II. World popular music

Several interrelated developments in global culture since the latter 1900s have had a substantial effect on world popular music and its study. These include the phenomenal increase in the amount of recorded popular music outside the developed world, as a result of the expansion of extant modes of musical production and dissemination and the advent of new technologies such as cassettes, CDs, video compact discs, and the Internet; the effective compression of the world by intensified media networks, transport facilities, diasporas, and the globalization of capital, which has increased the transnational circulation of world popular musics and their availability in the West; and an exponential growth from the 1990s in the number of scholarly and journalistic studies of world popular musics.

Some of the major conceptual approaches that have informed modern scholarly studies of world popular musics are reviewed in the following sections. The term 'popular music' is used here to connote genres whose styles have evolved in an inextricable relationship with their dissemination via the mass media and their marketing and sale on a mass-commodity basis. Distinctions between popular musics (defined thus) and other kinds of music, such as commercialized versions of folk musics, are not always airtight. The scope of the present section of this article is limited to popular music idioms that are stylistically distinct from those of the Euro-American mainstream. The significant role that Euro-American popular music styles play in many non-Western music cultures is discussed only tangentially here, and is addressed more specifically in **POP, §V**.

There is at present no satisfactory label for popular musics outside the Euro-American mainstream (just as designations such as the 'third world' or even the 'developing world' are increasingly problematic). Terms such as 'world music', 'world popular music', 'world beat', and 'ethnopop' are too imprecise to be taxonomically useful, unless clearly defined for specific publications. The term 'non-Western', if applicable to many musics, is hardly a satisfactory label for genres such as reggae or salsa, which, although peripheral to Euro-American mainstream culture, are certainly products of 'Western' societies. The increasing globalization of world culture and the proliferation of syncretic hybrid musics also blur the dichotomy of Western and non-Western world musics, and intensify the terminological challenges.

For further information see articles on individual countries and regions.

1. Growth of studies.

If commercial popular music in general was long ignored by the academy, the scholarly study of popular music outside the Euro-American mainstream began even later. Notable publications from the 1970s include Bruno Nettl's *Eight Urban Musical Cultures* (1978) and the informative, if somewhat more journalistic, works of authors such as John Storm Roberts (1972, 1979). The amount of scholarly literature on world popular musics greatly increased in subsequent years, with the belated academic recognition of the sociological importance of popular culture, the spread of multiculturalism as an academic paradigm in the West, and the active interest of a new generation of scholars who had been personally immersed in popular music since adolescence. The journal *Popular Music* (founded in 1981) and other subsequent journals devoted to cultural studies have since provided broad forums for published research in world popular music.

Popular music literature since the early 1980s, whether scholarly or generalist, has included a number of descriptive overviews, some attempting more or less comprehensive global perspectives (e.g. Manuel, 1988; Broughton and others, 1994; Shepherd and others, 2003) and some surveying a given region, such as Africa (e.g. Graham, 1988, 1992; Bender, 1991; Collins, 1992). Of greater detail and depth are ethnographic studies of individual genres or

music cultures (e.g. Coplan, 1985; Peña, 1985; Perrone, 1988; Waterman, 1990; Erlmann, 1991; Stokes, 1992; Jones, 1992; Guilbault, 1993; Hill, 1993; Loza, 1993; Webb, 1993; Pacini, 1995; Savigliano, 1995; Austerlitz, 1996; Averill, 1997; Simonett, 2001; Perna, 2005; Garcia, 2006; Hope, 2006; Veal, 2007; Madrid, 2008; Booth 2008; Wallach, 2008; Washburne, 2008; Ragland, 2009; Weintraub, 2010; Stokes, 1992, 2010; Baker, 2011). Also of interest are the handful of works that incorporate cross-cultural perspectives in exploring the musical ramifications of global networks of capital, media images, and diasporic communities (e.g. Wallis and Malm, 1984; Garofalo, 1992; Lipsitz, 1994; Gopal and Moorti 2008; Slobin, 2008).

Much literature on world popular music has been written outside the Euro-American academic world, in languages other than English and for predominantly regional readerships. Prominent in this category, for example, are the numerous Spanish-language works published in Latin America (e.g. Matamoro, 1969; Rondón, 1980; Acosta, 1982, 1993; Lloréns Amico, 1983; Quintero-Rivera, 1998). Language and geographic barriers and the ephemerality and obscurity of many developing-world publications mean that much of this literature remains relatively inaccessible in the developed world. Many useful English-language works produced outside the metropoles, such as Rohlehr's magisterial study of calypso (1990), are scarcely disseminated even in their countries of origin, not to mention elsewhere. Conversely, the Western, predominantly English-medium scholarly world, with its networks of presses, libraries, funding sources, and research institutions, has perhaps inevitably constituted a scholarly mainstream, and has accordingly attracted many of the best non-Western scholars to its own institutions.

Representing a somewhat different category is the voluminous and growing body of generalist literature on popular music, including not only music journalism found in newspapers and magazines but also various accessible books on popular music which, although not academic in orientation, are often colourful and richly informative (e.g. Kanahele, 1979; Andersson, 1981; Díaz Ayala, 1981, 1994; Reuter, 1981; Davis and Simon, 1982; Malavet Vega, 1988; Barlow and Eyre, 1995; Calvo Ospina, 1995). Also worthy of mention are the increasing numbers of documentary films and videos on world popular music, such as Jeremy Marre's series *Beats of the Heart*, made in the 1970s and 80s. Lastly, of course, the Internet—from Wikipedia to fanzine websites—has come to provide an unprecedented and previously inconceivable abundance of information and discourse on world popular music. Taken as a whole, the growing body of world music literature and research material has immeasurably enhanced the documentation and potential understanding of global culture. At the same time, the processes of musical evolution, innovation, and cross-fertilization continue to provide fresh challenges to scholars and students of popular culture.

The vast majority of scholarly literature on world popular music has been oriented towards socio-musical themes such as are addressed in the remainder of this entry. Only a handful of studies have focused on the formal aspects of popular musics outside the Western mainstream. Several authors have presented basic analytical descriptions of the distinctive features of individual styles and genres, such as African guitar music (Eyre, 2003), norteño accordion playing (Ragland, 2009), and salsa piano improvisation styles (Manuel, 'Improvisation in Latin Dance Music', 1998). Detailed formal analyses of popular music styles, however, remain scarce. It is true that much popular music, whether 'simple' or not, is designed to be accessible rather than recondite and may constitute a less obviously productive subject for detailed technical analysis than, say, a Schoenberg piano sonata. At the same time, the aesthetic appeal of a commercial popular song or genre may rely – no less than does art music – on expressive nuances whose workings could be revealed by close analysis. However, formal analyses of popular musics have been impeded by the reliance of many such musical styles on expressive features that are resistant to staff notation – or, in some cases, to

any sort of extant or even imaginable notation. For instance, conventional notation would be of little use in analysing a performance by the Jamaican vocalist Buju Banton of a dance-hall song, much of whose affective power may derive not from its easily notated two-note 'melody' or even from the semantic meaning of its lyrics, but rather from Banton's micro-rhythmic nuances, ingressive vocalizations, guttural growls, dramatic timbral and dynamic variations, and other untranscribable and verbally indescribable effects. It remains difficult to conceive what sorts of graphic notation could do justice to such expressive techniques and be intelligible at the same time. Other aspects of text settings may be more amenable to analysis; an exemplary study is Manabe's exploration (2006) of how Japanese rappers construct musically expressive lyrics in a language that lacks either inherent syllabic stress or a tradition of rhyme.

Among scholars of Western popular music, Middleton (1990, p. 117) articulated with particular clarity the need to develop new terminologies and notational approaches, and to explore innovative approaches to transcription and analysis, rather than perpetuating a 'retreat into sociology'. In ethnomusicology Keil (1966, 1987, 1995), recapitulating Jairazbhoy's interest in notating micro-rhythmic variations (1983), emphasized the importance of processual, often spontaneous interpretative nuances, which he called 'participatory discrepancies' ('PDs'). Opinions have differed as to whether such features correspond to what Leonard Meyer (1956) would term 'syntax', understandable in terms of formal tensions, resolutions, and 'simultaneous deviations', or whether they, like ostinato-based dance-orientated musics in general, call for a qualitatively different form of analysis (see Keil, 1995, and responses). The advent of digital technologies that show waveforms has made graphic measurement of such micro-rhythmic nuances incomparably simpler than before, enabling analysts like Washburne (1998) to describe with precision what is meant, in salsa, by notions of playing 'on top of the beat', 'behind the beat', or 'in the pocket'. (Related technologies also enable producers of synthesized drum patterns to program such nuances into their beats.) On the whole, however, scholars of world popular music have not responded to Middleton's exhortation, but rather have continued to orient their work overwhelmingly towards socio-musical themes.

2. The mass media.

The evolution of modern popular musics has been closely associated with certain broader socio-historical developments, particularly urbanization, the emergence of modern social classes, the general context of late modernity as a whole, and, most directly, the advent of the modern mass media. Incipient popular song genres can be said to have emerged in 19th-century Europe in connection with sheet music, player pianos, and musical boxes. Similarly, in Japan during the Edo period (1603–1868), commercial publishers mass-produced cheap songbooks and pamphlets that, while serving to document pre-modern song genres already weakened by print itself, also initiated a commodification process characteristic of commercial popular music industries (Groemer, 1995–6). However, the advent of popular music *per se* is better linked to the 'Second Industrial Revolution', in which electricity and industrial techniques were applied to cultural production, primarily in connection with capitalist patterns of development. The invention of the phonograph in the 1880s and its mass marketing from around 1900 were the primary catalysts in stimulating the emergence of modern popular music.

The effects of mass mediation on music have been varied and profound, encompassing such phenomena as the detachment of performers from their products; the introduction of new dimensions of commercial considerations into music; the emergence of new links and barriers between audiences and performers; a tendency for mass-mediated music to become detached from ritual and life-cycle performance contexts; an unprecedented emphasis on the solo 'star'

performer; the emergence of the studio recording as an autonomous art form rather than a copy or rendition of a performance; and the subjection of music production in general to the same processes of commodification, rationalization, and bureaucratization as other aspects of modern economic production. If in the West such musical developments proceeded largely in the wake of broader processes of social, economic, and technological modernization, in much of the developing world popular music industries emerged and flourished alongside musical genres, social practices, and technological infrastructures that remained essentially pre-modern.

During the 20th century the core mass medium for popular music was the phonogram (shellac and subsequently vinyl discs), supplemented by cassettes from the 1970s, and compact discs from the 1980s. While imported records from the West initially dominated many regions, in other areas production of records for local markets commenced early in the century, with the British-owned Gramophone Company producing over 14,000 recordings in Asia and Africa alone by 1910 (see Gronow, 1981). Records produced during this period consisted primarily of genres marketed towards élites, among whom ownership was concentrated. Public exposure to phonographs greatly increased in the 1920s and 30s, as middle-class ownership grew and less affluent listeners acquired access to records in local cafés and on jukeboxes, or, in countries like India, from itinerant entrepreneurs who carried spring-driven turntables around villages, playing requests for a small fee. In response to market demand, production came to include an eclectic variety of genres, with increasing emphasis on syncretic popular musics that evolved in connection with the new medium. The advent of magnetic tape recording and LPs in the 1950s reduced production costs and overcame the time constraints associated with 78 r.p.m. records, although most popular song genres worldwide continue to adhere to three- to five-minute formats.

Uses of technologies like vinyl records have varied in different locales and genres. In many genres, from salsa to highlife, recordings served primarily as supplements to or mediated representations of music that was ideally heard, or danced to, at live performances. In other genres, from Hindi film song to Jamaican reggae, live performance was not considered essential or even ideal, such that they evolved largely as studio art forms, disseminated primarily in mediated forms – in the case of Hindi film songs, via cinema and radio, and in the case of Jamaican reggae, via mobile sound systems. In some cases, records could form the basis for music subcultures far from their places of origin; thus, for example, in the 1970s and 80s, in Cartagena, Colombia, Central and West African popular music records enjoyed prodigious vogue as dance music played by '*picó*' sound systems (Pacini, 1996).

The spread of phonograms in the 1920s coincided with the advent of **RADIO**, whose reach soon extended at least as far. As with phonographs, access was not entirely dependent on private ownership, but could involve various forms of communal listening in public places. Throughout much of the developing world, as in many European metropoles, radio during the 20th century remained under state control, operating as a public service and/or as a vehicle for propaganda. Dependence on electric power, whether external or battery supplied, continues to limit access in poorer communities.

The spread of sound films from around 1930 introduced a new mass medium for music that was particularly effective in reaching consumers who were too poor to purchase radios or phonographs but could afford occasional cinema tickets. Because of cinema's accessibility, its inherent appeal and its ability to add a new visual dimension to music, several popular music genres became closely associated with cinematic musicals, including the tango, Turkish *arabesk*, Indonesian *dangdut* and mainstream Egyptian and Indian popular music (*see* **INDIA, §VIII, 1**). In most cases, star singers were thus obliged to act (and often dance) as well, although in the 1940s Indian films adopted the 'playback' system, in which actors would mouth words in 'lip-sync' to songs separately recorded by professional singers.

Meanwhile, film-related musics were marketed independently as phonograms. In some regions, such as Latin America and the Near East, television came to largely replace cinematic musicals as a medium of musical dissemination. Thus, in Egypt, popular music eventually became disassociated from melodramatic films while in other respects becoming linked to television, so that, for example, Sunday evening broadcasts of concerts by Umm Kulthum became national events throughout the 1960s and 70s.

In the 1980s the spread of video technology intensified the production and accessibility of visually contextualized music. To some extent, consumer video players served to supplement and extend cinema and television, offering users greater choice and control over selection, storage, and retrieval. Their use also tended to privatize consumption, bankrupting many cinemas and further replacing live performance attendance with atomized domestic viewing. The founding of MTV (Music Television) in 1981 inaugurated the cultivation of music video as an independent art form, with videos largely produced to promote recording sales rather than as independent commodities themselves. As with phonographs and cinema, the developed West, and especially the USA, monopolized production at first. Satellite transmission of MTV International, and of Western television in general, provided an additional means of extending American penetration of global viewing markets. By the late 1980s, however, music videos were being produced around the world, for dissemination on local television, in independent video formats, or on MTV International. Although many music videos outside the developed West during this period were unpretentious, low-budget productions, others – for example in Indonesia – were slick and sophisticated, using picturization techniques that were distinctively local and yet characteristically modern or even postmodern in style. Meanwhile, television shows featuring amateur singing competition – typically modeled on the 'American Idol' format – were enlivening popular music scenes throughout the world.

In the late 20th century two contradictory trends in the financing of mass-mediated music intensified. Music production, especially as conducted by the multinational record companies, became increasingly capital-intensive, with expenditure on production and promotion of individual recordings routinely running into millions of dollars; accompanying this trend was the spread of compact discs, which, especially in the West, were retailed (with or without justification) for prices considerably higher than records or cassettes. At the same time, with the advent of new micro-media, especially cassettes, it became increasingly possible and common for small-scale, local entrepreneurs to produce recordings for negligible sums; this development contributed greatly to the unprecedented ability of subcultures and social minorities to represent themselves.

The trajectory of the international record industry in the 20th century tended to follow the general pattern of monopoly capitalism and domination of the developing world by the West. By the 1930s the world's major music companies had rationalized the industry and divided the world into distinct spheres of interest and control: RCA dominated the Americas, Philips controlled northern and central Europe, the British-owned Decca and EMI (including products marketed as 'His Master's Voice') dominated the entire British Empire, while the French company Pathé-Marconi monopolized markets in France and its colonies. In the decades after World War II, the oligopoly coalesced into the dominance of the 'Big Five': WEA, CBS, RCA (then all US-owned), EMI, and Polygram (the Dutch-owned heir to Philips). Multinational ownership became further concentrated, if less American-controlled, in the 1990s with the purchase of CBS by Sony and of MCA by Matsushita, and by Philips's acquisition of an 80% stake in Polygram.

Independent (and often regional) recording companies, which first emerged in the 1930s, became more numerous and active from the 1960s. Such companies operated in an uneasy relationship, at once symbiotic and competitive, with the Big Five, which could draw on more

extensive resources, technology, and marketing and distribution networks (see Wallis and Malm, 1984). The multinationals were allegedly responsible for roughly two-thirds of world (non-pirate) record sales at their peak in the mid-1970s. In addition to producing local musics for local markets, the multinationals marketed Western popular musics throughout the world; in a few cases, as with the Argentine tango in the 1920s to the 40s, developing-world genres were disseminated for cosmopolitan audiences in Europe and the USA.

The multinationals, while introducing technology and distribution systems to underdeveloped countries, have been criticized for stifling competition in their domains, extracting huge profits from developing countries, and promoting standardization by superimposing Western pop or regional common-denominator genres. The tendency towards homogenization is conspicuous in some countries, such as India, where EMI was able to dominate the music industry for some 70 years by means of a single, albeit eclectic, mass genre: Bombay-based film music, produced by a small coterie of artists and music directors. In other cases, however, multinationals have been fairly active in promoting musical diversity. In the first half of the century, US-owned record companies marketed a wide variety of genres to consumers in Latin America, including the Argentine tango, the Mexican *ranchera*, the Colombian *bambuco*, and the Cuban *son*, bolero, and *danzón*, as well as Euro-American foxtrots, waltzes, polkas, and the like. Records produced by multinationals such as HMV in Africa covered an even richer diversity of local and regional genres.

Accordingly, patterns of music industry ownership have differed from place to place, especially in the post-colonial period. Newly independent African countries, for example, exhibited several distinct forms of development (see Graham, 1988). In some countries, such as Kenya, South Africa, and Côte d'Ivoire, local music industries failed to develop, allowing the continued domination of multinationals and the predominantly foreign musics (typically Western or Congolese) that they marketed. By contrast, in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, and Zaïre, resilient local producers emerged that, often in tandem with multinationals, energetically recorded and marketed a wide variety of local musics. A few quasi-socialist countries, notably Tanzania and Guinea, kept multinationals out by nationalizing music sectors; such policies succeeded in promoting lively local music scenes, but the financially constrained national governments were unable to fund the development of dynamic state music industries. Meanwhile in other countries, such as Mozambique and Angola, persistent poverty and war served to discourage both local production and foreign investment.

The communist countries constituted a distinct category, being the only ones rigorously to restrict multinational penetration while constructing indigenous music industries. The performance of socialist popular music industries under state ownership was generally mixed. On the one hand, popular musics under socialism avoided most of the negative features of commercialism, including the link to corporate sponsorship and consumerism, the fetishism of stars and fashions, and the deforming pressures exerted on musicians by the market. At the same time, most communist countries – which were underdeveloped to begin with – were unable to devote adequate financial resources to entertainment industries and related sectors such as consumer electronics. Bureaucratic inefficiency and authoritarian cultural policies exacerbated problems of creative innovation and material production. Patterns and policies of popular music production varied from country to country, with results ranging from the moderately successful to the disastrous. Perhaps the most egregious example of the latter was provided by China during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), when all types of formal music production were disrupted, and music disseminated through the mass media was limited almost exclusively to selections from the five 'model operas' and three modern ballets. Music production in communist Cuba, although equally centralized in control, was more satisfactory in the 1970s and 80s, with moderate state support, the richness of the inherited popular music tradition and prevailingly pragmatic rather than dogmatic cultural policies to some extent

offsetting the continued bureaucratic bungling, unresponsiveness to popular demand, and a generally phlegmatic economy (see Moore, 2006; Acosta, 1991; Robbins, 1991). A different, more idiosyncratic sort of socialist production was practised in Yugoslavia under Tito, where decentralized local production and state subsidies of less commercially marketable musics managed to sustain a fairly lively and diverse popular music culture.

Ultimately a more significant revolution in music industries came with the spread of new technologies, especially cassettes, from the early 1970s. Cassettes (like video, photocopy machines, personal computer networks, and cable television) are a form of micro-media whose patterns of control, production, and consumption are dramatically less centralized and capital-intensive than those of the 'old media' of cinema, television, and radio. Cassettes and cassette players are inexpensive, portable, and durable, and they have simple power requirements; most importantly, the mass production of cassettes is incomparably cheaper and simpler than that of records or compact discs. By 1990, cassettes had come to constitute over half of world phonogram sales; their impact was most dramatic in the developing world, where they almost entirely replaced vinyl records, thus extending and restructuring music industries.

The initial impact of cassettes was most conspicuous in the endemic spread of cassette piracy (the unauthorized duplication of commercial recordings), which effectively bankrupted legitimate music industries in countries from Ghana to Tunisia and inhibited their development in many other regions. However, as cassette players spread and several countries enacted and enforced copyright laws, piracy in those and other nations was brought within manageable limits, allowing legitimate cassette production to flourish. While cassette technology served to further the dissemination of mainstream hegemonic musics, it also encouraged the emergence of innumerable small, local cassette producers worldwide, who were able to energetically record and disseminate genres whose commercial markets were in many cases too localized or specialized for record companies to represent (see El-Shawan, 1984; Harris, 2002; Manuel, 1993). Several popular music genres emerged in close association with cassettes, including Sundanese *jaipongan*, Andean *chicha*, Thai *luktoong*, and Israeli 'Oriental rock'. Cassettes also served to disseminate musics, such as Latin American *nueva canción*, that were formally banned or discouraged by authoritarian governments.

Complementing the cassette revolution were other contemporaneous developments involving new technologies and associated socio-musical practices or, in some cases, new and alternative usages of pre-existing technologies, some of which provided new forms of access to music, or constituted hybrid formats combining aspects of production and consumption. In urban Japan, low-powered 'mini-FM' stations served to diversity local radio programming, compensating in numbers for their limited broadcast ranges of only a few hundred metres (Koguwa, 1985). From the latter 1970s 'turntabling' – using the turntable essentially as a musical instrument – became a basic performance technique accompanying singing and vocalizing in Jamaican reggae, preceding by a few years the adoption of similar techniques in Afro-American hip hop. At Mexican '*sonidero*' (sound system) dances in the USA, disc jockeys shouting into microphones animatedly read greetings supplied by attendees in which they hail their friends and relatives in Mexico; in the pre-digital 1990s, audiences would then purchase cassettes of the event, complete with music and their own 'shout-outs', and send them by post to their loved ones (Ragland, 2003).

A particularly distinctive usage of recordings has been the karaoke format, in which amateur solo singers, in pubs, rented parlours, or private homes, croon familiar pop songs, backed by commercially marketed recordings of ensemble accompaniments, often with the song lyrics and romantic video scenes projected from a video monitor. Karaoke emerged in Japan in the early 1970s, functioning as an extension of the extant practice of informal singing, especially

of *enka* songs, by men at social gatherings. It soon became a widespread and even focal form of socializing and music-making among East and Southeast Asians in their homelands and diasporic communities in the USA and elsewhere (see Lum, 1996; Mitsui and Hosokawa, 1998).

While the 'Second Industrial Revolution' of the 20th century brought electronic and industrial modes of production to music, the new millennium inaugurated a third revolution based on digital technologies, especially involving personal computers and mobile phones. Digital technologies had impacted music industries since the mid-1980s, when CDs rapidly replaced vinyl records and cassettes as the dominant format in the developed world (while remaining too expensive to have such impact in poorer countries). However, it was not until the years around 2000 that a dramatic new wave of digital technologies came into wide usage, with revolutionary effects on every aspect of popular music production, dissemination, and consumption, both in the developed and developing worlds.

Some of the new technologies involved new formats for physical phonograms. In much of the developing world, cassettes and CDs quickly came to be replaced by mp3 discs, which are considerably cheaper to produce and duplicate, offer good fidelity, are playable on inexpensive devices, and can contain more than nine hours of music apiece. In general, MP3 discs perpetuated and intensified the processes of diversification and decentralization of music production (including music piracy) that the cassette revolution had inaugurated a few decades earlier. A more seminal new format was the VCD, or video compact disc, which, like the formerly more expensive DVD, accommodates moving pictures and sound. VCDs did not provide an entirely new performance format – music videos having already existed – but rather made this entity incomparably cheaper and thus suitable for production, dissemination, and consumption on an unprecedented scale. Despite being a modern digital technology, VCDs – typically showing low-budget music picturizations that are not (unlike promotional 'music videos') broadcast on television – became common primarily in the developing world, and especially in association with lower-class genres within those countries. Commercial VCD productions, while occasionally drawing on extant forms of music videos or cinematic song-and-dance scenes, in many cases emerged as conspicuously new art forms, variously slick or sloppy, and innovative or adhering to quickly established conventions and clichés. From around 2005, the advent of cheap DVD players enabled VCD producers and consumers to shift to DVDs, which can accommodate four or five times as much content.

Digital technologies have also come to be widely used in music production *per se*. 'Software instruments' such as Ableton and Logic Pro are employed not only by Euro-American electronic dance music composers but also by desktop producers of reggae 'riddims' and hip-hop 'beatmakers' around the world. Auto-tune – whether used to subtly correct errant singing or to provide its own distinctive sound – has become a familiar feature throughout much of the world. Skills for such 'DIY' (do-it-yourself) techniques, as well as mastering of multi-track recordings, creative re-mixes, and 'cut-and-paste' editing of footage for VCD clips, can be acquired by amateurs using desktop computers at minimal expense.

The effects of digital technologies have been perhaps most dramatic in the realms of dissemination and consumption, especially as involving the 'P2P' (peer-to-peer) transmission of audio MP3 files and audio-video clips via the Internet, together with sharing of files via USB drives and mobile phones. Internet dissemination, whether licensed or unauthorized, has enabled producers, amateur enthusiasts, and consumers to bypass state media and commercial music industries, making an unprecedented amount and variety of music (and videos) accessible to global audiences. Most such dissemination also bypasses the artists themselves, though savvy performers and producers around the world also use Internet sites (such as MySpace, Facebook, YouTube, and their own websites) to promote their own music. These techniques can also be used for political activism, as in the case of the several music videos –

in hip hop and other styles – which provided soundtracks for the Arab Spring uprisings of the years around 2010. As is often noted, Internet dissemination of music also generates innumerable online 'virtual' communities, typically comprising geographically dispersed enthusiasts of particular genres, who share songs and engage in vituperative 'flame wars' in comments on YouTube and other forums. Meanwhile, even the most unpretentious YouTube music picturization may, for whatever reasons, go 'viral', garnering millions of 'hits' and making superstars of its performers (who might, however, earn nothing from the video itself). Video picturization itself has thus emerged as an amateur art form, as enthusiasts combine popular songs – whether arabesk tunes or Bollywood hits – with video footage of their own choosing, whether cut and pasted from extant sources or filmed independently.

With the expanded capacities of mobile phones, Internet dissemination of music is no longer dependent on access to computers, but is accessible to broad sectors of populations even in the developed world, where mobile phones have become central technologies for music consumption (not to mention other uses). Throughout much of the world, cellphone owners can easily download songs from various unlicensed (as well as licensed) websites. In countries like India, even phone ownership is not necessary for access to pirated music, as consumers can purchase cheap USB drives which can be loaded, at kiosks, with hundreds of songs, and then played by plugging the drive into an audio device (Manuel 2014). The attendant vast unlicensed dissemination of music has gravely weakened commercial music industries – large and small – around the world, exponentially intensifying the problem of music piracy earlier precipitated by cassettes. Ironically, the new ease with which independent artists have been able to produce and disseminate music has gone hand in hand with an increasing difficulty in profiting from sales of music, as consumers have grown so accustomed to downloading music for free. In retrospect, the existence of commercial music industries based on physical phonogram sales seems to have constituted a distinctly 20th-century phenomenon. Now, as during the dawn of the recording era, musicians in many genres – from pop flamenco to arabesk – again derive most of their income from live performances, with recordings being made primarily for prestige and promotion. For their part, commercial music producers and businesses worldwide, while unlikely to match the profits earned in the 1990s, are exploring various strategies to monetize Internet consumption and generate new sources of revenue, including purchases of downloads (as via iTunes), streaming radio services involving advertisements or paid subscriptions, and sales of song snippets as mobile phone ringtones. The latter practice has become particular widespread in East Asia (Manabe, 2009).

3. Urbanization.

The development of modern popular musics is intimately tied to the phenomenon of urbanization. Cities, with their concentrations of wealth, power, heterogeneous social groups, and institutionalized forms of musical patronage, have naturally constituted focal environments for the emergence, production, and consumption of popular musics. The depth and range of the effects of urbanization on culture and social structure in the 20th century were unprecedented, owing to the intensification of urban growth and the qualitatively new and distinct processes accompanying it.

One of these processes is the development of new forms of mass entertainment, including popular musics. As well as providing the necessary technological infrastructures for commercial music industries, urban environments, with their dense populations and cash economies, present concentrated, easily accessible markets for music producers and for the mass media in general. Perhaps more significant, if less tangible, are the ways in which the urban milieu has stimulated the creation of syncretic popular musics by generating new social identities and aesthetic sensibilities. City dwellers are generally exposed to diverse ideologies,

music styles, and media discourses. Such exposure invariably colours attitudes towards and presents new alternatives to traditional folk musics, many of which, in pre-modern and especially rural societies, flourished partly by virtue of being the only forms of music known to their patrons and practitioners. By contrast, most urban dwellers enjoy several kinds of music and develop multiple social identities. While exposure to alternative art forms may occasionally provoke a self-conscious revival of traditional musics, more often it alienates listeners from them and stimulates the development of new syncretic genres.

Popular music often plays a crucial role in the process of adaptation to the new environment. As Coplan (see Nettl, 1978, 1982) has discussed in relation to West Africa, this adaptation involves not only reactive adjustment but also the formation of new identities and their metaphorical articulation in new, syncretic forms of expressive culture. In such situations, popular musicians can become important agents of syncretism and innovation, serving as cultural brokers who articulate new metaphors of social identity and mediate traditional/modern, rural/urban, and local/global dichotomies. As rapid urbanization brings together people of diverse regional, linguistic, or ethnic backgrounds, popular music can serve as a vehicle for social differentiation, mediation, or homogenization. In many cases, popular music becomes a focus for the maintenance or construction of discrete social subgroups, who congregate at their own music clubs, form taste cultures around certain genres or performers, and celebrate favoured idioms as unique expressions of their distinct identity. Some urban genres may maintain strong associations with particular ethnic groups, as is the case with Nigerian **JÙJÚ**, which, despite its broad popularity, remains thoroughly Yoruba in its orientation. In such instances music may play an important role in the maintenance of ethnic, regional, racial, and generational heterogeneity.

In other cases music may serve to mediate differences between people of different backgrounds, or even to unite them, especially as commercial music industries attempt to create and exploit mass homogeneous markets. Hindi film music in North India has certainly functioned in this manner, serving as an aesthetic common denominator for urban dwellers of varied linguistic, regional, and caste backgrounds. Certain social formations also intensify processes of aesthetic homogenization. The centripetal, unifying possibilities of popular music are particularly clear in situations where socially diverse communities, thrown together in neutral urban settings, develop more inclusive identities based on occupation, class, or nationalism rather than on regional or ethnic origin. Such, for example, was the case to some extent in Zaïrean mining towns in the mid-20th century, where the proletarianization of migrant workers created a precondition for the emergence of the pan-Congolese pop music that evolved into what Westerners call **SOUKOUS** , with its lyrics in the lingua franca Lingala (wa Mukuna, 1979–80). Similarly, as Coplan (1985) has documented, South African **MARABI** music, performed in proletarian beer gardens, became an important vehicle for the development of a pan-ethnic urban identity. Whether popular music serves to reinforce social distinctions or to negate them, many contemporary idioms, with their idiosyncratic combinations of various local and global style features, can be seen to reflect fairly explicit strategies by which artists and communities discursively position themselves in their socially heterogeneous surroundings.

While genres and songs associated with urban migrants or the urban experience generally eschew references to particular locales, some individual cities have played such central roles in cultural life that they are chronicled in song lyrics. Hence, various Puerto Rican plenas, Trinidadian calypsos, Dominican merengues, Jamaican dancehall songs, and Newyorican salsa songs narrate various stages and vicissitudes of the New York migrant experience. Similarly, Stokes (2010) explores how different 1990s versions of a song about Istanbul reflect contesting conceptions of the character of that city and its status as an icon of Turkish national culture in general.

Patterns of urban popular music evolution vary, in accordance with the diverse histories of cities themselves, ranging from millennia-old metropolises such as Baghdad, to conglomerations that have emerged in recent times, often from virtual vacuums, as was the case with Karachi, a former sleepy fishing village that is now home to over 21 million people. In some older cities, early-modern professional entertainment musics provided core sources for the subsequent emergence of commercial popular genres. Thus, Marathi theater music in early-20th-century Bombay played a seminal role in the evolution of the Hindi film music that evolved from the 1930s.

In many cases, the exponential growth of modern cities has resulted primarily from the massive influx of rural migrants, especially from the mid-20th century as agricultural economies grew increasingly unable to sustain exploding populations. While such migrants may join the ranks of the assimilated, wage-earning proletariat, more often they come to constitute an underclass working in the economy's informal sectors. Migrant underclasses often make distinctive and original contributions to urban musical culture, from Dominican *bachata* and Brazilian *música sertaneja* to Thai *luktoong* (Pacini, 1995; Carvalho, 1993; Siriyuvasak, 1990). Migrants generally bring rich traditions of rural folk music with them, whose perpetuation or reconstruction, in however stylized a form, may provide some sense of stability and identity in the otherwise disorienting urban experience. At the same time, migrants, especially of the second generation, often become at least partially alienated from traditional rural musics as a result of ambivalence towards their parents' humble backgrounds, exposure to new musics and the general acquisition of new social identities. In response they may cultivate modernized forms of traditional rural musics, as in the case of Turkish pop *türkü*, or they may idiosyncratically rearticulate other pan-regional genres that they encounter in the cities. Such, for example, has been the case with Turkish *arabesk*, which draws from mainstream Egyptian pop styles, and Dominican *bachata*, which developed not as an adaptation of folk genres like *mangolina* or *carabiné* but as a distinctively local reincarnation of the pan-Latin bolero. While the sentimental lyrics of early *bachata* – at that point called *canciones de amargue* or 'songs of bitterness' – did not specifically address the migrant experience, their frequently angry and *machista* tenor seemed to reflect the tensions attending the disruption of extended family networks in the urbanization process (Pacini, 1995, chap.5). In the subsequent decades, as *bachata* became at once more polished and broadly popular, it largely shed its rough and recriminatory aspect, focusing more exclusively on the genteel pangs of heartbreak and loss. Often, as in the case of Turkish *arabesk*, migrant-based genres embrace urban modernity in their stylistic syncretism while at the same time criticizing in their lyrics the anomie it can entail (Stokes, 1992). Such musics, disseminated by the mass media and migrant networks, often circulate back to the countryside, mediating rural–urban distinctions. As with certain genres of black American music, some traditional genres seem well suited to mass-mediated dissemination, albeit in stylized forms, by virtue of their association with exclusively oral transmission and their aura of alienation from modernity (see, for example, Middleton, 1990, p.72).

The history of urban popular music in the city of Lima, Peru, illustrates a sequence of chapters with counterparts elsewhere in the developing world. In the first half of the 20th century, *limeños*(longtime Lima residents) prided themselves on their Spanish pedigree, their superiority to rural Andean Indians, and their genteel urban culture. The iconic expression of the latter was *música criolla* ('creole music'), consisting largely of salon versions of waltzes and tangos, often with lyrics eulogizing familiar neighbourhoods (such as Felipe Pinglo's *De vuelta al barrio* ['Returning to the Neighbourhood']). From the 1950s the stable, familiar, quaint character of Lima barrios began to change radically, as Indian and mestizo migrants poured in from the countryside, settling in squalid shantytowns and filling the streets as ambulatory vendors and vagrants. The migrants soon developed their own urban popular

music, in the form of stylized versions of the Andean *huayno*, with pentatonic melodies in *AABB* form and standard chordal harmonizations. Lyrics of these urban *huaynos* typically recalled the forsaken village, or – like Picaflor de los Andes's *Por las rutas del recuerdo* ('Through the Routes of Memory') – narrated the vicissitudes of the migrant experience, often with a self-consciously proletarian perspective (Llorens Amico, 1983). By the 1980s the adult children of this first generation of migrants – at once alienated from Andean culture and still disparaged by Caucasian *limeños* – cultivated a new, more cosmopolitan-sounding popular music in the form of *chicha*, fusing familiar pentatonic tunes with the rhythm of the *cumbia*, a common-denominator genre cultivated everywhere from Texas to Argentina. In the 1990s *chicha* itself gave way to techno-cumbia, which, with its retinues of scantily clad girls lip-syncing to karaoke tracks, extended its popularity to urban Peruvian and Ecuadorian youth in general (Romero 2002).

4. Modern social class structures.

The new socio-musical identities generated by urbanization are inseparable from the emergence of modern social classes, with their own distinct roles in the evolution of commercial popular musics. Of these classes, the urban bourgeoisie, although often proportionally small, in many cases plays the most conspicuous and influential role because of its affluence, its domination of the mass media and patronage institutions, and the access of its professional performers to formal musical training. Popular musics cultivated by bourgeois audiences often evolve as commercialized and perhaps simplified versions of light-classical genres; these intermediate forms may retain some of the prestige of their élite antecedents while at the same time becoming accessible to emerging bourgeoisies less steeped in aristocratic tastes. In North India and Pakistan, for example, a pop, cassette-based version of the light-classical Urdu *ghazal* became widely popular in the 1970s among bourgeois audiences, combining simplified diction and standardized melodies with some of the expressive mannerisms of its aristocratic antecedent (Manuel, 1993, chap.5). Elsewhere in the developing world, comprador bourgeoisies are often the first social classes to cultivate local popular musics, typically by indigenizing musics associated with colonial or post-colonial élites. Thus, for instance, West African brass band **HIGHLIFE**developed in part out of local renditions of foxtrots, mazurkas, and marches played for Christian élites.

Nevertheless, despite the economic, ideological, and aesthetic hegemony exercised by élites, it is often the lower classes that play the most important role in creating modern urban popular musics, such as Afro-American rhythm and blues, Greek *laika*, Texas-Mexican *conjunto* music, Indonesian *dangdut*, and Colombian *porro*. The general categorization of such diverse entities as 'people's music', however (Keil, 1985, p.119), may not do justice to the heterogeneity of urban social formations, in which a number of distinct social classes, even within the realm of subaltern groups, can be seen to play their own qualitatively distinct roles in musical culture.

In several cases, 'people's musics' have emerged not from the working class (an assimilated, wage-earning proletariat) but from more marginal sectors of society. Particularly notable is the musical influence sometimes exercised by lumpen proletarian groups. While often including some rural migrants, lumpen subcultures are generally wholly alienated from rural society, knowing and celebrating no other home than the urban underworld, in all its bohemian perversity. Such diverse musics as Indonesian *kroncong*, Greek **REBETIKA**, the early **TANGO**, South African *marabi*, and Trinidadian **STEEL BAND** music have emerged primarily from this otherwise most peripheral and liminal part of society (see, for example, Becker, 1975; Holst, 1975; Castro, 1984, 1986; Erlmann, 1991; Steumpfle, 1995). As mentioned above, other forms of 'people's music' distinct from those of the assimilated working class can arise in association with rural migrants to cities. Such genres rarely develop

in isolation, however, but are rather the products of mutual and ongoing interaction with dominant groups. Processes of hegemony and resistance are invariably conditioned by the complex and contradictory dialectics of the social configurations involved. Some lower-class idioms eventually percolate upwards to become accepted by the middle and even upper classes, as the new genres grow in sophistication and attract the input of trained bourgeois musicians, music industries recognize the profits they potentially offer and urbanites belatedly acknowledge them as aesthetically valid expressions. Such interactions often involve a 'stereotyping and reappropriating' dynamic (Keil, 1985), wherein dominant groups co-opt and stylize subaltern groups' music. Such appropriations by élites may involve complex mixtures of enthusiastic patronage, paternalistic exoticism, and opportunistic exploitation. More subtly, as some have argued, élite appropriations may serve as strategies by which dominant groups reformulate hegemony and preserve core values by regulating and incorporating elements of subaltern expressive culture. For their part, subaltern performers, conditioned by the 'doubleness' of minority identities, may participate in this process in order to gain access to markets. In some cases, however, they are eventually able to transcend such house-of-mirrors deformations and to popularize more vital versions of their music. The emergence of Cuban dance music in the early 20th century, for example, involved complex dynamics of white Cuban racism, bourgeois cultural nationalism, the influence of foreign interest in Afro-Cuban music, and the successive white acceptance of Afro-Cuban music in parodic, diluted, and eventually dynamic forms (Moore, 1997). As Turino (2000) has discussed in relation to Zimbabwe, nationalistic elites outside the developed West may cultivate an aesthetic cosmopolitanism that inspires them to support not only Western musics but also syncretic forms of local popular music, especially if the latter – such as the music of Thomas Mapfumo – enjoy some appeal in the West itself. Similarly complex social dynamics in a popular music's development may obtain in relation to horizontal dialectics between groups in different geographic regions within a country.

However, many of the most widespread popular musics do not bear exclusive class affiliations, especially in developed countries such as the USA where mass-media culture, middle-class values, and an ideology of individual opportunity are pervasive. Further, in many countries, such as in most of the Caribbean, notions of class are inseparable from racial or ethnic distinctions, which may be accordingly more significant as emic constructs. In much of Africa, ethnic and linguistic differences and urban/rural (or 'urban/bush') dichotomies may inhibit class consciousness and constitute more essential analytical categories. Even in some monolingual countries, such as Trinidad and Guyana, preferences in popular music are less likely to be determined by class than by race (East Indian or Afro-creole), illustrating how socio-economic classes are only potentially rather than inherently constituted. Furthermore, as has often been noted, social classes are porous entities, and their forms of expressive culture are invariably conditioned by processes of mutual, incessant, and often contradictory interactions with other classes. Such considerations do not negate the importance of class as an analytical construct, but illustrate its inseparability from other parameters and perhaps explain the tendency of modern studies of popular music to focus on other aspects of identity, including gender and ethnicity.

5. Modernity.

Many aspects of the development of modern popular musics are best understood as ramifications of the advent of modernity in general. Urbanization, the mass media, and the rise of modern social classes (considered in §§2–4 above) are important components of modernity, along with more general processes of commodification and the emergence of modern bureaucracies and the concept of the nation-state. In most of the world these phenomena have tended to be associated, directly or indirectly, with capitalism and westernization, although distinctly non-Western forms of modernization have certainly

evolved. Equally important to the rise of popular musics are more subjective features of modernity, including the spread of secular rationalism, a sense of individual responsibility and freedom, and the diminished social and ideological realm of inherited religion, dogma, and habit. The undermining of traditional identities may itself generate neo-fundamentalist revivals of sectarian or religious identity, which, while reacting against modernity, are at the same time firmly embedded in it.

The spirit of modernity, however locally experienced, pervades most world popular music, whether in the parameters of style or in song lyrics. This spirit is most typically expressed as one of two reactions – angst or exuberance – to modernity's disruption of traditional beliefs, social relations, and modes of production: as noted in §4 above, a sense of loss and dislocation is often particularly explicit in musics associated with lumpen proletariats and migrant underclasses, from *rebetika* and *arabesk* to the early tango; alternatively, modernity's erosion of tradition may be experienced as liberating and exhilarating, and is celebrated as such in various world popular musics, however modulated through local cultural configurations. Political songs denouncing social or political oppression represent a third expression of this spirit, one that is characteristically modern in its links to concepts of human rights and Enlightenment values.

In most of the world, popular music's celebrations of freedom appear in the somewhat more subtle but no less profound form of songs about sentimental love. Romance and desire are hardly new phenomena or lyric topics, but the portrayal of a relationship indulged in for its own sake by two socially autonomous beings is a distinctly modern entity, linked to the detachment of love and marriage from kinship and economic considerations, the liberation (however incomplete) of women, and the disassociation of sexuality from procreation. Modern sentimental love has become the single most prominent theme of popular music around the world, contrasting markedly with more traditional portrayals of heterosexual relationships as embedded in and often constrained by specific social circumstances. In South Asia, for example, the traditional Urdu *ghazal*, like medieval troubadour songs, portrays the lover pining for a woman whom he has only glimpsed, while folk genres such as *rasiya* (Manuel, 1993, chap.9) typically focus on the tensions and frustrations associated with village life and watchful relatives. By contrast, commercial Hindi film songs tend to depict the more distinctively modern form of 'pure' relationship, wherein the only factors involved are the emotions of the two individuals. In Mexico, the emergence of a distinctively modern perspective is epitomized, in a different manner, by the contrast between, on the one hand, the traditional corrido, narrating tales of war, banditry, and heroic struggle, and, on the other, the romantic bolero and ballad, which, like most modern popular song, rigorously avoid reference to any social contexts or constraints, portraying instead an amorphous, private world of the emotions (Pedelty 1999). Although neglected by ethnomusicologists, international versions of the pop ballad, from pop Java to the songs of Julio Iglesias, have become central features of world music cultures.

Sentimental pop songs have been criticized as being complicit with the most overtly commercial aspects of capitalist music industries. In their rigorous avoidance of social contextualization they orient themselves towards passive fantasy (often focussed on the idolized star performer) rather than social action, and both exploit and help to create the homogeneous mass audiences sought by record industries. At the same time they may constitute expressions of hope and utopian affirmation of a private emotional sphere uncontaminated by the commodifying and dehumanizing forces of modernity (see Giddens, 1992, p.44).

The message of emotional and sexual freedom, whether conveyed in pop ballads or disco-type dance-songs, may be experienced as especially liberating by women in rigidly patriarchal societies. Popular musics embodying such themes have been perceived and even repressed as

threatening and subversive by conservatives in such societies; for example, militant fundamentalist Muslims have banned the music of pop singers such as Gougoush in Iran, and have even assassinated Algerian *rai* artists. A different sort of backlash against the female liberation implicit in the sentimental love song is represented by numerous songs in male-dominated genres such as Jamaican dance-hall that objectify women in the most explicit terms, deny any sense of male vulnerability or commitment and cynically reduce human relationships to sex and money.

6. Socio-political significance.

The tendency for scholarly literature on world popular music to focus on sociological rather than formal musicological aspects has derived both from the difficulties of conducting meaningful technical analysis (discussed in §1 above) and, more importantly, from the recognition of popular music's undeniable social significance. Whether or not popular music is seen as aesthetically rich and profound, its pervasiveness and popularity indicate the importance of its role in contemporary culture. Much scholarly interpretation has focused on the nature of this role, and especially on its relation to interrelated questions of hegemony, manipulation, alienation, resistance, and agency.

The socio-political significance of popular music is most overt in the case of explicitly political musics, such as have occupied limited but influential and dynamic niches in various international popular music scenes since the 1950s. In general, popular music has assumed particular political significance under repressive governments, and dictatorships of both left and right have often found reason to attempt to regulate, co-opt, exile, or otherwise silence outspoken popular musicians, generating complex dialectics of accommodation and resistance in music cultures. Openly political popular song genres have been typically associated with disaffected members of cultural élites who have sought to create musical idioms that transcend hackneyed clichés and commercial packaging, yet are accessible in style and media dissemination to dominated groups with whom solidarity is sought. Such musics have naturally been diverse in form and in the socio-political contexts that condition them. At the same time, from the vantage point of the present, many such genres could be seen to cohere to a historical moment, spanning roughly from the 1950s to the 1980s, characterized by a set of international socio-political movements which, although diverse, were animated by a shared commitment to the rationalist, secular, universalist, liberal values of the Enlightenment, whether inflected with Marxism or other local liberation struggles.

In Latin America, the 'singer-songwriter' *nueva canción* (new song) movement flourished as the quintessential expression of this progressive sense of idealism, social justice, and opposition to (primarily American) imperialism. The ferocity with which such music was repressed by right-wing military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, and elsewhere only lent it greater appeal, urgency, and socio-political importance where it did manage to be heard. During the same period, a small but vigorous minority of salsa songs also articulated a commitment to social themes, whether Latin American solidarity and pride, the vicissitudes of barrio life, or, in the case of several songs by Ruben Blades, explicitly progressive political commentary. In Jamaica, a similar spirit of optimism, idealism, and mobilization was particularly intense during the same heady decade of the 1970s, when innumerable roots reggae songs celebrated the 'sufferers' and movements for social reform, whether linked to prevailing socialist rhetoric or the idiosyncratic Afrocentricity of messianic Rastafarianism. Marxist-tinged Enlightenment values also invigorated a musical movement in southern Spain, where a local 'new song' genre and the activist flamenco lyrics of Manuel Gerena and others openly called for reform, linking struggles for workers' rights, redistribution of wealth, reduction of military spending, land reform, and a new celebration of Andalusian culture and autonomy. In India and Pakistan in the 1950s, such movements found parallels in the

progressive Urdu poetry of Faiz Ahmad Faiz (1911–84) and others, in musical settings of their verses, and in the leftist film songs embedded in the social-realist movies of K.A. Abbas, Bimal Roy, and others.

Since the 1980s such musical movements have declined in vigor and popularity, in accordance with broader transformations in the global political scene. Some of these developments have been unambiguously felicitous, such as the dissipation of Cold War tensions which precipitated the dramatic replacements of many repressive dictatorships – whether US- or Soviet-backed – by elected democracies. In Latin America, this process, coupled with a general disillusionment with the political left, deprived *nueva canción* of much of its sense of legitimacy and urgency. For historian Francis Fukuyama (1989), the exhaustion of structural alternatives (especially fascism and communism) to democracy and neoliberal capitalism represented the 'end of history', with a concurrent decline in heroic hymns of struggle and idealism. This optimism was echoed a few years later in George Lipsitz's *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place* (1994), which sought to illustrate the sorts of positive roles that popular music could play in a post-colonial, globalized world where multi-directional, decentered flows of transnational capital have replaced Western imperialism and weakened the nation-state, and new social movements have replaced Marxist metanarratives, presenting both new challenges and new opportunities for world popular music.

In retrospect, the optimism of the early 1990s has dissipated somewhat, as the various secular, liberal, universalist movements that, with their musical counterparts, flourished in diverse forms around the world have, with a few notable exceptions, been replaced or marginalized by a political quiescence, by a proliferation of cause-specific new social movements, or, most palpably, by militant neo-fundamentalist re-tribalisms based on religion or ethnicity. Hence, contemporaneous with the decline of *nueva canción* have been the move from socio-politically oriented salsa to the sentimentality of '*salsa romántica*'; the transition from idealistic, messianic roots reggae songs to the prevailing cynicism, materialism, and 'slackness' (lewdness) of dancehall; the rise of Serbian 'turbofolk' songs celebrating neo-fascistic ethnic chauvinism; and the eclipse of progressive song movements in Spain, India, and other countries where they had flourished. Many world music observers celebrated the role of the innovative songs and music videos that, as disseminated via the Internet, provided a lively soundtrack to the 'Arab Spring' movement that erupted in 2010. However, developments in subsequent years have suggested that the progressive and pluralistic aspects of this movement and its music have been marginalized by religious sectarianism and fundamentalism.

Many music scholars have noted that the social significance of popular music is best sought in entertainment musics rather than in the explicitly political songs on the margins of the scene. Scholarly treatments of these questions have often been informed by neo-Marxist conceptions of hegemony, while extending Marxism's traditional emphasis on class to include concerns of race, gender, ethnicity, generation, and community identity in general. Some of the more pessimistic assessments of popular music, elaborating the concept of mass culture outlined by Adorno (1962), focus on the ways in which music allegedly serves as a vehicle for the manipulation and stupefaction of dominated peoples, legitimizing unequal social orders and promoting mindless consumerism, socio-political passivity and creative atrophy. Indian film music is one genre that has been criticized in such terms, partly because of its stylistic standardization, oligopolistic modes of production and ties to escapist and arguably alienating cinematic melodramas (see, for example, Manuel, 1993, chap.3). The partnership of big business and popular music has been even more explicit in the case of Japanese 'image songs', which function simultaneously as 'hit' songs and corporate advertisements (Kimura, 1991, pp.318–19).

Most scholars since the late 20th century have tended to adopt more sanguine perspectives on popular music culture, however, exploring ways in which it can be seen as empowering, enriching, and 'subversive' in the sense of being counter-hegemonic and progressive. The influence of cultural studies has been particularly notable in the conception of popular culture as neither pure domination nor resistance but as a site of contestation where contradictory tendencies are symbolically negotiated and mediated. These processes may be seen not only in overtly political types of music but also in genres oriented towards diversion, personal relationships, or identity formation in general. In contrast to Adorno's concept of passive consumption, contemporary theorists stress the importance of studying reception, noting that the meanings of a text or song, rather than being immanent and pre-given, can be co-produced by listeners and idiosyncratically authenticated by distinctive social practices. Attention has been focused particularly on the way in which subcultures and individuals construct distinctive identities by selective consumption and resignification of mass-culture artefacts. There is no simple dichotomy between creative activity and passive consumption (Middleton, 1990, pp.139–40), but rather a spectrum of social practices, often involving idiosyncratic usages, resignifications, and new technologies that blur distinctions between production, reproduction, and consumption. In world music such practices (as discussed in §2 above) include karaoke, the recycling of stock melodies (parody) in Indian folk and popular music, and the amateur production of original videos accompanying extant pop songs, which are then posted on YouTube. The emergence of 'democratic-participant' micro-media (see §2) has further decentralized music industries worldwide, rendering the Orwellian vision of media totalitarianism a vision of the past rather than the future. Moreover, as Lipsitz (1994, p.28) and others have shown, cultural opposition can consist not only of headlong, utopian confrontation but also, increasingly, of immanent critique from within a given ideological and stylistic culture. Such considerations both enrich and complicate the interpretation of modern culture, illustrating the limitations of Frankfurt school critiques and suggesting some of the contradictions and complexities that must be explored.

This re-evaluation of popular music and culture has inspired newly invigorated celebrations of the allegedly progressive character of musics such as Jamaican dancehall, despite its often overt glorification of machismo and violence (see, for example, Cooper, 1993, p.141; Scott, 1990). Some have questioned this sort of contemporary critical theory, with its tendency to romanticize resistance, its celebration of discursive subversion that lacks any material counterpart, and its equation of consumption with agency and of nihilistic subaltern anger with revolutionary fervour. It could be argued, for example, that while the aggressive, often sexist, and homophobic posturing of some popular musicians does indeed foreground and valorize proletarian discourse, it may represent less a subversion of established mainstream values than a hyperconformity to them. In many cases, a subaltern popular music may be less a pure 'resistance transcript' than a contradictory mixture of progressive and reactionary elements. It may be difficult, as Lipsitz (1994, p.25) observes, to distinguish these oblique, contradictory 'immanent' critiques from collaboration and co-optation. It is also conceivable that the values and intellectual interests of many Euro-American scholars have been conditioned by rock music and singer-songwriter idioms that celebrate (or even fetishize) images of 'authenticity', individuality, countercultural ethos, and Romantic personal expression (Stratton, 1983). While such scholars may be struck by the absence of these values in such commercially packaged genres as J-pop, K-pop, and Cantopop, the fans of these styles evidently have different expectations from their music and may be informed by cultural backgrounds that place less emphasis on individual expression, not to mention pretenses of 'subversion' (see, e.g. Jen, 2013). Clearly, a vast amount of research must be undertaken into the reception of popular music and its associated social practices before generalizations can be made. The work of Middleton, Erlmann, Frith, Garofalo, Lipsitz, and others has been

exemplary in showing how dynamics of hegemony and resistance generally operate not in crude dichotomies, but in complex social fields replete with contradictions, ambiguities, and paradoxes.

7. Globalization and the musical dynamics of transnational cultural flows.
The ethical, ideological, and aesthetic ramifications of regional intersections between popular musics are particularly complex in the international realm, where they involve interrelated themes of homogenization and diversity, the roles of diasporas, the significance of 'world beat', productions, the often unequal power relationships between interacting nations, and other issues pertaining to the contemporary globalization of culture. While music and other aspects of culture have travelled extensively for millennia, it is widely acknowledged that flows of music, ideas, money, people, technologies, and media content in general intensified exponentially in the late 20th century, in tandem with industrialization, increased transportation and trade networks, and other developments. As Appadurai (1989–90) has noted, the complex and multidirectional movements of these entities are often characterized more by disjuncture than by adherence to any overarching framework (such as 'imperialism'). The spread of the Internet and related digital technologies in the 2000s further enhanced the velocity, ease, and extent of cultural flows, enabling the emergence of a virtual global ecumene, or a set of ecumenes, that is, virtual transnational zones of constant and mutual interactions. Popular music, rather than constituting a mere reflection of these developments, has often played a focal cultural role, constituting a central element in identity construction and contestation, formation of transnational taste cultures and online communities, cross-cultural 'affective alliances', maintenance of diasporic networks, and other developments. Since the 1960s, global interactions have led ethnologists and others to voice fears about the homogenization, and especially the westernization, of world music. Lomax (1968, p.4), for example, raised the spectre of a 'cultural grey-out', with centuries-old expressive traditions 'being swept off the board', leaving whole cultures both alienated and rootless. By the end of the 20th century Western pop music's global penetration was indeed vast. Throughout the world, it has been abetted by the quest of powerful multinationals for mass markets, the extension of Western-dominated mass media to all regions and peoples, and the widespread association of Western popular culture with modernity, fashion, and personal freedom. In many countries, from Indonesia to South Africa, Western-style pop has provided an imported solution to the problem of finding a modern musical idiom with pan-regional, pan-ethnic appeal. Influenced by these and other factors, entire cultures have forsaken indigenous music traditions in favour of Western-style idioms. By far the most popular musics throughout most of East and South-east Asia, for example, are varieties of the Western pop ballad and soft rock (e.g. Japanese 'J-pop', Korean 'K-pop', Chinese Cantopop, 'pop Indonesia', and Thai *sakon*) in which distinctively Asian stylistic features are generally minimal. Such rearticulations of Western 'light music' may be skilful, and may even be seen as forming the bases for authentic music cultures. Nevertheless, it remains significant that, for whatever complex historical reasons, musical energies in these vast societies have been devoted less to the cultivation of distinctive, original styles than to Western-style pop – especially to what would be seen in the West as the most bland and commercial-sounding 'easy-listening' music.

However, such tendencies towards homogenization and westernization have been substantially counterbalanced by trends towards diversification and creative hybridity. The advent of cassettes (described in §2) undermined any hegemonies exercised by Western multinational recording companies and enabled the emergence of a wide variety of regional popular genres, a few of which, such as Sundanese *jaipongan*, do not exhibit any Western stylistic influence. As global communications networks spread, cross-fertilizations between genres (e.g. Korean rap, Indo-Caribbean chutney-soca) enrich and diversify the world music

scene, and the sheer amount of commercial popular music available from the late 20th century has enabled trends towards homogenization and diversification to intensify in tandem. Thus, for example, the popular music scene in Java can sustain not only Westernized 'pop Java' and heavy metal, but also locally cultivated Sundanese *jaipongan* and the recent hybrid *campur sari*, which synthesizes local gamelan music and pop ballad idioms (Barendregt and Zanten, 2002; Suppangeh, 2003). The ethnic and nationalistic revivals flourishing around the world, in some cases promoted by national cultural policies, have also promoted local musics, both traditional and syncretic. Meanwhile, there have been many examples of music genres originating outside the Euro-American mainstream that have achieved their own international popularity, whether comprising active local cultivation or mere consumption. In the latter half of the 20th century, Hindi film music came to be enjoyed (and in some cases, imitated) by enthusiasts everywhere from Russia to Nigeria (Adamu, 2008); the cumbia became arguably the single most popular genre from northern Mexico, through the Andes, to Argentina. Congolese urban music was a dominant popular music style in much of Africa in the 1960s and 70s. Hence, global music spheres are better characterized in terms of several interacting and overlapping 'cores' rather than a single hegemonic core – the West – and the peripheral 'rest'. Further, in many cases Western-style popular musics are likely to be perceived as deriving more from a nearby local culture exporter than from the West itself, as may be the case with Japan's role in spreading Western-style light popular music throughout East Asia. Further, even when local music cultures borrow, adapt, or imitate Euro-American music genres, they invariably do so in a selective rather than indiscriminate fashion, adopting genres that somehow resonate with their particular sensibilities. Hence, for example, heavy metal rock music – both imported and locally produced – enjoys substantial popularity in Indonesia and Malaysia, but not necessarily in other regions such as the Andes, or East Asia.

In many cases, Western-derived instruments, stylistic features and social practices may be subject to indigenization, as in the use of electric guitar to imitate *mbira* patterns by Zimbabwean artists such as Thomas Mapfumo. Innovative musicians have not hesitated to modify Western instruments to suit indigenous styles, as in the Near Eastern technique of altering electric organs to accommodate neutral intervals, or the Vietnamese practice of carving concavities in the guitar fretboard to facilitate fast vibrato in *cai luong* music. Similarly the American-derived big band format informed the creation of the **MAMBO** by Cuban musicians in the 1940s and 50s, and the emergence of similar big-band renditions of the Haitian *méringue*, Dominican **MERENGUE**, and Puerto Rican **PLENA**. Western-derived music genres may themselves develop stylistically into distinctively local forms, as in the evolution of West African *adaha* from colonial military-orientated brass band music. In places as diverse as Sumatra, Mexico, and Brazil, brass bands constituted important transitional media for the development of syncretic local musics. Some transformations follow a process of 'saturation and maturation', in which a foreign (often Western) music, after an initial period of domination, is eventually absorbed and either stylistically indigenized or abandoned in favour of syncretic local genres. For example, the hegemony of Cuban dance music in much of urban Africa declined after the 1960s as performers such as **YOUSSOU N'DOUR** (Senegal) and **FRANCO MAKIADI** (Zaïre, 1938–89) gradually shifted to popular music styles (**MBALAX** and *soukous* respectively) that were more original (although not necessarily achieving such originality through adoption of elements of local traditional musics). Much of the evolution of modern African popular music can be seen less as a westernization of extant indigenous genres than as an Africanization of transplanted Western idioms.

A purely stylistic focus on cross-cultural musical borrowings may obscure the ultimately more important ways in which communities are able effectively to adopt a given music, regardless of its stylistic origin, by making it express and resonate with their own experiences

and aesthetic predispositions. Puerto Ricans in New York, for example, resignified, rearticulated, and modernized 1950s-style Cuban dance music as an expression of their own world view in the 1960s and 70s, in such a way that the music, despite being a largely inherited style, well merited a new name, **SALSA** (see Manuel, 1994). Where societies have become alienated from their traditional musics, they may appropriate foreign music genres as dynamic vehicles for the construction of a new self-identity, becoming, in some cases, 'more themselves' in the process. The popularity of Bob Marley's music among dominated peoples of colour around the world is one remarkable example, with reggae being actively cultivated and effectively indigenized by Hawaiians (under the moniker 'Jawaiian'), Australian aborigines, and African performers such as **ALPHA BLONDY** (see Lipsitz, 1994). Such resignifications illustrate how the history of music, and of culture in general, consists not merely of the evolution of overtly new genres and styles but also of the rearticulation of extant idioms, whether local or borrowed, to respond to new social circumstances. Thus theorists such as Wallerstein (1984), Hannerz (1988–9), Hall (1991), and others describe the advent of a new global culture characterized less by relentless homogenization than by the integration, interpenetration, and rationalization of local and diverse media discourses into a set of interconnected, if internally diverse, music cultures.

Global musical flows are often conditioned by profound power asymmetries between the cultures involved, especially in the case of exchanges and interactions between the developed West and poorer nations. Some commentators since the 1960s have seen as particularly significant world popular music's domination by Western stylistic influences and Western-based music industries and its relation to Euro-American global economic hegemony, whether in the form of direct colonial control or of neo-colonial power arrangements. Especially in the Cold War decades, it was common in some circles to characterize these phenomena as instances of 'cultural imperialism'; while this entity was seldom defined or expostulated in depth, it generally connoted a process by which political, economic, military, and cultural power combined to exploit a society economically and to exalt and spread the values and practices of a foreign culture, particularly that of the developed West, at the expense of local cultures. Resentment of perceived cultural imperialism was particularly acute in the 1960s and 70s in places such as Iran and various Latin American countries where American political domination and intervention seemed to be coupled with an inundation of American popular music.

Critics faulted the alleged deformation and marginalization of music in the developing world, and of cultural identity in general, by the inundation of commercial Western pop seemingly superimposed by powerful Euro-American multinational record companies and radio networks. In some cases, the musical ramifications of cultural imperialism seemed painfully overt, as in the aftermath of the CIA-supported military coup in Chile in 1973, when *nueva canción* and even neo-folkloric renditions of Andean music were effectively banned, American pop came to dominate the mass media as never before, and leading progressive musicians were exiled or even, in the case of **VICTOR JARA**, killed. Indeed, throughout Latin America military dictatorships supported by the USA consistently censored, exiled, and imprisoned outspoken local musicians while tolerating or encouraging domination of local media by North American music. Resentment generated by such events was exacerbated by instances of uncompensated Euro-American appropriation of non-Western songs, especially in cases where ownership or origin of the music in question was ambiguous. An egregious example of the latter phenomenon was the commercial success of the South African song *The Lion Sleeps Tonight* ('Wimoweh') in the 1950s and 60s, as performed by American groups, in such a way that denied profits to the song's original composer, Solomon Linda, and his descendants. (Many similar iniquities have of course occurred within the West itself.)

However self-evident American political imperialism and cultural influence may have been several scholars (e.g. Tomlinson, 1991; Garofalo, 1992, pp.1–7; Goodwin and Gore, 1990) have argued persuasively that the cultural imperialism thesis is of little empirical or analytical value. In fact, the notion of cultural imperialism has been more often invoked in passing than presented as a sustained, clearly defined phenomenon. Accusations of cultural imperialism often invoke romanticized visions of a prior authentic, autonomous, and 'pure' local culture, uncorrupted by foreign influences. Similarly, the thesis has difficulty accommodating processes of creative syncretism and transculturation. It fails to acknowledge the ways that listeners in economically dominated cultures may actually enjoy and feel enriched by the musics of hegemonic cultures, which may be diverse and progressive in their own fashions. Hence, for example, the international presence of Western-style popular musics may indicate their genuine appeal rather than their forcible superimposition. The thesis's imprecision may further derive from the conflation of supposed cultural imperialism with the broader spread of capitalism and modernity in general. Listeners have also been able to creatively resignify imported media images in accordance with the aesthetics and values of their own interpretative communities. During the Cold War, for example, in Argentina, local rock music, rather than constituting a vehicle for pro-American sentiment, became a vehicle for the protest of progressive young people against the US-backed military dictatorships (Vila, 1987). Local appropriations of black American musics, from ragtime to rap, by Africans, Maoris, and others, could also constitute meaningful vehicles of self-assertion rather than passive capitulation to hegemonic cultural industries (Lipsitz, 1994, chap.3; Collins, in Garofalo, 1992).

Since the late 20th century, developments such as the new mobility of capital, the enhancement of travel and media networks, the prominence of diaspora subcultures, and the rise of reactive, ethnic, or religious neo-fundamentalisms have made world culture both more fragmented and more interconnected than ever before. The globalization of world culture has necessitated the formulation of new analytical approaches to understanding cultural interactions and flows. The limited explanatory power of the cultural imperialism thesis becomes increasingly apparent in a situation where Western multinationals no longer dominate the world recording industry, and when direct, palpable American (or even distinctively Western) economic domination has been replaced by a virtual, amorphous world of rootless multinationals and global networks of capital, technologies, people, images, and cultures (Appadurai, 1989–90; García Canclini, 1990, chap.7). The 'core–periphery' model of cultural relations, with its crude Manichean dichotomization of the world in terms of 'the West and the rest', is particularly obsolete. Most importantly, the conventional conception of musical cultures as closed, organic, geographically bounded entities must be discarded in favour of an approach that recognizes each society as a crossroads on a matrix of intersecting, interacting local and global cultural flows (see, for example, Wallerstein, 1984; Robertson, 1992). The new global economy calls for a new ethnography of the circuits of global music interactions (Erlmann, 1993). Particularly noteworthy in this regard is Slobin's replacement of the core–periphery model with a more fluid web of 'supercultures' and 'intercultures' (Slobin, 1993), whose shifting interactions involve not only hegemonic, pan-regional music genres but also myriad 'micromusics' representing specific taste cultures.

Many of the most vital and innovative of the new micromusics are associated not with established cultural hinterlands but with the dynamic and fluid borders, margins, and, especially, diasporas. Diaspora subcultures are of unprecedented importance in popular music production in the late 20th century, because of their increased size, their access to mass media, their self-consciousness as a group, and their proclivities towards multiple identities and cultural syncretism (see Clifford, 1994). Migrant communities are thus increasingly recognized as dynamic and distinctive subcultures in their own right, rather than as mere

transplanted homeland fragments. Studies have explored the popular music cultures of such various groups, including North Africans in Paris (Gross, McMurray, and Swedenburg, 1994), Puerto Ricans in New York (Flores, 1993; Glasser, 1995), Mexicans in the USA (Ragland, 2009; Hutchinson 2007), Dominicans in New York (Hutchinson, 2006), Sephardic/Oriental Jews in Israel (Shiloah and Cohen, 1983; Halper, Seroussi, and Squires-Kidron, 1989; Perelson, 1998), Haitians in Montreal (Juste-Constant, 1990), Arab-Americans (Rasmussen, 1992), Filipino-Americans (Trimillos, 1986), and South Asians in Great Britain (Baumann, 1990), in South Africa (Jackson, 1991), and in the Caribbean (Manuel, *Popular Music*, 1998). Certain modern cities have emerged as unique crucibles of world popular music: Paris has been for many decades a centre for African music, for example, as has New York for Caribbean music (Allen, 1998). Immigrant musics flourish in such places because of the presence of concentrated ethnic enclaves, media and technological infrastructures, political openness, and the exposure of musicians and audiences to new ideas and influences.

Popular music has been an active agent rather than merely a reflection of the dynamics of cultural globalization. As Erlmann (1993) and others have noted, translocal taste cultures have both compensated for and contributed to the decline of communities based on locality. Overtly postmodern musical hybrids celebrating fusion and pastiche both express and reinforce consumers' sense of cultural dislocation and split identities, while more selfconsciously essentialist forms of popular music are used as vehicles for nostalgic revivals of exclusivist ethnic identity, as in parts of the former Yugoslavia (Broughton and others, 1994, pp.90–91). In some cases, subcultural popular musics can be seen to use postmodern techniques of pastiche and blank irony in the service of more essentially Modernist projects of identity construction and psychic adaptation (Manuel, 1995). In general, the emerging global culture presents both new obstacles and new opportunities for progressive uses of popular music (Garofalo, 1992, pp.1–13). As Lipsitz (1994) argues, the global ecumene offers new possibilities for empowerment and mobilization. In an era characterized by ethnic and sectarian fragmentation, hybrid popular musics can offer visions of transnational alliances and expressive strategies of adaptation, opposition, and immanent critique, even if these new sensibilities may have no impact on material realities of deprivation and exploitation.

As globalization continues to intensify, in the realm of popular music various sorts of borrowings, adaptations, and recyclings will undoubtedly continue to proliferate, often involving communities or nations otherwise remote from each other, or linked by asymmetrical power relations or histories of conflict and exploitation. Ethnomusicologists and others have focused considerable attention on the sensitivities and ethical implications involved in such musical exchanges. The complexities, contradictions, and asymmetries of global cultural interactions are particularly problematic in the category of what in the USA is generally called 'world beat' and, in Great Britain, 'world music'. These ambiguous terms generally connote music productions either generated outside the Euro-American mainstream (whether created by Westerners or by others) or incorporating non-Western elements that are commercially marketed to Western consumers with eclectic tastes. Reggae is generally regarded as being the original world beat music, being the first commercial popular music of the developing world to succeed in Western markets and the first to have been subsequently exploited by Euro-American pop musicians (such as Sting and Eric Clapton). In its wake many developing-world musicians, from West African bandleaders King Sunny Ade and Youssou N'Dour to Pakistani singer Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, have oriented much of their output towards the Western market – often, in doing so, finding themselves juxtaposing different strategies in attempts to appeal to their diverse local and cosmopolitan audiences (Feld, 1988–9).

The imbalances of power and wealth that condition such interactions are particularly evident in Euro-American artists' self-conscious incorporations of elements of non-Western music,

sometimes in the contexts of collaborations, such as those between British rock musician Peter Gabriel and various African performers. Despite the honourable intentions of many such artists, these musical excursions can raise thorny questions about the power asymmetries involved. Critics allege that some Western incorporations of non-Western musics often exoticize or trivialize such musics, and that the related cross-cultural collaborative productions tend to be disproportionately profitable to Westerners. Such ethical and ideological considerations involved in Paul Simon's album *Graceland* (1986), a collaboration with black South African musicians and an iconic 'world beat' recording, generated a substantial body of critical literature (e.g. Feld, 1988–9; Hamm, 1989; Meintjes, 1990; Garofalo, 1992, pp.1–7; Lipsitz, 1994, pp.56–61). Feld further explored how ethnographic recordings of Pygmy singing and a Solomon Islands lullaby were 'schizophonically' recycled (e.g. via sampling, cover version, imitation, and tune-borrowing) in diverse European and American productions (Feld, 1995, 2000). Pervading Feld's essays is the implication – made by innuendo rather than explicit argument – that all these recyclings represent cases of iniquitous exploitation by the West of 'the rest'. However, it could well be argued that such a Manichean, resuscitated cultural imperialism thesis cannot do justice to the complex, contradictory, multi-directional, and multi-dimensional sorts of musical flows and interactions that characterize the current globalized era.

A thorough analysis of cross-cultural musical interactions would have to comprehend the various forms of musical borrowings which, in the realm of contemporary popular music, go well beyond those outlined in the insightful but Western-oriented entry on **BORROWING** in *Grove*. Such borrowings would include: sampling of a recording (as in *Deep Forest*'s incorporation of snippets of Pygmy singing), imitation or cultivation of a style (e.g. heavy metal) or a stylistic feature (Pygmy-style whistling-and-vocalizing hocket technique); adaptation of an ensemble format (e.g. jazz-style big band, as employed in Cuban mambo); and various forms of tune-borrowing and cover versions. The latter could aim to precisely duplicate a given recording (as in Zap Mama's version of a UNESCO recording of Pygmy singing); it could involve adapting a tune into a quite distinct genre and style (e.g. the use of a Western pop tune in an Indian film song); it could include singing the original text, or a new text in a different language ('parody'). On another level, the borrowing could be effected purely for musical reasons (e.g. exploiting the inherent appeal and suitability of a given tune). Alternately, it could be intended to evoke various extra-musical associations (especially if listeners are expected to recognize the original version of the entity); in the latter case, its aesthetic and emotive effects might include exoticization, essentialization (e.g. of a given ethnic group), parody, paying homage, or evoking senses of fashion and modernity. In terms of monetary compensation, most such borrowings could be adequately dealt with by extant copyright law, if effectively administered and enforced. Borrowing of an idea (e.g. Pygmy hocket technique, by Herbie Hancock) or a style (e.g. heavy metal music, by a Malaysian band) would not oblige any sort of material compensation, regardless of whatever power relations might be involved between borrower and donor. Further, while scholars such as Feld have foregrounded implicitly unethical appropriations by Western musicians of world musics, in the current global ecumene a vast amount of ethically complex borrowing bypasses the West. Such interactions may occur within individual countries (such as a 'new-age' Chinese album exoticizing Tibetan music [Upton, 2002]), or may involve multi-directional 'south-south' interactions (such as the use of Hindi film tunes in Hausa music videos [Adamu, 2008], even as Bollywood composers such as Bappi Lahiri freely borrow tunes from various parts of the world).

8. Gender.

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Since the growth of academic feminism in the 1970s, considerable research has been published on issues of gender in Euro-American popular music and, more recently, on world popular music. Indeed, a degree of attention to gender dynamics is increasingly coming to be considered obligatory in any holistic study of a given world music genre. Hence, for example, in the realm of Caribbean popular music, notable are the works by Rohlehr (1990), Pacini (1995), Aparicio (1998), and Cooper (2004), covering gender dynamics and representations in calypso, *bachata*, salsa, and reggae, respectively. Published studies relating to gender issues in other parts of the world are fewer in quantity, though are increasing in number (e.g. Morcom, 2013; Weintraub, 2010; Stokes, 2010; Sugarman, 2003). These and other publications have addressed various aspects of gender studies, including the ways that gender dynamics are both represented and actively enacted in song lyrics, music videos, album covers, dance styles, musical tastes, and other aspects of music culture.

The effects of popular music on the extent to which women play an active role in musical culture are varied. Women's musical activities, especially in traditional societies, are often relegated primarily to private, domestic spheres, with public performance being reserved either for men or for 'professional' women of dubious respectability. In some traditional societies the emergence of a popular music industry has reinforced this form of discrimination by creating a new and expanded sphere of public discourse from which respectable women are largely barred. Thus, for example, although women have been active carriers of genres such as Bedouin music and North Indian regional folk *rasiya*, modest women have been to some extent precluded from contributing to the cassette-based revivals of these musics, since it would be unacceptable for them to enter urban recording studios or for their songs to be heard by strange men (see Abu-Lughod, 1989, p.10; Manuel, 1993, pp.175–6). Instead, female popular music performers in the Arab world and other conservative societies are often assumed to be 'public' women in one way or another; in some cases they come from the ranks of traditional courtesan-performer castes, such as the Javanese *ronggeng* or North Indian *nautanki* theatre songstresses (Morcom, 2013).

However, there has been a marked trend for popular music cultures to accord increasing space to female performers of 'respectable' (if often colourful) backgrounds. One celebrated example was the Egyptian singer **UMM KULTHUM**, whose humble but honourable social background and rigorous training in Qur'anic chant elevated her status beyond that of the women who sang only light, commercial songs (Danielson, 1997). Increasingly, female popular music singers come from urban middle classes, among whom female public performance is no longer regarded as improper. As a result, female singers of Indonesian popular music, Indian film music, and other genres are no longer assumed to be of disreputable backgrounds. (Female instrumentalists, however, remain small minorities in world popular music.)

In general, most commercial popular musics worldwide have tended to have predominantly male performers, to be orientated primarily towards young adult males, and to be dominated by commercial music industries whose personnel is overwhelmingly male. Many genres were products of distinctively male subcultures, including the macho, urban underworlds of *rebetika* and the early tango, the competitive, rowdy calypso tents, and the lower-class Dominican taverns in which urban migrant men would gather to listen to *bachata*. Popular musics emerging from such contexts typically focused on extravagant male boasting and its counterpart, indulgent self-pity, while either idealizing women as unattainable objects of longing or disparaging them as sex objects or as corrupted by modernity. Representing a somewhat different category of male discourse are the innumerable Dominican merengues, Cuban *guarachas*, Colombian *porros*, Trinidadian calypsoes, Indian regional folk-pop songs, and other genres that foreground whimsical erotic puns and *double entendres*.

However palpable the sexual politics of some song texts may seem, scholars increasingly recognize the caution that must be exercised in interpreting them and attempting to generalize about their meanings to consumers and their relations to social attitudes and practices. Many song texts are polysemic enough to allow listeners of either sex (or sexual orientation) to identify with the first-person narrator, regardless of the specific gendering suggested by the grammar or by the identity of the singer or composer. Thus women around the world are often able to enjoy sentimental male-gendered songs, even those denouncing treacherous women, by relating to the abstract emotions of longing, desire, and loss expressed in the lyrics, and overlooking the gendered aspects of the song (Manuel, *Popular Music and Society*, 1998). Attempts to 'read off' meanings from song texts are further complicated by the need to contextualize popular musics in their social milieu. Thus, for example, while some West Indian popular song texts may seem openly sexist, their musical cultures as a whole may be relatively progressive in the social space they offer to women, who can exuberantly celebrate their independence and sensuality on the dance floor (see Cooper, 1993, chap.8; Miller, 1994, pp.113–25). It must also be remembered that lyrics do not indicate social relations *per se* but rather attitudes about them, especially male attitudes. Therefore it may be in some cases that expressions of misogyny in song lyrics reflect less the actual subjugation of women than male resentment of or backlash against genuine female autonomy.

Such considerations aside, there is no doubt that the increasing presence of female performers and perspectives enriches popular music's potential to constitute a democratic *vox populi*. Performers such as Lebanese songstress Fairuz, salsa singer Linda 'India' Caballero, Texas-Mexican Selena Quintanilla, and West Africans Angeligue Kidjo and Oumare Sangare have constituted inspiring role models and spokeswomen for their female audiences. Since the late 20th century more women have entered the field of popular music around the world, and the trend towards greater representation of women seems inevitable, however challenged by neo-fundamentalist reaction in places such as Algeria and Iran. Particularly remarkable is the emergence, especially in the Americas, of a set of flamboyantly sexual and transgressive female performers, such as the Cuban singer La Lupe and Jamaican dancehall vocalist Lady Saw. While seen as embarrassments by some women, to others these performers represent a new breed of emancipated women who, rather than being passive sex objects, are fully in control of their exuberant sensuality. In a different category – open to different sorts of critical interpretation – are the various forms of 'girl groups', in such genres as Korean K-pop and Andean techno-cumbia (Wong, 2012), which feature teenage girls who dance and either sing or lip-sync light pop songs as part of an entertainment act packaged by male producers.

In general, world popular music seems destined to reflect the greater presence of female performers, the increasing purchasing power of women and the modern trend towards greater sexual openness and awareness. In conservative societies, even sentimental love songs with no overt feminist content may be experienced as liberating to women, and accordingly controversial, insofar as they portray women freely choosing their love partners. Hence, as with other aspects of cultural dynamics, popular music does not merely reflect prevailing attitudes towards gender, but can often constitute an important arena where new identities and mores are presented, affectively explored, and negotiated. Thus, for example, the prodigious popularity of a few transparently gay musicians in socially conservative Turkey and Russia has arguably promoted a certain sort and degree of tolerance and openness of homosexuality in those countries (Stokes, 2010). Meanwhile, popular genres such as calypso, dancehall, and *soukous* have often served as forums for spirited gender polemics, in which male and female artists trade ripostes in successive recordings. In such animated and often humorous exchanges, popular music seems to live up to its potential as a dynamic expression of grassroots sentiment in all its earthy richness and diversity.

9. Dance

A prodigious amount – and perhaps even a majority – of world popular music has been associated in one way or another with dance. Scholarship on dance has traditionally lagged behind that on music, primarily because of the obstacles to notation. Accordingly, it is only relatively recently – and especially since the 2000s – that scholarly literature on dance in world popular music, whether written by ethnomusicologists, dance ethnologists, or others, has begun to appear in any quantity. Such literature is also uneven in scope, as the great majority of it deals with Latin America and the Caribbean, although studies of other culture areas are starting to appear (e.g. Spiller, 2010). Extant literature has tended to explore many of the same themes as that on world music, especially involving dynamics of class, ethnicity, gender, tradition and innovation, and cross-cultural flows. Not surprisingly, such literature reveals a rich abundance of dance styles, which in some cases may exceed that associated with a given music genre, especially since the mass media – before the YouTube era – have generally transmitted music more extensively than dance. Hence, for example, while salsa is cultivated in a relatively standardized musical style throughout the Americas, its associated dance styles (e.g. in terms of basic step patterns) vary considerably in such places as New York, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Colombia (Hutchinson, 2013). Similarly, a newly minted music genre, such as Tijuana-based nor-tec, may be danced to in a variety of styles, whether drawing on neo-traditional Mexican conventions or Euro-American disco and rave dancing (Madrid, 2006).

Like modern popular musics, some dance styles, such as those associated with Sundanese *jaipongan*, Indo-Caribbean chutney, and Greek bouzouki music, have origins in traditional folk genres. Others, such as Hindi film dance, are best seen as idiosyncratic modern creations. Still others are adapted, with or without variation, from international styles, especially Western ones. Most styles based on independent closed-couple dancing have ultimate roots in the 19th-century country dance/contradance complex, while the swaggering, macho freestyle moves derived from 'gangsta' rap have become icons of disaffected urban youth culture everywhere from Malawi to Mongolia (Gilman and Fenn, 2006). Meanwhile, a sort of nondescript, loosely Western, freeform couple or group dancing may constitute a default style throughout much of the world. Thus, for example, many Akan and Ewe Ghanaians would informally dance in that style to highlife music at a party or nightclub, though they might also be able to perform traditional dances like *agbadza* on certain occasions.

International dance styles can be categorized into a set of formats. An initial distinction is between social dances and presentational 'stage' genres performed for audiences. Hindi film dance falls in the latter category; although occasionally performed live at various sorts of stage shows, it does not form the basis of a social dance, and is quintessentially viewed in its cinematic setting of choreographed song-and-dance scenes. Another widespread format is that of a stage show featuring a band or soundtrack accompanying a small troupe of singer-dancers, as in K-pop or Peruvian-Ecuadorian techno-cumbia (see Wong, 2012). In many genres, events can accommodate both formats. For instance, a typical wedding in Sunda might feature a *jaipongan*troupe, whose professional dancers might first perform tightly choreographed sequences on stage, and then mix with audience members for informal social dancing (see Williams, 1989).

Social dancing itself can take a variety of formats. The format of independent couples (whether in open form or closed, ballroom-style, loose embrace) now so common throughout the world was in fact highly unusual in traditional, non-Western societies, where most social dances adhered to more collective formats (line and circle dances, or informal solo dancing amidst a group of onlookers). Closed couple independent dancing did not spread in Euro-American culture itself until the vogue of the waltz, polka, and forms of the country dance (contradance) in the decades around 1800. However, the closed couple format then spread –

primarily in association with English and French forms of the contradance – throughout Latin America, and became the norm in most forms of modern Hispanic commercial popular music, including salsa, son, bolero, *bachata*, merengue, cumbia, tango, chicha, and norteña/tejano *conjunto* music, as well as the Haitian *méringue*. Dances within this format vary widely in style, from the languid, intimate embrace of bolero, to the tightly executed turns and 'shines' of salsa, and the flamboyant acrobatics of Texas-Mexican *quebradita*.

In modern popular music culture in the Anglophone Caribbean, closed-couple dancing is relatively uncommon. Instead, a variety of informal formats prevail. Trinidadian soca dancing is distinguished primarily by the pneumatic frontal pelvic pumping called 'wining' (from 'winding', i.e. the waist), executed primarily by women. Wining may be performed solo, by an informal group (as in a Carnival procession), or by two women, or a woman and a man, front to front or front to back. In Jamaican dancehall, formats are considerably more varied. A man and woman might sensually 'grind' on each other, the man leaning against a wall, or they might indulge in even more explicitly sexual 'daggering'. Alternately, a group of friends – whether all-male, all-female, or mixed, might collectively perform whatever currently fashionable dance is called for by the 'mike-man', featured vocalist, or song lyrics themselves. Such dances (bearing names like bogle, buttafly, dutty wine, willie bounce, pon de river, etc.) are constantly being invented, popularized, and then discarded (see e.g. Niaah, 2010).

Much of the extant literature on dance in popular music has focused on ways in which dance expresses and (literally) embodies gender dynamics and sexual identity. Since the 19th century, dance styles have indeed provoked considerable controversy, and can be said to have constituted focal sites for the construction, redefinition, and presentation of gender relations. The bourgeois waltz itself, of course, was 'revolutionary' when it emerged, in its 'asocial' detachment of the individual couple from the broader social collective. In Latin America, popular early-20th-century closed couple dances like the tango, merengue, and *son* were denounced by conservatives for their intimacy and their suggestive hip-swaying. Ironically, as Chasteen (2004) explores, both dances later went on to become embraced by nationalistic elites. In Indonesia, in the early 2000s the suggestive dancing of dangdut singer-dancer Inul Daratista became the focus for a national debate about women's liberation (Weintraub, 2010). Aside from polemics about the degree of sensuality embodied in dance styles, scholars have endeavored to interpret the specific nature of male-female relations suggested by dance formats and styles. Although tightly coordinated closed-couple dancing, as in salsa, obliges one partner – invariably the male – to lead, analysts have judiciously hesitated to regard such a format as inherently indicative of sexist, patriarchal domination. At the same time, there is no doubt that some women take explicit pleasure in dancing independently, in a more 'liberated' fashion, whether with a male partner or not. Such dancing might constitute, in nor-tec, a rejection of patriarchic traditional norms (Madrid, 2006), or, in the extravagant *despelote* of women dancing Cuban timba, it might be interpreted as relating to the new financial independence of women in modern Cuba (Fairley, 2006). And while the vigorous 'wining' performed by female soca and chutney dancers has been denounced by moralists as obscene, it could also be argued – especially when performed by groups of women – to constitute an exuberant celebration of female sexuality in a way that need not depend on or even involve the participation or gaze of men. Indeed, regardless of whatever sexism might be present in soca or reggae song lyrics, women may often thoroughly dominate dance floors in these genres, literally relegating men to the sidelines.

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