Non-Western Popular Music

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Introduction

Since the advent of recording and broadcasting technologies facilitated its flows, the interaction between 'Western' popular music and the 'rest of the world' has been effervescent. Initially tracing the routes of colonial and, later, mercantile power, local and global musics have cross-fertilized, creolized, stimulated or polluted (depending upon your perspective) each other's traditions for well over a century. Musics that, not long ago, 'the West' mostly encountered on the crackling periphery of the short-wave spectrum are now easily accessed through the internet or, thanks to continued migration, among our own communities.[1] This growing proximity has perhaps made many 'Westerners' more conscious of 'non-Western' popular musics than previously, but it is only comparatively recently that this awareness has led to serious attention from academics. The reasons for this late development will be explored shortly in this introduction.

At the outset it is necessary to clarify the focus of this collection of essays, which is primarily concerned with the local practices that constitute popular music in non-Western locations and contexts. Although these musics are far from being untouched by global influences (and in fact this will be a core theme of this collection), we will not dwell upon the 'roots' or 'world music' phenomenon that for many decades has drawn 'foreign' musics into the sphere of Western audiences. 'Roots music' is the subject of another volume in this series; here we will concentrate on non-Western music industries and societies as much as on the music itself.

The central objective of a collection such as this is to provide a practical, useful resource for researchers and students, one that offers a diversity of both regional case studies and disciplinary approaches. In so doing, the volume aims to provide, editor's personal preferences notwithstanding, a reasonably representative overview of the field in question. This selection will outline the areas of most interest to contemporary researchers, and also indicate where their perspectives differ. Scholars are expected to cast a critical eye upon work that has been carried out by others before them, and also upon that of their contemporaries where they have divergent points of view. So unlike edited volumes that are compiled with the intention of establishing a particular agenda or of promoting a certain explorative approach, this collection of essays has been selected with the intention of encompassing geographical and disciplinary diversity in order to evoke a sense of the lively debates existing within the busy academic field. As this collection addresses the theme of 'non-Western' 'popular music' I also consider it necessary, in this introduction, to interrogate both of these terms and consider the implications of our working definitions of them upon the kind of research that has been carried out over the last thirty or forty years. As popular music studies is still a relatively young discipline and 'non-Western' genres have not, so far, been a central feature of its development, it will be important to place this research in its historical context, especially for the benefit of readers who are new to this subject.

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[1] See Slobin (1992) for a key study of this phenomenon.

Readers may observe that researchers in this field have come from a range of academic traditions and that those backgrounds have influenced both the kinds of questions asked and the methods used in asking them. It is, however, possible to group their work into a few broad categories according to the central attention of their writing, and this book is organized around these main themes.

The first theme concerns the relationships between **music, power and identity**. Musics around the world are frequently associated with particular sections of society, and as social groups compete for recognition or dominance their music may also become an instrument of cultural politics. Contributors to this book may, for example, ask how a particular music conveys a message of protest or defiance, or, on the other hand, if it is more associated with maintaining the political status quo. On many occasions and in many locations, popular music has been banned, constrained and censored; musicians who do not conform to the accepted norms and tastes of the society in which they live may lose the right to be heard at all. Several case studies in this volume consider the political circumstances in which music is made, and how those norms contribute to the formation of social identities.

As the networks between musician and audience exist at an increasingly international level, **globalization** is also a recurring theme in the study of non-Western pop. The 'world music' phenomenon has brought disparate musical products into a global market, which has cultural influences upon both producer and consumer. Although this book doesn't dwell upon world music per se, local musicians are inevitably influenced by the global media and ideas they encounter. These influences are often understood and interpreted through a prism of decidedly local cultural factors. The musical negotiation of 'tradition' and 'modernity', structure and agency, the local in the context of the global, is a seam that runs through a number of the essays found in this collection.

Other essays look in more detail at local **music industries** themselves. Production, consumption and performance practices are shaped by available technologies and economic networks, as well as the strategies of entrepreneurial musicians. The recording, distribution and everyday use of music products are well documented here in case studies, along with descriptions of their close relationships to other popular media, particularly film and television.

A few essays also discuss the relationship between musician and audience; 'fandom', the identification of enthusiast with performer, might be considered a crucial product of the music business, which is itself dependent upon increasingly interactive technologies.

Historical studies form the basis of other contributions in this selection. These use the benefit of archival resources and hindsight to describe entire systems of musical production, some of which have since disappeared or mutated beyond recognition. Such research allows us to identify the processes of change that take place over time and to compare these examples to contemporary activities. Where an individual's musical career has been shaped by important historical or cultural events, biographical studies are often an excellent way of illustrating music's historical engagement with wider social movements.

Running through each of these broad themes, readers will of course find many theoretical threads, as authors reflect upon the implications of their observations with regard to current academic debates. As these essays are drawn from a period of over thirty years, it is interesting to observe how these debates and approaches have themselves changed over time. Each of the areas I have outlined will be looked at in more detail shortly. At this point, before introducing

the essays themselves, it may be useful to consider the developmental background of this field of research, its roots in other, longer established disciplines and the very concepts of 'popular music' and 'non-western' that afford purpose to this collection.

Although the authors included here share an interest in a common field of cultural activity, they may well have converged here from different academic starting points and so diverge in methodology. Those with a background in social anthropology and ethnomusicology may have gleaned their information from a long period of solitary immersion in the society which they are studying – learning the local language and instruments, participating as much as possible in the everyday life of music-making in order to gain insights from the emic, or 'insider's', perspective. Other authors included here may take a more historical or technological perspective – supporting their views with detailed investigations of the literature and records relating to their case study, which afford the longitudinal perspective that anthropological writing can sometimes lack. Music sociologists may have conducted comprehensive surveys of substantial population samples before arriving at the broad patterns of audience taste and musical consumption that they describe. Each discipline brings with it concerns with particular issues and preferences for certain research techniques, and will derive its perspective from humanist or political concerns that prevailed at the time of writing. In short, readers should remember that research into popular music is itself largely a product of Western society and so reflects concerns that are contemporary and regional.

The earliest academic writing that considered popular music to be important was influenced by the work of a cluster of researchers based at the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies, in Birmingham, UK. This 'Birmingham school' included, among many others, Stuart Hall, Dick Hebdige, Paul Gilroy and Angela McRobbie, all of whom were concerned with the political and social aspects of popular music consumption and production rather than with the musical material itself. Other important writers such as Simon McReynolds and Simon Frith came into serious writing about pop music from music journalism rather than academia. None of these writers claimed to be musicologists, and in fact they all wrote on many other unrelated subjects. Nevertheless, the academic seriousness with which they approached popular culture was very new in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and was influential upon the way that popular music studies emerged as a discipline. Hall (1981), Hebdige (1987) and Gilroy (1993) did in fact look at non-Western musics, although they focused, in their different ways, upon issues of identity and migration. Each placed the musical practices they described in a historical context, showing how constructions of gender, class and race were constructed and challenged within discourses sustained by popular music. Their application of the recently discovered (or rediscovered) theoretical ideas of Theodore Adorno, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault was combined with an eclectic approach to sociological methodology, leading to a cultural studies that was both critical and very much rooted in 'real life'. In the early 1980s as writers like Simon Frith (1998), Andy Bennet (2003) and Philip Tagg (2009) spearheaded popular music studies as a discipline in the UK they drew upon the radical Birmingham school approach rather than a primarily musicological one. Likewise, the new journals (*Popular Music, Popular Music and Society*) and organizations (IASPM – International Council for the Study of Popular Music) that emerged in the same period reflect broadly similar concerns. The Anglo-American origins of popular music studies, with its roots in a 'cultural sociology' led, understandably, to an early focus upon urban Western musics. These were not only readily

accessible, but also better suited to debates taking place at that time about subculture, cultural resistance, alienation and identity construction. Even when migrant musics *were* considered, this was usually from a standpoint of their consumption in the West rather than the context of their production elsewhere in the world.

What is Popular?

The definition of popular music itself is surprisingly hard to pin down, given that most of us have a fairly good common-sense understanding of what pop 'sounds like'. This definition has become harder to formulate because the forms of production and dissemination that were once relatively unique to pop have become common to many other types of music. Even if we were to limit our field to encompass the pop musics of just 'the West', so including songs from the Victorian music hall, the experimental work of the Beatles, hard-core dance tracks, black metal, breakcore and Roy Rogers, it would be evident that even at this surface level we are in complex territory. If one considers what these musics actually 'mean' to the range of individuals who encounter them, and how those meanings have changed over time, it is clear that simple definitions and conclusions are wholly inadequate.

A more pragmatic classification of popular music might include a combination of a number of factors. Most music fitting this generic description subscribes to most, if not all, of the following possible criteria:

1. It is *intended* to be enjoyed by the masses, rather than an elite.
2. As a consequence it is *mass-produced and disseminated*, using a wide variety of media broadcast technologies.
3. It is promoted by a *publicity infrastructure*, which commodifies (typically young and attractive) performers as 'celebrities' as a means to sell music products.
4. The pop music industry's need for novelty and a consistent flow of income means that the music (and often the careers of its performers) is *short-lived*.
5. Although since the 1960s its appeal to youth markets has also drawn upon the trappings of anti-authoritarianism, pop songs have been largely concerned with *uncontroversial romantic subjects*.
6. It is overwhelmingly based upon short, *highly formulaic* and catchy songs.
7. As popular music is very often produced for *social dancing*, its rhythm tends to be particularly foregrounded compared to other genres.

Although its component structures might be conservative, even predictable, it should be noted that most of the above criteria relate to pop's modes of production and dissemination, not to its musical qualities. Going further, persuasive critics of popular music such as Adorno ([1947] 1991) and Frith (1981) draw our attention to the music's intimate connection to the project of global capitalism, and even to the illusion of creative authenticity and community with which the industry clothes popular music.

Such critiques are explored in considerably more depth in other volumes in this series, but nevertheless it is useful for our present purpose to note the theoretical context and other parameters that shape the present selection of essays. For example, as well as avoiding world music, this collection will not deal directly with non-Western traditional music (another

concept that is proving to be increasingly difficult to pin down),[2] although there are inevitably many areas of overlap between pop and other regional styles. Instead these essays focus upon those local musics that have been adapted for mass consumption or have otherwise been appropriated into such a field.

One very important outcome of recording and broadcasting technology is that the process effectively dislocates music from any specific performance context, such as a concert hall or nightclub. As the mainstay of radio programming, mp3 downloads and pirating, popular music is arguably more subject to dislocation than other genres. At the same time, the technologies of consumption have become ever more amenable to relocation at the discretion of the consumer. Despite this dislocation from fixed time and space, musics nevertheless retain signifiers that are strongly evocative of 'real' performance contexts and places. This process of dislocation consequently renders music open to a wider range of potential meanings than if it was played 'live' by musicians who we can observe, for an audience we know and whose culture we share.

As a consequence of this process, the rich layers of meaning that the performance context itself adds to the music's sonic 'text' are absent. Attending a music festival, for example, may be a very different experience to listening to the same music at home. Upon audition, a listener's understanding is dependent upon their personal familiarity with it, and, if there is little firsthand experience, then upon whatever discursive associations they are able to make with it. To take a case study from Kenya, Edouard Massengo's guitar-based Benga music could be 'read' as coming from Nairobi, Kenya or Africa, or simply as 'non-Western' depending upon the listener's previous levels of familiarity. Indigenous consumers may make very different associations, based upon a more detailed knowledge of Massengo's biography, the location and period of recording. Dislocated as recordings are from 'real time' and place, it is nevertheless an established international convention that recordings generally aim to sonically emulate an ideal *performance* context. In a common stereo spatial arrangement, the lead singer and lead guitar are located near the centre of the mix with drums and bass to the left and right. Other instruments are placed on the fringes of the spatial arrangement as if the performers were positioned in front of the listener on a wide stage. The relative volume and tone of each track is carefully balanced to ensure that even the quietest sounds can be heard clearly and any mistakes are easily erased or repaired. The lead singer's voice is almost always at the dead centre of the mix, and loud enough to be heard clearly, despite the volume of the instruments on either side. The illusion of a 'real time' group performance is created despite the fact that recordings are usually the product of a complex process of repeated 'takes' for each instrument in turn, multi-tracking procedures, digital sampling and considerable studio manipulation. Much popular music can therefore be considered a *representation* of an ideal performance, liberated from a live context and available to listeners who then create a meaning that is shaped by their own experience, social activities and imagination. Although it can be argued that *all* recorded music, 'popular' or otherwise, is nowadays subject to similar production procedures and electronic dissemination, these techniques are more closely

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[2]   Although it should be noted that the term 'popular' is equated with 'folk' in other languages. Here I will use the term 'traditional' to refer to music that is primarily played by and for a distinct 'folk' community, typically employing non-electronic instruments.

associated with popular music than other genres, to the extent that they might reasonably be considered an additional criterion for its definition.

The history of the recording and distribution of indigenous popular musics began at the start of twentieth century, as colonial routes developed markets for new recreational technologies. Gramophones were followed from the 1920s onwards by radio stations, which were immensely powerful symbols of modernity and identity, as for the first time they enabled the broadcast of local musics to an entire *nation*. From the very outset of our contemporary era, then, popular musics have been technologically mediated throughout the world, though this was primarily for regional audiences with particular tastes and languages. The requirements of recording and broadcasting have not only brought about the contextual dislocation I've already discussed, but they inevitably had an influence upon the structures of the musics themselves and in most situations changed the economic environment in which musicians worked. From the point at which recording appeared on the scene there was a more tangible musical product available for purchase than simply the entrance fee to a performance. The increased professionalization of musicians, and competition between them at local and national levels, owes much to this process of musical industrialization.

The period in which most of the essays contained in this volume were written witnessed both an exceptional growth in electronic transmission of music beyond national boundaries and a decentralization of recording and transmission technologies. Record production plants, which were once the property of international industries or governments, have been largely supplanted by cheaper, small-scale facilities that allow the musician more control of the finished result. Likewise, the gate-keeping function of national radio stations has been largely circumvented, first by pirate producers and broadcasters, and more recently through online broadcasting. Such developments, which have dramatically changed the accessibility and diversity (and 'popularity') of music, have also had an impact on the working practices of musicians and the economic environment in which they operate. In such a fluid situation it has been inevitable that researchers into non-Western pop have been concerned with the complexities of globalization, as musicians in different parts of the world experience and respond to them. Many of the contributors to this volume have addressed, directly or indirectly, the changes that new technologies have brought about.

One of the reasons why popular music studies is a relatively recent field of serious study may be that its subject material has been perceived as ephemeral. It is easy to argue that music that comes and goes out of favour in a matter of months, or even weeks, could not be of enduring aesthetic value or socially significant. However, from the perspective of the twenty-first century it is clear that not only do some popular musics sometimes achieve the status of 'classics', but that over time they can acquire a new patina of meaning for subsequent generations that rediscover them. Dislocated as recordings are from the place and time of their production, every personal collection of music recordings is in effect an archive, whether this goes back ten, twenty or seventy years. In practice all recorded musics co-exist in the present, bearing meanings that continually develop as contemporary productions respond to, or react against, either their structural components or what they have come to represent.

Disciplinary Boundaries

Readers who come to this volume from the field of popular music studies may have noted from the contents page that many of the authors they are most familiar with are not to be found here. In fact until fairly recently the non-Western area of popular music studies has been largely neglected in academia, and in part this is because it fell between at least two disciplinary stools. As I have already indicated, the most influential academic champions of popular music as a serious academic discipline built upon foundations laid in sociology and cultural studies. Their debates around subcultures, identity and postmodernity, along with their research methods, were most obviously applicable to the industrialized, urban societies of the West. There were exceptions to this trend of course, but it is telling that the first books directly to address the subject, Wallis and Malm's *Big Sounds from Small Peoples* and Peter Manuel's *Popular Music of the Non-Western World*, were not published until 1984 and 1988 respectively. Of course there are dozens of other books that consider world musics today, but even now most of these fall into one of two categories: introductory (Bohlman, 2002; Nidel, 2005; Taylor, 1997) or encyclopedic (Broughton *et al.*, 1999; Hartong, 2006). The 'popular', however has been a steadily increasing theme in a number of good ethnomusicology textbooks (for example, Alves, 2008; Bakan, 2007; Nettl, 1996; Stone, 2008; Titon and Fujie, 2008; Turino, 2008).

Despite this recent growth of interest it is fair to say that non-Western popular musics did not appear on the popular music studies radar until the 1980s. For this reason alone, few of the essays included here are more than twenty years old. However, the neglect of the non-Western popular was not just an omission by popular music studies. Ethnomusicologists, who one might imagine would have been keenly interested in this area, were also slow to take popular music seriously. With their anthropological focus upon the *social practices* of music-making in other cultures, ethnomusicologists have tended to concentrate on live performative contexts. The cultural significance of real-time, real-life events are more apparent and accessible to researchers than those involved in the (largely internal) experience of listening to recorded or broadcast music. It is possible to film what is going on at a performance, to question the audience about their experiences, and an ethnomusicologist's ideal is to take part in the performance themselves, so learning about the music from the insider's perspective.

Alongside this methodological preference for participant observation, until recent decades there was a sense that popular music could seldom be thought of as 'authentic' in the way that folk or art traditions might be. Ethnomusicology, like folklore studies, has often been concerned with identifying the definitive, or most typical, example of a musical practice. This enables the establishment of a classificatory baseline against which other historical and cross-cultural phenomena can be compared and measured. Identifying an ideal form, which is reproducible on multiple occasions, makes it possible for researchers to identify the local generative rules of musical construction and performance. It also allows the lone ethnographer in the field to feel more confident that what they may be observing or participating in is a firmly rooted part of that culture and not a unique aberration. This research approach makes perfect sense, but it is not obviously applicable to the production or consumption practices relating to popular music.

Whatever the reasons, it does seem that until fairly recently neither popular music studies nor ethnomusicology were methodologically equipped or philosophically disposed to working with the popular music of other cultures. The earlier essays included in this volume should thus be understood to be the outstanding exceptions to both disciplines rather than their norm. Most of the authors represented in this book would probably consider themselves to be ethnomusicologists, simply because all musical investigation carried out in non-Western locations tends to fall into this default category. However, the current generation of researchers would be as familiar with relevant literature in cultural studies or sociology as they are with the classical anthropological theorists of the 1950s. Consequently it could be argued that this field, which increasingly includes media studies and cultural geography, has become truly multidisciplinary, and hopefully this book reflects something of this diversity.

Where is 'Non-West'?

The matter of geographical diversity is inevitably central to a collection concerned with non-Western musics, and my curatorial objective has been to cast as wide a net as possible, so long as the essays were of the highest quality and germane to the topic in hand. 'The West' in this context has been understood to refer to Europe, North America and Australasia, regions that will be covered in appropriate depth in other volumes in this series. For the sake of practicality the 'non-West' is inevitably 'everywhere else', a classification that though logical for the project in hand is of course riddled with contradictions in the real world of music-making. As Slobin (1992), among many others, has pointed out, the music of migrants has always brought a steady stream of unfamiliar flavours and sounds into host societies, with sometimes unpredictable consequences (see also Aubert, 2007; Ragland, 2003). 'Foreign music', can, in some circumstances, be appropriated into new cultural hybrids, but it might also remain for many years an impenetrable sign of 'otherness' in its new environment. The music of migrants can evolve to accommodate changing attitudes and markets, or remain an obstinate indicator of cultural difference, oblivious to contemporary developments in its original place of origin. The increasing ease of travel and especially of electronic transmission has further rendered irrelevant regional distinctions. Music from *everywhere* is now accessible *anywhere*, via common distributive technologies and means of paying for (or otherwise procuring) it. Likewise, Western music has a history of influencing other cultures that is as long as global exploration itself. These comments are not intended to undermine the contention that such a concept as non-Western music can exist, but rather to acknowledge that its parameters are highly negotiable. These subtle musical and cultural relationships are explored in many of the essays in this collection, as they are in other volumes in this series. Here it is sufficient to note that all prescriptive boundaries, including the concept of non-Western popular music itself, are largely arbitrary. We will find (in chapters by Steinholt and Herd, among others) that even where cosmetic acoustic similarities exist between Western and non-Western popular musics, this does not imply that they convey the same meanings to all listeners. All musical consumption is local, and listening practices and ways of hearing music can vary widely.[3] On the other hand, even when non-Western musics may be very dissimilar from one another

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[3]   Christopher Small (1998) explores the social process of listening particularly well.

in their form and social use, on an international level they may yet occupy common cultural ground; Taylor (1997), Wallis and Malm (1984) and Olsen (1982) have shown how the Western world music industry has brought together quite disparate fellow travellers.

Given the subject matter of this collection, where, for the most part, Western researchers attempt to investigate the cultures of 'other societies', it becomes necessary to mention the political and ethical context of the research itself. Isn't the exchange of information from field to researcher only in one direction? Might this be construed as a continuation of post-colonial relationships between privileged geographical centres and dependent peripheries?

While unequal power relations existing between different parts of the world are certainly a contextual feature underlying such research (after all, not every region can afford the resources required to conduct such work), I should also note that these circumstances are themselves a matter of considerable debate in the academic field.[4] As we shall see, several of the essays included in this volume (see particularly those by Turino (Chapter 9) and Guilbault (Chapter 10)) deal directly with issues of globalization; most of the others also acknowledge the context of international politics and capital in which the music is produced and disseminated. The authors contributing to this collection are by no means all Western (though they may, of course, be deeply immersed in the tropes of Western academia) and as the regions they investigate are not limited to those that have been subjected to European colonization, it would be an oversimplification to consider their research post-colonial. Nevertheless the ethical and political dimension of intercultural research is regularly drawn to the attention of students and investigators involved in this kind of investigation.

For the purposes of this collection, it has been important to balance geographical diversity with a range of thematic interest and stylistic approaches. I have also avoided overlaps with those other volumes in this series dedicated to particular geographical regions or to subjects such as 'roots music', which are clearly contiguous with the theme of 'non-Western pop'. Consequently readers will find that I have included two essays on music in Eastern Europe, four on Central Asia, five on Africa, three on the Middle East and another three on the Caribbean. Seven essays considering musics in Eastern Asia are included, although this is itself an enormous geographical space. South America has only one representative essay although Latin American popular musics will be found in many other volumes in this series. Although most continents and many approaches have been included here, it should be remembered that the focus of this collection is upon Anglophone sources and that the range of scholarly writing available in the English language is not evenly distributed across all regions of the world. Historically, the emergence of the academic study of other cultures roughly parallels the development of other colonial interests in the late nineteenth century. In our (arguably) post-colonial world, such linguistic and cultural connections retain strong historical links, and so there is a tendency for research in the English language to have been carried out much more in some parts of the world than in others. For example, a good deal of published material is available on the popular musics of South Africa and Japan, as these countries have long been open to the documentation of their traditions by the academies of the West. Other regions that readers may notice are less strongly represented here could well be the subjects of considerable research carried out in French, Portuguese or Dutch, while little of academic value may have been translated into English. As this is a collection of essays that

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[4]   See Barz and Cooley (2008), Feld (1996) and Stone (2008) for considerations of this issue.

have previously been published in English language journals, some effort has been made to cover the widest range of non-Western cultures, but readers should bear in mind that for the above reasons some geographical regions have been studied in considerably more depth than others. No compromise has been made regarding the quality and importance of the essays selected for this volume, however regions that appear to have been neglected here may well be thoroughly explored in other European and, indeed, indigenous languages.

Having established the objectives, context and some limitations of this collection, I would now like to consider some of the broader themes that form connections between individual contributions. Although, in the 'real life' in which music exists these elements are tightly intertwined it is nevertheless possible to identify the broad analytical strands of politics and identity, technology and globalization, that run through many of the writings collected here.

Pop, Power and Identity

It is has long been acceptable in academic spheres to concede that popular music has a political significance, if only (following the Marxist Frankfurt school of criticism) in that it serves as a smokescreen, masking the degree to which its listeners are held in thrall to the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, popular musics have frequently been employed in the crystalization of social movements of every kind, whether as nationalistic songs or in protest movements. Lily Kong's essay on Singapore (Chapter 4) serves as an excellent illustration of this kind of musico-political engagement. She describes how the state-sanctioned song book is parodied, not only undermining the government's ability to promote a nationalist discourse, but in doing so also drawing attention to unpopular or failed state policies. Martin Stokes also shows us, in a Turkish context (Chapter 1), how a young state struggles to contain musical material that is suggestive of ethnic or religious alterity. The very dislocated nature of recorded music from a specific time and space allows it to avoid censure while challenging a dominant regime, even though the explicit lyrical content itself may be vague or its meaning heavily veiled (see also Stokes, 1992).

Stokes's is one of several contributions to this volume in which we see how the very audibility of music can amount to an assertion of cultural difference. By extension it could be argued that *any* musical expression is to some degree an assertion of identity; an assumption of a political position that is in a discursive relationship with the prevailing political regime. In Chapter 8 Galit Saada-Ophir provides an example of music's role in negotiating multiple identities in Israel's borderlands, and Christopher Ballantine, in Chapter 7, looks at the relationship between pop and ethnic identity in South Africa. He argues that white musicians, alienated by ethnically divisive constructions of national identity, employed popular music to define themselves and critique state discourses. Stephen Blum and Amir Hassanpour observe in Chapter 5 that for the Kurds, an ethnic group without a state, music has played a significant role in simply positing a coherent sense of cultural identity. In Chapter 3 Donna Buchanan draws our attention to the strong links that can exist between national identity, popular music consumption and other areas of mass entertainment practices, while in Chapter 6 Ted Swedenburg focuses on Danna International, an individual performer who self-consciously embodies contradictory and ambiguous signs of identity. This example reminds us that while the technological dislocation of popular music facilitates its dissemination across cultural

boundaries (in this case between Israel and Egypt), this transmission can also be highly transgressive. The most extreme illustration of the political repression of identity is provided by Stephen Mamula in Chapter 2, which shows how the Khmer Rouge effectively erased all popular music in Cambodia during the 1970s. In Pol Pot's Year Zero, popular music, alongside every other symbol of cosmopolitanism, was considered a corrupt influence and most of its practitioners were executed. Mamula explains how, a generation later, Cambodian pop has been rebuilt from pre-terror recordings.[5]

Global Perspectives

As popular music is typically disseminated technologically and is easily transmitted across borders, it is inevitable that the issue of globalization is common to many of the essays included here. Many explore the extent to which the world's most powerful regions exercise hegemonic influence over their weaker neighbours, or how 'local' musics might otherwise be drawn into the sphere of an international recording industry. In an important critique, Thomas Turino tackles the subject head on in Chapter 9 by questioning whether the concept of globalization has itself become too simple a concept in academic writing. He argues instead that as the precise 'scapes' and 'flows' of intercultural engagement are unique to any one context, the term 'globalization' should only be employed for the rare circumstances where the entire world is equally touched by a phenomenon. Elsewhere, the concept still finds traction, with Wai-Chung Ho (Chapter 11) and Brian Larkin (Chapter 13) looking at Hong Kong and Nigeria respectively. In each situation they demonstrate that despite the strong superficial influence of international musical forms, it is the local process of interpretation and consumption that remains most significant. In Hong Kong, Canto-Pop needs to be understood as existing in a specific cultural niche between popular music sung in Mandarin and in English. In Nigeria, Bandiri occupies a sometimes uncomfortable space between Indian music and Hasua traditions – Islam here serving as the common cultural factor. Other essays that consider the relationship between national politics and popular culture also discuss the extent of international cultural influence. Geoffrey Baker's essay on Cuban Hip-Hop (Chapter 12) provides an example of the adoption of 'foreign' protest music, employed here to address a local nationalist agenda. Here, not only is rap used to promote Cuba's revolutionary ethos, but the music is claimed as the *most* authentic form of hip-hop, asserting that the US version has developed away from the radical social critique with which it is associated. In each of these case studies, the immediate context has contributed towards distinct local meanings, despite the fact that the identifiable sound of the music has persisted. The song words, indeed the language itself, may have changed in the process of adaption, but the musical structures of the genres are still recognizable. In Chapter 10 Jocelyne Guilbault discusses the complex interaction between a Caribbean popular music and globalizing tendencies, but in this case she uses the example of Zouk to challenge academic assumptions about this relationship.[6]

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[5] Beyond this volume, readers might wish to further explore the relationship between political power and popular music in Averill (1997), Slobin (1996), Stokes (1992) and Tenaille (2000).

[6] For other ethnographic studies of specific genres, see also Guilbault's book, *Zouk: World Music in the West Indies* (1993), Goodman (2005) on Berber popular music, Waterman (1990) on Nigerian Juju

Music Industries

Because of their presumed transient nature, popular musics have long been considered particularly more prone than other genres to technological and stylistic innovation. Consequently, many studies of pop, whether in a Western or non-Western context, have focused upon the mode of production. A number of essays included in this selection consider the interconnections between musical innovation and other media technologies. As Larkin shows in Chapter 13, Hindi film songs have been an important influence upon Nigerian Bandiri music, and in Chapter 15 Scott Marcus describes the cinema's impact on the relatively fixed canon of melodies employed in North Indian folk music (see also Dudrah and Desai, 2008). Each melody, we are told, has traditionally served as a signifier of a particular caste, social event or gender, so when new song words are put to these melodies a tension is created between linguistic and musical meanings. Marcus explains that although melodies adopted from film music are relatively poor in extra-musical references, musicians nevertheless strive to incorporate them into their performances. In Chapter 14 Peter Manuel discusses the musical changes brought about in India by the introduction of cassette production technology. In practice, cassettes devolved control over musical reproduction from large international companies such as HMV to local micro-producers. This resulted in a growth of pop musics that employed minority ethnic languages and covered previously taboo subjects such as sex and sectarian politics. John Baily, in Chapter 17, stresses the central importance of radio broadcast networks in maintaining a popular music industry in 1970s Afghanistan, while in Chapter 19 Bart Barendregt and Wim van Zanten examine the impact of a range of contemporary media on Indonesian indie music. DVD piracy, music TV and the internet have all influenced pop music here, in a period where conservative religious views have clashed with a political impetus towards deregulation. Just as broadcast music seems capable of crossing all kinds of physical and moral boundaries, so it is itself increasingly bound to visual media such as films, videos, phone ringtones and games.[7]

Christine Yano reminds us in Chapter 16 that the music industry is not just a system for the production of songs and marketable performers, but to some extent also shapes its own audience. This Japanese case study explores the voluntary bonds formed between fan club and singers of sentimental *enka* songs, demonstrating that their extramusical modes of communication have much in common with other formal relationships, for example the duties observed between an individual and their family or employer. Although the artists' charisma is produced industrially in this case, the reciprocal obligations existing between performer and fan are both formal and emotional. Female music fans in Mali are the focus of Chapter 20 by Dorothea Schulz. Here she discusses the centrality of music in everyday conversations and networking between individuals. Although links between popular music, media, fashion, sexuality and commerce are far from unique to Mali, this case study explores the ethnic and gender aspects of fandom that are highly localized (see also Duran, 1995; Fairley, 1984; Racy, 1976; Taylor, 2000; Veal, 2007).

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and Cyrille (2002) on Creole popular music in Martinique. Valuable discussions of non-Western popular musics, identity and politics include Al Tee (2002), Shade-Poulsen (1999) and Smith (1975).

[7]   For comparative material from the region, see Becker (1975), Luvass (2009) and Williams (1990).

Returning to Japan, in Chapter 18 Judith Herd observes the process of image creation in the pop music industry. She shows how, in a major televised music competition, even though the music itself is highly standardized and even very Western sounding, the performers' visual images and deportment still conform to traditional communicative formulae. Once again, the music itself might be considered just one aspect of the meaningful material that is available for the listener to interpret and enjoy.

Historical Approaches

In recognition of the fact that popular musics have a temporal as well as a geographical context, a number of essays have been included that describe historical periods, popular musics and local scenes that perhaps no longer exist. Such works allow a certain longitudinal perspective and also mark a gradual methodological convergence between popular music studies, ethnomusicology and historical musicology. Unlike the situation that prevailed throughout the twentieth century, all these academic approaches are presently concerned with both the cultural and the political contexts of music-making, and also with the retrospective appraisal of individual composers or musicians. In the case of Mamula's essay (Chapter 2), the disappearance of a Cambodian popular music culture is tragically poignant, and similar circumstances might be said to prevail in Baily's Afghanistan (Chapter 17) or in Blum and Hassanpour's Iran (Chapter 5), where sudden and extreme political shifts have placed the livelihoods, and sometimes the lives, of musicians in jeopardy. Popular music's potential to function as a potent political sign renders musicians particularly vulnerable and exposed to intimidation.

In Chapter 22 Gage Averill covers roughly fifty hectic years of musical and social change in Haiti, explaining how the concept of cultural authenticity was negotiated through popular music in the midst of the political turmoil that occurred during this period. Invasion by the USA brought musical innovation, but this music was tainted by resentment towards outsiders. The emergence of authentic Haitian bands has been marked by competition between class- and race-based social groups, making popular culture a battleground for alternative notions of identity. An understanding of these divisive issues and of the political context over such a long period provides an invaluable baseline for contemporary research and cross-cultural comparison.

In Chapter 21 Suzel Reily reviews the career of a single composer who was highly significant in the history of Brazilian popular music. Tom Jobim is widely credited as the originator of bossa nova, the 'new style' that transformed Brazil's soundscape in the 1960s.[*] This music drew upon established samba traditions, combining its rhythmic essence with a novel melodic approach and a distinctly languorous lyrical mood. Bossa nova is one of many examples (reggae and salsa are notable among these) where non-Western popular musics have come to be highly influential at a global level. Reily shows how, given a strong case study, a biographical approach enables the exploration of history, politics, ethnicity, and musical

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[*]   See also Béhague (1973) for a discussion of this genre and Reily (2002) for her work on popular religious music elsewhere in Brazil. Another excellent biographical study is Virginia Danielson's book on the Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum (1997).

and technological development. While Gage Averill's case study considers somewhat similar issues with broader brushstrokes, Reily is able to link contemporary circumstances in Brazil directly to one person's musical journey.

Lara Allen, in Chapter 25, does likewise in her description of Dorothy Masuka's musical career in 1950s South Africa, when ethnic polarization effectively politicized all music-making. Describing Masuka's journey affords Allen valuable insight into the local music industry in the apartheid era. Historical and biographical accounts like these provide important case studies of musical dissidence, yielding valuable information that can then be compared to similar contexts around the world or with other periods in the same location. Their biographical nature shows the musician as a social actor, adopting strategies in response to shifting circumstances in order to maintain their creative freedom or simply to stay in employment.

In Chapter 24 Szu-Wei Chen describes a form of popular music from Shanghai that disappeared decades ago, swept aside by China's Cultural Revolution and since then largely forgotten. *Haipai* was a fusion of Chinese pentatonic melodies and lyrical symbolism, combined with Western jazz instrumentation and arrangements. It was not just another example of musical creolization, but also a multimedia genre in the contemporary sense as it featured prominently in the first Chinese sound films. Before the commercial culture industry moved to Hong Kong in the 1960s, Shanghai was China's centre of musical and media innovation. Chen's historical study reminds us that cultural flows are perfidious, perhaps especially where popular musics, which are not supported by centuries of tradition, are concerned. Political shifts, technological modifications or simple changes in taste can render popular musical practices obsolete overnight.

Yngvar Steinholt reminds us in Chapter 23 that academics and musicians sometimes share views about what is important in music. In the Russian pop he describes it is the literary value of the songs that is prized above other musical elements. Songs that have profound, well-crafted lyrics imbue the author with an aura of authentic artistry and this contradicts the predictability of much of pop's musical structures and the industrial mode of dissemination it is subject to after creation.[9] Gestural reactions against the music industry are frequent elsewhere in the world – Bob Dylan in the 1960s and the 1970s punk rock scene in the UK are examples of popular turns towards a musically simple 'authenticity' and against a musically sophisticated 'false consciousness'. However in this case, it seems that the regional emphasis on language can also be linked to folk aesthetics and values.

Conclusion

The scope of this collection is deliberately broad, in the hope that this diversity will allow readers to find their own ways to explore and find connections between popular musics from very different places and times. There are inevitably many ways of comparing these case studies other than the order in which they are presently organized, and each might be considered a starting place for further research, whether on a regional, theoretical or

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[9]   Gronow (1975) discusses a similar field in Russian pop, but concentrates on its references to various constructions of ethnicity.

thematic basis. Many of the authors featured here have expanded their ideas into book-length publications, and the journals in which these essays first appeared are also invaluable resources. Researchers should also note that the amount of high quality online material provided by the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (www.oxfordmusiconline.com) and the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (glnd.alexanderstreet.com) is growing steadily and often offers media-rich illustrations. The question of how non-Western popular musics are distinct from any other form is complex – relations between musical, political, technological and cultural spheres change constantly. What these examples provide are detailed snapshots of the circumstances prevailing at specific times and places. Taken together they allow us to comprehend the local significance of an increasingly deterritorialized cultural field.

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