, and pleasures of listening, dancing, and partying at the site of consumption or the countless local forms of rock, pop, country, rap, and hip-hop to which they give rise (Regev 1997, Mitchell 2001). Even where a clear threat to their business is detected, as in copying, pirating, and illegal web sharing, their efforts to intervene have had relatively little success.

It is not so easy, however, to dismiss the charge of cultural imperialism. Fundamental asymmetries and dependencies in musical exchange have deepened all too evidently. European and North American rock and pop superstars are prominent in charts, music stores, and cassette stands across much of the third world; the reverse is not true. The large majority of these are White North American men: Electronic public space in the global era is increasingly male dominated (Taylor 1997). As Virolle (1995) notes of rai's global success, a genre entirely dominated by female singers such as Cheikha Rimitti in the 1940s and 1950s was almost entirely taken over by men, led by Cheb Khaled, in a few brief years of globalization in the 1980s (Virolle 1995). North African patriarchy failed to keep women quiet. But, Virolle wonders, "will the market system of the major record and entertainment companies manage to accomplish such an aim? Will these women be reduced to silence once again. . .?" (Virolle 2003, p. 229)[3]. Aparicio points to the tendencies of producers, musicians and consumers acting within a global frame of reference to consider music cultures in hierarchical relationships with one another and to configure these hierarchies in gendered and quasi-domestic terms. The femininity of various Latin genres is constantly stressed in their commodified circulation in North America, in promotional language, and in visual iconography. It is also reproduced in the language of local nationalist ideologues in many Caribbean and Latin American contexts to idealize certain kinds of cultural interaction (particularly Anglo-Saxon/Latin) and to marginalize others (particularly Latin/African) (Aparicio 2000). The globalization of music cements the hegemony of significant racial and gendered hierarchies in many parts of the world.

International copyright law and music-industry practice ensure that sounds from the peripheries can be exploited with impunity, whether songs, samples, or keyboard sound patches (Théberge 2003). World music discourse wraps in a warm language of mutually beneficial, politically benign exchange the exploitation of non-Western sounds. This discourse has strategic dimensions when questions of appropriation come to the fore. Paul Simon's promotion of Graceland as part of the struggle against apartheid certainly fell on receptive ears, of both Black and White audiences, upon its release in South Africa (Meintjes 1990), deflecting significant

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[3]Counterexamples can be adduced, of course. Bithell remarks that the success of the Mystere des Voix Bulgares tour in Corsica facilitated the entry of women into previously male-dominated polyphonic genres and the commercial success of Corsican mixed-gender ensembles in the world music market (Bithell 2003).

criticism directed at Thorn-EMI's profits and Simon's paternalistic attitude toward South African musicians. Lip service to the politics of unequal exchange has been deeply internalized in world music production. The liner notes to Martin Cradick's *Spirit of the Forest* CD (1993), which makes extensive use of samples of Cameroonian Baka polyphony, indicate that royalties for the CD will be given to the Baka to "protect their forest and to develop it in a sustainable way without losing their knowledge and their culture" (cited in Feld 2000, p. 271). Pseudo-radical arguments abound that justify appropriation on racial grounds or via poststructuralist arguments about the death of the author. Such gestures are common, although basic music-industry business practices and habits ensure that exchanges between North and South remain profoundly asymmetrical.

Many discussions of musical globalization stress that processes of extraction, commodification, appropriation, and exploitation seldom are entirely straightforward. Recorded samples of non-Western music often pass through different hands for different purposes. Two case studies bear consideration in this regard (examples taken from Taylor 2003 and Hesmondhalgh 2000). *Polyphonies Vocales des Aborigénes de Taiwan*, an ethnographic CD released in France, features recordings originally made by various Taiwanese aboriginal groups during a European tour promoted and funded by the French and Taiwanese cultural ministries in 1988. In 1992, Michel Cretu, a Romanian-German musician, and his band Enigma added dance grooves to unlikely samples and other sound sources (e.g., Gregorian chant). He licensed the vocals from Maison des Cultures du Monde, sampled the "Jubilant Drinking Song," the CD's first track, originally sung by Ami people, and produced a CD, *The Cross of Changes*. This CD enjoyed extraordinary success in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, and Europe, selling some 5 million copies. In 1996, a song from the CD, *The Return to Innocence*, was made one of the official songs for the Atlanta Olympics, along with a number of other previously released world music recordings. Television stations CNN and NBC subsequently used the song to publicize their coverage of the Olympics.

The band Transglobal Underground sampled a Tahitian women's gospel choir on *Temple Head*, their first CD, in 1991. This band made much of their radical cultural politics and aimed, unlike Cretu, for subcultural rather than mainstream success. As Hesmondhalgh describes, "Temple Head," the title track, involved a looped dance beat throughout, live tabla playing, acid house-style piano chords, world music samples, and rapping "on the familiar theme of global unity via music" (Hesmondhalgh 2000, p. 283). In a deal struck between Nation Records, their distributors, and publishers, Coca Cola gained the rights to use a fragment of the song (combining rapping and the Tahitian gospel singers) to advertise their sponsorship of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, and "Temple Head," like "Return to Innocence," became an official Olympic song.

Clearly these songs were worth a great deal for media corporations such as CNN, NBC, and Coca Cola, as well as the other official sponsors of the Olympics, though it is hard to estimate exactly how much. The women of the Tahitian gospel choir received nothing (Hesmondhalgh 2000). The Ami people originally sampled

on *The Return to Innocence* apparently received a pittance (Taylor 2003). They were paid $15 a day for their original touring duties and received an unknown sum from a licensing deal struck between Cretu and the Maison du Cultures du Monde, 30,000 FF of which was passed on to the Chinese Arts Foundation in Taiwan. Kuo Ying-nan, one of the original singers in the recording, sued unsuccessfully for a violation of not only his intellectual property but also his human rights. Thorn-EMI defended its use of the sampled material and eventually agreed on an out-of-court settlement in which money was paid to an Ami community trust fund. The principle of Cretu's "ownership" of *The Return to Innocence*, in which he is defined as the "arranger" of "traditional" material, was carefully maintained.

These examples may appear to instantiate a stage-by-stage, unilinear process in which sounds, singers, and samples move from simple, traditional, local contexts to complex, modern, global contexts. This view emphasizes the different global frames, scales, fantasies, and ambitions of very different institutions (village festivities, Pentecostal churches, academic ethnomusicology and museum work, bohemian countercultures, global sports events, transnational corporations) and what happens when people and commodities move between them.[4] It also stresses the power differentials between the many spheres of exchange. But such a view also can reinscribe a crude version both of modernization theory and of cultural imperialism. "The global" can take the place formerly occupied by "the modern" in earlier theoretical paradigms. Like the modern, the global is perceived as being more encompassing in range if not depth, as conforming to capitalist disciplines of labor and commodity exchange, and as being tied to notions of development, civilization, and universality.

Hesmondhalgh and Taylor's examples suggest, by contrast, the multidimensionality of musical globalization. Samples, copies, and appropriations are unruly and unpredictable commodities, inviting further samples, copies, appropriations, and reappropriations in dialogue with the "originals." In some cases, the initiated dialogue is resistive, an act of reclaiming by the locally situated actors. To return briefly to the Ami example, the Enigma recording spawned imitations. Sony's world music supergroup, Deep Forest, sampled Yami (another Taiwanese aboriginal community) on their second CD, *Bohème*. Several Taiwanese bands also made their own versions, closely modeled from the Enigma recording. The Taiwanese bands made pointed efforts to credit and recompense the Ami (and other Taiwanese aboriginal groups) fairly and appropriately, drawing attention to the failure of international copyright and intellectual property legislation to protect Ami musical culture.

This circulation of ethnographic recordings, the serial copying of copies, the appropriation of recorded sounds by people more or less able to make money and

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[4]The title of Virolle's study of rai implies a certain unidirectionality, "from deepest Algeria to the world stage," though much in the book presents a more complicated and nuanced picture (Virolle 1995). The same could be said of Neunfeldt's (1997) study of the didjeridu "From Arnhem Land to the Internet."

assign more-or-less broadly shared meanings to them has been dubbed schizo-
phonic mimesis by Feld (1994, 2000). Feld is particularly interested in the appro-
priations in European and North American jazz, pop, rock, dance, and ambient
music of the well-known Turnbull and Arom ethnographic recordings of Central
African "pygmy" polyphony. Feld borrows Schaefer's term schizophonia to refer
to the separation of a recording from its original context of production, shifting an
account of global music industry appropriation and exploitation to a more nuanced
consideration of "the social life of things" (Appadurai 1988), in this case, sound
recordings. Copies elicit other copies in a mutually defining and differentiating
process that simultaneously disperses and fetishizes the original. This "original"
becomes the site of multiple yet intensifying fantasies of otherness whose racial
currents, as in the case of pygmy pop, merit careful attention (Feld 2000).

WORLD MUSIC DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

World music and its subgenres emerged as marketing categories surrounded by a
great deal of promotional material in the form of music journalism (both in main-
stream music and in such specialist publications as *Folk Roots* and *Songlines*),
consumer guides (the *Virgin* and *Rough* guides to world music), liner notes on
CDs, and websites. This promotional material quickly solidified into an identifi-
able, if complex and unruly, body of discourse, which, in turn, became the object
of critical attention. Brusila, Frith, and Théberge's accounts of world music specif-
ically are accounts of world music discourse (Brusila 2003, Frith 2000, Théberge
2003), though many others have been interested in the discursive aspects of world
music commerce. This critical tack differs from Guilbault's and Schade-Poulsen's
mentioned above, which either ignore the discourse to concentrate on "what is
really going on" on the ground or specifically criticizes it for misrepresentation
(Schade-Poulsen 1999). Arguably it assumes too much homogeneity in world
music discourse[5] but traces unacknowledged continuities, stress lines, and contra-
dictions in ways that shed much light on the dynamics of world music as a social,
cultural, and political field.

   As Frith emphasizes, world music discourse did not emerge ab nihilo (Frith
2000). Those involved in its early formulation in London in 1987 were involved

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[5]Friths' suggestion that world music discourse is significantly coauthored by journalists and
academic ethnomusicologists requires some comment. The first edition of the *Rough Guide
to World Music* contained the contribution of very few ethnomusicologists, and those were
people with significant nonacademic experience in media (such as Jan Fairley, Banning
Eyre, and Lucy Duran). Ethnomusicologists have, on the whole, been defensive in response
to such publications. Only a few have chosen to connect with, for example, the *Rough
Guide* project and did so for varied reasons [the list includes Steven Feld, Laudan Nooshin,
Judith Cohen, Martin Stokes, Werner Graebner, Helen Rees, Carole Pegg, Carol Tingey,
and Mark Trewin. The two volumes of the second edition, Broughton et al. (1999), total
approximately 1400 pages].

in Greater London Council–sponsored multicultural events, independent record labels, and journals specializing in folk and "roots" rock. In many ways the values associated with these activities were smoothly adapted to the new discursive environment of world music. World music genres were validated for their authenticity and their locality. Authenticity was conferred in a language of functionality, political oppositionality, and by analogy with Black American musics. Algerian rai is described as Islamic rock and roll and as Thursday night fever, South African kwela as township jive, Greek amanes as Greek blues, and so forth. Locality was conferred in a language of place, roots, and opposition to the global, each emphasized by metaphors of musical exploration and of the consumer as traveler (as opposed to tourist) on a journey of personal discovery. World music discourse itself bears the mark of its contradictory struggles to secure the meaning of key notions such as authenticity, roots, hybridity, and the local. Many of these contradictions can be seen as somewhat magnified forms of those at work in Western rock discourse, complicated by increasing self-consciousness about hybridity and the increasingly dispersed nature of global music production.

The prominence of the idea of hybridity in world music discourse has attracted considerable attention (Frith 2000, Erlmann 2003, Taylor 1997), particularly because it is opposed to ideas about authenticity. The situation is complex because popular and academic handling of both terms are often entangled—one necessarily has to move between the two to grasp their discursive dynamics. Each (though in diverse ways) prioritize hybridity aesthetically, ethnographically, and politically and are skeptical about, if not openly hostile to, the ideas and practices associated with authenticity.

Study of musical hybridity in the past decade provides evidence of diasporic cultural and political strategies in which migrants, refugees, and diaspora populations detached from nation-states situate themselves in global flows and build new homes for themselves (see Erlmann 2003). The privileged status of music in these kinds of analyses is connected to its perceived capacities for simultaneity and heterophony (and thus, pastiche, irony, multivocality, and the embrace of contradictions), its collective nature (and thus, imbrication with everyday lives), and its capacity to signify beyond the linguistic domain (and its binary "either/or" codes). From this theoretical perspective, music enables a "politics of the multiple" (Back 1995–1996; see also Gilroy 1993) and provides a unique key to the diasporic condition. The specificity of musical techniques (for example, Gilroy's antiphony) in the articulation of Diasporic consciousness and political practice is often evoked, but evoked in ways that are frustratingly short on detail and concreteness. Normative models of diasporic consciousness and cultural strategy are proposed, which do justice to the musical lives of some diasporas but not others (Slobin 2003).

Although, from a critical perspective, the language of hybridity and diaspora is conceived in opposition to the theory and practice of authenticity, authenticity and hybridity are, from a discursive point of view, more complexly entangled concepts. Popular world music discourse reveals the links between the two terms and betrays their ideological dimensions. In world music circles, as Frith wryly

comments, hybridity is "the new authenticity" (Frith 2000). The identification of authentic elements ideologically justifies, naturalizes, and cements the hierarchical and exploitative relationships that (continue to) pertain between centers and peripheries, dominant and subaltern groups. The perpetuation of notions of authenticity through an authenticating discourse of hybridity is one of the means by which world music discourse continues to mediate Northern metropolitan hegemony.

When the Afro-Celt Sound System, a well-known London-based world dance fusion group of the late 1990s, samples and blends African and Celtic musical elements, such elements are portrayed as authentically primordial expressions of local musical identities. Such interpretations, at least, are either supplied or heavily implied by the musicians involved (Vallely 2003). The complex histories of mediation, exchange, and interaction of which they are, in fact, the product are discursively erased. African and Celtic musics are configured as the simple, relatively unmediated products of simple people, attaining global value only when transformed technologically in the industrial centers or by musical technologies associated with them.

Another way in which world music discourse and, according to some critics, much recent ethnomusicology confer on hybrid music a certain kind of authenticity is to stress that that all music is, of its very nature, hybrid. In this view, all music bears the mark of interactions and exchanges between as well as within groups, and to declare otherwise is absurd. Purity of musical expression is not possible. Even in societies in which extraordinarily strenuous efforts are made to disavow their social, cultural, and historical entanglement with others, an exception often is made for music. Across Eastern Europe, for example, nationalist regimes vilified their neighbors to the east, tainted in various ways by their Turkishness. Turkish sounding or Turkish-derived musical genres were of enduring popularity throughout the period, however ambivalently regarded by the nationalist intelligentsia. Such genres exploded into public prominence when these regimes collapsed in the late 1980s (see the various contributions to Slobin 1996). Those determined to see hybridity as a defining mark of the postmodern are thus confronted by the fact that the building blocks of every mixed style are themselves hybrids.

What then is categorized inauthentic in hybridity-valorizing discourses (since a contrast is necessary) is the heavy hand of anti-hybrid nationalist ideologues and their media and education apparatus, whose task is specifically the erasure of others in popular cultural pleasures such as music and dance. The editors of the *Rough Guide to World Music* are more-or-less united in their hostility to such invented national traditions. Ethnomusicologists and popular music scholars also betray either ambivalence, and occasionally outright hostility, to invented traditions perceived as acts of bureaucratic cerebration or thinly veiled bourgeois efforts to control working-class culture (Harker 1985, Manuel 1993, Rice 1994).

This stance is not without problems. First, it tends to reinscribe a simplistic opposition of authentic and inauthentic, merely reversing the conventional polarities. If anything is authentic now, it is hybrid genres, organically connected to the social life and cultural aspirations of particular localities. If anything can be

truly described as inauthentic, in this view, it is state-promoted efforts to install authentic national traditions. This is, of course, a crude and ahistorical distinction that reproduces the worst aspects of the colonial fascination for the colonized "real" that resulted in entire streets from Cairo, for example, being transported to European capitals in the nineteenth century as exhibits in world fairs (Mitchell 1991).

Second, it loads onto the authentic complex tasks of resistance, which may be entirely inappropriate to describe basic conditions of production, listening, and circulation. Rai is consistently, and incoherently, characterized in world music discourse as a "music of resistance" simultaneously to the Algerian (secular) state, to the French colonial apparatus, and most recently, to the Islamist political and paramilitary groups in Algeria. Rai musicians, whether in the past or present, have in fact been extraordinarily careful in their self-positioning vis-à-vis Islam and the state; so too have their listeners (see Virolle 1995, Gross et al. 2003, Schade-Poulsen 1999). The romance of resistance in world music discourse leads world music celebrities to stress their antiestablishment credentials, feeding a variety of misleading views of how specific genres emerged and circulated.

Third, such a view of hybridity equates the inauthentic with the nation-building project and sees it as an act of ideological cerebration devoid of pleasure, meaning, or significance for everyday folk. This understanding of inauthenticity, again, provides a poor, ahistorical lens for considering the complex social and cultural life of state-invented traditions, many of which, such as Philip Kutev's Bulgarian folk music ensemble, have actually found an avid world music listenership in North America and Western Europe (Buchanan 1997).

The celebration of hybridity evident in world music discourse, but shared in certain areas of the anthropological and ethnomusicological literature, also erodes important and necessary aesthetic, political, and social distinctions. Aesthetically speaking, one must distinguish between a variety of different ways in which styles, genres, instruments, and sounds perceived as different are brought together: Which constitute foreground, which background? Which subordinate which other musical elements to it? Which are deformed to fit a new musical environment? Which elements mark cultural difference, and which signify or engage with modernity? Which elements blend seamlessly, and which generate a frisson of difference? The variety of different musical techniques employed by avant-garde performers such as the Kronos Quartet, by high-concept rock musicians such as Brian Eno, by Mexican musicians in Los Angeles, or by recording engineers in Bollywood cinema studios too easily can be obscured by blanket terms such as hybridity, cultural creolism, and mestizaje.

Politically, one must distinguish the hybridizing cosmopolitanism (c.f. Turino 2000) of the relatively powerful from the relatively powerless. One needs to be attentive to the diverse positions of power, prestige, and influence from which people make musical alliances and forge musically cosmopolitan selves. Hybridizing strategies often have an elite, rather than subaltern, dynamic. Cultural nationalist traditions, particularly in the Caribbean and Latin America, have been deeply and

self-consciously invested in certain forms of hybridity (see, for example, Reily 1994). These forms are characteristically constructed at an ideological level in ways that enable, for example, the alliance between a local and a European or Euro-American cultural self, but that systematically denigrate African elements deemed polluting, primitive, and out of place in the desired national mix. (See Savigliano 1995 on tango; Austerlitz 1997 on merengue; Pacini-Hernandez 1995 on bachata; and Aparicio 2000 on Puerto Rican bugalu.) The hybridizing strategies of subaltern classes affect musical alignments and alliances across nation-state borders for different reasons. Sometimes these strategies imply, especially at moments of festivity and celebration, deep and enduring cultural continuities within regions or former imperiums (see, e.g., Keil et al. 2002 on the circulation of Middle Eastern and Rom musics in the Balkans). Sometimes such moves enable people struggling with minoritarian status in particular nation-states to effect broader identifications. Black musics, as Lipsitz points out, transform the experience of African diaspora minorities across the Caribbean and the Americas into that of a global majority (Lipsitz 1994). Sometimes such moves are simply designed to snub elite culture in situations of overt or covert class antagonism (such is the case, to a certain extent, in Turkish habits of listening to Arab popular musics; see Stokes 1992).

Socially, it is important not to assume a direct relationship between aesthetic strategies (i.e., those operating in texts and performances of various kinds) and those of everyday life, particular among migrants and others living lives of enforced, rather than chosen, cultural fragmentation and hybridity. Artistic production (i.e., to follow the conventional definition, music, dance, and visual and literary work) of migrants and Diaspora communities must be seen in relationship to everyday lives outside of such privileged spaces and privileged art producers, as many anthropologists have stressed (Rouse 2002). This relationship can take various forms. At a general level, the fantasies characteristic of migrant music, film and dance, modernity, cosmopolitanism, upwardly mobile romance, and technological mastery must be understood in relationship to the limited life chances and the endless and humiliating accommodations for the bureaucracies and work routines of host societies that characterize migrant everyday life. The cosmopolitanism of the rich thus must be clearly distinguished from the cosmopolitanism of the poor, even when the techniques and imaginaries of such cosmopolitanisms have common elements. Tsing (2002, p. 469) states bluntly: "[P]oor migrants need to fit into the worlds of others; cosmopolitans want more of the world to be theirs." Terms that blur such crucial distinctions must be handled cautiously.

PERSISTENT STATES AND GLOBAL CITIES

Neoliberal globalization discourse portrays nationalism in decline, state efforts to control national economies and distribute welfare on the wane, and borders increasingly irrelevant. In recent years much social science has, by contrast, been concerned with understanding the global contexts in which they continue to thrive

as sites of cultural production. Three brief case studies illustrate some of the related
critical directions in music study.

Turino's *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (2000)
focuses on chimurenga and jit, Zimbabwean popular musics that were significantly
popular across Europe and North America as world music in the 1980s and 1990s.
He is concerned with the continuities in Zimbabwean national musical culture at
three contrasting moments: the colonial, the postcolonial, and the global. In all of
these moments, national musical identity was forged by local cosmopolitans intent
on situating Zimbabwean traditional musics in some broader cultural alignment.
In the colonial period, and notably in the relatively liberal climate of the 1950s
and early 1960s, the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation did much to promote
Shona mbira music as an authentic national culture. National culture was thus
firmly rooted in the cosmopolitan cultural dispositions of White liberals, horizons
that embraced not only Britain, but also Malawi and Zambia, with which Rhodesia
was briefly federated.

During and after decolonization, Shona mbira music remained central as na-
tional expression. A new generation of well-traveled and musically eclectic
Zimbabwean cosmopolitans, such as Thomas Mapfumo, mixed Shona mbira mu-
sic with rumba-derived Congolese guitar styles and vocal protest music from the
period of anticolonial struggle (chimurenga). As jit, this music was popular and
obtained degree-of-state support in Zimbabwe. Long-standing fascination for the
mbira in America and Europe (in the wake of Paul Berliner's well-known book and
recordings; Berliner 1981) enabled Mapfumo to develop a significant market out-
side Zimbabwe. Turino sees globalization and nationalism as mutually constructing
and reinforcing processes, with the activities of local cosmopolitans at heart.

Though some apologists for the new global order consider nation-state borders
to be on the wane, social scientists beg to differ and stress the imperative of local-
level study (Wilson & Donnan 1998). Specific and localized discussions of how
musicians, musical instruments, and musical styles and sounds circulate in and
around border zones are still few and far between. The cultural dynamics of border
life have however been well described in accounts of a number of Mexican Amer-
ican genres (see for instance Peña 1985 on conjunto and Simonett 2001 on banda).
Both genres have been animated by the small but cumulative transformations that
take place as musicians and sounds cross and recross the border. In both cases,
the relatively free movement of sounds (and other commodities) across the border
contrasts with the relatively restricted movement of musicians and their audiences
(and other laborers). Small differentials cause significantly different effects north
and south of the border, as well as complex interactions.

As a musical genre, banda was one of a number of border-zone hybrids devel-
oped in recording studios in Guadalajara in the 1990s. It built on ranchero-style
ballad singing (often focused on the Robin Hood–like exploits of drug smug-
glers), on North West Mexican brass–band playing, and on the polka-based social
dance forms of nineteenth- and twentieth-century central European migrants set-
tled in northern Mexico, Texas, and the Midwest United States. The energetic

traffic in musical styles that gave birth to banda contrasts markedly with the increasingly restricted traffic in human beings. As a consequence, banda has had complex and somewhat separate ramifications north and south of the border. In the United States it marks an emerging sense of Mexicano identity (as distinct from Hispano/Latino/Chicano identifications); in Mexico itself it dislodged previously privileged forms of national music, such as mariachi, and oriented Mexican public culture northwards.

For many anthropologists and sociologists, global cities are new sites of multicultural energy and creativity significantly freed from the dictates of the nation-states to which they were formerly attached. From a critical point of view, however, the opposition between global cities and nation-states is not so clear. Indeed, states invest significantly in such cities to attract the flow of global capital and attract transnational corporations to them as bases (Keyder 1999, Sassen 1998). Municipalities fund public multicultural arts programs and promote ethnic neighborhoods, cuisines, popular music, dance, and nightlife in order to cultivate a global profile; the managerial rhetoric and practice of globalization in world cities is somewhat uniform, regardless of what each specifically has to sell. From a historical perspective, the recent moment of self-conscious globalization elides complex and varied histories in which such cities have been pulled in and out of the swim of regional and transregional cultural, demographic, and economic flows over centuries. The question then is how state-produced global city rhetoric (and associated administrative practice) articulates with the diverse social forms and practices of cities whose inhabitants have always been attuned, though to greater and lesser extents, to their regional and transnational spheres of influence.

Music understood in the context of a global city, as in studies based in New York, can testify to the processes by which diasporas and migrant populations from nearly everywhere on the planet interact in neighborhood festivities and religious practices, in local media, and in multicultural civic institutions (see Allen & Wilken 1998). In these accounts, processes of globalization have produced a global city with minimal state intervention. In Istanbul, by contrast, the state's orchestration of the city's global identity in the mid-1990s was striking (Keyder 1999). Import-substituting policies in the mid-twentieth century decades of nation-state building in Turkey and political hostility toward mercantile elites resulted in a nationally rather than internationally oriented Istanbul, a city increasingly shorn of its cultural connections with wider regional worlds. The cosmopolitan musical forms (kanto, operetta, fasil) patronized by such elites dwindled. A half century later, though, they were available for nostalgic reappropriation in a variety of new media and live performance venues restored or otherwise enabled by the state. Çicek Pasaji, a major site of informal urban music making and socializing was restored for tourists[6]; media deregulation dismantled the cultural stranglehold

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[6]Tourism here as in many other places is as much about disciplining locals as entertaining outsiders. For a broader musical perspective, see De Witt 1999 and Rees 2000.

of the nationally oriented Turkish Radio and Television corporation. Digitally remastered CDs fueled the traffic in nostalgia, and new forms of popular music emerged that echoed their cosmopolitanism with a certain self-consciously global twist (Stokes 1999).

Yang (2002) describes a somewhat similar process in Shanghai in the 1990s as recosmopolitanism, a nostalgia for a cosmopolitanism and urbanity erased in an earlier period of nation building and a consumer-driven embrace of music, film, and cuisine signifying broader dimensions of transnational Chinese-ness and Shanghai's much vaunted status as a global city. Narrow cultural nationalism in both contexts is no longer a concern and perhaps is something of a liability, at least to both the Chinese and Turkish state's new managers. Many such "market-state" elites, to use Balakrishnan's (2003) useful formulation, are anxious to distance themselves from narrowly parsed nationalisms that are clearly unappealing to foreign corporations and are entangled with concepts of social welfarism with which such elites no longer wish to be burdened. Yang's term usefully enables a distinction between the ongoing small-media processes that make it increasingly difficult for states such as Turkey and China to control national culture and the ideological production of new cosmopolitanisms by municipalities striving to attract global capital. Civic musical policies may be understood as a small but significant aspect of neocosmopolitanism in cities whose global status is thought about a great deal by their managers.

THE MUSICAL DYNAMICS OF INTERCULTURE

How and why do particular musical forms, styles, processes, sounds, rhythms, and metrical practices traverse national cultural boundaries? How are we to grasp the seemingly contagious movements of certain musical practices when they are clearly grasped and understood very differently by the different groups involved in their exchange and transmission? Monson (1999), in an important article, suggests a specifically musical focus on the processes of cultural interaction across the African diaspora, specifically practices of riffing. This, she suggests, will do something to restore a sense of human agency to discussions of globalization absorbed by systemic thinking and some sense of the collective dimensions of global culture to discussions that emphasize its fragmentation and atomism. But the specific challenge she issues is how we are to grasp the extremely fluid circulation of certain musical practices through and across significantly different cultural spaces.

Monson contributes to a long discussion in ethnomusicology that primarily has been concerned with the global circulation of the musical practices of European art musics (particularly in the context of colonization, Westernization, and missionary activity) and African Diasporic musics (in the context of slavery and the middle passage). Regarding the former, some ethnomusicologists express anxiety about cultural gray out and consider as a contagion to be resisted the spread of Western art and popular music techniques and technologies (for example, Lomax 1968).

Other ethnomusicologists saw it as an opportunity to observe and theorize the role of music in cultural contact and encounter. For example, Nettl (1978), in an early and influential volume, carefully distinguished musical Westernization (the copying or imposition of specific techniques designed to draw its non-Western practitioners into Western religious, cultural, and political space) from musical modernization (the adoption of techniques that conferred modernity but preserved essential national traits).

Mission choirs, military bands, and Western-style music educators in the colonized world contributed to the extraordinary spread of a variety of practices and habits associated with Western art music by the mid-twentieth century: functional harmony; counterpoint; regular metric structures; equally tempered scales; clean instrumental and vocal timbres; large functionally differentiated ensembles and conductors; and discrete, single-authored works, pieces, or songs. Radio broadcasting and sound recording swiftly added the practices associated with amplified voices and studio multitracking, guitars, keyboards and drumkits, three-minute songs that alternate verses and choruses, sound systems, and breakbeats. Such practices have been incorporated into more localized sound worlds in various and complex ways, a matter of perennial interest to ethnomusicologists and others interested in tracking the global movements of genres such as rumba, tango, salsa, American country music, marching bands, rock, blues, jazz, rap, and trance (Averill 1997; Collins 1992; Mitchell 1996, 2001; Regev 1997; Savigliano 1995; Waxer 2002) or in the adaptation of techniques associated with lammelophones and musical bows to instruments such as the guitar in many parts of Africa (Charry 1994, 2000; Eyre 1988, 2000; Turino 2000; Waksman et al. 2003).

Reverse flows are as much a feature of the globalized landscape, however. Musical forms, styles, practices, and instruments associated with the African Diaspora dominate the global landscape at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The global circulation of African Diasporic styles has a long history and complex dynamics. The circulation of rumba, tango, rock, blues, jazz, and various other forms of Western-hemisphere popular music has, among other things, returned techniques developed in the African diaspora to Africa. This fact has not been lost on many West- and North African musicians keen to expand their own horizons and develop audiences elsewhere. West African griots and North African gnawa musicians develop innovative ways of imagining African Diasporic musical relations, partly extending indigenous ideologies of contact, exchange, and movement (particularly as they involve spirits) and partly reflecting the presence in their lives of French or American world music entrepreneurs, concert organizers, and other musicians (Eyre 2000, Kapchan 2002).

The great ease with which African Diaspora sounds and practices travel is often taken for granted even by ethnomusicologists. Late twentieth century North American cultural hegemony is only part of the answer. As Monson (1999) suggests, careful consideration of the musical practices as music could do much to help understand the extraordinary energy with which such important musical devices as the riff circulate. Riffs, for Monson, operate as melodies, as ostinatos functioning as grounds for improvization, or they can be utilized in antiphonal figures or

combined in layers. Other techniques have emerged and developed in the long history of musical interactions between Africa and the African Diasporas. Interlocking rhythmic processes and thick, complex, buzzy musical textures are just two; the list is potentially long. Of interest is not only the fact that such techniques circulate but also that this circulation is accompanied by such speedy recognition of musical intimacies and kinships by those involved. As Martin Scorsese's (2003) film about the blues demonstrates, American blues musicians and Malian griot singers have little difficulty getting together and producing a musical experience that is palpably coherent in contexts in which very little else (for example, spoken language) is shared. A naïve afrocentrism is an often insistent discursive accompaniment to such events, often drowning out all else (particularly the music). But diverse riffing practices can be accommodated and negotiated in musical performance with speed and facility.

The cultural hegemony of the United States has thrown certain American popular musics under the spotlight in discussions of musical globalization, but many other socio-musical practices, both in America and elsewhere, may be considered in similar terms. How and why do Italian bel canto singing, Anglo-Celtic jigging and reeling, Latin dance forms from the tango to the Macarena, modal (maqam) improvization in the Middle East and the Balkans, toasting and rapping in the Caribbean and the United States, Central European polka, the bell-patterns of West African drumming, the timbre-rich droning of Australian aboriginal music, and the colotomic processes of Javanese gamelan cross so many cultural boundaries with such energy, boundaries at which so much else comes to an abrupt halt? In many cases, a partial answer may be given if one considers some of the obvious vectors of circulation: mass media and concert life in the contexts of empire and nation building; prestige instruments associated with political, spiritual, educational, and economic hegemonies; instruments and musical practices associated with subaltern religiosity and other forms of heightened sociality (trancing, possession); and political solidarities across borders. Such explanations are partial because reductive, musical practices are perceived simply as filling global spaces shaped and structured by other things. Music, clearly enough, plays an active role in creating and shaping global spaces that otherwise would not have "happened." To take just one example, the prevalence of jigging and reeling in sessions across Europe (Vallely 2003) and elsewhere (Smith 2003) created Irish bars as a global phenomenon, and not the reverse.

How, though, does this creating and shaping of global spaces happen? Keil's (1994) notion of participatory discrepancies, the microfluctuations in groove that bond participants in the musical event, accounts for something significant to all of the practices mentioned above. However, other genres that are described in the same terms enjoy little global circulation. Concepts such as repetition and antiphony are useful to a point, though it is hard to think of any music in which repetition is not a significant feature, and, again, many globalized musical practices are not strictly antiphonal. Concepts and vocabulary for describing intercultural musical processes will require greater sharpness and descriptive focus if broader theorizations are to emerge.

We are left with some general questions, however. First is the question of how such intercultural musical practices retain their identities as recognizable musical processes in such diverse musical environments. How do such intercultural musical practices retain their identities as recognizable musical processes in such diverse musical environments? Bell patterns do different things in salsa, samba, and West African ensembles. They interact with different styles of dancing and movement in performance, they relate to harmonic processes in one context but not another, and they do different symbolic and expressive work. Yet they can be extrapolated and inserted into different socio-musical contexts with a certain facility. One factor may be their cognitive "graspability" within certain broadly shared cultural formations. Music analysis demonstrates that the relationships between a bell pattern and what is happening elsewhere in a West African drumming ensemble are enormously complex (Locke 1987). Yet the generative potential of a twelve-pulse figure that never fully settles on a duple or a triple gestalt appears to be easily grasped and communicated across significant cultural borders. One factor may be their indexical or iconic "groupiness" (Lomax 1968). Many such socio-musical practices quickly communicate to listeners, observers, and dancers the very processes of intense social interaction and physical activity through which they come into being, as a consequence of either visual or aural cues in transmission: interlocking, phrase marking, call and response, droning, simultaneous group improvizations, varied repetitions, etc. What is heard implies forms and processes of embodied social interaction. While such forms and processes may not be highly valued at the level of sanctioned cultural discourse, they may be broadly recognizable in the more submerged repertoires of fantasy, play, and pleasure, and it is this recognition that facilitates their cultural mobility. This is not to argue for a culture-free picture of global music interactions. It is, however, to stress that musical, as well as political, social, and economic, explanations exist as to why particular practices circulate, and to suggest that any properly cultural analysis of the global music order should consider them.

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