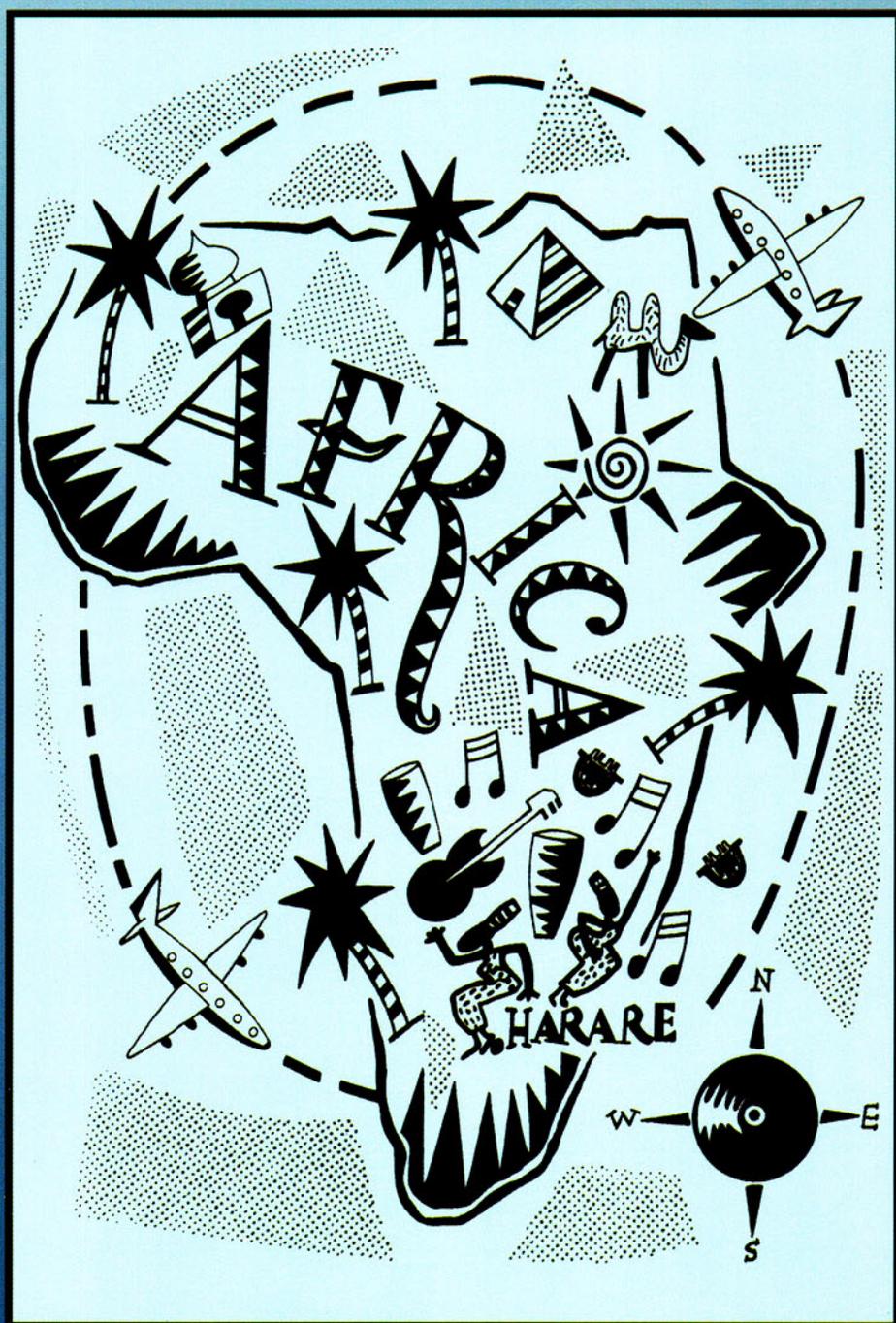


**JOHANNES BRUSILA**  
**'LOCAL MUSIC, NOT FROM HERE'**



**The Discourse of World Music**  
**examined through three Zimbabwean case studies:**  
**The Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza**



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Layout: Anssi Sinnemäki / The Federation of Finnish Learned Societies  
Cover: Laura Metso (postcard *Music Map* by Deadly Deziqns, Zimbabwe  
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Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology, Helsinki  
(book orders: <http://www.helsinki.fi/music/ses/>)

ISSN 0785-2746  
ISBN 951-96171-6-7

Printed by Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saarijärvi 2003

# Contents

Acknowledgements .....	7
<b>I INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>11</b>
1. Earlier approaches .....	13
2. Aims of the research .....	22
3. Research setting .....	26
4. Methodological choices .....	31
<b>II THE FORMATION AND INDUSTRIAL PRACTICE OF WORLD MUSIC .....</b>	<b>43</b>
1. Historical background .....	43
1.1 The term 'World Music' .....	47
1.2 Background discourses .....	49
1.3 Cultural and industrial context .....	56
2. The formation of World Music .....	58
2.1 Definitions of World Music .....	60
2.2 The music of the 'Other' .....	64
3. The industrial practice of World Music .....	68
3.1 The marketing category of exclusion .....	69
3.2 The assumptions framing the concept of World Music .....	78
4. Binaries and fields of tension .....	84
<b>III THE TENSION TRADITIONAL-MODERN .....</b>	<b>89</b>
1. Traditional culture .....	89
1.1 The search for the lost tradition .....	92
1.2 Modern traditional mbira by Virginia Mukwasha .....	96
2. Roots music .....	107
2.1 The Bhundu Boys' jit .....	112
2.2 The city jiti of Mukwasha .....	123
2.3 Sunduza's mbube .....	127
3. Different yet familiar music .....	138
3.1 The accessibility of the music .....	139
3.2 The Bhundu Boys and WEA .....	145
4. Changing interpretations of tradition and modernization .....	157

IV THE TENSION LOCAL-GLOBAL .....	163
1. Local music in an international context .....	163
1.1 The Zimbabwean musicians out in the world .....	168
1.2 Musical tourism and traveling .....	174
2. The universality of the local .....	178
2.1 The production of music .....	180
2.2 The idea of universalism .....	181
2.3 Webs of consumption .....	186
2.4 The World Music scene .....	192
3. Cultural gray-out or heterogeneity .....	194
3.1 The Bhundu Boys between darkness and light .....	196
3.2 Virginia Mukweshu's pan-Africanized style .....	200
3.3 Sunda: from mbube to dance theatre .....	204
4. Globalization processes .....	213
V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS .....	221
1. World Music as a discourse .....	222
2. Fields of tension .....	224
3. World Music as a phenomenon of late modernity .....	228
4. Concluding words .....	229
REFERENCES .....	233

# Acknowledgements

As with all doctoral theses, this is the product of many factors that are related to my personal history and to a number of people, institutions and less formal communities, as well as sponsors, that I have been in contact with and who have helped me, one way or the other, during the last thirteen years. I have often been asked why I, coming from Finland, am interested in Zimbabwean music? Looking back at this project I believe that there is no simple answer to that question and in fact, as I have tried to suggest in my text, the thesis itself focuses overall precisely on that question and is in itself an attempt to answer it. There is no way that I can escape my personal background and the circumstances in which I have worked during all these years. Thus, when thanking all those who have helped me in carrying through the practical aspects of this project I am also thanking them for enabling me to undertake the necessary intellectual processing and self-scrutiny that finally have been concretized in the form of this book.

My initial interest in Zimbabwe was born out of a work opportunity that my former teacher in ethnomusicology Philip Donner offered me in his project Mediafrica in the early 1990s. Without this unique opportunity, and the working environment of the Global Music Centre in Helsinki, where the project was housed, I would probably never had written my graduate thesis and later licentiate thesis on the music industry of Zimbabwe. I am also greatly indebted to all those working in the music industry of Zimbabwe, in those days organized as The Music Industry Association of Zimbabwe, for their help in getting to know the industry and gaining access to information during my first three trips to Zimbabwe in the early 1990s. I must also thank the Department of Musicology at the University of Helsinki and its teacher in ethnomusicology, Erkki Pekkilä, as well as to Ullamaija Kivikuru at the Department

of Communication, for encouragement in my studies. University of Helsinki also supported financially my second trip to Zimbabwe. An equally important intellectual incubator during the late 1980s and early 1990s was the national Finnish Broadcasting Company, and particularly the music and cultural departments of its Swedish-speaking radio channel, where I produced world music and other music and cultural programs.

An important contribution to the awakening of my interest in the international dissemination of Zimbabwean music and the analysis of the meanings that are attached to the music in different contexts was the project *Cultural Images in and of Africa*, run by Mai Palmberg at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala. The institute also awarded me a study grant to visit Uppsala and later a grant for my fourth trip to Zimbabwe in 1997.

My research project took me to many places in Europe and offered me the opportunity to meet people in the world music industry, all of whom gave me valuable information and insights. The trip to Zimbabwe in 1997 became a pivotal period for collecting material for this thesis. I am obviously deeply indebted to numerous persons and institutions in Zimbabwe that made it all possible. The College of Music in Harare, with which I was affiliated during my stay, dealt with the bureaucratic processes and offered me accommodation and a fruitful environment for work. Several musicians, particularly the members of the groups that I worked with, helped me in many ways. I should like to give my warmest thanks to Rise Kagona of the Bhundu Boys, and the band's Scottish manager Gordon Muir and its former producer Robin Millar. A special thanks must be given to Virginia Mukweshu and her husband Florian Hetze. Among Virginia Mukweshu's band members the late Leonard Ngwenya became an important mentor and friend during my stay in Harare, I will always remember Leonard for his sense of humor and patience in teaching me Zimbabwean music. Lead singer Simon Banda and Mandla Sibanda of Sunduza not only taught me mbube but also a lot about Nebele culture and the life in Pumula Township in Bulawayo. Also Sunduza's manager Philip Weiss was an invaluable resource both in explaining the details of running a mbube choir and in leading the life of a European in Zimbabwe. Many practical problems were solved when Sulo and Julia Ojala rented me their car. Percy Mashaire's lessons in Shona and Shona culture, given in Helsinki, proved to be useful when I finally came to Zimbabwe, where, in turn, Memory Muzvonda's help with Shona and translations was invaluable.

My academic base since the mid 1990s has been The Sibelius Museum – Department of Musicology at the Åbo Akademi University where I worked as Assistant 1995–2000 and after that as Museum Curator. I have to acknowledge particularly Professor Pirkko Moisala and Acting Professor Gunnar Ternhag for their support

during my work, and all the members of the post graduate seminars held at the department and together with the Department of Musicology at Turku University. The foundations of Åbo Akademi have also provided financial support that has made it possible to travel to seminars and conferences abroad.

As a doctorate student I have found it not only very valuable but, in fact, necessary to meet with colleagues and find new forms of supervision outside the daily academic routines. In this sense I have particularly warm memories of the Nordic Skagerak-doctorate seminars and the NorFA research school for popular music studies. Also organizations such as The Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology, the Finnish Society for Musicology and the International Association for the Study of Popular Music, particularly the organization's Nordic branch, have all proved to be important forums for me. Of the non-scholarly organizations the Zimbabwe–Finland Friendship Association has provided a valuable contact to Zimbabwe when I was based in Finland.

Several scholars have been of great assistance when listening to my, at times probably irrational monologues and questions. However, three persons who have commented my manuscript have to be thanked especially. Krister Malm (The Swedish National Collections of Music, Stockholm) and Tellef Kvifte (The Norwegian Collection of Folk Music, Department of Music and Theatre, Oslo University) read through the text and gave valuable feedback at the final stages of my work. A key person during the project has been Bruce Johnson (University of New South Wales, Sidney, Australia), who, as an expert in not only the English language but also popular music studies, has given me invaluable advice in drafting the text.

In addition to the above sponsors, The Åbo Akademi Foundation, Oscar Öflunds Stiftelse and Åbo Akademis jubileumsfond have supported me financially. Their scholarships have enabled me to travel to Zimbabwe and various places in Europe to collect material. They have also enabled me to find time apart from my daily routines at the Sibelius Museum – Department of Musicology at the Åbo Akademi University and concentrate on research.

The technical processing of my text has been supported by Anna-Maria Nordman in Turku and Penny Yon in Harare, who both have helped in transcribing my interviews. The layout of the thesis has been designed by Anssi Sinnemäki and the cover by Laura Metso. I would also like to thank the Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology for publishing my thesis, and the Department of Musicology at Åbo Akademi and the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation for supporting the publication financially.

Finally I would like to thank my family, who has had to suffer from my occasional mental and physical absence during the last few years.



# I

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## Introduction

“Local music, not from here (wherever here is)” is a definition of world music that editor Ian Anderson presented in the magazine *Folk Roots* in 1997 (Anderson 1997, 13). According to Anderson, the phrase summarizes many of the key features of the whole world music phenomenon, and at the same time it is open enough to allow for discussion and different interpretations in different parts of the world. Anderson is editor of what might be called one of the most influential world music magazines and he was one of the key persons who in 1987 launched the marketing category and concept ‘world music’ after a series of meetings in a pub in London. Despite this background, he and his magazine for a long time avoided defining world music and in fact often also avoided the whole concept.

The phrase “Local music not from here” has always intrigued me. First, I intuitively have often felt that despite, or probably precisely because of its vague all-encompassing character, it is somehow relevant as a description of how people who work in the field of world music (as I did from the late 1980s to the early 1990s as a world music radio DJ), understand the concept. Second, I feel that it leads to several interesting questions. Not all music of the world is called world music, placed in world music racks in record stores or played on world music radio programs. Nor is all music that many people would call local categorized as world music. Some people would probably not describe as local some of the music that is called world music. Why then is some music understood as ‘local’ in the sense that it is ‘world music’? How precisely are the distinctions made between what is and what is not accepted and appreciated as world music? Who makes the distinctions and what relevance do they have?

After Anderson’s definition in 1997 the magazine *Folk Roots* also used the marketing slogan “Local music from out there” on its cover. This revised version of the

original definition is equally interesting. It suggests that the music is from someplace else than this particular magazine, which is based in England but read among fans and world music industry personnel in different parts of Western Europe. Consequently the magazine seems to be in the position of reflecting, if not even shaping the understanding of what music is brought 'from out there' to this category of world music 'in here'. In fact it can also reflect more generally what is understood as 'out there' and 'in here'. But what relevance does this conceptualization and marketing category world music have for those musicians whose music is called world music? How do they understand the situation and how does it affect them, or how do they affect it?

In this thesis I have chosen to study world music as a cultural and industrial phenomenon. Initially I have tried to avoid defining world music. Instead I have tried to see and understand how others have defined it explicitly or implicitly (Ian Anderson's definition being one of many that have intrigued me). In doing so, I have drawn on the theoretical framework of discourse analysis, particularly as it has developed in post-structuralist approaches and post-colonial analysis. Thus, I have preferred to approach world music as an object of certain forms of knowledge, and a target of institutional practices mainly of the music industry and musicians. This study seeks to analyze how the discourse which is called world music is constituted and to describe the relationship between this world music discourse and the musicians. I am interested in the practices through which the music industry creates meanings, and in the web of relations that exist between the industry's and the musicians' systems of meaning. I am also interested in how the world music discourse is reflected in the creative career of the musicians. When studying these questions, it is also necessary to ask what cultural ideologies and norms are attached to the discourse and in what ways they participate in creating it.

In disassembling the concept world music out of its discourse I have chosen to utilize a qualitative approach and the analytical tools of the ethnographic tradition. The empirical material of the research consists partly of world music magazines, books and charts, as well as of interviews with people who are involved in world music. This material is used to give a picture of the discursive formation and practice of world music. The relationship between the discourse and the musicians is studied with the help of three Zimbabwean case studies: the Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukwesha and Sunduza. The general focus of my work posits it in the larger framework of ethnomusicology and popular music studies, with contributions from cultural, media and post-colonial studies.

## 1. Earlier approaches

The world music phenomenon has gradually become a field of research across a wide range of disciplines, from ethnomusicology and popular music studies to various fields of cultural and post-colonial studies. The diversity of approaches has naturally led to broad differences in the scholarly writings both at the level of the most basic assumptions, as well as the more detailed points of focus chosen in the particular works. Simply defining world music seems to divide researchers and it is hard to find any single scholarly definition that would cover all the areas of interest, methodological approaches chosen and the final conclusions presented in the different writings. Writers often choose a definition of world music that suits their purposes, whether it is to analyze modernization and Westernization of music, globalization processes or power relations. Questions concerning the origins of the concept world music or the industrial practices, which have shaped its formation, as well as what these aspects mean for the musicians involved in world music, have been dealt with more sparsely.

Not long after the launch of the marketing category world music, the concept also entered the writings of popular music scholars and ethnomusicologists. It is however worth noting that not all of these writers were necessarily interested in an analysis of the phenomenon, so much as just reflecting the spirit of the time. Sometimes the writers merely describe different aspects of popular music styles from outside the Anglo-American mainstream, and world music is used as a general heading or marketing term (e.g. Frith 1989). A similar approach can be found in the number 3/1989 of *Popular Music*, which deals with African popular music. In his introduction to the issue, Stan Rivjen (1989, 216) explains briefly the background of the conceptualization and the marketing campaign of the British independent record companies, but otherwise the articles included simply describe a number of African pop styles and musicians.

An early attempt to describe different aspects of the world music phenomenon is found in the journal of The Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology. In a special number (*Musiikin suunta* 2/1989), entirely devoted to world music, the subject is addressed from several viewpoints, including by summarizing different world music institutions and the results of a small survey among the audience of a world music festival in Finland. The most interesting aspect of this special issue of the journal is that it also attempts to summarize the different meanings that had been so far given to the term by the press. In other words, the meaning of the term world music is not simply taken for granted or defined by the writers to suit their own interests and purposes, but analyzed as a many-faceted construction (see Kurkela & Laakkonen 1989a). In addition to the summary of definitions of world music the journal also raises interesting

questions regarding the yearning for romantic exoticism in the West, the questioning of the ideals of national authenticity and, what is also new, compares the world music phenomenon with earlier European folklorism (see Kurkela & Laakkonen 1989c).

Probably the most influential contribution to the scholarly writing of this period is Andrew Goodwin's and Joe Gore's article *World Beat and the Cultural Imperialism Debate* (1990). Nominally the article concentrates on world beat, as the phenomenon first came to be known in the United States, but it remains highly relevant for all world music research. According to Goodwin and Gore, "World Beat has been constructed by musicians, critics, and entrepreneurs as a genre in itself, so that it is now a promotional label" (ibid., 66), but at the same time they claim that it also has a musical dimension in that "the way non-Western music is being used is less mediated than previously – the perceived purity of the music is an important factor in its appeal for Westerners" (ibid., 67). The authors examine how non-western music is used, and more importantly how the uses of this music have been interpreted in terms of the cultural imperialism thesis. Goodwin and Gore accept that this model has some relevance to the media, the values attached to media practices and the set of industrial arrangements. At the same time, however, they argue that it is very hard to apply the thesis of an imbalance in the communication vehicle to the field of contemporary popular music, because popular music has always been globally shaped by, for example, the African diaspora.

Goodwin and Gore (ibid.) claim that an adequate account of world beat needs to move beyond the analysis of solely industrial ownership to discussion of music and meaning. A musical examination of the phenomenon includes asking for example to what extent developments in world beat are dependent on their compatibility with Western definitions of music. The different meanings that are attached to music have to be analyzed on a global level so that all the contextual aspects and differences found in the construction of meaning (both in production and reception) are clarified. What must be abandoned, according to Goodwin and Gore (ibid. 78), are, in the first place, the Marxist accounts that falsely explain world beat as the exploitation by rock stars of Africans, since this overlooks both the process of producing so called world beat and the practice of consuming it. Secondly, the writers warn of a facile romanticism found among cultural studies academics who often, as fans of world beat, tend to celebrate the music uncritically as a global counter-hegemonic activity (ibid. 78–9).

Goodwin's and Gore's argument that we need to proceed beyond theories which reduce the question of meaning to economics, or which reduce ideology to ownership, to broader views on music and meaning, is in my opinion a fruitful approach to the study of world music. Nevertheless, much of the academic writing on world music tends to follow either the Marxist tradition, criticizing the music as an alienated prod-

uct of the imperialist capitalist industry, or as a counter-hegemonic celebration of a new global culture. The basic tensions seem to be between regarding so-called indigenous traditions either as a source of cultural strength or as reactionary anachronisms; and between seeing the global culture as either an engine of progress and modernization, or as a force for exploitation and homogenization (see Middleton 1992, 363 and Negus 1996a, 175). In the following I shall summarize briefly earlier writings on world music and the way in which scholars have situated themselves in relation to these tensions.

The fear of homogenization and a compromising of indigenous cultures in an era of global industrial practices has been common among ethnomusicologists. The term world music, which originally had been used by ethnomusicologists to signify the multitude of the world's music, has in its industrial meaning come to signify something completely different, which, according to many ethnomusicologists, in fact is diametrically opposed to its original meaning. Baumann summarizes this argument by stating that: "The concept of many 'musics of the world' is increasingly subordinated to the concept of the one 'world music'" (1992b, 159, Baumann's emphasis, see also 1992b, 11-2.). There is also a major concern among ethnomusicologists over the music industry's way of, for example, sampling field recordings on world music records (see e.g. Schneider 1991). One of the most thorough analyses of this problem is provided by Steven Feld (1996), who, by describing the ways in which western artists have utilized field recordings of Central-African pygmy music, scrutinizes the practices of the western music industry, particularly in the field that Feld calls "the world's new ubiquitous global pop sales genre: world beat music" (1996, 1). Not all of the western musicians who have sampled, or merely been inspired by the pygmy music, are necessarily commonly classified as world beat (or world music) artists, but his way of elaborating the musical discourses and practices that link colonial and post-colonial Africa to the western music industry have a relevance beyond the sphere of the case studies used in his text. Feld's analysis of both the obvious economic inequities as well as of the implicit conceptualization in western uses of the pygmy as the timeless primal Other, has become an important part of the scientific discourse on world music. David Hesmondhalgh (1998 and 2000), for example touches upon the same questions in his study of the "world dance fusion" record company Nation and its appropriation without compensation of samples in order to signify difference, or a "mysterious Other".

The technique of sampling field recordings has been prominent in arguments about cultural imperialism, but some attention has also been given to the more complex questions concerning the spread of musical influence and collaborations between First and Third world musicians, most notably the debate concerning Paul Simon's record

*Graceland*. Only a few of the writings which deal with the collaborative project between Simon and the South African musicians explicitly discuss the record's meaning for the world music phenomenon, but many take it implicitly for granted. An example of the more explicit recognition is Reebee Garofalo's (1992) introductory chapter to the book *Rockin' the Boat*, where he writes about the cultural imperialism thesis using *Graceland* as an example. He goes as far as to claim that "Historically the album has taken its place as one of the defining contributions to the amorphous category of 'world beat' or 'world music', and as such has been at the heart of highly politicised discussions concerning musical appropriation and ownership on the one hand and 'cultural imperialism' on the other" (ibid., 1). The more implicit presence of these issues is exemplified in Feld's article *Notes on 'World Beat'* (1994a), which discusses the appropriations found in Afro-American music in general and in *Graceland* specifically. Feld identifies *Graceland* as a new type of musical collaboration between Western and non-Western musicians, which he calls "world beat", and which he situates (in what might be called a more traditional ethnomusicological fashion) in opposition to "world music", which signifies musical diversity (see ibid., 245; also Feld 1994b). Neither of the authors is actually discussing world music as such, nor to what extent *Graceland* really can, or cannot, be called a defining contribution to the marketing categories world beat or world music. Rather, they are using the album as an example for their (opposite) views on the cultural imperialism thesis.

While many of the critical studies on world music concentrate on inequities in ownership and the economic structures of the global music industry, there is also a growing interest in one of the approaches that Goodwin and Gore were calling for, namely that of studying the meanings of the music in its different contexts. Especially among scholars who apply theories of post-colonial and cultural studies there is a concern for the differentiation of 'us' and 'them', which the industrial category world music is seen to strengthen. For example Barbara Browning defines world music as "the industry name for non-Western music distributed in the West" (although immediately adding that "this is a simplification, as certain 'traditional' European musics are also included") (1998, 36), and for her, the danger of the classification lies in "its implication that Africa is in a different world from Western pop" (ibid., 47). Similar ideas have also been developed by James Barrett (1996, 243), who argues that the musicians of the third world are recognized as having the practical skills to manufacture music, but are denied the conceptual agency to place that music in a wider context, and therefore world music becomes "a signifier of an idea within an externally constructed discursive field". In this industrial context world music becomes fixated on cultural exoticism, which, according to Barrett (ibid., 241), matches the liberal/left disaffection with modernism and its desire for alternatives to the alienation of

western society. In the most critical post-colonial approaches the practices of the world music industry and the liberal academic interest for world music are lumped together, because they are both seen to belong to the same process of controlling and exploiting the 'otherness', which finally aims at once again reproducing hegemony (e.g. Sharma 1996).

Veit Erlmann (1993, 1994, 1996b, 1998) has approached the different processes of signification of the world music industry from a critical, postmodernist view. Inspired by Fredric Jameson (1991), Erlmann sees the Western world music industry not as a homogenizing, but as a difference producing system, of a kind that is so typical of capitalism in the postmodern era. In his model, pastiche is described as the key principle of world music, and postmodern global culture in general. According to Erlmann world music does away with the older, fixed time-space relationships of music cultures and the play of differences becomes a new kind of identity, or in simple terms: "difference itself becomes the signified" (1993, 13). Erlmann develops the claim that world music is not only a style or marketing category, but "a new aesthetic form of the global imagination, an emergent way of capturing the present historical moment and the total reconfiguration of space and cultural identity characterizing societies around the globe" (1996b, 468). He thus defines world music differently from most other researchers, and even more differently from the way the concept is defined by the music industry in its own practices. For Erlmann such musics as the Tanzanian taarab or Zimbabwean chimurenga are not world music, since they are products and agents of local historical processes, whereas for example Paul Simon's *Graceland* and Milton Nascimento's *Txai* are entirely located in transhistorical space, and are therefore world music in the sense that he uses the concept (1993, 13–4; 1996b, 476).

Most of the scholarly criticism directed against the world music phenomenon is explicitly or implicitly based on the Marxist tradition or the cultural imperialism thesis, and has as its starting point the assumption of an opposition between a Western industrial center and a weaker, suppressed periphery. It is therefore natural that this binary opposition and the theories that reduce signification to questions of ownership and economics are usually problematized by writers who see world music in more optimistic terms. According to some writers, such as Lazarus, world music can help in reshaping old juxtapositions by increasing dialogue between, for example, the West and Africa, so that Westerners who listen to world music not only get a picture of what life can be in other parts of the world, but even how life could be different in the West (Lazarus 1993, 158). Ian Chambers (1994, 76–87) uses world music to describe how the increasing contacts through musical and cultural encounters are disrupting the whole center-periphery model, as well as the ideas of purity and authen-

ticity of cultures on which the binary opposition rests. The limits of the cultural imperialism thesis have also been emphasized by Tony Mitchell (1996, 6–7), who defines world music both as a marketing category and a music genre, which by establishing a musical language of hybridity helps in blurring insider/outsider boundaries and questioning many dubious notions of cultural purity.

During the 1990s many of the schematic imperialist models were also replaced by different interpretations of Roger Wallis' and Krister Malm's concept "transculturation" (see Wallis & Malm 1984 and Malm & Wallis 1992). Wallis and Malm (1984, 300–1) use the term in their study of the music industries in small countries to show how the older patterns of cultural exchange, dominance and imperialism in the 1970s were supplemented by the so-called transculturation pattern. This process became crucial when the transnational corporations grew and tried to maximize their profit by trying to identify the lowest musical common denominator for the biggest possible market. The difference between transculturation and earlier forms of cultural contact is of course partly one of sheer magnitude, but also that it is based on a two-way flow. It is not only the individual music cultures which pick up elements from transcultural music, but an increasing number of national and local music cultures also contribute to transcultural music. Wallis and Malm mention disco as an example of transnational music, and argue that it is music which has not originated in any special ethnic group (ibid., 300). Later scholars have, however, also used the concept of transculturation to describe world music (see e.g. Frith & Goodwin 1990, 126; Malm and Wallis 1992, 215; Longhurst 1995, 52; Hernandez 1992, 360). Although not all of these writers analyze or define world music explicitly, it is possible to draw from them the conclusion that the term transnational music implies that world music is a hybrid musical style, based on such a broad range of loosely rooted musical styles that it has lost its natural connection to any particular ethnic group.

Subsequently Krister Malm has approached world music from a slightly different angle in Malm's, Dan Lundberg's and Owe Ronström's project *Music, Media and Multiculture* (Lundberg et al. 2000), which analyzes the discourse of multiculturalism and the current changes in music cultures in Sweden. In this project, world music is defined as music with a global structure and local content, in other words as local folk music styles from all over the world that have been mixed with a pop and rock elements (ibid., 146). The birth of world music is, according to Malm, Lundberg and Ronström (ibid., 70), a consequence of a larger global process in which music has been adjusted to a new electronic media environment, spread to new regions and finally localized in new contexts, in order to once again be adjusted to a new media environment. Thus, the global structural character and local contents of world music are the product of a longer, complex interaction between the local and the global.

The complexities involved in the use of old bipolarities in a dramatically changing world have also been noted by Jocelyne Guilbault (1993a, 1993b, 1996 and 1997), who has studied zouk and its significance in producing different meanings in both the original Caribbean context as well as on the international marketplace. In her detailed analysis of zouk (Guilbault 1993a) she takes as a starting point that zouk is a world music or world beat style, but her main concern is not so much the world music phenomenon or Western industrial practice, but rather how zouk has been distributed on the international market in general and how this has affected the local interpretations of zouk in the Caribbean. Given the specialized focus of her argument, her definition of world music is fairly narrow. Guilbault (1993a, 233 n.1) defines world music (and world beat) as “popular musics that have emerged in the eighties, that are mass distributed worldwide and yet associated with minority groups and small or industrial developing countries, that combine local musical characteristics with those of mainstream genres in today’s transnational music-related industry, and that have reached markets of industrialized countries”. The limitations of this definition become obvious when we look at the music usually found in the world music record racks, radio programs, trade fairs and charts. Also so-called traditional or folk styles as well as older styles are classified as world music, and all of these musics are not from developing countries or associated with minorities, or distributed globally. It can also be argued that not all world music styles are fusions of local and transnational genres. In fact Guilbault herself later admits the limits of her definition (Guilbault 1993b, 36), which directs attention only to a subset of world music, but it does enable her to study the questions that interest her in association with zouk, namely how locality, identity and power were articulated in the music cultures and industries in the 1980s. In her study of these questions she concludes that world music faces a double dilemma. On the one hand musical styles such as zouk are forced to use the dominant system’s language and adapt characteristics of the Western mainstream pop idiom, but at the same time the dominant system has to reformulate itself and take on features of the subordinated group so that its core values are not threatened (Guilbault 1993a, 209 and 1993b, 40–1).

The new globalization processes and their relationship with the world music phenomenon have probably been so far most thoroughly researched by Timothy Taylor in his book *Global Pop* (1997). Taylor uses Hall’s (1991) conceptualization of the “global post-modern” to describe the current situation where the global capitalist system, because of American hegemony, seeks to homogenize cultures, but never fully manages to do it. Even if it has to an ever-increasing extent become impossible for the hegemony to totally homogenize the continuously changing variety of cultural activity, it still tries to control the economic benefits of the disorder. The capitalist

music industry for example sought to achieve stability and predictability by lumping together a diversity of styles under one marketing category called world music, which nevertheless is neither stable nor homogeneous (Taylor 1997, 15). Taylor emphasizes that his use of the term global post-modern does not refer to postmodernism-as-style, but rather on postmodernity-as-moment (ibid. 203). Hence he opposes for example Erlmann, who defines world music as a certain type of transhistoric aesthetic practice, which is largely based on pastiche. By studying several artists who have managed to make a career in the West by appropriating and fusing different western and non-western musical styles, Taylor finds that the older binaries that drive western understanding of other peoples and their music still exist (e.g. domination/resistance, self/other, traditional/modern and nature/culture). He also claims that the structures of these binaries can simultaneously be circumvented, maintained, ignored, or dealt with in many other ways. According to Taylor the assumed blurring of affect and meaning, as well as rootlessness of practices (which Erlmann ascribes to the cut-and-paste technique of the new world music aesthetics) is highly questionable, because the musicians are concerned with more than surfaces and the music is more than just a meaningless play of signifiers.

Taylor's musical and cultural analysis is many ways impressive in its scope and depth and it is a valuable addition to the literature on music and globalization processes. It is, however, worth making two remarks about the applicability of his general approach. The first one concerns the focus of his research, which is the globalization of music. It is obviously impossible to generalize from the cultural and musical analysis of a small number of case studies, in a way that comprehends all aspects of the processes involved. However, Taylor's study, as for example Keith Harris (1998, XI) has pointed out, deals with musical encounters between the most developed and the least developed countries in the world, and therefore is not so much a book about the globalization of music per se, but rather about a particular kind of globalization. Taylor's interest of course lies only partly in globalization as such, and maybe to a larger extent in world music. His study of the formation of the marketing category world music through Billboard charts and Grammy awards is in fact a central contribution in this field. Only Simon Frith (1996, 84-5) had previously touched upon how world music, as a popular music genre, has been constructed through a commercial and cultural process and what consequences this has both for the genre and research into it. On the other hand, Taylor's focus remains very American and it could be criticized for presenting a narrow picture of the historical and geographical range of the industrial practices as well as of the signification processes that form the world music phenomenon.

A second comment could be made about Taylor's methods, stemming from the scholarly traditions of musicology and cultural studies. His approach makes it possi-

ble to use a variety of sources, to draw conclusions based on both a wide range of artists and earlier theoretical findings, and it also guarantees intelligibility among (western) readers. At the same time, as Steven Feld (1997, 142) observes, it leaves it to ethnographically-focused researchers to take the next steps, and to explore the broader complexities of these issues in closely grounded and multi-sited studies of world music's locales, agents, and audiences.

In fact, Feld's own insider-description of the project *Voices of the Rainforest* (Feld 1994b) shows some of the manifold levels of analysis which ethnography can offer, especially when describing the scholar's own balancing between, what Feld calls, an "academic" and a "vernacular" approach to world music. Feld also uses two terms, schizophonia (following Schafer 1997) and schizmogogenesis (following Bateson 1936/1958 and 1972) to relate these current activities to a larger economic and cultural context. According to Feld there is a current movement from "schizophonia" – the splitting of sound away from the maker of the sound – to "schizmogogenesis" – the patterns of progressive cultural diversification and escalating interactivity and interdependence, that have become characteristic of the international economic and cultural order.

Martin Stokes's (1994b) study of a group of Turkish musicians visiting Ireland and Jan Fairley's (1991) description of a Peruvian group touring England also show the possibilities of ethnography. Both studies analyze how the complex problems of managing meaning become accentuated and questions of ethnicity become constructed and contested during a career. David Hesmondhalgh's (1998 and 2000) analysis of the activities of an independent company in the so-called world dance fusion genre also contributes to an understanding of the possibilities of ethnography in the industrial sphere.

I believe that several issues that have been dealt with in writings on world music are important, be they questions concerning cultural imperialism, globalization and power relations between the West and third world countries, or tradition, homogenization and diversity, or transculturation, appropriation, and the problem of the hybridity and authenticity of cultures. I also believe that both the neomarxist and the more optimistic cultural studies schools of thought offer important insights as how to approach these questions. However, in my work I prefer to focus on world music as a cultural and industrial formation and practice, rather than use world music merely as an example of the dangers or possibilities of current globalization processes. In my opinion an ethnographic approach can be fruitful when studying both the practices of the industry personnel who contribute to the formation of the category world music and the creative musicians whose music is classified as world music. It is at this level, and with the help of a discursive approach, that I have chosen to write on world music.

## 2. Aims of the research

Defining a genre is a complicated task, yet generic labels are often used unproblematically in research, as if the genres are static objects, independent of practice. Even when the grounds for the use of a label are made clear, problems can emerge if the research is based on a predetermined, specified and fixed definition, which then is applied to the whole analysis. As Keith Harris (1997, 3), for example, has pointed out in his analysis of heavy metal, different definitions of a genre lead to different research results. This happens because a scholar who starts his work by defining the genre, in fact by defining it also creates his whole object of analysis and predetermines the direction of his research. Harris's (ibid.) solution to this problem is to abandon an initial definition of heavy metal and instead analyze how heavy metal is constructed discursively in the everyday language of the fans. I find the logic of this argumentation useful, since it seems sensible to approach genres, like social categories in general, as discursive constructions. Thus, rather than asking what world music is, I find it more instructive to ask how world music has been constructed.

A study of world music as a discursive construction requires an approach which recognizes the complexity of the concept and the diversity of the musics that have been associated with it. Even a brief look at the contents of any world music record shop, radio program, festival or chart, shows how few resemblances – be they musical, or in terms of cultural background – there are to be found between the records that are classified as world music. It is simply very difficult to say, in any meaningful way, that, for example, The Drummers of Burundi, Les Mystères des Voix Bulgares, Värttinä, Salif Keita or Gilberto Gil, would perform the same style of music. Or, to use the words of a writer at the alt.music.world-newsgroup: "Anyone claiming Youssou N'Dour and Huun Huur Tu play the same genre of music should obviously be taken directly to the emergency room" (cf. Laakkonen 1995, 13). Despite this comment, the same writer also mentions in his E-mail that he has both the Senegalese pop star's and the Tuvan traditional group's records in his collection and because of this, he finds the term world music meaningful (ibid.).

It is possible to describe the nature of world music in loosely structuralist terms by saying that the signification process, on which the idea of world music is based, is very complex because of its manifold references to a wide and diverse range of signifieds. This is what Erlmann (1993, 13), in his assertively postmodern argument, refers to with his crystallization of the play of differences in world music: "difference itself becomes the signified". A more muted version of this same line of thought can be found in the Brazilian musician Gilberto Gil's article *The Music of the World Is Bigger Than World Music* (1993), in which the author criticizes the industrial label

world music for being all-encompassing and unsatisfactory. According to Gil, the media category "'World Music' tries to unite into one signifier many diverse signifieds", and the musics which have been lumped together under this heading are "far too diverse to signify, marketing-wise, a single industrial vision" (ibid., 5). This industry genre, "defined by the yuppie executives of show biz", is then juxtaposed by Gil with "a true 'world music'", which is the result of "intensive and extensive exchanges among many peoples of the world" and which is based on the second and third world artist's "understanding of an historic role beyond the short lived utilitarianism of the more backward parts of the culture industry" (ibid., 8-9).

Both Gil's interpretation of world music as a signifier with (too) many signifieds and Erlmann's more incisive articulation of difference itself as the signified, are based on the idea that the signification process behind the conceptualization is rooted in the music industry. I agree with this standpoint, since no matter how the outcome of this industrial input is valued, it cannot be denied that the music industry has been of fundamental importance for the creation of a marketing category called world music, and thereby also for the whole conceptualization as it is understood today. Thus, it might be meaningful to avoid defining world music and rather just ask how the industry defines it. However, even in the industry the meaning of the term is dynamic and unstable. It is also simplistic to look for simple causal connections between on one hand the industry as an isolated entity of production and on the other hand all other music activities (be it music making, consumption, creating meanings in connection to music, or any other aspect of the music life). The industry is neither a monolithic entity nor are its functions simple, stable, separate or unidirectional in relation to the rest of the world. It is, in other words, not so much a question of a single event (for example one music industry executive meeting), isolated in time and space and resulting in consequences outside this place and moment, which brought into being world music in the form that the concept was and has been understood ever since. The industrial conceptualization of world music is rather a continuing process with many cognate connotations, expectations and ideologies, which in their turn are also rooted in several sectors of society.

I find it constructive to avoid an initial definition of the term world music and to look at it as a concept that must be assembled out of its discourse. This means that I avoid defining and writing about world music as anything existing in an absolute essentialist sense of the word. Neither do I believe in a "true world music", which is to be found beyond the limits of this discourse (as does for example Gil, 1993). Following the basic premises of discourse analysis (see Gordon 1980, 235), I believe that it can be fruitful, even if only occasionally and simply for the sake of argument, to have a working hypothesis which is based on the idea that world music does not sig-

nify any clear musicological, anthropological or sociological entity at all but is rather the name for a construct or even a fiction. By doing this I believe that it can be possible to liberate oneself from some of the most simplistic presuppositions and instead study from different angles the series of conceptual and practical operations through which world music has been constituted as an object of certain forms of knowledge, meanings and ways of thinking, and a site of institutional practices mainly on the part of the music industry and musicians.

Thus, the first aim of my study is to analyze how the discourse, which is called world music, is constituted. This could also be expressed, using the terminology of Foucault, as an attempt to describe how the discursive practice and the discursive formation of world music is constructed. A discourse is never stable or fixed; it is rather a continuous process, which is formed by contextually bound systems of meaning. In order to describe this process it is important to elaborate on the practices of the music industry, especially in creating meanings. It is also necessary to ask what cultural ideologies are attached to the discourse and in what ways they participate in its creation.

The general feature of discourse analysis, as I will apply it in my work, could be characterized as an interest in the underlying structures and sets of practices that form the determinants of our ideas of reality. In this sense my work has largely been influenced by the fundamental theories of Foucault (e.g. 1969/1972, 1976/1990, 1980) and their later interpretations in for example sociology and cultural studies (e.g. Hall 1982, 1988, 1992a), social psychology (e.g. Potter & Wetherell 1987), postcolonial studies (e.g. Said 1978/1995) and popular music studies (Horner 1999). In this approach discourse is not only understood in its simplest linguistic sense as some kind of a coherent body of speech or writing, but more as a whole set of rules and conventions that are taken to be in play and governing the discourses in their given social context. The cultural texts are not merely seen as reflections of objects, events and categories pre-existing in a social or natural world. Instead the texts are seen to be actively participating in the construction of these objects. A discourse provides a language for talking about and representing a particular knowledge about something. By doing this, a discourse also has social and cultural implications, since it both offers possibilities and at the same time closes off other possibilities of knowledge.

Questions of knowledge and power are often touched upon in writings about world music. The general concern has been partly economic questions, but also to what extent the music industry gives the so-called world musicians a chance to participate when decisions are being made about how their music is being presented to the audience. Often this problem is handled from a post-colonial point of view, following the old binary opposition of a marginal, third world periphery and a western core industry. It is on these ideas that for example James Barrett (1996) draws, when he states

that the so called world musicians lack opportunities of contextualizing their music when it is marketed in the first world. He argues that it is the industry which classifies and explains the music, thereby making the music “a signifier of an idea within an externally constructed discursive field” (ibid., 243).

I find Barrett’s argument pertinent, although it is worth remembering that not all the musical styles or musicians that are found in the marketing category world music come from the developing countries, or from marginalized minorities of the developed countries. It is of course also possible to ask to what extent any musician is able to determine how his or her music is marketed, not to mention how it is finally consumed. What, however, is interesting about world music is that it is a relatively new category although the products that are labeled world music for the most part draw on musical styles with a very long historical continuity. In the same way, the conceptualization world music has a limited meaning outside the region of the so-called western music industry, although the musical styles that are lumped together in it come from such a wide geographic area. Therefore it is reasonable to argue that many musicians and their musics are to some extent detached from the primary construction of the world music discourse although their music nevertheless is classified as world music. This tension is of crucial importance if we are to understand world music. The musicians might or might not be aware of the classification process. They might ignore, accept or reject it, partially or wholly. In the long run they might also participate in the construction of the discourse. However, at a direct or indirect level, there is always some kind of a relationship between the musician and the world music discourse.

The second aim of my research is thus to describe the relationship between the world music discourse and the musicians. This includes asking how the ideological and normative ideas underlying the discourse affect the musicians’ conceptualizations, ways of thinking and acting in their creative and professional careers. The relationship is not necessarily based on force or a causal connection between a dominant and a subordinate party, or on a one-way flow of influences. Nor do I believe that the musicians or their music would represent the ‘truth’ in relation to a somehow ‘false’ discursive construction called world music. Based on the general ideas of discourse analysis, I take as my starting point the proposition that all the participants in the field are necessarily attached to some system or systems of meaning and construct their reality following the principles of this system. The principles that shape one participant’s ideas of reality are no more right or wrong than the principles of other participants, they are just different. At the same time they are very much ‘reality’ for the actors who follow them. I therefore prefer to see the relationship between the world music discourse and the musicians’ discourses on music as a web of relations and ongoing processes between different systems of meaning. It is these which need to be analyzed.

### 3. Research setting

The practical methodological framework for my analysis is to a large extent based on ethnomusicology and popular music studies, with contributions from cultural, media and post-colonial studies. As probably with all research, this project is also built on the dialectics of personal experiences and theoretical considerations. It is hard to neglect the impact of one's scholarly background, just as it would be foolish to try to deny the importance of the practicalities of the work process, especially if it is based on ethnography. I will therefore now situate the methods and material of this research in their scholarly context, and discuss the more practical aspects of conducting global research. A useful starting point for these thoughts is to attempt to define the relevant field, in both a geographical and intellectual sense of the word, in which the work is carried out. While this might seem fundamental, the question has come to preoccupy many scholars over the last decades.

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it became more or less axiomatic that an ethnomusicologist had to have field research experience and that his study was based on his own fieldwork (see e.g. Nettl 1983, 6 and 251). The fundamental role of fieldwork had long defined one of the practical distinctions between ethnomusicology and traditional musicology. At the same time it also separated ethnomusicology from much media and cultural research, in which the emphasis was more on abstract theoretical models and quantitative data, such as international economic structures and media flow, as explanations for the development of musical cultures. The emphasis on fieldwork is unsurprising if we remember how the scholarly field of modern ethnomusicology grew out of the criticism of 'armchair' research. As a simplification it could be said that the aim of the modern ethnomusicologist then became to collect his own material from 'the field', which usually was an isolated village community. At times, this activity was based on the implicit assumption that such a community had a valuable, and stable tradition, which had to be preserved before it was destroyed by the insidious processes of modernization and Westernisation (comp. e.g. Nettl 1983, 316).

In the 1970s and 1980s there emerged a gradual shift from these assumptions when increasing numbers of ethnomusicologists felt that although European colonization and exploitation are "immoral acts", they also "have often been shown to result in interesting music" (Nettl 1985, xiv). It became more generally accepted that the rapid expansion of, for example, music media was not unambiguously negative, but could also produce positive effects on the music cultures of the world, and the resulting new musical styles also became objects of analysis for ethnomusicologists. This also directed the scholars' interest to music media as such and the impact of national and

international power relations in the musical life of local cultures (e.g. Wallis and Malm 1984). Meanwhile, anthropological research in general went through a period of self-reflexivity and radical criticism. The old underlying, implicit or explicit, norms for research were scrutinized from new perspectives. An important contribution was the insight that, by engaging with, describing, analyzing, and writing about a culture, scholars did not simplistically reflect it, but in fact constructed it. This and related issues were debated in works such as *The Invention of Culture* (Wagner 1975), *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Marcus & Fisher 1986) and *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus 1986) (see also Eriksen 1993, 17). Simultaneously also the relationship between what had been seen as the researcher's culture and the object's culture changed. Thus, the whole issue of the 'Self' and the 'Other' was also questioned and redefined. Mark Slobin summarized this situation of cultural research in the beginning of the 1990s as a polarity in which "anthropology has been telling itself to look inward, in terms of both fieldwork at home and the ethnographer's self as the field", while "cultural theorists have urged a broader view, pushing toward the study of 'global cultural flow' and going beyond ethnography toward seeing local scenes as inseparable from media-driven, internal fantasy life that takes people's minds from native grounds" (1993, 3). Needless to say, most of the research could probably be situated somewhere between these two extremes. Nevertheless the issues behind this polarization have been of great importance for the study of culture.

The development briefly outlined above naturally leads to the complex theoretical and methodological question: Where (or what) is the field now? Or from a more pragmatic point of view: How should fieldwork be conducted now? The dilemma of present-day ethnography has been described by George Marcus and Michael Fischer as follows: "what makes representation challenging is the perception that the 'outside forces' in fact are an integral part of the construction and constitution of 'the inside', the cultural unit itself, and must so be registered, even at the most intimate levels of cultural process" (1986, 77). During the last decade most ethnomusicologists have given this issue special attention – for example Slobin (1993) stresses the interactivity in his model of superculture, subcultures and interculture; Malm and Wallis (1992) concentrate on the relationships between international media, national decision making and local music activity; Erlmann (1993, 1996a, 1996b) on linking individual creativity and traditional performance practices with global networks; and Guilbault (1993a) on studying how various cultures respond to the same music (zouk). Even these few examples show the diversity of approaches to finding a balance between the deepest 'inside' level and the widest global level. Slobin draws on his long experience and extensive fieldwork to exemplify the different aspects of his model. Guilbault and Erlmann (esp. 1993) each focus on one genre of music, whereas Malm

and Wallis have chosen six countries as their case studies. What all these writers however have in common is an eclectic methodological approach, which combines the older ethnographic tradition with methods from sociology, cultural studies and media studies.

Both in terms of study objects and methodological choices, the current issues in ethnomusicology have brought the discipline closer to the extensive field of popular music studies. Simultaneously it seems that during the last few years questions regarding fieldwork have also been debated in popular music studies. While ethnomusicology had established a position in academic discourse as early as the decades immediately following the Second World War, passing through the stages of consolidation, canonization and counter-critique, popular music studies is in some ways still going through these same stages. Popular music studies is in fact a rather loose generic description of a range of scholarly works, which often have very little in common except for an interest in broadly the same type of music. Despite the broad scope of what is called popular music studies, in recent years, voices have been raised over the way in which writing in this field has been circumscribed, particularly by what might be called its western emphasis (see for example Hayward 1998). This criticism is pertinent in the first instance because most of the work is conducted by North Americans, Europeans, Australians and to some extent also Japanese, in highly industrialized societies, mainly in the northern hemisphere, but also because of the criteria by which the research material is chosen and the consequently narrow picture it presents of popular music in general. This is what Keith Negus has termed the "rock imperialism" of Anglophone popular music scholarship, that is, "an approach to studying popular music that ignores the vast numbers of generic distinctions made by musicians and audiences across the world and which reduces popular music to the category of rock" (1996a, 162). Often what is called popular music studies is in fact merely European or North American rock music analysis, in which rock is studied as popular music and used to make generalizations about diverse musical forms and practices across the world.

It seems that the growing concern over issues such as the contextualization of music or the struggles over cultural sites and identities in the age of post-colonialism and media dissemination, is generating both an interest in the diversity of the popular musics of the world and also an increasing self-reflexivity among scholars. Slowly the field is widening and becoming harder to define, and the boundaries between the scholar and the object of analysis have to be reviewed. For example Line Grenier and Jocelyne Guilbault (1990) have noted that while the 'Other' is rarely defined explicitly in popular music studies, it is implicitly drawn by the choice of research object. Most studies have focused on youth, Blacks, subcultures and women, and thereby

formed the “here”, the “minority” and the “oppressed” as its Others, whereas the so to speak traditional anthropological Other, the “non-Western”, has been left out (ibid. 391–392). According to the authors “popular music studies now face the challenge of accounting for the specific character of music as it actually constructs, and not only reflects, ‘sites of difference’” (ibid, 392). Like the anthropologist, the popular music scholar has to focus on the definition of the Other, not as a self-enclosed or independent object of study, but rather as an object that can be defined only in its relation to the researcher. By acknowledging this, researchers would, according to Grenier and Guilbault, also position their discourses in relation to those of the critics, musicians, or music industry people, and understand how, by producing the Other, they in fact also construct themselves.

The different approaches to the field, the fieldwork and the relationships between the subject and the object, which have been debated in ethnomusicology and more recently in popular music studies, have also pervaded my work. Reflecting on my own research I find it instructive to draw parallels between the general theoretical issues in cultural analysis and my own personal experiences. I went through my ‘initiation rite’ into ethnomusicological fieldwork in 1991 when I had the opportunity to make two trips to Zimbabwe, where I spent a total of three months. I was working for a development project called Mediafrica, which was funded by the Finnish International Development Agency and which dealt with music and modern media in the Southern African region. My trips resulted in a publication on the formation of a music industry association in Zimbabwe (Brusila et al 1992) and a graduate thesis on the music industry in Zimbabwe (Brusila 1992). Four years later I spent two months in Zimbabwe and with the material that I collected during my stay I updated and expanded my graduate thesis to a licentiate thesis (Brusila 1995). The general question I addressed in my studies was what effects the music industry had on the music culture of Zimbabwe, and I based my study on more than 30 interviews and quantitative analyses of the music in the record companies and radio.

During the work I gradually started to view many of the clear-cut divisions implicit in my approach from new and different angles. Following the general trends in ethnomusicology I already mistrusted the older juxtaposition between on the one hand an authentic and valuable local, traditional music, and on the other hand a threatening international tide of corrupt modernity, simply because of the questionable normative judgments it was based on. I also slowly came to mistrust the putatively more objective premises that I was working from, especially the idea of a fixed, essential locality or tradition, and consequently the underlying premises behind the concepts of international and modern. In this respect my thinking was following what I subsequently discovered were the same paths Thomas Turino (2000) traces in his book

*Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (which I learned of regrettably late in my dissertation project).

In the 1980s and the early 1990s Zimbabwean music had received a lot of international attention. Paul Berliner's *The Soul of Mbira* (1978/1981), and the mbira classes as well as the research by Dumisani Maraire, had contributed to the raised awareness of Shona mbira and marimba music in the United States. At the same time the popular music of artists such as the Bhundu Boys and Thomas Mapfumo was spreading effectively through the growing world music market. My fieldwork was inevitably affected by this fact. In many ways the situation resembled Ulf Hannertz's description of his experiences of fieldwork in the city of Kafachan in Nigeria (1997, 12). According to Hannertz he often found himself irritated and embarrassed as various townspeople saw him as a possible resource in some lucrative import-export business. To begin with, he only saw this as a distraction from his objective of finding out what town life was actually like, but with time, he came to realize that these schemes were indeed one aspect of the dynamic he was researching. In the same way I was at first irritated when most people in the music business only saw me as an opportunity for arranging career opportunities abroad, but as time went by, I understood that this internationalization in fact had become a normal and important part of many musicians' careers, with complex consequences for their creative activities. The changes were not necessarily significant in the rural areas of Zimbabwe or visible in the so-called traditional forms of musical activities outside the professional or semi-professional realm. Nor did the growing awareness of a possible international interest in Zimbabwean music mean that the expected business ventures would ever eventuate. Nevertheless, also because of this I felt that the relevant 'field' for me in fact might not be confined neatly to a particular Zimbabwean, fixed, geographical location, tied to a fixed tradition (and positioned in contrast with something international and modern).

I also had to rethink my own position in the field. At first I had objected to the offers for business deals partly because I felt that it would disturb my research concentration, but perhaps also because I had the idea that it might somehow diminish my objectivity as an ethnomusicologist. Whilst there has for a considerable time existed an awareness of the complex effects that anthropological fieldwork can have on a small, isolated community, less attention has been paid to its effects on a larger, for example national or international, level. Yet it is obvious that people like Berliner and Maraire have played an extremely important role in the international awareness of Zimbabwean music, and that younger students continue with their work. Already in the early 1990s, when I traveled to Zimbabwe for the first time, there were American, South African and Dutch scholars visiting the country, as well as several Euro-

pean and North American journalists many of whom had some kind of an ethnomusicological background. In fact, I found that my own position, combining the roles of a student, a development worker, a freelance journalist and world music DJ, was not unusual for people in this field, and I began to question the clear-cut divisions between these different professions. This situation, together with the realization that a growing number of Zimbabweans themselves were conducting ethnomusicological research, blurred many of my previous clear-cut distinctions between subject and object, Self and Other, and led to a questioning of the relevance of my earlier research projects.

My experiences finally led me to focus on world music, although without totally abandoning my previous methodological standpoint or material. It seemed logical to study the Zimbabwean musicians in combination with their 'new field', that is the international world music market, and to combine the material of my earlier fieldwork with my previous professional experience as a world music DJ. Undoubtedly these background circumstances, just as for example the fact that I am a white male from Finland, have influenced my work and made self-reflexivity an important part of the whole work process.

#### **4. Methodological choices**

Much of the earlier writings on world music have dealt with the global power structures that underpin the activities of the music industry, or alternatively with what has been alleged to be the emancipating cultural effect of its increasing blurring of boundaries. Although I feel that these questions are important, I believe that it is equally important to add a micro-level to these macro-levels. I believe that by conducting fieldwork and using ethnographic methods we can reach a deeper insight into the choices made by the artists in their creative work and also into the functions of the industry.

Fieldwork concerning world music needs to address both the spatial and the power related aspects of the phenomenon, or in the words of Tony Kirschner (1998), it needs to include both "cosmopolitan ethnography" and "materialist ethnography". Unfortunately these very same objectives in fact also compromise the feasibility of fieldwork. It would be hard to do extensive ethnography in a field as vast as world music, no matter how the concept might be defined. Already the geographical range and the numerous cultures concerned make this impossible. The extensive nature of the issue, however, would most likely also limit both the validity and reliability of a strictly quantitative research, since it would become very hard to avoid subjective and cul-

ture-bound judgments while dealing with such a large-scale project. Examples of the problems of extensive comparative research can be found in some of the books that deal with popular music and global homogenization from a seemingly wide multicultural, but nevertheless from what might be called a very western perspective (see for example Robinson et al. 1991, including Frith's justified critical comment on pp. 280–287).

I have found it constructive to approach my subject from a qualitative perspective and instead of using statistical methods I have chosen to focus on a limited number of case studies. It would of course be possible to study world music by analyzing statistically the output of the major record companies, distributors and charts, but I believe that the outcomes of such an analysis easily would become largely shaped and constrained by the definitions and parameters that are chosen to classify the material under study. Thus, it feels more meaningful to avoid classifying something as for example 'traditional' or 'modern' music, and instead to try to study questions such as: who defines something as traditional or modern, how and why is it done, and with what consequences? In other words, it is more in line with the discursive approach to study how such classifications are constructed and how they participate in larger discursive formations and practices, than to take them for granted as existing entities.

Handling large issues such as globalization or cultural diversity is problematic because these questions are, by definition, so large that it is hard for the empirical findings of ethnography to encompass them in their totality. Although the ethnographic methods would not conclusively solve any questions of this magnitude, I believe that they can still be important as exemplary aids to modeling the problem in all its depth and complexity, in ways that could not have been achieved through a more quantitative approach.

The industrial aspects of the world music phenomenon are also so broad and various that it would be impossible to deal with them in totality. On both a musical and conceptual level, world music is explored, created, exploited, produced, distributed and marketed by the massive apparatus of the transnational media giants. Furthermore the industrial practice of world music, which also create and disseminate meanings (a fact which is so crucial for the whole discursive process), is not totally controlled by a few transnationals, but is also dispersed in the hands of a myriad small scale entrepreneurs, family companies, idealistic associations, ethnomusicological projects and state funded organizations. These institutions are seldom recognized in the large-scale media analyses, which take as their starting point an implicit definition of industry as a 'Fordist' assembly line factory. This is problematic not only because it gives a distorted picture of the structure of the industry, but also because it often neglects the decisions that have been made by other creative agents (see for

example Miller 1995, 9–10). Therefore I have chosen to use the concept of industrial practice in a very broad sense, referring not only to transnational majors or well-established independent record companies, but also to all other stakeholders, such as also the smallest companies and various organizations that release records or arrange festivals. It must also be added that one important part of the industry consists of organizations, such as for example magazines, that participate not in the distribution of music per se, but in the production and distribution of information regarding music, that is, the more ancillary meanings connected with music.

The approach that equates the music industry with a large, remorseless machine has deep roots in musicological research and media studies, not least because of the influence of the Frankfurt-school theories on the culture industries (especially Adorno 1941/1990, 1962/1976, 1991). It is interesting to note how Adorno argues in a rhetorical way so typical of his “anti-systematical” method of negative dialectics (to use the words of Paddison 1982, 202–3), that the concept culture industry should not be taken too literally, since the “industry” refers to the standardization of the thing itself and to the rationalization of the distribution techniques, but not strictly to the production process (Adorno 1991, 87). In other words, the industry still allows a certain “pseudo-individualization” in the production process (e.g. Adorno 1941/1990). What Adorno means is that the production process is not formed wholly in accordance with technological rationality (like the manufacturing process in a factory), but rather just incorporating industrial forms of rationalization and organization (as in office work). Despite this belief Adorno does not find it necessary to do any empirical studies to discover the functions of this specific industrial rationality, which simultaneously maintains individual forms of production and aims at ultimate standardization with standard reactions as consequences. His interest lies firmly in the abstract post-marxist theorization in which all empiricism tends to become useless because of the total and deterministic premises of the general model (see for example Adorno 1991, 67–8 on audience research).

In fact some of the classic studies of the music industry (e.g. Hirsch 1969, Peterson & Berger 1975/1990, Frith 1981) already disclosed the complex nature of the questions Adorno raised. As Middleton has written, “the picture which emerges from these [studies of the music industry] is not of a monolithic bloc but of a constantly mutating organism made up of elements which are symbiotic and mutually contradictory *at the same time*” (1990, 38, italics in the original). It is this contradictory nature of the functions of the industry, the negotiations and mediations that are so central to its practices, which can be highlighted by using fieldwork. A good example of this is given by Negus (1992, 1996a, 1999) who, by observing the day-to-day activities of the industry, shows how the struggle in the industry is not always between commerce

and creativity but about what it is to be commercial and creative. Negus (e.g. 1999, 14–21) describes his approach as a shift in interest from the “production of culture” to the “culture of production”. The strength of fieldwork in this type of research is that participant observation and interview material can be used to reconstruct the participants’ understanding of the musical world in which they work. The risk of this approach, as for example Frith and Goodwin (1990, 182–3) have pointed out, is that it too readily privileges the participant’s common sense and thereby recreates, rather than critically analyzes prevailing myths. It is therefore always necessary to place the accounts of the participants in a larger context and theoretical framework.

Many of the studies in which fieldwork methods have been applied have focused on issues such as commercialism vs. art, industrial standardization vs. freedom, or superimposition vs. resistance. My interest in these questions is not evaluative in the sense that I would primarily intend to describe the functions of the industry as either desirable or undesirable. Instead I want to analyze how the tensions mentioned are brought to the fore in the world music discourse. Thus, my intention is not only to describe, for example, industrial structures of hegemonic powers and underdog resistance, but also to show how the idea of such a binary is produced within the discourse. From this angle it is interesting to see how people, by addressing the different aspects of world music in a certain way, discursively create and recreate these kinds of structures.

A substantial part of my analysis focuses on ‘texts’ that both the industry and the musicians produce, and which create and recreate the world music phenomenon. The music industry and musicians through, for example records, sleeve notes, magazines, books and advertisements, as well as through interviews with me, produce the core of these texts. The extensive and complex nature of the industry, not to mention the all-embracing nature of the concept discourse (as used in the theories of Foucault), make it difficult to define practicable limits to what should be included in such an analysis and where the emphasis should be laid. Many other fields of activities, scholarly writing included, can be said to contribute to the shaping of ideas about world music and thus also to creating the discourse. However, with the risk of appearing to be a slave to eurocentricism and to my background in the world music media, I argue that the industry is in most cases clearly crucial to the construction of world music, not only through the series of meetings in 1987 in London that lead to the launch of the marketing category, but also because of the importance and impact of its activities ever since.

As all research, including this study, is tied to a certain period and specific context. My personal background and professional duties have of course also led to certain temporal and geographic restraints. The steadily increasing number of world

music publications, for example, finally forced me terminate the accumulation of material in 1998 for practical reasons. Thus, the texts analyzed and the fieldwork in general place the focus of this research on the period from the second half of the 1980s to roughly 1998. For practical reasons the focus is also on a description of the general structure and character of the discourse rather than sketching out and explaining the changes that might have occurred in the discourse since it originated, which, I believe, is a subject for a thesis of its own. Coming from Finland, which, particularly when it comes to world music seems to be strongly influenced by the British music media, has made it natural for me to concentrate on the formation and practice of world music in Europe (this has also led me to focus on 'world music' and generally bypass the North American 'world beat' phenomenon, which has been described in e.g. Goodwin & Gore 1990).

The selection of magazines chosen as material for the study include *Folk Roots* from Great Britain (mainly from the period 1985–1998), from the United States *Dirty Linen* (1993–1997) and *The Beat* (1992–1998), and *Djembe* from Denmark (1992–1998), as well as rock and industry magazines in which world music is dealt with more occasionally. An equally important part of my research material are the guidebooks for consumers that were published in the 1990s, such as *The Virgin Directory of World Music* (Sweeney 1991), *World Beat: a Listener's Guide to Contemporary World Music on CD* (Spencer 1992), *World Music: The Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994), *The World Music CD Listener's Guide* (Blumenthal 1998) and *Rhythm Planet: The Great World Music Makers* (Schnabel 1998). Also record company PR-material, festival booklets and trade fair brochures (e.g. WOMEX brochures such as Waechter 1994 and 1995, Beck 1997 and 1999 and Ahlbom 1998) have proved fruitful.

While the aforementioned texts give a broad picture of the discursive formation of world music, it tends to freeze the discourse and overlook its processual character. It is also important to describe world music as a discursive practice (to use Foucault's terminology) and include the functions of the different parts of the industry in the analysis (such as charts, activities of the record companies, magazines and radio programs, festival programming etc.). Therefore a large part of my work has consisted of getting to know the industry (in the widest sense of the word) and its processes by watching, interviewing and simply 'hanging around'.

This "cosmopolitan ethnography" brought me to Zimbabwe, but also to world music centers in Europe. Among the most important field work trips conducted for this project I must mention a visit to London (16.2.–3.3.1997) during which I had the opportunity to meet and interview key persons such as the Bhundu Boys' manager Gordon Muir and former producer Robin Millar, and other producers, DJs, record company executives and musicians. A second important trip took me to Berlin (12.3.–

20.3.1997), where I had the opportunity to enlist the co-operation of Virginia Mukweshu and Florian Hetze, and also to meet and interview other musicians, managers, and festival, record company and radio executives. I also visited world music festivals, trade fairs and seminars (e.g. Nordic Light in Falun 31.1.–1.2.1997 and WOMEX in Stockholm 20.10.–1.11.1998). The most important trip was of course to Zimbabwe (3.6.–19.12.1997), during which most of the material for this thesis was collected. In Zimbabwe I was able to revive former contacts within the music culture and industry established during my three earlier research trips to Harare during the first half of the 1990s. After arriving and making contact with members of the Bhundu Boys and Sunduza I also felt confirmed in my choice of case studies. Not only did the Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza offer a range of relevant perspectives on central issues in my study, but they also proved to match my expectations when it came to conducting interviews and learning to know the music and the musicians' ways of thinking about their creative work.

Many of the previous studies of world music have focused on the most successful and well-known musicians. For example Guilbault (1996) focuses on superstars because, "as opinion leaders, focal points of media attention, and chief representatives of fashion and conventions, these artists provide an ideal means of studying the politics of transnational practices in the Caribbean popular music today". Guilbault's choice is understandable because of her interest in national and transnational networks, individual agents, migration and Caribbean identities. However I feel that it is also worth looking at artists who, in the words of the industry, not only have 'made it', but also who haven't made it yet, who didn't make it, or who maybe don't know how they want to make it. This is not because of some presumption that 'small is beautiful', but simply because it is appropriate. It can give a new perspective into the small-scale activities which are so typical of world music, and show how the limits of the discursive practice are defined and experienced.

The case studies for this project – the Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza – were chosen so that the dynamics of the formation and practice of world music would be clarified. Three case studies from one country obviously are not adequate to explain the whole diversity of world music. However, by describing their special character I hope to achieve a fruitful combination of both deep sociocultural contextual factors and detailed analyses of industrial practices. The Bhundu Boys was one of the groups that in the 1980s contributed (more or less against their own will) to the establishment of the whole marketing category called world music. They were signed by WEA, but dumped after two commercially unsuccessful records. The Bhundu Boys have also endured many personal hardships, including tragic deaths of members, but the group still tours and makes records. The second case study focuses on

Virginia Mukweshu, who lives in Berlin, where she performs, teaches and runs a family record company. Mukweshu however rehearses and records with her Zimbabwean musicians in her old home country. Virginia Mukweshu performs *mbira* and *jiti* and she belongs to those immigrant musicians who, despite her own ambivalent attitude, are usually categorized as world music artists while working in Europe. The third case study is Sunduza, a choir which started in a typical *imbube* (*isicathamya*) style but which after performances for international audiences and some success in the world music market, altered its style and started to call itself a dance theatre company. As will be made clearer later on, already these three case studies manifest different aspects of engagement in the industry, approaches to practical problems met in the field, creative processes behind the music and ways of handling the tensions that are so central to the discourse.

By concentrating on only three case studies from one country I have had the opportunity to explore deeply the sociocultural background of the musicians and to do in-depth interviews with the musicians, managers and producers. It has also made it possible to study more closely the ways in which the chosen musicians create their music. By interviewing the musicians I could explicitly ask questions concerning their personal background, ideas about music making, aesthetic choices and general opinions about their career and working in an international environment. However, an equally important part of the fieldwork was the opportunity to get to know the musicians as both individuals and members of a group by simply listening to their conversations and observing their behavior in various less formal situations that did not necessarily have anything to do with music making.

Although the music is the key element of all ethnomusicological and popular music studies, the ways in which it has been dealt with are numerous. The basic dividing line seems to be between research in which the emphasis lies on the structural and aesthetic aspects of music, and research in which music is seen first and foremost as a social phenomenon or industry product. Many writers now seem to agree that formal music analysis which only concentrates on structural features tends to neglect what is arguably the most important aspect of music, that is, its meaning. However, even when there is agreement over this, the practical implications are viewed differently from scholar to scholar. Robert Walser for example argues that music analysis is necessary since it is the musical structures that “represent the differences that make some songs seem highly meaningful and powerful and others boring, inept, or irrelevant” (1993, 30), and then gives music analysis an important part in his research on American heavy metal. On the other hand Erlmann, who states that all music analysis “seeks to uncover the processes by means of which certain people – socially situated and culturally determined actors – invest certain sounds with

meanings” (1996, 49), chooses to give the structural analysis a minor role in his study of South African isicathamya.

Ever since the first major ethnomusicological studies, one of the main issues has been to what extent the writer is able to analyze the meaning of the musical structures in relation to the musician’s point of view and the whole cultural context. One of the most influential models in this field is Merriam’s (1964, 32–3) research framework, which consists of the three mutually interdependent levels: “concepts”, “behavior” and “sound”, and continues with the ethnomusicological dichotomy of *emic* (insider/cultural/specific) and *etic* (outsider/analytical/universal) viewpoints. Although later schools of thought have questioned some of the premises of these models, I believe that many of the questions posed by these older theories are still relevant. The complexities that are generated when musical styles are disseminated at an accelerating rate and farther from their earlier cultural contexts should not make us believe that all contextual factors surrounding the creative and scholarly activities have vanished or become irrelevant, instead they should make us even more aware of the changing nature of making and analyzing music. An analysis which aims at not only describing musical structures, but also how and what meanings are attached to these structures, must always clarify the different levels of analysis, the socially situated and culturally determined factors which affect not only the motives of the musician, the industry personnel and the audience, but also the researcher.

Ethnographic fieldwork has been a natural starting point for me when dealing with issues such as musical structures and their relation to the meanings of the music, or the position of the scholar in relation to the field. I have tried to work with the musicians, producers, and industry personnel in order to learn about their backgrounds, conceptualizations, values, work-methods, hopes and fears. In practice the work has been largely structured around the artists’ records. This probably gives a somewhat distorted picture of a musician’s career, since the records are often minor sources of income and may well form a smaller proportion of their work compared with for example concert or teaching activities. Using records of course means that the music is analyzed in a ‘deep-frozen’ version that neglects one of its central characteristics, namely variation. My aim, however, has not been to conduct a detailed analysis of this particular aspect of the music, but to show some of the central stylistic features, what they mean and how and why they and their meanings might have changed during a group’s career. Records are, however, often seen by the musicians as their main artistic goal and the recording projects often periodize the creative career of a musician.

In analyzing the music I took as my starting point the *emic*-level, by listening, discussing, analyzing and transcribing the music in a constant dialogue with the

musicians. Thus, I usually started the analysis of a record by listening to it and discussing it with one or several members of the group. I then made transcriptions of some of the songs that had been discussed and that seemed to reflect the stylistic development of the group. I made altogether around thirty transcriptions of songs as part of the process of getting to know the music of the case studies. After making the transcriptions I performed the written music to the musicians, who, often slightly amused, corrected my misunderstandings and offered me more comments on the music, thus giving me the opportunity to engage more closely with their way of creating and interpreting their music. In some cases, such as Virginia Mukweshu's *Matare*, the recording had to be split up in different tracks from the original multitrack reel in order to be able to single out the different parts. In Sunduza's case I found it helpful to ask one choir member to sing his part for me while he listened to the whole choir on earphones.

Describing sonic events visually and verbally is a general problem for all musicology. In ethnomusicology this issue is even more complex because of the cross-cultural activities involved. Using the tools of European classical musicology when working with other types of music has been the subject of constant debates in ethnomusicological theory and the problem has also been taken up in popular music studies (see e.g. Middleton 1990, 104–7, Brackett 1995, 27–9 and Winkler 1997). Most current writers are aware of the problems of transcribing in the form of a score orally transmitted, or studio-produced music, not to mention music from a completely different culture. Guilbault (1993a, xxv) for example points out that the transcriptions in her study “do not ‘stand for’ the music”, instead “they illustrate, whenever possible, points made in the text about certain aspects of musical performance”. Taylor (1997, xviii), in turn admits that “any transcription is only an approximation of the real sounds”, or more bluntly a “cheap imitation of sound”. Despite this, he nevertheless remodels his musical examples from all over the world in the same classical mode of graphic presentation.

In my study I have chosen not to use transcriptions when presenting my research results. There are three reasons for this. First of all I believe that the transcriptions of the Zimbabwean music analyzed here would not necessarily help in representing those aspects of the music under analysis to a reader who has not had the chance to hear it, particularly as the only meaningful way of presenting it in scored form would be by using so called African pulse notation which is unknown to most readers (see Tracey 1997). Second, I believe that the main goal, that is, to study the meaning of the musical structures in relation to the musician's point of view and the whole cultural context, in any case requires a thorough verbal explanation. The last, but not least reason is today's copyright control, which makes it very hard even for an aca-

democratic writer to use excerpts of popular music without running into economic, legal and procedural problems. Nevertheless, I must emphasize that transcription as a method has been very important for my work and in this sense I would agree with Peter Winkler (1987, 201) when he states “the *primary* usefulness of transcription is the process, not the product” (italics in original).

The lyrics of the songs have been analyzed by using the same dialogic method with the musicians as was used when transcribing the music. Around thirty song lyrics were transcribed and translated in detail, and used as a starting point when the songs were discussed with the musicians. Translating and interpreting Shona and Ndebele song lyrics unambiguously is never an easy task and the case studies of my analysis were no exception (on mbira texts see for example Berliner 1981, 161, and on isicathamya texts Erlmann 1996, 205). The metaphoric nature of the lyrics, the occasional use of ancient idioms and indirect poetic allusiveness in general can lead to situations in which different members of one band can present different interpretations of the songs. I also asked people who had nothing to do with the musicians or music making in general to give their translations and interpretations of the songs, and this offered me even more possible interpretations for consideration. However, the process of analysis itself has proved rewarding as a way of learning more about the way the meanings of the music are created. As with the transcriptions of music, most of this process is visible only occasionally in the final research report. The world music fans that consume the records do not understand the lyrics, with the exception of the lyrics or phrases that are in English, and have to rely on the information presented in the sleeve notes. Hence, in the context of this research project, I have chosen to concentrate on the interpretative level of the consumer and position this in relation to the musician’s own ideas.

As was noted earlier, the analysis of music should not overlook the meanings that are connected to the musical features. A study on world music must also take into consideration how these culturally bound meanings and their relevance can change significantly in different contexts. This brings us back to the theories on discourse, specifically with regard to the world music discourse. The musicians’ way of understanding the meaning of their music is of course not necessarily any more valid in absolute terms than anybody else’s. The musicians’ conceptualizations, ways of thinking and speaking about music, as well as their ways of making music, form a system of meanings with its own principles, which may simply be similar to or different from other systems of meaning.

While using the discursive approach, we must be aware that a narrowly dogmatic reading of for example Foucault also has consequences for our way of understanding the different agents’ positions and creative input into the discourse. If for example

we accept Foucault's idea that a discourse constructs an object, and consequently accept that in doing this the discourse also both provides the concepts for understanding the object and closes off other possibilities, it could be said to follow that the human subject is not only subordinate in relation to discourse, but even completely non-existent as an autonomous author, since even the human subject is produced by discourse. This would mean that for example the position and input of all individual agents, be they musicians, music industry personnel, consumers or scholars, would be of no special value. In this matter I am inclined to follow a less totalitarian approach, common to many scholars in the field of cultural studies (see for example Said 1978/1995, 23) and accept the authority of the individual and the importance of his position. Thus, in this study the statements that are used to exemplify some aspect of the discourse will be fixed to a subjective source.

The discursive, constructionist approach is, as several critics have emphasized, not without ontological pitfalls. It can be problematic to argue that all knowledge would be constitutively a social product (for a thorough exposition of this criticism see Hacking 1999), or to explain how the researcher could in any way be able to free himself from the limits of the discourse he studies (see for example Fornäs 1995a, 65; White 1979, 83; Culler 1979, 175–6 and Goldie 1993, 463). I am also aware that writing critical, and even self-critical, discourse analysis can easily reproduce the conceptualizations and hegemonic structures that the analysis sets out to deconstruct. It is for example problematic to expect that the texts that I study are simply and solely recreations of the discourse, whereas my statements are somehow totally outside it. In order to be clear, I have at some points chosen to use single inverted commas to emphasize that the terms that I am discussing (such as 'local', 'global', 'traditional', 'modern', and of course 'world music') are elements of the discourse and objects of analysis. Subsequently, however, I have generally omitted the inverted commas in order to keep the text readable.

In summary, the theoretical and methodological framework that I have chosen to use in this study is in many ways an adaptation, rather than a literal application of theorists such as Foucault. Despite the risks of discourse analysis, it still can offer much for an analysis such as this. I believe that by liberating ourselves from the assumption that discourse is total, uniform and static and instead see it as a site for and means of negotiating conflicting and shifting representations and constructions of experience, we can cast new light on, in this case, the world music phenomenon (see also Horner 1999, 27). Further, by combining this approach with the methodological tradition of ethnography I believe that it is possible to gain new insight into what the formation and practice of world music mean at the grassroots level of musical production and in both the creation and distribution of meaning.

The following three main chapters of this thesis proceed from a description of the sociocultural context that lead to the establishment of the category world music, to the ideological and practical aspects of the discourse and to the consequences it has had for the musicians who have become a part of its framework. In chapter two I will begin by outlining the background of the marketing category, both with regard to the term “world music” and the discourses of ethnomusicology, folk and rock that were influential for the new world music discourse. Thereafter I analyze the ideological dimensions which form the basis for and systematic structure of the whole discourse, and the practical operations of the music industry, through which the discourse is established. In chapters three and four I will explore the two binaries or fields of tension that are central in the discourse, namely traditional-modern and local-global. In these chapters I have chosen to discuss both the general ideological issues of the discourse, as they have been discussed in different world music texts, and the relationships between these issues and the musicians’ careers, as they are exemplified in the case studies of this thesis. The findings of the study are summarized in the concluding chapter.

## II

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# The formation and industrial practice of world music

### 1. Historical background

Most of the books, articles and radio programs in which world music (as a marketing category or genre) has explicitly been defined as the topic of discussion, refer to the same event as the source for both the term and the phenomenon. This event was a series of three meetings, held on June 29<sup>th</sup>, July 13<sup>th</sup> and July 27<sup>th</sup> 1987 in a North London pub called the Empress of Russia (for minutes and press releases of the meetings see Mandelson 1987, [http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world\\_music\\_history/minutes/](http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world_music_history/minutes/), see also e.g. Rijven 1989b and Frith 1996, 84-5 for accounts of the events). The prime movers were Ben Mandelson and Roger Armstrong from the record company Globestyle. At these meetings around 25 individuals, including personnel from independent record companies, journalists, DJs and concert promoters, decided to take action in order to make it easier to facilitate the dissemination of such musics outside the mainstream pop market that they themselves were dealing with. The objective was to create a promotional campaign for artists such as Yemenite singer Ofra Haza, the Bulgarian female choirs, Senegalese Youssou N'Dour and the Irish group the Pogues, all of whom had often made it to the sales charts but didn't form a marketing category of their own. The music industry personnel hoped that, by creating a general label, it could be easier for the consumers as well as the record shop owners, radio-programmers and festival arrangers to identify and locate these rising artists. It was only after lengthy discussions that the term 'world music' was chosen as the label. Ian Anderson, the editor of the magazine *Folk Roots* and director of Rogue Records, recalled the situation with some cynicism:

'World music' was a tag created solely to allow lots of nasty commercially-minded record companies to earn more royalties for their artists. It was a term that completely underwhelmed virtually all of us who were at the meetings that dreamed it up in order to capitalise on music lovers' desperate need for a pigeon hole before they would admit to the existence of anything. It was merely the most inclusive, the least unsuitable of a handful of evils. Faced with alternatives like 'tropical' (a loathsome, racist term which gets me reaching for the Stanley knife and aerosol every time I encounter it), 'world beat' (which seems to exclude everything without a drum machine - hey! folk music!) and 'ethnic' (all academic notions and noble savages), it won by unanimous apathy. (Anderson 1991c)

The meetings led to a promotional campaign, which was carried out in the autumn 1987. The tag world music was spread by distributing "browser cards" to record shops, with the aim of establishing separate racks for the records. The campaign also included a cassette compilation with samples from the record companies' catalogues and a press release in which the central point of the campaign was explained: "The term WORLD MUSIC will be used to make it easier to find that Malian Kora record, the music of Bulgaria, Zairean soukous or Indian Ghazals – the new WORLD MUSIC section will be the first place to look in the local record shop" ([http://www.frostdemon.co.uk/features/world\\_music\\_history/minutes/page07.html](http://www.frostdemon.co.uk/features/world_music_history/minutes/page07.html), see also Frith 1996, 85). A few advertisements in the music press gave further impetus to the launching of the term. In the advertisements each of the eleven independent record companies (Triple Earth, Stern's, Earthworks, Globestyle, Cooking Vinyl, World Circuit, Topic, Oval, WOMAD, Rogue and Hannibal) presented one of their records, mainly of African pop but also of European music and an assortment of diverse sounds from around the world, under the general heading world music. The campaign was financed by the record companies, the amount depending on how many of the various companies' records were involved in the joint distribution deal arranged by Stan Records, and the risks for the record shops were very small since they always had the right to return all unsold records distributed (Rijven 1989b, 10). Based on the participants' later accounts, it appears that few, if any of those actively involved believed at the time of the initial modest campaign that it would become the success it did.

The creation of the marketing category world music touches upon many interesting questions concerning not only industrial practices, but also value judgments, preconceptions, and the relationships between musical production and consumption. Simon Frith (1996, chapter 4) has discussed these issues with reference to popular music in general, but also in relation to the specific case of world music. Frith states that genre categories are important because they not only organize the sales process (with the help of the radio and the press), but also the playing and listening processes. The music industry for example created the category world music in order to improve

the music's sales situation, but what was equally significant according to Frith (ibid., 85), was the industry's perception of the potential world music market as people drawn from the rock and folk audiences, with a certain set of musical attitudes, needs, and expectations to be fulfilled. In using genre labels to make the marketing process more efficient, record companies are assuming that there is a manageable relationship between musical label and consumer taste. This in turn is based on assumptions on as to who these consumers are, in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, income and so on. Frith argues that the industry in fact creates a "fantasy consumer" to whom the product is directed, and in doing this the industry follows tastes, rather than forming them: "I can't think of an example of a musical genre created by a marketing machine, rather than given a hasty definition, like 'world music', after its loose characteristics had already emerged through new consumer alliances" (ibid., 85). In Frith's view the genres and consumption models created by the industry are based on fantasies, which not only describe who the listeners for a particular music are, but also what this music means to them. He consequently claims that it is very hard to state what different acts or records categorized in one genre have in common musically, which is probably most clearly seen in the cases of genres such as world music and 'indie' music. Frith also emphasizes that in creating meanings, no individual actor functions alone: "It is not enough to assert that commodities only become culturally valuable when they are made 'meaningful' by consumers: they can only be consumed because they are *already* meaningful, because musicians, producers, and consumers are already ensnared in a web of genre expectations" (ibid., 94, italics in original).

The way in which Frith approaches the relationships between production, marketing and consumption is similar to du Gay's and Negus' (1994) analysis of music retailing. According to du Gay and Negus it is hard to see production and consumption as two fully constituted and mutually opposed objectivities, rather they should be seen as mutually connected unstable relations of imbrications. The writers argue that the retailers try to regulate the conduct of the consumer but that this activity is not unidirectional, but consists of two mutually constitutive vectors (ibid., 405). One is the vector of "labelling from above" whereby a community of experts "create a 'reality'" composed around musical taste formations, genre categories and their associated lifestyles. The second vector consists of the actual behavior of those thus labeled, which presses from below, creating a 'reality' that every expert must recognize. The first vector does not determine the second; instead their relationship is one of mutual influence. Both labeling from above and the actual behavior of those labeled involve 'real' consumers but the two are not reducible to one another (ibid., 411). The "'ideal' consumer", which is created by the first vector, is inscribed within the commercial-cultural geography of the store layout, as well as in the more general genre

charts, targeted promotions and customer care programs. The second consumer is an unpredictable hybrid, constituted through several interlocking histories and cultural experiences, and who follows a route through the retail environment that intersects with the composite creation but still never achieves a total fit. Neither consumer would exist without the other because they are not mirror images of each other, but mutually constitutive elements (*ibid.*, 411).

Both Frith's and du Gay's and Negus' arguments are important because they articulate the industrial processes in relation to the larger sociocultural processes. It does not make much sense to approach the world music phenomenon merely as the industry's marketing category, which was enforced on the consumers 'from above'. Although this might be one aspect of the process, it is just as important to understand how the industry anticipated the outcome of the categorization by forming a 'fantasy' or 'ideal' consumer, who might be interested in this particular assortment of sounds (which, after all, both included and excluded so much). In this connection it is worth remembering Pekka Gronow's general remark that "many studies of the recording industry assume that the structure of the industry has an influence on its products", while "little attention has been paid to the possibility that changes in demand might influence production" (1996, 27). Denying one side in favor of the other would inevitably lead to a misleading picture of the general process. What is even more important, however, especially in Frith's thinking, is the refusal to see the industry as a monolith, separated from the consumer. Instead, he emphasizes how the different actors are ensnared in a web of expectations concerning meaning, which is much more complex than a simplistic dualism of production versus consumption (so typical for both the Frankfurt-school and earlier cultural studies-theorists) might suggest.

If we follow this line of thought and concentrate not only on one particular event in the music industry as the defining source for the meaning of the term world music, but also on the webs of meaning that are attached to the concept world music in general, we can approach the whole concept in a more fruitful way. World music is thereby not only understood as a particular musical style which can be defined by reference to certain musical characteristics, or a product which, in conforming to a definition of this kind could be grouped into one marketing category by the industry. Instead world music should be seen as a part of a whole set of meanings, which are interwoven in the expectations, conventions and practices of both the audience and the industry. The statements concerning world music, which are made by, for example, world music fans or record companies, are thus not reflecting an object called world music, which would somehow be pre-existing in the musical world, but instead they are actively constructing it. In a similar way, the activities in which these statements are manifested or carried out also contribute to this construction. This approach

leads us to ask what kinds of structures and rules there are to be found underlying the statements and practices.

The meaning of the concept world music is not once and for all fixed, but rather always in process and tied to a contextual framework. With this in mind, it is constructive to avoid fixing world music in one definition and rather see it as a continuous discursive process based on series of statements and practices. This processuality also means that we do not confine our attention to a series meetings at the Empress of Russia, where a decision about launching the marketing category world music was made, if we are to understand the meanings attached to the concept world music. Instead, we also have to understand how this particular event was preceded by other activities, conceptualizations, webs of expectations and ideologies.

### *1.1 The term 'World Music'*

The term 'world music' has a long history, although it is unlikely that the music industry personnel who assembled in 1987 and chose the term for their new marketing category were fully aware of the fact. Probably the first time the term was used to some extent in a similar sense to its later use, was in 1906 when the musicologist Georg Capellen used it to describe his futuristic vision of an emerging new musical style which was to be based on a fusion of Oriental and Occidental influences, much in the same way as the impressionistic art of the turn of the century had drawn upon Japanese art (Fritsch 1981, 11–14 and Pfeleiderer 1998, 11–12). Later the German composer Karlheinz Stockhausen wrote an article entitled *World Music* (1979) which begins with a description of the diversity of "world music" and then predicts that the current process of increasing uniformity will soon be replaced by a new phase, in which the composer will "discover the earthling in himself whose culture is the whole earth's culture" and consequently will compose music for the whole of mankind (an aim which Stockhausen claimed has been achieved in some of his own compositions). The term world music also has a history in the activities of the International Society for Contemporary Music, mainly in the heading of the organization's annual festival. The name World Music Festival, later to be more modestly called World Music Days, was used in 1946 by the Swedish composer and journalist Sten Broman, who in a wave of post-war idealism wanted to celebrate the international character of the event with an all-encompassing name (see e.g. Broman 1982, 62).

Although musical fusions and international idealism were also important elements when the marketing category world music was launched, it was the way in which the term had been used by (mainly American) ethnomusicologists that obviously was of greater importance. The background for the ethnomusicological use of the term was

the discipline's need to review the ethnocentric premises of European musicology and to introduce a relativistic scholarly practice. For many scholars, and later also for other ethnomusicologically minded persons outside the academic sphere, the term thus came to refer to the true diversity of the musical activities found all over the world. Steven Feld (1994b) has described this by saying that world music in this sense signifies for many "quite simply and innocently musical diversity", adding that this understanding of the concept thus "circulates broadly in a liberal relativist field of discourse, while in a more specific way it is an academic designation, the curricular antidote to the tacit synonymy of 'music' with western European art music" (ibid., 265–6). In other words, the term world music is here connected to the most all-encompassing idea of a general human musical activity to be studied by the scholar.

The ethnomusicological sense of the term world music was first institutionally manifested in the early 1960s, when the Wesleyan University in Connecticut inaugurated its Wesleyan World Music Program, which in turn led to the founding of similar teaching programs at other universities and non-academic establishments such as the Center for World Music founded in 1970 in San Francisco (Brown 1991). These institutions usually employed musicians from different parts of the world to teach their music cultures, and simultaneously arranged concerts, educational programs, cultural festivals and student exchange programs. During the 1970s and 1980s this activity spread into a larger, more public and often at least semi-commercial domain. Several radio programs, which presented a variety of musics from around the world, used the name world music in their titles (see e.g. reader's letters in *Folk Roots* 1995 No. 139/140 and *Folk Roots* No. 46). In 1985 The World Music Institute was founded in New York and began by arranging concerts with artists ranging from American folk singers and Native American drummers to African musicians such as Toumani Diabate and I. K. Dairo (Furnald 1998, 81). One year later the company World Music Productions was formed in New York and focused its activities on "promoting appreciation of contemporary musical cultures of Africa and the African diaspora" (see e.g. advertisement in Beck 1997). In contrast with the more scholarly concept world music, the most overtly commercial sectors of the American music industry had by this time started to use the concept "world beat" as a marketing label for "all ethnic-pop mixings, fusion dance musics, and emerging syncretic populist musical hybrids from around the world, particularly urban centers" (Feld 1994b, 266; see also Goodwin & Gore 1990, 65). Although there were certain practical parallels between record companies using the label world beat and some of the semi-commercial organizations using the term world music, the two concepts were usually not mixed until the second half of the 1980s.

In Europe the ethnomusicological concept of world music spread together with the approaches, theories and methods of the scholarly discipline, though it was sel-

dom used in the same institutional way as in America. A few persons, however, borrowed some features of the ethnomusicological usage or its practical applications and in some ways foreshadowed what was to come. In 1982 the British enthusiast Steve Roney published a magazine called *World Music* together with the Danish photographer Torben Huus (Reitov 1994, 24). The magazine, with articles on, among others, Mandingo Griot Society, Don Cherry and the Gambian kora-group The Konte Family, was in many ways a precursor of later magazines in this field, but remained however a one-off affair. A more successful venture was the coining of the term 'sono mondiale' (roughly "world sound") two years later in France. The term reflected a growing interest for the new music being made by immigrants living in Paris, but it also was meant to strengthen the French music scene dominated by British and American companies and musics (Stapleton 1989, 21). The term 'sono mondiale' was launched by the chic monthly magazine *Actuel* and its trend-setting subsidiary, the radio channel Radio Nova, both of which provided extensive media coverage of artists from, for example, Africa and the Caribbean.

The different contexts in which the term world music (or the related concepts world beat and sono mondiale) have been used are of interest in disclosing a prehistory, which, although probably largely unknown to those meeting in the Empress of Russia, nevertheless formed a conceptual and institutional basis for the new use of the term. Many of the participants have later argued that the label world music commended itself because it was the most inclusive name that anybody could come up with. But what is equally important is that it was met with a response from the rest of the industry and the audience, who could assimilate the new concept without feeling too great a discrepancy with the existing denotations and connotations of the term. The marketing category world music was after all not meant to include all the musics of the whole world, but rather a certain repertoire directed to a certain audience, and the strength of the term lay in its ability to evoke the right associations and match the existing expectations regarding an exciting musical field outside of the mainstream popular music.

## *1.2 Background discourses*

The emergence of world music as a marketing category in 1987 was preceded not only by a long history of the term world music but also by different connotations attaching to the term. The new discourse drew partly on the earlier ethnomusicological interpretation of the term, but it was also based on other existing expectations, models of explanation and norms that were bound together into new networks of meaning. The ideological background of ethnomusicology, the folk music movement and

rock seems to have been particularly important in the establishment of the new discourse of world music. This intellectual overlapping is typical of discourses, which go on unfolding and changing shape as they make sense of new circumstances, and in doing this carry with them many of the old implicit premises and unexamined assumptions (see for example Hall 1992a, 292, 314). The background discourses of ethnomusicology, folk and rock were important in this sense, because they provided an ideological heritage, but the connections were not based merely on abstract ideas. In fact, there could also be more concrete institutional and personal connections between the fields. Many of the organizations and their personnel had experience from some other field of activity, and as they participated in the construction of the new discourse, they also transferred some of their earlier preconceptions into the new field. At the same time the establishment of the new discourse of world music required that it not only built on these existing ideas, but also to some extent distanced itself from them. This paradox is reflected in many of the tensions found in the creation and development of the world music discourse.

The ethnomusicological discourse and the more market oriented world music discourse have at times had points of contact, but sometimes also divergences, mainly because of the more oppositional, polemical and maybe also political position of the first mentioned. Nevertheless, ethnomusicology has both directly and indirectly contributed to the spread of the musics which have become classified as world music and in doing so it has also contributed to ways of understanding the meanings of these musics. The connections between the scholarly discipline and the more market-driven world music context are a logical consequence of larger developments. Ethnomusicology took shape in the 1950s and early 60s during a time when the general interest for “pure research” reigned supreme and applied work was not thought to have the “objective” status of the hard sciences (see e.g. Sheehy 1992, 325 and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1995). The divide between academic scholars and ‘popularizers’ was important to the initial institutionalization of the discipline, but in time this position changed and both ‘applied ethnomusicology’ and engagement in music politics became an integrated part of ethnomusicological practices. By the mid 1980s the discipline was firmly established in the educational sector and produced more graduates than academia could absorb, which led to an expansion of professional ethnomusicology into the public and private sectors (Davis 1992, 362).

Thus, a number of people who have written for books and magazines, compiled records, promoted concerts, run companies or worked for governmental and non-governmental organizations in the field of world music, have some kind of a background in ethnomusicology, or in the larger related framework of anthropology and sociology. The book *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994) exem-

plifies the point, including as it does among its writers a large number not only of journalists, but also academic contributors such as Lucy Duran, Jan Fairley, Werner Graebner and Louise Meintjes. The step from academia to the market was summarized in the comment “I moved on from deliberating to making”, which is how the director of the Finnish Global Music Centre Anu Laakkonen described her transition from her ethnomusicological studies to running a world music institute (interview 13.1.1997). For others ethnomusicology has always remained a subject of general rather than purely academic interest. Ben Mandelson, who started in folk clubs and later moved on via jazz, to producing and performing on so-called world music records, for example describes himself as a “failed ethnomusicologist, or would-be-ethnomusicologist, who never had the chance” (interview 25.2.1997).

The mix of profiles, such as the scholar, the musician and the entrepreneur, has been common in world music and many other smaller special fields of music. In the research project *Music-Media-Multiculture* (Lundberg et al. 1996 and Lundberg et al. 2000), which focuses on cultural diversity in Sweden, the array of scholars, musicians and music industry personnel is summarized in the concepts “knowers”, “doers” and “makers” (see particularly Lundberg et al. 2000, 48–50). According to the authors, there were formerly clearer boundaries between the academic scholars (knowers), who analyze the music and write about it, the musicians (doers), who compose and perform the music, and music industry personnel (makers), who earn money on selling the music. However, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century the positions of these different categories changed and a general transition from knowers to makers occurred (ibid., 410–2). At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the knowers possessed considerable power and control of knowledge, but in time the doers proliferated and found new ways of communicating with each other with easily accessible do-it-yourself guides and particularly the Internet. The increase in doers has also led to an increase in the number of makers, who often have a background as doers (ibid.).

The transition from the ethnomusicologist, who articulates and produces knowledge of music cultures, to the musician, and, especially following the introduction of the marketing category world music, to the businessman, has sometimes characterized the career of a single individual. On the other hand, the contacts between the different fields have also occurred within an organizational framework. Even in the many commercial ventures of the world music business, ethnomusicological ideas have been debated. The panel discussions at the WOMEX world music fairs have for example offered a forum for both scholars (among others Max Peter Baumann, Veit Erlmann, Krister Malm, Kazadi wa Mukuna, Tiago de Oliveira Pinto and Owe Ronström) and business entrepreneurs to meet and debate issues of media, copyright, multiculturalism and also the more general question of the relationship between

ethnomusicology and business. The marketing category has naturally also to some extent helped the distribution of recordings made by the ethnomusicologists, for whom the problem is that “if there are audiences for such recordings, the producers often have as much trouble finding that audience as interested buyers have finding those records” (Seeger 1991, 295). On the other hand the marginality of these records in the market and the illegal samplings of them have generated tensions, which often are discussed in terms of hegemony, cultural imperialism, and the standardizing effects of the commercial music industry.

While ethnomusicology has been influential in distributing musics from less-known regions, and because of the manner of its approach to these styles, the ideological and at times overtly political aspects of the world music discourse bear traces of the folk ideology. The term folk here refers partly to the concept ‘folk-song’, as laid down by Herder and later so-called folklorists during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, conceiving traditional music and song as being a substantial body of ‘national products’. However, what is probably even more important in this connection is what Slobin (1993, 68) has called “the postpeasant ‘folk’ music movement, which drew inspiration from the American ‘folk revival’ and grew to dominate a certain segment of youth music across Europe”. This later meaning of folk is rooted in the collection activities and later revivals of so-called folk songs in America, which were linked to the wider left-wing, civil rights movement, and finally developed into a middle-class popular-culture youth market (see for example Rosenberg 1993a). This American folk and protest song style found a breeding ground in Europe, where, in the 1960s and 1970s, it became one of the main forms of expression for the counter-cultural sphere which emphasized the struggle against capitalism and (paradoxically) everything which was regarded as American imperialism. The ideological aspects were reflected in a search for an ‘authentic art of the people’, an interest for multiculturalism and international solidarity, and a yearning for a pristine natural world, whereas the practical modes of work were influenced by an anti-concert movement and the spirit of community opposed to ‘commercialism’ (see for example Boyes 1993, 215; Harrev 1997 and Kvifte 2001).

In many countries these newer American discourses on folk song and the older, national idea of folk music prevailing in Europe, engendered folk revivals, which by the mid-1980s had paved the way for the emerging world music discourse. This ideological background also has its practical points of connection with the world music organizations. Many record companies which had been central in the folk movement simply found their products being categorized as world music (e.g. Folkways), while others actively participated in creating the new world music label (e.g. Hannibal). Folk magazines, festivals and associations slowly broadened their sphere of activities closer

to the emerging world music industry. Probably the most significant of these institutions is the British folk magazine *Southern Rag*, which in the mid 1980s changed its name to *Folk Roots*, simultaneously shifting emphasis from 'folk' to the looser conceptualization 'roots'. The magazine expanded into a monthly coverage not only of British folk music but also of the newer fusions and non-European music, and finally actively participated in the early promotion of the new world music trend. The change from folk to world music has not always happened without friction. In 1987 the editor of *Folk Roots* Ian Anderson (1987b) predicted that the barriers between the magazine's three groups of readers (old folk club enthusiasts, fans of more recent folk-rock groups like the Pogues and the world music audience) would break down, but the reader's letters and polls show that there have also been tensions. The market-oriented world music category with its own star-system has sometimes appeared to be poles apart from the older communal ideals of folk, and the national folk music movement has at times shunned the multiculturalism, which is so central to world music.

The tensions between the older folk music discourse and the world music discourse can be explained by invoking again the aforementioned model of "knowers" (scholars), "doers" (musicians) and "makers" (businessmen) (Lundberg et al. 2000). In the project *Music-Media-Multiculture* the development that turned many musicians in the Swedish folk music sphere to world music has been described as a shift from knowers to doers and finally makers. The whole concept folk music was created in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the knowers and changed, as time went by, as a consequence of a dialogue between the knowers and the doers (ibid., 411–2). In the 1970s a larger change occurred when the doers gained ascendancy and redefined folk music as something less canonical and nationalistic, and simultaneously the growing socio-economical awareness among the doers turned many of them into makers (ibid.). In this framework the developments of the 1980s and 1990s inevitably generated tensions between the older folk music discourse and the newer world music discourse. The folk music movement, with a nationalist background and doers in key positions, and the growing world music field, which became established in the international music industry dominated by makers, did not necessarily always share each others views on, for example, questions of authenticity, locality or business. However, despite these differences, there is a clear relation between the discourses, and the points of conflict can be said to be important as markers of the border between the two.

The third discursive thread running through world music, in addition to ethnomusicology and folk, is rock. This might seem a paradox, considering the status of world music as an alternative to Anglo-American rock, but it is precisely this position as 'something else' that attracted many former rock fans, who in the 1980s, were

searching for new musics which would correspond with their old ideals. This search for virgin soil can be understood as a manifestation of the general boredom with rock, or in more extreme terms, of the 'death of rock', which was widely announced in the 1980s. According to this argument the rock era started in the middle of the mid 1950s and then progressed through various stages to finally reach a point of decline with punk at the end of the 1970s (for a summary of the debate and its interpretations see eg Negus 1996a, chapter five). Some of the older rock fans, who had formed their value judgments at an earlier stage, experienced a gap between the later development of rock and their own expectations, and were therefore moved to proclaim its death and to seek some other genre more in keeping with their entrenched musical values.

For many, world music fulfilled this function. The rock values of 'authenticity', 'locality' and 'independent artistry' were transferred to this new field. Frith (1991a, 282-3, see also 2000, 306-7) has exemplified through an account of one person's career, that of the British writer, broadcaster and music businessman Charlie Gillet, who broadened his interest in the southern sounds of the United States to embrace pop styles from other parts of the world. As the rhythm and blues, rock'n'roll, country and gradually also pub rock and punk artists that Gillet had adored became popular and were absorbed by the major music industry, he began to seek, and find, the same qualities he had appreciated in rock elsewhere, in African pop music in particular. Gillet changed the programming policy on his radio shows and his record company Oval became one of the companies participating in the launching of the market category world music. Though Frith chose only this one example, it is arguable that a similar profile characterizes a great many of those active in the world music industry. The old, often implicit values of the rock fans emerge from time to time in the new discursive environment, where the older, formerly appreciated styles are now regarded as corrupt in comparison with the new so called world music styles, as in the following *Folk Roots* editorial by Ian Anderson:

We've had a huge number of contemporary blues albums through here to review in the past year or so, and for me hardly any of them have had much to offer in originality or gut-level excitement. I've tried to figure out why I feel this way, and time and time again it comes down to the heavy hand of rhythm sections influenced by '70s/'80s rock. Why does this have to be? -- I've rejected new blues CDs from the machine because the rhythm section is so plodding, godawful, dull and boring. Even if the entire band is black, they play like they're some third-rate white bar-room rock band, an imitation of a poor imitation of the original. It has become the stylistic blues norm. Why has much of the current output of 20<sup>th</sup> century America's greatest music become so decadent? -- It is made far worse for me by all the listening I've done to the rhythm sections of the last decade's influx of bands from Africa: the night before Buddy Guy, my feet were being tapped off their ankles by Virunga, for example. (Anderson 1992, 4)

As this example shows, the old notions of authenticity, rooted in black music and touching upon questions of race, have a long, but still robust history in world music circles. For many the interest in rock developed into a curiosity regarding both blues and folk, and subsequently regarding the African roots of African-American music as well as various so-called traditional musics of the world (on the personal background of people in the world music magazines see e.g. Anderson 2000, 36 and *The Beat* Vol. 15 No. 4 1996, pp. 42–7). For example Joe Boyd, who had worked with Paul Butterfield Blues Band, Fairport Convention, The Incredible String Band and Eric Clapton, became a key figure in the new world music market with his record label Hannibal and his productions of Balkan folk music (Trouillet & Pieper 1988, 94).

Although later punk and post-punk generations perhaps have not necessarily always shared the same background as the older generations, their values, such as the fetishisation of oppositional attitudes, independent companies and ideas of authenticity and credibility, have often duplicated the older rock ideology. In fact, producers and organizers from this generation have become important actors in the world music sector because of their do-it-yourself-principle inherited from punk (visible in for example the forming of WOMAD, or in the career of Nation's director and Fundamental's leader Aki Nawaz). A motivating factor in the shift of punk fans to world music seems to have been the reactionary political climate of the 1980s and the slowly emerging idea of cultural wars, which led to counter-movements, such as anti-racist activities (see e.g. Balliger 1999, 63). It thus seems more than just a coincidence that the concept world music emerged simultaneously with the concept multi-culturalism and that many world music organizations refer to the idea of a peaceful coexistence between diverse cultures as one of their goals (see e.g. Parker 1992, 6 on WOMAD, and Waechter 1995, 41 on WOMEX).

The importance of the connection between rock and world music is also visible in the fact that the breakthrough of the marketing category world music was supported in a significant way by the rock press. *New Musical Express*, for example, became central for the spread of the new label in the late 1980s. In many ways this contact with the rock industry and its values brought with it many of the tensions characteristic of subcultural styles and specialist fields. World music's position as an authentic but simultaneously also potential break-through market has influenced its industrial practices, where the questions of mainstream and specialist values have been debated over and over again.

### *1.3 Cultural and industrial context*

The discursive background is important if we are to understand the underlying structures of meanings and values that became so fundamental for the formation of world music. These had been taking shape over a longer period of time, developing in parallel with broader cultural and social processes. When the marketing category world music was introduced, it was naturally not only built on the industry's assumptions of a potential world music consumer's expectations, but also on a thorough knowledge of how the changes in consumer tastes were tied to the larger framework of changes in music cultures. And just as the industry was not simply forming a market by creating tastes, but rather reflecting existing taste configurations, it did not create a musical style or genre (in the musical sense of the word), but was rather reflecting a cultural situation which had developed through larger, international changes in music media.

The introducing of the marketing category world music did not mark a starting point for the industrial distribution of musics from different parts of the world, or of so-called traditional musics. Nor was it the beginning of a new style of music, or of fusions between so-called western and non-western traditions. As was mentioned earlier, the ethnomusicologists had for a long time already contributed to spreading musics from all over the world by teaching, releasing records, broadcasting and promoting concerts. The effects of these activities were not necessarily very significant, but they still provided an opportunity to hear and learn a wider spectrum of musics than what was found in the mainstream market. In popular music the dissemination of music from different parts of the world has a long history, not least because of the significance of African elements on all styles derived from African-American heritage. Ever since the 1920s various Latin-American dance crazes, from tango, mambo and cha cha to samba, bossa nova and calypso, have spread to the European and North American dance floors. The crossover breakthrough of ska in the 1960s and reggae in the 1970s is in many ways part of this process. The left-wing international solidarity movement had also long since adopted the Latin-American political song tradition. In the 1960s and 1970s Indian music inspired many jazz musicians, including John Coltrane, Oregon, John McLaughlin and Don Cherry, many of whom also collaborated with Indian musicians. The Beatles are the best-known example of similar influences infiltrating the pop world. African music had rarely managed to break through on the international market (with the exception of for example Miriam Makeba and Manu Dibango), but following the success of Bob Marley many record companies and individual musicians turned their attention to the sub-Saharan area in order to find the next sales success, or simply just new exciting sounds. King Sunny

Adé and Touré Kunda probably became the most successful of these African stars whom the transnational record companies tried to launch as 'new Bob Marleys' in the beginning of the 1980s. Among others Ginger Baker, Stewart Copeland, Malcolm McLaren, Brian Eno and David Byrne all made their visits into the African musical sphere in search for inspiration, and more recently Paul Simon and Peter Gabriel brought these fusion projects into the limelight of international mainstream music media.

As these examples show, many of the phenomena, which have often been linked to the emergence of the marketing category of world music, have a long history. The distribution of musics from different parts of the world or musical fusions between cultures distant from each other is not so exceptional if we look back at the twentieth century. What however is clear is that the development of the electronic music media and the whole communications infrastructure, as also increasing urbanization, industrialization and migration, have led to a steady increase in both the speed and the impact of the changes in the music cultures. The theorization of these processes (see particularly Wallis & Malm 1984, 297–311; Robinson et al. 1991, 261–2, including Frith's model on pp. 261–262) ranges from models of cultural exchange (from person to person), to unambiguous domination and imperialism of one culture over the other. Music production has varied from the imitation of international pop and so-called westernization of the musics of the world, to appropriation of foreign pop and modernization of local sounds. According to these theories, the developments of the 1980s brought with them new forms of cultural interaction. Depending on the model, this stage is said to include the ways in which the core industry, consisting of transnational media corporations, creates or transforms some music to market it worldwide, thereby forming a wholly new transnational style of music, or the way in which the industry takes a local music in its entirety to sell it in the industrialized world as a part of its globalized transeconomic functions.

These theoretical models of transnationalisation and transeconomy are helpful if we are to understand the formation of world music, but they are not adequate as sole explanations of the whole phenomenon. Some writers have used the expression transnational to define the fundamental character of world music (see for example Frith&Goodwin 1990, 126; Malm and Wallis 1992, 215; Longhurst 1995, 52; Hernandez 1992, 360), but since it is dubious to call all of the styles that are classified as world music transnational, in the sense that they would be rootless hybrids produced by the so called core industry, in addition, many transnational musics are never mentioned in the world music context. For these reasons, among others, transnationality is, in my opinion, not a very accurate term for a definition of world music. It is likewise unconvincing to equate world music with any earlier stage of

these models and, for example, define world music in terms of national pop musics which were born as a consequence of the appropriation of Anglo-American mainstream pop. This approach not only excludes much of the music labeled as world music, but is also to some extent illogical, since so many national pop styles have never been incorporated in the marketing category. Although the models that explain the international processes affecting musicianship in different parts of the world can help to explain the context for the emergence of a marketing category called world music, their use as a definition of world music is not without problems.

The expansion of electronic media and their impact on the cultures of the world, the post-colonial condition, and increasing migration are important elements when analyzing many of the styles which have been lumped together under the label world music. However, the fusions of styles from different parts of the world are hardly enough to explain the world music phenomenon. Instead, it is necessary to study the ideologies and social issues surrounding the world music phenomenon if we are to understand its specific character (see for example Turino 2000, 375, fn 10). The international changes that affected music cultures around the world were undoubtedly important, but it is at least as important to understand what happened in the European and North American music industries, where, after all, the formation of world music occurred in the first place. In the 1980s the audience's interest in musical styles outside the so-called western pop mainstream merged with the industry's growing awareness of different styles to be marketed for consumers and found a natural breeding ground in the independent record companies and associated organizations. The outcome of this chain of events was a discursive construction called world music, which was built on the assumed expectations of the potential audience and the contextual factors surrounding the creation of the music. In other words, if we are to understand the meanings attached to world music, be it in musical, cultural or industrial terms, we must focus on the structure of the formation called world music.

## **2. The formation of World Music**

World music, as I have discussed it so far, seems to be linked to the creation by the music industry of a marketing category and to the more general development of musical elements and contextual cultural factors. Nonetheless it is specious to define world music exclusively in terms of these components, as it encompasses a broader of multifaceted, complex and often contradictory phenomena. At the same time the concept world music is evidently meaningful for most people who are in some way involved with it. In other words, world music seems to be based on ambiguous, al-

though simultaneously somehow coherent and systematic ideas that together participate in the formation of the phenomenon.

The concept formation, as I use it in this context, is based on Michel Foucault's (1969/1972, 1976/1990, 1980) theories on discourse. For Foucault a discourse is not only an act of communication manifested in a coherent body of verbal utterances, but a clearly bounded area of knowledge which forms the basis for our ideas of reality. One of the main problems of analyzing such basic questions of our ways of understanding reality is connected to language and conceptualizations. If we are to study how knowledge or our way of understanding things is connected to historical and social conditions, we must be able to free ourselves from both the terminology and the whole process of conceptualization that forms such a crucial part of the phenomenon to be studied. Foucault has addressed this problem by avoiding the most established methodology and terminology and instead developing his own vocabulary, in which discourse is the key term (see e.g. Foucault 1969/1972, 38). He himself is aware of the equivocal meaning of the term discourse in his own writing. He states that discourse denotes a group of verbal performances, something which is produced by the groups of signs, acts of formulation, series of sentences or propositions, something which is constituted by a group of sequences of signs (in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence), and finally provides a definition of discourse as "a group of statements that belong to a single system of formation" (Foucault 1969/1972, 107).

By introducing the term discursive formation Foucault systematizes the ideas of discourses as groups of statements, which provide a language for, or the means of representing a particular kind of knowledge (see also McHoul & Grace 1993, 11 and Hall 1992a, 291). Foucault (e.g. 1969/1972, 35) argues that it would be a mistake to seek discursive unity in the coherence of some general concepts which could then be introduced into a deductive structure. Rather, he suggests that the coherence paradoxically can be found in how the concepts appear and disperse, and even in how they are separate and incompatible. A discursive formation is, in other words, not necessarily a coherent, homogeneous body of similar statements, but a system of separation, dissension and diversity. It can nevertheless be called a formation because the relationships and differences between the statements are regular and systematic.

Although Foucault's main interest lies in the disciplinary field, his model is also applicable to other fields of social activity, like in this case to world music. The diversity of the statements regarding world music is obvious, and yet world music clearly signifies something understandable and meaningful for many persons. I believe that if we are to study the world music phenomenon we must therefore try to analyze the patterns underlying all the separate and often contradictory statements

that are a part of its formation. A point of departure for this is to study how world music has been defined by people who themselves have participated in creating or disseminating the concept and the marketing category world music, with all the different connotations and denotations attached to it. The definitions are of course only one mode of discourse, but they also offer a basis for a further examination of how these statements are intertwined with the industrial practices of producing music and of creating and disseminating meanings.

### *2.1 Definitions of World Music*

One of the earliest studies of the ways in which world music has been defined in journalistic writing, is an article by the Finnish ethnomusicologists Vesa Kurkela and Anu Laakkonen (1989a), in which the different meanings of the term are grouped in four categories. Depending on the viewpoint, these are: a (despised) commercial and superficial exotic fad; modern or authentic music from all over the world; the music of unknown and forgotten peoples which will spread globally; modern pop music from all over the world that has been developed from a local ethnic basis but includes foreign elements.

This scholarly taxonomy can be contrasted with that of the world music journalist Cliff Furnald (1998), who prefers to avoid academic debates on this topic. In an ironic summary Furnald presents five statements, which are both of equal validity or otherwise, which exemplify the arbitrary nature of many of the attempts to define world music:

- 'Local music, not from here (wherever here is)' – WOMEX in 1997
- 'Music that still tastes local when savored elsewhere' – Cliff Furnald in 1989
- 'Anything with an accordion or in a foreign language' – anon
- 'Yes, but what is folk?' – The famous guitar playing cow (or horse, or goat)
- 'It's over there, in the corner past the men's room, around behind the rack for lounge music.' – the 16 year old record store clerk in NY in 1998 (Furnald 1998, 81.)

Despite flippancy of Furnald's summary and the serious comprehensivist spirit of Kurkela's and Laakkonen's model, both of these examples disclose some important features of the debates concerning world music. First world music is sometimes understood as a certain type of music (or musics), which is identified through such notions as authenticity, tradition, locality, ethnicity and musical change through fusions. Second, world music often seems to be understood as a marketing category, or more negatively, simply disregarded as a somehow unreal commercial fad. To these could be added a third approach, namely a skepticism regarding the whole attempt to de-

fine world music, as in Furnald's general approach, but specifically in his paraphrase of the old statement concerning the definition of folk music. From the industry's point of view the validity of the term world music is manifested in the practical operations of the different sectors of the industry, whereas many musicians dislike the idea of genre classifications altogether.

A common feature in many definitions of world music is that they are not necessarily based on analytical observations on the structure of the music, but rather reflect preconceptions that connect the music to, for example, notions of locality and tradition. This can be exemplified in the seemingly concise definition "musical styles that originate in the so called third and fourth worlds", which is how for example Per Emborg, a salesman at the Danish shop Verdensmusik-MS-butikken, explains the term world music (quoted in Aagaard & Aidt 1994, 28). In a musical sense this definition occludes the heterogeneity of the musical styles that it encompasses, particularly as only some of the musics from third and fourth world countries are included in world music radio programs, charts, record shop supplies etc. In definitions such as this the concepts third world and fourth world are, in other words, used more vaguely to refer to cultures outside the so-called first world in general, than to any specific musical styles.

The juxtaposition of the western world and the third world (or fourth world) is also often found in definitions based on the idea of world music as fusion music. As in the Danish World Music Association's definition: "a fusion of western music – particularly rock and pop – with music from countries in the third world" (see Aagaard & Aidt 1994, 28). Underlying this approach is both the idea that the music must come from a certain geographical place, and also notions of development. Thus, for example Tom Schnabel (1998, 10), in his introduction to the book *Rhythm Planet: The Great World Music Makers*, describes world music as "a new potent blend of traditional music and postwar technology" and "a synthesis of traditional styles, modern technology and contemporary music". Schnabel's definition implies a bipartition in which most world music artists are regarded as fusing forms of local traditions with musical elements and technology from a more modern first world.

Tradition is again foregrounded in the definition given by Danish journalist Per Reinholdt Nielsen (1997, 8) "all music with roots in a popular traditional culture". The concept 'popular' (Danish orig. "folklig") here refers to national folk culture or folklore that is based on the pre-industrial cultures of the lower classes (like the German expression 'volkstümlich'). The suggestion here is that world music is more closely tied to an old local tradition than popular music in general is. The examples that the writer gives of this type of music include Lappish (Same) singing, drum dances from Greenland, Pakistani qawwali and South-African mbaqanga. Nielsen

(ibid.) develops his definition of world music by including “western musicians”, as for example Paul Simon, Peter Gabriel, David Byrne and Danish Pierre Dörge, who use “the music of foreign cultures”. Thus, it appears that the music has to come from, or incorporate elements from outside the so-called modern, first world or western sphere, in order to have a ‘traditional’ background that validates it as world music.

Not all definitions are necessarily tied to the first world/third world binary, as in examples that incorporate fusions of European folk music and Anglo-American music. For example the Norwegian record company NOR-CD invokes the concept world music in its promotional leaflet for artists who not only play “Norwegian jazz and folk music”, but also “fuse the two musical styles together” (anon., n.d., 1). For example the group UTLA, with its “ultimate mix between old Norwegian folk tradition and urban sounds” is described as “Norway’s contribution to world music” (ibid., 14). Here the musical styles fused do not originate in the third world, but are still described as marginal in some sense. The fusions in this case consist of two styles, of which one style could be called marginal in spatial (“Norwegian”, “rural”) and temporal (“folk tradition”) terms, as opposed to the other style, which is more ‘modern’ (“jazz” or “urban sounds”).

A key feature in the definitions seems to be that the music must significantly differ from what might be called western mainstream pop music. Many world music guidebooks for example define their subject in relation to mainstream styles, usually by explicitly excluding the styles that have been dealt with in other publications. Thus in his book *The Virgin Directory of World Music* Philip Sweeney states that he attempts to “remove the great body of music belonging to the Anglo-American dominated pop and rock mainstream, and the music of those local artistes worldwide who simply re-create this style, and to describe what is left”, but also adds that this “geographical/genre exclusion zone” is to a degree arbitrary because “most local pop/rock artistes lend mainstream and indigenous styles to some extent, and the definition of what is mainstream in any event shifts continuously” (1991, x). In the introduction to *World Beat: Listener’s Guide to Contemporary World Music on CD*, Peter Spencer writes: “basically, anything that sounds too familiar will be left out” (1992, 4). In practice this leads to a mixture of musical styles, in which not only unfamiliarity, but also familiarity, or accessibility to the consumer, becomes an important qualification. The assumption underlying Spencer’s book is that the non-western world consists of pure and unchanged, authentic traditional cultures which have come in contact with modern rock and then started to develop new hybrid styles, and the degree to which the music has developed according to this model qualifies it for inclusion in the book. Similarly, the editors in the introduction to *World Music: The Rough Guide*: “We’d ignore western Classical music and Anglo-American rock and soul and rap and jazz

and country – all of which are covered in depth elsewhere – and we’d delve into the rest” (Broughton et al. 1994). Not unexpectedly this aim soon proved to be unrealistic and the writers had to revise their approach. The musical styles found outside the most established genres were, according to the editors, simply too many and diverse to be dealt with in any reasonable way in one book, and even in one industry category (ibid.). However, the general idea prevails of excluding the styles regarded as well known to the reader.

The familiarity of some styles, be they western mainstream pop, classical music or jazz, seems to be a decisive factor when the boundaries of the concept world music are drawn. World music is usually conceived of as falling entirely or to a significant degree outside the musics that are most commonly found in the media. World music is expected to be something else, that is, to signify a cultural tradition that is rooted somewhere other than in the cultural sphere of the world music media and fans. This criterion of locality has generated its own definitions of world music. Ian Anderson, who is editor of *Folk Roots* and runs a world music record company, was inspired to this while attending a WOMEX world music trade fair:

It all started when a guy wandered up to our stand to say that he wanted to book a band for a World Music festival in Borneo. Borneo! Huh! What the heck is ‘World Music’ to people in Borneo? And out of this amusing discussion arose a working definition of World Music, in a mere five words (and three more in brackets). Try this for size: ‘Local music, not from here (wherever here is).’

Think about it. It explains why the *Billboard* World Music charts in the USA are allowed to be full of Celtic records when the European ones aren’t. It allows World Music DJs from Spain to include music from Finland (and vice versa). It explains why reggae, rock and jazz records are rarely included in World Music lists anywhere, since many places these days have their own local reggae, rock and jazz variants. And it still leaves plenty of room for arguments (which is always a Good Thing, for what else would people with time on their hands find to do?!). (Anderson 1997, 13)

The expression ‘local music, not from here’ summarizes some of the crucial features of the definitions of world music. The flexibility (or ambiguity) of the definition is also its greatest strength. A straightforward typologisation of the various musical styles categorized as world music would hardly explain the phenomenon in its totality, because even then no consensus would be reached. What however seems to be common to the musics included is that they signify something else, an idea of a tradition or locality that is not here. The ‘not from here’, where the music is understood to be from, can be a third or fourth world country, or a rural region in a first world country, or it can simply be someplace other than where the musical influences usually come from.

The examples of the definitions of world music discussed so far, originate in what might be called the western music industry, to which world music as both concept and phenomenon is so closely tied. While they are diverse and even contradictory, in one way or another, they are all based on the idea of some common feature in the music which would be world music's defining feature. There is a more fundamental, regular and systematic formation, however. The styles that are labeled world music are usually regarded as to some degree 'local' or 'traditional'. Usually the concepts authenticity, or ethnicity are also evoked so that the musical styles which are understood as being older, more traditional and local, are also more likely to be called 'authentic' and 'ethnic', and therefore are more likely to be included in the definition of world music. On the other hand a musical style does not have to be seen to be 'pure' to be classified as world music. Sometimes fusion is even referred to as a defining factor of world music. While some of these definitions include certain skepticism regarding simplistic notions of purity, at a more fundamental level they are still based on an implicit idea of pure cultures that can fuse with other cultures. In this case the most important, and indeed usually the sole form of fusion that is acceptable is between a music, regarded as traditional and local, and so-called modern western popular music.

## 2.2 *The music of the 'Other'*

The systematic patterns underlying the diverse definitions of world music point to the significance of a juxtaposition that can be called 'the West versus the Rest'. The discursive creation of world music can therefore be understood as reconfiguration of that polarization of western culture and other cultures which is rooted in the intellectual culture of modernity. In this connection the terms 'West' and 'Rest' should of course not be understood as geographical entities that can be measured and expressed as coordinates on a map. They themselves are discursive constructions. Hence, even if we approach world music as a discursive creation by the West, which refers to musics of the Rest (categorized through certain discursive formations and industrial practices of the West), this does not imply that there would be any essential correspondence between some geographical place and a specific music. On the contrary, as has already been observed, even some so-called traditional or folk styles which originate in for example Europe can be included in the category of world music. Rather it means that the music signifies the Rest for a person who positions him or herself in the more modern West.

This approach to examining the formation of West, identity-construction and the ideological premises of the global modernization process is largely influenced by

post-structuralist trends in cultural and post-colonial studies, such as Edward Said's (1978/1995) theory on Orientalism, studies on the construction of modern identities (e.g. Anderson 1983) and the critical analyses of development theories (see e.g. Harbitz 1993). Stuart Hall's (1992a) analysis of "the discourse of the West and the Rest" is of particular note. At first sight the question of the West and the Rest seems to be about geography and location, but as Hall shows, the word western is also used to classify societies according to their structures and levels of development. Hall (1992a, 276–7) argues that the West is as much an idea as a fact of geography, and even as a construct it is more historical than geographical. By western we usually mean a society that is developed, industrialized, urbanized, capitalist and secular, or to put it in the most general terms: a society which is modern, not a society which is somehow geographically located in the west. The idea of the West and its counterpart the Rest can be seen to function in many ways: it characterizes and classifies, provides a standard model of comparison, helps to explain difference and functions as an ideology that provides criteria for evaluation of societies. Hall (*ibid.*, 279) sees this polarization of the world as an example of the ubiquity of binary oppositions in linguistic and symbolic systems and the production of meaning itself. By neglecting the internal differences, which in fact are central features of both the West and the Rest, this discursive formation asserts that there really are two isolated, homogeneous and opposed entities. The interest in creating such a binary opposition in the first place stems from the Europeans' need to project their aspirations and fears in stereotyped, idealized and distorted images. Hall (*ibid.*, 308) calls these practices "discursive strategies" and they are based on idealization, the projection of fantasies of desire and degradation, failure to recognize and respect difference and the tendency to impose European categories and norms.

Hall's main concern is to explain the long historical development behind a discourse, which, in transformed and reworked forms, continues to inflect the language of the West, its image of itself and others, its sense of 'us and them', its practices and relations of power towards the Rest. These issues are also highly relevant for a study of world music. The main feature of Hall's model, that is, that the idea of the West is linked with modernization, is crucial if we are to understand how world music is defined and debated. The emergence of the idea of the West was central to the Enlightenment era and the wish of the educated class of Europe to see itself as the key element of the most advanced society on the earth. This self-identification was conducted with the help of an imagined, nominally geographical idea of the West. However, simultaneously the educated class formed its western, 'internal Others', such as for example ethnic or religious minorities, the Eastern Europeans and especially the uneducated classes of their own society (see Hall 1992a, 280). Hence, it is not sur-

prising that for example a European music, which is regarded as originating from the peasantry (for example folk music), can be included in the world music category.

While it is contentious to reduce the formation of world music simply in terms of the West and the Rest, that binary is however an important historical framework for the formation. Sometimes it is disclosed in such formulations as 'world music is the music of the Others'. While this rather academic expression is seldom found in world music journalism, it can sometimes be heard in the industry's internal debates and private discussions, as for example in a panel discussion headlined World Music Radio at WOMEX 1998 in Stockholm and in an interview with Borkowsky (13.3. 1997). It nonetheless underpins the processes of stereotyping found behind the conception of world music as a reflection of (or constitutive element in) the construction of an Other, which is contrasted with the Self.

The terms 'Other' and 'Self' have become important concepts in cultural and psychological studies on identity construction. The term Other was already in extensively use in existential philosophy, but its current use in post-structuralist and post-colonialist thinking derives more directly from Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytically influenced cultural theory. Lacan (1968) originally divided the term Other into two types of Others (the "other" and the "grand Other"), but his approach has usually been interpreted flexibly and scholars who draw from the same original idea of a separation of the Self from the Other do not necessarily even use the term "Other" (or "other") in their writings. Said (1978/1995) for example writes about Orientalism in terms such as "ours" and "theirs", but "Other" was not used until in his later afterword to the 1995 printing (see *ibid.*, 332). Otherness as a general idea has, however, had an immense impact on critical cultural analysis, especially in relation to questions of discourse and cultural identity. In this context, the Other is usually understood as simply anyone who is separate from one's Self, and as such is important in defining the Self and locating its place in the world (see for example Ashcroft et al. 1998, 169–70).

In cultural discourses, such as that of the West and the Rest or world music, the implicit normative value judgments often hide older layers of essentialist thinking which seek to classify peoples and cultures. These discursive strategies, which create Otherness, to a large extent build on stereotyping, that is, on classifying groups of people by means of simplification and generalization. Hence, the categories incorporated in the formation implicitly or explicitly come to signify opposite, uniform sets of values, judgments and characters. Writing about discursive stereotyping, Sander Gilman (1985, 17–8) claims that every social group has its own history of mythologizing an externalized "bad" other, which it fears to become, and a "good" other, which it fears it cannot achieve. According to Gilman (*ibid.*, 27) all such stere-

otypes share a common deep structure, since “all of these systems are inherently bipolar, generating pairs of antithetical signifiers” and they “all reflect the deep structure of the stereotype while responding to the social and political ideologies of the times”. Perhaps the best known example of Gilman’s theory is the Enlightenment’s fascination with the ‘savage’ (see also Hall 1992a, 309–12). Following among others Rousseau, the critics of the over-refinement, hypocrisy and undemocratic social structures of the West projected their wishes in a stereotypical ‘noble savage’, which became their ‘good other’. In the same time, however, the imagery of a ‘bad other’, the simple and brutal ‘ignoble savage’, persisted as a threat for the achievements of the western civilization. Underlying the Enlightenment thinking was the evolutionist idea that all cultures and societies could be ranked on the same scale on which European civilization was placed highest. This self-aggrandizement was in tension with a form of self-critique which was reformulated into the image of a noble savage.

Although the social structures and the cultural climate of the Enlightenment era obviously differ substantially from those of the late twentieth century, it is possible to find certain similarities between the stereotyping mentioned by Gilman and Hall and the discursive strategies found underlying world music. The modernization processes, such as urbanization and industrialization, the development of the media and expanding migration, have significantly contributed to changing the whole picture of the world, including the self-perception and identity-construction of individuals. These changing circumstances have also contributed to moving and reinscribing the imaginary line between the Self and the Other. However, the deep structure of the Self/Other distinction still persists. The former demarcations between social classes and minorities have simply been adapted to fit the new global tensions. This structural understanding of Otherness and discursive stereotyping can also be useful in explaining world music as a cultural formation. World music is a label which has been created by the Self of the West and is manifested in the industrial practices of this Self. Through the label world music, the Self classifies the music as something originating in, or at least strongly influenced by a separate and different culture, which thereby becomes an Other to the Self.

The discourses which produce Otherness on a large social scale, can rearticulate the Self-Other binary in a number of ways. I wish to argue that two of these, namely ‘tradition’ and ‘locality’, are crucial for the formation of world music and that this locates the world music phenomenon in an older historical discourse. For example Said (1978/1995, 54–5) and Hall (1992a, 276–7) point in a more or less similar manner at history and geography as crucial terms in the way western Europeans distanced themselves from the Orient, or the Rest. The concepts tradition and locality do not denote some kind of a referential framework with factual points on a time continuum

or a map, but instead should be seen as constructions of the discursive formation. The precise interpretations of their meaning and the position that a cultural phenomenon is said to occupy in terms of development or space varies largely depending on the context. As such differentiating factors they are however important when defining what is perceived as belonging to an Other as opposed to the Self.

The definition of world music as the music of the Other easily runs the risk of becoming meaningless if it is not contextualized. The abstract and general scope of the definition makes it impossible to explain why and where some particular styles are classified as world music, and also who does it and in what way this happens. The way in which the factors of musical development and location are interpreted cannot be separated from the industrial functions, which inevitably are part of the discourse. In other words, the definition can help us in understanding a central feature of the formation of world music, but it remains inadequate if it is not anchored also in observations regarding the discursive practices of world music.

### 3. The industrial practice of World Music

'Otherness' as a constant that underlies the definitions of world music is not merely an abstraction but is closely linked to a practice, in this case to the industrial institutions and functions that are so fundamental to the formation of world music. I will therefore broaden the perspective of my argument and move on to study the connections between the discursive formation and practices of world music, both by studying how the industry through its operations defines world music and what meaning the concept world music has in those operations.

A central feature of discourse analysis is that it incorporates both the abstract level of knowledge and the more concrete manifestations of the formation in an attempt to reveal the historical and social relations that are so fundamental in discourse. As Stuart Hall (1992a, 291) has pointed out, an important aspect of Foucault's notion of discourse is that it is not based on the conventional distinction between thought and action, or between language and practice. Like many other discourse analysts Foucault argues that discourse produces knowledge through language, but he directs his focus towards the idea that this process happens through practice. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault (1969/1972, 49) writes that "of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things" and then declares that "it is this more that we must reveal and describe". In order to describe this 'more', that is, all the many-faceted social and historical aspects of the practice of producing meaning, Foucault introduces the idea of the discourse itself as practice

(ibid., 46). In doing so he emphasizes that all social practices entail meaning and that all practices therefore have a discursive aspect. The relationship between a discursive formation and discursive practice is not characterized by a clear-cut, temporally causal connection between a first stage of formation, which consists of setting the rules for a subsequent second stage of practice, that is, for an execution of the rules. The two are always to some extent intertwined in discourse. For example organizations are never just institutional structures, which execute a set of clearly manifested rules. Instead, all organizations are products of communication, or rather: organizations can also be seen as parts of discursive processes, or as frameworks of interpretation, which are actively produced through language and practice (see further for example Taylor & Van Every 1993 and Talja 1998, 246).

In world music, the discursive formation and the discursive practices are clearly intertwined in the functions of the music industry. Although we are dealing with industrial production it would be simplistic to believe that the industry is merely an organization or a manufacturing structure, which produces articles for consumption in order to achieve its objective of gaining income. The industry is also involved in producing meanings, creating signification processes with a range of connotations. In this sense the creation of the marketing category world music also involves the production of knowledge, or a specific way of creating and understanding meanings. When the industry created the marketing category it did not function as a monolith separately from, or above the larger social and cultural context. The different parts of the industry, the producers, the consumers and the journalists were all ensnared in a web of expectations, and the meanings that were attached to world music must be seen against this background.

### 3.1 *The marketing category of exclusion*

For the music industry the establishment of a new marketing category called world music grew out of a sense that the old ones were inadequate. The viability of the concept suggests that it also managed to match the expectations of the consumers. The meaningfulness of the category seems to stem from its character as something new and different in comparison with the previously existing marketing labels. When Ian Anderson (1997, 13), in his 1997 editorial in *Folk Roots*, defines world music as “Local music, not from here”, he not only indirectly points at how exclusion, Otherness and being somehow outside, are important abstract elements of the term world music, but also at the degree to which these aspects are included and grounded in the practices of categorization. Anderson (ibid.) emphasizes that his definition explains why the *Billboard* world music charts in the USA contain Celtic records

which are seldom included in the European charts and why world music disc jockeys from Spain include music from Finland in their lists and vice versa. In an earlier definition Anderson (see Aagaard & Aidt 1994, 28) also gives a general explanation of what the industrial practice of exclusion mean in terms of musical genres. According to Anderson (ibid.) world music can be described as popular or traditional music from anywhere, but which differs from mainstream western pop, rock, jazz or blues. This definition implies that world music, despite the all-embracing term, is not in fact any kind of music from anywhere in the world marketed to anybody in the world, but more precisely, a music that is not strong enough to form a category in its own right in the context were it is consumed. In other words, it is somehow different from the key frame of reference, that is, from the existing core categories of the West.

The importance of the western mainstream styles as a point of reference is understandable if we look at the origins of the marketing category and where and how it has spread and become meaningful. The background of the marketing concept world music is closely connected to the Anglo-Saxon music industry, as reflected in the following critical comment by the General Manager of Island France, Jean Pierre Weiler: "world music was a marketing concept invented by Anglo-Saxons to include all the musics that are not Anglo-Saxon" (quoted in Legrand 1991, 68). The expectations of audiences accustomed to Anglo-Saxon pop formed a framework with which the new category was compared. Or, as *Billboard's* Tom Cheney (1991, 52) has explained: "it [world music] has become synonymous with anything 'exotic' from places that Americans and Europeans do not normally pay attention to musically". Thus, world music could be described as music which signifies difference from mainstream Anglo-Saxon music to the listeners who are most accustomed to that mainstream.

The problem of defining world music as something outside the mainstream is, as Anderson's definitions already partly suggested, that the perception of what is mainstream differs from one place to another just as the existing categorizations found in the music industry can vary largely. As Jocelyne Guilbault (1993b) points out: "depending on the country, distributors, record-shop owners, and musical journalists, the social, political, or demographic position of certain minority groups in a given country, the category of 'world music' would vary in content and include various sets of musical genres" (ibid., 36). This is understandable, because the music industry which created the market category, and through its practices helped in disseminating it, was and is inevitably bound by the particular context in which it functions. However, by looking briefly at the various contexts in which the concept world music has become established, we can find recurrent and coherent ideas behind the different industrial practices.

In Europe the marketing category world music was consolidated at an early stage, starting with the British music industry and spreading eastward and northward, but in general terms it could be said that the impact of the categorization has been smaller the further one moves to the continental east. From today's perspective it seems hardly surprising that the meetings which engendered the concept of and promotional plans for world music, were held in Great Britain, and that the spread of the category coincided with the general influence of the British music industry. The independent record companies had created a niche of their own in the 1980s post-punk era and the networking, which led to the labeling, can be seen as a logical step in this larger development.

One example of the development in Great Britain is The World of Music Arts and Dance, or in short WOMAD, which was founded in 1982 to "promote the arts of many different cultures, both traditional and contemporary, at festivals, performance events, through recorded releases and through educational projects" (Parker 1992, 6). The founding members of WOMAD had backgrounds in post-punk alternative music activities, but their interest in different cultures both inside and outside England inspired them to move into this new field of activities (see for example Parker 1992 for a historical overview). Since 1988 the organization has expanded its operations to include festivals in the rest of Europe, Australia, North America and Japan. A similar example of the British independent industry's importance in spreading the label is the British independent music press, especially *Folk Roots*. The sales of *Folk Roots* are between 12,000 to 15,000 copies, but it has a much larger readership, particularly among key persons in the industry throughout Europe (see Farago 1998, 22 and Anderson 1985, 3). In addition the British rock press, especially *New Musical Express* and *Melody Maker*, quickly adopted the concept world music and gave the whole phenomenon considerable coverage (see for example NME's *World Music Special* 5.9.1987). In the rock press the label incorporated, for example, African pop styles or Asian immigrant bhangra, which were perceived as falling outside the existing pop categories.

The influence of the British independent industry on the dissemination of the world music label should not be taken to imply that the ideas behind it were also exported without modification. The category was frequently adapted to existing local practices in the new markets. Notwithstanding such local adaptations, however, the participants have generally come to some, often tacit agreement in their understanding of the concept world music and what it includes.

France, and particularly Paris, had already by the late 1980s become an important center for African and Caribbean pop and the concept world music, in its translated form 'musique du monde' gained a foothold adjacent to the already established 'sono

mondiale' and 'musique métisse'. Chris Stapleton (1989) has explained this strong development in France over the 1980s as a consequence of the liberal immigration policy and anti-racist stance of Francois Mitterrand's socialist government and particularly the personal concern of its Minister of Culture Jack Lange (see also Lange 1993). This interest in the mediating possibilities of the world music phenomenon was also important in other European countries that experienced growing racial and cultural tensions. In Germany for example the establishment of several important world music institutions, such as the music radio channel Multikulti and the Heimatklänge festival, were influenced by the liberal multi-cultural policies in Berlin (Theurer 1995a, 55 and interv. Borkowsky 13.3.1997). Thus the lack of interest in multiculturalism, or in minorities and immigrants in general, may in part, and together with the slow development of market economies, explain why the concept world music did not spread more quickly to Eastern Europe (see for example Cohen 1995 on the development in Hungary).

Some kind of a division between local folk music and other folk musics has been a pattern in most European countries where the market category has gained a foothold. In the Nordic countries, where the label world music was quickly translated from the British music press into local languages (e.g. Finnish 'maailmanmusiikki', Swedish 'världsmusik' and Danish 'verdensmusik'), the discourse of world music has never fully incorporated the older discourse of folk music despite several points of contact between the two. According to Lundberg, Malm and Ronström (2000, 146) the term world music is usually used in Sweden when referring to so-called traditional folk music that has been fused with elements from rock, jazz, techno etc. In Denmark the separation between the categories world music and folk music has been particularly clear from the beginning, and the term world music has mainly signified African and Latin-American music. As Flemming Harrev describe in the leaflet of the promotional CD *World Music in Denmark*: "To include Nordic folk music under the world music umbrella, as it is customary in other parts of the world, has not been particularly successful with the Danish audience, folk music being already a well established category in its own right" (1997, 7). Harrev's comment articulates in brief one crucial aspect of the world music industry, namely that the practices are excluding mainly such musics that form strong categories of old. The folk musics of Europe do not necessarily signify the same kind of Otherness in their home countries as world music, largely because the folk music styles have a strong institutional status and a high, national profile.

In spite of the local differences found in the interpretations of the term world music the national participants have managed to create important pan-European organizations where the meaning of the concept is negotiated, sometimes in discussions, but

even more importantly through music industry activities. The world music festival organizers for example have their association, the European Forum of Worldwide Music Festivals (see e.g. Waechter 1995, 40), the business entrepreneurs and journalists meet at the Worldwide Music Expo trade fair (or in short WOMEX, see Beck 1997 and 1999; Waechter 1994 and 1995; Ahlbom 1998), and the radio disc jockeys have the European Broadcasting Union's World Music Workshop (see Willems 1997, 61). Probably most visible institution is the World Music Charts Europe, which was launched in 1991 by EBU's World Music Workshop. The chart was formed when the world music disc jockeys became anxious that the world music industry and also their own radio programs were losing ground against other musical categories (Theurer 1997, 60). The chart, which is supposed to reflect the popularity of records, has undoubtedly strengthened the world music category, but in doing so it has also become decisive in defining what should be understood as world music. At least nominally, the chart is supposed to reflect the records that the radios play in their DJ-programs. Its criteria exclude for example community programs of minorities or ethnomusicological features with unpublished field-recordings (Theurer (1995b, 3). Most of the records on the chart contain African or Latin-American music. European folk music or music of immigrants and minorities (such as gypsies) living in Europe are often also included (for chart contents see e.g. <http://www.rootsworld.com/wmce/>). Thus, the chart has contributed to the construction of world music as a marketing category for commercial recordings, which are musically different from the pop mainstream and which signify the 'Rest' in a European context, but still fit the DJ-radio format.

Charts such as EBU's World Music Charts Europe, disclose important aspects of how the discursive formation and practice intersect in the activities of the industry. Writing about the popular music industry in general, Simon Frith (1987, 138) states that charts do not work as an objective measure of some agreed notion of popularity, but as an important determinant of what the music means. In other words, a chart not only reflects some perceived pattern of market choice, but also contributes to the creation 'fantasy consumers', or taste communities and fixing webs of meanings to the music. The importance of the charts lies not just in their economic significance, but rather in their wider importance, or as Martin Parker (1991, 205) has put it: "to the fan of popular music, the charts are not merely quantifications of commodities but rather a major reference point around which their music displays itself in distinction and relation to other musical forms".

Being a specialist field within the wider industrial framework, the world music industry has at times been on a collision course with the larger institutions that measure the popularity of music. The established national chart operators have been criticized for not taking into consideration the distinctive features of the world music field

and therefore both EBU's radio disc jockeys and magazines have compiled their own charts. For example *Folk Roots* started its own chart in 1986 by combining sales information from both specialist dealers and shops belonging to larger chains. The magazine's only criterion for what kind of music the participating stores might include was the phrase: "If it feels right, include it" (Anderson 1986b, 4). In 1994, however, *Folk Roots* changed its own system because of what it saw as a disproportionate number of major records entering the sales chart, and instead started to publish several charts which reflected sales in different types of record shops and also radio airplay (see Anderson 1993).

As the example of *Folk Roots* suggests, a common problem with sales charts in a specialist field like world music is that it is hard to define which records belong to the mainstream and which ones to the particular specialist field. The process of categorization touches upon questions of power and involves various and conflicting interests. The major record companies easily achieve large sales figures due to their efficient and extensive distribution networks, and outnumber the independent productions in the charts. The impact and importance of such successful major records is, however, usually measured as relatively small in the specialist field, which often categorize them as mainstream records. Many so-called world music records are not distributed to larger shops; instead they are sold in specialist shops or sold by the musicians to the audience after a concert. Many organizations specializing in world music are therefore interested in compiling their own charts, to give what they perceive to be a more accurate picture of their field. However, it might also be argued that they, by doing this, create their own space in the industry and thereby establish a more powerful position for themselves.

The problems of fixing the boundaries between world music and other marketing categories are also evident in North America. The commercial term 'world music' (as opposed to the earlier ethnomusicological use of the term) was slowly established in the United States in the late 1980s. It also partly superseded the expressions 'world beat' and 'ethno-pop', which, according to some definitions, have referred more specifically to "music that fuses traditional ethnic elements with pop Western elements" (e.g. Shanachie Record's Vice-President Randall Grass quoted in McGovan 1989, N-6). It has also become common to use the terms world beat and world music more or less interchangeably (as in Spencer 1992). In the 1990s the term world music was adopted in magazines with a background in the folk circuit (such as *Dirty Linen* and *Sing Out*), or, like *The Beat*, in the field of Caribbean and African pop music. However, when it comes to establishing the concept world music through industrial practices, the forming of a *Billboard* world music chart in 1990 and the launching of a Grammy world music award the next year were highly significant events.

Both the *Billboard* chart and the *Grammy* awards in many ways reflect a common trend of the world music industry. These practices, which aim at measuring popularity, in fact draw up boundaries between categories and, as Timothy Taylor (1997, 14) summarizes his description of these charts, perpetuate the old binary of the West and the Rest. The charts also disclose the complex and context-based nature of the binary differentiation. The *Billboard* chart for example includes recordings of European folk music, especially so-called Celtic records, which, according to Taylor (*ibid.*, 7) fall in this category due to their perceived "ethnic" nature in North America. In Great Britain they are, on the other hand seldom included, as Anderson (1997, 13) has noted. In general both *Billboard* and the *Grammy* awards are based on the principle of exclusion. This is also the reason why some popular Latin American styles, which have their own charts in the United States, are not included in the *Billboard* world music chart (even though they may be classified as such in Europe), and why reggae received a category of its own when it began to dominate *Billboard's* world music chart it (see further Taylor 1997, 6).

The sales-oriented approach of both *Billboard* and of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARS), which nominates the *Grammy* awards, can produce an imbalance between the most popular artist of the largest media conglomerates and artists who work with independent companies. Both of these commercial institutions are therefore trying to avoid domination of the lists by major North American and European stars. For example chart manager Eric Lowenhar (quoted in Wentz 1991, 23) explains that Paul Simon's records have been excluded from the *Billboard* world music chart because of their superior sales figures in comparison with the other records. Despite this policy Taylor (1997, 7 & 12) concludes his description of the *Billboard* chart and *Grammy* nominees by stating that they consist mainly of musicians who live in the United States and whose recordings have been released by the major record companies. It is no surprise that the validity of these institutions has been questioned and many magazines prefer to use other charts in order to present a view of world music that suits their approach. For example *The Beat* publishes The New World Music Chart which is based on information supplied by the more 'alternative' college radio DJs and retail outlets. All of these listings which contribute in practical ways to defining world music, share a common feature however: their meaning as categories are based on some form of 'the music of the Rest', which has not been included in the other existing categories.

The fact that world music as a category of the music industry has spread in Western Europe and North America should not be taken to imply that the division West-Rest is based on geography, but, as was noted earlier, on cultural and historical aspects, and especially the idea of modernization. This is obvious if we look at Japan,

where world music also has become a small but lively specialist market, with general media attention and regular WOMAD festivals since 1991. The Japanese “world music boom” has not only made people aware of the musics of, for example, Africa or Latin America, but also directed their interest to the popular and folk music of Southeast Asian countries, such as Indonesia and Singapore (Mitsui 1997, 172). According to Japanese popular music scholars Toru Mitsui (1997, 172–3) and Shuhei Hosokawa (1997), the indigenous Japanese styles have rarely been included in the category, but the music of Okinawa has been perceived as “something not Japanese” (to use Hosokawa’s expression 1997, 56), and it has therefore been added to the world music record racks next to recordings of Chinese and Korean music. Here the perceived Otherness of Okinawan culture in comparison with the Japanese mainland seems to exclude it from the so-called national traditional music of Japan and make it a part of the world music category.

Although the category of world music has spread in such large market areas as Western Europe, North America, Australia and Japan, it is still clearly a minor niche market in terms of sales. Comparisons between different market categories in the United States (see Taylor 1997, 1) and France (see Ahlbom 1998, 83) suggest that the share of world music is no larger than perhaps 3% of the overall market, putting it on par with other specialist fields such as classical music and jazz. Unsurprisingly most of the records included in this marketing category are produced and distributed by independent companies (see for example Ahlbom 1998, 83). According to a common understanding among the industry executives that I have interviewed, most records in this category sell in all around 3,000–10,000 copies in Western Europe, North America, Australia and Japan, and a sale of 25,000 is considered a success (see also sales mentioned in for example Russell 1992, 38 and Legrand 1993, 79). These figures can be compared with a few exceptional hit records by for example Mory Kanté, Zap Mama, Buena Vista Social Club and Cesaria Evora, which have usually been produced and distributed by the major companies and have sold hundreds of thousands of copies (see for example figures given in Russell 1992, 38; Verna 1993, 77, Reitov 1994, 25 and Schnabel 1998, 47). The sharp economic division within the field also leads to contrasts between the major and the independent record companies. In general terms several participants in the world music market are supporters of what might be called an ‘indie ethos’, that is, of the idea that the independent companies form a vanguard which produces the music of highest artistic quality, whereas the major record companies more often only buy out the successful independent artists and water down their music to wholly commercial commodities (see for example Pannke 1995 and Poet 1995). A succinct statement of this anti-commercial ideology of the independent niche-market, and its often paradoxical nature, is found in the

Norwegian record company *NOR-CD*'s promotional leaflet (anon, n.d., 1): "the company is independent of the commercial music industry".

The small-scale independent activities are often based on a diverse range of licensing agreements, single payment purchases of master tapes and more or less casual talent scouting during travels (for a description of such activities, see for example Bass 1994a). There is a massive economic imbalance between even the smaller companies of the industrialized countries and most artists from the third world, and critical voices have also been raised against potential exploitation, or of "world music mining", as journalist Rick Glanvill (1989a) describes the threat of post-colonial patterns in the industry. In scholarly studies this criticism has been raised particularly by Steven Feld (1996) and David Hesmondhalgh (1998 and 2000), who have exposed problems with copyright remunerations. Even if no directly illegal or even immoral activities are involved, the artist royalties of the small-scale world music market are relatively low, and the persons interviewed for this study claimed that concert tours and teaching therefore form the main income for most musicians.

The commercial private enterprises form only one part of the media practices of world music. In Europe the national broadcasting corporations and in the United States the National Public Radio have been important in establishing the category called world music. Many festivals also get public support from national or regional councils and charity organizations, which want to promote for example multi-cultural ideologies or development issues (for some of WOMAD's co-operation partners, see for example Griffith 1989, 4; Griffith 1990a, 4; Griffith 1990b, 24; Parker 1992, 15 and 25; and for WOMEX partners see Waechter 1994, 5 and 34; Waechter 1995, 9; Beck 1997, 5 and Ahlbom 1998, 1). The emergence of the discourse of world music coincides with the growth of the so-called third sector and therefore it is natural that not only some of the collaborating partners and sponsors, but also many of the central world music institutions that arrange concerts, publish magazines and release records, are associations, not commercial enterprises (e.g. WOMAD originally, Profolk in Germany, The Danish World Music Association and the short-lived World Music Promotions in Finland)

The world music market is similar to many other specialist markets because of its size but also because of its audience. An analysis of the world music audience would be of course an enterprise of unfeasible magnitude but it is possible to draw some conclusions regarding audience profiles and the industry executives' sense of them. A relatively common view in the industry is that the average consumer is well educated and belongs to the upper social classes. Hilton Rosenthal, the director of the record company Rhythm Safari, describes the audience as consisting partly of students who have an interest in "alternative music" and "exploring different cultures

and sounds”, and partly of the “late-30s person, yuppie type with money” (quoted in Baird 1991, 52). According to Swedish (Lundberg, Malm and Ronström 2000, 229) and Danish (Fock 1999, 69-70, Fock 1999 and Fock 2001, 56–7) studies the average consumer is white, middle-aged and has a special interest in music. Two surveys conducted among the audiences of world music festivals in Finland suggest the same (Kurkela & Laakkonen 1989b and Jalava 1992). According to the Finnish surveys the audience comes from larger cities, has a higher education and consumes culture more than the population in general. The listeners’ interest for the world music phenomenon stems from a wish to learn more about foreign cultures, which are expected to give new inspiration. Kurkela’s and Laakkonen’s small survey (1989b, 50–1) suggest that three features were central to this interest: the rhythmic, danceable nature of most world music; how it is perceived as being an alternative to the more common styles; and finally the “authenticity”, “purity” and the “traditional”, “early” and “primitive” character of world music. As these examples show, world music signifies something different for the listener whose subject is positioned in a supposedly more modern world than the other world from whence the music is seen to originate. It is this relationship which has been crucial for the industry’s creation of both a ‘fantasy’ or ‘ideal’ consumer and the whole marketing category.

### *3.2 The assumptions framing the concept of World Music*

As the various interpretations and the diversity of styles of world music suggest, we cannot relate the meaning of the term to industrial practices without also taking into consideration the various cultural contexts. The meanings attached to the music depend on a combination of genre classifications and industry operations. These elements can at times be in tension and they force the industry to be flexible, to the extent that its own practices often become contradictory.

I find Timothy Taylor (1997, 14) convincing when he describes the labeling of world music by reference to Grossberg’s (1992) expression “the difference-making machine”, which succinctly evokes the contradictory nature of capitalism. This machine seeks stability in the midst of the highly contradictory and unpredictable surroundings in which it operates and therefore its own activities also tend to develop into contradictions. In the music industry, “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” (Taylor 1997, 14). This fundamental and paradoxical nature of the label world music is probably most clearly visible in the reluctance to use this term while in fact it is so crucial for all the participants in this field. Many persons in what might be called the most central insti-

tutions of the world music industry avoid the term altogether and prefer to refer to some general attitude or unarticulated common knowledge as the basis for their activities. In spite of this, it is easy to identify a certain dissatisfaction when the term is used in a way which differs from the person's own understanding of it. Thus, for example the Swedish journalist Klas Gustafson reacts negatively when he sees that the Spanish entertainment singer Julio Iglesias is classified as world music in *Tower Records* in London: "Away with the labels, it is all right with me. But it sure is rather disappointing when it says pickled gherkin on a jar which contains raspberry jam" (1998, 18).

For many industry executives and musicians the market categorization has become constraining because of the limits it poses on the diffusion and interpretation of the music. Categories can easily become a disadvantage if they lock the products into a particular niche market which only reaches the specialist consumers. Hence, also defining world music as a specialist categorization has been criticized. For example the director of German *Piranha Musik* Christopher Borkowsky (interview 13.3.1997), refers to Goethe's idea of a "world literature", when defining world music, by which he means that world music encompasses all the best musical products from the whole world, irrespective of place, culture or style: "it is a top contribution from a certain place to a certain art". Borkowsky is prepared to include the best heavy metal or classical music under the general label world music. This is a rather free interpretation of Goethe's original idea (see for example Said 1994, 45 regarding the character and implicit values of Goethe's theory) and is exceptional among music industry personnel. It also differs from the common practices of the industry and, in fact, is contradictory if compared to the practical operations of Borkowsky's own company Piranha, which never includes for example heavy or classical music in its catalogue or record shop racks.

The problems of defining world music as a musical style (with the help of certain musical parameters) or as a marketing category (by exclusion from other genres) are generally well known by those who deal with the phenomenon in their daily activities. The British organization The World of Music Arts and Dance, which mentioned the term as early as 1982 in its first *Talking Book*-record, has for example seldom used the term since the marketing category became established. In the opinion of WOMAD's director Thomas Brooman "when the term becomes analyzed it becomes meaningless, it can mean everything or nothing at all" (Kurkela and Laakkonen 1989a, 3). Yet, WOMAD is always referred to as a world music organization, its festivals are called world music events in the media, and the categorization has clearly helped the organization in establishing its business activities in new environments. In a similar way the British magazine *Folk Roots*, which was already important dur-

ing the initial marketing campaign, has avoided the explicit use of the term, preferring instead the term 'roots' (see e.g. Trouillet & Pieper 1988, 14).

The Worldwide Music Expo trade fair also initially avoided the term world music or used it ironically. In the guide book of the first WOMEX trade fair (Waechter 1994) the issue is for example introduced with the following words: "the WOMEX boldly leaps into the future and proclaims itself the foremost meeting place for roots, folk, ethnic and traditional music, and, come on, let's say it, world music", but also adding: "However uneasy we may be about this term (or that term), one can't be much more open in outlook than thinking 'world' and 'music'" (ibid., 5). Later this equivocal attitude reappears: "WOMEX is the biggest conference, trade fair and showcase event exclusively dedicated to all kinds of world, roots, folk, ethnic, traditional and local music (and any other music that feels right)" (advertisement for WOMEX 1998). This apparent liberal catholicity is not necessarily reflected in the music that is actually included in the fair, nor does it follow that the organization does not in some way contribute to the construction of a marketing category world music. On the contrary, by simply functioning in the industry, the organization defines the field of world music and contributes to a certain way of categorizing and understanding music.

Several participants in the field vaguely assert that world music cannot be defined because it is an 'attitude', or an 'opportunity'. This suggests that world music refers to, for example, an attitude towards listening that embraces as many new styles, influences and cultures as possible (see for example Brookman quoted in Mitchell 1996, 85), or "an opportunity to build bridges between cultures and different worlds" (e.g. Sigel in Aagaard & Aidt 1994, 26). This liberal multi-cultural ideology is a common feature of the formation of world music although it can hardly be called its defining element. Many of the organizations that arrange or sponsor world music events do so as a part of their general multicultural aid policy or because of an interest in minority or third world issues. The reluctance to specify what kind of music or marketing category world music is, is of course natural from the multiculturalist point of view, because all such specifications would be contradicting the general idea of total openness and acceptance, which is so fundamental to the ideology. On the other hand it might be argued that the openness of the term also is a prerequisite for its successful functioning as a marketing category.

The established world music companies, broadcasters and magazines usually do not discuss the definition of the term amongst themselves although occasionally they present some kind of cursory overview or interpretation of their field for outside parties. The German broadcaster Johannes Theurer, who was a key person when the World Music Charts Europe was formed, admits that he defines world music for his in-flight programs for Lufthansa, as being what is left over when you have classified

everything else as pop, rock, classic, jazz, reggae and so on. Despite this explanation he states that he, like other professionals, usually avoids the whole discussion of what world music is, since: "either you know it, or, well, you know what the problem is about, the term doesn't mean anything but it means a lot" (interview 12.3.1997). Similarly Ben Mandelson, who participated in the meetings at the Empress of Russia where the term was chosen, avoids defining the label:

I try not to give it any thought and I think the question 'What is world music?' tells you more about the person who asks the question than anything else. Why are they asking it? What is it to them? It is an echo question. I have no idea. Who cares? (interview 27.2.1997)

Mandelson has a point in his statement that the question tells a lot about the person who poses it. Generally speaking the label has been useful and in the industry the debates over its meanings have given way to more practical concerns regarding the functions of the industry. Ian Anderson's made his position clear in the debate on the Usenet-newsgroup alt.music.world: "At the last few Womex/BID [Berlin Independence Days] conferences, it has been a stated rule of the proceedings that anybody who is boring/stupid enough to ask 'What is World Music' would get thrown in the nearest icy river. There are better ways of spending your waking hours!" (Laakkonen 1995, 13). In fact, the panel which discussed the topic "What is next for World Music" at the WOMEX fair in Stockholm 1998 issued a 25 dollar fine for the question "What is world music?". Most participants at the international trade fairs and festivals seem to agree that the term is difficult, even impossible to define briefly, and therefore concentrate on their own business activities.

The reluctance to define the term world music should not be taken to imply a lack of awareness of its problematic nature, and indeed it is arguable that it is a way of deliberately avoiding unresolved tensions that traverse the industry. Flexibility of categorization is useful for marketing purposes, and by avoiding discussion of definitions the key organizations can form an tacit understanding to which other institutions and persons must adapt themselves to if they want to function in the world music sector. The most central organizations and persons are naturally also the most successful ones and it is usually those who are situated outside the center who raise this issue. Musicians in particular, who for the most part are skeptical about classifying music, are usually critical of the conceptualization. However other people in the music industry have also objected to the use of the label ever since it was established in 1987, mainly because of its narrow scope, its tendency to limit the artists by placing their music in a small fringe market, the meaningless character of the formulation 'world music', and because of the power structures that dominate the label.

Questions of power have, in fact, followed the label ever since the meetings in the Empress of Russia. Charles Easmon, a Ghanaian-born promoter who has been living in London since the mid 1970s, was also invited to take part in the launching of the label, but he refused because he would have been the only non-western participant and he felt that the project was therefore going to exacerbate the separation of 'white' and 'black' audiences in the United Kingdom (Kotirinta 1995, 34). Seen from today's perspective Easmon's argument has force. In most places the music making of the immigrants or minorities seldom reaches the world music circuit and only rarely do these groups attend any world music events as listeners. The world music marketing category is aimed at a white middle-class audience and if the promoters want to reach some specific minority community they have to do it by arranging a separate concert (*ibid.*, see also Stapleton 1989, 12 on rai and zouk in Paris). Similarly the record market was for a long time clearly divided into two separate branches, so that the immigrants concentrated on cassettes, whereas the world music market solely dealt with CDs (see e.g. Rutten 1996, 66 on rai; Pyke 1987b and Huq 1996, 78 on bhangra). The cassette survived because of its cheapness and reproducibility, and because the cassettes have made possible an extensive import and export trade between the immigrants' new and old home countries. The division between the world music and the minority markets has meant that many immigrant musicians can be enormously popular and sell large numbers of cassettes without ever being noticed by the world music market (see for example Anderson 1989, 4 and Burton & Awan 1994, 232 on bhangra stars).

The industrial practice of world music incorporates a twin paradox in relation to the marketing category world music. As mentioned earlier, even many of the most central so-called world music institutions avoid using the term world music explicitly, at the same time as many of the critics of the concept use it in marketing contexts, and are incorporated in the category against their own will. Florian Hetze (int.13.3.1997), who runs the family record company Shava together with his wife Virginia Mukwasha, does not like to call Shava "a world music company" and instead prefers the expression "African music company". Hetze compares the world music category with current neo-liberal trends and implicates it with ideas of "postmodern cultural imperialism" or "colonialism":

World music, I think you have to put it very clear, it's the mafia of the managers of the music business who deal with this type of music. -- It doesn't do anything good for the music, for the musicians, for the business structures in all these countries [where the music comes from]. It's only good for the structures here [in Europe and USA] and the people who work in the structures here. It's the entrance to the music business and to the culture industry, which is fortified by this world music ideology. But it doesn't help the musicians or the music. (Hetze int.13.3.1997)

Hetze's criticism is mainly directed at the globalization of capitalism, with which he associates the world music phenomenon, and which, according to him, does not offer any alternatives. Despite this argument Shava's records are also filed under the label world music in record shops and music media, and in fact, Shava has used the expression "Roots World Music from Southern Africa/Zimbabwe" on its own record release (see back cover of Mutukudzi's *Ziwere MuKöbenhavn*, SHAVACD001-2).

The tensions in the power relations behind the category are disclosed in all their complexity in the following comment by Ben Mandelson, who has a very extensive and varied wide background in the field of world music ranging from performance to running a record company and participating in the organization of major industry events. From Mandelson's point of view, categorizing music is integral to the functions of the music media and as such it is not necessarily to be deplored:

Ultimately, if you are a part of the music business, if you join... You don't have to take part, but if you join, one of the things you need to do is to sell. Or let's be more cheerful, you need to communicate. And anything that makes communication and exchange and selling easier, like a category that people can talk about, is probably good, if that's the kind of businessperson that you are. And we're being very specific about this. If you don't wanna join, you don't have to join, there's no problem. But once you sign to a record label you become a little bit of commodity. As an artist you spend most of your time negotiating what you believe is the true artistic worth versus the commercial worth. It's all negotiation. And something like world music as a label can help. It doesn't have to help, it can be bad, it's how you use it. (Interview 27.2.1997)

Mandelson's statement evokes the fundamental tension between artistry and commerce, which inevitably becomes manifested in the categorization world music. While most artists prefer not to be categorized, they usually accept it as a part of their commercial career. On the other hand Mandelson brushes aside the more complex aspects of the freedom of choice. The problem is not that a person may not have the freedom to stay outside the industry altogether, but rather the implications for the person's range of creative choices of becoming a part of the commodification process. It would be an exaggeration to argue that the categorization is based on a clear polarization in which the powerless mass of third world musicians simply have to follow the decisions of a few European and North-American top-executives of the world music industry who have all the power. The dynamic is far more complex. It is specious both to assign the power to define world music to a small group of individuals, or even companies, and to draw a clear division between the world music industry and the musicians. Nevertheless, the categorization is always linked to the question of hegemony and it is likely that this contributes to the core industry's reluctance to conduct a thorough debate over the definition.

## 4. Binaries and fields of tension

As I have argued in this chapter, the fundamental idea underlying the discursive formation of world music can be summarized in the antithesis of the West and the Rest, in which the Rest comes to signify Otherness to a Self which perceives itself as belonging to a more modern West. This discursive formation is based on recurring statements and industrial practices through which certain musics are classified as different from so-called mainstream categories of music. The musical styles that are designated world music are usually regarded as being to some degree local and traditional in comparison to other styles that are perceived to be more modern and Western, or even global, as a result of industrial production and distribution mechanisms. Hence, I have chosen the conceptual pairs 'traditional-modern' and 'local-global' as key binaries for my analysis of the discourse of world music.

The fact that the webs of meaning that are attached to the concept world music and its key marketing institutions are embedded in the white middle-class of Europe and North America also raises the question of power relations. These issues are also incorporated in the discourse, in what might be called a self-reflective manner, through ideas of multi-culturalism and anti-racism, aid programs, an 'indie ethos' and in general attempts to bridge the gap between the first world 'centre' and a disadvantaged 'margin' situated in the third and fourth worlds. The questions of power and resistance, or hegemony and counterhegemony, are thus often associated with world music and overlaid on the former binaries.

Binarism has been a concern of cultural analysis ever since de Saussure (1983) presented his linguistic theory, in which meaning is explained to be generated by oppositions, and after the structuralists adapted his model to non-verbal signs and human behaviour in general. A common premise of the theoretical models which apply binaries as analytical tools, is that the conceptual pairs are seen to be crucial features of culture, not of nature. Thus, the structures of meaning, which are created by positioning different elements in opposition to each other, are always products of specific signifying systems. In fact, the role that scholarly activities can play in constructing the generally accepted binarisms is frequently noted (see for example Tagg's 1989 provocative open letter on the binary white-black music, or Kurkela's 1989, 339–43 analysis of how music folklorism created a folk music ideology through binary oppositions). In addition to the culturally constructed, contextual character of binaries, their processual nature has also been emphasized. Following the post-structural theorists it can be argued that the significations are multi-leveled and based on continuous flows of interpretations of interpretations (see for example Barthes 1964/1967) and on whole webs of structures, which incorporate both absent and present meanings (see for example Derrida 1967/1976).

The present analysis of the binaries underlying the formation of world music has also been influenced by these approaches. It would be a mistake to use dualities such as 'traditional-modern' and 'local-global' as coherent, unambiguous concepts having straightforward objectifications. These pairs can be seen as cultural constructs which, in this particular case, are products of the discursive formation and practice of world music (which of course is imbued by so-called western culture). Therefore one of the aims of the study is to problematize these binaries, to explore how they have been constructed in the discourse and how their meanings can be interpreted by different participants and in different contexts. This approach does not deny the fact that, for example, certain musical styles really do draw more directly on longer historical continuities than others, that there are geographical factors that are significant, or that there exist economic inequalities. This approach is simply meant to avoid the mistake of assigning these binaries some 'essential' existence and of denying the underlying ideologies, strategies and negotiations that are so important in the production of meaning.

Particularly over the last decade postmodern theories of culture have extended the arguments about the many-faceted character of signification processes to the point of questioning binary structures as explanations for current culture. In what is perceived as the postmodern era the relationships between images, codes, subjects and events are sometimes seen to be so fundamentally transformed that former oppositions have become blurred. For example Erlmann (1996b), who approaches world music as an example of the central role that pastiche and synchronicity play in postmodern culture, states that both past (tradition) and present (modern), and homogenization and differentiation are simultaneously present in today's commodity aesthetics (see *ibid.*, 468 and 476–7). Guilbault (1993b) in turn defines world music as certain types of popular musics that have emerged in the 1980s among minority groups and in developing countries and which combine local and transnational mainstream elements. She relates the emergence of this music to the breakup of the communist block, the resurgence of ethnic groups and different community alliances, multiculturalism and the globalization processes – phenomena which according to her are "all marking the end of bipolarity" (*ibid.*, 36). On the other hand she accepts that world music is usually associated with particular groups of people who are defined in relation to their location, racial affiliation and economic position, and that these criteria remain valid for journalists, radio announcers and listeners despite the current academic argument that former distinctions between local identities and experiences of difference have become meaningless (*ibid.*).

The social and cultural changes that have occurred as a consequence of, among other things, the increasingly rapid and extensive globalization processes, have cer-

tainly been conducive to the questioning of many of the older binary structures. However, I believe that this should not be understood as invalidating all former explanations of reality. Rather, some residues of the older discursive traditions persist despite the new layers, and the position of the particular participant in relation to changing conditions can influence his perceptions. In the case of world music especially the industry and media personnel seem to be the significant creators and disseminators of meanings and therefore it is of crucial importance to observe how they perceive their sociocultural surroundings and contextualize the music. It can be argued, as does Hesmondhalgh (1998, 138) in his analysis of the media reception of Transglobal Underground's record *Temple Head*, that journalists in their discursive genre-construction often draw on modernist ideas and further mediate former binaries of the West and the Rest despite academic claims regarding indiscriminate postmodern pastiche. Hesmondhalgh's argument is of particular interest because it demonstrates the importance of the discursive background shaping the work and attitude of participants.

The fact that an analysis of the earlier bipolarities apparently discloses some illogicality and incongruity in relation to the contemporary world should not consign them to total obsolescence. The bipolarities did not necessarily ever refer to any unambiguously objective entities or conditions, but always to social constructs based on simplifications and stereotypes that still survive, although in modified forms. In this sense the aim of this chapter complement those of Taylor (1997), who in his analysis of world music takes pains to "complexify many of the simple binaries that drive western understandings of other peoples and their music" by showing "how structures of any binary can simultaneously be circumvented, maintained, ignored, or dealt with in many other ways" (ibid., 198). In other words, the West can still be seen to use older binaries to structure its sense of the world, although the logic behind the structures might be questioned through critical analysis. The deeper contradictory nature of the arguments which rely on these binary structures is in fact an instructive aspect of the discursive formation because it reveals many of the implicit tensions that are otherwise masked by the apparently uniform surface structure of the discourse. This is especially clear when the industrial formation of world music is compared with the musicians' perceptions of music and its meanings. It is possible that the musicians have a different understanding of issues which have been structured as binaries. However, musicians must address the expectations that are imposed by these structures. The expectations are not necessarily unambiguous, but are elastic, processual and dynamic, and various participants will emphasize different aspects of the binary depending on particular circumstances.

I prefer to use the expression "fields of tension" to describe these forces that are

continuously in play within the discourse. The term is borrowed from Dan Lundberg's, Krister Malm's and Owe Ronström's project *Music-Media-Multiculture* (see Lundberg et al. 1996 and Lundberg et al. 2000, 60–65 and 396–99), where it is deployed in the study of cultural diversity in Sweden and defined in rather technical terms:

Streams of valencies arise between (at least two) conflicting energy sources of various strengths, in various directions, at various levels. The energy sources together with the valencies comprise a field of tension. (Lundberg et al. 1996)

In today's multicultural society, where music is mediated extensively and used in different ways to establish identities, there are different tensions affecting the musical activities. The aim of their project has been to "examine a number of closely-connected, in some cases overlapping, fields of tension which in recent decades have become more highly-charged as a result of changes in technique and society" (ibid.). Two of these fields of tension are given particular prominence, namely homogenization-diversification and global-local.

The aims and material of the project *Music-Media-Multiculture* are of course very different from the present study, but the concept of fields of tension can be usefully applied to observations on the world music phenomenon. The idea of a field of tension, which consists not so much of two oppositional poles but rather of two energy sources, offers a key to understanding the opposing forces and power structures in the discourse of world music. This puts the emphasis on relationships between different, often simultaneous but still contradictory energy sources, rather than on mutually exclusive, seemingly unambiguous entities. Thus, for example, while a musician and his music might be explained through the discursive practices of world music as simply belonging to either side, or fixed category, of a binary structure, this approach enables us to see his career as a continuous balancing in the fields of tension which emerge between the poles. This also makes it possible to observe the activities in the fields more as processes which are influenced by different, often ideologically imbued tensions, than as isolated events.

The conceptual pairs traditional-modern and local-global, and to an extent also the related pair counterhegemony- hegemony, can each be seen as a binary comprising two opposite poles with a field of tension between them. In identifying these conceptual pairs I do not want to exclude other binaries or major issues that are also relevant in the case of world music. Thomas Turino (2000, 338–9) for example calls politics, spirituality and distinctive foreign locality "primary worldbeat themes", and I agree that the meaning of spirituality can be significant also in the European world music context (on binaries in world music, see also e.g. Taylor 1997, 198).

The major fields of tension that I use constitute several subcategories or related issues that can be summarized as conceptual pairs, or binaries. Thus, the tension traditional-modern is sometimes complicit with binaries such as preservation-creation, folk-popular, pure-hybrid, nature-culture and emotion-intellect. The tension local-global, in turn, is related to, for example, the binaries exotic-familiar, community-society, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, place-space, particular-universal, heterogeneous-homogeneous and margins-center. These fields of tensions are often overlaid with questions of power and struggle, or counterhegemony-hegemony, which in turn can be associated with for example resistance-domination, politics-escapism and tolerance-intolerance. The major fields of tensions are often crystallized in the conceptual pair authentic-inauthentic, which thus traverses the fields and at times becomes a focal point for the discursive practice. This binary is often connected to questions of real-fake, genuine-artificial, culture-commercialism, artistry-commerce, specialist field-mainstream, independent business-major business, credibility-'selloutism', honest-dishonest and deep-superficial.

The list of binaries that can be retrieved and disentangled from the discourse could obviously be extended further. It should also be remembered that the binaries are closely connected, often overlapping, and many-faceted. Thus, in order to keep the text structured and readable the following two main chapters will deal with different aspects of these binaries as they relate to the main headings of traditional-modern and local-global.

### III

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## The tension traditional–modern

### 1. Traditional culture

Issues concerning ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ features in music cultures are central in most world music publications. Often the concept tradition comes to signify a key feature in the highly diverse musical styles that are discussed under the general heading world music. ‘Traditional music’, as denoting representative of a somehow ‘living’ tradition, is valued as some kind of a genuine alternative to ‘modernized’ music. This distinction also evokes several related binaries, such as nature-culture, emotion-intellect and genuine-artificial, which are present in the main field of tension between tradition and modernization.

The question of tradition and modernization is raised in many of the articles in *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994). The level of faithfulness to tradition is often debated and is frequently the justification for the inclusion of a style or an artist in the book. This is particularly evident if we consider which musical styles have been chosen for the chapter on Europe. Only a few styles of Western European popular music are included whereas a selection of styles that are outside this domain receive more attention. For example Irish music is described in the following way: “Long after much traditional music in the industrialized west has ceased to exist in any meaningful way, Irish music continues to re-present itself, not as a museum piece but as a living and breathing bridge between the past and the future” (ibid., 5). The amount of space accorded Irish music is thus justified by the criterion of traditionalism.

In the industrial practices of world music the search for ‘authentic’ traditional culture has been extended from the early music-folklorists’ search for a national her-

itage in the domestic peasant culture to musics found in more remote areas (on the birth of music-folklorism and particularly von Herder's ideology, see e.g. Wiora 1949, 17–8 and Klusen 1969, 133–4; on authenticity in folklorism, see e.g. Kurkela 1989, 342–3). In this context the interest is in what is perceived as some kind of an extinction of traditional culture in the more modern West, and the line between where the elements of 'tradition' can be found and where they are alleged to have vanished is instructive. For example the British journalist and musician Andrew Cronshaw, who writes for *Folk Roots*, explains his interest in music from the Nordic countries by saying that these countries have "a living tradition" whereas "England doesn't have any tradition" (interv. Cronshaw 31.1.1997). Thus, for this reason Nordic, and especially Finnish music, qualifies for discussion in his articles in a British magazine. Eastern Europe is also sometimes described as an area of Europe that has preserved tradition in a conspicuous way. *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994) for example devotes one chapter to the Baltic and Balkan countries, where much of the music is described as "real folk music which still exists in an original form", and which has survived "on the fringes of twentieth-century civilisation" due to the communist regimes, which "preserved in one form or another rich musical traditions that have been lost in the West" (ibid., 43).

An illustration of how the Western European audience has looked for preserved traditions in eastern European countries is the success of the recordings of Bulgarian female choirs. The records, compiled as *Le Mystère Des Voix Bulgares*, made it to the British charts in the mid 1980s giving impetus to the establishment of the whole marketing category world music. In Western Europe the Bulgarian vocal ensembles were initially marketed as peasant choirs: "for it is from the villages, and not the Academy of Music, that the Sofian officials select the vocal chords that constitute the acapella choirs" (see Holland 1986). The material was also described as "songs reflecting the lives of Bulgarian women working the land" and many British journalists called the albums "classic Bulgarian folk recordings" (see e.g. Brown 1988, 17). The first successful albums were followed by several releases and tours with various Bulgarian ensembles. The Bulgarian State Radio and Television Female Vocal Choir became especially famous although, according to ethnomusicologist Donna Buchanan (1995, 409; see also Buchanan 1997), it in fact "performed an avant-garde style of Bulgarian choral music that exaggerated specific features germane to the Bulgarian aesthetic, packaged the resulting sound as 'mysterious', and marketed it as traditional". When not only the experts in Western Europe, as well as in increasing numbers of world music fans and professionals came to realize that the choral style in fact largely was a creation of conductor Filip Kutev, who carefully arranged the songs and chose the singers for these highly professional choirs under his tuition, and with this,

the world music industry's interest was directed elsewhere. Record producer and director at Rykodisc Joe Boyd expressed his frustration over the large professional choirs, "the grandiose, the big", and expressed a wish to use the same professionals but this time recording "the same songs with small ensembles in a pure traditional way" (Fairley 1991, 286). According to Fairley Boyd's choice was not only guided by his "aesthetic preference, but also his analysis of what the potential market desired" (ibid.), in other words by the Western European audience's search for 'true authenticity'.

The world music guidebooks and magazines seem to avoid musical styles out of which it is felt that the people's 'authentic tradition' has been refined. The privileged music is valorized as genuine or real in contrast with the more sophisticated and professional, but therefore also more artificial, commercial or state-controlled art. Sweeney (1991, IX) for example explains in his introduction to *The Virgin Directory of World Music* how he has omitted all "artificially preserved folklore" from his book (although adding on the next page that he has included the Bulgarian choirs, even if they do not strictly fit his criteria, because they have become a part of the world music domain by virtue of festival programming, public and media interest etc.). This criterion also warrants his inclusion in the book of Scandinavian village fiddlers as these "still perform a village role, obviously reduced in scope but not entirely artificial" (ibid., 88–9). Most often the critique is directed against ensembles and institutions with connections to the national-romantic ideals or an official position in the state-administration. Thus *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994) praises the Chinese village ensembles whose music "has a wonderful raw quality and a tradition stretching back thousands of years" despite the "continuous pressure from the authorities to 'modernize'" (ibid. 415). In this case the village musicians signify "the real thing" and a "genuine folk music tradition" compared with the professional folk orchestras which "suffer from the deadening hand of state control" (ibid., 455). The same general tendency can be found in many other chapters of the book, where music is regarded as losing 'its true meaning' when for example the state, musicologists and heritage competitions are corrupting its 'free' and 'genuine' character (see ibid., 79 for Bulgarian and ibid., 24 for Welsh competitions; ibid., 161 for the musicologists' impact in Turkey).

As these examples show, issues of heritage and tradition are complex and only certain forms of preservation are acceptable. The question of state sponsored music-folklorism has been debated among scholars in Western Europe since the 1950s (for summary of the debate see e.g. Kurkela 1989, 51 and 63), and has also made its impact on writers working in the field of world music. The line between 'genuine' and 'artificial', or 'fake' and 'real', is often drawn along the axis which was established

during the so called 'second revival' which spread from the 1950s onwards in the folklore movement (see e.g. Boyes 1993, 200). Under this ideological regime many of the older national-romantic folkloristic practices, such as the refined re-arrangements, competitions and conservatory education, are seen to deep-freeze the tradition, or to drain it of spontaneous creativity and turn it into tasteless shows. Furthermore, as the distance between the modern and the traditional widens, also the revivalists and world music journalists are forced to accept compromises in the preservation of music, but still according to certain constraints and protocols. The solution seems to be to value some kind of 'authentic reproduction' and position this against the 'inauthentic reproduction', or 'kitsch' (on authenticity in general see also Richard Peterson 1997, 208).

### 1.1 *The search for the lost tradition*

The growing interest in musical styles from other countries and particularly from areas which have usually not been so central in the output of the music industry, is generally described in the world music books and magazines as a natural result of the decline of the music of the West, and particularly in the degeneration of its popular music. Peter Spencer's introduction to his book *World Beat: A Listener's Guide to Contemporary World Music on CD* (1992) serves a good example of this contextualisation of the world music phenomenon. The reader he addresses appears to be a middle-aged consumer of popular music, of whom Spencer supposes: "as time goes by you find less and less popular music that you want to listen to" because "the 'experimental' types begin to sound studied, major figures are repeating themselves, the rock bands get stupider every year, and soul music is gone, replaced either by slick, insincere balladeers or by rap, which seems to be mostly bragging about rape" (Spencer 1992, 2). The solution to this problem is, according to Spencer, world music, which "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" (ibid., 3). Hence, by contrast world music comes to stand for naturalness and emotion in comparison with the intellectual and artificial popular music in the West.

Similarly, Anthony Wall (1989, 9), in his introduction to *Rhythms of the World* (Hanly & May 1989), explains the background of world music by describing how "during the late 80s, rock and pop have become increasingly predictable and nostalgic and an appetite has developed for stronger stuff". In the same book Rick Glanvill (1989a, 60) explains that "Western pop is currently undergoing a recession of creativity", which is reflected in the international record company trade fairs, where "the

'world music' stands are the only ones staffed by enthusiastic and knowledgeable people". Producer and director Joe Boyd also alleges "the growing disillusionment of Western audiences with pop" when discussing the future of European indigenous music and the world music phenomenon:

For years pop was a broad church, with something for everyone, full of interesting avant-garde forms to satisfy the most adventurous tastes. But now the niche once occupied by punk, protest or fusion is filled by music from all over the world: soca, salsa and soukous, Tibetan and Mongolian chanting, and Zulu choirs. Western music consumers have been ever thus. They require periodic injections of musical stimulation, since the urban bourgeois culture does not contain rituals and texture of life necessary to produce intense musical rhythms. -- There is nothing new about the West plundering the music of other cultures to enliven its own music. What makes this era so interesting is the speed of communications, leading to the devouring of styles at a much faster rate than ever before, and to the feedback of the new amalgams into the original source culture. (Boyd 1989, 86-7.)

Boyd's remark about the Western urban bourgeoisie's recurring search for musical stimulation, which they believe may be found in other music cultures, and now catered by the world music boom, in many ways reflects a search for a noble savage that would revivify a western culture in supposed decline. In practice the vital culture of the Other is often classified and separated from the Western Self's culture on the grounds of its perceived traditional features. The reason why some European musical styles, for example from Ireland, the Balkan countries or Finland, are included in the world music literature, whereas other genres from the same continent are not, is that the included styles are asserted to be somehow traditional, or representative for a living tradition. Correspondingly western popular culture, especially represented by the state of its popular music, is seen as not having a tradition or not being a part of a living tradition. Instead it is merely seen as some kind of a stagnant or rootless phenomenon of the present, which needs an injection from outside its own sphere. This apparently self-critical assumption is built on the idea of the sophisticated Western intellectual culture, which has lost touch with emotion and nature.

This juxtaposition of the traditional and the contemporary underpins the differentiations made by the industry. Sometimes participants in the world music media specify their field of interest by using the concepts 'traditional' and 'contemporary' (as in the cases of for example the American label Music of the World's advertisement in Waechter 1995, 74 or German NRW Vertrieb's advertisement in Beck 1999, 88, and the connotations of the name of the company Tradition & Moderne, Beck 1999, 87). The terms thereby come to mean separate and complementary subclasses in the more general world music label. In this binary opposition 'traditional' signifies something older and more authentic compared to 'contemporary', which, in turn,

implies more 'modern' elements. In relation to the West-Rest positioning of the world music discourse, the concept traditional can therefore be said to signify a living heritage that is non-Western, whereas the concepts contemporary or modern signify the West (or elements which are connected to the West).

The implicit argument underlying this interest in a so-called tradition, which is held to be vanished from Western culture, reflects an old belief that cultural change or development is a typical feature of the West and almost non-existent in other cultures, and that Western influences are the major agent for change in otherwise stable non-Western cultures. This thinking has a long history also in the study of folklore and in ethnomusicological scholarship. Already before 1900 the European intellectuals who became interested in the music of the peasant class and other cultures, divided the world into a group of musics, which were independent and, with the exception of European art music, essentially stable units (see further Nettl 1985, 13–4). As a consequence of this, the concept authentic for a long time dominated collecting activities, and became more or less synonymous with the concepts old, exotic and good, so that the older and more exotic something was perceived to be, the more authentic and valuable it was explained to be (see e.g. Nettl 1983, 316).

It is interesting to see how some of these features of older scholarship are revived in the discursive formation and practice of world music at the same time as the scholars themselves are increasingly abandoning them. The idea that a culture is somehow outside history has become discredited in scholarly discourse, because such arguments are seen to "confuse historical continuity with 'timelessness'" (see Coplan 1991, 36) by eliding the social and historical origins of the so-called traditional culture. In fact, the concept of tradition is to a growing extent seen as "an impotent concept that refers, into the world of music, to everything and therefore to nothing" (Myers 1992, 11), because "music cannot exist without tradition" (Elscheck 1991, 34). Instead of searching for a traditional, authentic essence of music cultures ethnomusicologists are turning to questions such as: what is understood by traditional, why is something declared to be traditional and who calls something traditional? Hence, the concept tradition is seen as a social construct, or as Erlmann (1991a, 11) describes it: "cultural traditions are socially constructed arrangements of behaviour that can be reinterpreted, developed, or even 'invented'; they are continually constituted in social practice".

According to many contemporary scholars a typical feature of tradition is its lack of self-consciousness; simply recognizing a practice as traditional marks it off from the routine practices of the so-called traditional societies because it is modernization that defines tradition and gives it its value (see e.g. Eriksen 1993, 23–4; Rosenberg 1993b, 196, 201; also Tomlinson 1991, 91–2 and Giddens 1979, 200). Tradition can

thus be seen as a creation of the modern and to function as a necessary contrast to the modern so that the two in fact are by necessity interdependent. Illustrative of this is the significant distance that existed between on one hand the music-folklorists, personifying the intellectual, administrative and cultural elite of the more modernized European bourgeois culture, and on the other hand those whose cultural forms of expression were classified as being traditional (e.g. Harker 1985, Bohlman 1988, Kurkela 1989, Boyes 1993).

The question of defining and thereby constructing the cultural categories traditional and modern takes us into the complexities of ideology and power. The industrial practice of world music contributes to this process of construction, and, like the earlier music-folklorists, the contemporary industrial sphere is usually situated at a social distance from the music culture that is being defined as traditional. This can also lead to discrepancies between the industry's and the musicians' views on this issue. The world music discourse is of course not completely homogeneous in its approach to tradition and it also often provides the consumer with a range of different interpretations of the concept (as for example in the articles in Broughton et al. 1994, see e.g. Duran in *ibid.*, 245). Nor should the importance of the world music media in defining tradition through its practices make us believe that the idea of a historical background would not exist or have any meaning for the musicians. On the contrary, the musicians often raise it in interviews and discussions. The key question in this context is, rather, how the approaches to tradition in the world music discourse and among the musicians whose music is classified as world music are congruent or different and how the participants' views and interests are negotiated in artistic choices.

For some musicians whose products have been recorded in their normal cultural environment and then later been transferred into a commodity and marketed as world music in the West, the practical implications are not necessarily so great. On the other hand it could be assumed that the closer the working relationship between the musicians and the music industry or consumers of the West, the more the world music discourse can affect the musician. A group which is touring abroad can therefore react more directly to the expectations of the audience. Jan Fairley (1991, 279–80) describes how a group Peruvian musicians on their first tour to the United Kingdom had to become acquainted with the concepts ancient, authentic and purity, which had not hitherto been part of their language, in order to be able to understand the English audiences' preconceived ideas of Andean music. Similarly Lange (1995, 102 & 107–8) describes how Tanzanian musicians, and Impey (1992, 119–21 & 133–4) how Zimbabwean musicians, must adjust their performances, visual image and music to the expectations of the European audience in order to be successful. When presenting

themselves abroad, the artists need to avoid supposedly modern elements and instead “play down their creativity in order to adhere to what they see as the European idea of tradition” (Lange 1995, 107).

The emergence and growth of the marketing category world music have coincided with increasing human and musical global mobility. This has also led to new readjustments in the relationships between the performer, the industry and consumers and even to new interpretations of identities and histories. To illustrate the effect of the new situation on the construction and interpretation of concepts such as traditional music and modernization and how these aspects are reflected in the creative work of the artist, I have chosen to examine closely one recording of Virginia Mukweshu, namely the mbira CD *Matare*.

### *1.2 Modern traditional mbira by Virginia Mukweshu*

Virginia Mukweshu was born in Zimbabwe, where she grew up first in the rural areas of Mashonaland and later in the capital Harare. Mukweshu’s mother, Stella Chiweshe, is an internationally recognized *mbira* player and she became Mukweshu’s first teacher. Thus, Mukweshu had already at an early stage the opportunity to accompany her mother to various performances of mbira, including the Shona spirit possession ceremonies called *bira* (plur. *mapira*) in which mbira plays a central part.

The *mbira* that Mukweshu heard while living in rural districts of Masimbura and Mhondoro and then learned to play herself, is the specific type of instrument associated with the Zezuru people. In the musicological literature this lamellophone is usually known as *mbira dzaVadzimu*, although many musicians, Mukweshu among them, generally only call it mbira (on the name of the instrument see for example Goddard 1996, 86 and Turino 2000, 74). This type of mbira consists of twenty-two to twenty-eight keys made of flattened iron, mounted on two manuals to the left (bass and middle registers) and one (the highest register) to the right (for overviews see e.g. Tracey 1969, Kauffman 1970, 77–81; Berliner 1981, 29–34; and Kaemmer 1998, 745). A characteristic feature of the mbira’s sound is its buzzing tonal quality, produced by attaching bottle caps, or formerly pieces of land snail shells, to the instrument and its gourd resonator.

In Shona both singular and plural forms of the word are the same: mbira (therefore in English: a mbira and many mbira), and it refers both to the instrument, the lamellae, or ‘keys’ of the instrument and the philosophy and law which frame it (Goddard 1996, 85). American ethnomusicologist John E. Kaemmer (1998, 747) has summarized the position of the mbira in the conceptual framework of Shona musical thinking by stating that “as the piano provides a conceptual basis for the Western

musical system, so the mbira provides a conceptual basis for the Shona, which is primarily an improvisational tradition, with both vocal and instrumental performances based on recurring harmonic and rhythmic cycles". In European terminology, the music can be described as based on a 12/8 metric-rhythmic structure and repeated four phrase harmonic-melodic cycles, which are based on successions of two-tone chords. Mbira music is essentially not linear, but cyclical in all formal aspects, and a mbira piece is not a fixed musical structure with a specified beginning and end, but a composition of certain characteristic repeated patterns that provide a framework for the creative expression of the performer (Berliner 1981, 52–3, Tracey 1988, 52 and Maraire 1990, 292–5).

The role of women in mbira music has been referred to in academic literature over the years (see e.g. Berliner 1978, 17; Goddard 1996, 80–1; Kaemmer 1998, 753) and while it appears that some women played mbira earlier, it was not until the 1970s that they became more common in the professional circuit (see particularly Impey 1992, 112–3). According to Mukweshu, it was very unusual for women to play mbira in the places where she toured with her mother Stella Chiweshe and their performance was often greeted with astonishment especially as she, as a young girl, performed in a mbira group (int. Mukweshu 14.3.1997). However, Stella Chiweshe managed to create a career for herself and she offered a strong role model for Mukweshu. Besides performing with her mother as a young girl in Zimbabwe, Mukweshu also performed later on her mother's recordings.

It was not until Virginia Mukweshu moved to Berlin at the age of 21, that she started her own career as a performer and recording artist. While living in Germany, she started collaborating with some Zimbabwean musicians and formed a band, which specialized in performing Zimbabwean *jiti* with electrified instrumentation. Besides performing, Mukweshu also started teaching and working together with her German husband Florian Hetze at the family record company *Shava*. She also continued to perform with her mother on international tours and records.

The CD *Matare*, released in 1997 by Shava, was Mukweshu's first own mbira record. The recording proved to be different from earlier releases of mbira mainly because of Mukweshu's interest in using the means of modern media to recreate the music of a bira spirit possession ceremony. Both her general approach and practical solutions during the creative process thus reflect some of the new possibilities that have become more common as musicians from third world countries participate in recording and releasing music – music, which the musicians can conceptualize as both 'modern' and 'traditional' at the same time, thereby negotiating the discursive dichotomy in a manner which both preserves and extends the musical heritage.

One of the factors which motivated Mukweshu to make a mbira record was her wish to exploit the new technology, which, in her opinion, enhanced the reproduction of the music of the bira. The recording of mbira has a relatively long history, but according to Mukweshu few productions had fully disclosed the nature of the music. From the 1940s onwards the mobile studios of the local radio companies, first Central African Broadcasting Station and later Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation, recorded African music for their programs (see Fraenkel 1959 and Woods 1995 for descriptions of these activities). South African record companies and later their Zimbabwean subsidiaries also released mbira music. In the 1960s and 70s many mbira players, such as Hakurotwi Mude, Cosmas Magaya, Ephat Mujuru, Beauler Dyoko and Stella Chiweshe, managed to get national fame with the help of such recordings (see Berliner 1981, 212, 218, 230 and Impey 1992, 206; also Chiweshe interv. 15.3.1997). This media dissemination of mbira accelerated and extended the spread of formerly local styles. Younger players learnt different interpretations and techniques already at an early stage by copying the music they heard on recordings, and eminent players could get professional engagements in a much wider area than before because of the media exposure (Berliner 1981, 139, 175 and 244).

The process of recording mbira for the electronic media required a certain adaptation of the music, which had functioned as an integral part of the spirit possession ceremonies or leisure activities of the rural society. Roger Wallis and Krister Malm (Wallis & Malm 1984, 278–81 and Malm & Wallis 1992, 24, 241–5) have coined the term “mediaization” to describe how music is adapted to the mass media when it is conducted through such music industry apparatus as the recording studio and a distribution system involving radio broadcasts and record shops. The different aspects of mediaization can, according to Wallis and Malm, range from a change in the original cultural performance context or instrumentation to a deliberate attempt to recast the lyrics or musical structures in an attempt to mould the music for an international market. In the mbira recordings made by both the radio and the record companies the most notable aspects of the mediaization process are the shortened musical form, caused by the 45 rpm format and the modest tape reserves and equipment. Sometimes the sound of the mbira was adapted to suit the technical demands of the recording and playback equipment, and maybe also to the sound standards of the production staff, who consisted of European expatriates. Many mbira players (e.g. Stella Chiweshe, Virginia Mukweshu and Chartwell Dutiro) for example still speak about the way the buzzers of the mbira have been dampened for the recording sessions so that the buzz wouldn’t be too dominating on the record. In the 1980s and 1990s the buzz has usually been greatly reduced on records that are aimed at an international market. According to Turino (2000, 354–6) this is a consequence of the North American audience’s aesthetic preferences.

It is partly against the earlier mbira recordings that Virginia Mukweshu's decision to record *Matare* should be seen. Mukweshu wanted to avoid earlier mediaization and the ways in which mbira had been adapted to suit a European and North American market. A second, equally important factor is the larger musical changes that had occurred in the musical life of Zimbabwe. In the 1960s and particularly 70s many musicians rearranged older mbira music for band instruments and managed to achieve such a level of popularity that the acoustic mbira ensembles found it hard to break through in the media (for a thorough analysis of the development of 'mbira-guitar music' see Turino 2000). This in turn prompted Mukweshu's mother Stella Chiweshe to amplify her mbira in the end of the 1980s and add electric instruments to her group so that she could reach the younger urbanised audience for whom the acoustic mbira ensembles sounded old-fashioned. Virginia Mukweshu, however, was not interested in these new ways of combining mbira with electric instruments. When she decided to record *Matare* she took as her starting point first the possibilities offered by the new technology in recreating the music of the spirit possession ceremony in what she felt to be a truthful way, and second her dislike for the addition of new instruments to mbira and the rearranging of the old music. Mukweshu says that she understands her mother's efforts to renew mbira. According to Mukweshu they are acceptable as long as the old musical structures and melodies, which are fundamentals of mbira, are not changed. However, when Mukweshu herself recorded *Matare* she wanted to avoid all rearrangements and new melodies: "Because if you change the melodies to compose a song and you do it with mbira, then the originals will be always wiped away and there are no footsteps anymore for the younger generation. So I thought I'd preserve mbira as it is and leave it how it is." (Mukweshu, int. 14.3.1997). For Mukweshu the mbira is an instrument which she prefers to use only for what she calls "the original music" whereas her electric band and the jiti format offers her more freedom to create, rearrange and play with both older and newer elements.

The fact that Mukweshu wanted to preserve mbira while her mother was a key innovator in the genre could be interpreted along the generation and migration axes. Chiweshe directed her music to the Zimbabwean audience, whom she saw turn away from the mbira, whereas Mukweshu, who also performed on her mother's groundbreaking electrified mbira recordings, established her solo career after she had moved to Europe. For Mukweshu the idea of preserving the music in what she saw as an original form for the coming generations had become important, much in the way as ethnomusicologists have noted how immigrants often emphasize preservation of their cultural heritage rather than innovation (see for example Nettl 1983, 227).

*Matare* was released with a European audience in mind. According to the general opinion in the Zimbabwean music industry mbira does not sell on the domestic mar-

ket if it has not been rearranged and adapted to the electric pop band format. Only one Zimbabwean record company, Africa Sounds, which has concentrated on the tourist market and sells at airports, hotels, art galleries and other tourists locales, releases mbira records. Mukweshu also planned to release the record in Zimbabwe with Africa Sounds, but the Zimbabwean tourist market is so small that it is only a small supplement to the main market, which could be called the Western world music market.

On the back of the CD-cover Mukweshu described the music as “modern traditional meditation music from Zimbabwe/Southern Africa” for the potential buyer. The same wording can also be found in the CD-booklet (p. 22), where Mukweshu’s and her husband Florian Hetze’s record company Shava advertises its records with the phrase: “We release modern traditional music from acoustic civilizations where cultural meaning is formed through the union of bodies and rhythms in motion”. The paradox of ‘modern traditional’ reflects Mukweshu’s emphasis that the music is ancient but at the same time also very viable. According to her terms like “traditional”, “folklore” and “ancient” connote something “which is dying”, “which existed”, “is forgotten about”, “out of fashion” and “doesn’t matter now”, or that Europeans think that “there is still a small group of people practicing this thing but they will also die out soon” (Mukweshu int. 14.3.1997). This is especially critical for her, because she feels that people might also believe that mbira and its spiritual context no longer means anything to her after so many years in Europe. She therefore wanted to stress that “it’s something which still has a function in today’s life” and that “it’s up-to-date” (ibid.). This is crystallized in the seemingly contradictory description “modern traditional music”.

Mukweshu’s interest in this modern tradition is both musical and spiritual. The Shona concept *matare* (sing. dare) refers to the latter part of the *bira* spirit possession ceremony. In the traditional Shona belief system the world of the living is seen as a function of the workings of the ancestral spirits, which in Shona are called *mudzimu* (pl. midzimu). It is possible to communicate with a mudzimu at a spirit possession ceremony. Various members of the community are known as spirit mediums (*homwe*) and as he goes into a trance during a ceremony, the spirit enters into him and speaks through him (see Maraire 1990 and Berliner 1981, 186–206 for descriptions of mudzimu possession). During the *matare* part of the ceremony the mudzimu can give advice concerning the family. Maraire (1990, 354) uses the expressions “counseling, investigation, post mortems, diagnostic sessions” to describe the activities taking place during *matare*. In the early stages of the *bira*, which starts after sundown, the music can be very dominating and important because of its power to bring about the mudzimu, but when the ceremony reaches the *matare* section, which usually occurs

in the early morning hours, the music fades to the background and the dancing stops. It is the music of this particular moment that Mukweshwa chose to record on the CD. This spiritual connection also increased her motivation to record the music in a form which would be “original”, because playing any other type of mbira music, whether re-arrangements or some other songs altogether, would not make the spirit come: “It’s like drinking beer without alcohol, – the taste is there and everything, but it doesn’t have any effect” (Mukweshwa int. 19.3.1997).

Despite Mukweshwa’s wish to be faithful to the original way of performing the music, the instrumentation and the musical structure, she did not record the CD in the field during a bira. Instead she gathered a group of musicians with whom she recorded the music in a studio. Mukweshwa’s (int. 15.3.1997) main objective was to use the full one-hour playing time of the compact disc so that “people really listen once to how it’s like” and so that the music on the record corresponds to “how it really is”. This is also emphasized in the CD-booklet (p. 6), where the spiritual nature of the music is emphasized “because Mbira music unfolds its psychic power only in time”. The one hour format was a reaction against earlier mbira releases which contained only short musical excerpts, which had been adjusted to fit the music industry’s and radio’s three minute format. The wish to be faithful to the original way of making the music and the choice to work in a studio could of course be called a contradiction, but for Mukweshwa the studio technology offered a way of controlling the process of playing and recording within the one hour time limit so that the outcome would fulfill her expectations both with regards to the truthful reproduction of the music of the matare and her own creative interests.

Mukweshwa had lived in Berlin for many years when she decided to make the record. Hence she did not have any stable group of mbira musicians with whom she would have performed regularly at mapira. Instead she contacted Zimbabwean mbira players Chinembiri Chidodo and Otari Chidembo, whom she had got to know through her mother, and Leonard Ngwenya, who plays ngoma on Matare but also performs in her jiti group. Mukweshwa also contacted Sidney Musarurwa, a mbira player of whom she had heard from a German ethnomusicologist, and after becoming acquainted with Musarurwa in Zimbabwe she decided to add him to the group. These *gwenyambira*, or musicians who ‘scratch’ the mbira’s keys with great finesse (from Sh. kukwenya, to scratch, see e.g. Berliner 1981, 44), then assembled in Harare and rehearsed together for two months under the supervision of Mukweshwa. This rehearsal time was indispensable not only for developing musical cohesion but to familiarize it with Mukweshwa’s musical vision. Mukweshwa did not want to let the musicians simply improvise freely for one hour in the studio. Instead she carefully planned a structure for the recording session and rehearsed it with the group in advance.

Mukweshu divided the one-hour session into five shorter sections, lasting ten to fifteen minutes each. The recording session, which was carried out in Shed Studios in Harare, started with four mbira playing through the whole one-hour piece of music. Mukweshu, who played the leading, so-called *kushaura* part, directed the ensemble from one section to the other. A common feature of all Shona music is that it is based on at least two contrasting and often interlocking parts or patterns, which together form cross-rhythms and counter-melodies (Kauffman 1970, *passim*). The interrelationship of melodic and rhythmic patterns is more important than are the patterns in themselves. Mbira compositions contain at least two basic patterns: the *kushaura*, which contains much of the melodic essence of the piece, and the *kutsinhira*, which provides a contrasting rhythmic part. *Kushaura* could be translated “to start”, “lead the piece”, or “take the solo part” and *kutsinhira* “to follow”, “exchange parts of a song”, or “interweave a second interlocking mbira part” (Berliner 1981, 73). The interlocking *kushaura* and *kutsinhira* parts form four phrase structures, which are repeated cyclically, and variation and improvisation take place over this repeated harmonic progression.

The principal musical idea of the Mukweshu’s *Matare* is the mbira piece *Mahororo*, which occurs in many variations. A mbira piece’s identity as such is not always clear because of the wide variations in the mbira tunings, which alters the character of a song depending on the instrument on which it is performed, and because the location of the basic pitch of the harmonic pattern can be on two different keys on the mbira (see for example Kaemmer 1998, 753). Sometimes pieces which have historically been derived one from another, share many basic elements and are therefore categorized as belonging to the same ‘family’ (see for example Berliner 1981, 72–87). Musicians can distinguish between the individual pieces of one family on the basis of harmonic structure and characteristic patterns of melody or rhythm, or ultimately a line of text can provide a clue, but it is not necessarily always clear where the line between different variations and separate pieces should be drawn. Hence, for example Mukweshu calls her *kushaura* parts, which structure *Matare*, *Mahororo*-variations although they are relatively different from each other. In fact she emphasizes that the record starts with motifs from *Nyamaropa*, which is known to be one of the most ancient mbira songs, or “mother of the mbira songs” (Mukweshu int. 15.3.1997), and is the prototype of many other mbira pieces, including *Mahororo* (see also Berliner 1981, 77).

*Matare* thus starts with Virginia Mukweshu’s *kushaura* which is based on motifs from *Nyamaropa*. During the first take of the recording session Chidembo, Chidodo and Musarurwa played interweaving *kutsinhira* parts, following her *kushaura* variations. After roughly nine minutes and thirty seconds Mukweshu changed into play-

ing a variation of Mahororo, which she calls a “basic version” of the piece. At the same time the playing started getting “hot”, as Mukweshu (int. 15.3.1997) describes the increase in tempo and textural density. At this point the other musicians started adding elements of other mbira pieces in their playing, for example Chidodo used phrases from *Bukatiende* and Chidembo from *Karigamombe*. After roughly 25 minutes and 30 seconds (or at Part III, 1.10 minutes, following the partition in the CD-booklet) Mukweshu gradually changed her kushaura, this time to an other variation of Mahororo. She however also added elements of *Karigamombe* into her part. Her next Mahororo-variation was introduced after 39 minutes 30 seconds (Part IV, 9.50 min.) and the last variation gradually began eight minutes later.

After the basic structure had been established by Mukweshu’s kushaura and the three kutsinhira parts played by Chidembo, Chidodo and Musarurwa, the session continued with a second recording in which three mbira were added on top of the first take. The additional mbira lines, improvised by Chidembo, Chidodo and Musarurwa, were responding and adding interlocking variations to the first ones, thereby making the texture even more complex. On top of the, in all, seven mbira, Mukweshu played *hosho*, which is the main rhythmical accompanying instrument of the mbira ensemble, made of a hollowed gourd containing dried seeds. The *hosho* player usually keeps one *hosho* in each hand and plays them in contrasting rhythms, varying a three-pulse figure in which the first pulse is stressed (see for example. Berliner 1981, 113). After the *hosho* part two more tracks were laid on top of the earlier ones. First Ngwenya played a *ngoma*, that is a Shona cylindrical drum with a single membrane attached by pegs. The *ngoma* fast triplet beat, with its continuous variations, divides *Matare* into to halves. According to Mukweshu (*Matare* CD-booklet, 6) the introduction of the *ngoma* marks the end of the ancestral spirit’s “talking” and the beginning of its “dance” (it is in other words common in some areas to use drums and mbira together in ceremonies despite e.g. Kauffman’s 1980b, 684 claim to the contrary). Finally Musarurwa whistled a free improvisation, which, with its many descending movements in wide intervals, is reminiscent of the Shona *huro* singing (see for example Berliner 1981, 117–21 and Maraire 1990, 283–4).

With its many stages and uncommon procedures, the recording session was stressful for the older mbira players who had never worked in a studio before. Playing first mbira tracks without the *hosho*-accompaniment, which usually marks the basic beat for the musicians, was already difficult enough, but was further complicated by the strictly pre-planned structure with sections and bridges, which Mukweshu led the ensemble through. Also the technological requirements like avoiding coughing and sitting firmly in a fixed position in relation to the microphone, were according to Mukweshu (int. 15.3.1997) “tough” and the musicians “were really sweating”.

It is impossible for a listener to hear how the session was structured and conducted by simply listening to the record. To begin with, the sections of the music were never sharply differentiated. Instead Mukweshu and the rest of the musicians always performed all the transitions gradually, and all mbira lines were built on constant variation. Furthermore the complexity of seven musicians playing mbira simultaneously makes it impossible to single out a mbira, instead a listener distinguishes smaller elements or hears melodies which can be created by several interlocking instruments or their overtones (the analysis of the music required that the different tracks were separated from the 16-track master tape by mixing – in fact without this it would also have been impossible for the participating to single out the different elements, including their own parts, from the total sound). A further key factor is that the final auditive form of the record was worked out in the mix, which was done by Mukweshu in a studio in Berlin. The CD starts with the gradual fade in of seven mbira, after eleven minutes variation is achieved by fading out five mbira and then fading them in again; the whistling has been added at times, the hoshu and ngoma is audible only in some sections, and the whole record ends with the gradual increase of echo and fade out of the mbira. The variations which have been produced in the mixing also form the basis of the differentiation of tracks on the record, which is also reproduced on the CD-cover, thereby strengthening the mixing's role in the final auditive formation of the music.

Matare could in many ways be called a very personal work of art. The work process behind the CD suggests the approach commonly used in the production of popular music, where an artist collects a group of musicians for a recording session and the music is constructed by adding several tracks incrementally on top of each other, after which the final version is created in the mixing. This could of course be called mediaization, but in all instances Mukweshu bases her artistic choices on the criterion of preservation. She chose for example to dampen the bottle cap buzzers of the mbira because she felt that their metallic ring "disturbs the ear" and becomes too dominating when it is picked up by a microphone and amplified (int. 15.3.1997). This could of course be explained as a further step towards mediaization direction, or as a wish to try to please the European and North American audiences, but Mukweshu (ibid.) justifies her decision by saying that the original mbira had snail shell buzzers with most likely a smoother sound than the bottle caps and dampening the bottle caps in fact comes closer to the original. Preservation is also emphasized in the CD-booklet and promotional material in which the spiritual and musical context is described in detail and where the record is described as groundbreaking in its fidelity to the ceremonial music.

The preservation of ceremonial music was also adverted to when the record was reviewed in the world music media. For example in *The Beat* the record was described

as a “curative web of shamistic rhythm” and “the first time a full cycle of Shona healing music has ever been recorded” (Poet 1997, 39) and *Folk Roots* reviewer Rick Sanders (1997, 83) credited the Shava label “for delivering it so closely to the way it happens in real life”. The questions of how the recording process was carried out and how these practices were related to the original bira context were not mentioned. However, Sanders’ way of comparing the recording with ‘how it happens in real life’ is interesting because his comment suggests that the recording process and medium is likely not to be representative of ‘real life’, although it might come close to it. This is of course true because it can be argued that no merely auditive medium in itself would be able to reproduce the ‘real life’ conditions of performance. From a more philosophical point of view it might even be asked if not all media, which are used to re-create something existing outside the media, can at most provide only an approximation to ‘real life’. In addition, a field recording of the music of a matare section of a spirit possession ceremony would have given only one possible version of its music, and it would also have been influenced by the producer’s choices regarding such processes as stereo or multi-track techniques, mixing the music or not, and editing the music for the record format.

Mbira music is of course orally transmitted and as the matare part of the bira ceremony has no precisely fixed time limits or sharply defined sequences, there is considerable freedom to interpret and create. The crucial point about Matare is that the record is a realization of Virginia Mukweshu’s vision, or her version of how the music can be mediaized. Her wish to be faithful to the original music at a matare means that the record for her is a reproduction (and in that sense not ‘real life’ in itself), but at the same time it is also a personal creation. The choices have been made by her, from the production process to the decisions regarding the CD’s cover. It is thus by no means unreasonable for her to call herself the composer, arranger and producer of this ‘modern traditional’ music on the CD notes.

Mukweshu’s approach highlights the problems of the bipolarization of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’, which is common in both world music discourse and much writing about African music. The dividing line between what should be considered traditional and modern cannot always be drawn sharply, for many reasons. One is the nature of oral cultures, where tradition changes while being transmitted. A second reason is the fact that musical genres that are called modern in fact often have a long continuous history.

A key problem is that in the European context traditional music is usually understood as a fixed body of music, inherited from the timeless past where it was created collectively by a community, whereas the term modern carries the connotation of an artistic creation by a particular contemporary individual. The problem of the di-

chotomy traditional-modern becomes even more complex when Eurocentric ideas of musical structure, creation and composition are applied to other cultures. Austrian ethnomusicologist Gerhard Kubik (1986) has argued that the dichotomy traditional-modern is inapplicable to African music, because “there is nothing like a ‘traditional music’ in Africa as a rigid and watertight category opposed to ‘modern music’”. Rather, he prefers the term “musical traditions” for both putatively traditional and modern musics, as both forms are, or will be, handed down from one generation to the other as a part of oral transmission (*ibid.*).

South African ethnomusicologist Andrew Tracey (1995, 57) has described the attempts to differentiate the traditional and modern elements of a performance of African music as “one of those cases where if you ask the wrong question you get the wrong answer: If you ask the African performer 1) if what he plays is traditional, and 2) if he composed the song himself, you often get the answer ‘Yes’ to both questions.” He attributes this mistake to ethnocentric thinking which fails to understand that what is “paradoxical in the Western frame of thought” is not necessarily the same in African thinking (*ibid.*). African composition is based on a collective musical process which creates structural opposition between several parts and this processual nature of the music makes it very different from the European idea of music as fixed songs, each consisting of a unique melody and its accompaniment (*ibid.*, 58).

It could be argued that even in this, Tracey is consolidating a simplistic dichotomy between the West and Africa, but his general observation offers a fruitful approach to for example Mukweshu’s work. It is for example very hard to single out one melodic line from *Matare* which could be called a composition, or the composition *Matare*. Instead, the record *Matare*, like all *mbira*, could rather be called a compositional process, which is based on the structural oppositions that the different *mbira* parts create as they are improvised within the framework of *mbira*’s musical rules and codes. The Zimbabwean conceptions of composition and originality are therefore also seldom congruent with copyright legislation, which is based on the idea of traditional music as collective and modern music as a product of unique creativity (for *mbira* and ideas of original composition, see Turino 2000, 281–3).

Mukweshu’s description of *Matare* as modern traditional music can, in other words, be said to crystallize a pivotal feature of her approach to *mbira*. For Mukweshu *mbira* is not built on a contradiction, but rather on a continuous interplay, between her cultural heritage and life today. Both aspects are always present, be it in the thematic musical details, such as the Mahororo-variations, or in the choice of the whole work process. Yet the fact that she feels a need to explain her CD by using this particular term reveals how alert she has become to the perception of her music (so pervasive in the world music discourse), and the contradiction it involves. She has, in

fact, not only become aware of it but also feels a need to explain her position with these concepts (which never appear on the old Zimbabwean mbira records). As a musician from Zimbabwe living in Berlin she could be said to have entered modernity and become a cosmopolitan who is aware of the distance she has come from the so called traditional (see, in this connection, Turino 2000, 32 on the discourse of modernity among Zimbabweans). However, she has done this in a way which incorporates both aspects in her identity and creative work, so that this dualism is negotiated in her creative work in a manner that both preserves and recreates her musical heritage.

## 2. Roots music

Not all music which is categorized as world music is called 'traditional music' or conceived of as some kind of unchanged music by the world music media. An example of this is found in *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994) where the concepts 'traditional' and 'folk' are sometimes used in quotation marks and sometimes even questioned as meaningful descriptions of musical styles. Terms such as "new 'traditional music'" (Irwin 1994a, 18) and questions like "What is a folk song – the traditional tune sung only by enthusiastic revivalists or a more modern tune sung by ordinary people as parts of their lives?" (Burton 1994, 86) show ambivalence towards the concepts. Yet, at the same time these particular articles take as their point of departure the idea of traditional or folk musics.

Although the idea of tradition might constitute a criterion for inclusion in the category world music, many of the records included are in fact treated as popular music styles deriving from a tradition but having evolved in a more modern direction. There is even direct critique of ideas of historical or ethnographic purity and praise for fusion and personal creativity. In particular, writers who approach world music from the rock discourse sometimes distance themselves explicitly from "certain world music circles" for which "'fusion' is the ultimate 'f' word" (as Williamson 1998, 3 puts it). Thus for example the question of purity was discussed in the rock magazine *New Musical Express's* column *Other Voices* in the following terms: "Too much respect is what threatens to take the pleasure out of the world music explosion: too much earnestness and solemnity – respect for the proper thing in the proper place, for authenticity and purity (whatever they are)" (quoted in Berkaak 1992, 194). Sometimes the complexity of the debates concerning 'purity', 'diversity' and 'fusion' generates paradoxes in which some musics are praised for their 'traditional' character and others for opposite reasons. In *World Music: the Rough Guide*, where 'traditional' ele-

ments are appreciated in for example the European context, the Caribbean is described as belonging to “the world’s most vibrant and fruitful musical regions — where different nationalities, cultures and traditions are juxtaposed and combined”, and therefore the area is praised as a horn of plenty of world music: “richness comes from diversity rather than purity and nowhere makes this point clearer than the Caribbean” (Broughton et al. 1994, 473).

The simultaneous appearance of both interest and skepticism regarding ‘tradition’ is crystallized in the concept ‘roots music’, which became common in the music media during the 1980s. The term is sometimes used in connection with folk but probably even more frequently overlapping with the term world music, or as Neil Rosenberg (1993a, 21) puts it: “today the word ‘folk’ is used sparingly in revival circles, while ‘roots’ is frequently encountered in its place. ‘World music’ is fashionable”. On a conceptual level both roots music and world music share the idea of a tradition, or some kind of historical context, which the music comes to signify. The concept roots generally includes the idea of a traditional background, which is still audible in the music, even though it may have been ‘modernized’ to some degree as a result of structural and contextual changes.

The concept roots music is often used to refer to styles such as country and blues (see e.g. Shuker 1998, 264, 312), but also more directly in connection to folk music. *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994, 32) for example links the change in the English folk music scene in the 1980s with the emergence of the concept roots, when it describes the new generation of folk musicians who “delved into English (and Celtic) traditions, knocked them around with a wonderful disregard for notions of purity, and came out with what the labels and press started calling ‘roots’”. A key influence in the spread of the concept was the British folk magazine *Southern Rag*, which in the mid 1980s changed its name to *Folk Roots* when it broadened its scope to include both younger groups and musicians from third world countries. *Folk Roots* also became an important medium for the new world music category from the first marketing campaign in 1987.

A common feature in many discussions that explicitly deal with ‘roots music’ is that they take as their starting point that the music, which is explained to be roots, is based on some kind of a tradition. Hence, for example *Folk Roots’* editor Ian Anderson states that roots music “can encapsulate not only everything from the fields of academic folklorists and the British folk clubs, but any modern music with its feet in some tradition” (Anderson 1986a, 4) and also later explains that the concept implies “something which does at least bear DNA traces of tradition” (Anderson 1998, 13). The genetic metaphor is in fact unintentionally descriptive of the almost biological idea of heritage, which is found in writings about roots music. The traditionality

of the music is often conceived of as a community based thing. The mailing list for roots music (sign-up page July 1998: <http://www.ikoiko.com/cuttingedge/rootsmail.html>) for example defines roots music in its promotional E-mail as “any music that is traditional and community-based”, thus tying it to an ethnic grouping which has perpetuated the music to the present day.

The fact that rootedness refers to some very loosely defined ‘traces of tradition’ which are to be found in what might otherwise be ‘modern’ music means that the older understanding of the concept authenticity, which was based on an idea of an unchanged essence of the music, becomes less important. This not to say that the concepts authentic and inauthentic are irrelevant as such, but that they are interpreted differently. In the roots categorization the music need not be totally pure or faithful to some older, original form of music making. Instead, it is accepted that roots music undergone a mediaization process so that it is produced, disseminated and consumed in a way which is characteristic of modern society. The music is understood to grow out of a tradition and bear traces of it, but to exist in a contemporary music environment, that is for example it played by professional musicians, performed in clubs and concert halls with electric instruments or at least with electronic amplification, produced in commercial studios to be marketed to consumers, played on radio etc. The acceptance of such structural and contextual changes means that the older ideas of authenticity are less dominant and are therefore complemented by ideas that are common for the rock discourse. Hence, the former ideas of ‘authentic’ as ‘unchanged original’ or ‘relic’ (in contrast to something that is ‘fake’ or ‘forgery’) are combined with ideas of ‘authentic’ as ‘real’ and ‘credible in current context’ (in contrast to ‘pretence’ or ‘kitsch’) (see Peterson 1997, esp. 206–9 on these terms in the creating of country music).

The apparently contradictory nature of the ideology of tradition, which is based on an idea of preservation, and the rock ideology, which is based more on innovation, might suggest that there are no connections between the two, but in fact there are numerous similarities in their respective criteria of authenticity. Both the older folk discourse and the newer rock discourse have always valued ‘honesty’ and ‘naturalness’ above ‘superficiality’ which is regarded as a sign of the alienating commercial production process of the music industry and new technology. The origins of this argument lie in the mass culture criticism of the 1920s and 1930s, but as Simon Frith (1986, 265) has pointed out: “what is interesting is the continuing resonance of the idea of authenticity within mass cultural ideology itself” (see also e.g. Kurkela 1989, 64–65 for a comparison between the folk and rock authenticity and Michelsen 1993 for the development of the idea of authenticity during the 20<sup>th</sup> century).

The attempts to adapt the older ideologies to new conditions have been summarized by Richard Middleton (1990, 140): “Critics, fans and musicians have joined in

these attempts to construct their own music as a 'pure' alternative to the 'commercial manipulations' of the mainstream, and almost every variety of Afro-American and Country music, jazz, rock, and now 'roots' or 'world music' styles has been constructed as a 'folk' genre". Middleton (ibid., following Frith 1981a, 48–52 and 1981b) goes on to argue that the people who construct their music as authentic "read as sociological facts what are in fact ideological experiences; feelings of 'community', 'creativity' and 'honesty' are read into the music so that it is made to match participants' own cultural desires". Middleton's notion of the constructed nature of authenticity enables us both to question the essentialism of many statements about authenticity and to recognize some of the ideological forces underpinning the concept.

In some cases it can be easy to find links between folk, African-American and rock music, and world music in world music books and magazines. Writers can for example use African-American genres as authenticating reference points when explaining the character of a musical style for the reader. Thus, Greek *rembetika* is explained to be an "urban blues style" (Broughton et al. 1994, 110), *fado* to be "Portuguese blues" (ibid.) and *son* to be "Cuba's blues" (Steward 1989, 26). The record company WorldNetwork's compilations have titles like "Desert Blues: Ambience du Sahara", "Sufi Soul" and "Balkan Blues" all suggest a form of authenticity that is familiar to the consumers. Similarly Algerian *rai* is compared with blues by Sweeney (1989, 51), on the grounds that "both were types of vulgar street music taken up in more cultured circles for their low-life vitality and transmuted into mass popular entertainment". Spencer (1992, 135) in turn finds "a strong connection between *qawwali* and the gospel music of American blacks". And sometimes a 'credible' reference is found in rock history, as in the comment about the Moroccan Orchestra *Faysel*, which is described with the following words: "if the Velvet Underground had been Moroccan, they might have sounded like this" (Broughton et al. 1994, 123). Although some of these comparisons might make sense in relation to the social history of the styles, ultimately they say more about the person making the comparison than about the music. The Afro-American styles are suitable points of comparison, signifying 'authenticity' and 'credibility' in the discourse of rock.

The definition of world music in the terms of older folk and rock ideologies is in part a consequence of the journalists' and disc jockeys' personal background. Many of those who became involved with the new category world music in the late 1980s had previously sought 'authentic' alternatives in the folk revivals, Afro-American genres and independent rock, and as they gradually lost interest in these musics, they turned to musical styles which then became classified as world music. According to Simon Frith (1991a, 282–3) "so called world music was defined in the terms of an existing rock ideology that valued the 'authentic' above the 'plastic' and the 'regional'

above the global, which pitched creativity against commerce and ‘independence’ against the major international music corporations” (see also Frith 2000, 306–7). In the 1980s rock fans had celebrated “roots music”, or “American acts *playing like they used to do*” as Frith (1991a, 283, italics in the original) describes it, and towards the end of the century this interest in authenticity converged with the “folkies” and “ethnos” way of “defining world music by contrast to Western commercial pop, as music still expressive of local circumstances, as music untainted by the pursuit of profit, as music rooted in traditional, preindustrial ways of doing things” (ibid.).

Crucial elements of the world music discourse are the projection of ideological positions of the listener onto a music which thereby comes to signify the non-West and some pre-contemporary stage of development. This is exemplified in a comment by Roger Armstrong from Globestyle Records, who described the key to his company’s policy as “pop music as folk music, prevalent in most places other than Western Europe and the U.S.” (quoted in Washburn 1987a, 16). This implies the inability of the West to produce music that would be ‘rooted’ and creative at the same time, thereby creating a bipolarization between the West and the Rest on both aesthetic and ideological grounds.

The ideological positions are not only based on aesthetic interpretations of authenticity. A second important aspect is the political integrity and oppositional character of the music, which is often expected to signify the struggle of some disadvantaged community. In several articles of *World Music: the Rough Guide* (Broughton et al. 1994) the longing for ‘honesty’ and ‘credibility’ is for example connected to a search for subversive values that are felt to be lost in Anglo-American popular music. For example the strength of Bob Marley is explained against this background: “by the mid-70s rock had lost its sense of rebellion and Marley’s was the revolutionary voice to shock the complacency of Anglo-American music” (ibid., 529). Similarly West African musicians are valued for their political potential, because “a critical song is highly influential, and any music which brings established values into question can do as much to change society as the rock’n’roll revolution in the west” (ibid., 242). Tejano conjunto music is appreciated because it “has never lost its link with its humble roots and musical simplicity” (Burr 1994, 630). The conjunto’s ‘roots’ are explained in essentialist terms by connecting the music to the Mexican poor living in Texas. The Tex-Mex pioneers suffered from “little or no education”, “economic hardships” and “anti-Mexican racism”, “often woven into poignant song lyrics”, thereby giving conjunto “roots in solid folk culture” and an affinity with “the poor” (ibid.) Thus, the music is “hailed for its passion, conviction and authenticity” (ibid.). Not surprisingly this oppositional qualifies the music for inclusion in *World Music: the Rough Guide*; for example the most popular Chinese music or Russian

pop is left out and the more rebellious acts are given more space (see for example Jones 1994).

In many ways these ideological positions underlying the discourse of world music develop the ideas of political subversiveness that became established in 1960s youth culture, finding new points of reference during the following decades. The folk revivalists' connections to the civil rights movement and, particularly in the United Kingdom, the post-punk era's anti-Thatcherism, together with a common interest for development issues, anti-racism and multicultural values, seem to have been integrated in the discourse of world music.

The constructions of authenticity which no longer privilege tradition above all else are of particular interest. Although they no longer presuppose an unchanged essence of the music, preferring to emphasize the re-evaluation of and distancing from tradition, they still incorporate the idea of tradition in the ambiguous concept roots. This raises the question of the criteria of authenticity. The three Zimbabwean case studies of my thesis have different musical backgrounds, but they still found themselves accommodated to European expectations when they entered the world music market. In the following I shall examine the basic musical and contextual features of their early careers and on the way these factors were interpreted in relation to the medias ideas regarding authenticity.

### *2.1 The Bhundu Boys' jit*

The international career of the Bhundu Boys was preceded by the band's club engagements in Harare and releases of an album and some single records on the Zimbabwean market. The Bhundu Boys had been relatively successful in Zimbabwe, but with the exception of a few hit singles it was not among the top selling bands in its home country. However, as the group entered the British market it managed to gain favorable publicity in the music press and to reach the British independent charts. This step from the Harare club circuit to the limelight of the British music industry happened at the same time as several other groups from outside Europe and folk groups from Europe gained publicity and larger sales, leading to the formation of the marketing category world music.

The musicians Rise Kagona, Biggie Tembo, Shakespear Kangwena and Kenny Chitsvatsva took their first step to the British market when three of the band's songs were licensed by a Scottish independent label Discafrique. The company was founded by Doug Veitch, who had earlier enjoyed musical success as a cult figure under the name 'Champion Doug Veitch – The Undisputed King of Caledonian Cajun Swing', and his friend, art student Owen Elias. Neither of the two had any previous experi-

ence of running a record company, but funds from an enterprise allowance scheme made it possible to start the company with a minimal personal investment. The connection to Zimbabwe was established when Elias visited some of his relatives who were living in Zimbabwe and became acquainted with the productions of Shed Studios, who had recorded the Bhundu Boys. He made a licensing agreement with Shed and Discafrique released a four-track EP in Britain with three songs by the Bhundu Boys and one by another Zimbabwean group called African Herb. The EP received a positive response by radio discjockeys like John Peel and Andy Kershaw, who had become important supporters of African music in Britain, and it also received good reviews in rock magazines such as the *New Musical Express*. (Interview Muir 20.2.1997.)

The first record did not sell more than around 1000 copies, but it gave the band a reputation and prompted the entrepreneurs of Discafrique interested to arrange a British tour for the Bhundu Boys (int. Muir 20.2.1997), with the intention of increasing record sales. At this point a third person, Gordon Muir, also became involved with the project. Muir was a graphic designer, but while he had no broader experience of the music business, he had also become interested in the band and offered to assist in the tour arrangements. Hence, both the British organizers and the band were more enthusiastic than experienced at the time of the first tour, and this affected subsequent developments. The band's expectations were high and the members had a glamorous image of the international entertainment industry. During the collaboration between Discafrique and the Bhundu Boys Owen Elias had jokingly used the title "professor", which in the eyes of the band members sounded very impressive: "being a white professor we thought that he's a white millionaire or something" (int. Kagona 9.9.1997). The flight which brought them from the Harare township to London however ended in a disappointing meeting with the tour organizers:

Well, on arrival, just looking at the country itself, we were very, very pleased and we thought this is the time we have struck it rich. But we were very disappointed when we met Owen Elias and Doug Veitch. At first we thought maybe they are roadies [road crew], which have been sent to meet us at the airport. That we were going to meet the actual Owen Elias, the actual professor. But it wasn't that way. That was Professor Owen Elias at the airport, wearing something tattered, just like hippies. You know how hippies dress. That's the way they were dressing. Doug Veitch with a shoe that had a heel, which was about going its own way. When we spoke after introducing each other, we found these are the Discafrique people and that was Professor Owen Elias and his partner Doug Veitch. Then we thought: Now we are in deep shit – how are they going to manage us the way they are looking? We were even looking better than what they were looking. You know from the perspective of life that we view whites and blacks – we were really in shock. (Int. Kagona 9.9.1997.)

The first meeting with the so-called professor and his partner proved to be a disappointment for the band. Gordon Muir has described in his diary how Doug Veitch looked: “The soles of Doug’s ancient moccasins are flapping on the concourse floor and an arm is just about to fall off his stinking sheepskin coat” (Muir 1997, 3). But if the tour organizers were a disappointment for the band, so was the band for the organizers. Discafrique’s personnel had formed their idea of the band based on the recordings, a photograph and a general idea of how bands functioned in Britain. The reality however seemed different, as Muir’s diary notes of the meeting at the airport uncover:

The band’s only luggage seems to be the smallest holdalls, indeed Kenny [Chitsvatsva] is just carrying a plastic bag. Assuming the rest is with the equipment down on the carousel, I suggest we go and collect it, prompting sheepish looks and embarrassed shuffling of feet. The band has no gear. Nothing. Not even a poxy plectrum. All the stuff in the photo was hired from the club they were working in Harare and our first gig is only eight hours away, in Glasgow. (Muir 1997, 3).

The band did not own its instruments in Harare and it never occurred to the members that they would need to bring any to Great Britain: “because we had in mind that that is where we are going to get the instruments – that’s where the instruments come from!” (int. Kagona 9.9.1997). The borrowing and renting of equipment became a central feature of the first tour, which in economic terms was already overburdened because of the few and unprofitable concerts that the organizers had managed to book.

At this point Gordon Muir decided to take over the management of the Bhundu Boys and invest his own money in the project. Step by step he succeeded in booking more gigs, buying instruments and promoting the band in Britain so that it could also return for more successful tours. At the same time Discafrique continued licensing the group’s music from Shed and compiled two LPs for the British market. In autumn 1986 the company released *Shabini* (Discafrique, AFRI LP 02X, re-released in 2001 on *The Shed Sessions*, Sadza Records, sadza 1), which the following spring reached the number one position on the British independent record charts (Muir 1997, 16). While the second compilation LP made by Discafrique, called *Tsvimbodzemoto* (Discafrique, AFRI LP 03, re-released in 2001 on *The Shed Sessions*, Sadza Records, sadza 1), did not reach the same position it was nevertheless a success and helped in strengthening the band’s position on the independent market. The Bhundu Boys became very popular both in the independent rock scene and in the emerging world music category of the music industry, with magazines and radio programmers from both sectors praising to the band.

The media’s general approach to the Bhundu Boys was positive both with regards to the band’s music and its way of working, or as Paul Montgomery (1986–7, 20) in

*Africa Beat* summarized it: "A combination of simple raw talent and hard work". In the British music media the Bhundu Boys were usually described as a modest, hard working and uncompromising band, in other words as an 'authentic' group in line with the older roots and rock ideology. David Barton (1987, 11) commented in *Africa Beat* that the Bhundu Boys' success was even more remarkable "when one realizes that it has been achieved entirely on their own terms", without any compromises "to adapt to an audience unfamiliar with Shona" or to "those expecting a group to conform with the stereotypical images of an African band: in native costume, playing traditional instruments, or a 25 man orchestra, with dancing girls". He emphasized how the band had managed to break through "with no mass promotion in the media or company hype" (ibid.). The touring experience was often cited as the key to the band's success: "They've come in, unknown and unannounced and played every toilet in Britain." (Vaughan 1987). On the whole the Bhundu Boys' attitude of tolerating long tours and primitive concert facilities, commended itself to the authenticity ideals of the roots and rock media.

The fact that the Bhundu Boys had to borrow instruments, and even after acquiring their own, tour with a simple back-line set of equipment, strengthened their credibility with 'indie' and roots fans, who were suspicious of excessive technical accessories and preferred the guitar band instrumentation (two electric guitars, electric bass, drum kit and only occasionally minor keyboard parts). The Bhundu Boys came to signify lost 'roots' for many fans who had earlier enjoyed European and American guitar bands. Andrew Vaughan (1987) enthused in *Folk Roots*: "guitar based, but freed from those rock clichés that pervade radio play lists, the Boys play hard and tight, grinding the beat while retaining a sense of melody forgotten over here since those crazy tuneful days of the mid-'60s".

Apart from the technical conditions of the live concerts, the recordings seemed to provide many reference points to earlier European and American pop music. The recordings were made and released in Zimbabwe by the independent Shed Studio, which was unusual in the Zimbabwean music industry, otherwise controlled by the national major companies. Yet the recordings were made very much according to the standard formula of the Zimbabwean music industry. When working on an album production the group recorded several songs per day, overdubs were sparingly used, the songs had to be arranged in their final version before the band came to the studio because there was too little time for trying out new solutions, and the mixing did not allow for many special gimmicks (int. Kagona 9.9.1997). The result sounded very much like the most common Zimbabwean popular music, combining elements of popular music from Central and Southern Africa, American and English pop (including country and occasionally gospel) and Zimbabwean music (such as jiti and mbira).

The Bhundu Boys' music of this early period shares a general characteristic with many other Zimbabwean as well as other Central and Southern African musical styles. The music is based on melodic and rhythmic variation within short cyclic forms and not composed into larger strophic forms through melodic and harmonic development, as is done in much European tonal music. Thus, the music is not based on for example a twelve bar blues chorus or 32 bar Tin Pan Alley formula, but on the repetition and variation of much shorter cycles, such as a four beat (or bar) unit. This short cyclic form, which emphasizes the music's multi-part structure, has often been discussed in ethnomusicological writings about Southern, Eastern and Central African music. Blacking (1959, 21–3, see also Coplan 1985, 258) introduced the term "root progression" when referring to the short sequence of bass roots and the melody or melodies moving in relation to the tone center in multi-part structures of the South African Venda's music. The concept "roots progression" has also been used by David Rycroft (1967), who, writing about the Southern African Nguni peoples' singing, used it as a substitute for "chord sequence", thereby emphasizing that African polyphony does not have real chords or a fixed harmonic scheme. The same basic feature has also been discussed by Gerhard Kubik, who has used the expressions "short forms" (as opposed to European "strophic forms") (Kubik 1981, 94) and "short harmonic cycles" (Kubik 1979, 103) when describing recurring harmonic cycles, such as C/F/C/G, which are typical of Congolese and South African popular musics.

Although the repetitive cycles are often described in terms of harmonic patterns, it might be argued that the concept of a chord is not always appropriate to this type of music, where chord progressions and cadenzas are of less importance and the emphasis lies rather on the tensions which are created between the simultaneously occurring different sections. The music is polyphonic and polyrhythmic. A composition always consists of different elements that oppose each other in some way. According to Andrew Tracey (1995, 58) the compositional method in this type of African music "is not necessarily to create first a melody, but to create a key structural opposition", and this opposition can include any parameter of music, rhythm, metre, melody, movement, timbre, range, entry point, levels of complexity etc (ibid., see also Kauffman 1970 on multi-part relationships and Turino 2000, 54 on the push-pull relationship between the different parts in Shona music).

The aesthetic principle of the earlier songs of the Bhundu Boys, which are based on continuous cyclic repetition and avoidance of differing sections in the songs, is summarized by Rise Kagona of the Bhundu Boys (int. 6.10.1997) in the Shona word *museve*, which literally means arrow, referring to how the music "just goes straight in one direction from start to end, there's no intro or breaks or changes in rhythm" (ibid.). The music is based on constant cyclic repetition and variation, and on me-

lodic and rhythmic layering which creates structural oppositions between the parts (comp. Nowotny 1993, 105 on South African mbaqanga). Using an analogy with European notation, it might be said that the musical events occurring simultaneously on the vertical axis are emphasized more than successive events on the horizontal axis. Songs are not composed on a primary foundation of thematic development or changes in tempo or key with clearly differentiated A, B and C sections, bridges, freely improvised solo parts etc, that would create successive oppositional structures. Instead, the same harmonic cycle is repeated over and over again and although minor variation is created by adding and leaving out instruments at times, or by letting the lead guitar play a variation of the main melody, the same cycle is sustained as the basis. The musical tensions are created by layering different continually repeated and varied shorter melodic lines and metres on top of each other. The drum kit plays the steady rhythmic pulse of the song and occasionally fills in accents. The guitars and bass play rhythmically and melodically separately, opposing layers on top of the basic beat. The lead singer creates one more layer by either singing shorter phrases or floating on top of the instrumental parts. As a rule the guitar players do not strike whole chords, but play melodic lines in which the rhythmic structure is particularly important throughout the song. As Kagona explains: “We play rhythm on the guitars, playing chords sounds English [like Western pop]” (int. Kagona 10.10.1997).

Despite the importance of the general museve-ideal, the surface level of the music can vary due to all the different musical influences which have imprinted their mark on the particular songs. The music on the Bhundu Boys’ first Discafrique records can be grouped in roughly four categories: songs influenced by Central African popular music, Zimbabwean pop with elements of for example jiti, songs based on mbira, and finally a category of songs with harmonic and rhythmic influences from for example Anglo-American pop, country ballads and gospel (these are my own classifications, based on discussions with Rise Kagona).

Many of the Bhundu Boys’ songs display elements of Central African (mainly from Congo/Zaire) popular music. In Zimbabwe such songs are often called ‘chacha-cha’ or ‘sungura’, or simply ‘Zimbabwean rumba’ (see also Unger 1992, 98). In this music there is a strong influence of the popular music of the Congo region, which emerged from a fusion of indigenous, European and Latin-American elements and developed from the 1950s onwards to one of the most influential musical styles of Africa (see Kazadi 1973 and Mukuna 1992, 1994 & 1998 for the development of the Congo/Zaire rumba). Many of the Congolese styles – bearing several vague labels such as “maringa”, “rumba”, and later “soukous” and “kwasa-kwasa” or simply “modern Zairean music” (see Mukuna 1998, 386 and Fosu-Mensah et al. 1987, 238) – have also been widely heard in Zimbabwe since the beginning of the 1960s. Tour-

ing bands from the Congo region, together with the record industry and radio broadcasts, have spread the music in Zimbabwe, where bands have first copied it and later borrowed elements from it (see Kauffman 1970, 202; Zindi 1985, 12–3 and 1997, 3–5; Brown 1994, 97–100).

In the Bhundu Boys' repertoire the Central African elements are audible in the arrangements and rhythms in for example *Pendeke* (by Biggie Tembo, *Tzimbodzemoto* Discafrique AFRILP03), where the rumba influence is strong in the vocal and guitar lines as well as the beat played by the drums. The song is based on a harmonic cycle, which could be written in chordal terms as a two bar entity |G/D|C/D|. The song starts with an intro, which is reminiscent of country due to the guitar picking technique, followed by vocal parts, that might be called verses and refrains. Variation is created by leaving out one or two instruments for some cycles and adding instrumental parts, where the first guitar plays a fixed line reminiscent of the sung melody. Despite these variations the same cycle is repeated unaltered throughout the song, with modulation or changes in tempo or beat. The song is structured around the interlocking guitar, bass and vocal lines. The lines of the second guitar, picking in mid-register, and bass are based on chord notes, whereas the first guitar in the upper register is less constrained (see further Eyre 1988, 81–2 on rumba guitar playing).

As in rumba, the vocal lines move rhythmically freely above the instrumental accompaniment using notes of the major D scale (although not very syllabic, compare for example Manuel 1988, 99). The parallel thirds in the vocal lines owe more to Congolese rumba than to, for example, Shona mbira, where parallels are not used and where the fourth is considered the most consonant interval (comp. e.g. Tracey 1988, 49). The third is also introduced in the instrumental parts of the song, where the lead guitar plays an unimprovised solo (see further Kaye 1998, 361).

*Pendeke* also reflects the influence of the Congolese rumba in its rhythmic concept, which is significantly different from the Shona mbira. While mbira could be described as a 12/8 pulse, the rumba feel is clearly even and could be notated as 4/4, which is then divided into pulses of sixteenth notes played continuously by the drums but also emphasised by the bass. Syncopations are created by altering sixteenth notes and eighth notes in for example the guitar and vocal parts, which is also a common feature of rumba (comp. e.g. Brown 1994, 98). The drum kit is also played in a fashion that is more typical of rumba than of Shona music. The drummer uses the snare drum extensively for both the basic beat and to play accents and when the intensity grows in the end of the song the snare drum plays a prominent role.

A second relatively common type of music in the Bhundu Boys' repertoire is *jit*, which is difficult to define. According to Dutch ethnomusicologist Corien Unger (1992, 98–9) *jit* refer to the most general category of acculturated dance music, to all

kinds of Zimbabwean popular styles that are not based on mbira or rumba, or more specifically to popular music that is based on a Zimbabwean indigenous musical genre called *jiti* (with an i in the end). Several musicians are equivocal about the term and some avoid it completely (see further for example Turino 2000, 227 and footnote 5 p. 368). For example Rise Kagona usually speaks of this type of songs simply as “pop” or more specifically as “Zimbabwean pop”, or sometimes “jit”. Despite the many interpretations it is still the most commonly understood name for the genre in question.

Probably the most thorough study of jit has been undertaken by Thomas Turino (see particularly 2000, 227–233), who argues that jit was originally derived from South African urban styles such as marabi, tsaba-tsaba and jive, which by the 1950s had been transformed to conform to indigenous Zimbabwean styles and after that developed into a Zimbabwean guitar-band pop genre. The South African influence in jit can be heard in the I-IV-I-V root progression and the bass line, which follows a 4/4 rhythmic-metric structure. However, the overall rhythmic feel, accentuated by the guitars, the hi-hat and bass drum, follows the 12/8 format, which is typical for Zimbabwean music.

The song *Wenhamo haaneti* (by Rise Kagona, *Shabini* Disafrique AFRI LP 02X) includes some of the basic features of jit. The tempo is fast and the beat consists of twelve pulses. The drummer plays the pulses on the hi-hat and marks every third pulse on the bass drum, thereby giving the song a 12/8 feel. However, counter-rhythms are created by the bass, guitar and vocal lines, thus making the overall rhythm very complex (with duplet or 6/4 layers). The harmonic cycle I-IV-I-V (|A/D|A/E|) is typical of jit, and it is sustained throughout the song by both the guitars and the bass (although the notes are never strummed simultaneously as whole chords). The vocal cyclic call-response pattern of the refrain is typical of many Zimbabwean styles, such as jiti. On the other hand, the rhythm of the vocal line which is freer in relationship to the basic pulse; its legato approach, bending of the notes and the way the bass is played in the high register resemble rumba.

Some of the Bhundu Boys’ songs contain *mbira* elements (for a short summary of Shona mbira-guitar music, see Turino 2000, 225–226). However, generally speaking the mbira influence in the Bhundu Boys’ music is minor compared to many other Zimbabwean bands that have managed to establish an international career (although mbira is sometimes mistakenly assumed to form the basis of the band’s music, as for example Mitchell 1996, 58). *Manhenga* (by Shakie Kangwena, *Shabini* Disafrique AFRI LP 02X) constitutes a clear exception to the rule. The rhythm of the song follows the basic mbira structure with twelve pulses per phrase and a repeated cycle of four phrases, which accordingly consists of forty-eight pulses and gives the song a 12/8 feeling. The beat is played by the drum, which plays fourth notes on bass drum

and triplets on the hi-hat (occasionally filling in on the snare drum), thereby imitating the hosho (rattle) and hand-claps of mbira. There are also hand-claps on Manhenga but these are very basic and formal compared to the improvised cross-rhythms more often used in mbira. The cyclic call-response vocal pattern and falling melody lines, interlocking guitar-parts, ululation and lyrics, which metaphorically refer to ancestral spirits and flying to the sky (manhenga meaning wings), all add to the mbira-like character of the song. However, the song's harmonic basis and melodic structure are modified and much simpler than in mbira (comp. with Tracey 1988 on mbira harmonies). The song can clearly be said to be in d minor and the harmonic cycle consists of only two chords |dm/dm|C/C|, with thirds played by second guitar and organ, forming a progression which is untypical of mbira, or even guitar-mbira (comp. e.g. Turino 2000, 226).

The fourth category of Bhundu Boys' repertoire consists of songs with such a wide variety of stylistic features that it is impossible to isolate any one of them as the most significant. The music can have the same basic structure of cyclic repetition and varied interlocking layers as the rest of the songs, but they can also contain elements of Anglo-American middle-of-the-road pop, country, gospel or of other African pop styles, which in their turn have acculturated with several other styles. For example the guitars can play more arpeggio-chords or the rhythm can be a modified rock-rhythm (as in *Nhai mukoma* or the first part of *Pachedu*). Some songs also owe a debt to country music, which has been very popular in Zimbabwe for many decades (see for example Zilberg 1995). Influences from South African popular music styles, which have developed through an acculturation process with elements of South African music and Afro-American popular music can also be heard. For example *Wafungeyiko*'s rhythm contains elements of mbaqanga and *Chimanimani* could be called a kwela or marabi pastiche (see e.g. Coplan 1985 and Ballantine 1993 for descriptions of these styles).

The variety of stylistic features in the Bhundu Boys' music makes it hard to label it unambiguously. The musicians evade the question by simply calling it "pop" when asked for a definition. During discussions with Rice Kagona, the problem of definition usually leads to a rather open description: "we would call our music a mixture of jit and sungura" (similar wordings are sometimes used when describing the most common Zimbabwean guitar pop, see for example Zindi 1997, 40 on Leonard Dembo). Drummer Kenny Chitsvatsva's (int. 12.11.1997) definition resembles Kagona's: "let's say we would be playing our jit style, we would be adding to the music maybe some rumba or some country here and there along the way". However, when the band began performing in Britain it was repeatedly asked by the media to label their style and the band had to come up with a simple solution: "so we wouldn't

say ‘sometimes we play rumba and sometimes we play whatever’, we actually gave it just one name, and we thought of putting it jit because to us it’s like [saying] pop music, African pop” (Kagona int. 9.9.1979).

For the European media the music of the Bhundu Boys was something new, which had to be classified in order to be more accessible and marketable. The novelty of the deep structure of the music, which is based on repetition and variation according to African aesthetics, and the incomprehensible language, required some explanation in order to be accommodated by the media. However, the music also contained many influences that were familiar and conformed to the authenticity criteria of the audience, as well as the whole approach, working methods and image of the band. Tim Jarvis’ (1987) in *New Musical Express* explained how “jit dived right into the indie-rockers’ simple heart and stuck” by referring to both the novelty and the familiarity of the band: “The Bhundus, with their Beatley guitar sound, short songs, and an easily assimilated roots image, probably won through on a similar ‘60s nostalgia as much as anything that was new about them.”

The nostalgia and references to the 1960s that the Bhundu Boys evoked were not only musical, but also connected to a more general cultural and political dimension. The left wing bias of the 1960s and the related interest for folk music and working class bands had by the mid-80s developed into a more global post-colonial political ideology and an interest in so-called world music. The Zimbabwean bands fits this model very well as the country had become independent as late as 1980 and the freedom fight of the 1970s had gained a lot of media exposure in Europe. The political connection between the so called ‘chimurenga’ war of liberation of the 1970s and the music was made by many Zimbabwean musicians who, during Ian Smith’s white minority regime, often composed songs with hidden political messages in support of the freedom fight (for an analysis of such songs see Pongweni 1982). However, by the mid 1980s the revolutionary-nationalist thrust of the music was no longer so strong in Zimbabwean music. In fact, it can be argued that it was the political sentiments in Europe that were important in keeping the political emphasis alive. According to German Florian Hetze (interview 13.3.1997), who arranged Thomas Mapfumo’s first European tour in 1994, it was the European concert organizer’s and media’s interest in Mapfumo’s activities during the war that prompted him to reinforce his image as a freedom fighter and write stronger anti-hegemonic lyrics. Thomas Turino (2000, 338–9) has come to the same conclusion when analysing “politics as style” in Mapfumo’s international career.

For the musicians of the Bhundu Boys the war had obviously been a part of daily life as for all Zimbabweans, but the members were still young in the 1970s and none of them had participated in the conflict. The band, however, wanted to commemo-

rate the war by naming the group the Bhundu Boys (roughly translated “the boys of the bush”), which was a nickname for the guerrillas who had left their homes and disappeared into the bush to join the liberation army (Kagona int. 9.9.1997). The media often took the name as a starting point for interviews with the band and in the aftermath of the war and during the South African anti-apartheid campaign the band often became a symbol for political struggle. Thus, Andrew Vaughan (1987, 17) declared in the world music magazine *Folk Roots* that “The fact that the band exists is a political statement in itself” and “The Bhundu Boys were born out of a revolution, they’re ambassadors for a new state, new ideas and new hope”. In the rock magazine *New Musical Express* the band’s music was described as “the most politically danceable and enjoyable sound since independence” (Pyke 1987a, 30) and the band’s music-making as “socialism in action” (Snow 1987, 40). Remembering the breakthrough in the United Kingdom, Rise Kagona (int. 13.10.1997) is more understated about the political image of the band and particularly the way it was linked to the liberation struggle. According to Kagona (ibid.) most interviews were given by lead singer Biggie Tembo, who liked to talk about politics and liked to speak for socialism, whereas the other members in fact were not very interested in political debates. Despite Biggie Tembo’s statements in interviews and the fact that journalists liked to foreground politics, only a few of the Bhundu Boys’ songs, such as *Tsvimbodzemoto* and *Waerera, waerera*, have any connection to the independence struggle and most songs deal with more daily aspects of social life without any political message. The political image however seems to have suited the expectations of the European media, who preferred to emphasise them in their accounts of the band’s career and music.

In summary, The Bhundu Boys seems to have met its audience’s demand for both novelty and familiarity, and by complying with pre-existing expectations of authenticity in three ways that are characteristic of so-called roots music. First and particularly convincing was a career trajectory consistent with the independent rock ideology of paying your dues by arduous small-scale grassroots work before achieving greater success. A second important factor was that many of the elements in the band’s music and the general approach to music-making fitted with the guitar band aesthetics common among ‘indie’ and roots enthusiasts. Third, the band was often framed in nationalist-revolutionary terms appropriate to the anti-hegemonic authenticity criteria of the rock and world music discourses.

## 2.2 *The city jiti of Mukweshu*

The Bhundu Boys' success in Britain became important for Zimbabwean musicians because it paved the way for other artists. However, it also meant that the musicians in whom the British media took an interest were often compared to the Bhundu Boys. One of these was Virginia Mukweshu, who started her solo career by recording *jiti* with an electric group. In her case the music was also situated by the European world music media as a 'roots' phenomenon, that is, as something 'authentic', still based on a tradition but at the same time creative.

Mukweshu started her solo career in the early 1990s after having performed with her mother Stella Chiweshe. The first record project was enabled with the help of Zimbabwean musicians who were playing in her mother's group. Mukweshu traveled to Zimbabwe, where she rehearsed with the musicians. The outcome of the co-operation was then recorded in Harare and released in 1993 by the German record company Piranha as an album called *Farai* (Piranha pir46-2). The record consists of so-called *jiti* songs that Mukweshu had learnt as a young girl, or composed herself, and arranged for a group with electric instruments, drum kit and marimba.

The term *jiti*, like *jit*, can be said to be ambiguous and its meaning varies largely according to the speaker. According to Zimbabwean scholar Musaemura Zimunya (1993, 1), *jiti* was born in the 1950s when the South African pennywhistle music *kwela* was spread by way of records, radio and cinema to the Zimbabwean cities, from whence it spread further to the rural areas where, in turn, it merged with local drumming and singing styles (see also Turino 2000, 228-9). *Kwela* had been born a few years prior to this in South Africa when juvenile musicians were imitating American swing jazz orchestras (see for example Coplan 1985, 157-160 for *kwela*), and Kaemper (1975, 106) in fact also mentions "jez" (from 'jazz') as a name for *jiti*. During the last decades *jiti* has been popular throughout Zimbabwe and it can be found in many regional variations under many different names (such as *karingido*, *chibhanduru* and *pfonda*, see Mujuru 1995, 20). The most common features of these different *jiti* styles are European four-part vocal harmonies, African-American swing-phrasing, African leader-response singing and polyrhythmic drumming.

*Jiti* and *jit* are sometimes used as interchangeable terms and, as the etymological connection suggests, there are musical similarities between the styles. However, according to for example Virginia Mukweshu there are also significant musical and sociocultural differences. For Mukweshu (17.3.1997) *jiti* is a rhythm, which is essential to the categorization of *jiti*. For her, the Bhundu Boys so-called *jit* for example does not use this rhythm because the music is diluted by other African pop elements. Mukweshu (ibid.) also stresses that *jiti* for her is a style that she learnt as a young girl

when living in the rural areas. Jit, as it is performed by for example the Bhundu Boys, is clearly a pop style performed by an electric band.

Over recent decades jiti has usually been associated with recreational dancing and drumming. The performance context can vary widely and jiti is common in a variety of secular gatherings. Jiti can be performed as entertainment at weddings, at sports days when a school uses a jiti troupe to inspire its athletes, at funerals to lighten the grief of the burial, and at political rallies. The last of these functions was particularly important during the independence struggle when the guerilla fighters used jiti as a way of mobilizing African sentiment during secret nocturnal meetings, called *pungwe*, with the rural population. (Zimunya 1993, 4; int. Mukweshu 17.3.1997 and Ngwenya 4.7.1997.)

For Mukweshu and her peer group jiti was not only a popular musical style but also a social event, which provided an autonomous space for the youth. The importance of this social aspect is exemplified by Mukweshu's (int. 17.3.1997) recollection of how she learned jiti: "I didn't learn jiti, I went to a jiti". The jiti that she attended was a nocturnal dance party where teenagers would get together without the supervision of their parents. Hence the songs provided an opportunity for the youth to court, tease each other, gossip, tell sexual jokes and express secret desires. The dance movements could also contain strong sexual connotations in which for example the girls could move their abdominal muscles independently of others while the boys could thrust the pelvis forward with quivering movements. The participants danced in a ring in which one or more dancers at a time did their solo turns. According to Mukweshu (ibid.) the dance styles, like the songs, changed with the fashion and it was important for a girl to keep up with the fashion and be a good dancer in order to attract the opposite sex. It was particularly significant for the teenage girls that the social conventions of jiti offered them an opportunity as lead singers and dancers to be more active than was usually the case in the public sphere (ibid.). (See also Kaemmer 1975, 106–7 on jiti.)

The opportunity to express oneself freely in jiti was something that Mukweshu had appreciated since her youth. This was also an important reason why she decided to make her own jiti record. Mukweshu was inspired by the fact that jiti had always been adapted to the current situation, fashion and personal preferences of the performer, which she felt gave her the opportunity to revise it to suit her own style and message (int. Mukweshu 14.3.1997). A contributing factor in her interest in recording jiti was that the Bhundu Boys' success had introduced the term *jit* to the European music media, although, according to Mukweshu, very little of the Bhundu Boys' music was jiti, or based on jiti. Now Mukweshu wanted to "record pure jiti so that people can hear what jiti is" (ibid.).

Mukweshwa's wish to simultaneously exploit the flexibility of jiti, in order to adapt it according to her personal vision, and to record 'pure jiti', once again expresses the paradox latent in the complex concepts of tradition and modernization. For her there is a clear distinction between mbira and jiti. Mukweshwa (int. 19.3.1997) emphasizes that there is a relatively fixed mbira repertoire, which is widely known and has stayed unchanged, whereas the jiti songs are usually varied and transformed during different periods and in different areas in order to make them topical. Thus, the people in the countryside "don't sing traditional jiti songs, they just sing jiti" (ibid.). In a similar way Kaemmer's (1975, 104–5) Shona informants in the early 1970s classified jiti as "chimanjemanje", an expression which Kaemmer uses to refer to "modern" songs (the word manje meaning now), and not as "zepasi", which means "of earth" and is used by Kaemmer to refer to "traditional" music. Mukweshwa's personal differentiation between mbira and the more flexible jiti is based on the fact that for her the mbira repertoire is much more stable than the jiti repertoire, the latter being rearticulated by each new generation in response to conditions of life. She also has an interest in spreading knowledge about the history of jiti, as in Zimunya's (1993) essay on the subject, which is published in the booklet of her CD.

In practice the main difference between recording the mbira CD *Matare* and the jiti record *Farai* lies in Mukweshwa's way of composing and arranging the music for an electric band on the jiti record. In her youth jiti was sung accompanied only by percussion instruments and hand claps but on the record she has added two marimbas, a drum kit, an electric guitar and an electric bass to the ensemble. The jiti rhythm still forms the basis of the music, although it would be played in different variations in different regions. The jiti rhythm can in short be characterized as an endless repetition of a fast triplet beat, which is often varied by a second drum. On *Farai* the basic jiti rhythm is played in different variations on the percussion instruments. The tempo is fast and the fast pulses are played on hi-hat and ngoma, while the bass drum and hand claps mark every third pulse (giving the music a 12/8 or 6/4 feeling). Counter-rhythms are created by the vocal and instrumental lines. The songs are based on a continuous repetition of short harmonic cycles. Variation is created by leaving out some instrument or vocal parts during a few cycles.

On *Farai* the song *Chururu Chu* is a good example of how Mukweshwa has arranged jiti for an electric band. The continuously repeated harmonic cycle of the song consists of the diatonic chords C///F///C///G///, which are played by the bass, guitar and marimbas. The vocal lines form call and response patterns between the lead singer Mukweshwa and the four part choir in a way which, together with the percussion parts, are very typical of rural jiti. According to Mukweshwa (int. 17.3.1997) the singers know how to harmonize a jiti song in soprano, alto, tenor and bass parts (as they are called

by the musicians) after having sung four part European harmonies at school and jiti in their free time. The only major variation in the vocal line is created at the end of the song when Mukwasha adds a counting rhyme on top of the instrumental layers. Rhymes have no immediate connection to jiti or necessarily to music at all, but Mukwasha has added them on several of the songs on Farai. According to Mukwasha (int. 17.3.1997) this is because she learnt the rhymes as a child in the same context as jiti. The rhyme on Chururu Chu is a counting rhyme that she learnt as a child from her great grandfather. It adds one more rhythmic layer on top of the instrumental parts of the song.

Mukwasha's jiti record Farai managed to break through on the European world music market, reaching a fourth position on the EBU World Music Charts Europe. The record was described by the media as a combination of traditional heritage and modern popular music. Although one of the motivating factors behind Mukwasha's record project was to record a purer form of jiti than had been done before on so-called jit records, Farai was often compared with the Bhundu Boys' jit style. For example Dave Knaggs (1993) writes in *Folk Roots* that Mukwasha has "created a thoroughly modern sound without ever losing sight of the past". According to Knaggs (ibid.) Mukwasha lies somewhere between the "traditional" Stella Chiweshe, who has "rootsy authenticity", and the "commercialism and vibrancy" of the Bhundu Boys, who in their turn represent "modern electric interpretations".

In Mukwasha's case the 'roots authenticity' is described as a combination of rural and urban sounds. The expression "Zimbabwean rock'n'roll" occurs in the CD sleeve notes and in the record company Piranha's promotion material (and also later in Mukwasha's and her husband's company's Shava's press releases) from whence it found its way into many record reviews. The German music press in particular adopted the rock'n'roll comparison and used it freely when describing Farai. The music was said to be a combination of rock'n'roll spirit and vital folk roots ("Rock'n'Roll-Spirit und vitalen Folkwurzeln", see fg 1993), or a meeting between rock'n'roll and local Zimbabwean jiti, which in its outcome produces popular folklore music with chart qualities (as in *EB/Metronom* Nr. 43 Mai/Juni 1993, see also e.g. *Neues Nebelhorn* 6/1993 and Ladner 1993). In the same way Mukwasha is often described as "the Jiti-rock'n'roller' of Zimbabwe" in concert promotion, as for example in the advertisement of Belgium Etno-Heartbeat (anon 1995a) and Bremen – Land der vielen Kulturen (anon 1995b).

The expression 'Zimbabwean rock'n'roll' is in a way understandable as there can be some similarities between jiti and rock and roll on the level of socio-cultural context (the medialization and urbanization process) and music (African-American influence, basic harmonies, call and respond-patterns). However, the similarities are not

really fundamental, and most certainly the differences are greater than the similarities if we are to compare the history or musical structures of jiti with those of rock'n'roll. What seems to be more important in this connection is that Mukweshu's music is seen to be born out of a combination of local traditional music and a western music style of Afro-American origin. This process is described and made familiar especially through reference to a 'credible' music, rock'n'roll. Thus, the African music is not only situated among the so-called roots styles, but also classified and described within the framework of the authenticity criteria of the roots category.

### 2.3 *Sunduza's mbube*

Sunduza's musical style and career differ significantly from the Bhundu Boys' and Virginia Mukweshu's, in particular respect of the group's background in the Ndebele minority and mbube a cappella singing in combination with the choreography, which is an important part of the performances, make them an exception in comparison with the two other case studies. However, mbube has also often come to signify roots and a turn back to authentic African culture for the West and the beginning of Sunduza's international career was often marked by similar expectations and comments.

*Mbube* has a long history, which was known to few outside the choir style's original South African context when it became popular in the international music media. Veit Erlmann (1996a, 308–9) recounts in his book on mbube (or *isicathamya* as the style is nowadays often called in South Africa) how Paul Simon's collaboration with the South African choir Ladysmith Black Mambazo was regarded by American writers as representing an introduction to Black African music in a pure form to the western audience. According to Erlmann (ibid., 309) this reading of the collaboration between the First world star and the Third world artists implied a connection between "the saturated West and some other space before time". Thus, Ladysmith Black Mambazo's South African choir style came to signify roots, now long lost for the Western audience. The irony of this is that mbube has been influenced by European and North-American musical styles since the beginning of the style's development.

Erlmann (1996a, 46–7) dates the prehistory of this male choir style to the second half of the nineteenth century, when two vastly different social worlds and worldviews met. The first of these was the world of migration and rural poverty, which found its expression in dances tied to precolonial concepts and practices. The other was that of wage labor, cities and racial oppression, represented in Christian hymnody and popular entertainment. The minstrel shows, which were familiarized by touring American groups, had become in particular a very popular form of stage entertainment in the expanding urban centers and gradually also spread to remote rural areas. When the

two worlds and performance styles came in contact with each other, elements of African harmonies, responsorial forms and dances were combined with influences from European music, such as four-part church harmony and the I-IV-I chord progression, the four-square phrasing, body posture and song texts (*ibid.*, 55–6). In the course of the radical social restructuring in the 1920s the first fully fledged mbube choirs were formed. The main performance setting of the choirs was the competitions organized around a set of pieces that all choirs had to perform. In these competitions the groups, performing in uniforms and striped suits signaling urban sophistication, demonstrated not only their singing talent but also their dance skills and discipline, choreography being an important part of the genre. According to Erlmann (*ibid.*, 77), in these competitions the concert stage and the symptoms of the increasing commodification of social relations merged with the more rural format of dance competitions that had evolved in response to intensified struggles over land and job opportunities. The choir style which was born in this process also became an important factor in the identity creation of the male immigrant workers who gathered in the mining towns a long way from their homesteads. (See Erlmann 1996a, chapter 3 pp. 40–99 for a concise history of the style.)

Practically no research has been done on the spread of mbube from South Africa to Zimbabwe. However, the close linguistic and cultural links, as well as also the long history of migration and family ties between especially the Ndebele minority of Matabeleland and South Africa, suggest that the choir style spread early to Zimbabwe. Kaarsholm (1995, 233) mentions in passing how migrant workers returning from the southern mining towns brought with them the competitions and gumboot dancing of the mining compounds around which clubs and associations had been formed. Touring South African choirs also made the performance practice known (*ibid.*, 226). Kaarsholm's (*ibid.*, 237–8) research material suggests that even if mbube has a long history in Matabeleland it could still in the 1960s be considered "modern" or "foreign" and be associated with South African urban life, as opposed to the "traditional" "local" music. Thus, although mbube had spread widely relatively fast it probably took a longer time to become domesticated.

Towards the end of the twentieth century mbube had become a common musical style in Matabeleland and among Ndebele migrants who had moved to other parts of Zimbabwe. At present in Matabeleland the mbube performance context can vary from the most informal gatherings in the rural areas and beer halls of the cities to the more formal church choirs. Outside of Matabeleland the Ndebele migrants have often joined so-called burial societies, which also have their own mbube choirs. These burial societies have been important self-help organizations for migrant workers, but they have also been important recreational clubs with lively music activities (on burial

societies, see for example Turino 2000, 84–5). In the end of the 1990s there were at least 26 burial society mbube choirs working under the Harare African Choirs Association (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997). Elements of the mbube style have also been adapted by Shona and female choirs. In Zimbabwe the mbube choirs compete under the umbrella organization The Zimbabwe National Traditional Music and Dancers Association. The association for example organizes a big annual national competition sponsored by Chibuku Breweries called Neshamwari Chibuku Traditional Music and Dance Competition, with local trials and several classes for different types of performers, among them also mbube choirs.

The members of Sunduza had heard mbube during their early years in Matabeleland when friends and relatives sang it. However, the most important source of inspiration for the formation of their own choir was Ladysmith Black Mambazo. From the 1970s onwards Ladysmith Black Mambazo, thanks to its leader Joseph Shabalala, had been an important innovator developing the choreography, song texts, sound texture and professional practice of the genre, as well as in spreading the music outside South Africa (see e.g. Erlmann 1996a, chapter 11). Simon Banda, the leader of Sunduza, started listening and copying the records of the South African choir at an early age and the impact of Joseph Shabalala's compositions and vocal arrangements can also be heard in Sunduza's repertoire of the late 1980s.

Like many other mbube choirs Sunduza started its career by performing at schools, town halls, weddings, various social gatherings and even football games. By the late 1980s the work was becoming gradually more committed and focused, especially after Sunduza won the mbube category of the Neshamwari Chibuku Traditional Music and Dance Competition and Philip Weiss began to manage the group. The choir also received an offer of a recording contract by a Zimbabwean record company, but refused to sign it due to the bad reputation of the local music industry. Instead it decided to make a recording on its own. The result was a cassette called *Injabulo 2000* (Pangolin, PANG001C), which was recorded in 1991 and released by a company that Weiss had formed for this purpose.

Sunduza's style and working methods can be seen as a combination of individual and collective creativity. The melodies and the framework of the arrangement have been initially composed by Simon Banda, who then together with the rest of the choir has worked out the final arrangement. The members are thus grouped to sing specified vocal parts, but variation and improvisation are essential features of the genre. The choir arrangement consists of four parts, which follow a fairly fixed arrangement, and a freer lead voice. The parts have been named after the European mixed choir (see e.g. Erlmann 1996a, 66 for the history of the arrangement). The singers of Sunduza call the lowest part in Sindebele *bhasi*, or in English bass. The second low-

est is called *bhariton*, baryton, or sometimes also “first bass”, and the second highest *thema*, or tenor. The highest part is called *ilizwi elincane*, meaning “small voice”, but it can also be called “small tenor” or “first tenor”. This part is sometimes called *altha*, or alto by mbube choirs, but Simon Banda (int. 3.7.1997) avoids the expression because he feels that it should be left for women alone as few men can really sing with a tonal quality that would be congruent with the name. The leader sings the first phrases in the call-response patterns and improvises freely using a vocal range of up to three octaves, but when he joins the basic choir arrangement he sings in unison with the *bhariton*. As a rule the choir is divided so that most singers sing the bass part, thus making the sound very deep. In the beginning of Sunduza’s career the young singers’ voices were so high that the bass part had to be strengthened. Injabulo 2000 was for example recorded without any overdubs and of the total of eleven singers seven sang the bass part, leaving only one singer for every other part (int. Banda 3.7.1997).

The songs have a more or less fixed form, beginning with a slower section, which is repeated and varied often in a gradually faster tempo, followed by the freer and faster last section. According to Simon Banda (int. 21.11.1997) the more substantial sections have no Ndebele names as Ndebele songs did not have this form when they were performed during the precolonial period in the rural areas. Banda sometimes uses the expressions “stanza” or “paragraph” to refer to one section, but this practice is not common among the rest of the members, and Banda may also use these same terms when speaking about shorter, phrase-like entities. The meaning of this form is often explained in metaphors about human movement and story-telling. For example Mandla Sibanda (int. 18.8.1997) explains how first “the singer starts walking”, after that “he tells you a story about the walking” and finally “to get everything straight, he will be telling the final story to you”. This is also explained by Simon Banda as a criterion for a good song:

If you are singing a song, it’s like writing a letter and telling a story. You need to have a head, a body and a tail. — For example, if I want to write a song about having this discussion with Johannes [Brusila], I know what we talked about in the first place. Then, what is more interesting I put in the centre. At the end: What else can I say? We started this way, we talked about this and then we ended that way, and then it all becomes one thing. (Banda, int. 3.7.1997.)

The common basic structure of mbube can be exemplified with one of Simon Banda’s songs on Injabulo 2000, *Imali*, which tells about poverty and is inspired by the hardships that the musicians faced in their youth (“*imali*” meaning money). The songs usually start with a couple of phrases in a slower tempo, during which the theme and character of the song are introduced. In the beginning of *Imali* Simon Banda leads

the song and interpolates short comments between the phrases of the choir. When doing this he also directly addresses the audience, as with the words “Lalelani madoda” (“Listen, gentlemen”). The first phrase (four bars) is repeated, followed by a second phrase, which could be called a variation of the first, which is also repeated. In the third phrase the choir parts become rhythmically more accentuated and the tempo increases. In all of these initial phrases the harmonies are based on a movement from the tonic to the dominant and then back to the tonic (F/F|F/C|C/C|C/F).

In the next section of the song the harmonic structure changes into a one bar cycle consisting of the basic sequence I-IV-I6/4-V which is common in South African popular music. At the same time the tempo is increased sharply. This shorter section could be called a bridge, leading both harmonically and rhythmically to the conclusion of the song. The song ends with the choir humming the harmonic cycle over and over again and the lead singer improvising on top of the chords, at times moving in free rhythm. Excerpts of the lyrics are repeated and varied by the lead singer, who declares how you are worthless without money but if you have money you are loved by your relatives and friends. Towards the end of the song he again addresses the audience directly, “Lalelani zinsizwa, lalelani zintombi” (“Listen gentlemen, listen ladies”). The fast tempo and improvisation of the lead singer give this section of the song a special intensity. Thus, the last section of a mbube song is called “ubundani bengoma” in Ndebele, which could be translated as the nice part of the song (Sibanda, int. 18.8.1997).

A typical feature of mbube singing is the use of vocal effects. Ladysmith Black Mambazo especially refined this element in the choir’s sound and many younger choirs, Sunduza among them, have copied and developed this feature further. The singers provideululation and high-pitched interjections throughout the song. Animal sounds like “krrr” and “ptrr” and other imitations of for example donkeys, cows and goats are also used. Injabulo 2000 also includes a “train song”, *Isitimela*, which follows the mbube style of describing the importance of train journeys in migrant life and which is based on a vocal recreation of the sound of a steam train.

The songs of this early period in Sunduza’s career deal with topics familiar to the young singers. Although mbube historically has been connected to the migrant workers’ attempts to symbolically reconstruct their “home” in a new environment (the principal theme in Erlmann 1996a), migration can hardly be called the central motif in the lyrics of Sunduza. Some songs are based on migration and related themes as they have been dealt with in Ladysmith Black Mambazo’s songs, but in Sunduza’s repertoire the songs have been adapted to the life experience of the young singers from Bulawayo (thus, instead of singing about for example an immigrant leaving the loved ones behind, the group sings about AIDS).

A special category of songs is the praise songs, which are based on the precolonial stick fighting songs and praise poems. On Injabulo 2000 for example *Salake thina* is based on an old praise poem describing the soldiers of the Ndebele king Mzilikazi, but the poem has been rewritten so that it praises Sunduza who conquers the other choirs in the competition for the audience's attention. *Amahlolanyama* in turn praises the Bulawayo football club *Highlanders*.

Some songs are Christian, which reflects not so much the religious convictions of the choir, but rather a fashion which was created by Ladysmith Black Mambazo and the fact that the choir was often booked to perform religious songs at Christian weddings in Bulawayo (int. Sibanda 18.8.1997). In these songs the introductory section can be sung without a set time, or measure division. The music may follow a steady continuous pulse, but instead of measure divisions the musical phrases follow the length and rhythm of the lyrics, as in for example *Ukwenza Kwabantu*. As a rule, the structures of Sunduza's songs differ very little from each other despite the varied themes dealt with in the lyrics. However many of the religious songs, *Ukwenza Kwabantu* among them, often end in a "Amen, Halleluja"-cadenza.

During the early years of Sunduza's career the performances followed the common mbube style in which the choir stands, or dances in one line with the lead singer standing at one side of the choir or moving in front of it. The stage shows usually started with Ndebele *isitshikisha* dances originating from the precolonial era. The members were dressed in so-called *amabetshu* loincloths with *indlukula* (head dress with ostrich feathers), *induku* (knobkerrie) and *ihawu* (shield) (see photograph 1). Among mbube singers this clothing is generally understood to have originated directly from the old Nguni heroes' costume, but according to recent research the current form of the dress and its use as stage clothing was created by the Durban tourist association for ingoma dance troupes in the 1930s (see Erlmann 1996a, 201 and Thomas 1988, 198 ff.). After the *isitshikisha* the choir performed *gumboot dances* in the style that was developed in the South African mines during the apartheid era and which even became a tourist attraction in the mining towns. In gumboot dancing the performers are dressed in miner's boots and helmet and the sound created by the stomping and slapping on the boots is an essential element of the music (see photograph 2). At the end of the show the choreography was based on mbube, or *isicathamya* dances, although in different variations created by Simon Banda. In these dances the singers used gestures to visualize the message of the lyrics, for example spreading their arms when addressing everybody or raising them while singing about heaven. The members were dressed in what could be called modified mbube costumes (see e.g. Erlmann 1996a, 200–3 for description of mbube dressing). Instead of the formal suit and sports jackets, which were so typical in South Africa until the 1970s,



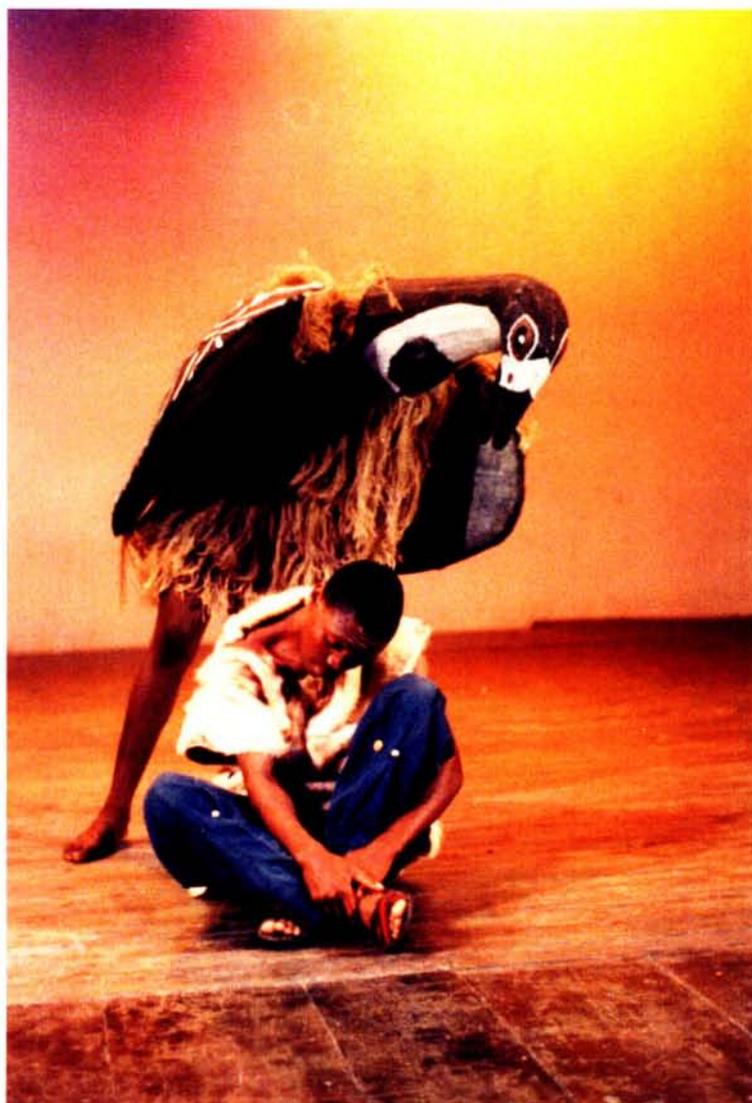
Photograph 1: Sunduza performing in Beith Hall at the University of Zimbabwe in Harare in 1990. The choir standing in one line dressed in 'low-budget amabetshu', with synthetic leopard skins and broomsticks as assegais. Leader Simon Banda addressing the audience in front. (Photography: Philip Weiss)



Photograph 2: Dressed for gumboot dancing with miners' rubber boots, belts and helmets.  
(Photography: Philip Weiss)



Photograph 3: Sunduza dressed in so called 'dopo-dopo' (spotted) collar-shirts and striped trousers. Leader Simon Banda in dark clothes to the left. (Photography: Philip Weiss)



Photograph 4: Lead singer Simon Banda and dancer with bird mask in a dream sequence of Injabulo 2000. (Photography: Philip Weiss)

the performers wore striped trousers and short-sleeved collar-shirts with spots (see photograph 3). Shirts with colourful designs, emblematic of African cultures, could also be used. (Int. Banda 26.6.1997 & Weiss 29.9.1997.)

Simon Banda (int. 29.9.1979) describes his style of choreography as a combination of elements, in which he takes some dance, for example isitshikitsha or isicathamya, as the starting point of his work but then freely adapts influences from other dances, like jive, marabi, mbaqanga and pantsula and other urban South African popular styles of recent decades. From early in the group's career a typical feature of Sunduza's dances was that the choreography of one song could contain several styles interpreted freely and performed at fast tempo and with energetic, large movements. This elicited a negative response from the older mbube choirs who saw Sunduza as diluting the old reserved mbube style. Following Sunduza's success at the Neshamwari Chibuku Traditional Music and Dance Competition the older singers, disappointed at their loss, claimed that Sunduza's style was no longer true mbube and instead called it in a pejorative manner "pantsula" or "tsabatsaba" (referring to newer South African popular styles) (Banda, int. 3.7.1997).

Both the singing and dancing of Sunduza can be regarded as a combination of several elements, ranging from the merging of European and North American music and Southern African vocal styles, which forms the historic basis of mbube, to the versatile personal creativity forming the basis of Simon Banda's choreography. These features were however not always so prominent in the international press reception when the group entered the international music market. Sunduza's international career started when Philip Weiss managed to arrange tours for the choir to England, Ireland and Singapore. Weiss also secured a distribution deal for Injabulo 2000 with the British company Stern's, which covers European countries, but the majority of the recordings were sold in association with the concerts. The tours had a strong anti-apartheid emphasis and although the sleeves carry the instruction "File under world music – Zimbabwe" the choir was largely associated with South Africa and the continuing political struggle in that country as well as with Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Sometimes the group was even believed to have come from South Africa, as in a review of the group's performance at the Singapore Conference Hall, where the writer also claimed that the dances are "arguably the origin of breakdance, moonwalk and other African-inspired steps of Michael Jackson" and continued by asserting that the songs are "developed from indigenous harmonic structures" (Khor 1994b, see also 1994a). Thus, also Sunduza is linked to a search for the authentic roots of current western popular music.

### 3. Different yet familiar music

The interest in 'tradition', is in many ways a basis for the discursive formation of world music. Yet, as the concept 'roots' shows, it is not fixed to some essence in the music but rather is flexible and tied to changing constructions of authenticity. A 'traditional' element, though defined and explained in various ways, seems to be a prerequisite for the inclusion of some artist or style under the general heading world music. In terms of marketability the perceived degree of orientation to a 'tradition', which comes to signify something exotic for the West, is both a competitive advantage and a potential risk.

According to people working in the world music industry the 'alternative' character of an artist in relation to the general output of the international music industry is an advantage when marketing something as world music, but too much diversification can cause rejection. A certain combination of both novelty and familiarity for the listener is needed in order to make the music simultaneously interesting and accessible. Philip Page (int. 12.1.1997), a manager who has worked with Finnish artists such as Värttinä, JPP and Maria Kalaniemi, summarizes the pros and cons of introducing Finnish acts to the world music market in the following statement: "in one way you can say it's easy because Finnish music sounds different than everything else and in an other way you can say it's difficult because Finnish music sounds different".

A suitable mix of familiarity and novelty can be said to be an important element also in the international success of Zimbabwean mbira, which, despite geographical remoteness, can sound somehow recognizable to a European listener. In fact the similarities between mbira and European music were something that the first European travelers had already noted in their reports from Africa. According to Paul Berliner (1978/1981, 42–43) the aspects of mbira music which seemed familiar to the visiting Europeans, included the harmonic foundation of the music, certain melodic patterns and a tuning system that might have sounded to the travelers like a major scale. These same elements still seem to be important. Thomas Turino (2000, 342) for example explains the popularity of the mbira as a result of the music's simultaneously familiar and foreign-sounding character: "the instrument and its repertory were both locally distinctive and yet musically attractive and accessible (familiar) to cosmopolitan sensibilities". Thus, the Zimbabwean musicians have the advantage of performing styles that are relatively accessible, but still audibly different.

For world music industry personnel it is important to find an acceptable level of difference from the common experiences and expectations of the audience. Often this is explained as a successful balance between sounding 'traditional', but not too 'traditional'. However, negotiating this field of tension is not always an easy task.

### 3.1 The accessibility of the music

The degree of musical accessibility of a recording is frequently discussed in the world music guides and magazines, informing the reader as to how easy it is for a western listener to enjoy the music and with particular approval of a successful balance between 'traditional' and 'pop' elements is an appreciated feature. Spencer (1992, 42) for example explains in his *World Beat: A Listener's Guide to Contemporary World Music on CD* how Ugandan singer and flutist Samite's record *Dance My Children Dance* "is a real gem, rooted yet accessible, flawlessly melodic and very easy to listen to". In some cases accessibility is appreciated as a way of arousing interest among listeners not familiar with the genre. Thus, Spencer (ibid., 95) praises the zouk group Gazoline and its founder Pier Rosier, for the use of "massed horns and synthesizers on top of a heavy, thumping beat and the result is a dance music that even Americans not used to world-beat rhythms can enjoy". However, Spencer also draws a line between what he sees as acceptable modifications of the music, and those which go too far. A strong western pop influence can signify a form of commercialization that violates the criterion of authenticity. The compilation album *The Indestructible Beat of Soweto* for example receives a favorable response from Spencer, because "the Schanachie package is pure bare-bones township jive, with no concessions to modern pop-music trends, one of the most honest and human albums ever made" (ibid., 18), whereas the English folk-rock group Steeley Span is alleged to have lost its touch after the leaders left the band: "the group became more mainstream, gaining greater commercial success at the cost of musical innovation" (ibid., 71). Contrasted here are roots authenticity and modern pop-music trends, the latter implicitly associated with commercialism and 'selling out' or 'going mainstream'. In a specialist field like world music, a longer step from the 'roots' to the 'mainstream' can even lead to a disqualification from the whole category, as happens when Spencer (ibid., 87) states that: "modern reggae is so pop-oriented now that it can hardly be called a world music style at all". In other words, accessibility and familiarity can be desirable as well as compromising.

The critique of pop-oriented music reflects not only suspicion of commercial success as such, but also a wish to distance 'true world music' from 'the mainstream'. For many managers and record company executives who would like their artists to reach crossover success, the specialist character of the world music industry and audience can become a restriction. The more critical voices even claim that world music is in itself a failed marketing concept, "because too many things get lumped together, those that sell get together with another one hundred things that don't sell", as A&R manager Donald 'Jumbo' Vanrenen (int. 12.2.1997) expresses it. Vanrenen

works for Mango Records, which is a part of a larger transnational media conglomerate and works with artists such as Angélique Kidjo. From his point of view, artists often drop out of the world music category when they become commercially successful: “people don’t think of it as world music anymore, it’s just a successful pop act” (ibid.). This makes the whole categorization meaningless, or even an impediment for the biggest stars and their companies. According to Vanrenen (ibid.), this is “true of any specialist type of music, once it has become mainstream it loses the specialist identity”. For an executive of a major company the investments are much bigger than for the smaller entrepreneurs, and the primary goal of reaching a larger market, problematizes the specialist identity.

Crossover is connected to economy and industry structures as well as cultural values. The specialist character of world music and the general popularity arising from mainstream success often generate opposing expectations and norms, as illustrated in two examples, one by editor of *Folk Roots* Ian Anderson and the other by Ed Ward (1991), who has written much on African-American music, reggae and recently world music. In an article entitled *A World Music Meeting* Anderson (1986c, 12) reports from a meeting of people working with world music, and in the beginning explains how he and his likes have a taste for the exclusive: “There’s always a large number of people who aren’t willing to be spoon fed something that the music biz has concocted as a commodity; dare I say it (elitist that I am) a more intelligent audience who will pick up on the integrity of music that comes straight from the heart.” According to Anderson (ibid.) various musical genres like blues, jazz, reggae and protest songs formerly attracted this audience’s attention, but “over the past few years, the beneficiary seems to have been something entirely wider; the roots music of the world”. This description of the more elitist world music aficionados is noteworthy, not only because of what might be called its self-reflective honesty, but also because it gives a picture of some of the values underlying the distinction made between world music and the mainstream output of the music industry.

Ed Ward (1991), on the other hand, takes a position diametrically opposed to such values. In an article in a trade fair book (ibid., 65), he speaks ironically of the way some artists are classified as world music whereas others are not: “if you want to talk about a real world music artist, there’s nobody who compares to Rod Stewart. When he puts out a record, man, it sells everywhere”. For Ward (ibid.) the classification world music is loaded and he dissociates himself from “the sort of holier-than-thou mind-set that says that ‘exotic’ music that I like is world music, and that makes it, somehow, better or different than, ‘commercial’ or ‘pop’ music”. He argues instead that the inclusion of elements from American popular music in for example African music can be good, because “all that’s likely to mean is that it [the music] might be

more accessible to a Euro-American pop fan with adventurous tastes who might be more likely to buy a record by one of these groups, who then might make a bit more money somewhere down the line and maybe thereby luck into a tour of 'world music' venues in Europe and the UK and maybe the USA out of it" (ibid., 66). In other words, accessibility is the key to success, and success is a positive thing.

Anderson's and Ward's positions represent two sides in the debate over crossover success which is at times raised in literature on popular music. Probably the most common issue in this discussion is the success of some African-American artists in America and the political and racial implications of their crossover move from the secondary R&B market to the mainstream pop market. The debate about African-American artists has become polarized in two opposing standpoints, most notably represented by Nelson George and John Perry (comp. e.g. Garofalo 1993a). According to George (1988), who argues from a black nationalist perspective, the white-dominated industry has transformed black forms of musical expression into a commodity in a way which has weakened the music's links to black culture and identity. Perry (1988), on the other hand, takes an essentially liberal position and maintains that black musical expression has shaped the cultural mainstream and that crossover can be seen as a metaphor for integration in the upward social mobility of the black community.

Although both George's and Perry's views, as well as the whole debate about African-American crossover, are specific to the social and cultural context of the United States, the arguments are familiar to many world music fans and writers and they also provide a reference point and vocabulary for the discussion of world music. Thus Timo Närväinen (int. 7.2.1997), whose record company Olarin Musiikki has produced many Finnish folk music groups for the world music market, expressed his dislike of some features of the world music phenomenon, by saying that "today the same thing happens as in the 1950s, artists from elsewhere are brought in and bleached for airplay, world music is half full of Pat Boones and Ricky Nelsons". The general questions of authenticity and 'selling out' are basically the same, although in world music they are usually interpreted along the axis traditional-modern, implying a tension between local cultural heritage and contemporary international pop trends.

A juxtapositioning of a specialist world music market against a mainstream pop market is not without problems. The concept mainstream usually connotes commercial dilution of authentic music, but writers seldom explain precisely what they mean by mainstream and how the commodification happens. In scholarly writing Sarah Thornton (1995) has most recently questioned the concept of an undifferentiated mainstream. Drawing from her fieldwork observations among the dance club audiences in England, Thornton criticizes the way studies in subcultures, starting with Hebdige (1979), have made the mistake of taking literally the consumers' ways of

explaining their cultural choices in terms of opposition to the more commercial mainstream. In contrast, Thornton (ibid., 162) argues that the media and commercial interests “create subcultures in the process of naming them and draw boundaries around them in the act of describing them”. The audience’s self-reflection as an alternative is based on its ability to use media products and accumulate cultural knowledge in order to create distinctions between itself and the mainstream, but in fact the media also participate in the construction of the subculture. Thornton uses the term “subcultural capital” (following Bourdieu 1984) as a description of the way some sections of the audience differentiate their own preferences and activities from those of other groups, and by this process gain social power. At the same time she also questions the older subcultural studies’ positive notion of difference as deviance and dissidence, because “in a postindustrial world where consumers are incited to individualize themselves and where the operations of power seem to favor classification and segregation, it is hard to regard difference as *necessarily* progressive” (ibid., 166 italics in the original).

It is probably not meaningful to call the world music audience a subculture in the same sense as subcultural theorists use the concept when referring to a youth group with shared life-style and values. However, much of Thornton’s critical reading of the self-definitions presented by the members of the subculture is relevant when observing how some writers, such as Ian Anderson in the example above, describe world music as an alternative to mainstream music.

The distinctions made by the world music fans are not necessarily always oppositional, they can also be interpreted as a part of the ordinary commodity production and consumer culture of today, which favor flexibility and fragmentation. Simon Frith (2000, 306) for example describes the record companies that were involved in the formation of the world music marketing category as being “in the business of persuading consumers to distinguish themselves from the mainstream of rock and pop purchasers, to be different themselves”. Similarly Timothy Taylor (1997, 20) explains one of the reasons for the popularity of world music as the interest in “something out of the mainstream”, which is so common for “late capitalist culture”, where consumers define themselves by their tastes: “to be an individual one must have increasingly individualized tastes, increasingly non-mainstream tastes, increasingly eclectic or unusual tastes”. Notwithstanding any claim he or she may make to the contrary, this self-definition of the individual is inevitably linked to mass production, advertising and media.

The distinction between ‘world music’ and the ‘mainstream’ is not always easy to define or explain in general terms. As I argued in the chapters on the formation and industrial practices of world music, both world music and mainstream are defined in

many ways depending on the position of the speaker. In Latin-America the concept world music does not have significance and the domestic popular music can be called national mainstream, whereas in North-America Latin-American popular music can form a marketing sub-category of its own due to the music's large audience in the United States. In Europe, however, the same music is included in the category world music. It is probably not possible, nor even interesting, to try to define a general fixed line between world music and the mainstream. Instead, I find it more fruitful to consider the circumstances under which a musical style or artist is called world music or not, and what career choices or structural changes in the music might cause somebody to argue that the authenticity of an artist's music has been compromised. I prefer to see 'authenticity', 'selloutism' and 'mainstream' (like 'world music') as concepts without any fixed essence and approach them as contextually bound constructions. I do not question the fact that many musicians believe in authenticity and that it is real for them, for the purposes of this thesis it is more interesting to focus on what makes this ideologically saturated concept so compelling for the people who use it, and what consequences this might have.

In popular music factors such as the incorporation of influences from the most successful Anglo-American pop music, the use of new technology, an artist's move to a major record label, are crucial in the construction of 'selloutism'. According to Simon Frith (1986, 265–6) the history of rock has been presented as a series of contestations in which authentic newcomers move in from the margin and replace the inauthentic stars in the pop mainstream. An important dividing line between the artists who are called authentic and the ones called sellouts seems to be how much modern technology the artists use. Authenticity is described as a reaction against technology, signifying a return to the roots of music making. Frith (*ibid.*, 266) summarizes this ideological aspect of rock in what might be called a semiotic joke: "the continuing core of rock ideology is that raw sounds are more authentic than cooked sounds". In this rock discourse moral and aesthetic judgments are fused so that musical, technological and economic aspects are drawn together in the construction of the categories authentic and sellout. Sometimes an 'authentic' artist's success is explained as having brought a refreshing rawness to the blandness of pop music; but, especially if the musical style is based on a fusion incorporating 'mainstream' elements that might make the music more accessible to a larger audience, the artist risks falling into the category of sellout. Bob Dylan is a most conspicuous example, when his new folk-rock encountered both criticism from the folk audience and success on the pop market in 1965 (see for example Eyerman & Jamison 1995, 460–1).

While commercially successful world music artists who experiment with new technology and musical fusions run the risk of being called sellouts, according to

Timothy Taylor there are significant differences between them and rock musicians in this respect. Taylor (ibid., 23) argues that “by definition, world musicians cannot be sellouts, since the structure of the music industry excludes virtually all world musicians from the venues, visibility, and profits that might make them appear to be sellouts to their fans”. However, he immediately continues by stating that “listeners can construct world music musicians as sellouts if their music seems to be too much like North American and U.K. popular music: their betrayal is of music and place, not anticommercial values” (ibid.). This signals a division between, on one hand anticommercial values, which according to Taylor are not connected with world music artists, and on the other hand ideas of tradition and locality, which are key concepts when constructing authenticity and selloutism in the world music context.

I find such a clear binary questionable and in fact, as Taylor (ibid.) continues he implies a certain moderation of his standpoint: “North American and British musicians can make whatever 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.” (my italics). Taylor thus blurs the earlier polarity by identifying the possibility of musicians from regions other than North America and Britain appearing as sellouts if apparently trying to make more money. Nonetheless, it is hard to agree with Taylor’s modeling when it comes to the differences between artists from, on one hand North America and Britain, and on the other hand from the rest of the world. First, there are significant similarities between for example many musicians coming from Western Europe and Britain. Furthermore, the fact that there are British artists who are lumped together with the rest of the world in the world music category makes the distinction even more dubious. Second, the authenticity of North American and British musicians is likely to be conceptualized in terms of some internal community and musical tradition, such as the African-American minority in the case of R&B stars or the folk community, as in the case of Bob Dylan. More persuasive, however, is Taylor’s idea that an indigenous tradition, which is bound to a certain place, can be more important in the construction of authenticity in the world music discourse than in for example rock discourse.

The constructions of authenticity and the sellout in world music are implicated in western self-conceptions and although they may be conceptualized in terms of the musician’s culture of origin, they are nevertheless based on the expectations of the western industry and audience. The binary opposition traditional-modern, rooted in music-folklorism, is often overlaid with the binary of art versus money, which has been common in European criticism since the romantic era. The publisher and editor

of *Roots World* Cliff Furnald (1998, 82), for example, makes 'art' a universal value in opposition to commercial success: "no matter what the source, no matter where we come from, there is something to be said for making art the first instinct". Furnald (ibid.) admits that this might be an "idealized, even colonialist concept", but maintains that with the spread of the record industry there was "a reinvention of music both as a commodity and art", which means that even "the bad is never forgotten, hammered in plastic as it is". Thus, he feels that the creators of world music should accept "a certain responsibility for making sure that what goes unforgotten has some quality" (ibid.). For him, artistic quality is contrasted with profit, crossover and the consequent contamination by pop practices.

The musicians whose work is discussed in terms of 'selloutism' do not necessarily share the values of the world music media. Youssou N'Dour has become something of a standard-bearer in the musicians' public critique against what he sees as clearly western notions of authenticity. According to N'Dour (1992) along with all the positive developments arising from the western public's interest in for example African music, certain misunderstandings have also arisen. He (1992, 65) maintains that one such error of judgment is the "almost automatic preference of many Westerners for 'traditional' African elements in a performance or a record as opposed to the panoply of 'modern' sounds". He claims that a disservice is being done to African musicians "when an African artist is uncritically reproached for his or her openness towards western musical vocabularies", as this "is typically justified on some unexamined principle valuing a misunderstood 'tradition' over insufficiently specified 'modern' or 'western' elements" (ibid.). His critique is also directed against the fact that all African music is lumped together in "an African music territory within a larger ghetto of 'world music'" (ibid.). For a star like N'Dour, who freely fuses elements and has managed to achieve certain crossover success, the authenticity criteria of the specialist category world music can be particularly frustrating. He is not alone, as evidenced by other artists who have tried to experiment and to reach a larger international audience.

### 3.2 *The Bhundu Boys' and WEA*

The Bhundu Boys is one of the African bands whose successful career with an independent record company generated hopes of crossover success, which in turn led to a promising recording contract with a transnational record company. At the time of the Bhundu Boys' contract with WEA in the spring of 1987, both the band itself and the music industry had large hopes for the future of African music on the international market. The commercial achievements of third world artists and European folk mu-

sic ensembles had paved the way for the marketing category world music, and the popularity of the Bhundu Boys' tours and independent record releases *Shabini* and *Tzvimbodzemoto* reinforced optimism. However, their career at WEA encountered difficulties in reconciling the expectations of the audience, the record company and the musicians.

The members of the Bhundu Boys and the group's manager Gordon Muir as well as many of the largest record companies were all interested in a record contract. The band finally decided to sign a contract with WEA, which was economically profitable and included one record and an option for four more records, a substantial royalty advance and other benefits. At the same time the band also signed an equally profitable publishing contract with Blue Company, which belonged to Island Records. (Interview Muir 20.2.1997).

The group immediately began planning a new album, to be recorded in Europe with an English or American producer. WEA suggested several producers from different fields of Anglo-American pop music and the band finally chose the English rock musician Elvis Costello. None of the members knew Costello or his music, but the Bhundu Boy's manager Gordon Muir (int. 20.2.1997) thought of Costello as "a hugely credible fellow that wouldn't fuck them [the Bhundu Boys] up, he [Costello] would walk away from it rather than fuck it up". Thus, Muir persuaded the band to choose Costello (rather than for example Malcolm MacLaren whom WEA also had suggested), and the recording session was started in Dublin. However, the musical result failed to satisfy any of the participants. Muir (int. 20.2.1997) later attributed the failure to the fact that Costello had lost "the quintessential elements of the band's sound" and according to Rise Kagona the recordings were merely "experiments" that "didn't work out", possibly because of Costello's "self-will" (Kagona int. 9.9.1979, see also Koivio 1988).

Whatever its basis, this dissatisfaction led to a split between Costello and the Bhundu Boys and the band had to start looking for a new producer in London. This time they chose Robin Millar, a much sought-after producer in Britain since his production of Sade's hit album *Diamond Life*. The band did not know Millar's earlier work, but some of the members knew Sade's record, which contributed in their interest in him (int. Kagona 9.9.1979). Although mainly known for his productions of successful British pop acts, when the band got to know him, they found out that he in fact had a multi-cultural personal and professional background. Millar (int. 24.2.1997) was born in Guyana in a family of Irish, Portuguese and Native American ancestry and had listened and played classical, African-American and West Indian music. He had also produced African music, the first time as early as 1979, when he recorded Orchestra Makassy and Super Mazembe in East Africa (Millar, int. 24.2.1997).

When Millar began working with the Bhundu Boys he tried to take into consideration the band's intentions and asked what kind of a record they wanted to make. Inspired by British pop stars of the 1980s, such as Duran Duran and the Thompson Twins, they simply replied: "We wanna make a pop record" (Millar, int. 24.2.1997). Thus, the concept of the record was much closer to British pop than their Zimbabwean recordings had been. However, Millar did not want to work with the Bhundu Boys in the studio in the same way as he usually did with British pop bands, that is, by using sequencers and electronic metronome synchronisation, and recording the instruments one part at a time. According to Millar (int. 24.2.1997), a slavish use of sequencers and an even rhythm created by a drum machine could have destroyed the natural pulse and structure of the music as it is normally played by Zimbabwean musicians, who "punch the second and third note up and then they hang back and wait for the fourth beat of the bar on time". In addition to this constitutive aspect of the groove (or "participatory discrepancies", to use the wording of Keil 1994), Millar (int. 24.2.1997) also wanted to preserve the basic structure and spontaneous feeling of the music and therefore preferred to record the Bhundu Boys' band instruments at once rather than using several overdub sessions. Millar's most significant influence on the formation of the sound came in the mixing process, in which he created a much clearer sound and added more echo, reverb and sound effects to the music than had been the case on their Zimbabwean recordings. The MIDI digital interface technology also made it possible for him to change the drum and synthesizer sounds during the mixing according to the wishes of the musicians.

The result of Millar's and the band's cooperation was the record *True Jit* (WEA WX 129), which is based on many of the same musical elements as the previous records, but also contains strong influences of British pop. The introductory song *Jit Jive* (by Biggie Tembo and Gordon Muir), which was intended to be the hit of the record and which was also released as a single, gives a general picture of how the different elements are combined on the record. The song is based on the two bar harmonic cycle |A///|E/D|, which is repeated throughout the song. However, the older *museve* aesthetic, which is based on the continuous repetition and variation of interlocking basic patterns, is modified to some extent so that the differences between the separate sections of the song are emphasized more than on the earlier records. The introduction, verse and refrain are separated from each other by unison breaks and changes in both the instrumental arrangement and the mixing. The music is still based on the interlocking guitar and bass lines rolling on top of the pulse given by the drums, but after the beginning the second guitar is mixed in the background and instead the synthesizer, which plays chords and not melodic lines, is brought more to the front. In contrast with the general Zimbabwean jit rhythm, the second and fourth beats of

the bar are at times sharply emphasized by the synthesizer (in the second section of the verse) and towards the end of the song by the snare drum, thereby creating a stronger rock feeling. The vocal harmonies are based on the chord notes, as is common in Zimbabwean jit-sungura. A completely new element in the music is the horn section (consisting of two trumpets, a trombone and a saxophone), which fills in short syncopated riffs and phrases.

The pop format of the song, in which the separate sections are contrasted and especially the chorus is emphasized, is not only evident in the musical structure and form, but also in the lyrics. In fact, probably the most obvious difference between True Jit and the Bhundu Boys' earlier records is the use of English in the lyrics, especially in catchy refrains. The record company, Muir and the musicians were all interested in trying to use English lines in the lyrics in order to make the music more accessible to a larger audience (int. Muir 20.1.1979 and Kagona 9.9.1979). English was the second language of the musicians, but Muir helped them write the English phrases and on Jit Jive his input was so substantial that he was even credited as co-author of the song.

The lyrics of Jit Jive were born from an inside joke, which the band had been fooling around with. According to Kagona (9.9.1979) and Muir (20.1.1979) the band used the expression "jigajig" or "jigijig" when referring to sexual intercourse and originally the song's refrain consisted of only "Let's jigajig". However, when it was decided that the song would be released as a single the band decided to change the line to something less explicit. The resulting "hook" line (for "hook" see Burns 1987) "Let's jit jive" emphasizes further the catchy pop character of the refrain. It was also useful when launching the name of the band's musical style to a larger audience. "Jit jive" becomes a "key word" in the song (to use the terminology of Hennion 1983), freeing the lyrics from familiar and constrained textual connotations to a more imaginative sphere. The wording has a vague reference to the *pungwes* of the liberation war in Zimbabwe, during which the guerilla fighters used to raise the moral of the rural population with the help of jiti songs and dances. This follows the general nationalist-revolutionary message and imagery of the Zimbabwean bands that fit the anti-hegemonic emphasis of the world music discourse. However, the lyrics also contain elements that function as a general party call for the listener who does not know the history of jiti. The lines "Don't take a chance, stay with the dance, keep moving all night" and the characterization of the song on the album cover: "Everyone dance – forget your troubles to the sound of the jit music", further strengthens the celebratory party character of the song. Thus, the lyrics become a mixture of ambiguous references to the war, short Shona phrases about dancing to ngoma and mbira, and pop party lyricism. The inexplicable appearance of Dr. Livingstone makes the general impression even more ambiguous and absurd.

Jit Jive has the largest proportion of English in the lyrics of all the songs on True Jit. At times the interplay between the lyrics and the music of the song is rather forced, as in the unnatural pronunciation of “bhundu” and “pungwe”, where the emphasis is on the end of the word because of the music, although it should be on the first syllable. On most songs English is used only in short hook phrases in the chorus in order to give the audience, who does not know Shona or Ndebele, a chance to get a grip of the song. Often it is used in typical pop interjections, which are meant to raise the atmosphere, as for example in the choruses “Get up everybody, stand up, let me see you” and “Come on join hands and let’s see where you stand” in the concluding song *Jekesa*. However, in *My Foolish Heart* the English passages are included as whole verses in between the Shona verses. The song, which is rhythmically and harmonically based on mbira, was originally composed by Shakie Kangwena as a lament to his brother who died in the liberation war. Kangwena happened to see the poem *Wheesht, Wheesht* by Hugh MacDiarmid on the wall in Muir’s house and decided to incorporate it in the song (Muir 1997, 5 and Kagona 13.10.1997).

In general terms True Jit can be said to display several ways of combining the Bhundu Boys’ earlier style with influences from British pop. Some songs are quite similar to the ones recorded in Zimbabwe, although their sound is different, and some are in fact reworked versions of the band’s old songs (for example *African Woman*, which is a new arrangement of *Nhai Mukoma* from *Tzvimbodzemoto*). On other songs the new influences are stronger and the general approach is closer to British pop, particularly the pop format of strong refrains, emphasized by for example unison breaks. The band had already used keyboards occasionally in Zimbabwe, but the key position of the synthesizer on some of the songs on True Jit and the way it is used to play chords, give the harmonic developments a new importance in the musical structure. This is probably most evident in a song like *Susan*, where the interplay of melodic lines has given way to harmonic progressions as a central element of the song. The verse is based on the basic chord progression A – D – E – D and the refrain on a stepwise descending bass movement: A – E with G# in bass – F#minor – E.

The horn section also contributes in shaping the songs into a pop format which is foreign for most Zimbabwean popular music. Wind instruments are seldom used in Zimbabwean pop, but when they occur, as for instance in the music of Thomas Mapfumo, they often play a response part to the lead vocal, imitating a vocal call-response pattern. However, the horn section on True Jit consisted of session musicians who had mainly played soca and when they arranged their parts for the album the Caribbean influence became stronger. The horn section underlines the breaks, refrains and harmonic progressions by filling in short syncopated riffs and phrases, which are based on the chord notes (and sometimes in passing even display chromati-

cism, as could already be seen in the end of the refrain of True Jit). An example of the distinctive character of the horn section in comparison with the rest of the instruments can be found on the song *Chemedzevana*, on which the horn section occasionally plays a melody line. The song follows the structure of mbira with a high-hat pulse and bass drum beat that give the music a general 12/8 mbira feeling. The bass and guitars pluck short, dampened mbira-like phrases. However, the main horn line starts with short riff-like syncopated melodies that accentuate the suspensions of the notes of the C major chord. Thereafter follows a melody line, which consists of repeated short phrases ending on C and G. Even a chromatic move from E flat to E is included, giving the melody a 'blue note' character. In other words, the music exhibits many features that are common for Zimbabwean mbira pop, while the horn section more closely echoes the Caribbean influenced popular music played in England.

True Jit was released in Autumn 1997 and the expectations of both the fans and the musicians were high. During the summer the band had played as Madonna's support act on Wembley stadion, which gave even more media publicity to the record project, and the members had bought themselves a house in London in order to make it easier for them to develop their international career (Muir 1997, 23–4). However, when the record was finally released the reception was not as warm as those involved in the project had expected. The media's response was either confused or outright negative. Some writers accepted the record as the product that the band wanted to make. The band members' appreciation of the record was also brought up in some interviews, as for example when Biggy Tembo explained how the band's music "is about exchanging ideas and not being told what to do" (Beevers 1997, 24) and when Rise Kagona praised the collaboration with Robin Millar, which was based on "mutual agreement" on the artistic choices (see Koivio 1988, 121). However, the British roots media in particular took pains to distance itself totally from the band's new style, as in Stella Washburn's review of the single Jit Jive in *Folk Roots*:

Some prat in *City Limits* was suggesting recently that if the Bhundu Boys, being real Zimbabweans, were happy with their new corporate-pop sound, who were we middle-class whiteys to disagree? Well, I'll eat my Filofax if their new sound isn't bland Euro-dross with hardly an iota of the energy which made them famous, and betcha the public isn't as easily hoodwinked as the band. Disappointment of the year so far. (Washburn 1987b, 43)

The whole album True Jit was also demolished in *Folk Roots*. The reviewer Sarah Coxson (1997, 36) ironically argued that "the crucial feel of the band" has been "obliterated" in an attempt to reach the mainstream: "here the pre-packaged Bhundus have been watered down, westernized, given a couple of beach-balls to bounce and, hey presto! they're instant contenders for daytime Radio 1 airplay". Coxson (ibid.)

also calls the English lyrics “cringe-worthily absurd” and accused the group of “gimmickry”, as on *Chemedzevana*, which according to her “initially sounds like an authentic Zimbabwean melody, but – – is then totally destroyed by the use of a Bad Manners brass section”.

The Bhundu Boys’ attempt to move from the smaller niche market of African pop music to a larger pop market proved to be very complicated to implement. The critics not only predicted an unsatisfactory outcome of the particular project, but they rejected the whole idea as ‘selling out’. For instance BBC’s world music DJ Andy Kershaw accused the record company of trying to alter the band’s sound and considered the choice of producer to have been a crucial mistake:

[T]he dick-head who sat down at WEA Records and said: Hey! I’ve got an ideeeaaa! It’s going to be Robin Millar! should be taken out and publicly put to death. (quoted in Anderson 1988, 37).

The interests and motives of the musicians were often dismissed in the press and the transnational record company and the producer were blamed for the stylistic changes. This contrasts with the recollections of the Bhundu Boys and the personnel working with the band. According to Kagona (int. 9.9.1979) there were very few disagreements about working methods because everybody shared the same goal: “we were open to anything which could put us into the world market”, and drummer Chitsvatsva (int. 12.11.1997) characterizes the whole project as “a good experience”. Robin Millar’s attitude could be characterized as liberal and supportive, and he emphasizes how he wanted to do his best to implement the wishes of the band without patronizing them:

Having gone there [to Africa], having talked to them [the African musicians], having seen it from beginning, having been friends, having lived with African people on and off since 1979, I knew perfectly well that just like anyone, just like a kid from a band in Helsinki or in Manchester, they basically just want to wear groovy clothes, make groovy music, write groovy songs, have some hits, make some money, smoke some dope, have a good time, women... – – The reality is these are kids forming pop groups to do the same things that all people in pop groups want to do: be original, make songs that people will like, make songs that will make people like them, and get ahead, do some business, do some commerce. (Millar, int. 24.2.1997.)

The band had initially hoped to break through into the international pop market, but this became very difficult after they had ended up in a specialist market with a strong authenticity code. The release of *True Jit* in the autumn 1987 more or less coincided with the launch of the marketing category world music and often the success of the Bhundu Boys’ independent records *Shabini* and *Tzvimbodzemoto* was presented as a reason for the general interest in the world music phenomenon (see e.g. Jarvis 1987).

However, the group itself was not happy to be consigned to the margins together with artists from the Third world or commercially less successful folk music styles. It was rather their ambition to be on equal status with the biggest pop stars, or as Gordon Muir (int. 20.2.1997) put it: "The Bhundu Boys only ever wanted to be between the Beatles and the Beastly Boys in the record racks, not together with some Madagascar nose flute specialist or some Highland pigmy, you know, twanging his foreskin".

The contract with the major record company, the musical changes, the new sounds and instruments and the use of English were intended to bring the band to a larger audience, but in this respect True Jit failed completely. According to Muir's (int. 20.2.1997) rough estimate, the total sales had reached approximately 30.000 copies in 1997. For an independent record company such sales figures would have been good, but for a major company, whose investment in a world music record can be 250.000 pounds (int. Vanrenen 21.2.1997), the sales expectations are much higher. Unfortunately the new stylistic features also meant that the group lost much of its older audience (see e.g. readers' letters in Folk Roots No. 74 and No. 76 1989). In the world music media the Bhundu Boys soon became a cautionary tale of what modern pop, technology and westernization can lead to. The article on Zimbabwean music in *World Music: the Rough Guide* summarized the general reception that the Bhundu Boys encountered: "their music suffered dangerously from over-exposure to western pop, culminating in the disastrous release of the unfortunately named 'True Jit' in 1987" (Kendall 1994, 403). The band was seen as neither accessible to the larger audience, nor authentic by the world music fans.

The Bhundu Boys' evident failure in trying to negotiate the field of tension between tradition and modernity forced the band to re-assess its working methods. The musicians felt that they needed to take their listeners' response seriously and try to adjust their music accordingly (int. Kagona 9.9.1979, Chitsvatsva 12.11.1997). The solution was to return to Zimbabwe for a new recording session and try to regain some of the initial sounds that had made the group popular.

The result was *Pamberi!* (Mango CCD 9858, originally WEA 246 279-2), an album that was recorded in Harare but mixed in London. The band engaged Philip Roberts, a British expatriate resident in Zimbabwe, to produce the record. Zimbabwean engineers, mbira players, horn players and musicians from the Kudzanai Marimba School Band and singers from the Zanu (P.F.) Magagao District Choir also participated in the session. The glossy visual image of True Jit's album cover was also abandoned on the new record. Instead *Pamberi!* was illustrated with two old, wrinkled black and white photographs that associated the project with 'roots', one with a group of African boys playing football and the other of Rise Kagona and Biggie Tembo early in their career.

In some respects Pamberi! comes closer to the Bhundu Boys' earlier Zimbabwean recordings than True Jit. The general sound is slightly rougher than on the English recording and reverbs and sound effects have been used more sparingly. The English lyrics are absent (with the exception of Biggy Tembo's introductory monologue on *Viva Chinhoy*) and the good-time interjections of True Jit have been left out. Some songs, as for example *Nyarara* and *Hondo Haiperi*, also sound very much like the band's earlier up tempo jit style with repeated short forms and a steady drum pulse combined with different rhythmic and metric lines played on guitars and bass. The arrangements reflect a wish to strengthen the Zimbabwean connection on Pamberi!. Mbira are included on *Chitima Kwe* and the latest trends found in Zimbabwean popular music are included, as South African dance beat on *Bye Bye Stambi*. However, the sound, which was created on a 24-track equipment that the band bought in London and brought over to Harare, is still very different from the standard Zimbabwean pop records because of the many over-dubs and large instrumentation included in the mix. The instrumentation also only partially connects the music to Zimbabwe. The mbira parts on *Chitima Kwe* follow the basic interlocking structure of mbira, but otherwise the song's melody and harmonic cycle IV-I-V-I more resembles jiti or South African popular music styles than mbira. It is in other words possible to speak of an inclusion of many musical elements that signify 'roots' for the listener who listens to the music as something from outside the western mainstream, but at the same time the record is clearly a step forward in the band's experimental direction.

On Pamberi! the Bhundu Boys continue to break down the earlier *museve* aesthetics by both adding influences from a variety of styles to the songs and by changing the musical structure so that the continuously repeated harmonic cycles and short interlocking phrases no longer form a foundation of the music. Thus, most of the songs on Pamberi! have clearly differentiated introductions, verses and refrains that often also have different characters because of changes in rhythm or key, or because of the stylistic elements included. An example of the harmonic changes can be found on *Magumede*, which has an introduction and interlude with the chord sequence F-C-Gm-Bb and a verse with the standard sequence F-C-Bb-C, but a modulated refrain with the minor chords Dm-Am-Gm. In some songs the harmonic development is combined with a strongly contrasting unison rhythmic break, which disrupts a strong contrast with the otherwise even flow of the song. For instance *Kutambura* displays such a break when the song's standard chord sequence F-Bb-F-C and 4/4 rhythm is interrupted by a jerky unison interlude.

Rise Kagona (int. 9.9.1997) explains the change in the music as an attempt to please the listeners for whom African music can sound monotonous. For these listeners the music's structure, which is based on variation within the repeated short

forms and beat, is foreign and can, according to him, therefore become boring. Kagona often jokingly compares the way the Europeans hear African music with the way they feel that “all Africans look the same”. This is particularly crucial when the listeners do not understand the lyrics and feel that all the songs are very similar. A second reason for the new approach was the musicians’ wish to find new means of artistic expression that would also give them a chance to display their creativity and talent. According to Kagona (int. 9.9.1997) the earlier repetitive style “doesn’t really portray professionalism” because “a song just starts and ends, there is nothing in the middle, there is nothing, you know, to show that we musicians can also do other tricks”. Thus, the band wanted to create variation by including more elements to its music and arranging the sections of the songs differently.

On Pamberi! the display of professionalism, which Kagona mentions as a motive for the musical changes, in practice often means the incorporation of stylistic features from progressive pop, such as changes in rhythm and key or experiments with larger forms. An example of this development is the song *Chimbira*, where both elements of mbira and jiti have been included, but in an exceptional arrangement. The earlier museve-ideal has been abandoned and instead the song has been composed as a succession of related, but still clearly differentiated sections. The song starts with an intro with bass and electric guitars playing in octaves above a synthesizer legato chord background. The rhythm resembles to some extent the 12/8 feel of mbira, but already in this short section variation is created by the ascending parallel melodic line, accompanied by a rhythmically unison drum line. The introduction is followed by a section that is based on the repetition of the one bar chord sequence Am–Am–Am–G, which is played in unison, accentuating the staccato chords. The same harmonic scheme is also repeated in the next section, although in a more mellow style with synthesizers and guitars playing legato and arpeggio chords. A major shift occurs halfway through the song when the accentuated section is followed by a sudden interlude with only a low synthesizer melody, after which the rhythm changes into a double-speed jiti-like feel. Despite the jiti-like character of the fast section the music is not based on a short chord cycle, or call and response structure, but on contrasting and interlocking phrases. There following again the slower sections, which are based on the one bar chord sequence Am–Am–Am–G played at different times in staccato and legato style.

Thus, the dramatic pattern of *Chimbira*, the creation of tension and release, is based on the succession of differing sections that are arranged so that they form contrasts with each other. A significant element of the song, and one that contributes to the move away from the earlier museve-ideal is the vocal part. The song has no lead vocal line that would be sung throughout the song. Nor has it any choruses where

parallel or responsorial choir parts would be added to the lead vocal. Instead, the lead singer Biggie Tembo occasionally fills in spoken sentences, short lamenting outbursts and longer recitative phrases. The choir parts are arranged in a similar manner, filling in repeated short phrases and more irregular interjections. The song is not through-composed, but neither is it based on the constant repetition of a short-form or a clear verse-refrain structure. It is, in other words, an experiment with a complex overarching form and variation within the limits of the larger pre-arranged sectional structure.

The general development of the Bhundu Boys' music can be explained as a move from typical Southern African popular music, which is based on the repetition and variation of short cycles, to experiments with more strictly arranged, larger forms that are based on sectional opposition. Richard Middleton (see 1990, 115–16; 1999, 142–3 and 2000, 5–6) has noticed similar structural and formal changes when comparing the development of American and European popular music styles, although American and European popular music in general seems to have moved historically in a reverse direction compared to the music of the Bhundu Boys. Following the terminology of Charles Keil (1966/1994) and Andrew Chester (1970/1990) Middleton speaks of, on one side “processual”, “engendered”, “intentional” music, which is based on a framework, such as a chord sequence or rhythm, and then extends itself by repeating the framework with perpetually varied inflections. The other musical approach that Middleton identifies is “syntactic”, “embodied”, “extensional” music, which starts with a small component, such as a melodic motif, and then develops the component through techniques of modification and combination to an extended, sectionally articulated or through-composed structure. According to Middleton (1999, 142–3) popular music in the USA and Europe has historically moved from an approach nearer the second category to one closer to the first, that is, in a direction taking it closer to African-American music.

Middleton's broad historical outline can of course be criticized for reductive generalizations, and in fact Middleton himself also points out that many variants, diversions and hybrids exist and have existed, but it still summarizes some of the key structural differences in much popular music. Hence, it is interesting to see how the Bhundu Boys' deliberately chose to move from a processual towards a more syntactic approach, in other words in a reverse from the European and American development. The Bhundu Boys did this partly as a result of the band's anxiety regarding European dislike for African music, for whom the music might sound repetitive and boring, but also because of the band members' wish to show their skills. The fact that the musicians had grown up listening to American and English popular music, including for example Deep Purple, Jethro Tull, Wishbone Ash and the Beatles, explains why the stylistic features of progressive pop were chosen. The members wanted to

create something new, and for them the syntactic, carefully arranged structure seemed to both signify skill and offer variation in a way that would please an international audience.

The new combination of Zimbabwean musical 'roots' and elements of progressive pop displayed on Pamberi!, enjoyed a much more positive response in the media than True Jit. Rick Glanvill (1989b) summarized the band's re-emergence in a review in *City Limits*, explaining how "the Bhundu Boys recover from fifteen rounds with the critics and a disastrous, immemorable debut for WEA". Glanvill (ibid.) also expressed his liking for the record, although he criticized some of its progressive pop influences: "If Gentle Giant had been born in Harare, 'Chimbira' would've been their anthem – other tracks suffer from a similar cavalier attitude to dog-leg rhythm changes". In 1989 when the record was released progressive pop was not necessarily in fashion in Europe and this can be seen in the critique, but otherwise the record received a favorable response. The fact that Zimbabwean musicians have been incorporated was a particular feature of many positive reviews. It is of course paradoxical when reviewers (e.g. Anderson 1990, Dalton 1989 and Spencer 1992, 15) mention that the record contains "traditional mbira" when the mbira in fact play only on one track, *Chitima Kwe*, which, due to its roots progression B–E–B–F# and swinging rhythm is stylistically closer to the South African popular music style marabi than Zimbabwean mbira. However, on Pamberi! the Bhundu Boys seem to have combined the different elements in a way that made the record appear to be a successful hybrid of modern and traditional music for the world music critics. Or as Ian Anderson (1990) of *Folk Roots* described what he regarded as Pamberi!'s strongest point: "it undoubtedly has broad appeal to many who might otherwise find Zimbabwean music harder to come to grips with". In other words, the record was praised as being accessible in a way that did not create a conflict with the authenticity criteria of the world music discourse.

The favorable response that Pamberi! received in the world music media came too late to help the Bhundu Boys. WEA's interest in promoting the band had diminished after the failure of True Jit and many of the A&R-persons and other executives who had been active when the band was signed to the company had moved on. The record company was no longer interested in investing in the promotion of Pamberi! and the co-operation between the Bhundu Boys and WEA ended in early January 1990 when the band received a one line letter from one of WEA's lawyers stating: "Your services are no longer required". (Int. Muir 1997, Muir 1997, 57.)

## 4. Changing interpretations of tradition and modernization

The interest in 'tradition', or in a modified form, for 'roots', which is so fundamental in the world music discourse, can be formulated and put into practice in a range of ways. As the case studies of Virginia Mukweshu and the Bhundu Boys show, the various participants in world music constantly negotiate the tensions between 'tradition' and 'modernization'. A simultaneous demand for both 'accessibility' and 'authenticity' is important for the media, but the dividing line between the concepts is subject to different interpretations. Processes and practices such as 'selling out' by moving to a larger company, the choices made during the production process, the use of technology and, in general, the way in which sounds and musical structures from different sources are combined by the creative individual, are all a part of the constant evaluation process of the media and fans.

The recording industry is often blamed for forcing artists to adapt to a western mainstream mode of music making, thus coercing artists to selling out. In some cases it seems to be justifiable to speak of a deliberate attempt from the record company to fuse the music of an upcoming artist with a style that is currently fashionable on the international pop market. Artists & Repertoire-manager Donald 'Jumbo' Vanrenen (int. 12.2.1997) for example mentions that the world music record company Mango can try to "fit in some sort of a trend that's going down at the time" by for example remixing house or techno versions of the songs when trying to break a new act, but he also admits that "there is no tried and tested way of making it work yet". What is most important is that the reactions to the music can be hard to predict, especially when it comes to the credibility of the artist, and in this respect the industry must be particularly sensitive in order to achieve a profitable outcome.

The questions concerning the power of the record company are often crystallized in the debate on the input of the producer, the production process in the studio and the way technology is used. The producer is sometimes portrayed as a Mephistopheles who lures the innocent musician into trading his soul for success. In his article *World Music Mining* Rick Glanvill (1989a, 65) writes about the compromises involved in breaking into a new, alien market, and asserts that "the producer can be a cultural interpreter or a destructive influence". An example of the latter is, according to Glanvill the "hellish vision of Afro-house music" that British pop engineer Martyn Young "conjured" from Mory Kante's *Ye Ke Ye Ke*, "complete with 'acid' synth work and a total abnegation of the traditional elements" (ibid.). However, as the example of the Bhundu Boys' *True Jit* shows, this account can overlook the importance of the world music critics' and audience's expectations regarding authenticity. The professional record producers have to take account of the possible effects of the music on

an imaged audience, because, as Hennion (1983, 191) puts it, “pop songs do not create their public, they discover it”. Thus, a successful producer must try to discover what holds meaning to the public and in what ways. In the world music discourse this meaning is often tied to notions of the West and the Rest, which in turn are invoked in the authenticity code.

The debate about technology shows how the artists, the record companies and producers approach the questions of tradition and modernization from different angles. The contradictions also show how the concept of technology in all its ambiguity may also be regarded as a construction which is implicated with a range of popular desires and institutional practices, and with the tradition-modernization binary. All musicians and music media inevitably use some kind of technology for mediation but only certain aspects of this use are debated. Thus technology, as Paul Théberge (1999, 213) argues, “is often little more than a focal point for the deployment of a wider set of discourses concerning issues of democracy, political economy, and social control”. In the world music discourse the debate about technology has not necessarily focused on the use of European instruments or electric amplification as such, but more often on the incorporation of sound synthesizing. Authenticity thus becomes linked with a distinction between “electric” and “electronic” sound (electric guitar versus synthesizer), which pervaded rock discourse in the late 1980s (see Jones 1992, 72).

The authenticity criteria of world music discourse are not immutable or universal. They are usually based on the aesthetic predispositions of the media and audience, which apply their interpretations of roots to the different world music styles. In the case of African pop the incorporation of European languages and musical elements, or electronic instruments other than the ‘roots’ formula of electric guitar, electric bass and drum set, can cause controversy. These elements featured in the debates over the Bhundu Boys’ recordings for WEA, but the general idea of a model based on the older guitar band formula of earlier Congolese pop music, has also been noted in other research. Annemette Kirkegaard (1996, 337–9) for example has remarked how the music of Tanzanian bandleader Remmy Ongala shifted in the direction of earlier Congolese music after he entered the world music market. Similarly Kazadi wa Mukuna (1994, 70) has noted that Congolese musicians feel that musicians who have moved to Europe have stagnated as a result of their attempts to please the European audience, or as one migrant musician explained: “In Europe we interpret while in Zaire they create”. The search for ‘roots’ also underpinned the popularity of Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens’ South African mbaqanga in the 1980s among world music fans, although the style at that time was largely abandoned by the younger South African pop audience, who preferred the new disco music created in

recording studios on synthesizers and drum machines (which in turn was despised by the world music audience, see for example Anderson 1987b, 42 and Prince 1989).

Thus, the world music discourse constructs an idea of authenticity which is based on a certain historical stage of development during which the 'traditional' music had become to a certain extent 'modernized', incorporating some new (for example 'electric' but not 'electronic') sounds, and the music which signifies a later stage of 'modernization' is considered less authentic. This retrospective authentication of music retroactively is not necessarily new. According to Krister Malm (pers. comm. 30.1.1997), the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century for example became the significant transitional moment for European folk music enthusiasts, and the 1980s seem to have been accorded the same status for much world music. This process is not so much dependent on the actual character of the music on either side of the temporal divide, but the musicians usually become aware of the expectations of their new audiences and react to them appropriately.

In this chapter I have discussed the way notions of 'tradition' and 'modernization' have been used in the construction of 'authenticity'. During the 1980s and the 1990s the significance of these concepts came under discussion particularly among scholars who argued from a postmodernist position that the older bipolarities on which the authenticity criteria were based have become blurred in the new era of industrial consumer culture has entered. Lawrence Grossberg (1993, 203) wrote for example about the changes in post-war Western culture, claiming that the latest postmodern development of rock videos shows how "the ideology of authenticity is increasingly irrelevant to contemporary taste" and that "difference no longer makes a difference". According to Grossberg (*ibid.*, 206) we have entered a stage of ironic nihilism where "the only possible claim to authenticity is derived from the knowledge and admission of your inauthenticity".

The most stridently postmodernist writers allege a collapse of earlier experiences of time and space and of distinctions of the true and fake. I believe, however, that, although 'tradition', 'modernization' and their relationship with 'authenticity' have been re-assessed, the importance of these concepts is still evident in world music discourse. Hence, I find plausible Johan Fornäs' (1995a, 277) modification of Goodwin's arguments when he concludes that "late modernity has problematized earlier, naïve and romantic views on authenticity, but not obliterated the relevance of this concept itself". Instead of abandoning the concept authenticity it is more fruitful to study its reinterpretation in the process of reflexive identity-construction.

The mixing of musical influences from a large variety of sources is often raised in discussions about authenticity in the world music discourse. Some aspects of this issue, particularly the increasing eclecticism enabled by technological developments

such as sampling, could support a postmodernist argument that we have entered a new era of stylistic promiscuity and the mixing of codes. However, even the most eclectic music, cut'n'paste from all over the world are cut and superimposed on a techno beat, seems to polarize listeners along traditional lines. Probably most active and prominent defenders and opponents respectively of the fusing of 'traditional' or 'roots' music with techno are Aki Nawaz and Joe Boyd, who have debated this issue in world music forums (see e.g. Beck 1997). Nawaz (1997), whose company Nation Record has specialized in so-called world dance fusion, claims that opposition to the new technology is patronizing, since traditional musicians are also excited by it, and the new hybrid styles are both understandable and desirable because the stylistic experiments make the music more accessible for new audiences. Producer Joe Boyd (1997) for his part argues that the fusions created by the major labels tend to be disappointing and claims that traditional rhythms are more likely to be commercially successful than fusions. Hence, we find durable the old ideas of separate and stable traditional cultures, which are fused (although with increasing speed and from a broadening array of sources) through processes that conflict with the authenticity ideals.

The combination of unexpected stylistic elements also evokes postmodern key words such as parody, pastiche and playfulness. In many postmodern theories the current techniques of quotation are said to lead to a celebration of surface. One of the most prominent of these theorists, Fredric Jameson (1991) summarizes the effects of this valorization of quotations in his rather negative notion of "pastiche". Jameson argues that "parody" no longer describes postmodern culture because parody implies an intention to mock divergence from convention. Instead, he uses the term "pastiche", which refers to "blank parody", denoting a postmodern intertextuality that collapses any sense of critical distance (*ibid.* 17). In world music research Veit Erlmann (e.g. 1993 and 1996b) has been most prominent in the development of this model. Erlmann (1996b, 481) is interested in developing a theory that would examine "the ways in which world music constructs the experience of global communication and authenticity through symbolic means whose very difference depends so vitally on their sameness as transnational commodities". This leads him to introduce the idea of pastiche "as the key principal of world music" (*ibid.*, 482). In Erlmann's view "the reconfigured time-space relationship in world music does away with time and place altogether" to the extent that "in world music the play of differences is turned into a new kind of identity" and "difference itself becomes the signified" (*ibid.*, 482-3).

I find Erlmann's argumentation rather extreme particularly in centralizing pastiche as the most crucial aspect of world music. One obvious enabling strategy for Erlmann's critical approach is his particular selectivity in the categorization of world

music. For example, he excludes such styles as Thomas Mapfumo's Zimbabwean chimurenga or East African taarab (see e.g. Erlmann 1993, 13–4 and 1996b 483–4), although they are usually classified as world music by other scholarly and media writers on the subject. Instead Erlmann reserves the term world music for such artists and records as Paul Simon's *Graceland* and Andreas Vollenweider's *The Book of Roses*, and in general music that, according to him, has "the pseudohistorical sound of pastness" (Erlmann 1996b, 483). In other words, Erlmann defines world music in a rather idiosyncratic way that suits his analytical purposes, in which pastiche can be called a key principle.

Taken to its extreme, the idea of "blank parody", which would occlude all previous meanings and criteria, is, in my opinion, unconvincing when applied to even the most eclectic world music. Although notions of 'tradition' and 'authenticity' might be the objects of playful parody, their significance is obliterated. Probably most famous parodist of world music, 3 Mustaphas 3, created a highly complex, absurd world around the invented history of the Mustapha brothers from Szegerly and their musical adventures (see e.g. Esser 1988 for the history of 3 Mustaphas 3). However, 3 Mustaphas 3's surreal approach can also be said to target established notions of tradition, ethnicity and authenticity. In fact, I would argue that their parody would have been impossible but for the robust persistence of a common, shared set of values and understanding of tradition, locality, ethnicity and authenticity.

Even the most eclectic techno mixes, with fragments of music from a wide range of sources, can carry a sense of 'tradition' that goes deeper than the blank surface that theories of pastiche imply. The textual appropriations of sampling not only show how easy it is technologically to borrow or steal material, but also how contemporary music can celebrate and promote the texts that it steals from to invoke history and authenticity (as Goodwin has argued in his critique of postmodern theory in popular music studies, see for example Goodwin 1991, 175 and 1988/1990, 271). While not all "world dance fusion" styles use their samples from all over the world in a spirit of respectful appreciation, they nonetheless anchor their appropriations in a highly romantic, modernist tradition of binaries, of which the West versus the Rest is the most prominent (see further Hesmondhalgh 1998, 137–8).

I would like to summarize by suggesting that many of the postmodern insights are important in descriptions of the world music phenomenon. They have brought a greater awareness of the complexity of concepts such as tradition and modernization, a recognition of playful and even parodic approaches, and of the larger possibilities for a comprehensive eclecticism and the crossing of traditional conceptual boundaries. However, this is not to say that we can dismiss and ignore all the old binaries. I incline to Timothy Taylor's (1997, 203) critique of the ideas of "postmodernism-as-

style” and his preference for the idea of “postmodernity-as-moment”. There might be value in some of the taxonomies formed under the heading postmodernism, but what appears to be a more realistic position is to say that today different musics simply converge in countless new ways and we must be careful of overstating the novelty of even this. It is rather that the speed and scale of the convergence is unprecedented. What is more important is that the new musical products carry with them different meanings, but which are often interpreted through the invocation of old conceptual models such as tradition and modernization.

## IV

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# The tension local–global

### 1. Local music in an international context

The interest in ‘authenticity’ is not only connected to the idea of a ‘tradition’, in other words to some cultural continuum that is supposedly lost in the West, but also to the idea of locality. In world music the concept ‘local music’ has a special place. Among the definitions of world music, Ian Anderson’s (1997, 13) “Local music, not from here (wherever here is)” and Cliff Furnald’s (1998) “Music that still tastes local when savored elsewhere” tellingly summarize the central position of locality in the discourse. World music is explained as something other than all the ‘dislocated’ ‘international’ or ‘global’ music, which is produced by the transnational music industry simply for profit. Locality is thus given a special meaning confers upon the music a value that is absent from much mainstream popular music. The paradox of this form of authentication is that, in reaching the world music media and audience, the music is inevitably also simultaneously international. As the marketing slogan of The European Forum of Worldwide Music Festivals (WOMEX) suggests: “[The WOMEX festivals are] Your ideal partner for making local music international and international music local” (Beck 1997, 6–7). The industry created the marketing category initially in order to bring together local music and local listeners from elsewhere. This paradox of locality creates a tension between the local and the global that participants in world music must negotiate.

A large proportion of world music press material and articles is built on the assumption that there is a connection between an actual place and the characteristics of the cultural forms that are produced there. This is a particularly common pattern when the music is alleged to be ‘traditional’ or ‘roots’, and to be born within a small-scale

community, which exists in one particular place. For instance the Roots Music Gathering in New Orleans and the organization's mailing list "for Roots Music Professionals" define roots music as "any music with a foundation in a community, with a specific and meaningful link to the community that is passed down from generation to generation -- in short, any music that is traditional and community-based" (promotional E-mail 10.7.1998). This community-centered explanation is clearly not only a definition but also a criterion of value by which the music's value and distinctiveness are determined. Similarly Florian Hetze (int. 13.3.1997), manager of Shava Musik, articulates the principles of his family company as avoiding music that has been created "just for money", preferring instead musical styles that exist primarily "because they have a social function". In the *Rough Guide to World Music* these ideals are invoked in several contexts, as when texmex, cajun and are declared to be "an integral part of everyday life" (Broughton et al. 1994, 593) or when the musical life of Romania and Transylvania (Broughton 1994) is praised for its authenticity. The connection to place is, in other words, based on the idea of a music that originates in a local community, as opposed to the industry or some state organization (compare also Sweeney's 1991, 244 criteria for world music).

The way in which local social life is seen to form the appropriate breeding-ground for good music reflects again nostalgia for the lost, which is so common for world music discourse. The dichotomy of community-based and industrial music making carries with it many of the distinctions between "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft" that have been questioned in sociological writing since Toennies introduced the concepts (see e.g. Abercrombie et al. 1994, 75). In this polarization the pre-industrial way of life with face-to-face interaction in a largely rural village environment is contrasted with an industrial, fragmented urban environment. The interest in tradition and roots is thus tied to an earlier form of local communal life, some kind of a natural Gemeinschaft of the past, which is brought to the modern Gesellschaft for consumption.

The dichotomy community-industry hides a paradox which is typical of the discourse of world music. Even were it possible to define a clear-cut distinction between community-based and industrial music making that would correspond to the distinction between valorized world music and some other music, the role of the industry, which is inevitably involved in bringing the music to its consumer in the first place, remains ambiguous. Indeed it is arguable that the character and socio-cultural location of many musics have been largely determined by the influence of mass media. For example in the case of mbira, as Turino (2000, 79 and chapter 9) argues, "radio and recordings – the mass media – have played a central role in making this formerly localized tradition translocal and ultimately transnational". It is also generally diffi-

cult to find any significant difference between the production processes of most European and North American music industries and those producing much of what becomes labeled as world music. Equally facile and dubious is of course the idea of some, presumably 'global' popular music that is a completely artificial industrial product with no anchor in particular localities, communities or traditions, nor any social function in the audience's everyday life.

Despite these paradoxes the construction of locality is an important element in the highly internationalized dissemination of world music. It becomes one of the cornerstones for the interpretation of the music in its new media environment. Thus, world music, as Tony Mitchell (1996, 87) has argued, is an example of the "production fetishism" of today. Mitchell has borrowed the concept from Arjun Appadurai (1990, 16), who, writing on the global cultural economy, describes how "the locality (both in the sense of the local factory or site of production and in the extended sense of the nation-state) becomes a fetish which disguises the globally dispersed forces that actually drive the production process". According to Mitchell (1996, 87) this is so apposite to world music that he speaks of "the fetishizing of localities" as "endemic to the concept world music". Styles have been adopted, appropriated, transformed and blended, but Mitchell (*ibid.*, 88) emphasizes nonetheless the rhetorical importance and resonance that locality has as a marker of popular music. In other words, while the link between music and locality is complex and the construction of locality is now tied to global media flows, the idea of locality nevertheless remains very important as it signifies difference and strengthens identities.

The interest in locality in world music is nothing new in itself. To some extent it is a variation on the former folkloristic sense of community and place, in which music was identified as belonging to a folk, people or nation of some particular region (for a summary see for example Bohlmann 1988 chapter four). Similar ideas are occasionally raised in world music discourse, although the conceptualizations might differ. Currently the idea of an authentic community is often merged with the notion of ethnicity, which can be extended from a definite locality to the geographically more flexible ideas of minority or race. One aspect of this localization of world music is, as Lisa Nicol (1998, 182) states when writing about the Australian aboriginals, "that non-Western artists are not permitted to be individuals but, more often than not, are seen as representatives of their racial group". Western musicians are probably more likely to be accepted as creative individuals than other musicians, who, in turn, are expected to make music that seems to resemble the indigenous music of their place (see also Taylor 1997, 23). The expectations of the audience, for whom the world music artist signifies Otherness, are underpinned by the idea of an unchanged essence of other cultures, in which notions of place, ethnic groupings and music are combined.

It does not necessarily follow from the emphasis on a local community that no world music artists may be declared personal geniuses or stars. In fact, the promotion and media practices demand such individualization of musical creativity. A frequent tension between the more pop minded business people and many ethnomusicologists and folk music fans arises from the attempt to reconcile the industry's preference for a star system with the ethnomusicological attempt also to recognize the importance of the cultural context from which the music emerges. For many critical commentators a star system can obscure the collective creativity and the subsequent copyright problems, or to use the wording of Director of Maison des Cultures des Mondes Pierre Bois (as he put it when the issue was debated at the 1998 WOMEX trade fair): "The stars are the trees that hide the forest". The world music industry's tendency to "bolster the star-system", as Scottish folk music researcher Ailie Munro (1996, 173) wrote in criticism of the magazine *Folk Roots* and the world music practices in general, is also frequently alluded to in the earlier folk fans reactions to the new musical category.

However, no matter how much appreciation is accorded to personal creativity by the media, world music stars are also expected to be faithful to their origin. This local contextualization of internationally celebrated musicians recalls the privileging of the local in rock criticism as the basis of a musician's credibility. Sarah Cohen's (1994, 118) description of the values underlying rock journalism is pertinent also in the world music context: "The linking of particular artists with particular places identifies them with roots and presents them as real people embodying artistic integrity and honesty, rather than glitzy pop stars representing an unreal world of glamour, commerce and marketing strategies". In world music these preconceptions regarding locality form an even more important basic framework because of the discursive separation of the West and the Rest.

The localization of music or artists is most often conducted by categorizing them by nation. The world music record racks are labeled by continents, which in turn have been categorized in terms of nations. Likewise the world music charts usually list a nationality together with each record and artist. This emphasis on nation often leads to complex and unexpected categorizations, as for example Ashwani Sharma (1996) and James Barrett (1996) have noted. According to Sharma ethnicity has become a "master-signifier of marketing and advertising" (1996, 22) and particularly in world music the ethnicity of music is coded in terms of nation and national cultures, although "the diversity of these very different musical forms, often belonging to specific localities that either have little to do with the hegemonic national culture or cross the boundaries of nation-states" (ibid., 23). Barrett (1996, 240) criticizes this tendency of world music to determine nationhood and citizenship through romanticized cul-

tural aesthetics by naming several examples; for example Gipsy Kings from France is listed under Spain, many contemporary exponents of rai are located under Algeria although they are originally Moroccan and their current music making is Paris-based, Aster Aweke who has been exiled for years in New York is listed under Ethiopia, American klezmer groups are filed under Israel and Sheila Chandra, whose record company classifies her eclectic music as English, is often categorized as Indian. In other words, the localization of the music is not necessarily based on the cultural history of the style of music, or the current cultural context in which the music is created, or even on the origin of the artist. Instead, the localization is rather based on the preconceived exoticized associations that happen to be strongest in the minds of the world music industry and consumer.

The tendency to locate music by categorizing it along national borders can appear to conflict with common sense notions of the musics' origins. However, it is worth keeping in mind Benedict Anderson's (1983, 15) basic thesis that all nations are imagined units and that "communities are not to be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined". In other words, the fixation on nations is probably different, but not necessarily more or less valid than any other way of localizing the music. In a historical perspective this localization has some logic, as it reflects how 'nation-ness' has been so crucial in European ideological and social development during recent centuries. It is also worth bearing in mind that music has been an essential element in the construction of nations, not least because of the input of music folklorism in the process. Hence, many musical institutions, including promotional and export organizations, are also often national. At a deeper level it is of course possible to speak of the Western way of conceptualizing the world as a group of nations.

Only rarely is the music categorized in terms other than nation. The most conspicuous exception is probably 'Celtic music', which is localized through the construction of an imaginary minority in an ambiguously defined place (see for example Chapman 1994 on the concept "Celtic music"). 'Celtic' thus comes to signify the long lost overarching, mythical past of today's more prosaic Western European culture. The search for authentic music making in other places can also lead to an interest in regions that are perceived as remote by the 'modern' cultural centers, even if these fringe areas might belong to the same nation as the core. For instance in Japan so called traditional or popular Japanese music is excluded from the classification world music, but Okinawan music is perceived as something not Japanese and Okinawan records are included in the world music record racks next to Southeast Asian records (Mitsui 1997, 172). Shuhei Hosokawa's (1997) description of the differences between the music making in Okinawa and Japan discloses how the culture of Okinawa is por-

trayed as an Other in relation to the national culture: “[in Okinawa] folk song and dance provide a vital force to every kind of religious and secular gathering and attract the young as well as the old (unlike Japanese folk song and dance which are mainly maintained by various preservation societies dominated by elderly amateurs with a nostalgic and conservative mentality); non-professional singer-songwriters are found everywhere who sing about their daily affairs in local language (by contrast, Japanese music is forcefully controlled by mass media); some cities have ‘folksong bars’ where singers (usually the venue-owners) perform at night and the clients are also invited to sing and dance on stage with live accompaniment (unlike the karaoke spots overwhelming Japan)” (ibid., 56). The Okinawan music is thus ‘world music’ because of its role in the local ‘Gemeinschaft’, as compared to the national mainstream music, which is forced to exist in a modern ‘Gesellschaft’ environment.

### *1.1 The Zimbabwean musicians out in the world*

A musician who enters the world music market inevitably faces the authenticity expectations that the music industry’s way of localizing music implies. The authenticity ideals can relate to different aspects of music making and contextual factors. The idea of an ethnic community is for example often interpreted as racial authenticity to which the musician must adjust himself. A group that plays African music can for example be more credible if it comes from Africa and consists of black musicians than if it is resident in Europe and some of the members are Europeans (see e.g. Sondlo 1996). The whole African continent is also easily seen as one unit, and if it is divided it is usually seen as consisting of firm and stable cultural units that follow national borders. These established pre-conceptions of locality are also well known for Zimbabwean musicians who have made an international career.

A common feature in the world music phenomenon is that new artists from other countries are promoted as being stars in their own home market because of the credibility this local popularity is expected to give them. This also happened when Gordon Muir (int. 20.2.1997) started successfully promoting the Bhundu Boys for the British audience as “Zimbabwe’s number one band”, although the group had had only a few commercial successes in its home country. In Zimbabwe the Bhundu Boys in fact became much more famous after having worked in Europe, as for example Shepherd Mutamba’s (1989, 25) comment in the Zimbabwean magazine *Parade* shows: “they are the poor amateurs turned professionals over just two years of hard work in Britain”. For both the European and Zimbabwean press a localization of the band was important, but in different ways and for opposite reasons. In Europe the Zimbabwean ‘roots’ of the group were usually mentioned, whereas in Zimbabwe it was empha-

sized how the band had bought a house in London with the royalty advances they gained from the contract with WEA (see e.g. Hatugari 1987). Thus, the new locality of the Bhundu Boys, which was a consequence of the changing working conditions of the band, was simultaneously neglected by the European press because it was something of a 'sell-out' move and brought up by the Zimbabwean press as a symbol for 'making it'.

The meaning of locality became evident for the band members after the cold reception that *True Jit* got in the world music press. The backlash was partly explained to be a consequence of the working environment in the London studio and the band decided to return to Harare in order to regain some of its credibility (int. Kagona 9.9.1997, Chitsvatsva 12.11.1997). In Zimbabwe the band's new sound on *True Jit* was met with mixed feelings. Rise Kagona (int. 9.9.1997) claims that the audience liked the songs and new sounds. However, according to Brian Cader (int. 19.3.1991), who in the beginning of the 1990s was Marketing Manager at Gramma Records and responsible for the distribution of the record in Zimbabwe, also some Zimbabwean listeners rejected the record. According to Cader many Zimbabweans felt that the Bhundu Boys had "become more English than the English people" (ibid.). Zimbabwean ethnomusicologist Isaac Kalumbu offers an explanation, which fits both of these descriptions. According to Kalumbu (1999, 64–5) the Bhundu Boys' earlier sungura-based pop had its main audience in the Zimbabwean lower classes, for which the new style was unfamiliar, whereas the more urban, upper classes liked the strong European pop influence. The band's economic failure in Zimbabwe could at least partly be explained by the fact that the more urban, upper class audience was not big enough to support the band in the same way as the large lower class audience had done, despite of the latter's low consumption power per capita. The Bhundu Boys also faced problems due to the exploitative nature of the Zimbabwean business life, which did not favor successful independents, and thus did not promote and distribute for example *True Jit* properly.

As a result of this the backlash with *True Jit* the Bhundu Boys decided to basically never return to the Zimbabwean club circuit and record companies, although the overseas business decreased substantially and the band had to sell its house in London. During the 1990s the band performed less and less in Zimbabwe and it got together for rehearsals only when it knew of a tour overseas (int. Kagona 6.10.1997). However, the band was all the time known in the world music market as a popular Zimbabwean act, at the same time as the Zimbabwean media kept writing about it as "Zimbabwe's UK-based band" (e.g. Chimuka 1996, 23).

The localization of Virginia Mukweshu's music making is to some extent very similar to that of the Bhundu Boys, but her life as an emigrant makes the tensions

between her former and current positions as a musician to some extent clearer. Mukweshwa's career as a bandleader started in the beginning of the 1990s, in other words not until a few years after she had moved to Berlin. All of her records have been recorded in Zimbabwe, with Zimbabwean musicians, but they have not been released in her native country with the exception of the mbira record *Matare*, for which Mukweshwa negotiated a release contract with Africa Sounds that specializes in selling records to foreign tourists. Mukweshwa has not performed in Zimbabwe either. According to Mukweshwa (int. 14.3.1997) it is hard to try to make a career in Zimbabwe because of the exploitative music industry, low incomes and generally difficult conditions there, and after she became used to the European industry and way of life, she found it "difficult to be oppressed", that is, to be a professional musician in Zimbabwe. On the other hand, she does not earn her living as a professional musician in Europe. Most of her income comes from giving workshops on anti-racism, anti-violence and multicultural meetings. The workshops are usually targeted at youth groups and women groups at kindergartens, schools, cultural centers and festivals, but Mukweshwa also gives private lessons in for example Shona, mbira playing and dancing.

Both Mukweshwa and her husband Florian Hetze are aware of the European interest in exoticism, and how the media neglect musicians who live and record in Europe because their music is no longer thought to be "the real stuff" (Hetze int. 13.3.1997). The migrant status of Mukweshwa is, thus, not mentioned in her press material and in fact some journalists write about her as if she would be famous foremost in her home country (see e.g. Wolf 1993 and Butz 1995). Mukweshwa, who changed her surname to Hetze when she got married, has also continued to use her Zimbabwean name Mukweshwa in her professional career (in Zimbabwe the name is usually spelled Mkweshwa, as her own father does, but she prefers to spell Mukweshwa in order to make it easier to read and pronounce for Europeans). Mukweshwa's career choices and the creation of her image as a Zimbabwean musician on the European world music market reflect some aspects of the tension local-global. This is also evident in the questions concerning language. During concerts in Germany Mukweshwa (int. 17.3.) avoids using German so that the audience would not believe that she has abandoned her Zimbabwean roots. There are only a very small number of Zimbabweans living in Germany and neighboring Central European countries where Mukweshwa usually performs. The lyrics are translated in the CD-booklets, but only a few listeners at concerts can understand them. However, for Mukweshwa it is natural to continue writing in Shona about subjects that are important in the current life of her native country.

The lyrics are an important part of Mukweshwa's music, particularly because of their focus on social questions and gender issues. This is also emphasized on Mukweshwa's

second jiti album *Chamu* (Shava, SHAVACD003-2), which was recorded in Harare and released in 1994 by Mukweshu's and her husband Florian Hetze's German family company Shava. The female perspective is brought up in the songs as well as in the texts in the CD-booklet and in press material. On the front cover of the CD the slogan "Men are Children & Women Are Mothers", placed just above the record's name, states the importance of gender aspects on the record. On the backside the music is described as "Hot & Original Dance Music from Zimbabwe For The New Female Generation of Africa". This aspect is further emphasized in the CD-booklet, where Mukweshu is explained to have "created a new style of Jiti to cater for the newly emerging African women" (*Chamu* CD-booklet, anon., p. 5–6) and further: "Virginia Mukweshu incorporates a self conscious and naughty new African woman with razor-sharp lyrics on male illusions and other human weaknesses calling for an answer." (*ibid.*, 7). The paradox of this explanation, no matter how relevant it otherwise is, is that extremely few African women have the possibility of hearing the record, which has only been released by the German company Shava. The Shona lyrics are translated into English and German in the booklet, but many of the sexual innuendos and jokes are not translated and are incomprehensible for non-Shona. This has, on the other hand, not disturbed the media, in which social criticism and gender issues fit the authenticity expectations of the world music discourse.

The distance between Berlin and Zimbabwe does not disturb Mukweshu herself, despite the paradoxical nature of the localization of Mukweshu's music making and career. On the contrary, Mukweshu (int. 19.3.1997) feels that it has made it easier for her to see more clearly the important issues and get a many-sided picture of both good and bad sides of Zimbabwean society. The localization of Mukweshu's music is therefore not easy to make according to any ready-made scheme of community-based or national music making. Nor is it possible to disregard it as merely somehow rootless music making. Instead, it is born out of Mukweshu's personal experiences as an emigrant with a specific cultural background and of her creative will, which finds new working methods in changing environments.

The need for adjustments because of changing working conditions has been equally important for Sunduza. In promotional material Sunduza has always emphasized the choir's community background by explaining that it is a group of young men from Pumula Township in Bulawayo who want to promote and educate their own home area through their work. The choir was also already in the beginning well organized, with a written constitution and different spheres of responsibility that each member took care of. The localized, organizational character of Sunduza's activities however changed as time went by. Manager Philip Weiss and Mandla Sibanda, who took care of many practical arrangements, and later also leader Simon Banda spent

most of their time in Harare, as a result of the better work opportunities in the capitol. The geographic dissolution of the group grew even more as a result of the requirements of the international activities. Manager Weiss spent more time in the United Kingdom when arranging funding for tours and other projects and also Sibanda and Banda stayed at times in the United Kingdom as a result of work and study projects.

The internationalization of Sunduza's work has been a natural consequence of the choir's motives and the harsh economic realities in Zimbabwe. According to the understanding of both the choir members and the Zimbabwean record industry it is very hard to reach large sales figures for music that is sung in Ndebele and even harder for an a cappella mbube choir (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997). Thus, also Sunduza's records have been sold in Zimbabwe through Africa Sounds, which targets foreign travelers at tourist resorts such as Victoria Falls. Sunduza had hoped to get a record contract with some of the world music labels of the transnational major companies but the dreams never came through. The distribution in Europe has been handled by the English independent company Stern's, which has specialized in African music, and simply by selling the records at concerts. Sunduza's discussions with larger record companies showed, according to Philip Weiss (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997), that the majors are afraid of investing in a large group such as this if it lacks management that can cover the group during harder times and for example finance its flights from Africa to Europe or America. The tours have been risk financed by Weiss and although the income is not big, it is still substantial when compared to the general income in Zimbabwe.

The idea of locality as something fixed that follows the borders of stable cultures or nations, means that the diversity and disunion that migration, arbitrary state formations and the colonial heritage have lead to, is overlooked. An example of this complexity is when Sunduza, whose music is distinctly born out of the migrant labor culture of Southern Africa, was called a South African group on an overseas tour (see Khor 1994b). The mbube style was of course born in the South African mining towns, but it bears elements from a wide geographical area and the different population groups in the whole of Southern Africa that contributed in the labor migration have a living contact to the style, the Ndebele minority of Zimbabwe being no exception. Mbube's character as immigrant music, with influences from different cultures and styles, and Sunduza's scattered working conditions are not an exception in the field of world music. However, the fact that a group is not always necessarily tied to one geographic location does not mean that its members would have lost their musical or personal identity. It has rather been a part of a constant negotiation that is typical in musicians' professional and personal lives.

The Zimbabwean artists' international careers and lives can be called examples of the "multiple subject positions newly available in the global postmodern" and how these positions are "lived and deployed, negotiated and renegotiated" (Taylor 1997, 163). Especially the way in which Mukweshu's immigrant status, authentic image and personal life are fused in her professional and creative choices reflect the diverse alternatives that together form the fluctuating process of her identity-construction. The fact that she and the Bhundu Boys, and partly even Sunduza, have moved between localities and simultaneously been forced to renegotiate their artistic identity is in some ways descriptive of the 'global postmodern' or late modern, but it is also possible to see this process as an example of the more basic, prosaic nature of professional musicianship. Writing about the "conspicuously translocal cultural worlds" that musicians live in, Martin Stokes (1994, 98) points out how the musician's "social skills are those of people capable of addressing varied and heterogeneous groups, and their value in locality is often perceived to be precisely their ability to transcend the cultural boundaries of that locality". According to Stokes (*ibid.*) the Western experience of other musics is restrictive in such a way that it is difficult for the westerner to think of translocal cultural music experiences as anything other than models of authenticities going on elsewhere: "Music out of place, we are too readily inclined to believe, is music without meaning". Nowadays the professional musicians and their products are of course able to cross larger distances at a faster speed than ever before, but their creativity is still largely expected to reflect some true community-based authenticity, from which the music becomes separated if it is performed someplace else or simply industrially produced and disseminated.

The search for 'authentic' alternatives for 'modern' music making is not only a completely abstract phenomenon in which localities are 'fetishized' universally. The discourse of world music is based on a particular "imaginative geography and history" as Edward Said (1978/1995, 55) has called the processes that "help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away". Said's concepts geography and history are closely related to 'time' and 'space' and the ideas of 'tradition' and 'locality'. The discourse of world music creates a distance between the current here and a nostalgic past or somewhere else. In order to do this the discourse strengthens ideas of internal sameness and external difference. The underlying framework for this system of representation is the dichotomy of a homogenous West, which is separated from the Rest, that is, of the diverse cultures of the world that are represented as the same in the sense that they are different from the West (see also Hall 1992a, 280).

## 1.2 Musical tourism and traveling

The Western listener's interest in world music that signifies an exotic locality far away from the here and now, resembles the tourist's interest in new places to visit. This aspect of world music has been addressed by for example Barrett (1996, 241), who uses the expressions "tourist gaze" and "armchair tourism" to describe the audience's search for authenticity, exotica, difference, recreation and displacement. The metaphorical language of the world music discourse, which claims to bring out the cultural secrets of some other place to the consumer, connotes an expansionist acquisition of knowledge and stimulus that the tourist's traversing of previously unvisited territories is expected to lead to (see also Goodwin & Gore 1990, 76 for "aural tourism" and Taylor 1997, 19 on "sonic tourism"). The idea of finding new places and cultures is also reflected in names such as *The Explorer Series*, which is the world music series of Nonesuch Records, and Cooking Vinyl's advertisement slogan "Discover it First – with Cooking Vinyl" (e.g. Dirty Linen No. 28 1990, p. 16). The consumer can become a musical adventurer and gain cultural capital by buying a piece of music from formerly unheard cultures.

The world music phenomenon largely coincides with the expansion of package tours to so-called remote and adventurous environments, the emergence of large scale back-packing, new age traveling and ecotourism. World music magazines also often contain travel advertisements to the same places where the music comes from and some companies, Rough Guide probably being the most prominent, have combined the publishing of travel books, world music guide books, CDs and internet site's for travelers (compare for example in the Rough Guide series: McCrea's and Pinchuk's guide book *Zimbabwe & Botswana*, the CD *The Music of Zimbabwe*, the book *World Music: The Rough Guide* by Broughton et al, which contains much information on the music life of Zimbabwe and the web site <http://www.roughguides.com/>). It is not surprising that many world music articles, books, radio programs and CD-booklets stylistically resemble tourist brochures. For instance Colin Bass' (1994, 430) travelogue-like article *The Wild World of Indonesian Pop* in the first edition of *World Music: The Rough Guide* gives the reader a chance to absorb the atmosphere of a visit on the South-east Asian islands: "Wistful, melancholic, meditative, the sound of degung evokes the calm atmosphere of warm Javanese evenings, when harmony and repose are re-established after the travails of the heat of the day". The tired, but satisfied musical traveller is, in other words, going to find many unheard and deceptively charming sounds when visiting new places and although the journey would be impossible to undertake in practice, the guide book and CD offer a glimpse of the real experience.

Several commentaries also exploit consciously or unconsciously the style of old travel books. Spencer (1992, 138) for example describes Najma Akthar's music with a reference to the old European conceptualizations of the East: "It is music from an Orientalist poet's most perfumed dreams, the heavenly sprite hovering just out of reach, singing to one's own ears a hymn of bliss, but funky". The exoticism is not only restricted to places and cultures, but also the local populations are incorporated in the portrayal of the Other. One learns that "The Bulgarians are cheerful, healthy and very proud of their musical traditions" (Boyd 1987). The Mongolians' songs "have a lyrical beauty and a sense of timeless space that is very powerful", which, however, is hidden behind the unemotional physical appearance of the people: "The granite-like strength of a Mongol face is as flat, hard and impassive as the land, but occasionally that façade masking human sentiment slips. When a Mongol sings it is like a spring of pure water gushing up from a subterranean cave" (Hinton 1994, 459). Thus, the musical armchair tourist can fulfill his desire to make journeys to the noble savages of distant timeless spaces by listening to the CDs and enjoying the writers' explanations of them.

The demand for authentic musical experiences is closely connected to the more general demand for something more than ordinary life can offer. The objects and consumption patterns that are perceived as representative of middleclass tastes and habits are inadequate and world music offers a journey, at least in the form of a shopping trip for those who are looking for alternatives. Just as the folklorists and folk song revivalists had tried to give their lives new or expanded meaning by adopting aspects of the lives of others, the consumers now have become tourists in someone else's culture (see further Posen 1993). This search for genuineness in some other place inevitably leads to the basic paradox of tourism, namely that because of his own presence in the other location the tourist is already doomed to disrupt the authenticity of that place. The expansion of tourism will of course lead to a complete loss of authenticity and therefore the traveler with appropriate cultural capital distances himself from mass tourism. In research on tourism this opposition between the "tourist" (other people) and the "traveler" (myself) has received much attention (see for example MacCannell 1976, 107 and Urry 1990, 8–9). Whether the interest in an authentic experience elsewhere is the basis for all tourism, or only one component in the division between ordinary life at home and the extraordinary away from it (as for example Urry 1990, 11 claims), it seems that the modern or late modern individual is still looking for something more, somewhere else.

The world music discourse is, not surprisingly, pervaded by an idea of the real world music aficionado as a traveler in the world's musical localities and a certain despising attitude towards the tourist who represents a more mainstream taste and lifestyle and only makes a short visit in the foreign locality during his commercial,

conducted tour. Thus, the reader of Rough Guide is advised to avoid doing what the tourist does, when visiting for example Thailand (Clewley 1994, 440), and find his or her own way, because that way he will have a lot more fun. Musical practices that are somehow connected to mass tourism are contrasted with more genuine experiences and the real “wild and savage feeling”, in the words of Fairley (1994, 135) when she rejoices in how “the sanitized kitsch flamenco, all frills and castanets, exploited as an image of tourist Spain during the Franco period, has been left far behind by a new age expressing the vitality and attitudes of a younger generation of traditional flamenco clans”. Touristic “ethno-kitsch” is a curse for those who look for genuine sounds, as Spencer’s (1992, 75–6) criticism of the Gypsy Kings also suggests: “one is hard put to lose the feeling that this is a kind of tourist music, born in the expensive Cote d’Azur cafés in which an aristocratic audience wears berets and sandals and talks expansively of *vagabonde des vacances*” (italics in the original). Spencer (1992, 119) also blames what he describes as the destruction of Hawaiian music on tourism: “With the explosion of tourism in Hawaii over the last fifty years or so, the distinctive traditions of Hawaiian music have become so watered down as to be almost faceless, an adjunct to the music anonymous tourist lounges from Las Vegas to Sun City, South Africa”. Thus, the traveler, who has the right subcultural capital, is perceived as bringing a respectful and deeply informed sensibility to the remote place, unlike the tourist herds that are weak-willed masses who trample the authentic culture.

A musician who enters the world music market must confront the distinctions that the traveling audience makes in relation not only to the culture of the musician, but to the touristic aspect of its own culture, from which it wants to distance itself. In her article on intercultural co-operation and exchange Jan Fairley (1991) indicates how diverse the expectations of the audience and the musicians can be. Fairley’s arguments are based on her work with the Peruvian group Ayllu Sulca during its tour in Britain and the Netherlands in the 1980s and she discusses the problems of presenting Latin-American music to audiences in Europe. Ayllu Sulca had high hopes of increasing its income during the tour by selling items from their hometown Ayacucho to the listeners. However, this was in sharp contrast to the audiences’ notion of what constituted a concert: “The norm is exchange of money for a ticket that provides music which might transport them [the audience] to another culture, another time, another place, another space, to get away from day to day concerns of their own reality, certainly from shopping” (ibid., 274). The contrast was reinforced by the fact that the goods were not exactly of the type that the audience would be likely to buy. The group tried to sell its hats, ponchos and even instruments, in other words precisely the objects that constituted its recognizable cultural identity and thus indicated the difference and authenticity that the audience wanted it to display, not sell during a concert. The hard-

est thing to sell was the little model of the Ayacucho liberation monument that all tourists buy as a memento when they visit the group's hometown (a European equivalent would be the Eiffel Tower miniature). The musicians of Ayllu Sulca did not understand the audience's lack of interest because "for the group in a sense their audiences were part of an extended undifferentiated nation of tourists to whom they were bringing their goods and music, the two things apart from scenery and building that tourists seem to be interested in when they visit Ayacucho" (ibid. 275). What the musicians did not understand was probably not only the fact that there was a difference between the European tourist who actually visits Peru and the one that only visits a concert with Peruvian music in Europe, but probably also the difference between the idea of the tourist and the traveler.

The search for new localities, whose communities might offer something unheard of and unspoilt, is a recurrent feature of the discourse of world music. For the individual musician or, for example, a manager who has specialized in one group, style or culture, this can involve problems. Like the experienced traveler always seeking new territories, the world music fan seeks new music. Florian Hetze, who runs the family company Shava Records with his wife Virginia Mukwesa and who has therefore specialized particularly in Zimbabwean music, has also encountered this dilemma in the idea of novelty. According to Hetze (int. 13.3.1997) the music making itself has endured for ages in its culture of origin and will continue to do so. However, this durability is in conflict with the world music culture of the West; where novelty is in permanent demand. So, for example, if somebody wants to promote Tibetan music on a long-term basis in world music media or festivals, the response is likely to be negative: "They [the media and festival personnel] say: No, there's no place in the media, do something else, sell bread, and then come back after two years and then maybe nobody remembers music from Tibet and say 'Oh, music from Tibet, wow'" (ibid.). The demand for novelty is quickly easily met by any given musical culture, but just quickly and interest is then directed somewhere else.

The obsession with novelty does not necessarily imply a bold leap into unknown territories. It is more of a touristic search for novelty in itself, and which is defined by entrenched expectations of what the new is supposed to be like. In the same way that the tourist who is looking for something new in a foreign locality actually is seeking the already known (see further Ashcroft et al. 1998, 98), so also the consumer of music is looking for the stereotypical image of difference, which the listener has learnt to identify as the exotic. The music must be both 'rooted' in some foreign locality and accessible, but it must also indicate difference in an acceptable way in order to be interpreted as authentic, as seen for example in the association between the Bhundu Boys and WEA.

## 2. The universality of the local

The dichotomy West-Rest is seldom explicit in the discourse of world music, which prefers an all-embracing global vocabulary in both media and industry practice. The concept world music, which was once greeted with skepticism even among those who launched it, has now become a prolific source of inspiration for marketing and industry personnel who try to come up with new variations of it to be incorporated in company names and slogans as an attempt to emphasize an international profile. The term world music is often just combined with a word that defines the specific nature of the institution, be it the World Music Centre, Festival, Institute, Magazine, Marketing or Network (see for example Beck 1999, 89). There is also a German record label, run by Wergo Schallplatten in co-operation with Haus der Kulturen der Welt, which is simply called Weltmusik as a badge for the production policy that aims at presenting “traditional” (in the German text “unverfälschte traditionelle Musik”) “genuine music (with all its changes up to the present time) from nearly all parts of the world” (Musik der Welten CD-catalogue 1996/97, p. 9). This all-encompassing idea is clearly tied to a desire to find and produce not just the music of the whole world, but the ‘authentic’ music. The same basic pattern is also evident in the name of Peter Gabriel’s record company Real World, which suggests that its products offer something more than just the ordinary world as we normally experience it.

World music is described as being formed from a “global ocean” (O’Connor 1994, 14) or “every strand of global popular music” (Broughton et al. 1994, Introduction). This has also inspired various names emphasizing the global nature of the phenomenon, as for example the record company Globestyle Records and the market fair Strictly Mundial – Worldwide Music Expo. Similarly the book *Worldwide: Ten Years of WOMAD* (Parker 1992), which celebrates the tenth anniversary of World of Music Arts and Dance, has a picture of a shrunken, empty inflatable globe on the cover, presumably symbolizing the global operational environment and the decrease of physical and cultural distances that are central in the organization’s activities.

The global image of the discourse of world music masks a series of tensions that touch upon the juxtaposition of the local and the global. What usually remains unclear in the all-embracing company names and marketing slogans is from whence the music actually is supposed to come and precisely to what destination. The most extravagant company names suggest that the discourse would incorporate all of world’s music making. In this sense it is hard to find anything more totalizing than the name of the North American record company Music of the World (which even is a registered trade mark). The far flung musical activities can also be referred to in a somewhat more modest form, as in the names of the British company Arts Worldwide,

which later became World Circuit Arts (see Goddard 1996, 79), or the German record company World Network. What all of these examples suggest is that world music encompasses all music making in the world and that its business activities connect all music makers with all listeners everywhere. Thus, for example, the introductory chapter of the anniversary book of World of Music Arts and Dance, in which the history of the organization is told, is grandiosely entitled “WOMAD – Giving the world back to the world” (Black 1992, 9). As the discussions of traditional and modern music, or local music have shown, this is hardly the case.

In practice world music is based on an idea of some kind of an authentic local music that signifies the non-West, which becomes industrially packaged and distributed to the West. Only a small amount of all of world’s music is incorporated in the discourse and in fact, the discourse has very little meaning to more than a few music listeners in the world. It is instructive that editor Ian Anderson’s (1997, 13) definition of world music as “Local music not from here, wherever here is” has been revised in the *Folk Roots* advertisement (see for example Beck 1999, 74) in the form “Local Music from Out There”. It is the Western reader who gains a glimpse of ‘out there’ when subscribing to the magazine. In the same way, it is not just anyone who can take up the invitation to “Hear the World” in the internet magazine *Rootsworld*’s advertisement (Ahlbom 1998, 72), or of Rykodisc and Hannibal Records: “Give us two hours – We’ll give you the world” (see for example Dirty Linen No. 50 1994). It is the Western individual, living in the appropriate media environment who can enjoy and indulge an interest in this ‘world’ When Rykodisc and Hannibal Records in another advertisement (Dirty Linen No. 56 1995) tells the reader to “Listen To Your World” the ‘you’ is encouraged to believe that he has the opportunity to become more globally aware and part of the world’s whole musical life, but in fact it is arguable that he is reconstructing his own world by consuming the products of the labels. Even the person who buys the whole catalogue of the labels is hardly going to get a complete picture of all musical activities in the world, but a rather partial glimpse circumscribed by the particular historical, cultural and industrial conditions in the West, of which he himself is a part.

Considering the discursive emphasis on globalism., it is no surprise that Marshall McLuhan’s (1964, 93) concept “the global village” recurs as a slogan in connection with world music institutions. The concept has for example been used when referring to the market squares at the festivals of the World of Music, Arts and Dance (see e.g., Hart 1995, 10 and Black 1992, 10), as the name of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s radio program (which according to the program’s promotional leaflet aims at bringing “The News of the World in the World of Music”), or simply when describing the environment which engendered the whole world music phenomenon

(e.g. Wentz 1991 and Gil 1993, 10). Much of this can be regarded as fashionable jargon, but it might also be argued that the concept is used in a more carefully considered way. Some of the McLuhan's arguments regarding the development of media technology and the reorganization of space and time find echoes in the way globalism is explained in the discourse of world music. According to McLuhan the effects of electronic communications and rapid transportation have made it possible to experience simultaneously events and objects that are great distances apart and this "implosion" (McLuhan 1964, 185) has made people more conscious of human society in its entirety. Although not all of McLuhan's wide-ranging theories are relevant in this context, the references to the global village in world music discourse are appropriate to the way the music is now produced, the expectations of 'universal' experiences that underlie the whole idea of the global, and the new international distribution and consumption networks. These three issues are also worth a more detailed analysis, since they disclose some of the ways in which locality and globality are constructed.

### *2.1 The production of music*

The professional musician's working practices and whole sphere of operations have progressively become more translocal as a result of the broader and more rapid contacts between distant places. Technological development has made it possible to incorporate musical excerpts from a wide variety of cultures by sampling and mixing sounds that either have been produced for this particular purpose or simply appropriated from other recordings. These technical innovations have been developed a step further with the introduction of digital networking technology. "A song can now be composed on an Adornian musical assembly-line that is stretched across a network of studios in various locations which are connected by digital cables and satellite beams", as Negus (1996a, 79) points out when comparing contemporary music production and car manufacturing. Transnational record companies, like their counterparts in the car industry, can benefit from differences in production costs that exist around the world. For example Jumbo Vanrenen (int. 21.2.1997) of Mango Records attributes the importance of Paris for the world music industry in the 1980s to the subsidies that the French socialist government during the 1980s paid at that time to the national music industry, and claims that, similarly, the lower cost of labour in the United Kingdom made it more lucrative during the 1990s to record in London. For this reason Mango Records as a subsidiary of a transnational giant chose to record Angelique Kidjo's horn sections in London in the 1990s although the rest of the record was recorded in Paris (*ibid.*).

Although the global assembly-line model has been adapted to the world music industry it is still less important than the translocalization that is created through face-to-face interaction among touring musicians. Musicians from around the world meet at concerts, festivals and workshops where they jam together and sometimes even form musical collaborations. Thus, considering the range of for example the Bhundu Boys' activities, it is not surprising that they have worked with the Scottish harpist Savourna Stevenson or the British country singer Hank Wangford (for example on the record *Friends on the Road*, Cooking Vinyl, COOKCD053). The festivals and tours of the World of Music Arts and Dance have been particularly popular because of the opportunity to meet and play with other musicians (see for example Parker 1992, 13 and 81).

The emphasis on the global character of world music forms a sharp contrast to the authenticity ideals of the discourse, which are based on notions of genuine local traditions. An environment in which musicians tour, meet colleagues from other places and collaborate with each other can hardly be claimed to be 'authentic' in the older sense of the word. In fact, the whole global dissemination, which is a prerequisite for the idea of 'the music of the world' being spread 'to the world', is diametrically opposed to the musical traveler's dream of visiting an unchanged community in an isolated place. The listener, whose music consumption is largely dependent on hi-tech sound transmission and transport systems, is inevitably faced with a paradox when enjoying what signifies pre-modern music to him. This paradox is born not only out of the musicians' opportunities to create and distribute the music, or the listener's opportunities to consume it. On a deeper level it touches upon the ability of the musician and the listener to understand and enjoy the music despite the distance between the cultures, which after all is a basic assumption underlying the discursive formation of world music. In other words, how can the music not only move so widely but also move so deeply? The answer to this question seems to be that the music is held to embody such universal qualities that it defies local boundaries.

## 2.2 *The idea of universalism*

World music responds to the old search for deep and unspoiled emotions. The earliest theorists of European music folklorism already approached folk music as a language of the soul or of the heart, encapsulating the cultural core of man in a primordial stage as it had existed prior to the development of complex societies (see e.g. Bohlman 1988, 54). Although this Enlightenment conception of a universal human nature later developed into national romanticism, the search for a universal essence in 'authentic' musics has survived and found a new breeding ground in world music.

This tendency is reflected in its most general form in the common assumption that 'music is a universal language'. The phrase is used to describe the power of music by, for example Peter Gabriel, who seeks to integrate elements from varying sources into his own "Big Blue Ball's Music" (see Brooman & Parker 1991, 3 and Parker 1992, 58). Percussionist Mickey Hart, who assembled musicians and rhythms from different parts of the world in his project Planet Drum, claims that "speaking with one voice" is possible for the drummers because "language and melody aren't shared among cultures but rhythm is" (Parrish 1992, 37). Thus, the discussion about musical universals surfaces again, this time as an explanation of the supposedly global comprehensiveness of world music.

Understanding music as a universal language also has a political dimension. For example the founding of the organization World of Music Arts and Dance (WOMAD) was based on the idea that music, because of its universal character, is one of the most effective tools in the fight against racism (see for example Peter Gabriel in Brooman & Parker 1991, 3). Similarly WOMAD defines its aim as not only to "promote arts of many cultures", but also "to excite and inform and to make a wider audience aware of the worth and potential of a multi-cultural society" (Parker 1992, 6). The multi-cultural debate of the 1980s and 1990s undoubtedly had many points in common with the formation of world music, which also coincided with the anti-racist movement and ideologies that encouraged solidarity programs with the third world. Such issues have on occasions also been broached in interviews and informal and formal discussions. The 1995 WOMEX trade fair for example included a panel session on the awareness of intolerance, where world music was discussed as an "attitude, -- an attitude of tolerance, awareness, border-breaking and creativity" (Waechter 1995, 12). The discussion also canvassed the possibility of non-governmental organizations to promoting their message through world music, and world music as a project for development politics (*ibid.*). Thus, the universalist approach also accords with the more general anti-hegemonic, political dimensions of the discourse of world music.

The search for universal emotions and primordial powers in other places often modulates into a search for the exotic (for world music and exoticism, see Klinkmann 2001). Whereas local or national folk music could previously be alleged to contain some principles that had been lost through the civilizing process, the focus has now been directed towards new regions. Thus, for example, the didgeridoo is used increasingly by groups from very different cultural backgrounds. The band Outback, for example, with members from North America, Europe and West Africa, has built its style largely on the sound of the aboriginal instrument. According to the band's guitar player Martin Craddick "the didgeridoo has a very primal sound" and it is "a perfect instrument for linking all sorts of diverse musics together, because it grounds it

all” (Prasad 1992, 16). That is, the didgeridoo is deracinated from Australian aboriginal culture so that it comes to signify a general primal experience for the universal traveler. Norwegian ethnomusicologist Tellef Kvifte (2001) has used the expression “general ethnicity” to describe this feature of the contemporary global romanticism. Kvifte (ibid.) points out that as late as the 1970s the didgeridoo was an instrument known only to a handful of experts outside of Australia, but today it has forced aside earlier ‘exotic’ instruments, such as the mouth organ, wooden whistle or bagpipe. The didgeridoo and many other instruments, musical elements and even visual styles from what is understood as the periphery, are today incorporated in the music making and images of the current global romantics to give their music an ‘ethnic’ feeling, but, according to Kvifte, in a way which makes it hard to say where the music really comes from and what ethnicity it refers to (ibid.). Hence, in their new context these elements become clichés that simply signify some kind of general ethnicity.

The universalist ideology of world music occasionally incorporates the idea that the music is spiritual and timeless, a sonic manifestation of a metaphysical dimension. The record company Triloka Records for example uses phrases such as “music that speaks to the spirit in all of us” and “the international language of music speaking to one soul and one spirit” when explaining the common musical denominator of its compilation album *Into the Mystic* (Wisén 1996, 36). The most prominent example is probably the record *Deep Forest*, which won the World Music Grammy Award in 1996. The liner notes are like a New Age manifest in their praise of musical universalism:

Imprinted with ancestral wisdom of the African chants, the music of *Deep Forest* immediately touches everyone’s soul and instinct. Universal rites and customs have been profoundly marked by the influence of the forest, a place of power and knowledge. The chants of *Deep Forest* transmit a part of this important oral tradition gathering all peoples and joining all continents through the universal language of music. (Quoted from Bell 1997, 48.)

There are clearly connections between this aspect of the discourse of world music, which emphasizes universal spirituality, and New Age. The affiliation seems to be closer in some countries than others. In the United States for example the connections seem to be relatively strong, due to for example the way in which world music and New Age are charted in *Billboard* (see for example Taylor 1997, 4–6). Sometimes there is also a direct business link between the two fields of activities, as in the case of the American New Age company Relaxation which has a world music label Ellipsis Art, with record releases entitled *Global Meditation*, *Global Celebrations* and *Voices of Forgotten Worlds* (Rosenblum 1993). Many record companies and artists

who frequently appear in world music media, festivals, trade fairs and similar events are also classified as New Age by other distributors, chart compilers and writers. This reclassification can also be very profitable in economic terms. For example the Finnish folk music group Niekku has usually been classified as world music outside of Finland, but in Spain it broke through on the New Age market, and in the same way the Finnish folk ensemble JPP found a larger consumer basis when its record was distributed through health food stores in United States (interview Närväinen 7.2. 1997).

Although the connections between New Age and world music are close in some countries there are also strong criticisms against New Age among world music journalists. The records that cross the border between the two fields are often the ones that are regarded with the deepest distrust as inauthentic pretence and kitsch. Projects where “everyone from everywhere is working with everyone else” or in which samples from various sources are fused are not necessarily seen to be universal, but rather as only providing “splashes of sonic colour”, as journalist and musician Clive Bell (1997, 48) questioned the idea of universalism in general and Deep Forest in particular. Disc jockey and compiler of the World Music Chart Europe Johannes Theurer (int. 12.3.1997) also dismisses New Age, which according to him is sometimes wrongly incorporated in German world music charts, by arguing that New Age records “can often not be considered being music, but basically a mixture of tonal sounds”. The criticism is directed against the idea of some universal elements in music, but it is also a way of distancing one’s own discourse from another neighboring discourse by emphasizing the differences between their respective ideologies and practices. The commentaries often suggest that there is some kind of a musical style (or in Theurer’s words, a ‘non-musical’ style) called New Age, whereas world music is mainly a marketing category, and the fact that world music is treated as some kind of a universal musical style is firmly rejected. Hence, for example Ian Anderson (1991b, 36) criticizes the record company Real World’s record releases because “their packaging hides the individuality of each artist and their music behind a rather New Agey corporate image, the very epitome of the notion that there’s some overall thing called World Music”.

The universal metaphysical aspects of world music have also been invoked in connection to mbira. The spirit possession ceremonies that are so important in much mbira performance in Zimbabwe have also become a stimulus for many world music fans’ interest in the music’s spiritual dimension. In the promotional material of several mbira records the music is claimed to incorporate a deeper emotional and mental side and this has apparently attracted many listeners, particularly in North America, to the music. Thus, American musician and teacher Erica Kundidzora

Azim, who has spent several years in Zimbabwe learning mbira and is now a central figure in the American West Coast mbira activities, often emphasizes the meditative aspects and healing power of the music. On the sleeve notes of Azim's CD *Mbira Dreams*, released by The Relaxation Company, the music on the record is described as being "played in a meditative style suitable for dreaming, relaxation and inner journeys".

In Shona culture the spiritual dimension of the music is explained as emanating from its meaning to the ancestral spirit. According to Maraire (1990, 350) the mudzimu possession occurs if the music is familiar to the deceased ancestor. Azim, coming from the United States, does not claim that the music would possess a Western listener in the same way as a Shona. Instead, she refers to the structure of the music as the reason for mbira's general effects on the psyche. In the promotional mail for her album *Mbira – Healing Music of Zimbabwe* Azim (2000) writes for example that mbira has "cross-cultural" healing effects because when "the fundamental melodic and rhythmic cycle of a mbira song repeats, around and around the circle, it draws musician and listener into a state of meditation" so that "in this state, thoughts and emotions and their associated tension drop away, allowing mind and body to heal naturally and natural vitality to assert itself". The idea of the trans-cultural nature of mbira music's psychological effects resonates with the notion of universal human reactions to music.

The general interest in music and meditation, as well as the way in which the healing power of mbira is alleged to work universally, could perhaps simply be dismissed as the alienated Western listeners' superficial search for deeper emotions or the result of fashionable marketing strategies. However, the Zimbabwean mbira musicians themselves do not necessarily contest such explanations of the power of the music. Virginia Mukweshu's CD *Matare* (Shava, SHAVACD004-2) could probably be interpreted as a 'New Age' product on the basis of the promotional text on the record sleeve. On the front cover is a picture on which the waters of Victoria Falls merge with the keys of a mbira and the phrases "The power of mbira", "Food for the soul" and "Rhythm for life" give the record an almost metaphysical air. The back cover strengthens the impression with texts such as: "All purpose mystical music", "Modern traditional meditation music from Zimbabwe/Southern Africa", "Deep listening into yourself" and "Rhythm for life: spirit possession, meditation, trance, healing, dancing, dreaming, listening, fun, travelling, acoustic fountain & consulting". The phrases are not just promotional slogans, states Mukweshu (int. 15.3.1997) who has written them herself, but describe the way she and many others feel about the music: "Actually this is music which is supposed to have an effect if you listen to it, you find the inner quietness, or that it's for soothing a person". She emphasizes that the music

is used for spirit possession, meditation and healing and that it can be used both for recovery from for example mental illnesses and dancing and the rhythm is an important element in these processes.

The sleeve notes are partly based on Mukweshu's experiences in Zimbabwe, but also on her observations on how people react to the music in Europe (int. 14.3.1997 and 15.3.1997). Mukweshu has played mbira live or from the CD *Matare* for participants at mbira lessons and other courses, when conducting concentration exercises and even when working with juvenile offenders at anti-racist workshops, and according to her the music has had the same soothing, meditative effect on all listeners irrespective of their background. These experiences have confirmed her beliefs regarding the power of the music to affect profoundly the listener's mind and be true 'Food for the soul'. The record is thus an example of how she herself has found what might be called universal elements in mbira which she seeks to release both through the CD, and through the marketing literature as mentioned above, and explaining the Zimbabwean context of the music in the sleeve notes. *Matare* is a personal account of the mudzimu possession ceremony and of the more general mental profile of the music, and as such it is very different from the way in which similar records were formerly produced, that is, primarily by ethnomusicologists writing about the belief system of the Other. The references to spiritual elements in the form of marketing slogans may be surprising, but they exemplify the way Mukweshu has creatively combined her own cultural background and experiences in Europe into a format that she believes will also reconcile the original local meaning with the universal potential of the music.

### *2.3 Webs of consumption*

The perceived globalism of world music is partly a consequence of the way in which music is now produced and of the idea of music as the vehicle of universal experiences. The totalization implicit in 'global' has a resonance with world music also from the point of view of contemporary international distribution and consumption networks. Geographically dispersed industrial practices and consumer affinities constitute entities that differ significantly from prior conceptions of local communities existing in separate, mutually isolated places. The totalizing objective of "giving the world back to the world" through for example world music festivals (see Black 1992, 9) is not as straightforward as the slogan might suggest. In fact, both the concept world music and the musical styles that are grouped together under the general heading, have only limited relevance to the world's overall population and the industry has to target its business operations carefully.

The discursive practices of world music are largely based on the industry's assumption that there is a "fantasy consumer", whose need this particular marketing category might satisfy, and the music's meaning is largely based on the "web of genre expectations" that the musicians, producers and consumers are a part of (see Frith 1996, 85 and 94). As argued in previous chapters, these expectations are based in part on the notion of subcultural capital and the idea that the consumer can express his individuality by consuming something outside the mainstream. These consumer groups are relatively small and even though a record may be distributed throughout the whole industrialized world the sales figures are modest. In some cases the marketing is easier if it is based on a connection between the music's historical context and the consumer. Thus, for example Jambo Vanrenen (int. 21.2.1997) of Mango Records explains that it is easier to market the music if it is "tied in with a substance of cultural heritage", as when marketing Finnish music in Minnesota (where there has been substantial Finnish migration), African music through African-American college networks, or Irish music in general for the white population in the United States. The listener does not necessarily already know the music, but it can become important when the consumer constructs his or her identity by seeking a heritage through some cultural link with the past (see for example Taylor 1997, 7 for the European Americans search for ethnicity in Celtic music).

In some cases the listeners' cultural background is more closely connected to the music, but in other cases the connection can be based on a conspicuous affective bond. Managing director of German Piranha Records, Christopher Borkowsky (int. 13.3. 1997), for example explains that record distribution and consumption are very "community oriented", but the "communities" can vary from, for example, fans of klezmer groups, whom the record company targets with the help of Jewish mail order lists, to dancers interested in Oriental dance music, whom the company reaches through North American and Western European dance schools. In other words, the consumers can form 'communities' that are grouped according to perceived heritage or various interests and hobbies, but they are dispersed throughout the industrialized world and do not necessarily have a very close connection to the original context of the music.

The concept 'local community' is not necessarily the most accurate term when describing either the musical production or the consumer groupings in world music. The community basis of world music operations seems to be more complex and fluctuating. One can observe a separation of space from place, as Anthony Giddens (1990, 18) has described the way in which "absent Others" in conditions of modernity exercise social influences in places remote from the locale's face-to-face interaction. The musical life of the locale is often determined by relationships over great distances that

in turn may be influenced by local music making and consumption, thus blurring distinctions that have earlier been made between geographically separated places. The increasing scope and intensity of global processes, or the “time-space compression” to use the wording of David Harvey (1989, 240), has led to a situation where musics and their audiences are no longer necessarily tied to geographically localized places, but rather create their own much more dispersed spaces. The communities are constructed within the increasingly transregional matrixes that are hard to locate.

In the Swedish project *Music, Media, Multiculture* (see Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 1996 and 2000) the researchers have abandoned the concept ‘community’ and even ‘group’ in favor of the less formal *grouping*, when describing the role of music in people’s lives in Sweden. Although some of the groupings studied by the project have a long history, others have come into being relatively recently as a result of segregation, migration, separation, oppositionality, or simply through affinities of taste such as musical choice (Lundberg et al. 2000, 44–6). Although many musics that have been classified as world music may have a long history in some more stable grouping that might have been called a local community, the groups of people who now consume the various styles called world music are, for all their heterogeneity, all linked above all through such affinities. This should not be taken to imply that the music has in some cases a ‘real’, and in other an ‘unreal’ connection to somebody’s heritage, or that it would be in some way of less value for the listener’s identity; on the contrary, it can in any case be profoundly important in the construction of identities. This process can however be difficult to predict and locate, and the world music industry is therefore forced to trawl over a great geographical expanse for its potential consumers.

The international music industry is undoubtedly quantitatively important in producing and distributing music today and it has likewise been central to the formation and practice of world music. However, this geographically extensive commercial activity can easily overshadow other dimensions of today’s music making and listening. One way of mapping the current terrain is suggested by Mark Slobin (1993), who, influenced by Arjun Appadurai’s (1990) theories, coins the term *interculture* to describe “the perspective of the far-flung, expansive reach of musical forces that cross frontiers” (Slobin 1993, 61). Slobin proposes that there are three types of interculturalities at play today, namely industrial, diasporic and affinity interculture (see *ibid.*, chapter four). *Industrial interculture* refers to the commodified music system that disseminates music and meanings. Slobin, however also emphasizes the importance of *diasporic interculture*, which incorporates both the diasporic networks with connections to a homeland and new networks conjured abroad, as typical for the transmission of music today. The third category, *affinity interculture*, consists of the old-fash-

ioned face to face, mouth to ear transmission, which occurs across nation-state lines even when the music is not a part of a heritage or a commodified, disembodied network. An example of the last mentioned is the “folk” and a “postpeasant folk movement”, with elements from sources as diverse as Latin-America and north-America, that grew to dominate a certain segment of youth music across Europe in the 1970s and was largely spread at festivals and workshops (ibid. 67–8).

The three interculturalities that Slobin sketches out are also important in world music. Although the distribution of different musics and their categorization as world music occurs in the area of industrial interculturality, the transformation and interpretation of the musical styles can also be linked to diasporic movements and affinity networks. For instance the spread of Zimbabwean music overseas has been linked to diasporic networks and affinity interculturality at least as much as industrial interculturality.

The contacts between North America and Zimbabwean music culture have since the 1960s been based on a limited, but strong affinity interculturality. The first contacts were established when ethnomusicologist Robert Kauffman returned to the United States after having conducted field work in Zimbabwe and brought with him mbira and marimba player Dumisani Maraire (Goddard 1996, 77–8). Many of the North American enthusiasts came to Shona music through Maraire, who was a visiting professor in the University of Washington’s ethnomusicology department from 1968 to 1972, taught on the West coast in the 1970s and after a period in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s resumed teaching in Seattle from 1986 to 1990, where he also gained a doctorate in ethnomusicology (Beers & Green 1999). An equally important figure in the spread of mbira has been Ephat Mujuru, who held teaching positions at the University of Washington for several years in the early 1980s and has also later taught both in USA and Europe (see *Shona Spirit: Mbira Masters from Zimbabwe* sleeve notes).

Particularly as a result of Dumisani Maraire’s activities the North Western coast of the United States has become a centre for the American interest in Shona music. During the 1970s and 1980s a shift from ethnomusicological “knowers” to enthusiastic amateur “doers” and “makers”, to use the terminology of the project Music, Media, Multiculture (Lundberg et al. 2000), occurred as the number of North-American mbira and marimba ensembles increased. Zimbabwean ethnomusicologist and composer Keith Goddard (1996, 78) has summarized these activities by saying that the west-coast aficionados blend “what they have learned of Shona tradition and Maraire’s philosophy with their own west-coast spirituality and mysticism”, although he also stresses that “these days, the Pacific North West is home to a myriad mbira players and marimba groups – and the quality of the marimba playing in some cases

far outstrips that of some marimba groups in Zimbabwe". The west coast has also been important for the number of musicians who have spread the music to other parts of America, Europe and Australia, and who have for some period been based in for example Seattle. The activities on the west coast found an institutional forum in 1991 when the first ZimFest (see <http://www.zimfest.org/>) was organized. The weekend festival, which despite its name focuses almost completely on Shona music, grew during the 1990s into a large annual event with several hundred people performing, listening and participating in workshops which deal with marimba, mbira and hosho playing, dancing, singing and building mbira and marimba. Since 1997 an increasing number of Zimbabwean musicians have also been included in ZimFest as special guests.

Since the early 1980s the dissemination of Zimbabwean music has to an increasing extent been achieved by pop groups who have toured overseas and found their place in the industrial interculture. Thomas Mapfumo was a pioneer who was followed by many bands, such as the Bhundu Boys and the Four Brothers, and individual artists such as Stella Chiweshe, Virginia Mukweshu and Oliver Mtshunzi. During the 1990's the interest in and performance of Zimbabwean music increased enormously (see Goddard 1996, 90 and the resource list of Dandemutande: [http://www.dandemutande.com/ResourceGuide/res\\_perf.html](http://www.dandemutande.com/ResourceGuide/res_perf.html)). The music has been spread not only through records, tours and workshops of Zimbabwean musicians, but also by enthusiastic amateur and professional musicians in North America, Europe and Australia, for whom Zimbabwean music is a hobby. In the 1990s ensembles consisting of American, European and Australian musicians, and sometimes also Zimbabwean musicians, were formed on all these continents. The musical styles performed by these groups also ranged from mbira and marimba music, as taught during recent decades by teachers from Zimbabwe, to fusions of Shona music, Zimbabwean pop and many other musical styles. There are marimba or mbira artists and instrument builders in at least sixteen states in the USA and in British Columbia in Canada. In Europe, both Stella Chiweshe and Virginia Mukweshu have presented both concerts and workshops in regions of Germany. In the late 1990s the interest in mbira playing increased in Britain as a result of mbira player and band leader Chartwell Dutiro's mbira programme at The School of Oriental and African Studies in London, workshops around the country, and tours of Dutiro's and other Zimbabwean musician's bands. Denmark also has its own marimba ensemble. Activities in Australia have also increased and several artists perform mbira and marimba and teach the instruments at workshops. Most of all this activity concentrates on Shona music. However, a small group of artists, such as Black Umfolozi and Sunduza whose musical background is in mbube, have also managed to raise interest in Ndebele music through tours and workshops.

The geographically dispersed nature of these activities, which include the transmission, recreation or fusion of Zimbabwean music in new localities, was for a long time based on the affinity intercultural personal contacts that were created by education, or, in the most commercially successful cases, on the industry intercultural media dissemination of the music. Many aspects of the process have always been closely connected to the diasporic interculture because the musicians have also moved to the United States or Europe. However, overseas migration from Zimbabwe has always been relatively small and therefore there are very few Zimbabwean communities outside of Southern Africa that would form a natural breeding ground for musical production and consumption. The Zimbabweans who have settled in other parts of the world have not necessarily linked mbira with their identity. A smaller study among nine Shonas living in America (de Vie Weinstock 1998) suggests that the music and ceremonies associated with the music have been so localized that the small, heterogeneous and geographically dispersed diasporic communities do not necessarily find natural musical points of contact, as this would require a modification or synthesis of practices that have been specific to a family or area in Zimbabwe. The survey interviews also show that before leaving Zimbabwe many of the immigrants had a Christian upbringing, in which for example mbira was condemned as pagan music, and because of this they do not associate it so strongly with their own identity (*ibid.*). This may explain why Shona pop music is the most popular music among American Shona and most of the people who have Shona mbira and marimba music as their hobby are Americans.

In the 1990's the intercultural Shona music activities produced a new contact network called Dandemutande (see <http://www.dandemutande.com> for history and details), which took its name from the Shona word for spider web. Dandemutande was created in 1993 by Shona music enthusiast Paul Novitski as a Zimbabwean music resource guide listing teachers, performers and instrument makers in North America. The project soon grew into a monthly calendar of events, a magazine with articles on the music and its players and a mail order catalogue. In 1997 Dandemutande shifted its activities to the Internet with a web site hosted by RootsWorld and a mailing list. Currently Dandemutande has its own web domain and the site contains a calendar listing events in North America, Europe, Zimbabwe and Australia, a resource guide with people and organisations from different parts of the world who are interested in Zimbabwean music and a mail order catalogue of records, cassettes, books and videos. The E-mail list has more than four hundred subscribers and the postings contain information and discussions on how to gain material and buy or build instruments, promotion of record releases, workshops and concerts, announcements from musicians who are looking for teachers or fellow players in their home district and related

matters. Only a handful of participants on the list are Zimbabweans and most of the postings are written by enthusiastic Americans who ask for advice or give guidance in their hobby (the mails are archived and accessible at <http://www.dandemutande.com/EmailList/>). Thus, the Dandemutande web pages and mailing list have become a site for Shona music activities that might seem geographically deracinated, but which in fact have their own virtual space. The industry, diasporic and affinity interculturalures formed a breeding ground for the geographically dispersed activities, but the emergence of the Internet has given the operations a more stable framework.

#### *2.4 The World Music scene*

The dispersed and flexible, yet in many ways well organized networks of people and activities that have focused on Zimbabwean music are hard to locate on a map. It is typical of many musical styles that become classified as world music that they have gone through complicated translocalization processes by the time they have reached an established position in the industry. These new spatial sites of music activities are sometimes referred to as 'scenes'. Thus, for example Goddard (1996, 90) writes about the expansion of "the British scene", when describing the spread of mbira in Britain. The expression "the world music scene" may also be found in several connections (see for example Lawrence 1990, 35, Bäckström 1995, 5 and Olson 1998, 276). In these contexts the concept of scene seems to refer to both place and space, but also to community and taste culture (or subculture).

The idea of a scene has long been used by music media, but it has also been "reconceptualized in popular music studies in order to shift emphasis from music as local culture to music as global, mobile culture", as Sarah Cohen writes in relation to recent scholarly use of the term (1999, 249). The term scene has been used in the study of changes in the relationships between place and community. However, it is hard to find an unambiguous definition of the term and writers tend to lean towards either the geographical location or the sociocultural grouping as the key factor of a scene. Writing about the alternative rock and dance scenes of North America, Will Straw (1991, 373) argues against older notions of local, stable communities, and defines the newly emerged scenes as a "cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization". Several writers have adapted Straw's model to a differing interpretation. Lawrence Grossberg (1994, 46 and 1998, 133–4) for example describes scenes as marketing and media-constructed entities that have been produced as a consequence of the industrial attempt to market music by segmenting it. Olson (1998, 281) in turn distances

himself from the idea of a scene as a social grouping of people with similar taste preferences, and instead emphasizes the connection to place by describing scenes as “territorializing machines” that “transform individual musical events into the identity of a place”.

Although no unanimity seems to have been found on the definition of the term scene and some accounts are criticized as being abstract or schematic (see e.g. Negus 1996, 23 on Straw) the debates have drawn attention to the paramount need to understand not only local cultures of particular places, but also the ways in which the local is produced, traversed and connected to disparate places (see further Cohen 1999, 249). The value of the term will most probably be that it provides an escape from essentialist notions of music and its connections to a particular place or community. Thus, activities involving deterritorialization and reterritorialization of Zimbabwean music or other so-called world music styles are characterized with the somewhat ambiguous term scene, a term also applied to the whole world music phenomenon.

However, the fact that the industry, consumers and even musicians have found new ways of organizing their activities in the changing social and media environment does not mean that this world music scene would be truly global, universal network or cultural space, incorporating everything, and within everybody’s reach. In fact, “part of a scene’s sense of identity and authenticity is defined in opposition to and by its difference from other scenes, by the characterization of these ‘others’ as inauthentic and commodified”, as Olson (1998, 278) argues (thus approximating the idea of discourse). The so-called world music scene grew out of and in reaction to, for example, the folk and roots rock scenes and continues to be defined in opposition to other scenes, and especially through a distancing from the ‘mainstream’. Zimbabwean music is at times perceived as being a scene of its own, at times as overlapping or part of a more general world music scene. The word ‘world’ should not be taken to mean that the scene would be globally comprehensive. Instead, in the words of Olson (1998, 276), “the ‘world music’ scene’s seeming claim of encompassing the totality of global geography belies, despite its moniker, the quite limited reach of this particular scene’s effectivity (and thus its ‘borders’)”. Superficially the expectations of universal experiences and the global production, distribution and consumption networks that are connected to the ‘world music scene’, can sustain the idea of some local musics being disseminated to the whole world, but in fact the idea of such a scene is a construct of the West and its industry and consumers seeking to distance themselves from other Western ‘scenes’.

### 3. Cultural gray-out or heterogeneity

The apparently global discourse of world music contains a tension arising from the simultaneous demand for both something local and something universal that can be enjoyed all over the world. The distribution and consumption of all the musical styles from different cultures has been made possible by the same technology that is often blamed for the destruction of these different cultures and their music. The media connections between the West and the Rest are not only providing a channel for the music to reach the consumers of the West, but also distribute the international mainstream pop to the Rest. A certain amount of crossover influence from this mainstream music is acceptable, if not actually necessary, to make the music accessible, but, as I have argued in previous chapters, the music is also expected to fulfill the criteria of authenticity demanded by the world music fans. Thus, the drive towards globalization of music and musical experiences implicitly involves unwanted change and a move towards a blurring of certain binaries that are central to the discourse.

The global dimension of the discourse of world music is usually interpreted through the juxtaposition of the West and the Rest, in which the 'traditional' and 'local' are connected to the Rest and 'westernization' comes to stand for 'modernization' and 'internationalization'. On occasions the whole development of the styles that are called world music is explained through this polarization of the music cultures of the world. In his book *World Beat: A Listener's Guide to Contemporary World Music*, Spencer (1982, 5) summarizes the musical life of the twentieth century and the emergence of the world music phenomenon in terms of "the United States [which] has broadcast its collective musical genius around the world" and now "a giant wave is building, as the musicians of the entire world begin to show us what they've added to that genius". Although Spencer focuses on the influence of the United States, the same idea can be found attributed to the West in general and 'authenticity' seems to be tied to the degree of western influence and the way in which the influence has been incorporated into the music. Editor of *Folk Roots* Ian Anderson (1991d, 21) for example explains in his article *Roots at risk: The music of Madagascar at a dangerous crossroads*, how "Madagascar desperately needs its own Youssou N'Dour or Thomas Mapfumo to make a radical new modern music harnessing Western technology to traditional styles and values" in order to be rid of the idolizing of western elements that threatens to destroy the local music. Westernization can be a double-edged sword and Anderson is highly selective. An African artist who apparently seems to have succeeded in 'harnessing Western technology' is Angélique Kidjo, whose record *Logozo* Anderson (1991e, 8) praises as being an exception to the rule that the attempt "to marry an African music with contemporary western styles and technology has

been littered with damp squibs” because “the hybrid usually lacks the potential excitement of either source”.

The question of how to adapt western elements acceptably and how to deal with westernization in general is approached in different ways by those working in the field of world music. There seems to be awareness that the international music industry, of which world music enterprises inevitably are a part, also contribute in the process of westernization. These issues have been discussed from different perspectives in the catalogues and panels of the annual world music trade fair WOMEX. One position is that the spread of western pop music is a threat to indigenous music making, but that the international interest and distribution of indigenous styles can also help in preserving them (see e.g. Raine-Reusch 1997, 44 on the *sapé* of the Orang Ulu in North-western Borneo). An other approach claims that it is hypocritical to equate the development of music cultures outside the western world with the damage being done to the rainforest because the western world music fan’s own culture has also undergone the same kind major changes as the rest of the world’s cultures; the result of the spread of popular music is thus not homogeneity but an ever-broadening spectrum of musical styles (see e.g. Ward 1991, 66). An opposing argument takes issue with the western industry’s way of merging musical elements from different sources on the grounds that this is causing a cultural “gray-out” in which unique musical practices disappear (see for example Bell 1997, 48 on the notion of music as a universal language).

The anxieties and aspirations associated with the global migrations of music are, as these examples suggest, often based on a bipartition of cultures into a western core, which affects a periphery that consists of the rest of the world’s cultures. The fear of westernization is in this context largely a fear for the dilution of the rest of the cultures and a homogenization of the world. However, not all musicians see the problem in the same way as the world music journalists. Youssou N’Dour (1992, 65) argues that this approach performs a disservice to musicians: “In the name of attacking ‘homogeneity’ (a code word for music made by Africans, which to their ears ‘sounds like western music’), some self-professed ‘world music experts’ ironically seem to end up advocating a much more unattractive homogeneity – an African music devoid of ‘non-African’ inspiration or technique”. N’Dour’s complaint suggests that the western understanding of global cultural processes can be different from the way musicians see things because of contrasting ways of interpreting musical elements and meanings, and different definitions of homogeneity. In the following case studies I will explore the ways Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza have negotiated this tension between the local and the global during their continued career in the West, for whom they signify the Rest.

### 3.1 *The Bhundu Boys between darkness and light*

The late 1980s was a period of show business glamour for the Bhundu Boys, culminating in the record contract with WEA, tours in Europe, the United States, Japan and Australia, jamming with one of the band's favorite artists Mark Knopfler, performances as Madonna's support act at Wembley stadium, free champagne and limousines. The early 1990s however brought with it a series of dramatic setbacks, starting with WEA's dropping of the band.

The tensions between the members increased and in 1990 the singer and guitar player Biggie Tembo parted company with the rest of the band. In the media Tembo explained that he no longer believed in the Bhundu Boys and he accused manager Gordon Muir for trying to commercialize the band's music, whereas he himself wanted the band to revert to its old style (see e.g. Hatugari 1990). Tembo returned to Zimbabwe where he performed with the Ocean City Band and later became a born-again Christian. In 1995 Tembo committed suicide following the onset of mental problems (Muir 1997, 103–4).

The rest of the members of the Bhundu Boys continued touring without Tembo and recorded live a number of older hits, which were released by Discafrique as an album called *Absolute Jit* (Discafrique, AFRI LP 09). The record enjoyed a positive reception but the reverses of fortune continued. Bass player David Mankaba was taken ill and died of AIDS in 1991. He was replaced by Shepherd Munyama, who had already played with the musicians during their early career in Harare, but just one year later he also died of AIDS. Likewise, Shakie Kangwena in 1993, and in the following year drummer Kenny Chitsvatsva left the group.

The devastating illnesses naturally made it difficult for the band to continue functioning as a creative recording and touring group, but occasionally it had done joint recordings for broadcasting or charitable events together with British artists, such as the pop group Latin Quarter, harpist Savourna Stevenson and country singer Hank Wangford. In 1994 a number of recordings from such projects, together with a few of the Bhundu Boys' own songs, were remixed by Frank Millar and released on the independent label Cooking Vinyl as the album *Friends on the Road* (Cooking Vinyl, COOKCD053). Normally such a record would probably have never been made as most of the material had been released earlier, but according to Gordon Muir (int. 20.1.1997) the band "needed a product out to prove that they were still alive".

It was not until 1997, after a break of eight years, that the Bhundu Boys recorded a studio album with original material. The CD was entitled *Muchiyeza (Out of the Dark)* (Cooking Vinyl, COOKCD118), referring to the band's hopes of re-establishing itself on the international market (int. Muir 20.1.1997). The loss of members to

AIDS and the internal tensions had forced the group to make changes in personnel. On Muchiyedza there is only one member of the original group left, Rise Kagona on guitar and vocals. The rest of the members, Washington Kavhai on bass and vocals, Kuda Matimba on keyboard and vocals and Gordin 'Chamboko' Mapika on drums and vocals, are experienced musicians from Harare.

The Bhundu Boys had been through the success of the first records, the backlash of *True Jit* and the more positive response of *Pamberi* when the band started working on Muchiyedza. The members now wanted to compose and arrange material that had proved to be successful in the past. The result is a mixture of elements that were typical of the band's early Zimbabwean recordings, and a range of elements from different sources that the band incorporated in order to make the music more accessible and varied. Thus for example songs like *Kachembere* and *Satan ngaaparadzwe* are based on the basic jit-sungura structures and *Mhunza musha* on mbira-pop, although the addition of a synthesizer and the variations that have been created in the mixing process makes the general sound somewhat different. Several songs, such as *Tamba wega*, *Misodzi pamatama* and *Hazvisekanwe*, display the same 'syntactic' or 'extentional' arranging technique that was introduced during the years at WEA, in which variation is created by combining successive sections with contrasting rhythms or legato chord sequences with typical cadential harmonic progressions. According to Rise Kagona (9.9.1997), this is necessary because the audience who doesn't understand the words of the songs would otherwise think that the band is "playing just one song".

The basic objective was to continue to extend the Zimbabwean pop format, but the final sound of the record was also a largely unintentional outcome of the complex mixing process. The music was first recorded and mixed in Harare, but the technical quality was not good enough and the material was re-mixed in London. The mixing was done by sound engineer Jock Loveband, who had previous experiences of working with the band, and supervised by manager Gordon Muir. The band members could not participate in the mixing session for logistical and financial reasons. Rise Kagona (int. 13.10.1997) was not wholly satisfied with the result because in his view some central features of the music were distorted as a result of the British way of hearing things: "I know it from their ears, the things you think sound rough or dirty, they think that's great and punch it in". On some songs several crucial interlocking instrumental and vocal layers have at times been left out and instead some instrumental line has been brought to the front (ibid.). Thus, the arrangement and sound occasionally follow the pop or rock song format, with a lead separated from the accompaniment, at the expense of the basic oppositional structure of equivalent layers which is basic in Zimbabwean popular music.

Many songs have typical Zimbabwean jiti, sungura or mbira beats, but on other songs it is harder to trace the background of the rhythm. The song *Mumhanzi we jit* (by Washington Kavhai), which could be translated as 'jit music', for example, paradoxically has a drum beat which is quite different from the ordinary fast 12/8 triplet feel of jit, and instead more resembles the square Congolese rhythms that consist of fast sixteenth-notes and syncopated accents played on the snare drum. According to Rise Kagona (int. 13.10.1997) the drum beat used on *Mumhanzi we jit* is called "miritari", which is an African version of the English word military and refers to drum rhythms accompanying marching soldiers. Kagona (ibid.) hears a similarity between miritari and for example kwassakwassa (although miritari is slower) but states that among the musicians in Harare the rhythm is usually claimed to have come to Zimbabwe from South Africa. The same basic miritari drum pattern can also be found on the song *Pafunge* (by Gordon Mapika). However, here the pushing bass line, with the second note coming a sixteenth-note before the second quarter-note of the bar, and the cow-bell rhythm, give the song a different character, which according to Kagona (ibid.) resembles "calypso, or Lambada".

The Caribbean influence can also be heard on *Dorica* (by Gordon Mapika), which Kagona (ibid.) describes as "clean reggae, but into calypso". The guitar and bass create rhythmic and melodic contrasts by repeating the same basic patterns with small variations, as is typical in Zimbabwean popular music. On *Dorica* the drum beat is somewhat different from the most common accompaniments in Zimbabwe because of the snare drum's accentuation of the third quarter-note and the last eighth-note of the bar. The reggae feel is mainly created by the keyboard, which strikes staccato chords on the second and fourth beat of the bar.

It is hardly accurate to summarize the character of the music on *Muchiyeza* as a fusion of musical elements within the framework of the dichotomy Zimbabwean music-western music. The band did not take as its starting point a 'local' music, which they then 'westernized' by incorporating elements of for example British pop music. In fact, it is a complex task even for the musicians to try to trace the background of the different musical sources of the record. The "streams of influence" and "avenues of diffusion", to use Kubik's (1998, 296–300) expressions, have crossed vast geographic territories in such a way that no single informant is likely to be able to provide answers in the cross-cultural investigation of the diffusion of music. However, a musician's explanation of what meanings he articulates with the musical elements can clarify the intentions behind the final product. On *Muchiyeza* the Bhundu Boys combined the desired elements without really asking where they really originated from, but also keeping in mind the reception accorded their earlier records. Thus, it seems to have been of less importance whether the musical elements derived from

Zimbabwe or the West than how the elements might be interpreted by the world music audience. The band therefore tried to negotiate the tension between being accessible and authentic in such a way that the record would be both easy for a western listener and sound African enough to be interesting.

Surprisingly Muchiyedza contains some English phrases, which resemble the party interjections that the band was criticized for on True Jit. On *Mumhanzi we jit* the lyrics are a mixture of Shona phrases and English catchy hook lines that are typical of dance and disco tunes, such as “Come and jit the night away with us and dance ‘til morning”, “Dancing to the music, dance to the beat, let’s dance to the music” and “Jit jive music is dance music, jit music is the best”. When asked about the incorporation of such lyrics Rise Kagona (int. 9.9.2000 and 13.10.2000) explained that as a rule the European audience like Shona lyrics because “it shows that we are singing songs from home”, but English is not a problem if the music of the song is somehow felt to be African and not western. A small amount of English can be enough to give the listener an idea of what the song is all about without westernizing it too much, but according to Kagona (ibid.), the song would be likely to become too western if for example it incorporated both English lyrics and a rock guitar solo (as for example the solo on the song *Tamba wega* which has Shona lyrics). Kagona (ibid.) also adds that for this reason the Bhundu Boys nowadays avoid playing *Jit Jive* on overseas tours except as an instrumental version. *Mumhanzi we jit* has interlocking guitar lines and a fast tempo, but the song also contains many elements that are not typical of jit, such as the miritari rhythm, synthesizer phrases and unison jerky interludes. The crucial aspect is, in other words not necessarily if the music is ‘local’, that is, somehow ‘truthful’ or ‘undistorted’, ‘typical’ ‘popular’ Zimbabwean music, but what meanings the world music fans of the West are likely to read into it.

The reception of Muchiyedza was at least partly what the band had hoped for. Emma Balcázar’s (1998, 41) review in *Djembe* remarked that the band had lost its “original world music sound and identity” after its success in the 1980’s, but that the band was now on the right track with the new record, on which the music is “natural, although you at times can hear some western influenced chords”. The response is even more positive in the *Beat* (Ambrose 1997, 86), where the Bhundu Boys are said to “climb out of deserved musical obscurity with the stunning, perfectly titled *Muchi-yedza (Out of the Dark)*”. In the *Beat* the positive development is attributed to “the band’s recent years in Zimbabwe”, which “have replenished its musical wellspring”, and the record claimed to be “deeply imbued with Shona and chimurenga influences” (ibid.). Thus, the positive response in *Djembe* and the *Beat* is largely based on the reviewer’s interpretation of the record as a return to the band’s ‘local roots’. In *Folk Roots* Muchiyedza received less favorable criticism. According to Jon Lusk (1999)

the Bhundus “seem torn between their jit jive roots, and various other styles, none of which are fully realised”, but also he states that “there is enough of the old spark here to reassure that the Bhundus still have something going for them”.

In summary it seems that the localization of the Bhundu Boys’ music is of great importance and a ‘return to the roots’, often explained through a direct reference to geographic location, is often raised by the critics. In the Bhundu Boys’ case, the axis Zimbabwe–Britain forms a natural reference point already because the band has lived and worked in these countries. However, when these locational considerations are combined with aesthetic judgments, the expectations of the world music audience are often crystallized in the binary Africa – the West.

Not surprisingly the musicians are likely to feel constricted by the authenticity criteria of world music discourse and specifically the binary Africa – the West. For Rise Kagona the experience of having had both independent hit-records and major flops has been both frustrating and instructive. His negative feelings are largely directed towards the whole formation and practice of world music:

I don’t understand why we are called world music or ethnic music. I think it’s the same as saying that this is white music or this is black music. Music is supposed to be just music. If I buy English music and it is OK, then they should do the same in England. We are all in the world. We all play this music in this world. Third World music is like ‘barbaric music’, ‘not up to standards music’. When we go there [to Europe] and record, most people here like the stuff, but not there, they confuse us. They should accept us as we are, we also accept what they have. (Kagona int. 13.10.1997.)

Thus, Kagona is calling for a greater acceptance of the musicians’ creative vision among world music fans and critics. In their musical choices the Bhundu Boys’ have been balancing the tensions ‘local–global’, and ‘traditional–modern’ not so much on the basis of how they themselves understand the origins of the music, but on the basis of what they believe the music might signify for world music fans. From the musician’s point of view, the result is not necessarily at all homogeneous, but rather innovative and the experiments enlarge, rather than diminish the creative framework.

### 3.2 Virginia Mukweshu’s pan-Africanized style

The success of Virginia Mukweshu’s first band record *Farai* encouraged her to make a second album using the same approach, that is, by traveling to Harare where she rehearsed and then recorded an album of her songs with Zimbabwean musicians. She had the opportunity to work with members of Oliver Mtukudzi’s group and the musicians rehearsed for only two weeks before the recording session. Mukweshu’s and

her husband Florian Hetze's family company Shava released the resulting record *Chamu* (Shava, SHAVACD003-2) in 1994.

Structurally the music on *Chamu* is for most part based on the same basic formula of arranging acoustic Zimbabwean music for an electric band as was used on Farai, but the stylistic influences have been extended to incorporate other rhythms and melodies than those that are common for jiti. Mukweshu (int. 17.3.2000) chose to develop the music in this direction because she was going to tour with her band in Europe and she was afraid that playing only jiti would sound monotonous to the audience: "because it's always the same beat, it's always the same type of music so that if one doesn't understand the words then it [the whole repertoire] is like one song". Thus, Mukweshu had the same anxiety as the Bhundu Boys that the structure of the music, which is based on the repetition and variation of a short cycle, might sound boring for the Europeans. However, Mukweshu did not create variation by combining sections of different characters or by composing melodic and harmonic progressions as the Bhundu Boys had done. Instead she chose to broaden the range of African influences on the record.

Several songs on *Chamu* resemble the electric jiti of Farai and the record also includes an acoustic song, *Kerebu*, whose call-response singing, drumming, hand-claps and hosho have been arranged so that the song would be similar to the music of the nocturnal parties of Mukweshu's youth. The basic jiti beat, however, has been modified on many of the songs by changes in tempo or structure. Mukweshu has even incorporated mbira influences on some songs, as for example *Madangaruswa* and *Zvandaيدا*. The use of elements from mbira is somewhat surprising considering Mukweshu's wish to preserve mbira in an unaltered form and her purist attitude to the record project *Matare*. However, she makes a clear distinction between rearranging old mbira songs, which have a specific place in the spiritual life of the Shona, and simply borrowing the basic beat or some general structural characteristics of mbira for a pop song (int. 19.3.1997).

An example of what Mukweshu considers to be an acceptable adaptation of mbira is her song *Madangaruswa*. The ngoma, hosho and drum kit play a loose version of the mbira 12/8 beat. The song is based on cyclic repetition, which, however, is not based on the I-IV-I-V chord progression typical of jiti, but on the repetition of melodic phrases in a way that is more typical of mbira. The lead guitar plays a kushaura and the second guitar a kutsinhira part and the bass and marimba parts further enhance the interlocking structure. The song does not have a through-composed form, instead Virginia Mukweshu's main vocal line leads the song relatively freely through what might be loosely called verses, refrains and instrumental interludes. The cyclic choir parts and occasional humming add a mbira-like feel to the song.

On Chamu Mukweshu uses not only a wider spectrum of Zimbabwean influences but also borrows elements from Congolese music. On Mukweshu's *Pegumberere* for example the rhythm, which could be transcribed as 4/4, is clearly different from the fast 12/8 triplet beat of jiti. Mukweshu (19.3.1997) explains that she wanted to create variation by incorporating Afro-Cuban rhythms and stylistic features into her electric jiti band concept. Thus, the instrumental parts create syncopations that resemble the rhythms used in Congolese rumba or soukous. The guitars do not play parallel lines as in Congolese music, but their sound is clear and ringing and they are often played in legato as opposed to the dampened staccato lines that are common in much guitar pop in Zimbabwe. The song is based on a two bar cycle that repeats the chords G, C and D, which are also at times struck by the second guitar. The bass, lead guitar and synthesizer (which is used instead of marimba because of the key of the song) create a complex layer of instrumental lines.

Mukweshu continued experimenting with stylistic combinations elements from different sources on her next record *Tsika* (Shava, SHAVACD009-2), which was released 2000. The CD was recorded with Zimbabwean musicians who had toured with Mukweshu in Europe. Before returning to Zimbabwe, the band recorded the repertoire in a studio in Berlin. This was convenient for Mukweshu, whose sojourns in her native country had become shorter over the years, and it made it possible for the band to work on the material with extended concentration. The CD therefore also allowed for arrangements and mixes that are more complex than those that had been produced during the recording sessions in Harare.

Most of the songs on *Tsika* follow the basic 12/8 feel in faster or slower tempo and either I-IV-I-V chord progressions or mbira-like structures. Greater variation is also created on these songs, however, by changes in instrumentation or by leaving out and adding instruments in the mix. *Mukoma* for example has the same F-Bb-F-C chord progression throughout the song, although it has a contrasting bi-partite structure. The beginning consists of a mellow section performed only by vocals and acoustic guitars and halfway through the song the feeling changes into a more accentuated danceable beat with percussion instruments, bass and marimba incorporated in the mix. On *Iwe* a contrast is created by the addition of an organ, which is played in a style reminiscent of South African mbaqanga. The record also contains a song which much resembles African American gospel, although Mukweshu (int. 19.3.1979 and 26.10.1979) prefers to avoid any association with the Christian church.

The experiments with different beats have also generated variations on the 12/8 structure and cycles that are hard to subdivide into a two or four bar unit. On *Kamukube* the melody is divided into a short call by Mukweshu, which could be called "kushaura" (e.g. Ngwenya int. 21.8.1997), and a longer response, or "kutsin-

hira" sung by the choir. The vocal parts could be transcribed in 6/8, but the uneven division of the phrases makes it very hard to transcribe unambiguously in western notation. Mukweshu (int. 9.11.1997) characterizes the vocal parts of Kamukube as "chidzimba-variations", referring to a Zimbabwean dance, which can be played in different versions by different ethnic groups (compare Mujuru 1995, 7–8). It is however hard to trace the origins of the song to some particular pre-colonial song or even to some dance beat. Mukweshu (ibid.) prefers to avoid the straightforward use of an old song or beat, but instead likes to draw on some elements, like "some of the waves of the drumming" and interpret them freely according to her own creative interests.

The diverse influences on Tsika and the personal, creative way of incorporating the different elements in Mukweshu's songs emerge in *Marara*. The beginning of the song has many elements that are typical of Mukweshu's use of Zimbabwean structures in her own pop band compositions. The rhythmic 12/8 feel, emphasized by the guitar, marimba and bass phrases, and the vocal call-response patterns that are based on the harmonic four bar cycle C–F–C–G are found in many of Mukweshu's songs. However, the vocal lines move in mostly in parallel fifths and sometimes in thirds, which is more typical for Congolese than Zimbabwean music (see further for example Manuel 1988, 100).

The Congolese influences become more evident in the middle of the song, when the first section ends with a distinct break, followed by a second, faster section. The C–F–C–G cycle continues throughout the second section but the chords change at double speed compared to the beginning of the song. The structure resembles the basic bipartite form of much Congolese popular music (comp. e.g. Kazadi 1973, 281–2 and Manuel 1988, 98–9). According to Leonard Ngwenya (int. 7.8.1997) the band had been inspired to do the second section of the song during a rehearsal break when it listened to a record by a Zambian soukous group. *Marara*'s second section continues within the 12/8 framework but the soukous influences can be heard in the high tempo and dense texture, the syncopated snare rolls and bass part, and in the guitar sound. A central feature of the song's second section is the complex rhythm, which is created through variations on the basic beat. The vocal parts and drums create oppositional rhythmic figures to the continuous, steady fast 'triplet' pulse, which is played by the marimba. Especially the drum kit creates a particular tension by accentuating off-beat pulses one eighth-note before the bass drum's basic beat. This rhythmic variation is increased further by the vocal phrases that are interjected occasionally in the second section. The phrases "Tamba, tamba" and "Go, go, tsindi" for example emphasize the eighth-note after the bass drum, thus adding to the rhythmic complexity.

The way in which influences from different Zimbabwean and African sources have been combined on the records Chamu and Tsika is the result of Mukweshu's deliber-

ate choice. Mukweshwa's personal creativity and cultural values, as for example her respect for mbira, have shaped the music. As an immigrant, or "cosmopolitan" to use the terminology of Turino (2000, 7–11), Mukweshwa is particularly careful when it comes to notions of tradition. She wants to separate certain elements in music that, according to her, should be preserved, and others that she wants to recreate freely.

Bearing in mind Mukweshwa's opinions on preservation and change, it is not surprising that she also sees risks in the so-called world music business. She believes that a musician who has entered the market will be tempted to change his or her style in an attempt to reach even larger audiences. In the worst cases the acts are "tailor-made things for commercialization, which are presented as world music" (Mukweshwa 1997 14.3.1997). On the other hand, she does not totally condemn the world music phenomenon as it also offers an opportunity for African musicians who want to build up a following among listeners in Europe (ibid.). In fact, the term world music is also used on Mukweshwa's CD covers to categorize the music.

The world music audience has also influenced Mukweshwa's creativity. An important influence on her work has been the anticipated expectations of audiences unfamiliar with her Shona rhythms. This has led to a widening of the stylistic influences within what might be called an African musical framework. Mukweshwa has avoided the processual or intentional musical forms that the Bhundu Boys chose to adapt, and instead created variation by incorporating for example different rhythms in her songs. Thus, the changes in Mukweshwa's music have not been as startling for the world music audience as the experiments of the Bhundu Boys and therefore the old ideas of "rootsy beat" and "reintroducing the traditional sound for an urban audience" are common in reviews (Oloya 1996, see also Lemke 2000 and Ambrose 1996).

Mukweshwa's music has, in other words, not necessarily become more 'westernized' as a result of her international career. Nor can it be maintained simplistically that the development of her music contributes to the homogenization that musical westernization is often claimed to produce. Instead, the expected reaction of the world music audience seems to have contributed to a pan-Africanisation of her music. In theory this of course contains a seed of what could be called continental homogenization, but it may just as reasonably be interpreted as yet another example of how Zimbabwean musicians for decades have negotiated their identity position at the intersection of Central, Eastern and Southern African cultural influences.

### *3.3 Sunduza: from mbube to dance theatre*

The mbube choir Sunduza's international career has also been influenced by the way the singers have anticipated the western audience's expectations. However, Sunduza's

route from Matabeleland to the world music audience did not follow the path the choir had hoped for and it has had to make professional and creative decisions that differ from many other Zimbabwean artists' way of approaching the international market. Hence, during the 1990's Sunduza gradually moved away from the old mbube-concept towards dance drama in an attempt to find its own niche in the performing arts.

Sunduza made its second record *Matata* (Pangolin, PANG002CD) in Sheffield in 1994 during a tour of Britain. The choir had continued working in Zimbabwe between performances abroad and it decided to release its new material on a CD, for which it hoped to find an international distributor. Many of the songs on the record are thematically similar to the mbube songs of the choir's first cassette *Injabulo 2000*. The performance contexts in Zimbabwe inspired the leader Simon Banda to compose songs that fit religious events, as for example *Ma ulezono*, or weddings, such as *Umendo*, which gives advice to the young lovers. The growing social problems in Zimbabwe are raised up in songs such as *Yekumona* and the title song *Matata* ('matata' is a Zimbabwean slang expression, derived from Suahili, which refers to problems). However, on the records the question of cultural heritage is foregrounded more than hitherto. In particular the post-colonial awareness of the historical tension between African and British culture becomes a recurring theme in the sleeve notes and came to inform the songs themselves.

Leader Simon Banda claims that he had not initially intended to concentrate on colonial or post-colonial cultural questions, but the tours abroad prompted him to emphasize such issues. According to Banda (int. 29.9.1997) Sunduza had always performed old songs that he had learnt as a child in the countryside and he decided to give them a more prominent role on *Matata* after having heard the European audiences' requests for such 'traditional' material. The use of the term traditional is, however, again a complex question in this connection. Banda (ibid.) can for example call one of the songs called Ukhozi both "a traditional song" and "my own composition", thereby embodying what many in Europe would see as a paradox. The processual, collective nature of much Ndebele music making, as opposed to the idea of traditional music as a fixed body of music inherited from the past, allows Banda to do this without seeing it as a contradiction (see earlier chapter on 'Traditional culture' and Tracey 1995, 57).

*Woza ngena* is an example Simon Banda's use of songs he learnt as a child in rural areas when composing new material for Sunduza. In the sleeve notes of the CD *Woza ngena* is explained to be "composed, arranged and led by Simon Banda" (as are also the rest of the songs on the record). However, the main melody is based on a children's game song from his childhood (int. Banda 9.29.1997 and Sibanda 25.9.1997, see also Laade 1991, 31). The game resembles what in Britain is known as "London

Bridge is falling down” and both the play and the game song can be found in different versions in different regions of Matabeleland (compare Wolfgang Laade’s field recording on the CD *Zimbabwe: The Ndebele People*, Music of Man Archive & Jecklin-Disco JD 654-2). *Woza ngena* incorporates the melody of the old game song in a rearranged form, but it also consists of new material that Banda has composed.

The song starts with a freer introduction by Banda, which leads to the first version of the melody. In this section, the melody has been split so that the lead singer introduces it, after which the choir sings it and the lead improvises above the choir. The same choir phrase and lead singer’s improvisations continue throughout the first section of the song, which is followed by a short bridge to the faster second section. According to Banda (int. 29.9.1997) the faster, middle part of the song is composed by him and it contains both musical and lyrical variations of the main melody. Here the lead singer sings about how parents should allow their children to go out and play with other children, which according to Banda (*ibid.*) has become so uncommon that children’s group song games seem to be disappearing. The last section of the song is based on the repetition of a two bar phrase over which the lead singer improvises. The lead singer uses mainly the tones c#, d#, f# and a natural leading note e, which is often bent to the tonic f# giving the section an African-American bluesy feeling. The improvised melody line of the lead singer, sung with a falsetto sound, differs from the older mbube style and Banda (21.11.1997) calls this part “guitar imitation” because of the similarities between it and the guitar improvisations that can be heard at the end of many pop songs. In the last section the choir has also used *ingungu* (Ndebele for ngoma), *ihoso* (Ndebele for hosho) and *amahlwayi* (leg rattles) to add to the rhythmic complexity of the song. The rhythms that are used are, however, not based on the game song that Banda had learnt as a child, or on any mbube song. Banda (29.9.1997) became inspired to add the percussion parts when watching a video of South African dancers who used these types of rhythms in their performance.

On Matata Sunduza chose to incorporate influences from a much wider area than earlier and the use of older songs that the singers had learnt as children represents just one aspect of this change. The band experimented with the conventions of both rhythm and form of mbube, as on the title song, which has a square march-like rhythm and no section divisions with different tempi or an improvised finale. Vocal effects are used occasionally and the whole record opens with a vocal representation of the soundscape of Zimbabwe’s Matopos Hills during twilight. On some songs, the vocal sound has also been altered to some extent with the help of studio technology. A major change compared to the group’s first cassette *Injabulo 2000* and, in fact, compared to many records by other mbube groups, is the incorporation of percussion instruments, handclaps and stomps. According to Simon Banda (int. 29.9.1997), these rhythmic

elements were used because the group wanted to translate some of the youthful energy, or “oomph”, of the stage performances to record. The recording was, however, not easy to make because it was hard to find a balance between the different sounds. The carpet of the studio floor had to be removed and the dancing and clapping had to be done with some restraint so that it would not drown the vocals.

The dances and stomps derive from the precolonial musical practices or the repertoire of the mbube choirs of Matabeleland. Thus, for example *Ntombi* has stomping that follows the isicathamya dance style and *African man* has stomps and claps of gumboot dancing. On *Ukhozi* the first section of the song is based on a repeated choral cycle, which, according to Mandla Sibanda (int. 25.9.1997), the singers in rural areas can repeat for several hours during wedding ceremonies, creating variations and adding personal improvisations to the ostinato. On the record, variation has, however, been created by adding a second section in a different rhythm and slower tempo in order to make it interesting for the European listeners (ibid.). The second section is also based on a song that the members learnt at rural weddings in their youth. Both sections have handclaps and rattling sounds that are produced while dancing with leg-rattles. According to Simon Banda (int. 21.11.1997) the dance of the first section is called isicathamya in Zimbabwe, but indlamu in South Africa, and the dance of the second section isitshikitsha.

The CD *Matata* is in many ways stylistically different from Sunduza’s earlier cassette *Injabulo 2000* and mbube records in general. The incorporation of dances with special rhythms, which are emphasized aurally by stomps, leg rattles, handclaps and drums, bring a new dimension to the music, and the effects that were created in the studio further extend the sound into new areas. Simon Banda (int. 29.9.1979) had also in mind the possibilities of electric instruments when developing the choir’s sound, particularly because the record companies and radio channels of Zimbabwe are not interested in a cappella mbube. However, this stylistic change could also have caused problems at the international level. According to Banda (ibid.) the western audience is likely to accept African instruments, but not necessarily European instruments, and if electric instruments were added the music would need to be different from the style that Paul Simon and Ladysmith Black Mambazo created on *Graceland*. In other words, Sunduza might use a different instrumentation in the future, but before that, the new style would need to be tried out in order to be both original yet not too different from the expectations of the European and North-American audiences.

The need to create something new and present it in an original way, while simultaneously balancing the various interests and expectations within the choir and among all its interest groups in both Zimbabwe and overseas, gradually became a key factor in the career of the group. The manager of Sunduza, Philip Weiss was important in

taking the initiative when the choir started to orient its stage performances towards the idea of originality. Weiss (int. 22.6.1997) noticed that, following the group's first tour to Britain in 1992, it was very hard to market a second tour because the promoters could say: "We'd really like you back but how can you bring something different?". The solution to offering something novel, both in relation to the choir's previous shows and to other touring mbube groups, was to develop the stage techniques and incorporate elements of drama in the group's performances.

Weiss had worked with community-based theatre in Zimbabwe and drew on this experience when working with Sunduza. The idea of community theatre has been described by Preben Kaarsholm (1990, 267) as an attempt "to get local, urban or rural, communities together in order to discuss their problems, conflicts and grievances and to dramatize the arguments and points of view they want to express", with the final aim being the promotion of "grassroots articulation and popular participation in the definition of political and development goals" (on community theatre, see also Chifunyise 1990, 285–7 and wa Mirii 1989, 9–14). Several political community theatre groups with these goals were established in Zimbabwe during the 1980s and they became important in raising the social awareness of the population (although they sometimes ended up in conflict with those in power, see for example Kaarsholm 1990, 268–9). Weiss, who had participated in this activity, decided to use the stage techniques of community theatre to raise the awareness of both the choir members and the overseas audience. In the early 1990s Sunduza's European tours were mainly funded by British organizations that identified with the Southern African anti-apartheid struggle and therefore it was important "to have a message that people overseas could sympathize with" (Weiss int. 22.6.1997). However, as is characteristic of community theatre, it was also important to raise the choir members' awareness of these same issues: "the group needed to identify regionally with other youth and their struggles in the region" (Weiss, int. 30.9.1997). These aims led to an abandoning of the old mbube stage style, in which the choir stood in a row behind the lead singer, and a gradual development towards drama presentation that focused on anti-apartheid issues and post-colonial problems.

Sunduza's second tour to the United Kingdom and Ireland in 1993 took them a step away from the mbube stage presentation. The group's show was entitled *Injabulo 2000* and it was structured around song and dance numbers tied together by a plot. The story was partly based on Simon Banda's (int. 26.6.1997) personal experiences, telling the story of a young rural herdsboy who hopes to become a professional musician. Apart from herding cattle the boy aspires to go to town in search of a job, trying first to become a miner and later football player, but finding it hard to get by in the socially and racially segregated environment. His hopes of becoming a musician

are met with resistance even from his conscience and the spirits, for his family and relatives do not consider the life of a dance and musician to be a proper job. Finally the fortunes of the young man change, he becomes successful as a musician, the country becomes independent and he is able to secure overseas visits for the group.

The dramatic elements became even stronger and the role of spoken story lines more prominent on their Matata tour of 1998 through Britain and North America. In this “musical stage production”, as it was described in the promotion material, the personal experiences of the young people in Zimbabwe once again formed the basis of the plot, but this time the current social situation in the country was placed in a historic context. The production tells the story of two young men who try to escape the ghetto by becoming successful football players. Their father represents an older generation, with low paid factory work and a belief in the values of the ancestors, but the youngsters live in a different world where they are confronted with AIDS, the beer halls and the Christian church. The way the younger generations balance between two cultures and languages, the African and the European, becomes the main theme of the performance. The drama is divided between scenes of current life in Matabeleland and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The historical sections are based on the debates that the Scottish missionary Robert Moffat and the king of the Ndebele, Mzilikazi conducted over matters of religion, justice and morality when the colonialist first came to Matabeleland. These scenes are incorporated in order to explain the background to current problems and to raise questions of morale and leadership in Zimbabwe today.

The change from ordinary mbube stage performances to a “Dance Drama/Theatre Group”, as Sunduza often calls itself in its promotional material, was not without its problems. The introduction of masks in the group’s performances on the second Injabulo 2000 tour in Europe exemplifies the way the new elements originally were regarded with suspicion by some of the members. The idea of using masks grew out of suggestions from festival organizers in Europe that Sunduza should add something new that would appeal to family audiences and Philip Weiss thought that masks would both interest child audiences and be useful at children’s workshops (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997). Although masks have not been used in mbube singing or in Ndebele culture in general, Weiss decided to use masks that other cultural groups in the border area of Zambia and Angola use in ceremonial contexts and adapt them to the story of a young artist’s career. Several choir members had problems with this contextual change and with the whole idea of a mbube choir using props such as masks (ibid.). Weiss, however, decided to use the masks in dream sequences which, by their nature, differed from the realistic scenes of the performance. Thus, for example a black and white bird mask was used in a section where the young man is dreaming about his experiences as a football player and trying to decide whether to

become a football player or musician (see page 136, photograph 4). The dream sequence was accompanied by the song *Amahlolanyama*, in praise of the Bulawayo football team the Highlanders. The song's Ndebele name means white helmet shrike bird and the black and white mask formed a visual link to the team's colors.

The new routines adapted from the community theatres and the introduction of new properties such as masks would probably never have occurred without Philip Weiss's involvement. The social environment and performance context of mbube, which the singers had grown up with, formed a mental framework that shaped the sense of what was possible for them to do. The members took the style that was common in Matabeleland and particularly Ladysmith Black Mambazo as models and creative choices that diverged from this norm were not always accepted by all. However, when Sunduza began its international career the expectations of the world music promoters and audiences in Europe placed the choir in a new position. It was impossible for Sunduza to compete as a mbube choir in the same world music niche market as Ladysmith Black Mambazo because the audience wanted something new and different. According to Weiss (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997), the problems emerged because "this concept that they had to be completely original and do something quite different for the entertainment industry to accept them was very, very difficult". The members of Sunduza found it hard to see any need for stylistic changes because the singers in a mbube choir like Sunduza originally "don't come together because they have a common political feeling or way of thinking, but because they have a common feeling for singing mbube", as Mandla Sibanda (ibid.) explained attitude among the members.

The changes in the performance practices not only created tensions within the group; it also led to changes in how the shows were received in Zimbabwe. According to Mandla Sibanda (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997) the older mbube audience in Zimbabwe did not like the new style, whereas the younger and particularly the more educated audience who visited theatres were more appreciative of Sunduza's dance drama version of mbube. Thus, it is natural that the largest part of Sunduza's audience in Zimbabwe has consisted of European tourists, liberal expatriates and a handful of African urban intellectuals. Smaller performances at weddings and other social occasions in Matabeleland have been conducted in the former style, which is more typical of mbube choirs in the area.

Sunduza had hoped to secure a record contract with some of the major world music labels but it proved difficult for a Zimbabwean mbube group to find a place in the market. Especially after the sanctions against South Africa were lifted, the world music audiences preferred to see South African groups rather than a Zimbabwean group. According to manager Philip Weiss (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997) most

promoters and record company executives simply compared Sunduza with Ladysmith Black Mambazo and declared that there is no market for a second mbube group. For leader Simon Banda (int. 26.6.1997) this was particularly frustrating, as he had specifically hoped to create a distinctive, original style for Sunduza.

From Sunduza's perspective, Matata, with its experiments and new influences, was different from most mbube records. However, the world music press did not hear it in the same way as the choir. The CD received very little media attention and *Folk Roots'* critic Dave Knaggs (1996) comment summarizes much of the reception that the choir faced: "Whilst their singing skills are strongly apparent, they don't do quite enough to elevate their music beyond the ordinary and neglect to consider how they may add a sparkling uniqueness to their sound to compensate for the theatrical content of their live shows". The changes in the style of the music were too subtle to be noticed, or at least were not such that Sunduza would have been seen as original or unique by the world music press, and the choir was merely seen as one mbube choir among many others.

Towards the end of the 1990's a growing component of the group's income came from different donors, such as international development agencies and non-governmental organizations, which supported workshops in which Sunduza could participate. The dance and drama elements were for example adapted to support AIDS and environmental awareness projects in Zimbabwe and multi-culturalism in Britain. The absence of commercial success on the world music market has, in other words, not only forced Sunduza into other territories, but, seen in a more positive light, also opened up new creative, social and economic opportunities.

Although Sunduza was interested in establishing a career in the world music market, the group has also been critical of the world music categorization. Mandla Sibanda sang with Sunduza and also studied in England in the 1990s. Of all the members of the group he is probably the strongest in his condemnation of the whole phenomenon. For him (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997) it represents selective exclusion: "Why should non-English music be called world music, as if English music is coming from another planet?". According to Sibanda (ibid.) it can be good that "world music is quite catchy to some lefties in Europe" because of the larger work opportunities that the market category gives, but it can also be problematic as this audience has conservative "fantasies" about what for example African music should be like. The incorporation of pop elements is one of the problematic areas:

Whenever you come up with some kind of Zimbabwean pop, they [the left wing world music fans in England] would laugh and say 'this is not African', they would say they want the real stuff. What's happening here is a repeat of the 18th century African moving museums. In the 18th Century these Africans were forced in mobile muse-

ums, but now, because of economic hardships, we seem to find ourselves getting into that position whereby we take ourselves to be African museums. Because they [the left wing world music fans in England] have defined what world music is, how it should sound, how it should be visually seen. (Int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997.)

The conservative responses among what Mandla Sibanda calls 'the lefties' in England were not the only reactions that Sunduza faced when touring abroad. According to manager Philip Weiss (int. Weiss & Sibanda 22.6.1997) the African community could in turn react to the use of for example shields and spears, which for them presented a primitive and undeveloped image of Africa. That is, the group had to negotiate the tension between local and global on numerous levels. In Zimbabwe the theatre techniques were acceptable among a certain, more cosmopolitan audience, but alienated to the older audience. Abroad, these theatre techniques were not such a key issue, instead the focus was more directed towards how well Sunduza conformed to the different audiences' ideas of what an African group should be like.

It is arguable that the career of Sunduza is characterized by a step-by-step development from a performance style common in a certain social and cultural setting in Matabeleland, to something closer to European drama. The dismantling of the standard mbube performance stage arrangement and its conventions of musical form, and the use of stage techniques that are common in music and dance drama have, without doubt, changed the style of Sunduza. However, it is hard to explain the changes simply in terms of the binary local–global, or of westernization. The mbube style has for example been generated and developed through a series of cultural diasporas that stretch from various parts of Southern Africa all the way to North America. Similarly the operation models of the community theatres that formed the basis for Philip Weiss's reform of the performance style are themselves a result of many different influences. It is even less convincing or useful to use the concept 'global cultural gray-out' to describe the development of Sunduza. The new stage techniques for example incorporated elements from European theatre and other music drama practices that have become widespread internationally. However, from a Zimbabwean perspective the new dramatic forms of Sunduza are clearly something new, experimental and different from what other groups had done before them.

The discussion of gray-out and cultural heterogeneity shows how the discourse of world music, which is partly based on the notion of something local that can be disseminated and enjoyed globally, is in fact firmly linked to an implicit idea of the West and the Rest. The West is seen as a core that either threatens to corrupt the Rest through homogenization, or liberate it through heterogenization. The artistic development of Sunduza, as well as the careers of the Bhundu Boys and Virginia Muk-

wesha, exemplifies how the musicians may respond to expectations of being both local and global when entering the international market. At the same time, these case studies also show how the musicians have to negotiate different ideas of homogeneity and heterogeneity. The world music media expect both a certain 'local authenticity' and 'global accessibility', but its interpretations of the musical elements and meanings can differ from the views of the artists. From the musician's perspective, the creative choices can be directed by a desire to find new ways of expressing him or herself. The result can also be something new and different in the musician's opinion, although signifying cultural gray-out for critics and fans abroad. The world music media's expectations are directed by the idea that African groups should sound African, but the 'African character' is not necessarily based on music making that is typical of the artist's place of origin; rather it is predicated on a preconceived idea of what sounds are 'African'. The Bhundu Boys tried to find a balance between such expectations and elements that sound 'western' to the audience. Virginia Mukweshu attempted to be personal and eclectic by adding influences from both Zimbabwean and Congolese music. Sunduza incorporated music from the singers' childhoods and experimented with new forms. However, the reception in the world music press has not necessarily been what the artists had hoped for or expected. The stylistic experiments of the musicians are usually directed by a wish both to follow aspects of the aesthetics of their musical origins and at the same time to be original, but, as the example of Sunduza's *Matata* shows, the changes can be too subtle to be recognized by the musical media, or simply be based on what the latter regard as unacceptable musical premises.

#### **4. Globalization processes**

The importance of the 'locality' of a musical style or artist is often referred to in world music discourse, particularly in connection with the perceived 'traditional' character of the music. Locality is often complicit with judgments based on the notion of authenticity, and the music that is characterized as local is accorded respect in contrast with musical styles that are more 'westernized' or 'internationalized'. The paradox of the world music discourse is that the music lies in the demand that the music be in some way local in order to be global, because its current categorization as world music is the outcome of an encompassing international process.

The idea of the internationalization of local music, be it in terms of musical structures or industrial practices, is connected to the idea of a modern and international West and its antonym, the more local and traditional Rest. This underlying dichotomy

also raises the problem of diversity and homogeneity of culture. From the position of the world music discourse, which is rooted in the western self-perception, the growing internationalization can both be a welcome sign of the universal power of the music but also an alarming step towards global homogeneity. Particularly when the music incorporates elements that are interpreted as western, the music can come to signify homogenization.

The fear of homogenization is unsurprising if we bear in mind the search for novelty experiences, for 'something more', that the world music media and fans are searching for in places outside their familiar environment. Thus a musical product which has been produced by, or at least is explicitly distributed through the larger music industry networks, becomes problematic because it no longer easily fits the preconceptions of formerly untapped pristine resources. The 'global assembly line' of transnational music production potentially violates the authenticity criteria of world music discourse, which are based on the idea of differentiation. The special character of world music is lost if it both structurally and contextually comes too close 'mainstream' popular music.

As the examples from the careers of The Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza illustrate, the interpretations of homogeneity seem to differ significantly depending on the position of the observer. What can be interpreted as homogenization by the West can represent a step towards new creative areas and greater diversity by the Rest. In an article in *World Music: The Rough Guide* Simon Broughton (1994) mentions how the international interest in Romanian gypsy bands can lead to changes in their repertoire. In the article *The Wild Sounds from Romania and Transylvania*, he reports that the tunes played by the Transylvanian gypsy bands "are distinctly local and a band playing too far from its home village will simply not know the repertoire" (ibid., 67). However, this might change as a consequence of foreign interest in the music and work opportunities abroad. Broughton explains how "foreign audiences demand a variety of styles which the táncáz groups from Budapest can readily supply" and he sees this as a risk because "if the village bands from Transylvania start doing the same thing then the music's strong local identity can only break down (ibid.). Thus, diversity is not valuable in itself, even if only within the cultural context of, for example, Balkan gypsy music. Rather, the crucial evaluations are based on the context within which the world music writer is positioned.

The critical argument about the homogenizing influence of internationalization is often linked to the critique of international mass production and commodification. In this respect world music discourse resembles those of folk and rock, in which the 'original' and 'autonomous' are valued against the 'formula standardization' that mass production is alleged to lead to. Simon Frith (1996) has linked this logic, which is

still so conspicuous evident in rock criticism, to a Marxist/Romantic distinction between commercial production and artistic creativity. Frith emphasizes with a sense of irony the paradox implicit in this reasoning: "the fact that all disco numbers in the late 1970s 'sounded the same' is a mark of unhealthy (commercial) formulaic production; the fact that all folk songs collected in east Norfolk in the late 1870s sounded the same is a sign of their (healthy) roots in a collective, oral history" (ibid., 69). The logic behind the judgments is, according to Frith, genre-centric: "minor variation in teeny-bop music (the fact that the stars have different vocal registers, say) are taken to be quite insignificant; minor variations in rural blues guitar phrasings are taken to be of great aesthetic importance" (ibid.). It must be remembered that not all world music criticism praises the slightest variations that can be found on a record without also assessing the accessibility of the music to the world music fan. In other words, both the similarities and differences are important to the meanings and pleasures experienced by the listener. However, the judgments concerning the music's homogeneity still tend to depend on the position of the Western listener and how he interprets the music in relation to his preconceived ideas of mass production and the distribution processes.

The criticism of westernization or gray-out is often directed against the growing global commercial collaborative mechanisms of the music industry (as in the debate between for example Raine-Reusch 1997 and Bell 1997). The self-criticism by the West, based on 'roots authenticity', is often directed against the transnational record companies which are expanding their operations to the smaller markets of the world. As the career of the Bhundu Boys shows, for example, it is by no means a straightforward task for the transnational record companies to shape musical styles taken from all over the world so that they would be accessible all over the world. The geographically limited markets are still crucial entities in the activities of the international record industry, or as Dutch media scholar Paul Rutten (1996, 72) explains: "There seem to be limits to the economic rationale that a global industry should concentrate on providing the same products to as many customers in as many countries as possible". Many artists are successful only in a smaller market and no matter how international or transnational the larger companies and acts aspire to be, they have to negotiate the differing expectations of the various sectors of the global market.

While the activities of the large music companies have become more global, simplistic cultural imperialist models have also become more questionable. Over recent decades the so-called majors, or larger, transnational record companies, have to a growing extent relied on independent producers and promotion teams to minimize production risks and maintain flexibility when trying to reach the segmented market. This means that it is hard to find any single general cultural approach that the major

companies impose upon the whole world. In the words of Simon Frith: “the majors don’t share some supranational identity, something to be *imposed* culturally around the globe, but, rather, control an information network, so that whatever sells in one country can be mass-marketed in another (1991b, 267, italics in the original). Frith claims that “the cultural imperialist model – nation versus nation – should be replaced by a postimperial model of an infinite number of local experiences of (and responses to) something globally shared” and further argues that “in this context the ‘local’ is defined by reference not to a specific geography or community but, rather, to a shared sense of place that is, itself, part of the global picture” (ibid., 268). Thus, the increasing international distribution of music is not simply imposing cultural goods on the local participants, but also contributing to a globalization process which forces the local music makers and consumers to position themselves in relation to the global level. Moreover, the whole construction of ‘locality’ necessarily exists in a dialectical relationship to the idea of the global.

The discourse of world music emerged from this local–global relationship, which is also, as we have seen, a central field of tension within the discourse itself. Growing global interaction, inter-connectedness, and interdependency have contributed to the reconstructions of both ‘tradition’ and ‘locality’. In music cultures this globalization process has become visible both in industrial structures and in the practices and experiences through which people symbolically construct meanings. The “time–space distancing”, to use the term that Anthony Giddens presents in his book *The Consequences of Modernity* (1990, 14), or “time–space compression”, as David Harvey (1989, 240) summarizes the development in his *The Condition of Postmodernity*, has also affected the making, distribution of and listening to music. In other words, the world has contracted through the dramatic reduction of time taken to cross even large distances, either physically or in the form of immaterial goods, and this has also contributed to bringing previously distant music cultures closer to each other. Social activities are no longer tied to specific locations in the same sense as formerly and instantaneous communication networks have given the formerly temporarily or geographically distant cultures which were once distant in terms of space or time a new importance and significance in human activities, or, as Giddens (1990, 18) puts it, the structures and institutions of modern societies foster intense “relations between ‘absent’ others, locationally distant from any given situation of face to face interaction“. The globalization process thus combines the present and the absent by interlocking the ‘local’ and the ‘global’.

In the work of several globalization theorists, such as Harvey (1989), Giddens (1990), Hannerz (1991) and Robertson (1990), the globalization process and its cultural outcome are described as an internally contradictory process consisting of si-

multaneous, oppositional dynamics. Following McGrew (1992, 74–6) and Waters (1995, 136–7) these oppositions may be summarized as universalization versus particularization, homogenization versus differentiation, integration versus fragmentation, centralization versus decentralization and juxtaposition versus syncretization. Few scholars describe globalization as a one-way process that unilaterally leads to one side or the other of each binary; rather, globalization is generally understood to be a dialectical process that embraces the contradictory dynamics of the binaries (see further e.g. McGrew 1992, 74).

The dialecticism of the globalization process is also recognized in scholarly writings that deal with world music. Iain Chambers (1994) for example describes world music as an example of how the sense of place and identity has changed over recent decades and in so doing he emphasizes the inadequacies of older cultural imperialist theories of economic and cultural hierarchies. Chambers summarizes the various aspects of economy, knowledge and power in the distinction center-periphery and claims that the hegemonic order and assumed market logic are not strengthened in favor of the center, but are instead disrupted because of world music's "musical and cultural conversation in which the margins are able to reassess the center while simultaneously exceeding its logic" (ibid. 79). In this optimistic model world music disrupts the very nature of the center-periphery binary, which is based on an idea of Western industrial power concentrations surrounded by weak margins. The rearrangements in the flow of music and the meanings attached to it are thus seen to undermine the older fixed sense of place and power concentration.

Timothy Taylor (1997), in turn, explores how the simple binaries, such as domination-resistance, self-other or core-periphery, are simultaneously circumvented, maintained or ignored in today's "global pop". Taylor (ibid., 198) concludes that the economic "cores and peripheries aren't disappearing as much as the traditional cores are dispersing and diluting and thus centering and peripheralizing new spaces". On the other hand he claims that the "even if the economic cores are shifting out of the U.S., or, perhaps more accurately, the U.S. is beginning to share its core status with other areas, the globally influential *cultural* cores remain largely in the U.S." (ibid., 199, italics in the original). The survival of this cultural core-periphery structure, based on a powerful U.S.A. and weak margins, is, according to Taylor, sustained by the fact that a disproportionately large proportion of the economically most successful artists are white North-American males, and that it is for example easier to buy a Madonna record in China than to buy a record by China's most famous rock singer in America.

Perhaps the most pessimistic view is presented by Veit Erlmann (1996b), who argues that world music not only reconfigures old ideas of time and space but oblit-

erates them. In what might be called a dialectical approach, he sees “homogenization and differentiation not as mutually exclusive features of musical globalization that can be lamented, denounced, or demanded as needed, but as integral constituents of musical aesthetics under late capitalism” (ibid. 469). Erlmann (ibid., 474) also refers to Guilbault (1993b, 37) and claims that binary terms such as the West and the Rest are inadequate to account for performers’ choices worldwide because global musical production now has created numerous border zones. However, in Erlmann’s view this integration of the binary oppositions is not desirable. What Erlmann attacks, is the “cannibalism” through which sameness and difference have come to absorb each other and the “production fetishism” whereby translocal production and its agents are masked in the idiom of local worlds (Erlmann 1996b, 478–9, following Appadurai 1990). According to Erlmann this “equalizing logic of commodity exchange also makes it possible for a particular form of local identity – the West – to conceal its own hegemony” (ibid., 479). Erlmann develops his idea of the reconfigured time–space relationship in world music to the point of claiming that “the reconfigured time–space relationship in world music does away with time and space altogether” (ibid., 482) so that “the play of differences is turned into a new kind of identity” and “difference itself becomes the signified” (ibid., 483).

Up to here Chambers’, Taylor’s and Erlmann’s arguments for a re-assessment of binaries, such as homogenization and heterogenization are very powerful. The increasing speed and scope of globalization increase the complexities and contingencies in ways that most one-dimensional models cannot accommodate. The production, distribution and consumption of all the musical styles that have been called world music incorporate simultaneous processes of homogenization and differentiation, centralization and decentralization, integration and fragmentation. Regarding world music, Timothy Taylor’s argument about the continuing importance of the old cultural core and Erlmann’s about the concealed but still existing Western hegemony are supported by the fact that the launch of the marketing category and the emergence of an idea of a ‘world music’ has been firmly based in the old centers of the music industry and their own self-appraisal as a Western core. A different choice of case studies, including examples that might be termed semi-peripheries, might of course have changed Taylor’s conclusions regarding the globalization of pop music and the power of the United States (compare the critique of Harris 1998). It is probably even more important in this context that the idea of a ‘world music’ has not been disseminated in any simple unilateral way from the core to the periphery. As the cases studies explored here show, the expectations of the musicians as they enter the world music realm have not led to straightforward or predictable consequences. Instead, the cultural meanings and interpretations of the music are products of complex negotiations.

Increasing industrial co-operation and the commodification of music also undermine any exclusionary and schematically oppositional binary of local–global, just as they do with the cognate dualities of universalization–particularization, homogenization–differentiation, integration–fragmentation or centralization–decentralization. However, I would be reluctant to take this argument as far as Erlmann, because a complete rejection of time and space, or the idea of difference itself as the signified, comes very close to saying that the general concepts of locality or tradition have become meaningless in relation to world music. I would argue that the idea of something being understood as ‘local’ or ‘global’, or ‘traditional’ or ‘modern’, remains of great importance in the discourse of world music. This is, in fact, a key element in the definition of world music, crucially distinguishing it from ‘mainstream’, or ‘international’ pop music.

The importance of ‘placing’ world music is also emphasized by Keith Negus, who states that: “if the successful marketing of international repertoire requires the development of an accent and sound that cannot be placed, then world music requires accents, languages and sounds that can definitely be ‘placed’” (1999, 165). Negus further maintains that this does “not mean that such sounds and accents materially exist in or are intrinsically connected to particular places, but that the sounds specific instruments, musical tones, rhythmic patterns and voices signify a sense of geographical place via various musical semiotic codes and connotations that have developed historically” (ibid., 165). My own research findings are in accord with Negus’ argument. World music does not necessarily belong to any specific place any more than any other music, but it is expected to contain elements that signify particular places for the listener and this is what the musicians need to recognize to in their creative decisions.

It is important to remember that notions of time and space are problematic constructions in themselves, rather than coherent identifiable entities. This is easily overlooked when describing the complex and extensive changes that have occurred as a result of growing international networking. In a comment on the globalization approaches of Robertson (1991), Wallerstein (1991) and Hannertz (1991), Janet Wolff (1991) criticizes the way in which these scholars use such concepts as “West” and “Third World”, “center” and “periphery”, “metropolitan” and “local” cultures. She writes that “each of these pairs is a *construct*, whose apparent identity is the product of a discourse and which – – is ideologically imbued” (ibid., 166, italics in the original). This is important to remember, because it is arguable that scholars describing globalization are, like ethnographers, not merely describing or presenting cultures, but also inventing them.

In summary, I would argue that the concepts of space and locality, like the concepts of time and tradition, are not obsolete. While they may have been radically reinterpreted, this is nothing new if we accept that they do not have, and have never had, any essential objective existence. The normative judgments change over time and borders are relocated depending on the position of the person. The discourse of world music has constructed a certain sense of time and space. Or, seen from an other perspective, certain ideas of time and space have, through a certain formation and practice, constructed the discourse of world music, and they are still meaningful, if unstable, elements of the discourse.

## Summary and conclusions

In today's music industry, 'world music' is generally understood as a marketing category which was launched in 1987 by a group of independent record company executives, journalists and DJs in a meeting in a pub in London. Although the music industry undoubtedly was important in the creation of the marketing category, defining world music merely as an industrial category obscures many important aspects of the world music phenomenon. This thesis is based on the assumption that the music industry is not a stable monolith whose actions are autonomous and univocal in relation to its surroundings. The industry's conceptualization of world music is in continuous flux, in relation to a wide range of connotations, expectations and ideologies, which in their turn are rooted in diverse sectors of society and of course also related to the musicians' creative work. By choosing this focus in my study I have tried to avoid locking the analysis into either the Marxist critical or the more liberal and optimistic schools of thought which have been so central in cultural studies and music industry research. Instead my objective has been to proceed from questions of economics to questions concerning the practice through which the music industry and the musicians create meanings, and the ideologies and normative standards and conventions that direct their activities.

In approaching my topic I have chosen to avoid a simple definition of the term world music as a point of departure because this would have tended to fix the object of analysis and predispose the research towards a specific set of findings. I have, instead, analyzed the way people in the field of world music have themselves defined the term, and in what contexts and with what consequences they have done so. By adapting the theoretical framework of discourse analysis I have explored the formation and practice of world music and described the web of active and shifting rela-

tions between the world music discourse and the musicians. This has made it possible to focus on world music as site of certain forms of knowledge, and of institutional practices primarily of the music industry and musicians. My analysis has deployed a qualitative approach and fieldwork methods, particularly by working with three Zimbabwean case studies: the Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza. In this last chapter I will summarize and evaluate the central substance and findings of my work.

## **1. World Music as a discourse**

When launching the concept 'world music' in 1987 the music industry executives neither created a new musical genre nor even a totally new marketing concept. The initial marketing campaign was, rather, an incremental step, prepared for by a web of genre expectations in which the musicians, producers and consumers were already ensnared. Several artists whose music had been categorized as folk music, traditional music or perhaps ethnic pop, had for some time already been entering the sales charts and larger concert halls and festivals in Europe and North America. The actual term itself also had a prehistory, going back to the more idealistic notions of a fusion of various musical styles from different parts of the world, to the ethnomusicological use of the term as an expression of musical diversity and a descriptor of a component of the academic curriculum. The conceptualization of world music, as it was manifested in the marketing campaign, was not the outcome of a single event or a specific musical development. It was part of a larger process, in which the expectations, statements, conventions and practices of both the audience and the industry converged to construct a new industrial, aesthetic and ideological formation that became known as world music.

The diversity of the expectations and values that became linked to world music has also meant that the ideas about what world music is, or should be, vary widely even among those who, in one way or the other, are involved in making, producing, explaining or listening to it. Although world music is conceptualized in many different ways, it is still possible to find recurring and systematic patterns underlying the different statements about it. That is, it is meaningful to speak of a discursive formation of world music. Initially the various definitions of world music may seem to be contradictory and complex, but when analyzed in detail they disclose a fundamental relatedness. Several definitions, for example, are based on the idea of some shared musical features. However, this surface level often hides a formation based on the idea of world music as in some sense 'local' and 'traditional'. A particular world music's

degree of 'modernity' or 'globalization' is usually measured against styles that are perceived to be 'western' and 'popular'. Often the concepts 'authenticity' or 'ethnicity' are attached to this same systematization so that the musical styles, which signify something older, more traditional and local to the western listener, are also more likely to be declared authentic and ethnic, and therefore are eligible to be included in the definition of world music. In some cases fusion is referred to as a defining factor of world music, but even then the new hybrid is explained in terms of fusions between a traditional and local music, and so-called modern western popular music.

The patterns underlying the diverse definitions of world music evoke a polarization which can be summarized as 'the West versus the Rest'. The terms 'West' and 'Rest' should of course not be understood as geographical entities, but as constructions that are embedded in the intellectual heritage of the era of modernity. In the world music context this means that the music signifies the Rest for a person who positions him or herself in the more modern West. World music can thus be explained as a reflection of, or constitutive element in the construction of the Rest as an 'Other', which is contrasted with the 'Self' of the West. World music is a label which has been created by the Self of the West and is manifested in the industrial practices of this Self. By labeling the music, the Self classifies it as something originating in, or at least strongly influenced by, a separate and different culture, which thereby becomes an Other to the Self. The discursive strategy which creates such binary oppositions between them and us, is often based on stereotyping, idealization and essentialism. Two cultural concepts are particularly important for the formation of world music, namely tradition and locality. These are also discursive constructions rather than objective points on a time continuum or a map. The precise interpretations of their meaning and the position assigned to a specific cultural phenomenon in relation to them, varies considerably depending on context. As such differentiating factors they are, however, crucial to the way the distinction is made between Other and Self.

The separation of the West (Self) and the Rest (Other) is not merely an abstraction; it underpins the industrial practice of world music. As in discourses in general, world music incorporates the abstract level of knowledge and also more concrete, practical manifestations of the formation. Indeed, the two levels are always to some extent intertwined. The marketing category world music was not only an economical creation; it also involved the production of knowledge, or a specific way of creating and understanding meanings. Hence the organizations that participate, in for example, the production, distribution and commentary of world music also participate in the discursive process.

For the music industry the establishment of a new marketing category called world music was significant because it was different from previously existing labels. World

music is clearly a specialist field of music, which in economic terms forms a separate small niche market and often functions with support from the state or ideological organizations. It consists of an array of styles that are not strong enough to form a category each on its own in the context of where they are distributed and consumed. Thus, also, although the fundamental conceptions of world music might be similar in the different parts of the West, there are nonetheless major regional differences as to what musics are included in the category. In Europe for example folk music styles are seldom conceptualized as world music in their home countries because, where they have their own established organizations and signify national character rather than Otherness. In the same way Okinawan music can be included in Japanese world music record racks, radio programs and sales charts, while the music of the Japanese mainland is excluded. In North America some popular Latin American styles which have their own charts in the United States, are not included in the Billboard world music chart even though they are usually included in European charts. In other words, irrespective of where the music is originally made, it needs to somehow signify Otherness in the culture where it is consumed in order to be perceived as world music.

## 2. Fields of tension

In the world music discourse Otherness is constructed through stereotyping, which can be based on the binary oppositions traditional-modern and local-global, and partly also counterhegemonic-hegemonic. These binaries do not have some essential objective existence, but they are processual and dynamic and certain participants can emphasize one side of a binary in one context while others may emphasize another. Thus, the binaries form fields of tension, or simultaneous but conflicting energy sources that are not mutually exclusive, unambiguous entities, but constructions that play a major role in determining how world music should be interpreted. These conflicting forces pull different participants in the world music industry in different directions. A career in the world music industry requires a successful balancing between these tensions.

In the discourse, world music is situated as in some way a representative of a living tradition, valued as some kind of genuine alternative to a music which is seen as too modernized and therefore artificial. The line between genuine and artificial is often drawn in such a way that state folklore organizations and the music industry are identified as degrading forces that empty the music of all spontaneous creativity. The interest in music cultures that have not usually been exposed or distributed to the in-

ternational market is generally justified by the putative decline of the intellectualized and over-sophisticated culture of the Western. The argument implicit in this interest in a sense of tradition that has supposedly vanished from modern Western culture reflects longstanding belief that cultural change or development is a characteristic feature of the West and almost non-existent in other cultures, and that deplorable Western influences are the major agent of change in otherwise stable non-Western cultures. This differentiation between the traditional and the modern exemplifies of how the modern has created the traditional as a way of strengthening its own identity. However, the binary traditional-modern is not necessary as oppositional and straightforward from the musicians' point of view. As the analysis of Virginia Mukweshu's CD *Matare* shows, the simultaneous existence of traditional and modern musical features and general approaches in music is not necessarily contradictory. For Mukweshu mbira is built on a continuous interplay between her cultural heritage and life today and there is therefore a logic in her description of her CD as modern traditional music.

Of course not all music categorized as world music is designated traditional music or conceived of as some kind of historically static form by the world music media. Although the idea of tradition is implicit in much of the discursive formation of world music, there is also a distancing from the idea of an unchanged tradition; many of the records included are in fact treated as popular music styles deriving from a tradition but having evolved in a more modern direction. The simultaneous appearance of both an interest in tradition, and interrogation of the idea of tradition is crystallized in the concept 'roots music', which combines the idea of a significant residue of tradition with some degree of modernization as a result of structural and contextual changes. In addition the older ideas of authenticity are less important and they are therefore deployed alongside complementary ideas drawn from rock discourse. Thus, the critics and fans construct world music as an authentic, pure and often also politically oppositional alternative to the commercial exploitation practiced by the mainstream music industry.

When they entered the European market, The three Zimbabwean case studies of this thesis also conformed to the 'roots' expectations of the media. The Bhundu Boys' route to fame through hard work, and many elements of the band's guitar based music were consistent with the entrenched expectations of rock and roots enthusiasts. The Bhundu Boys were also often presented in nationalist-revolutionary terms, which fitted the anti-hegemonic ideals of authenticity of the rock and world music discourses. The expression 'Zimbabwean rock'n'roll' was a frequently used slogan when Virginia Mukweshu's jiti became known in the world music industry, signifying a combination of local traditional music and a western music style of Afro-American origin. Thus, the African music was not only situated among the roots styles, but also

made credible by reference to the established authenticity ideals of the roots category. In a similar way mbube often signified roots and a return to authentic African culture for the West and the beginning of Sunduza's international career was accompanied by similar discourse.

Although signifying tradition or roots is important for acceptance by the world music media, it can also be a hindrance to entering larger markets. The 'alternative' profile in comparison with the general output of the international music industry is an advantage in a niche market, but too much diversification can elicit a negative response particularly for artists who try to achieve crossover success. World music critics and fans may reject music that enjoys mainstream success, which for them signifies commercial dilution of authentic music. This was exemplified when the Bhundu Boys signed a record contract with the transnational corporation WEA. The band changed its style, which had been Southern African popular music with repetition and variation of short cycles, to more strictly arranged pop music with longer structural units based on sectional opposition. This change was partly a result of the band's anxiety regarding the European audiences' dislike of African music which might sound repetitive and boring, but also because of the band members' wish to display their skills. However, the Bhundu Boys did not succeed in balancing traditional and modern in a way that the world music critics regarded as consistent with their demand for authenticity, and instead of reaching a larger mainstream audience the band experienced a backlash in the world music niche market. For world music fans of late capitalist culture, the music is often a way of marking individuality through consumption and therefore the music also needs to be different from the most accustomed styles. This distinction between authenticity and the sellout is based on the expectations of the western industry and audience, and ultimately on western self-conception.

The interest in authenticity is not only connected to the idea of tradition, but also to the idea of locality. That is, world music is appreciated as local music born out of the life of a community that exists in one particular place, as opposed to the 'placeless' mainstream pop of the international music industry. The paradox of this criterion of authentication is that the music, in reaching the world music media and audience, is inevitably also simultaneously international. Furthermore the Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza have not been tied to one single geographic place in the course of their careers. Rather, like most musicians in the world music industry, they have negotiated their position and identity within the translocal worlds that they inevitably inhabit as professional musicians.

The world music consumers' interest in music which signifies an exotic locality distant from the here and now, resembles the tourist's interest in new places to visit.

The demand for authentic musical experiences is closely connected to the late modern demand for something more, and elsewhere. However, the search for novelty can be framed and limited by entrenched expectations of what the new is supposed to be like. The music must therefore be both rooted in some foreign locality and yet accessible, and it must also signify difference in an acceptable way in order to be classified as authentic.

The dichotomy West-Rest is seldom explicit in the discourse of world music, which prefers an all-embracing global vocabulary about the music of the world being distributed to the whole world. The authenticity criteria, which are based on notions of genuine local traditions, contrast with what is usually the great distance between the musicians' and the listeners' cultures. This paradox is rationalized through allegations of the music's universal qualities that transcend all boundaries. This justification of international distribution and consumption practices resonates with the New Age fixation on the spiritual hunger for timeless metaphysical experiences, but it also suits the anti-hegemonic ideology of multi-culturalism which is often associated with world music. As a part of consumer culture, world music is neither exclusively local nor global, but rather an example of the processes through which space and place have been reconfigured so that consumers form new affinity groupings of a more transregional character. Superficially the universalist aspirations and the global production, distribution and consumption networks of the so-called world music scene can sustain the idea of some local musics being disseminated throughout the whole world, but fundamentally the idea of such a scene is a construct of the West and its industry and consumers, who seek to distance themselves from other Western scenes.

The drive towards globalization of music and musical experiences, which is a prerequisite for the spread of world music, can also lead to changes that make the music less interesting or less authentic for the listeners. In the world music discourse the influence of the international music industry is addressed in many ways, ranging from more optimistic prognostications of how international interest can help in preserving cultures and enhance cultural richness, to pessimistic visions of a cultural gray-out in which unique musical practices disappear. The anxieties and aspirations associated with the idea of the global diaspora of music is often based on a polarization of cultures into a western core, which projects its influences on to a periphery that consists of the rest of the world's cultures. The artistic development of the Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza show how the musicians have to negotiate various ideas of homogeneity and heterogeneity. Musical choices can be based on the artist's desire to be creative, but while the result may be something new and different in the musician's opinion, it can signify cultural gray-out for world music crit-

ics and fans. The world music media's expectations are framed by the idea that African groups should sound African, while the African character is not necessarily based on the music making that is typical in the artist's place of origin, but rather on a pre-conceived idea of what sounds are 'African'.

### **3. World Music as a phenomenon of late modernity**

I have examined how one discourse, that of world music, has constructed its sense of time and space, or, seen from an other perspective, how certain ideas of time and space have, through a certain formation and practice, constructed the discourse of world music. I approached this subject by analyzing how the binaries traditional-modern and local-global were reconstructed in different situations, with the master binary 'the West versus the Rest' forming a basic framework for the discourse. Contrary to the most strident postmodernist writers, who claim a collapse of the traditional experience of time and space, I argued that although these conceptual pairs have undoubtedly been re-evaluated, they are still important in world music discourse. In this respect, I prefer to use the term late-modernity, rather than postmodernity, when positioning world music as a cultural and industrial phenomenon.

From this perspective the declaration that the concepts time and space, or ideas embodied in the binaries traditional-modern and local-global, are obsolete, does not seem meaningful. It might be that such concepts as 'authenticity', which underpins these binaries, has been radically reinterpreted, but this is hardly new. The boundaries of normative judgments change over time depending on the position of the individual. This does not, of course, imply a total denial of the 'reality' of geographic, temporal, or hegemonic relations within and between cultures. It is important however to avoid attributing to any culture, or the terms of its characterization through descriptions such as local-global/traditional-modern, an essential objective existence, thereby eliding the strategies through which they are negotiated and produced. Cultures characterized as 'local' and 'traditional', just as much as those that are called 'modern' or 'cosmopolitan late-capitalist', simply have their own discursive realities.

The world music discourse and the musicians who enter its realm have their own discursive backgrounds. When trying to establish an international career musicians inevitably confront the whole discursive framework of world music, with all its pre-conceived notions and expectations that the musicians need to negotiate in their creative work and career choices. As the case studies of this thesis have demonstrated, reactions can be very different even among three groups of musicians from one country. For the Bhundu Boys, who from the outset wanted to be pop stars, the categori-

zation world music became a burden because of the authenticity expectations that it entailed. Virginia Mukwasha had strong convictions regarding preservation and change. On one hand she saw it as a risk when a musician entering the market changes his or her style in an attempt to reach a larger audience. On the other hand however she accepted that the world music marketing category also offers an opportunity for African musicians who want to build up a following among listeners in Europe. For Sunduza world music meant both an economic opportunity and a problem, as it never managed to break through as a mbube choir in a market that had already been saturated by Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Sunduza's members also criticized the narrowness of the world music authenticity criteria.

The three case studies have in common the fact that they have been conceptualized as world music artists through the industrial processes that they have become a part of in their attempt to break through in Europe, and they have, more or less, consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily, adjusted their work to this situation. The musicians are not passive tools of an industrial machine and they have alternatives, but when they begin their international careers they are nevertheless forced to recognize and to some extent adapt to the world music discourse, which can be profoundly different from their own original discursive framework. In this respect the world music discourse, as a creation of the West's conception of itself, could ultimately be explained simply as a product of unilateral global power relations. However, the musicians, through their own practices contribute to the construction of world music as their creative work is placed into that category. Thus the power structure is never as unilateral as it may seem on the surface.

It is also important to remember that none of the discursive frameworks is simply real or false, although they are very much realities for their participants. Instead they are always constructed through various strategies that are always under negotiation. Thus, perhaps the most significant change in the late modern era is not that the older fundamental assumptions that structure cultural self-conceptions have disappeared and become meaningless, but the ways in which they have been renegotiated.

#### **4. Concluding words**

At the outset of this thesis I stated that I wanted to avoid beginning my research with a definition of world music, since such a definition have tended to predetermine the outcome. Although I presented no definition as such, it is of course the case that my choice of discursive model imposes upon my research a particular intellectual framework, which, after all, also directs the work process and results. This paradox may be

regarded as a central dilemma of discourse analysis but it is not the business of this project to address its ontological and epistemological dimensions. However, the relationship between the writer and the object of analysis and the consequences of that relationship should of course never be ignored.

Thus, I believe that this study is also interwoven with many personal issues that have influenced not only the way the analysis has been undertaken, but also its implicit value-judgments, basic premises and therefore also its findings. Discourse analysis of world music as a cultural and industrial phenomenon, which is based on a binary West-Rest, is bound to raise many questions regarding my position as the author in relation the subject of my thesis. Inevitably of course my background as a Finnish former world music DJ with an ethnomusicological training was an important background factor in the formation of this work. Similarly, the time-span of this study and the fact that I have used three Zimbabwean case studies, have defined boundaries to its scope. All scholarly work is of course always tied to its context, but in this case I must explicitly declare that writing this thesis has been both a process of self-examination and part of the more general processes of self-reflexivity of the so-called West, in which world music discourse itself also implicated. I also acknowledge that this approach has involved the risk of reinforcing the very hegemony it has tried to deconstruct. However, within the limits of the project, I have some confidence that a critical posture has been evident in this report of my research results.

Freeing oneself from the discourse one sets out to analyze is not an easy task either in theory or in practice. In my thesis I have chosen to address this problem by broadening the discursive approach through the deployment of ethnomethodology. In doing so I introduced the voices of individual subjects whose position in relation to the discourse I could then analyze in greater detail. This naturally entailed exercising some liberties with the strict premises of discourse analysis, which question the autonomy of the human subject. However, as I mentioned in the introductory chapter on methodological choices, for me it seemed legitimate to accept the authority of the individual and the integrity of his position. Three case studies from one country is a very small sample and we must be very cautious when making generalizations, as they can never be said to represent either the rule or the exception. On the other hand, I believe that the fieldwork provided access to a deeper level of knowledge that would have been the case without it. In this respect I prefer to see my own work as an invitation and encouragement to future research that may broaden perspective on the basis of more extensive material.

Another side of the world music phenomenon, which I feel can never be made intelligible by this discursive approach and a small sample of musicians, is the role of industry structures and economics. I have not sought to deny the existence of the

'reality' of for example economic power, ownership and legal issues, which affect both the artists' work in their home countries and abroad. However they have not been central to this particular enquiry, but rather a part of the larger discursive framework, which is based on several interdependent aspects of formation and practice. I believe however that there are many instructive issues within the economic field that should be attended to in future studies.

In summary, I believe that, despite all the limitations, an adaptation of discourse analysis together with ethnomethodology helps us to engage with phenomena such as world music. This is particularly the case if the study focuses on world music as a site and means of negotiating conflicting and shifting representations and constructions of experience. It is also in this field that musicology, ethnomusicology and popular music studies may contribute to both scholarly and the more general cultural debates. World music, as with all discourses, is a process that keeps changing as it develops and is reconstructed in shifting cultural contexts. The increasing and accelerating intercultural connections, migration and media flows also give the music new roles and meanings. Musicians construct new identities as they move on in their careers, fans seek and give new meanings to music, and the music industry changes its structure and working practices in order to remain in the forefront of changing conditions. Under such circumstances the challenges to scholarly work are particularly demanding, as researchers also need to become aware and adapt to the changing situation. The formation and practice of world music have had their negative consequences, but at best they have also had positive effects channeling idealistic visions into fruitful practices. It must be acknowledged that it is a considerable challenge to present 'local music, not from here' to 'wherever here is', in a way that respects all parties involved and truly bridges and genuinely ameliorates conflicts rather than erecting new barriers. As an ethnomusicologist I have always regarded this as one of the challenges for ethnomusicology, one which will, I believe, grow in magnitude in the future.



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The title refers to the capacity in which the individual identified has been interviewed (the person does not necessarily hold the same position either now or at the time of interview, but answered questions relating to that activity)

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Dandemutande Resource Guide on performers, teachers etc.

<http://www.dandemutande.org/ResourceGuide.asp>

Dandemutande Email list

<http://www.dandemutande.org/EmailList/index.asp>

Folk Roots' pages on "World music history"

[http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world\\_music\\_history/minutes/](http://www.frootsmag.com/content/features/world_music_history/minutes/)

Rough Guides on travel, music etc.

<http://www.roughguides.com/>

Shava Musik

<http://www.shava.com>

Sunduza

<http://www.southern-edia.co.uk/pages/sunduza.html>

World Music Charts Europe

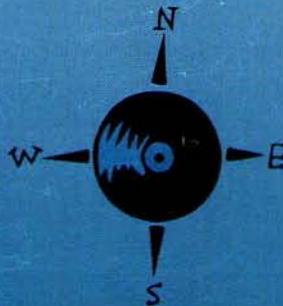
<http://www.rootsworld.com/wmce/>

Zimfest – Zimbabwean Music Festival

<http://www.zimfest.org/>



**Ever since the launch of the marketing category world music in 1987, the term and the whole cultural and industrial phenomenon have been much debated. 'Local music, not from here (wherever here is)' is a definition of world music which is often referred to, despite, or probably precisely because of its vague all-encompassing character. This definition, however, raises several interesting questions. Not all music of the world is actually called world music, so how and by whom are the distinctions made between what is and what is not accepted and appreciated as world music? What relevance does the category have for those musicians whose music is called world music and how does it affect them, or how do they affect it? This book is an analysis of the discursive formation and practice of world music examined through three Zimbabwean case studies: The Bhundu Boys, Virginia Mukweshu and Sunduza. The general focus of the study positions it in the framework of ethnomusicology and popular music studies, with contributions from cultural, media and post-colonial studies.**



**Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology Publ.10**

**ISSN 0785-2746**

**ISBN 951-96171-6-7**