1 Popular Musics and Globalization

Foreign Music is where all the hipsters are.
—Stanley Goman, Head of Retail Operations, Tower Records, 1995[1]

HASN'T WORLD MUSIC BEEN AROUND FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS?

One of the most notable trends in the music industry since the 1980s has been the rise in popularity of new music genres: world music, world beat, world fusion; in Germany, *Weltbeat* and *Weltmusik*[2]; in other parts of the world, ethnopop, Afropop, Afrobeat. Offshoots of these genres include: tribal, techno-tribal, and cybertribal, as well as ambient, trance, and new age. All of these categories overlap to some degree and with other categories I haven't mentioned. In 1988, Tower Records' international buyer told *Newsweek* that his section was "definitely the fastest growing part of the store," more than tripling in the previous three years.[3] By 1991 the market share of world music was equal to classical music and jazz,[4] two very small categories (according to the Recording Industry Association of America, in 1995, the market share of classical music was 2.9% and for jazz, 3.0%; they had no category for world music as of this writing).[5] A report in *Forbes* says that only about 2% of Tower Records' sales are of "foreign music."[6]

Two percent isn't much, but the visibility (audibility?) of world music is growing fast. For example, the Pakistani Qawwali singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan sang a duet with Eddie Vedder of Pearl Jam for the soundtrack to Tim Robbins's film *Dead*

Man Walking, which raised Khan's fame to the extent that he was recently signed by Rick Rubin's American Recordings, an eclectic label that records, among others, Johnny Cash, Jesus and Mary Chain, Donovan, Pete Droge, Sir Mix-a-Lot, and Slayer.[7] Plans are in the works for Khan to release two traditional albums and possibly one featuring more duets. "Nusrat is a powerful and charismatic performer," says label founder Rubin, "and in Pakistan, his singing is referred to as 'the voice of God'. I want to try and help him make the best records he can."[8]

So to what do these labels refer? The history of the world music designation isn't difficult to trace, though we should tease out an early academic meaning and a more recent, popular one. As early as the late 1970s and early 1980s some ethnomusicologists were using the term world music to describe all the musics of the world's peoples. No one then saw it as a phrase with potentially pejorative undertones; it was merely a shorthand way of separating the musics of west and the rest. So there were conferences with world music as the subject, and a book, by Bruno Nettl, examining *The Western Impact on World Music*.[9]

But the term did not really gain much currency until a little later. In *The Virgin Directory of World Music*, Philip Sweeney explains:

> In the summer of 1987, a series of meetings took place in an upstairs room of a North London pub, the Empress of Russia. Present were about 25 representatives of independent record companies, concert promoters, broadcasters and other individuals active in the propagation in Britain of music from around the world. The objective was to discuss details of a modest promotional campaign for the autumn, and to boost sales of the increasing numbers of records being issued, as the boom in interest in African music continued and extended to other parts of the world. One of the obstacles to persuading record shops to stock much of the new international product was reported to be the lack of an identifying category to describe it, record shop managers didn't know whether to call it "ethnic", "folk", "international", or some other equivalent, and were inclined in the absence of an appropriate niche in their racks simply to reject it. It was decided, as part of a month-long promotion that October, to create such a tag and attempt to spread its use via one or two music press adverts, a cassette compilation of music on the various labels involved in the campaign, and the distribution to record shops of "browser cards" bearing the new appellation, to be placed in the sections it was hoped they would now create in their racks. After a good deal of discussion the term chosen was world music, other contenders such as "Tropical Music" being judged too narrow of scope. . . . Within months the term was cropping up in the British press, within a year it had crossed the Channel and was rivalling the existing French phrase "sono mondiale", coined three years earlier by the fashionable Paris glossy *Actuel* and its broadcasting subsidiary Radio Nova, and within three years it was in regular mainstream music industry use in Britain, the United States and northern Europe. [Probably less than three years, if the traditionally slow *Billboard* established a world music chart in

1990, the term was certainly in circulation before then.] This may be regrettable for those people, including myself, who dislike the term for its combination of a meaninglessly wide literal field of reference, with a capricious and subjective actual application, but it is also understandable. No better short phrase has yet been proposed, and thus the term World Music has taken on quite a sturdy life of its own, which is one of the reasons it forms the title of this book.[10]

I quote this story at length because it illustrates the kinds of drives that create markets and niches, how they came to being in the margins and moved into the mainstream (sometimes), and how creating a physical space to put the products in has much to do with how the product is labeled, marketed, and bought. In one gesture the old but not quite gone "international" label (which could include anything from Clancy and Makem Irish singalongs to polkas) is supplanted by a trendier, less musty, less your-grandparents'-music category that encompasses everything from field recordings made by ethnomusicologists to the latest in pop and rock from outside Europe and North America.

Sometimes, though, if this pop originates outside Europe and America, it might be labeled world beat, which is a term used more by listeners than the music industry. Steven Feld writes of the ways that the discourses surrounding world music and world beat began as mutually distinct categories but are getting less and less differentiated as time goes on.[11] This is probably true; world music has become an umbrella category for the musics of the world that are folk and/or traditional. World beat musics—more identifiably popular than folk or traditional—can fall into this all-inclusive label but more often refer to musics that are oriented more to North American and British pop and rock. And the world beat label hasn't enjoyed the success in the music industry that the more general world music has. "World beat," when used at all, usually applies to popular musics from non-European cultures, though there is some exclusivity, as well as much overlapping.[12] The term isn't usually applied to music by western popular musicians such as Peter Gabriel and Paul Simon—their music is, generally, "rock"—but rather is reserved for nonwestern musicians like Youssou N'Dour. As *Billboard*'s New Age and World Music chart manager Eric Lowenhar put it in 1991, "Warner [Warner Bros., Simon's record company] has asked why I won't put him [Simon] on the [World Music] charts. We need to give other artists their own place."[13] (Simon's music is usually on the Adult Contemporary charts).

Andrew Goodwin and Joe Gore provide an excellent discussion of this term in "World Beat and the Cultural Imperialism Debate," in which they identify a 1983 album of that title by an Austin, Texas musician Dan Del Santo as the origin of the term.[14] Del Santo's music on this album is a kind of funk/rock/jazz; the eponymous track is an instrumental in the same vein. His 1990 album *Off Your Nyash* features a photo of him on the cover over the caption: "The Undisputed Originator of World Beat."[15] And World Beat is the name of his band; World Beat Music is the name of his publishing company.

Later, the American independent record label Shanachie, which had previously concentrated on African and Irish musics, began a new series called "World Beat/Ethno-Pop" in 1988. This label appeared on the cover of several of their albums, but the company seems to have dropped the series title after only a few years for the simpler "World" designation.[16] In the meantime, many of the artists they introduced to American artists in this series achieved the kind of popularity most musicians dream of: they moved from this independent ("indie") company to a bigger one, as did, for example, Ofra Haza, Sheila Chandra, Dissidenten, and others.

On Shanachie's release of Ofra Haza's *Fifty Gates of Wisdom*, the company explained their series as follows:

> All around the globe new music is being made which takes the world's myriad musical traditions, with all their power and eloquence, and injects them with the intensity and urgency of Western pop, using the full palette of contemporary instruments and state-of-the-art recording techniques. . . . World Beat is a fascinating new mechanism which enables traditional music to again play the prominent role it historically has had in rejuvenating the world's popular music. Shanachie's World Beat/Ethno-Pop series presents many of the most impressive works of this provocative new movement.[17]

With this statement, Shanachie taps into many of the themes I will explore in these chapters: the mythification of nonwestern musics, rejuvenation, and a distancing of their series from the more traditional ethnomusicological ones associated with labels such as Folkways and the Nonesuch Explorer Series.[18]

SUBSIDIARY LABELS

Since the proliferation of world music, there has been an inevitable fracturing of this umbrella category into subgenres; Philip Sweeney's characterization of the world music label as marking a "meaninglessly wide literal field of reference" is quite correct.[19] New designations are cropping up all the time—I sometimes think my local record store has changed them every time I go in. So now there is ambient music, trance music, space music, world ambient, tribal music, ethnic fusion, ethno-techno, ethno-punk, techno-tribal, and doubtless others I haven't yet heard of, and still others that will appear after I have written this and before you read it.[20] Most of these musics overlap with each other and many overlap with the new age category, so that it is possible to find musicians without any world music experience or aspirations making acoustic/ambient/trance music that sounds to most listeners like some genericized "ethnic" music. And listeners to these musics overlap themselves. The proliferating newsgroups on the Internet that deal with new age and ambient musics talk about some of the same musicians and radio programs, for example.[21]

All of these labels possess an enormous currency in delimiting power. Their dispersal and their accompanying ideologies are perhaps best illustrated by two

examples. The first is a query of a puzzled Internet user in Hong Kong writing to the newsgroup rec.music.indian.misc (I have left the original spelling intact in this and all subsequent quotations of Internet postings unless otherwise indicated):

> I have never before been on this newsgroup. But I had to. In a local newspaper, a food journalist called the music in an Indian restaurant "definitely newage." I'm sure the music must have been Indian.
>
> Please tell me what is newage music and why would (if he did) the journalist call Indian music newage, when it has been around for thousands of years?

Stuart Hall's global post-modern was never more evident here: A Hong Kong Chinese person (judging by the name on his email address) inquiring about Indian classical music in an Indian restaurant in Hong Kong, addressing his question to the multinational users of the Internet.

The second example comes from a recent trip to Mexico City. I walked into the Tower Records and found all the usual U.S. and U.K. pop and rock music suspects on the ground floor, labeled "Pop" and "Rock." All the Mexican and other Latin American pop and rock musics were upstairs in the World Music section of the store, a bigger section, with a live karaoke singer performing the latest hits.

WELCOME TO THE MARKET

Steven Feld has written that "commodity capitalism, and particularly monopoly capitalism, promotes musical tokenism. And 'world beat' at this juncture is deeply about musical tokenism, especially in the way marketing strategies oppose it to 'world music'."[22] In order to track one of the forms of hegemony of this kind of musical tokenism, and explore further the ways that "world music" was a commercial construction, we should look at the music sales periodical of record, *Billboard* magazine and its charts. As the magazine itself writes in its advertisements, "It isn't a hit until it's a hit in *Billboard*," and they're quite right, for they publish the lists of hits and hitmakers.

CHARTS

Billboard heralded the debut of their World Music chart in May of 1990, with these words:

> *Billboard* introduces its World Music chart in this issue. . . .
>
> Based on reports from a panel of 40 dealers, the World Music chart lists the top 15 best-selling albums in this growing genre. The chart will run biweekly in the Retail section in tandem with the 25-position New Age chart under the heading Top Adult Alternative Albums. . . .[23]

The juxtaposition with the New Age chart and subsumption of both new charts under the heading "Top Adult Alternative Albums" tells much about how world

music has been positioned within existing music categories: it is designed to be music for grown-ups, music as wallpaper, music that does not, on its reasonably attractive and accessible surface, raise sticky problems about misogyny, racism, colonialism, what have you. And it is more than just a juxtaposition, for the same person manages both the World Music and New Age charts.[24]

A compilation of all the World Music charts from *Billboard* magazine gives some inkling as to who and what sells, in addition to revealing a few trends.[25] One is the huge portion of reggae musicians in the World Music chart, until *Billboard* began a reggae chart in the issue of 4 March 1994.[26] But one trend seems to come out of nowhere. In March 1995, the label Narada introduced *Celtic Legacy: A Global Celtic Journey*, which debuted at the number 2 position. It never attained number 1, though it remained on the charts for 52 weeks and appeared on *Billboard*'s list of the top ten World Music albums of 1995. This success was quickly followed (partly by accident and partly by design, it seems, given the dates) by more releases of albums with "Celtic" in the title, thirteen of which charted by August 1996. Several have sold quite well, though none as well as the first. This craze for things Celtic caused one of the major labels, Atlantic (part of WEA, one of the six biggest record companies in the world) to create a line called Celtic Heartbeat, which offers music by the Irish band Clannad, among others. I should also note that some of these albums appeared on the New Age charts as well. Atlantic/Celtic Heartbeat's promotional material pulls together features of the discourses and imagery of authenticity, new age and more, to hook potential listeners. For example, a promotional postcard issued in 1995, features text, partly in a "Gaelic" font, superimposed over a stormy seaside sunset seen behind a castle tower halfway in view that is faded into the water so that it appears not quite real.[27]

> Over the Miles
> Over the Centuries
> Celtic Heartbeat
> Music with Resonance

> Celtic music is as unique as Ireland itself:
> its people, their history, their future. It encompasses wonder,
> mysticism and tradition. And now there is a label
> dedicated to bringing the best of Celtic music to the world:
> Celtic Heartbeat.

Another indicator of the success of "Celtic" music is the response to a 1993 Volkswagen television ad that included background music by Clannad. The company received so many calls about the music that a revised version of the spot included the band's name and song title, which anyone who watches television advertisements will know is unusual.[28] This ad propelled the album *Anam* (the Irish word for "soul"), originally released in 1982, onto the World Music charts

beginning on 17 April 1993 where it remained for 55 weeks, making it one of the best-selling World Music albums of 1993. This belated boost also raised sales from the original 45,000 to over 250,000 and helped make Clannad one of the top-selling World Music bands since the charts began and the number one World Music band in 1993 (the album itself was no. 5). Sales of the Volkswagen Passat also increased by 25%.

The reason for this surge of interest in things "Celtic" isn't entirely clear, though I would propose it has something to do with the increasing consciousness of ethnicity in contemporary American life and the concomitant commodification of ethnicity in music, even white ethnicities: European Americans are loath to be left out. In making this point, I am rehearsing a widely made argument in studies of ethnicity in the United States concerning some members of the dominant culture's perceptions of themselves as lacking an ethnic identity. The issue of dominant middle-class envy of ethnic communities surfaced, for example, in *Habits of the Heart*, where the authors explicitly oppose the middle-class emphasis on individuality with lower-class concern for group solidarity and relationships. This contrast, the authors suggest, "is expressed by middle-class Americans themselves when they entertain envious fantasies about more 'meaningful community' among lower-class racial and ethnic groups or among (usually European) aristocracies."[29] Enter the craze for the Celtic, a word sufficiently vague that almost any white American could claim to have some Celtic ancestry. Also, as usual in discussions of world music, the new age isn't far away, for Celtic beliefs form an important part of some new age beliefs and practices.

Another trend worth noting is the rise of collections; there were none on the charts until early 1993, when Ellipsis Arts . . .'s 4-CD *Global Meditation* arrived, where it stayed for 33 weeks. This success, combined with the lesser success of their *Global Celebration* (also 4 CDs), helped make Ellipsis Arts . . . a player in the world music market, for it appeared on *Billboard*'s list of the top-five world music labels in 1993; they are also expecting to increase their annual earnings by about 25% from 1995 to 1996.[30] The success of such collections isn't difficult to understand, since they are mostly compilations of previously released material and are thus relatively inexpensive to assemble, especially if the company already owns the rights to the recordings. Further, as musical *hors d'oeuvres*, they don't tax listeners' attention spans.

My compilations of all the charts contain no surprises: western musicians dominate.

Table I.1
Billboard's Best-Selling World Musicians.

Position	Artist	Years on Top Chart	Region/Music
1.	Gipsy Kings	1990, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996	France: Flamenco
2.	Clannad	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996	Ireland: Celtic
3.	Strunz & Farah	1991, 1992, 1996	fusions

Table 1.1 (continued)

Position	Artist	Years on Top Chart	Region/Music
4.	Boukman Eksperyans	1991, 1993	Haiti
5.	The Chieftains	1995, 1996	Ireland: Celtic
6.	Ry Cooder	1994, 1995	North America
7.	Cesaria Evora	1995, 1996	Cape Verde
8.	Angélique Kidjo	1992, 1994	Benin
9.	Lebo M	1995, 1996	South Africa: pop
10.	Loreena McKennitt	1995, 1996	Canada: Celtic
11.	Youssou N'Dour	1991, 1992	Senegal
12.	Ali Farka Toure	1993, 1994	Mali
13.	Zap Mama	1993, 1994	Africa/Europe: fusions
14.	3 Mustaphas 3	1991	England: fusions
15.	Altan	1994	Ireland: Celtic
16.	Mary Black	1995	Ireland: Celtic
17.	Cirque du Soleil	1995	French-Canadian
18.	Sheila Chandra	1993	England: fusions
19.	Johnny Clegg and Savuka	1990	South Africa
20.	Ry Cooder and V. M. Bhatt	1993	North America/India: fusions
21.	James Galway	1996	Ireland: Celtic
22.	Mickey Hart	1992	North America: fusions
23.	Ofra Haza	1993	Israel
24.	Henry Kaiser and David Lindley	1992	North America/Africa: fusions
25.	Salif Keita	1994	Senegal
26.	Kronos Quartet	1992	North America/Africa: fusions
27.	Ladysmith Black Mambazo	1990	South Africa
28.	Baaba Maal	1993	Senegal
29.	Hugh Masekela	1994	South Africa
30.	Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens	1990	South Africa
31.	Thomas Mapfumo	1991	Zimbabwe
32.	Sergio Mendes	1992	Brazil
33.	Margareth Menzes	1990	Brazil
34.	Mouth Music	1991	Scotland: Celtic
35.	Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares	1990	Bulgaria
36.	Nightnoise	1995	Ireland: Celtic/new age
37.	Outback	1992	Australia/Africa: fusions

Table 1.1 (continued)

Position	Artist	Years on Top Chart	Region/Music
38.	Keali'i Reichel	1996	Hawai'i
39.	Ravi Shankar and Philip Glass	1990	India/North America: fusions
40.	Sweet Honey in the Rock	1994	African-American: gospel
41.	The Tahitian Choir	1993	Tahiti
42.	Bill Whelan	1996	Ireland: Celtic

Since *Billboard* compiles its charts based on sales, it is no surprise that, for the most part, fairly unchallenging music appears at the top of these lists.[31] In particular, there is never any music from the far east, which most western listeners find the most foreign, despite the spate of press coverage of such albums as the Okinawan Shoukichi Kina's *Peppermint Tea House* on Luaka Bop.[32] Even with the popularity of some African musicians, western European and North American musicians still sell the most. "If it isn't Celtic or the Gipsy Kings, it's very hard to get on the *Billboard* World Music chart," says Suzanne Hannema, U.S. product manager for Real World, the English label founded by Peter Gabriel.[33]

Table 1.2
Billboard's Best-Selling World Music Albums.

Artist	Album Title	Debut date	500,000 date	1,000,000 date
Gipsy Kings	*Gipsy Kings*	5/19/90	5/19/90	6/10/95
The Chieftains	*The Long Black Veil*	2/18/95	3/18/95	
Lebo M	*The Lion King: Rhythm of the Pride Lands*	3/18/95	5/13/95	
Gipsy Kings	*Mosaique*	5/19/90	5/27/95	
Gipsy Kings	*The Best of the Gipsy Kings*	4/15/95	5/25/96	

As western musicians dominate the charts, the biggest and most powerful recording companies dominate: ten of the sixteen companies represented are one of the six majors (CEMA, EMD, PolyGram, Sony, UNI, WEA), and five of nine of these are in the top two thirds.

Table 1.3
Labels with charted albums.[34]

Label	Years	Owned By
Mango	1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994	PolyGram
Elektra	1990, 1991, 1992	WEA
Shanachie	1991, 1992, 1993	independent
Warner Bros.	1990, 1995, 1996	WEA
Atlantic	1993, 1994	WEA

Table 1.3 (continued)

Label	Years	Owned By
Hannibal	1992, 1994	Ryko-independent
Nonesuch	1995, 1996	WEA
RCA Victor	1995, 1996	BMG
Ryko	1991, 1992	independent
Walt Disney	1995, 1996	independent
Capitol	1990	EMD
Elektra Musician	1994	WEA
Ellipsis Arts. . .	1993	independent
RCA	1995	BMG
Triloka	1994	independent
Windham Hill	1996	BMG

GRAMMY AWARDS

If *Billboard* keeps track of the day-to-day affairs of the music industry, the annual Grammy awards presented by the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS) recognizes those who sell and excel. Not long after *Billboard* introduced its World Music chart, NARAS added a new Grammy award category for world music in the summer of 1991. NARAS president Michael Greene employed some unmemorable press-conference speak to justify this: "We noticed activity connected to these specific forms of music. We realized these genres were growing and more young artists were getting involved."[35] Greene also announced at the time, NARAS's decision to limit the fields of Latin, new age, folk, blues, reggae, polka, bluegrass, children's, comedy, spoken word, and engineering/nonclassical as album-only categories, meaning that only whole albums can be considered, not single songs. Greene's comment on this decision contrasts with the world music Grammy winners thus far: "We wanted to keep pop singers from doing one song with a reggae beat and being included in that category. This is a purification process, it creates a more mature category as opposed to having pop artists dabbling in our specialized fields."[36]

The creation of charts and awards doesn't mean that world music was previously ignored, but that it showed up—albeit rarely—in other categories. The first in the Grammys was the "Best Performance, Folk" category introduced in 1959, the year after the Grammys began. Appendix 2 contains a complete list of this designation and its spinoffs from their inceptions, and a perusal of it clearly indicates changing tastes in the "exotic" as well as the increase in diversity of the kinds of music represented. What is at first obvious is that whatever passed for "folk" music in the 1950s and 1960s would not fall in these categories today. For example, Harry Belafonte, the biggest winner in the '50s and '60s, followed by Peter, Paul, and Mary, was usurped by the mid-1960s, by hipper, urban musicians. Belafonte, the most frequent winner in the first half of the 1960s, was never again nominat-

ed for another Grammy in any of these categories. In 1970, the name of the award was changed again to "Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording (Including Traditional Blues)," so many African-American blues singers begin to take over the awards in this category. In 1974, the name was changed again to "Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording (Including Traditional Blues and Pure Folk)," indicating a recognition of a kind of authenticity. No matter the title, though, throughout the 1970s, Muddy Waters and Doc Watson took almost all the awards, so that by 1982, a "Best Traditional Blues Recording" Grammy was added, and in 1986, the name of the ethnic/traditional category was changed to "Best Traditional Folk Recording." Still, despite a few nominations along the way (for Miriam Makeba, Ravi Shankar, and Ali Akbar Khan), no non-U.S. musician (except Canadian Joni Mitchell, who won in 1969 for *Clouds*) ever won an unshared Grammy in any of these categories until 1987, when Ladysmith Black Mambazo earned the award for *Shaka Zulu*, their first album after working with Paul Simon on *Graceland* in 1986. The Grammy nominees and awards have pretty much tracked *Billboard*'s World Music charts, for nearly all Grammy nominees appeared on the *Billboard* charts, and three of the five winners attained the number 1 position on the chart.

The Grammy awards in World Music thus far have gone to:

Table 1.4
Grammy Winners for Best World Music Album.

1991	*Planet Drum*	Mickey Hart and guests
1992	*Brasileiro*	Sergio Mendes
1993	*A Meeting by the River*	V. M. Bhatt and Ry Cooder
1994	*Talking Timbuktu*	Ali Farka Toure and Ry Cooder
1995	*Boheme*	Deep Forest

What is interesting about this list is that most of the primary musicians come from the realm of U.S. popular musics, and that most of the awards went to collaborations: between Grateful Dead drummer Mickey Hart and a number of other percussionists from around the world; between rock/folk/jazz/roots/blues guitarist Ry Cooder and two world music stars, Indian musician V. M. Bhatt (who plays a *Mohan vīnā*, a kind of south Indian slide guitar) and Malian singer-guitarist Ali Farka Toure. None of these albums makes it into *World Music: The Rough Guide* (the most comprehensive guidebook of world music, which I'll discuss below), which helps point out the difference between the "pure" world music focus of that guide and the syncretic, popular, crossover world music favored by NARAS and *Billboard* and reflected in relatively high sales; this makes it clear that their president's claims of purification concerned album style and consistency, not musical style.

If we look at the nominations for the Grammys we find a little more range than the list of winners might lead us to expect. The 1994 Grammy nominations for "Best World Music Album" (obtained from the Internet,[37] reproduced below as Table 1.5) included musicians and entire bands from outside the North American and British popular music hegemony: the Gipsy Kings are from southern France;

Milton Nascimento is a black Brazilian; Youssou N'Dour is Senegalese and sings mainly in his native Wolof (I will discuss him in chapter 5); and Zap Mama (whom I'll discuss in chapter 7) is an African-Belgian group of women who sing in a variety of languages and styles from the African and European continents.

Table 1.5
1994 Grammy Nominees for Best World Music Album.

Angelus	Milton Nascimento
Love & Liberté	Gipsy Kings
The Guide (Wommat)	Youssou N'Dour
Sabsylma	Zap Mama
Talking Timbuktu	Ry Cooder with Ali Farka Toure

Ry Cooder and Ali Farka Toure eventually won, the second year in a row for Cooder and a nonwestern collaborator, thus showing that, as Paul Simon demonstrated with his Grammy-winning *Graceland* in 1986, hiring musicians from outside the west helps establish (or reestablish, in Simon's case) U.S. musician's visibility with the general public.

Table 1.6
1995 Grammy Nominees for Best World Music Album.

Boheme	Deep Forest
Cesaria Evora	Cesaria Evora
Firin' in Fouta	Baaba Maal
Raga Aberi	Shankar with Zakir Hussain and Vikku Vinayakram
The Splendid Master Gnawa Musicians of Morocco	The Splendid Master Gnawa Musicians of Morocco featuring Randy Weston

Not much changed in 1995; there was, again, a fairly wide variety of musics and musicians represented, but the award went, predictably, to Deep Forest's *Boheme*, a danced-up, sample-heavy, highly manipulated treatment of a range of musics, mainly from Eastern Europe, and the Hungarian folk singer Márta Sebestyén.[38] This album won after a well-publicized campaign by NARAS to make the Grammy choices hipper,[39] but as we have seen, there was little chance that any of the nonwestern nominees for 1995 would win, since there was no precedent for such a victory.[40] Even more plainly than the folk and blues categories, no world music Grammy has ever gone to a non-American musician or group exclusively (except for *Brasileiro*, and even that album was largely made in the U.S., where Mendes has lived since 1964).

The accompanying notes to the winning *Boheme* feature the same kind of new-ageifying and naturalizing evident from their earlier, popular *Deep Forest*; here is a sample from *Boheme*'s liner notes by the two principal musicians, Eric Mouquet and Michel Sanchez:

> The enchanting timbre of a strange woman's voice unmistakably marked Transylvania as our new destination in that stationary journey which gives our music mean-

ing. Echoes of deep forests, ancient legends and buried tales still resounded there. The voice revealed a name—Márta [Sebestyén], and she seemed to be singing directly to us. She would be the guide, thread and bird of good omen on our Bohemian wanderings.[41]

And the album's cover continues this natural theme with lovely, sunlight-filtered leaves.

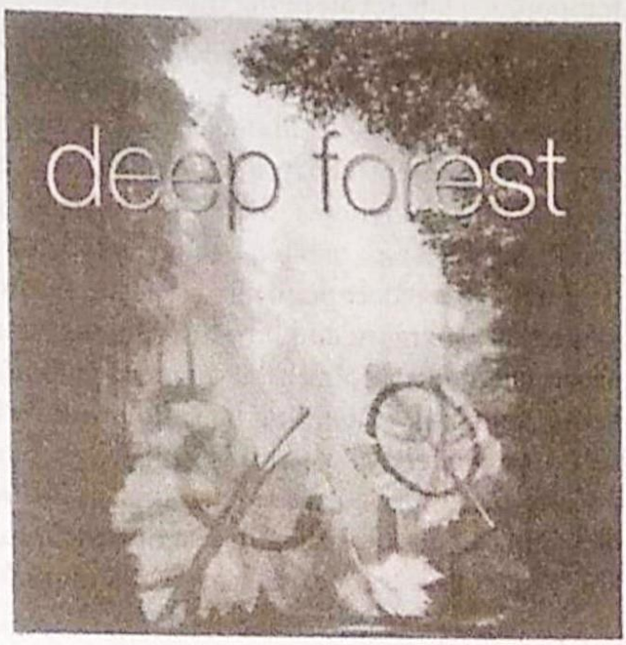

Figure 1.1
Deep Forest: *Boheme*, cover.

Perhaps more interesting—or at least, less predictable—at the 1995 Grammys, the master *sarod* player Ali Akbar Khan was nominated for a Grammy in the folk music category for his 2-CD album *Then and Now*; he lost to Ramblin' Jack Elliott's *South Coast*. There is nothing "folk" about Khan's music, of course; he plays Hindustani (North Indian) classical music, though it has become occasionally tinged by new age influences after his many years of living in San Rafael, California, where he has operated the Ali Akbar College of Music since 1967.[42] Also, the Los Angeles-based Chicano/roots/rock band Los Lobos won the Best Pop Instrumental Performance Grammy for their soundtrack to the film *Desperado*. These two examples show the slipperiness of the categories and the ways that musicians, particularly musicians outside the most prestigious categories, can be made to fit anywhere, no matter what their music may sound like.

Comparing the musics and musicians on *Billboard*'s world music charts to those of the Grammy awards', we find that NARAS is clearly more interested in world music not made in Europe or America (though some Europeans and Americans do appear). But the Celtic fringe is gone, and any recording that might be a blockbuster (such as Lebo M's sound track to Disney's *The Lion King: Rhythm of the Pride Lands*) is absent as well. NARAS's concerns may be more centered on "pure" world music than *Billboard*'s, but, even so, the awards thus far have

always gone to American or European stars who collaborate with or appropriate other musics and musicians and who show little long-term interest in these other musics and musicians.

The practices of marketing and labeling of world music and world beat continue an old binary of "the west" and "the rest," putting hugely diverse bodies of musics into the same box, while Gabriel, Simon, and other western musicians are allowed the more prestigious and general "rock" (or more specific "Adult Contemporary") label. Part of the impetus behind such labeling is that record stores need to put things in their place. If you go to a record store you find "rock" music as its own category, subdivided by the musician's names, whereas the nonwestern music section would be subdivided by country (or region or continent), then, perhaps, further subdivided by the musicians' names. Furthermore, all kinds of musical traditions from these cultures would be lumped together. It would be difficult to ask Tower Records or other national retailers to change their categories; but such commercial practices point out, yet again, the limitless ways capitalism constructs centers and margins, and how the margins, no matter how diverse, are nonetheless undifferentiated almost beyond recognition. Record stores' approaches to marketing, labeling, and selling help demonstrate the contradictory and conflicted nature of capitalism, which Lawrence Grossberg has described as a "difference-making machine," but a machine that, as he knows, also seeks stability and predictability. In this case, stability is achieved through the establishment of standard, homogeneous categories such as "world music" that are in the end neither stable nor homogeneous at all.[43]

CROSSOVER DREAMS

Even though marketing strategies try to lump diverse musics into single categories, they also frequently use multiple music categories at one time. Probably the best illustration of this trend is the recent release of *Vision: The Music of Hildegard von Bingen* by Angel Records, obviously an attempt to follow up on the success of Angel's *Chant*, a recording of Gregorian chants by Benedictine monks from Santo Domingo de Silos in Spain, an album that went gold and platinum in 1994, the first ever platinum album for Angel (selling 3 million copies thus far), reaching the number 1 position on *Billboard*'s classical chart and number 3 on the pop charts.[44] The monks refused to make a second album for EMI/Angel, saying they had been underpaid for the first one, so Angel scrambled to recreate the success of *Chant*.[45] Hence, the cover art of *Vision* is remarkably similar to *Chant*; even the font is the same.[46] *Vision* was heralded with a full-page ad in *Rolling Stone*, two issues running, in late 1994, with three different toll-free numbers for listening, ordering, and more information. Dial the "Touchtunes™" number, punch in the 3-digit code for *Vision*, and you hear a stereotypically sexy woman's voice: "'There is the music of heaven in all things, and we have forgotten how to hear it until we sing.' Twelfth-century mystic and prophet Hildegard von Bingen lived in a heavenly world of music. Now, Hildegard transcends time, so *you* can

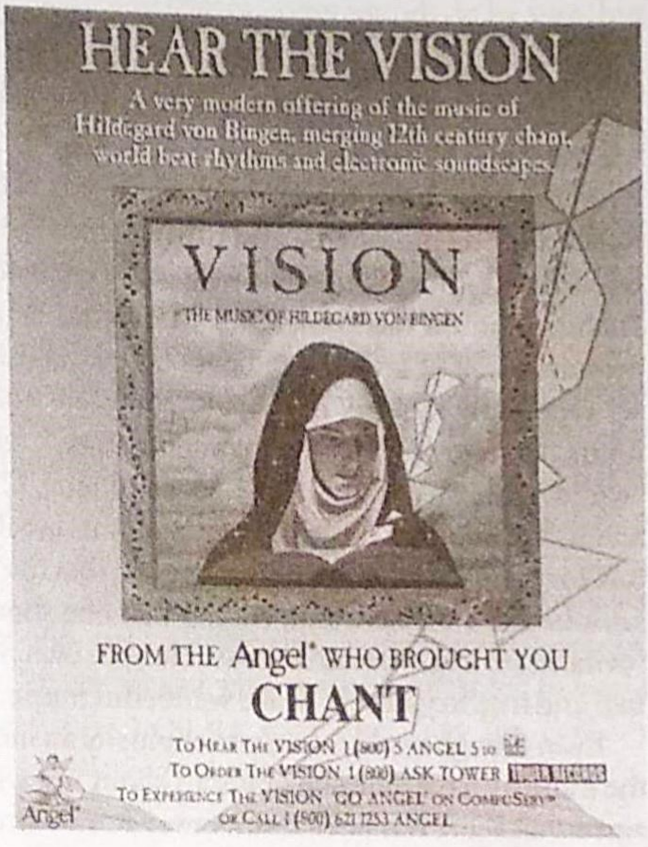

Figure 1.2
Angel/EMI advertisement for *Vision: The Music of Hildegard von Bingen.*

hear the *Vision*. From the Angel that brought you *Chant*, hear the *Vision*, exclusively on Angel Records." It sold 200,000 units in its first four months, very good sales indeed.[47]

The description in the ad, "a very modern offering of the music of Hildegard von Bingen, merging twelfth-century chant, world beat rhythms and electronic soundscapes," caught my attention. Angel seemed to think that using the marketing buzzwords "chant," "world beat," and "soundscapes" would catch the eyes of different portions of the market and that they would have successfully concocted another hit (marketers used a similar strategy to sell "Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles"—throw some buzzwords together and hope they strike home; this is what one might call the splatter effect). It is true that late capitalism has produced niche markets,[48] but just as true that by attempting to combine those markets, companies can attempt to turn a marginal product into a major one by bringing some of the contradictory strands of discourses together. *Vision* has indeed made the *Billboard* Classical Crossover charts (it was number 1 for 14 straight weeks), though by its sound it ought to be on the New Age chart. The press release from Angel continues the mixture of discourses, beginning by invoking new age sentiments—"CHANT brought you inner peace. VISION will illuminate that inner peace"—but continuing only a sentence later with the authenticity discourse familiar to listeners to early music: "Using two unique vocalists for authenticity, Sister Germaine Fritz, a Benedictine nun, and Emily Van Evera, a world renowned early music vocalist and historian. . . ."[49] Even though the wording isn't

entirely clear, here we have two different authenticities being invoked: the "early music" authenticity of Van Evera and the authenticity of Sister Germaine Fritz, prioress of St. Walburga Monastery in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Angel obviously wanted a nun to participate in the recording.[50]

At the same time, the world music aspect of the album isn't authentic in this way at all. The promised world rhythms turn out to have been available on a CD collection entitled *Supreme Beats: A Percussion Library by Bashiri Johnson.* Bashiri Johnson has worked for Madonna, Whitney Houston, and others and oversaw a staff of several additional percussionists for *Supreme Beats.* This 4-CD set reportedly took six months to complete and contains 650 grooves in four hours, in four categories: "contemporary," "dance/hip-hop," "African," and "world"; subcategories include Mozambique, Charleston, cha-cha, tribal vocal, and more. *Supreme Beats* is described by its label's chief executives as "a working tool for people who make music," saying that the collection is for people who use sampling as a creative tool, adding that one should "consider this collection an invitation to apply Bashiri's grooves to your own music. Use these sounds. Be original and true to yourself. Make wonderful music."[51] For $350.

Even though world music was originally an industry-sponsored term, people in the industry have differing opinions about just what world music is. Most people agree that there has been a shift away from ethnomusicological purism, so that now, world music artists are presented as artists, as individuals, instead of nameless "natives." So, for example, Peter Siegel, founder of Henry St. Records, says that the Chinese musician Sisi Chen's *Tides and Sand* album featuring the yangqin (a hammered zither-type instrument) would have been presented before as a yangqin album, "now it is designed to highlight Sisi Chen as a very expressive artist."[52]

WORLD MUSICIANS

The world is based on this system of labels and it's difficult to be successful if you don't slot nicely into a certain category. I think people regard me as a bit of a UFO!

—Sally Nyolo, formerly of Zap Mama[53]

While world music and world beat are putatively labels for musics, they are more often used to label musicians. The most exhaustive guide to world music, *World Music: The Rough Guide* looks at "ethnic" musics in particular places; here, the editors are concerned mainly with what they perceive to be "indigenous," "authentic" musics.[54] And they are marketing their book primarily to those western consumers who want to buy what they believe to be the authentic, the real. While the contributors to *World Music* detail musics that might be called popular, they only do this when the makers are "exotic."[55] So the authors will talk at length about aboriginal rock in Australia but not, say, the Pogues (Irish folk/rock/punk musicians). And they will look at rock in Asia but

avoid Cantopop and other soft-rock and pop genres, softer sounds, to be sure, but also far more lucrative and popular than the few rebel rockers still beloved by the west; these Cantopop stars (such as Jacky Cheung, Aaron Kwok, Leon Lai, Andy Lau, Faye Wong, and many others) sell millions of albums in China, southeast Asia and in other Cantonese-speaking communities around the world.[56] There is also no mention in *The Rough Guide* of any guide of karaoke, one of the biggest ways of making money through recorded music and one of the most popular forms of musical entertainment in Asia.[57]

If it seems that the world beat category refers to music that is somehow exotic, different, fresh, and North American/British pop/rock oriented, it is also true that musicians who make this—or any—music that sounds mainstream will be categorized by their ethnicity rather than music. For example, Banig (Josephine Banig Roberto), a Filipina teenager now living in Los Angeles who sounds like a Madonna wannabe, is nonetheless commonly classified as a world music figure, even though she sings in English in a totally recognizable mainstream pop/dance style.[58] Her record company, Del-Fi—not a world music specialty label—printed a full-page ad in *Rhythm Music Magazine* (the only magazine devoted to world music in the U.S.), half of which advertised her recording, *Can You Feel My Heart* (the other half dealt with several different releases).[59]

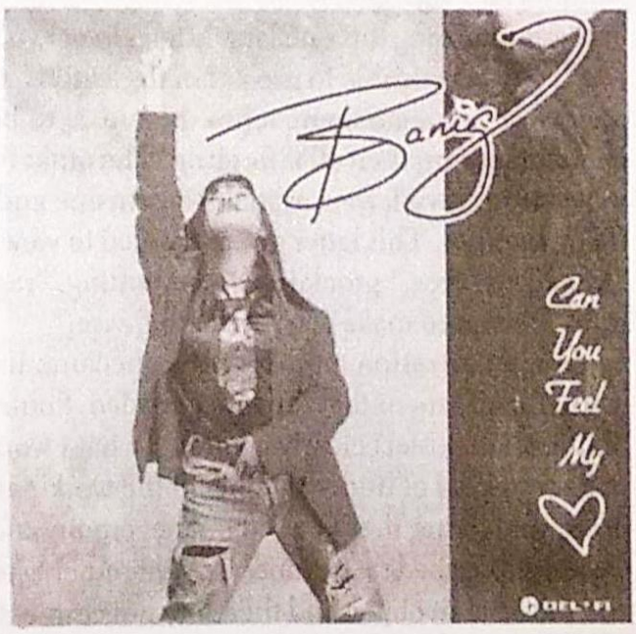

Figure I.3
Banig: *Can You Feel My Heart*, cover.

Can You Feel My Heart went to the top of the charts in Hawaii and Illinois, and was number 8 at the Virgin Megastore in Los Angeles.[60]

WORLD MUSIC LISTENERS

In addition to what academics, critics, retailers, and musicians say, listeners have their own ideas about what the music is and how it should be

treated. The spread of the Internet gives us a glimpse at some of these sentiments. Late in March 1996, a seemingly innocent posting appeared on alt.music.world:

> Subject: Sitar Music
>
> I'm not sure if that's how you spell it, but Rachel insists that it is. Who's that, you ask? Nobody important. Anyway, does anybody know anything about sitar music? (You know, the weird stuff in the background of Beatles movies) Thanx a lot :)

(In this and all subsequent quotations from the Internet, I have left the original spelling intact unless otherwise indicated.) Responses to this post quickly moved into a discussion of the politics of world music. South Asian posters (one in particular) were angered that an important instrument in Indian classical music could be referred to in this unknowledgeable, offhand way.

In the many subsequent postings, which appeared over a couple of weeks, several issues emerged. Many users felt guilty about the kinds of music they make or like:

> As a North American (several generations, very white), I am in the position of being a cultural rapist when I take instruments and styles from other cultures and use them for my own entertainment. Yet there is so much beauty in those elements, that I cannot help but want to play them myself.

Posts following this one largely fell along two lines. If you respect the borrowed music, it's permissible to use it. For these users, intentionality played a key role. If a western musician approaches the music to be appropriated with respect and good intentions, then all is forgiven. The other main argument was the belief that music is universal, free, available to anyone and everyone who wants to put it to their own uses. This latter group seemed to view music as having a life of its own: "Music *is* free," proclaimed one posting, "regardless of the *recording industry's* attempt to make you think otherwise."

One polarization among netters became increasingly clear and ultimately caused such rancor that the thread ended. Some posters (including the principal South Asian poster) clearly possessed what I would call a "culture concept": they had some kind of understanding of the workings of culture and the transmission of cultural forms; they knew about hegemony and were familiar with Left politics. Others subscribed to the more Enlightenment view that everyone is an individual, and music is an object and therefore not connected to any social space. The globalization of North American culture and North American music is minimal, according to these users: "No American anywhere forces anything cultural on anyone at anytime, particularly musical," wrote one. Then, in another post, this same person wrote, "I would like to hear how young people around the world are marched into record stores and forced to buy Madonna or Michael Jackson records." These discussions lasted nearly four weeks and finally fizzled. Presumably most users lost interest or deliberately stopped reading and posting out of anger.

Clearly, there are divergent ideas among these and other fans about what con-

stitutes world music and which strands of discourse around world music are the best or the true ones. If capitalism is conflicted and contradictory, so are listeners. As we will see in a moment, there are plenty of world musics to go around, whether one likes the authentic, the hybrid, the crossover, or some kind of combination.

THE DISCOURSES OF WORLD MUSIC

Thus far we have examined the rise of world music and the discourses contributing to its growth, including musicians' and listeners' positions on the subject. But these discourses did not just spring up out of nothing. What I want to do next is investigate some of the representations and commodifications of this new music to show how contemporary constructions of "nonwestern" musics betray underlying, old sensibilities about Others and their cultures. Several common strands emerge: rejuvenation, novelty, authenticity, originality, the "real," and the spiritual. All of these are intertwined, but I will attempt to separate them here.

SONIC TOURISM: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE NEW

One of the most salient discursive strategies is the use of language that emphasizes the diversity of the music, its freshness; the image of the "happy native" is not far from this kind of rhetoric. Of the three guidebooks currently available (*World Music: The Rough Guide*, Philip Sweeney's *The Virgin Directory of World Music*, and Peter Spencer's *World Beat*), Spencer's is the briefest and most revealing in its introductory comments, sounding something like a how-to guide for hip dinner parties. He writes,

> Nowadays the music you play needs to be sophisticated but not obtrusive, easy to take but not at all bland, unfamiliar without being patronizing.
>
> World music gives the American listener a sense of freedom from the constraints of standardized Anglo-American pop, without the arid, over-intellectual pomposity of much "progressive" music. World music is both entertaining and different. It takes the listener to a place where the world's various cultures meet happily and in the spirit of festival. It is a force for understanding and goodwill in an increasingly dark world.[61]

Spencer goes on to offer his own selection criteria, which, like those in *World Music: The Rough Guide*, amount to criteria of authenticity and novelty: "Basically, anything that sounds too familiar will be left out."[62] Such a statement indicates that the growing interest in world music isn't just a search for authentic sounds but *new* sounds, musics and musicians unpolluted by the market system of the late capitalist west, and sounds more accessible and ignorable than the insistent and in-your-face and under-your-skin popular styles of the 1990s rap, hip-hop, grunge, punk, pop-punk, and others.

Similarly, j. poet's guide to "worldbeat" in the *All-Music Guide* on the Internet continues many of the same ideas. A notion of consumption-as-health underlies much of his language.

> Cats and chicks will always need to boogie, and as rock 'n' roll slowly dies of boredom and cultural irrelevance (according to several recent *Billboard* surveys, rock currently accounts for less than 40% of the records sold in the U.S.) we're going to have to expand our horizons to find our minimum daily requirement of musical satisfaction. When you listen to the music of Latin America, Africa, Jamaica, Algeria, Java and other foreign climes you'll hear the kind of raw energy and hungry enthusiasm that's been missing from most pop music in this country for almost a decade. Most of the (white) world may suffer from an advanced case of xenophobic blindness (and deafness), but that's no reason to deprive yourself of some of the richest musical rewards our planet has to offer.[63]

Spencer's and poet's concern for novelty is echoed in the compact disc accompanying *The Virgin Directory of World Music*:

> The collection of songs . . . hopefully demonstrates that at a time when rock has become far too responsible to drop its trousers and most jazz couldn't be further from the "sound of surprise", a whole lot of stuff the marketeers confine to the World Music rack has at least one common denominator: its sheer freshness. If young people have been walking around into record stores and buying armfuls of Salif Keita and Milton Nascimento albums, then it's probably because they want to hear something NEW.[64]

There are several notions floating about in these excerpts. One centers on an old concern in rock music: the intellect versus the body.[65] Steven Feld has written cogently of the "beat" part of the world beat label, making much the same point.[66] It is therefore important to note that the most frequent way of describing the nature of the nonwestern music is to talk about rhythm. Watch for this in the musicians' quotations on their music in what follows. Rock music, we understand, which used to be pure sex, has lost its grinding energy; musics by others (read: people of color) still have something to do with sex. It is no accident, then, that Spencer's two examples, Salif Keita (from Mali) and Milton Nascimento (from Brazil), are both black. And jazz, we are supposed to think, while it used to be black and sexual, is now so academicized that it too has become sterile, whether the cerebral, abstract improvisations of Cecil Taylor, the studied, historically-informed work of Wynton Marsalis, or the new music musings of Anthony Braxton.

Another reason for the rise in the popularity of world music is that, as Spencer indicates, many listeners are looking for something out of the mainstream. If, in contemporary late capitalist culture, consumers continue to define themselves by their tastes, to be an individual one must have increasingly individualized tastes, increasingly non-mainstream tastes, increasingly eclectic or unusual tastes. American (and other) consumers who go to Wal- or Kwik-E- or K-Mart or wherever,

know, whether they admit it or not, that necktie, those socks, that automobile, they are buying is virtually identical to hundreds, thousands, hundreds of thousands of others. It may be impossible to ensure one's own subjectivity in a world in which everything is mass-produced, bought, and sold. But advertisers constantly tell contemporary consumers that it is possible and that the authentic is within reach of everyone who wants it.

AUTHENTICITY

Had Raymond Williams lived a little longer, "authenticity" would surely have been one of his keywords, for few ideas have surfaced more noticeably and more subtly than this one in the last decade. I have already touched on the "authenticity" with which most regular listeners to music are familiar: authenticity as historical accuracy (in "art" music) or cultural/ethnographic accuracy in world musics. Increasingly, though, there is confusion over these authenticities and an authenticity that refers to a person's positionality as racialized, ethnicized, subaltern, and premodern. Lionel Trilling[67] and Charles Taylor analyze a third authenticity: a sincerity or fidelity to a true self. Taylor explains: "There is a certain way of being human that is *my* way. I am called upon to live my life in this way, and not in imitation of anyone else's life" (emphasis in original).[68] But even this authenticity operates under various guises: sincerity as credibility, or being true to the emotions represented in the work, and sincerity as commitment to one's art.

Let me attempt to present all of these authenticities together as a whole, first, before teasing out the various strains.[69] First, I should note that all these authenticities have at bottom an assumption about an essential(ized), real, actual, essence. For Trilling and Taylor this essence is the modern, bourgeois, individual; in music it is an assumption of original, untainted ways of musicking and sounding. The problem is that there are multiple subject positions available to anyone and multiple interpretations and constructions of those positions. Those that are thrown into relief most frequently in music are the public/private conceptions of stars, and the artistic/personal existences of musicians. But the west, while it views its citizens as occupying many different subject positions, allows "natives" only one, and it is whatever one the west wants at any particular moment. So constructions of "natives" by music fans at the metropoles constantly demand that these "natives" be premodern, untainted, and thus musically the same as they ever were. Even more thoughtful critical discourse cannot escape these old binaries and expectations. Authenticity is jettisoned and hybridity is celebrated, but it is always "natives" whose music is called a hybrid (and you can tell this by the use of the natural metaphor to describe supposed "natural" peoples, cultures, and processes of hybridizing[70]). Musicians at the metropoles rarely make musics that are heard as hybrids (even if they are every bit as hybridized as musics from the peripheries) but instead are placed in more prestigious categories and praised, as was Paul Simon for *Graceland*: Simon reinvented himself artistically and successfully engineered a "creative rebirth."[71]

The discourse surrounding the Simon and *Graceland* case helps get at some of these issues.[72] Along with the theme of rejuvenation, which constantly surfaces in the rhetoric of western musicians who work with musicians and musics from around the world, there are the multiple subject positions available to metropolitans in late capitalism. "It's hard to know if you're being attacked as an artist or as a person,"[73] said Simon about the *Graceland* controversy, and that is the point: as a person he was resolutely anti-apartheid, as an artist, his western, voracious aesthetic allowed him to appropriate anything and do anything with it.

Capitalist structures that protect western subjects, with the most visible of these being, stars, allow western culture to emerge as simultaneously always mongrel and always pure. "Culture flows like water," says Simon, defending his work with black South African musicians. "It isn't something that can just be cut off."[74] Note yet another natural metaphor. Simon means, though, the "natural" culture of "natives"; his "culture" isn't culture in this anthropological sense at all: it is civilization, intellectual property. So *his* culture *can* be cut off: he has copyrights, agents, lawyers, publishers, record company executives at his disposal. And Simon's hybrids, appropriations, syncretisms—supported by these capitalist music-industrial structures—are conceived as nothing other than his individual creations, meaning they are only thought of as his original works. Western culture is neither pure nor impure because it is owned. It is constructed as outside the purview of such ideas as authenticity. But other cultures' forms are available to be constructed as pure or impure when they are not owned, and even, sometimes, when they are.

I would like to make it clear that the "authenticity" I am attempting to describe here is a real thing, not just a marketing tool or, as Martin Stokes has written, "a discursive trope of great persuasive power,"[75] or, as Iain Chambers has argued, on the wane.[76] But "authenticity" is something that many musicians and listeners believe in *and* use as a discursive trope. An example from my own experience might help make the highly contradictory nature of this concept a bit clearer. While as a scholar in using the term authenticity I am well aware of the problems that arise (as I hope this discussion demonstrates), with my other hat on, that of a player of Irish traditional music, I have a firm, inflexible idea about what is "authentic" in that music and attempt to play not merely in an authentic style but also seek out players with similar attitudes and pick as favorites bands that play in ways that conform to my conception of authenticity.

Authenticity of Positionality

Notions of what we can call "authenticity" seem to be increasingly common in the global postmodern. Consumers at the traditional metropoles look toward the former margins for anything real, rather than the produced. They want "real" gangsta rap musicians—black, poor, from the hood—not middle-class ones, and certainly not white ones. Time and again I see this in teaching (and in my own house with our teenager). The most important criterion for my students and

daughter in listening to a band isn't whether they are good, meaningful, or interesting, but if they have sold out to money, to commercialism. To "sell out" means to: 1) appear on MTV, or appear on any other major television network; 2) sign with a major label.[77] In that order, it seems. Prince Be of the hip-hop group P.M. Dawn says "a sell-out is someone who does shit that they can't fuckin' stand doing just to make money."[78]

If world musicians depart from their assumed origins they run the risk of being labeled as a sellout and/or perhaps losing their world music audience, which for many nonwestern musicians, is the only audience they have outside their immediate locale and circles. The discourse of selloutism applies far and wide, not just to world musicians. An example from the world of "alternative" rock will help make some of this clearer. A recent letter to *Spin* magazine, which had named Smashing Pumpkins the Artists of the Year in 1994, captures this disdain of the sellout, or the popular: "Kudos-plus to your Artist of the Year, Smashing Pumpkins. It's about time this band got the recognition it deserves. I've held the Pumpkins deep and close to my flaccid, hollow heart for so long it rather irks me that they have become mainstream and are not only mine anymore, but half of America's."[79] So, it would seem, owning a CD or a concert ticket here and there isn't enough: today's listeners/consumers seem to view themselves as owners of a piece of a band (or bands as owners of a piece of each of their earliest fans), a piece that gets smaller as the band gets bigger. And so if a band becomes nationally popular, they cease to "belong" enough to any individual.

By definition, world music musicians cannot be sellouts, since the structures of the music industry exclude virtually all world musicians from the venues, visibility, and profits that might make them appear to be sellouts to their fans. But listeners can construct these musicians as sellouts if their music seems to be too much like North American and U.K. popular musics: their betrayal is of music and place, not of anticommercial values. It is important to underscore this point: North American and British musicians can make whatever music they want and only be viewed as sellouts if they try to make money; any other musician is constrained by the western discourse of authenticity to make music that seems to resemble the indigenous music of their place and is cast as a sellout if they make more popular-sounding music, and/or try to make money. (I will unpack this dynamic as it relates to Youssou N'Dour and Angélique Kidjo in chapter 5.)

Authenticity of Emotionality

The discourse of emotionality and experience perhaps owes much to the rise of folk music, as outlined intelligently by Simon Frith in *Sound Effects*. It was, according to Frith, this demonstration of one's own emotional experience that gave folk music its power in the 1960s.[80] This concept in world music is often bound up with constructions of spirituality (hence one of the ways that the world music and new age music categories overlap). So, for example, Paul Simon was drawn to his collaborators on the album *The Rhythm of the Saints*, he says,

because he found it "real and emotional."[81] But mostly, listeners' demands for authentic spirituality apply to Others, whose perceived enigmatic qualities are often interpreted as spiritual.

The best illustration of this phenomenon is the improbable success of the Tibetan monks of Gyuto, whose polyphonic vocalizing has catapulted them into international fame, which they translate into support for Tibetan refugees and Free Tibet activities. Their record company, Rykodisc, maintains a World Wide Web page on the Internet. Listen to the ways this music is marketed.

> The sobering, otherworldly sounds of the Monks have been developed over hundreds of years, ever since the Gyuto Tantric University was founded in 1474. Their monastic training includes a type of multiphonic chanting, in which each monk sings a chord containing two or three notes simultaneously. This remarkable, transcendentally beautiful sound, thought to arise only from the throat of a person who has realized selfless wisdom, is like nothing else on this earth.[82]

And on the same Web page:

> Their voices come from a place largely unknown to other humans, lifting three-note chords from individual throats to produce a sound that is awesome and quite literally cosmic. They are the Gyuto Monks, once of Tibet and now of Dharmsala, India. They chant to set the human race and the planet free. Seeing and hearing them is a very special experience, for in addition to their multiphonic chanting, the audience is feasted with the brilliant colors of their costume, the graceful movement of ritual activity, and a panoply of unusual instruments: mountain horns, bells, and drums.[83]

The quasi-spiritual words describe a "music" that is actually fairly dull, the Tibetan equivalent of a group of Christian clerics communally reciting prayers. This isn't an aesthetic judgment, however; rather, I am trying to point out that the western presentations of these Tibetan Buddhist chants leave them so decontex-

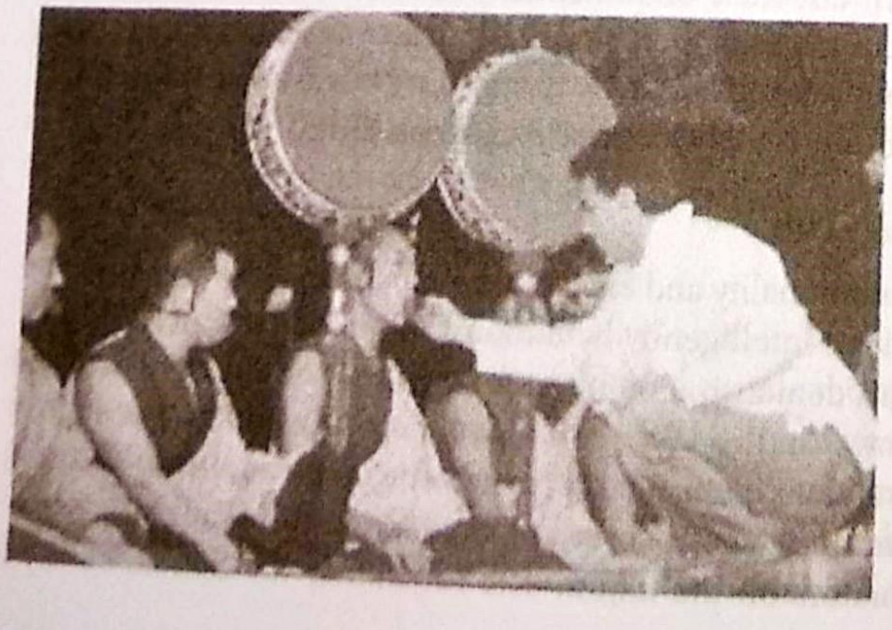

Figure 1.4
Mickey Hart checking the microphone of a Gyuto monk.

tualized and deritualized that they are evacuated of the meanings of their own surroundings, and of little interest to a western listener as music. But these sounds are made interesting in the way they are packaged for consumption as the essence of ancient, eastern spirituality, and the fame-value that rubs off of Mickey Hart and other western stars who associate with them.

The spiritualization that western listeners impose on this decontextualized and deritualized music is also indicated by the monks' first recording: not for Mickey Hart and Rykodisc (noted world music preservationists) but, rather, Windham Hill, a label that first became known for virtually creating the new age genre in the early 1980s.[84] Still, I don't think it is necessarily the spiritual nature assumed by western listeners that gives this music an audience; the famed throat singers of Tuva are no less popular, but they are secular, and their music sounds much the same to most westerners.[85]

Australian Peter Parkhill has commented cogently on the tendency of western listeners to impose gut-level, romantic ideas and feelings to musics they might not otherwise be able to respond to at all, except with puzzlement. Parkhill notes that the press coverage of the 1992 WOMAD (World of Music and Dance) Festival in Adelaide was mainly concerned with the reviewers' perceptions of the raw emotion of the nonwestern musicians. "The term most commonly used was 'feeling', unlimited resources of which were credited to all visiting performers: they all played with great feeling, no one had ever heard music played with such feeling, and so on."[86] It seems that if the feelings presented and evoked are so real, they must therefore also be deep, or spiritual.

The boldest attempt to capture the spiritual angle has been the successful collection discussed earlier, *Global Meditation: Authentic Music from Meditative Traditions of the World*, a snazzy 4-CD release by Ellipsis Arts . . . in 1992. (Their companion collection, the 4-CD *Global Celebration: Authentic Music from Festivals & Celebrations Around the World*, shows the other side of the common emotional binary allowed native peoples by the west: authentically spiritual on one hand, authentically joyful and celebratory on the other).[87] On the outside of the box so potential buyers can see it before buying, appear the words:

> Rhythm, melody, harmony and song are as natural to human beings as are breathing and talking. We create music around our work, celebrations, and folklore. Through music, we express the vast range of our emotions and ideas. Music also exists universally as an integral part of our spiritual lives. It is the meditative, sacred, and spiritual music, existing for thousands of years in all parts of the world, which is the inspiration behind *Global Meditation*.[88]

Note how this statement uses the first person plural to universalize. Some of this sounds like wishful thinking, as if the writers are forgetting that it was the supposed death of rock music and bankruptcy of western culture that led most listeners to this music in the first place. Such marketing unfortunately obscures the value of the anthology, for it is a well-chosen and -presented collection, culled

from previously released recordings, some made in the field. There is much to like in the music, if not the packaging.

Because there are some field recordings, the company's claim to authenticity works. Some of the songs are authentic in the purist sense; but this authenticity is overlain/juxtaposed with the full new age treatment. Each disc in each collection gets its own title (*Global Meditation's* four CDs are called "Voices of the Spirit," "Harmony and Interplay," The Pulse of Life," and "Music from the Heart"; *Global Celebration's* are "Dancing with the Gods," "Earth Spirit," "Passages," and "Gatherings"). The point is that the marketing of these and many other recordings sells by bringing to bear on the impressionable consumer several powerful discourses, any one of which will sell some recordings, and all of which, together, sell even more, putting Ellipsis Arts . . . on the best-selling label list in 1993 as noted earlier. Further, they sell only about a third of their recordings in record stores; the rest are in new age stores, museum shops, and bookstores.[89]

Even those who admit the marketing origins of the term world music cling to the spiritual undertones. Philippe Constaint, director of Mango, the Island Records world music subsidiary, says,

> World music has existed commercially since the industry began seeing it as a source of profit. It is a market category. As long as the producers of this music do not forget its spiritual dimension, as long as they are not too obsessed by the desire to get into the top 50 . . . all will go well. This music has existed as long as the human race. It is not intended to conquer the market, and that is good. It is just intended to be heard by more people.[90]

Constaint's comment demonstrates the multiple bind faced by many subaltern musicians: stay spiritual, stay authentic, don't try to be too popular. We shall see how several musicians deal with this tension in subsequent chapters.

Authenticity as Primality

Another facet of the authenticity issue concerns origins; this is perhaps the oldest assumption made by westerners of musics from outside the west.[91] What is of concern to listeners is that the world music (or alternative rock or what have you) they consume has some discernible connection to the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic; that is what they want to buy, since their own world is often conceived as ephemeral, new, artificial, and corrupt. This isn't a new sentiment; it goes back to the nineteenth century, at least, as far as music is concerned, and probably earlier still. At any rate, early modern instances of western European discontent with western Europe are abundant, demonstrating European disaffection for the "modern," "civilized" world and celebrating the pure and natural existence of the noble savage. Italian Peter Martyr,[92] court chaplain and philosopher to Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, wrote in his *Decades* (1511) that the recently "discovered" indigenous Americans lived without

> pestiferous moneye, the seed of innumerable myscheves. So that if we shall not be ashamed to confesse the truthe, they seem to lyve in the goulden worlde of the which owlde wryters speake so much: wherin men lyved simplye and innocentlye without inforcement of lawes, without quarrelling Iudges and libelles, contente onlye to satisfie nature, without further vexation for knowledge of thinges to come.[93]

The point is that the earliest European observers viewed the unspoiled, unmodern "savage" as living lives that modernized Europeans could only envy: natural, innocent. And lives in which music was made, not manufactured.

Even the names of the new labels specializing in these new genres help connote the primal, the original, the authentic, the unfettered, the real: City of Tribes, EarthBeat!, Earthworks, GlobeStyle, Original Music, Real World, Redwood Cultural Work, Rhythm Safari, Roots Records, Soundings of the Planet, and, in German, Erdenklang ("Earthsound"), and many others. Recently, another curious logism has found favor: the adjective "cultural" is beginning to be used as a code for "ethnic" and/or "authentic." Some critics and musicians speak of "cultural music" as a category congruent, it would seem, to world music. For example, an interviewer paraphrased David Byrne by writing that "all popular U.S. music . . . is a synthesis of African, Latin, Celtic, and other cultural music."[94] In a similar example noted earlier, a representative of a "space music" label describes the didjeridu as a "cultural instrument" (see footnote 21). And a recent advertisement in *Vibe* magazine (which chronicles hip-hop music and culture) displayed several muscular young African American men wearing brightly colored clothing with bold patterns. The company? Cultural Clothing.

This imputation of spirituality and primality to world music occasionally slips into universalist discourse, some examples of which we have already encountered, as if something so spiritual must also be ancient, primal, and therefore timeless and universal. For example, Peter Spencer writes, blithely stepping over issues of cultural relativism, that "the bond that a vernacular music has with its particular subculture is something that can be felt even by those outside of the subculture. . . . And for the American listener who defines his or her taste by its unorthodoxy, discovering music that expresses that distance . . . is one of the moments that makes life real."[95]

Immanuel Wallerstein suggests that, historically, the concept of the universal was

> propagated by those who held economic and political power in the world-system of historical capitalism. Universalism was offered to the world as a gift of the powerful to the weak. The gift itself harboured racism, for it gave the recipient two choices: accept the gift, thereby acknowledging that one was low on the hierarchy of achieved wisdom; refuse the gift, thereby denying oneself weapons that could reverse the unequal real power situation.[96]

We shall see in later chapters how some musicians accept the gift and use it to

their own advantage (such as Ladysmith Black Mambazo), while other musicians have more conflicted ideas about it.

The central problematic in such marketing and labeling revolves around the necessity for demonstrating that world music and world beat are both timeless and new at the same time. This results in some odd linguistic juxtapositions in all arenas of the marketplace. For example, the recipe of my favorite pancake mix was altered recently, the new but familiar box proclaiming both "Original Recipe" and "New and Improved." World music is timeless, but fresh; fresh, but timeless. You have heard it before (almost), but you haven't heard anything like it before.

BROUGHT TO YOU BY . . .

Often, the discourses of authenticity or spirituality distance the makers of other musics so far that to bring them back for consumption by westerners an intermediary is required. So one final area related to authenticity concerns who brings us this music, and how; recall the photograph of Mickey Hart and the Gyuto Monks in Figure 1.4 above. This publicity photo captures a "Brought To You By—" feeling, as though this music, taken out of its original context, cannot be presented without a western interpreter/guide who is a master of technology. The curatorial aspect of much of the production of world music and world beat should not be underestimated. In the realm of the visual arts, the notion of curatorship and presentation have become hot topics but have gone largely unremarked in music, except by the typically astute Steven Feld.[97] And the major crisis in anthropology in the last decade has been the ways that the ethnographer can—or should—(re)present the "native."[98]

There is indeed a burgeoning growth in the recordings of musicians like Hart who have become passionate about certain musics from around the world and who have done much to preserve and promote them.[99] Often, these westerners who become involved with recording remote musics tap into the explorer narrative: they are heading off to mysterious places looking for mysterious music. The best illustration of this is ex-Police drummer Stewart Copeland's *The Rhythmatist*, a recording made in 1985, which he said, ten years later, is the album of which he is proudest.[100] The cover, reproduced as Figure 1.5, shows a virile, dressed all in black, hat-clad Copeland dramatically holding a huge microphone in the air, a microphone more phallic, if possible, than a gun: Copeland is a hunter for a new age.[101]

Copeland's note inside, preceded by two paragraphs attributed to Thomas Aquinas (an impossible attribution since the "quotation" mentions a cassette recorder) about a ritual rock/instrument, makes the explorer narrative and the "natural culture" assumption clear.

> "Rhythmatism" is the study of patterns that weave the fabric of life; with this speculation in mind a black clad figure is on his way across the so-called dark continent. He meets lions, warriors, pygmies and jungles before stumbling across the rock.

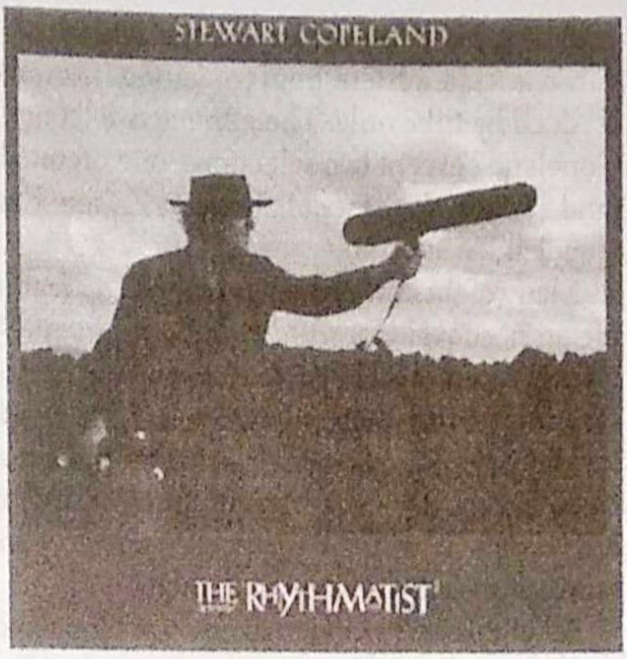

Figure 1.5
Stewart Copeland: *The Rhythmatist*, cover

> This record is a curious blend of musical snatches from Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Zaire, the Congo and Buckinghamshire.
>
> With all this recording of African music I couldn't help but add some drums of my own and a little electric guitar even.[102]

There is much to unpack here: the politically correct questioning of Africa as the "dark continent," the continuation of the explorer narrative, and the self-effacing remark about his own contribution, which is not at all modest or insubstantial and serves to undermine the aggressiveness signified on the album's cover. Copeland's interview comments on these issues are unfortunately no more thoughtful.

> I've recently heard an expression: cultural mining. It's a term of derision, although I proudly assume this term for my own work. Because I think the term itself is only used by intellectual journalists who are very ignorant of the mind-set of the indigenous people in exotic places. That mind-set is very open and giving of its culture and proud to have people from across the world listening to it. And appreciating it. The idea that someone goes to an African village, records their music, and takes the tape away—it's not like, suddenly, "Where's all the music gone? Must've been that white guy with his microphone! He stole it and took it away with him!" Nothing could give them greater happiness than the idea that some people in a faraway land are dancing to their beat.[103]

It is sometimes true that "natives" don't mind western musicians taking their music, but, as in the case of Ladysmith Black Mambazo and the other black South African musicians who worked with Paul Simon on *Graceland*, they wanted something in return: international recognition.[104]

But on *The Rhythmatist*, as usual in such albums, no musicians are credited by name, except western ones (or famous nonwestern ones); African musicians are credited by tribe only. The album cover states, "All music composed by Stewart Copeland" except two selections, one credited to the "world music fusionist"[105] (and *The Rhythmatist* collaborator) Zairian Ray Lema, and another to Lema and Copeland.

Many of these world music recordings feature photographs of the sound technician/host/explorer with audio equipment.[106] Often the accompanying photographs show a bedraggled western musician with his or her nonwestern collaborator(s), always photographed to look less scruffy and more at home, and usually looking as exotic as possible: in traditional dress, with an instrument or weapon. Or sometimes, the emphasis is placed on the collision of the (post)modern western technocrat with the premodern native, who is wearing headphones, or somehow using audio or video equipment.

All of this isn't so much to criticize Copeland, Mickey Hart, or anyone else, as to point out that the intersecting discourses of authenticity, exploration, emotionality, universalism, spirituality, and others have an immense inertia, which even the most reflexive and sensitive musician would find difficult to overcome, and which most of us as listeners succumb to in one way or another. This durability of old western notions about the African continent and premodern cultures everywhere is also perpetuated by the fact that the flows of power in the music industry overlap in complex ways; musicians can produce recordings (Paul Simon), own or head record companies or divisions of companies (David Byrne, Peter Gabriel, Mickey Hart); music journalists can oversee series and anthologies (Brooke Wentz, for example, compiled *Global Meditation* and *Voices of Forgotten Worlds*, and co-compiled *Global Celebration*).[107] Even academics occasionally foray into the production side, with some ethnomusicologists compiling and annotating anthologies (Veit Erlmann, Steven Feld, Jocelyne Guilbault, Christopher Waterman, and Philip Yampolsky spring first to mind).[108]

In his important study *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy quotes Jean Baudrillard on the process of commodification to buttress his argument that listeners of black music reinject commodified performances with a politicized memory of slavery, a process that turns the object into an event. Here is Baudrillard's passage:

> The work of art—a new and triumphant fetish and not a sad alienated one—should work to deconstruct its own traditional aura, its authority and power of illusion, in order to shine resplendent in the pure obscenity of the commodity. It must annihilate itself as familiar object and become monstrously foreign. But this foreignness is not the disquieting strangeness of the repressed or alienated object; this object does not shine from its being haunted or out of some secret dispossession; it glows with a veritable seduction that comes from elsewhere, having exceeded its own form and become pure object, pure event.[109]

Here Baudrillard rewrites Walter Benjamin's idea of the aura inherent in artworks: aura is not something intrinsic and unique that *may* be lost in the mechanical reproduction of artworks but something that *must* be destroyed in an era of mechanical, electronic, and digital reproduction.

Baudrillard's process of transformation is reversed in the consumption of world music: the music is not familiar-made-monstrous, but the monstrous-made-familiar: noise transformed into music. This transformation occurs by aestheticization, the unfamiliar music harnessed for western consumption by its incorporation into the interlinked realms of the commodity and the aesthetic. There is some irony in the fact that to "understand" or "appreciate" world music, it has not only to be presented by an intermediary but commodified as well, as if commodification somehow refines world music into a familiar and intelligible consumable item.

But we have gone too long without music. The following chapters will examine the voices and sounds of musicians, fleshing out some of the theoretical issues and observations already made, always remembering that there are people who make and listen to music. It is to all of these voices that I now turn.

NOTES

1. Quoted by Robert La Franco and Michael Schuman, "How do you say rock 'n' roll in Wolof?" *Forbes* 156 (17 July 1995), 103.

2. See Peter Niklas Wilson, "'Zwischen 'Ethno-Pop' und 'Weltmusik'," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 148 (May 1987): 5–8.

3. Quoted by Jim Miller, "Pop Takes a Global Spin," *Newsweek* 111 (13 June 1989), 72.

4. Brooke Wentz, "It's a Global Village out There," *Down Beat* 58 (April 1991), 22.

5. *Annual Report of the Recording Industry Association of America* (Washington, D.C.: Recording Industry Association of America, 1996).

Examination of the growth of the global music industry isn't my goal in this volume, except to the extent that the industry manufactures meanings. Fortunately, there are several excellent sources on the industry, beginning with Roger Wallis and Krister Malm's classic *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries*, Communication & Society Series, ed. Jeremy Tunstall (London: Constable, 1984). See also their subsequent *Media Policy and Music Activity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); and Robert Burnett's *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry*, Communication and Society; ed. James Curran (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). Finally, *Rock and Popular Music: Politics, Policies, Institutions*, ed. Tony Bennett et al., Culture: Policies and Politics, ed. Tony Bennett et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 1993) contains several essays that examine issues of the music industry and the globalization of popular musics.

6. La Franco and Schuman, "How do you say rock 'n' roll in Wolof?"

7. *Dead Man Walking* is on Columbia CK 67522, 1995.

8. "American Recordings owner Rick Rubin is pleased to announce the signing of Pakistani singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan," *Entertainment Wire* (25 June 1996), available on the Internet at http://newspage.yahoo.com/newspage/yahoo2/960625/003005.html.

9. Nettl, *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1985).

10. Sweeney, *The Virgin Directory of World Music* (London: Virgin Books, 1991), ix. See also Anthony Wall's introduction to *Rhythms of the World*, eds. Francis Hanly and Tim May, (London: BBC Books, 1989). For a similar definition and history, see Simon Broughton et al., eds., *World Music: The Rough Guide* (London: Rough Guides, 1994).

11. Feld, "From Schizophonia to Schizmogenesis," in Feld and Charles Keil, *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994), 267.

12. For this succinct definition I am indebted to Tony Mitchell, "World Music and the Popular Music Industry: An Australian View," *Ethnomusicology* 37 (Fall 1993): 310.

13. Quoted by Wentz, "It's a Global Village out There," 23.

14. Goodwin and Gore, "World Beat and the Cultural Imperialism Debate," *Socialist Review* 20 (July–September 1990): 63–80. Del Santo's album appears on Pleasure Records PLP 1002, 1983.

15. Dan Del Santo, *Off Your Nyash*, Flying Fish Records FF 70551, 1990.

16. I don't see "World Beat/Ethno-Pop" on their current releases, and their web page, at http://www.dmn.com/Shanachie/ uses the "World" category only.

17. Quoted in the liner notes to Ofra Haza, *Fifty Gates of Wisdom*, Shanachie 64002, 1989, and reproduced in their catalogues.

18. A more detailed history of world beat and world music and record labels can be found in Herbert Mattelart, "Life as Style: Putting the 'World' in the Music," *Baffler* (1993), 103–9.

19. Sweeney, *The Virgin Directory of World Music*, ix.

20. For more on these musics, see Josh Kun, "Too Pure?" *Option* 68 (May/June 1996): 54; Mark Prendergast, "Background Story," *New Statesman & Society* 6 (29 October 1993), 34–35, and "The Chilling Fields," *New Statesman & Society* 8 (13 January 1995), 32–33; Dom Phillips, "U.K. fray: Trip or Trance, Tech or Tribal, House Rules," *Billboard* 105 (25 September 1993), 34; Dominic Pride, "U.K.'s Nation of 'Ethno-Techno'," *Billboard* 105 (16 January 1995), 1.

21. To be sure, some listeners make fine distinctions between genres that to outsiders would be indistinguishable. There is, for example, a good deal of argument concerning the use of acoustic instruments versus electronics in ambient music. A leading electronic ambient musician and president of Silent Records, an ambient specialty label, Kim Cascone, calls the didjeridu—an Australian Aboriginal instrument often featured in acoustic/world ambient musics also spelled "didgeridoo"—"the kazoo of the '90s," while defenders of the instrument and other acoustic instruments locate their arguments in the perceived primal origins of their music and instruments. Says Shawn Bates of the Hearts of Space label, "the didgeridoo has been around a lot longer than this kind of [electric] music, and will be around long after we're gone. It's a perfect example of a cultural instrument brought into the mainstream that will survive all these trends" (quoted by Colin Berry, "The Sound of Silence: San Francisco's Ambient Music Labels find their Groove," *SF Weekly* 14 [17–23 May 1995], 17).

22. Keil and Feld, *Music Grooves*, 319.

23. "*Billboard* Debuts World Music Album Chart," *Billboard* 102 (19 May 1990), 5.

24. The best coalescence of new age and world music is the World Music Festival (in progress as of this writing), which has lined up almost exclusively new age musicians, and whose position statement, "The Effect of Music on Society," is probably the clearest short introduction to the importance of music in new age philosophy I have seen. See their web page at http://wmf.oso.com/.

25. This compilation is Appendix 1.

26. See "*Billboard* Bows Reggae Albums Chart," *Billboard* 106 (5 February 1994), 7.

27. From a promotional postcard issued in 1995. I would like to thank Irene Nexica for passing this on to me.

28. See David Gates, "The Marketing o' the Green," *Newsweek* 121 (5 April 1993), 60.

29. Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1985), 152.

Space doesn't permit an exhaustive discussion of this topic here. See Richard Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press,

1990), and Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1990).

30. See "More Americans Listen to Exotic Beat of World Music," Reuters, (18 September 1996), from http://newspage.yahoo.com/.

31. *Billboard* does not publish actual sales figures (unless an album reaches a particular sales milestone, such as 500,000 or 1,000,000 units, which happens to few world music albums) so compiling all charts can be confusing. One solution is to compile by number of weeks on the charts, which says something about popularity and longevity, but an album can linger near the bottom for weeks and not sell as much as the number 1 album does in a week. *Billboard* does offer annual rankings of sales, though not with actual sales figures, however, compiling these gives some indication of sales and popularity. (In Table 1.1 I have removed the reggae musicians, as they now appear on their own chart.)

32. Asia Classics 2: *The Best of Shoukichi Kina: Peppermint Tea House*, Luaka Bop/Warner Bros. 9 45159–2, 1994.

33. Quoted by Richard Henderson, "Dead Men Walking, Tibetans Chanting & Cubans Smoking Cigars," *Billboard* 108 (25 May 1996), 36.

34. From "The Year in Music, 1990," *Billboard* 102 (22 December 1990), YE-36; "The Year in Music, 1991," *Billboard* 103 (28 December 1991), YE-34; "The Year in Music, 1992," *Billboard* 104 (19 December 1992), YE-45; "The Year in Music, 1993," *Billboard* 105 (25 December 1993), YE-45; "The Year in Music, 1994," *Billboard* 106 (24 December 1994), YE-63; "The Year in Music, 1995," *Billboard* 107 (23 December 1995), YE-78; and "World Music: Year to Date Charts," *Billboard* 108 (25 May 1996), 44.

35. Quoted by Karen O'Connor, "Grammy adds 3 Categories: World Music among new Awards," *Billboard* 103 (8 June 1991), 87.

36. Ibid.

37. http://www.grammy.com/.

38. *Boheme* is on 550 Music/Epic BK 67115, 1995.

39. See Steve Pond, "Grammys Look for Hipness in New Rules," *New York Times* (25 February 1996), H34.

40. For more on Deep Forest and their best-selling eponymous album, see the "Deep Forest FAQ," located on the Internet at ftp://ftp.best.com/pub/quad/deep.forest/DeepForest-FAQ.txt. See also Carrie Borzillo, "U.S. ad use adds to commercial success of *Deep Forest*," *Billboard* 106 (11 June 1994): 44; and my own "Free Samples: Ghosts in the Tape Machine," in preparation.

41. Mouquet and Sanchez, notes to *Boheme*, 550 Music/epic BK 67115, 1995.

42. Listen to, for example, *Garden of Dreams*, on Triloka/Worldly Music 7199–2, 1993.

43. In *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).

44. On Angel/EMI CDC 7243 5 55138 2 3, 1994. This was actually a compilation of recordings made between 1973 and 1982 and previously released.

45. Meanwhile, the Monks released a new recording, *The Soul of Chant*, for a smaller label, Milan Records 35703, 1994. See Larry Blumenfeld, "Promo Item of the Week Department," *Rhythm Music* 4 (August 1995), 59; and David E. Thigpen, review of *The Soul of Chant*, *Time* 145 (22 May 1995), 72.

46. For a history of the phenomenal success of *Chant*, see Katherine Bergeron, "The Virtual Sacred: Finding God at Tower Records," *New Republic* 212 (27 February 1995), 29–34; Don Jeffrey, "Monks Lift EMI Music to Double-digit Gains," *Billboard* 106 (3 September 1994), 6; Howell Llewellyn, "Meet the Monks: EMI's Next Hit?" *Billboard* 106 (29 January 1994), 1; and "Monk's New Chant: 'Get Off Our Cloud'," *Billboard* 106 (25 June 1994), 11, and "Timeless Success Story: New Age Music Experiences Growing Gains in Popularity," *Billboard* 106 (9 July 1994), 54; and "Music Man," *Forbes* 155 (13 March 1995), 164.

47. It's on Angel CDC 7243 5 55246 21, 1994.

48. On this, see most importantly Scott Lash and John Urry, *The End of Organized Capitalism* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

49. Angel, press kit for *Vision*.

50. Jim Montague, "Sister Act," *Hospitals & Health Networks* 69 (20 May 1995), 54.

See the profile on Fritz and her success on *Vision*, Michael Pollak, "Medieval Mystic and a Nun Ascend the Music Charts," *New York Times* (11 June 1995), 21.

51. Havelock Nelson, "Ice Cube, K-Dee Launch Lench Mob Label; Grand Street Releases a Big Box of Beats," *Billboard* 106 (25 June 1994), 36. See also the lengthy, positive review of the set by Greg Rule in *Keyboard* 21 (March 1995), 97–98.

52. Quoted by Henderson, "Dead Men Walking," 38.

53. Quoted by Lois Darlington, "Solo Nyolo," *Folk Roots* 156 (June 1996), 51.

54. Broughton et al., eds., *World Music*.

55. See also Martin Stokes's review in *Popular Music* 15 (May 1996): 243–45.

56. See Mike Levin, "Cuttin' Loose in Concert," *Billboard* 105 (27 November 1993), 83, and "Southeast Asia Talking up Chinese Music," *Billboard* 105 (30 January 1993), 1. See also a Cantopop World Wide Web page at http://sunsite.unc.edu:80/pub/multimedia/pictures/asia/hongkong/hkpa/popstars/; Tower Records in Singapore posts weekly sales information at http://www.singnet.com.sg/~skyeo/tower.html. A good introduction to Cantopop is available at http://siegelgate.com/~hsa/cantopop.html.

57. See Andrew Tanzer, "Sweet Chinese Siren," *Forbes* 152 (20 December 1993), 78.

On the rise and popularity of karaoke, see Larry Armstrong, "What's That Noise in Aisle 5? Karaoke may be Coming Soon to a Supermarket or Mall Near You," *Business Week* (8 June 1992), 38; Charles Keil, "Music Mediated and Live in Japan," reprinted in Keil and Feld, *Music Grooves*; Heather McCaw, "The Origins, Use and Appeal of Karaoke" (Department of Japanese Studies, Monash University, 1990); Chris McGowan, "Market Report: Can Karaoke Take Root in America?" *Billboard* 104 (30 May 1992), K1; Shuhei Hosokawa, "Fake Fame Folk: Some Aspects of Japanese Popular Music in the 1980s," *Art & Text* 40 (September 1991): 78–81, and *Japanese Popular Music of the Past Twenty Years—Mainstream and Underground*, translated by Larry Richards (Tokyo: Japan Foundation, 1994). Finally, there is a magazine devoted to karaoke in the U.S., *Karaoke USA NewsMagazine*, and an Internet newsgroup, alt.music.karaoke.

58. I have read that she sings songs in Tagalog at events designated for Filipinos. See Reynaldo G. Alejandro, "Fil-Ams Troop to AC for Banig's Concert," *Filipino Reporter* (9 November 1995), PG.

For more on Banig see Wilma B. Consul, "Brave and Beautiful Banig," *Filipinas Magazine* 3 (30 June 1995), 15, and "Filipino Americans in the U.S. Music Industry," *Filipinas Magazine* 3 (31 July 1994), 38; and "Singer 'Banig' Relocates to Los Angeles," *Heritage* 8 (June 1994), 22.

59. Banig, *Can You Feel My Heart*, Del-Fi 70013–2, 1994.

60. According to Marites Sison-Paez, "The Banig Invasion," *Filipino Express* (12 November 1995), PG.

61. Spencer, *World Beat: A Listener's Guide to Contemporary World Music on CD* (Pennington, N.J.: A Cappella Books, 1992), 2–3.

62. Ibid., 4.

63. j. poet, "Worldbeat," *All-Music Guide*, http://www.allmusic.com/.

64. Simon Hopkins, liner notes, *The Virgin Directory of World Music*, Virgin Records VDWM1, 1991.

65. See Susan McClary and Robert Walser, "Start Making Sense! Musicology Wrestles with Rock," in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, ed. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin (New York: Pantheon, 1990).

66. Feld, "From Schizophonia to Schizmogenesis," 266–267.

67. Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969).

68. Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994), 30.

69. See also Charles Hamm's important intervention "Modernist Narratives and Popular Music," in *Putting Popular Music in its Place* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995). Hamm's concerns are somewhat different than mine, yet, as usual, there is some overlap between his two modernist narratives of authenticity: the first, that subalterns produce music authentic to their culture; the second that popular musics are besmirched by their relationship to capitalism.

Sarah Thornton has also tackled questions of authenticity in *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*, Music/Culture, ed. George Lipsitz, Susan McClary, and Robert Walser (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1996). Her concerns also differ somewhat from mine. In particular, she views racial/ethnic/national authenticity as an "inflection" of what she calls "subcultural authenticity." This is one of the central authenticities for my discussion and not an inflection at all.

70. For a particularly lucid examination of hybridity, see Robert Young's *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

71. Quoted by Patrick Humphries, *The Boy in the Bubble: A Biography of Paul Simon* (London : Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988), 121.

72. It is not my goal here to offer a detailed discussion of this album, which I examine at length in "Paul Simon, *Graceland*, and the Continuation of Colonialist Ideologies" (in preparation). Crucial discussions of Paul Simon and *Graceland* include Robert Christgau, "South African Romance," *Village Voice* (23 September 1986), 71; Steven Feld's "Notes on 'World Beat'," in Keil and Feld, *Music Grooves*; Charles Hamm's *Afro-American Music, South Africa, and Apartheid*, ISAM Monographs, no. 28 (Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1988), and his "*Graceland* Revisited," *Popular Music* 8 (October 1989): 299–304 (both of which are reprinted in his *Putting Popular Music in its Place*); and Louise Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning," *Ethnomusicology* 34 (Winter 1990): 37–73.

73. Quoted by Jennifer Allen, "The Apostle of Angst," *Esquire* (June 1987), 212.

74. Quoted in Denis Herbstein, "The Hazards of Cultural Deprivation," *Africa Report* 32 (July–August 1987): 35.

75. Stokes, "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music," in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes, Berg Ethnic Identities Series, ed. Shirley Ardener, Tamara Dragadze, and Jonathan Webber (Oxford and Providence: Berg, 1994), 7.

76. Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, Comedia, ed. David Morley (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). See especially "The Broken World: Whose Centre, Whose Periphery?"

77. See also David Schiff's report of similar experiences with his students, "Scanning the Dial: Searching for Authenticity in High-Art and Popular Music," *Atlantic* 272 (November 1993), 138–44.

78. Quoted by Michael Azerrad, "P.M. Dawn gets Real," *Option* 65 (November/December 1995), 65.

Fans construe the motivation to make money in myriad ways, though. These can include using electric rather than acoustic instruments in order to be heard by more people, which means, of course, selling more tickets. For discussions of this issue, see Simon Frith's "Art versus Technology: The Strange Case of Popular Music," *Media, Culture and Society* 8 (July 1986): 263–79. See also Chuck Eddy's provocative discussion of sellouts on the Internet "Rock and Madison Avenue," http://www.glyphs.com/millpop/95/inbed/html #chuck.

79. *Spin* 10 (March 1995), 16.

80. Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll*, Communication and Society Series, ed. Jeremy Tunstall (London: Constable, 1983). See especially chapter 2, "Rock Roots."

81. Quoted by Wentz, "It's a Global Village out There," 23.

82. From http://www.well.com/user/gyuto/.

83. Ibid.

84. Gyuto Monks, *Tibetan Tantric Choir*, Windham Hill WD-2001, 1987. Their Rykodisc recording is *Freedom Chants from the Roof of the World*, Rykodisc RCD 20113, 1989.

85. Try *Huun-Huur-Tu*, Shanachie 64050, 1993, which was the first Tuvan recording to take off. See also Warne Russell, "The Throat Singers of Tuva," RMM (February 1994), 10–12. There is also a massive Tuvan culture FAQ on the Internet, available at http://www.lib.ox.ac.uk/Internet/news/faq/archive/tuva-faq.html, much of which is devoted to discussions of the music. See also the newsgroup alt.culture.tuva.

86. Parkhill, "Of Tradition, Tourism and the World Music Industry," *Meanjin* 52 (Spring 1993), 504.

87. *Global Celebration: Authentic Music*

from Festivals & Celebrations Around the World, Ellipsis Arts. . . CD 3230, 1992.

88. *Global Meditation: Authentic Music from Meditative Traditions of the World*, Ellipsis Arts... CD 3210, 1992.

89. Henderson, "Dead Men Walking," 41.

90. Quoted by Laurent Aubert, "The World Dances to a New Beat," *World Press Review* 39 (January 1992), 25. This article originally appeared in *Le Monde*.

91. See also Bruno Nettl's *Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents*, 2d ed., Prentice-Hall History of Music Series, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973).

92. Martyr (1457–1526) is also referred to by his Italian name, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, and his Latinized name, Petrus Martyr de Angleria.

93. Quoted by J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1492–1650* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 26.

94. Rebecca Carroll, "Rodriguez Meets Byrne," *Mother Jones* 16 (July/August 1991), 9.

95. Spencer, *World Beat*, 5.

96. Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 85.

97. See his "From Schizophonia to Schismogenesis" and "Notes on 'World Beat'," in Keil and Feld, *Music Grooves*. My discussion on the curatorial aspects of world music owes much to Feld's.

Useful writings on the visual arts include Robert Baron and Nicholas R. Spitzer, eds., *Public Folklore* (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); James Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988) and "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson et al. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 1990); Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989); Deborah Root, *Cannibal Culture: Art, Appropriation, and the Commodification of Difference* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1996); and Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1990).

98. See James Clifford and George Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1986).

99. See Banning Eyre, "Bringing it All Back Home: Three Takes on Producing World Music," *Option* (November 1990): 75–81. The double issue of *Rhythm Music Magazine* vols. 3 (1994) and 4 (1995) featured an entire section called "Tracking the Music to its Source," and included two articles by Banning Eyre, "Microphone in Hand: David Lewiston's World Recordings," pp. 36–39, and "Becoming an Insider: Louis Sarno's Life Among the Pygmies," pp. 40–43; and Erik Goldman's "Get Innuit!" about recordings made in Greenland, pp. 44–46. Finally, see Louis Sarno's *Song from the Forest: My Life Among the Ba-Benjellé Pygmies* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin 1993).

100. This comment was in a live Internet conversation on 12 June 1995, now archived at http://rocktropolis.com/sting/stewartchat.html.

101. Copeland, *The Rhythmatist*, A&M CD 5084, 1985.

102. Copeland, liner notes to *The Rhythmatist*.

103. Quoted by David N. Blank-Edelman, "Stewart Copeland: The Rhythmatist Returns," *RMM* 3 (February 1994), 38.

104. This desire surfaces repeatedly in interviews by Black Mambazo and the other musicians. See the video *Paul Simon: Born at the Right Time* from 1992, in which Ray Phiri, the arranger for *Graceland*, says, "Here we were, isolated from the world, and trying really hard to get involved in the international community. And it wasn't happening. And suddenly here was this guy who was known, and was writing beautiful words."

105. Broughton et al., eds., *World Music*, 322.

106. See Baka Beyond, *Spirit of the Forest*, Rykodisc HNCD 1377, 1993, for a memorable photo, as well as Steven Feld's *Voices of the Rain Forest*, Rykodisc RCD 10173, 1991.

107. *Voices of Forgotten Worlds* Ellipsis Arts. . . CD 3252, 1993.

108. See Feld's "From Schizophonia to Schizmogenesis" for a history of the *Voices of the Rain Forest* recording. Erlmann compiled

Mbube Roots: Zulu Choral Music from South Africa, 1930s–1960s, Rounder CD 5025, 1988; Guilbault, *Musical Traditions of St. Lucia, West Indies: Dances and Songs from a Caribbean Island*, Smithsonian/Folkways SF 40416, 1993; Waterman, *Jùjú Roots: 1930s–1950s*, Rounder CD 5017, 1993; and Yampolsky compiled many recordings for Smithsonian/Folkways of Indonesian musics.

109. Quoted by Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1993), 105.