

On Musical Cosmopolitanism

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Two broad areas of consensus reign on matters of musical globalization: one I will refer to as “popular” and the other “critical.” The popular consensus goes something like this. Advances in communication technologies over the last four decades—by which I mean increases in their power, capacity, and reach, coupled with their miniaturization and distribution across the social field—have wrought fundamental changes in the way music circulates. Music once confined to localities now circulates across the globe. Music that languished in archival obscurity can now be accessed at the click of a mouse. Music once perceived as foreign and outlandish has become familiar. Isolated musical practices now interact with others, producing energetic new hybrids, global “soundscapes.” Cultural hierarchies have been toppled as societies reckon with unexpected new sounds coming from without or below. Once we were locals; now we are cosmopolitans. Today we have choice, agency, and democratic possibilities for exchange and interaction—and a pleasurable vantage point on the musical goings-on of the world, a feast to enjoy.

This vision—one I connect with the “world music” or “world beat” phenomenon of the mid- to late-1980s and the publications that continue to give it life (*The Rough Guide to World Music*, *The Virgin Directory of World Music*, the *Songlines* journal)—is not without its ambiguities and anxieties. Traditions and “roots” need to be validated, but how, and by whom? If hybridization and musical translation are the new creative principles, how are musical intelligibility and meaning to be

maintained, by whom, and for whom? How are diversity and cultural “in-between-ness” to be celebrated without eroding core identities? Who are to be the gatekeepers, the explainers, the interpreters, the go-betweens, the intellectuals? Who are to be the guardians of propriety and fairness as the recording industry and its superstars sink their teeth into vulnerable local communities?

One could continue in this vein and choose almost any page of the publications mentioned above to illustrate the anxieties at play. They have a long history, from the 1960s to the present day, as the idea of world music has taken root in various institutional, public, and commercial spaces in the Western world, such as academia, the recording business, public broadcasting, and state and municipal arts funding. Whilst I have presented something of a caricature, I think they are serious anxieties, thoughtfully pursued by many of those involved, people I have been in conversation with throughout my years as an ethnomusicologist.

Let me quickly sketch out what I think of as the critical consensus. Three areas of more or less broadly shared inquiry spring to mind. Firstly, many people would now agree that the recording industries have become the dominant institutional site of global musical exchange. In their earliest days, the recording companies (The Victor Talking Machine Company, established in 1901; the Gramophone Company, in 1898) were primarily interested in commodifying and marketing a new sound reproduction technology. Local sounds, in local languages, were intended to develop local markets.¹ It was only later, it would seem, that the recording companies began to develop a conception of recorded sounds and voices that might circulate translocally, such as Caruso opera arias early in the twentieth century or the dance bands of the 1920s and '30s.

The relationship between the circulation of recorded music and the circulation of musical styles is complex and intriguing. The kinds of questions asked include how have the recording industries attempted to exploit particular regional and diasporic markets?² How have various genres been selected, appropriated, and promoted by the recording industries for global circulation?³ How have they connected their big stars with small sounds?⁴ How have recorded sounds been sampled, copied, appropriated, reinvented?⁵ How do the activities of local music recording companies selling local music for a global market reproduce, or intensify, the racial or gendered status quo?⁶ How do they participate in their own marginalization and dependency on metropoli-

tan markets?⁷ And how, finally, did people in the recording industry come up with the idea of a World Music/World Beat, and why? Was it a key moment in the transformation of the global recording industries as they struggled to orient themselves to, and exploit, the rapidly changing soundscapes of First-World cities?⁸ Or was it a comparatively minor chapter in the history of recorded music dreamed up by a bunch of enthusiasts in various areas of commercial and public media to pursue rather more idiosyncratic goals that need to be understood in more local terms?⁹ These kinds of questions about musical globalization are well developed in ethnomusicology and popular music studies.

A second area in which there is a certain convergence of critical energies in ethnomusicology and popular music studies is inquiry into the relationship between musical globalization and global capitalism. One challenge has been to establish a properly historical framework. Many historians and political economists would now frame “globalization” in terms of historical processes going back at least to the fifteenth-century European voyages of discovery and early colonial ventures. Historically minded ethnomusicologists have pondered the earliest recorded instances of musical encounter in exactly these terms. For early European travelers, missionaries, and traders, the music of native South Americans, the Ottomans and, a little later, North Indian courts, was to be understood partly as an intellectual challenge (could this be the music of the ancient Greeks or the biblical Hebrews?), partly as exotic pleasures, and partly as fearsome noise.¹⁰ Edward Said described these complex ambivalences as “Orientalism” some time ago,¹¹ which accompanied, justified, and rendered natural and unchanging an emerging structure of labor and resource exploitation and, ultimately, the global political dominion of a handful of European colonial powers. Music, a designated space of fantasy in the Western imagination, constituted an important domain in which the colonial project took intellectual and cultural shape, its constituent contradictions exposed and explored.¹² One reads with fascination about the cross-cultural “musicking” that took place in the earliest moments of sustained colonization and East-West contact, for instance amongst the British in India,¹³ or the Dutch in Java,¹⁴ or between the Eastern European principalities and the Ottoman court. They embodied complex struggles to assimilate and control, as well as to communicate across cultural boundaries and maintain elite lines of communication.

If globalization is understood as the emergence and slow consolidation of European and American hegemony across the planet over half a

millennium, then the most current episode, the world music moment, either reiterates the same old (colonial) story or suggests its subtle and persistent powers of self-transformation in a changed media environment. Others have found this overly systematic and relentlessly teleological, allowing human culture only one direction and set of historical possibilities. Currently we find ourselves in a radically new environment, yet another argument goes.¹⁵ The nation-state system no longer orders and contains the global flows of finance, labor, commodities, and ideas. These circulate according to new logics,¹⁶ logics not subordinated to some higher level unifying principle, but which come together in complex and rather unpredictable ways. Emerging practices of political mobilization and solidarity, new industrial and business practices, and new forms of violence attempt to gain footholds, win space, and consolidate power for new kinds of political and cultural actors in a complex and changing environment whose future directions cannot simply be read from the past. And the same might be said of music. If the global circulation of music had, until the relatively recent past, taken place in a space defined by colonialism and its aftermath, in which, for instance, one might look at the world and detect coherent and somewhat bounded British, American, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Japanese spaces of musical encounter and exchange (a colonially or quasi-colonially ordered set of cores and peripheries), the same cannot be said now. Supercultural, subcultural, and intercultural musical practices (Mark Slobin's useful terms) are now in close and unpredictable contact, thanks to modern media and movements of people. Hip-hop artists on Chicago's South Side sample Balinese gamelan. Australian didgeridus drone along with traditional Irish music in Belfast pubs. Papua New Guineans blend indigenous vocal techniques and aesthetics with Country music when Australian missionaries succeed in banning the music associated with their traditional rituals.¹⁷ In sum, this is not a situation that can be easily or simply interpreted in terms of cultural imperialism.

A third, and final, set of issues concerns a certain consensus in the theorization of the new *spaces and places* of global musical encounter. An earlier ethnomusicology was either implicitly or explicitly framed by the encompassing nation-state. A more recent ethnomusicology has situated itself on border zones, in "global cities," along pilgrimage routes and amongst diasporic communities, in spaces and places that challenge the logic of bounded culture and positively demand attention to multivalent and multidirectional kinds of musical circula-

tion.¹⁸ Multiple to-and-fro movements by migrants in the Mexican/ Californian borderlands animate genres such as *banda*.¹⁹ Global cities like New York might be so defined in terms of their detachment from their national hinterlands, and their relations with regions beyond the nation-state (in New York's case, notably the Caribbean) through the movement of finance, commodities, information, labor, and, of course, music.²⁰ It is impossible to consider a single Caribbean musical genre (*kompas direk, merengue, bachata, zouk*) without taking into account the musical fissions and fusions that take place in the regional metropolis and the movements of musicians to and from these places.²¹

Diasporas imagine both the historical facts of their global dispersal as well as the cultural bonds that continue to unite them (no matter how tenuous). Music provides a valuable tool. In entering into these musical worlds, ethnomusicologists reckon with the powerful global historical forces that have scattered—usually under violent and coercive conditions—West Africans across the New World, Jews from Baghdad across South-East Asia, North Africans and Turks across North-Western Europe. Their music testifies equally powerfully, as Paul Gilroy put it, to routes *and* roots.²² Ethnomusicologists in various diasporic communities share an interest in long histories of musical accommodation and antagonism with host communities, as well as a collective insistence within these communities on what is still, over centuries in some cases, palpably shared. Consider the amazingly complex transformation of the musics of Western Africa in the Western hemisphere; consider, too, how quickly “blackness” is recognized in music across the circum-Atlantic, and how mobile African-derived musical practices are within this space.²³

I. Globalization versus Cosmopolitanism?

All of these various popular and academic responses to globalization and world music share, to a greater or lesser degree, a particular habit of thought. The “systemic” aspects of globalization are usually opposed to a domain of “culture.” The latter is habitually presented as a space of reaction or response to the former, a response in which people either retrench into compensatory fantasies of boundedness and authenticity, or find some way of reflecting on what these systems—created by us but now, Frankenstein-like, out of our control—are doing to us.²⁴

As Anna Tsing has suggested recently,²⁵ there are significant problems with this bifurcation of system and culture, not least the fact that

neo-Marxian critics of globalization, like Harvey and Jameson, find themselves talking the language of the neo-liberals. For both parties, neo-Marxian and neo-liberal, agency is deemed absent in one area and fetishized in the other. Both parties come to share a view of a global market unfolding according to an inner dynamic that has, at some level, abstracted itself from the domain of the political. In putting globalization beyond the domain of human agency, they both put it beyond political accountability, dissent, and, ultimately, resistance.

What are the alternatives and what are their implications for music study? One might instead conceive of globalization less as a single system, increasingly beyond our conceptual reach and out of our control, and more as a set of projects with cultural and institutional specificity, projects that construct, refer to, dream and fantasize about (in very diverse ways) a “world” as their zone of operation. Anna Tsing, from whom I derive many of these thoughts, demands our attention to the “located specificity of globalist dreams,” which she sees as multiple, various, and often in competition with one another, but above all produced by people in specific times, places, and institutional sites, acting on the world around them with various kinds of goals, plans, desires, and intentions in mind.²⁶

At this point I would like to turn to that messy and compromised term *cosmopolitanism*. For all of its problems (and there are many, which I will come to), there is one simple and distinct benefit. It restores human agencies and creativities to the scene of analysis, and allows us to think of music as an active process in the making of “worlds,” rather than a passive reaction to global “systems.” The idea is not new in ethnomusicology. As Turino has recently suggested in an important book, the idea of musical cosmopolitanism can shed a great deal of light on the well-trodden topic of musical nationalism.²⁷ The two are often held to be in some kind of tension, with nationalists at key moments of nation formation reacting to the negatively perceived “cosmopolitanism” of the immediately preceding period of imperial or colonial rule. And yet, as Turino shows for Zimbabwe, local forms of rock and pop—such as *chimurenga* and (later) *jit*, vehicles of national, anti-colonial protest—are embedded in thoroughly cosmopolitan histories. It was the cosmopolitan outlook of officials in the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation in the relatively liberal climate of the 1950s and 1960s that enshrined the music of the Shona, *mbira* (thumb piano), as authentic national culture. It was a later generation of cosmopolitan and well-traveled musicians like Thomas Mapfumo who blended

these sounds with the Congolese guitar styles and vocal protest genres popular across the south of the continent.

It takes a musical cosmopolitan, in other words, to develop a musical nationalism, to successfully assert its authenticity in a sea of competing nationalisms and authenticities. Turino and others²⁸ see nationalism and cosmopolitanism as mutually constructing and reinforcing processes in a global musical field. An important point here is that the making of a world might just as easily embrace the idea of the nation as a component part as reject it. There is no necessary contradiction between the idea of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, as some have proposed. Instead, the Zimbabwean situation he describes suggests sophisticated ways of thinking about “scalar” relations, which is to say the musical relations between localities, nations, and the world, and how what happens at one point on the scale impacts on others.

The term *cosmopolitanism*, as I stated earlier, is tricky and compromised. What are the problems? Firstly, cosmopolitanism can look acquisitive and consumerist. If, as Anna Tsing puts it, “poor migrants need to fit into the worlds of others...cosmopolitans want more of the world to be theirs.”²⁹ Secondly, the idea of cosmopolitanism is historically problematic. Can one meaningfully talk about cosmopolitanism before the advent of the nation-state? Situations in which the nation-state is not the primary unit for the reckoning of belonging are also problematic in this regard. Thirdly, gendered critique alerts us to the gendered and sexualized dimensions of cosmopolitan formations. How quickly women seem to disappear from view when one surveys the cosmopolitan universe! Fourthly, cosmopolitans are located in institutional positions of varying power, influence, and prestige; their cosmopolitanisms compete with others both ideologically and institutionally. And fifthly, the dispersed and relayed forms of agency that characterize musical production in contemporary musical worlds³⁰ do not sit easily with the idea of cosmopolitans as atomized, creative individuals. It has become difficult, then, to think of the cosmopolitan as—always and invariably—that benign figure of liberal Enlightenment discourse familiar to us from Kant.

With these nagging doubts in mind, let me put the term to test, as it were, in the Middle East. As Ochoa Gautier suggests, regions experience globalization in very different ways, musically and otherwise.³¹ A useful preliminary critical move in thinking about globalization and attendant terms like cosmopolitanism might be to consider regional fields comparatively. What kinds of things might a term like cosmo-

politanism enable us to see in the Middle East? What kinds of things might it obscure? I draw in this next section on my longstanding interests in the music of Turkey and Egypt, with occasional digressions to Tunisia and Israel.

II. Competing Cosmopolitanisms

We might start by thinking of musical cosmopolitanisms across the region as various ways of imagining musical belonging, as various musical spheres of exchange and circulation. We can refer to these as cosmopolitan formations. They may, on the surface, appear to be somewhat self-absorbed and self-referential. Theoretically speaking, though, they might be understood in relation to others, and as mediations of broader ideological tensions and contradictions: elite versus subaltern; sacred versus secular; “external” versus “internal” orientalisms; male versus female; heteronormative versus queer; white versus black.

As Turino suggests of Zimbabwe, state-centered efforts to produce national musics were the work of committed cosmopolitans, trained and schooled in Western art music. Thus, the consolidation of indigenous classical repertoires and modal theoretical traditions (notably those of *dastgah* and *maqam/makam*) proceeded, in the hands of Vaziri, Arel, Darwish, Meshqata, and others, according to processes that rested heavily on Western (particularly Russian and French) musical epistemologies and methodologies.³² This was especially so in North Africa, where such efforts took shape under direct colonial tutelage.³³ Today the art and folk music one hears emanating from official state media channels owe much to these efforts. Much less well known is the music such nationalist ideologues produced as composers, reconciling Western concert with Middle Eastern art and folk music practices (codified by them in such Western-friendly ways). For various reasons, these never really caught on in either popular or intelligentsia imaginations or listening habits, and state support for these symphonies, operas, and concertos has dwindled in recent decades. I treasure my recordings of Aziz al-Shawan’s (Egyptian) *Piano Concerto* (1959), Yalcin Tura’s (Turkish) *Seyh Galip Oratorio* (c. 1979), and Hussein Dehlavi’s (Iranian) opera *Bizhan and Manizeh* (1974–75). They have become very hard to find, and contemporary performances in the Middle East or elsewhere are rare indeed. This kind of cosmopolitanism is one we might refer to as modernist internationalism,³⁴ promoted by the state or by intellectu-

als closely associated with the state's modernizing project. In populist states, for instance Nasser's Egypt, Western popular genres (fox-trots, rumbas, tangos, swing) were blended with Egyptian popular and vernacular musical practices. Abd al-Halim Hafiz sang nationalist epics in this vein, scripted by Salah Jahin and set to music by Kamal al-Tawil, both key figures amongst the revolutionary/nationalist intelligentsia in Egypt. The songs had one foot in the popular market and another in the revolutionary jamborees of the early Nasserite period. In the wake of the Bandung conference, they circulated not only in the Arab countries but also across the entire non-aligned world.

This may be contrasted with a cosmopolitanism at play in popular and rural musical practices in this period. Indeed, what I am labeling elite cosmopolitanism was often overtly hostile to such "vernacular cosmopolitan" practices, defining itself in opposition to them. Visiting European folklorists, notably Bela Bartok on his Turkish expedition in 1936,³⁵ taught local national intelligentsias how to search for and identify the oldest and purest "archaeological layers" of folk practice, and to distinguish these from urban accretions and accumulations. In the Turkish case, Bartok was intrigued (and passed on this sense of intrigue and mystique to his Turkish assistants) by a folk musical prehistory that demonstrated connections between the various groups that had migrated towards Europe from Central Asia millennia before. Their music, he argued, was pentatonic, characterized by sweeping melodic descents as well as various quirks of vocalization, meter, and so forth. This was deemed an authentic Turkish folk music, the raw material for the kinds of elite cosmopolitan procedures described above. Urban influences mediated by local gypsies bothered Bartok immensely, in Anatolia as in Central Europe. For Bartok, they were simply to be ignored, only occasionally surfacing in his Turkish folk music recordings and transcriptions to illustrate the extent of the problem.³⁶ Generations of folklorists in Turkey have maintained this distrust, deploring the musical cosmopolitanism (read, "Arab influence") of the Anatolian cities and towns, the parasitic gypsies, and the passivity of the peasantry as they allowed their folk heritage to drift away in the collective memory.

This distrust had a religious dimension as well. The intelligentsias of the new republics that sprang from the wreckage of the old Ottoman Empire were, at least initially, vigorously secular. Religious repertoires cultivated across the region amongst Sufi brotherhoods were also labeled cosmopolitan in this negative sense at around this time. They

were the product of pilgrimage, slavery (e.g., from sub-Saharan Africa to the cities on the North African coast), settlement, and conquest (e.g., the movements of Turkic and Mongolian tribes from Central Asia to the cities of Ottoman Anatolia, Safavid Iran, and Northern India). They were also the product of ways of thinking that connected the Islamic ecumene, deferring to antique poetic and musical models (*qasida*, *medh*, *na'at*, the *talea'l bedru*) widely dispersed across the Islamic world, known through pilgrimage, travel, *madrasah* education and, now, electronic media.

The secular nationalisms of the early twentieth century were emphatically to decry this kind of cosmopolitanism. The closing of the *sufi* lodges and the discrediting of their musical traditions were energetically pursued in Turkey, Tunisia, and many other places.³⁷ Consequently, we also need to note popular cosmopolitanisms, historically and spiritually deeply rooted, which fell afoul of official state musical policies propagated by the new conservatories and media systems. For those associated with the new states, this kind of musical cosmopolitanism was explicitly identified as a problem, to be countered by national educational and media policy, and by a modernist internationalism in the hands of the elite.

Orientalism—Western imaginings of the East—has also played an important role in the shaping of Middle Eastern musical cosmopolitanisms. Consider, for example, the musical encounters orchestrated by prominent rock and pop stars in the West: Peter Gabriel, Brian Eno, Robert Fripp, Transglobal Underground, Sting, Natacha Atlas and others.³⁸ Although billed as exchanges and fusions, they graft exotic sounds onto a Western rock and pop musical infrastructure and as such constitute, in my mind, a musical prolongation of nineteenth-century orientalism. Such is our current state of anxiety about the Middle East. So deeply naturalized and unquestioned is Western “Islamophobia” and the fear of Middle Eastern and other Muslim migrants in North America and Northwestern Europe that the cultural politics of these musical exchanges rarely attracts comment, let alone criticism. And Gabriel, Eno, Fripp et al. are serious musicians after all. Most of us are inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt. We might consider this particular kind of cosmopolitanism, then, as musical appropriation by neo-orientalists for a Western market in exotica.

Western orientalism reverberates in Middle Eastern cultural worlds in complex and powerful ways. I was reminded of this in the mid-1990s, when Turkish pop diva Sezen Aksu released an album, designed

primarily for the Turkish market, called *Ex Oriente Lux* (Light from the East). The album's release grabbed Turkish newspaper headlines and in Turkey it remains one of her most popular recordings. What was unusual about it (and thus headline material) was its use of forgotten, neglected, or repressed Anatolian musical repertoires, occasionally weaving "authentic" field recordings into the pop mix. The album coincided with one of the most intense moments of neo-liberal transformation in Turkey (and indeed elsewhere in the region). These processes have produced burgeoning, but unstable and vulnerable, middle-classes who perceive themselves at a distance from the old nation-state modernizing projects, and search for new means of cultural distinction. Istanbul's managers at that point were proudly proclaiming its status as a global city.³⁹ The ready availability in CD or online form of digitally re-mastered recordings from forgotten archives of art and folk music has provided these middle-classes with new ways of articulating their Turkishness, a Turkishness now imagined as urbane, cosmopolitan, multicultural, tolerant of its minorities, and at last on good terms with its neighbors (who are, nonetheless, still collectively understood as being stuck in the past). This is a vision that the state's Islamist managers have been able to manipulate, holding traditional and bourgeois sectors together in a fragile accommodation. Istanbul's multicultural musical heritage (Muslim, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, Balkan) is being energetically rediscovered as the city itself is, to borrow Yang's term, "re-cosmopolitanized."⁴⁰ Pop stars like Sezen Aksu and her student, Tarkan, blending a variety of "global" sounds, speak to a younger generation amongst the middle-classes attuned not only to this history but a newly confident sense of Turkey's place in the world.⁴¹ We might understand this as a "local orientalism," in conversation, as it were, with that of the Western metropolis.

It is contested, however, from within. In the drab migrant suburbs and squatter towns that ring the huge city of Istanbul, in what Turkish sociologists sometimes refer to as the "other Istanbul," which is oriented to the Anatolian hinterlands and the dwindling redistributive mechanisms of the state, the urban poor regards this cosmopolitan partying with distaste. Theirs is a music, *arabesk*, associated with migrant lifeways (dress, cuisine, and so forth) perceived as authentic in its rootedness in rural cultures of grief, melancholy, and lament. Similar genres took shape across the Middle East and Balkans as migrants left their villages to seek work in their national metropolises in the 1940s and '50s, and in Northwest European cities in the 1960s and '70s: *rai* in

North Africa; *jil* in Egypt, and Yugoslav *turbofolk*, for example. Local intelligentsias pour scorn on these musical practices. This, they say, is the music of identity crisis, of diseased modernity, of inauthentic emotionality. Like eating *lahmacun*, a proletarian street snack, and washing it down with whiskey, as the Turkish intellectuals liked to put it, *arabesk* mixed musical elements (particularly those of supposed Arab derivation) that should not be mixed and had no place in the modern Turkey.

Yet cheap cassette production in the 1970s and the deregulation of the mass media by liberalizing states meant that these genres proliferated. The intelligentsia looked on with dismay. The musicians involved found themselves in positions of unexpected cultural prominence. So when *arabesk* star Orhan Gencebay described himself as a musical cosmopolitan, he was mocked. But he had every right to the moniker.⁴² He had, after all, learned European art music from Russian conservatory-trained Crimean refugees in his Black Sea hometown. He had fallen in love with Elvis and the Beatles like most in his generation, and developed his love of jazz and rock and roll in the bands he played in as a student and during his military service. He flaunts his extensive knowledge of Middle Eastern music, and is impatient with the distinctions and discriminations imposed by the conservatories and the radio (Turkish *or* Arab; folk *or* classical).

There is a third and conflicting phenomenon, then, in these orientalist cosmopolitan formations: that of the West, that of Middle Eastern elites, and that of the popular classes. The first imagines an Eastern *Other* from the perspective of the Western metropolis. The second imagines a national self as "Eastern," but as a regional superpower, and thus a position of prominence and agency *vis à vis* a declining West. The third imagines a national self as "Eastern," but in oppositional terms, and articulates this national self in a language of pain and humiliation. These three positions are related and mutually defining. Those who occupy them find themselves involved in a tense three-way conversation.

Cosmopolitanism is deeply gendered. Women have, beyond any shadow of doubt, been pushed into the background as Middle Eastern popular genres have been re-marketed as world musics. *Rai*, a North African popular genre, is a case in point. It originated in the world of female entertainment at weddings in rural Algeria. Relocated and reformulated in the entertainment industries in the coastal cities, particularly Oran, at the eve of the anti-colonial struggle, women

vocalists known as *cheikhat* were still central, and Cheikha Remitti was one of the main recording stars. After independence, the genre took root amongst migrant populations in metropolitan France, now in an industry controlled by men, and with young men as its paradigmatic stars. These were, as Marie Virolle puts it, "*les années Khaledienne,*" the years dominated by Cheb (Kid, a title he has long since dropped) Khaled, whose recent recordings have been promoted by major labels and involved collaborations with world music artists from across the francophone world. As Marie Virolle suggests, globalized *rai* has succeeded in doing what a thousand years of North African patriarchy failed to do: silencing North African women.⁴³

In truth, women have neither been passive in response to these predations upon traditionally female spaces of expression, nor disappeared from view. Yet the situation described by Virolle is hardly unique and it demands comment. Why have men succeeded to a great extent in taking over these spaces of musical cosmopolitanism? There are many contributing factors. In the Middle East, one would be the heightened anxieties about gender and sexuality in migrant communities in Europe, ravaged by European neo-Nazis on the one hand and the marginalization of male migrant labor on the other (the service and clothing manufacturing industries preferring casual female labor). Genres such as *rai* and *arabesk* have thematized male anxieties and vulnerabilities in North African and Turkish migrant communities, as have the Franco-Maghrebi and Turkish-German hip-hop-inflected genres that succeeded them.⁴⁴ So women have been doubly excluded; firstly, as a result of male domination of the means of cultural expression in migrant communities and, secondly, as a result of their ideological marginalization within these popular cultural spaces.

This ideological marginalization has not, of course, rendered women invisible. It has, if anything, rendered women and female sexuality visible in new ways. Let me briefly consider an Israeli case. Ofra Haza made a name for herself singing Yemeni Arab/Jewish repertoires at a moment when Israeli popular culture was just beginning to reckon with the demographic and political power of Jewish migrants from the Arab world. Early in the 1980s, her combination of a danceable mix and a Middle Eastern exoticism both heightened and tempered by the Jewish and female identity of the singer meant quick success in Europe and America. In 1998, Dana International won the Eurovision Song Contest, causing something of a sensation in Israel and indeed elsewhere. She is a transsexual, musically strongly rooted in Mizrahkit

and Arab popular culture. Her music circulates widely—and equally scandalously—in the Arab world.⁴⁵ There is much to be said about how Dana International has simultaneously represented cosmopolitan Israeli youth culture, keen to confront religious authority and express frustration at the isolation imposed by constant war with neighbors as well as solidarity with queer networks across the region. But if women were once prominent agents in the circulation of significant Middle Eastern musical practices and repertoires, Dana International's case suggests women's role is now reduced to the symbolic, as a representation of the desire for an increasingly problematic and politically "blocked" *Other*. Modern media brings Arab and Israeli musical culture closer and closer together. Yet a politics that might produce an enduring cultural dialogue seems increasingly remote. Hypersexualization fans the flames of desire for Otherness, but at a remote and aestheticized distance; a politics of camp, whose simultaneous appeal to conservatives and radicals in Israel and elsewhere is perhaps not so surprising.

In the gendered and sexual sphere, too, one might point to tensions and contradictions in musical cosmopolitanism. Women have often been central to the circulation of musical practices across the region, their repertoires flying below the radar of official cultural policy and thus reflecting the real mix of cultures within the national space and cross-border cultural movements. Under certain circumstances (particularly, as I have argued, labor migration to Europe), these repertoires are likely to be co-opted by men in the services of another kind of cosmopolitanism. This is a cosmopolitanism, the case of *rai* suggests, capable of being thoroughly supervised, if not entirely co-opted, by the state, by the world music recording corporations, and by agencies promoting multiculturalism in the European metropolis. The gendered issues are (of course) complicated when one introduces the issue of queer cosmopolitanism, but the broader picture seems to be the same: the erasure and compensatory erotic "spectacularization" of women as musical repertoires circulate globally.

Finally, I would like to touch briefly on what I would label a "Diasporic cosmopolitanism," played out across the imaginary of race. The North African states, for example, have consistently repudiated (or at least downplayed) their Saharan hinterlands in establishing modern national and religious identities. All such acts of repudiation are unstable and incomplete, and the large black populations of North African cities, the descendents of slaves and palace servants, are complex sites

of collective fantasy, as well as transmitters of sub-Saharan musical and ritual practices. In *gnawa*, *stambeli*, and *zar*, for instance, Moroccans, Tunisians, and Egyptians from a variety of backgrounds (though often women from the poorer classes) meet to the accompaniment of a long-necked lute, esoteric ritual chants, and the chatter of the *shqashiq* (metal castanettes), for the purpose of communication with troublesome spirits and healing.⁴⁶ Ritual masters (*muallim*) develop innovative ways of imagining African diasporic musical relations, partly extending indigenous ideologies of contact, exchange, and movement (particularly as they involve spirits and saints), and partly reflecting the often long-standing presence in their lives of French and American world music entrepreneurs, musicians, and concert organizers.

In the Middle Eastern context one might, then, distinguish between white and black musical cosmopolitanisms. The first is unmarked, shaped by the ways in which North African nation-states have been able to produce everyday and commonsense apprehensions of national identity in music, apprehensions in which sub-Saharan Africans are deemed remote and labeled as exotic. The second, by contrast, is marked. It is shaped by a keen sense of exclusion from commonsense categories of belonging and exclusion, and habits of looking outside of this space for support and sustenance. If this support comes in the shape of world music producers, concert organizers, or DJs articulating their own sense of connection to the music in terms of shared African roots, then *muallim*, as Deborah Kapchan and others suggest, are quick to appropriate their language and forge a connection.

The term *cosmopolitanism* is, to conclude, messy and compromised, and now excessively chewed over. One might well ask why I insist on bringing it back into focus. On the one hand, at a general theoretical level, the term cosmopolitanism still does useful work for us in ethnomusicology, where it has had less traction. It helps us understand the intellectual formations and dispositions of nationalist ideologues and reformers. It points to the self-conscious exercises in musical exchange and hybridization that have absorbed many in this musical world, and it clarifies the political work they do. It reminds us to take into account the music of Diaspora and migration, which we (along with local intellectuals) might otherwise ignore or dismiss as debased or worthless. In all cases, it alerts us to agencies and cultural energies, to music as an active and engaged means of world making, not simply a response to forces beyond our control. More specifically, it provides us with some way of thinking about the connections (and differences) between those

musical practices that have been somewhat marginal to the ethnomusicological field of vision in the study of the Middle East. Far from being marginal, I would argue that these are central to the everyday musical life of the Middle East, and we in ethnomusicology have done a poor job of noticing them, let alone theorizing them. We would do well to sit with this awkward term for just a little bit longer, and allow it to do some work for us.

Cosmopolitanism is a term, however, that we have to use with caution, as I have repeatedly acknowledged. Distinctions and discriminations are needed between sacred/secular, elite/popular, male/female, heteronormative/queer, white/black. Tensions between these fields need to be understood, ethnographically and theoretically. We must reckon with the complex history of Western colonialism and the legacy of orientalism. The challenges are significant, but the pay-off—a more nuanced picture of global musical processes from the vantage point of one particular region—may well be worth the effort.

III. Conclusion

The very facts that prompt us to talk about globalization today, namely, cheap digital sound reproduction and the proliferation of small information technologies, deepen the experiential connections between music and the broader sensorium of globalized modernity, particularly the image, still or moving.⁴⁷ The idea of “the musical imagination” derives from an age in which “absolute” concert music constituted the cultural ideal, and in which, as Walter Pater once suggested, all of the arts “aspired to the condition of music.” That age is gone, even though I occasionally hear echoes of Pater’s expression in the work of cultural theorists like Paul Gilroy and Iain Chambers. The musical imagination is something we necessarily have to think of in terms of multi-media technology these days, and the broad cultural prioritization of the visual, the image, the spectacle. How do we theorize the circulation of musical styles in multi-media terms? I would like to know much more about how music travels as a result of being attached to such phenomena as computer operating systems and games, news media, pornography, Hollywood film, YouTube, shopping mall environments, cell phones, and much else. We should fully put aside Pateresque notions of the uniqueness and peculiarity of music among the arts, and with it the idea that the only music really worth studying is “absolute” music. It may also be the case that we need a more integrated approach to

studying globalization across different domains of media. One still reads about the globalization of film, jokes, architecture, and literary genres in isolation, with debates in one field being replayed blow-by-blow in another, as recent exchanges in the *New Left Review* on the globalization of literary genres suggests.⁴⁸ It is simply disciplinary habit on my part to entitle this article, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism." It is hard to say whether there is anything specifically musical about it, and probably more interesting to consider things from a multi-media perspective.

Ethnomusicologists have something of a head start here, or we would if we were to take more note of dance. Somewhere along the line the study of dance was relegated to the byways of academic musicology. Academic ethnomusicology, to its shame, has compounded the problem, confining the study of dance to special interest groups in its professional organizations, and leaving dance scholars to sink or swim. The question of globalization (or, as I am cautiously rephrasing it, musical cosmopolitanism) is one that should, in my emphatic view, push dance issues back to the center of things. In dance we see, with a certain amount of clarity, something that should give us pause when we think about global musical circulation. This is the circulation of dance practices (and the music attached to them) across cultural boundaries where many other things come abruptly to a halt.

Consider briefly the quadrille and the polka in this regard. There are some obvious vectors of transmission in both cases. The quadrille, a dance involving geometrical figures and small groups, traveled with colonial elites to the New World during the eighteenth century when it was fashionable in Western Europe. From there it radiated across colonial space, assuming subtly different meanings and attaching itself to diverse performance styles (though, interestingly, broadly similar musical forms) among African slaves and their descendents,⁴⁹ among creole elites,⁵⁰ and among colonized indigenous populations.⁵¹ The polka, a broadly shared Central European couple dance practice, was adopted by Western European elites and then the popular classes. With Central-European settlement in North America, it found a new home as a popular practice in the Great Lakes region and in areas of intense Mexican/German interaction in parts of Texas and northwestern Mexico.⁵² A very great many of this continent's popular music styles owe their current shape and form to one or another of these dance practices.

In both cases, what strikes me is, firstly, how rapidly dance forms travel, and how unobtrusively yet systematically musical styles are attached. As ethnomusicologists thinking about musical globalization we miss out on a great deal, it seems to me, when we ignore dance, and I see no end to this unfortunate tendency.

Secondly, we are not good at explaining just how vigorously these dance/music genres have traveled. Empire, colonization, migration, and settlement have undoubtedly played important roles. Obviously, these dances were learned and transmitted under these particular and specific historical and political conditions, and our sub-discipline enables us to understand these conditions and their connections to changing musical practice in some detail. We know something about the construction of racial *otherness* and, conversely, of identities, in music.⁵³ These ways of thinking about music certainly shed some light on the situation. But why have they moved so quickly and taken root so deeply? And why with such facility over such intense lines of antagonism and conflict? I have found myself wondering about other motivations, ones we habitually neglect, for instance pleasure, play, or fascination for the diversity of form. These are murky and vague terms, I agree. But might this be another, not necessarily contradictory, way of understanding how and why certain kinds of music and dance practices occasionally spread like wildfire?

One would need to find the right language, obviously, but this kind of thinking might provoke some quite challenging and, to the best of my knowledge, hitherto unasked questions. How are musical pleasures identified as such across cultural and political boundaries? How are they broken down into grammatical elements, quickly learnable and transmissible units? How do they connect with submerged or perhaps repressed (because deemed childish or sexually ambivalent) repertoires of pleasure and playfulness in host societies? According to what social processes are they sanctioned, or tolerated, or ignored? How do they become the locus of such intense (and occasionally shameful) social pleasures and such powerful recognitions of the self? I find it hard to avoid such questions contemplating the global spread of certain dance styles, from the quadrille and polka to the tango and Macarena, and, in the Middle East, belly dancing, *raqs sharqi*. These dances are attached to musical styles that travel with them and are constituent of the bodily practices involved.

Similar questions might be raised of a host of globally traveling musical techniques that we might also consider as kinds of mobile

embodiment: West African bell-patterns; African-American and Afro-Caribbean riffing and rapping; solo modal (*maqam*) improvisation in the Balkans, Mediterranean, and Middle East; the timbre-rich droning of Australian aboriginal music; the colotomic (phrase marking) practices of Javanese gamelan; the vocal breaks and yodeling of American country music; or Anglo-Celtic jigging and reeling. The list could be extended. It would be a serious mistake, in my opinion, to neglect the element of pleasure and play in the global circulation of musical practices. This would surely not be an entirely inappropriate evocation of Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*, a book that put the human propensity for play at the heart of social, political, and historical transformation.⁵⁴ Like Huizinga, I believe that we might extend our understanding of the political and the cultural in useful and interesting ways if we were to embrace the category of play. More narrowly, we might gain fresh angles on world music and the processes and practices of musical cosmopolitanism. ●

Notes

1. There is a large and valuable literature on this topic. Here I draw on Gronow and Englund 2007.
2. On French recording company Barclay and its efforts to exploit the North African diasporic market and *rai*, see Schade-Poulsen 1999; and Gross et al. 2003.
3. The case of tango is particularly well documented. See especially Collier 1986; Savigliano 1995; and Taylor 1998.
4. Paul Simon's appropriation of South African *isicathamiya* on his 1986 *Graceland* album is a *cause célèbre* in ethnomusicology. See Meintjes 1990 and Erlmann 1999 for different interpretations.
5. Consider, for instance, the lullaby from the Solomon Islands, originally recorded by Hugo Zemp, relocated in the music of Deep Forest and Jan Garbarek, and discussed in Feld 2000a, or the complex circulations of Simha Arom and Colin Turnbull's "pygmy" recordings in the world of Western pop and rock (Feld 2000b). See Hesmondhalgh 2000 and Taylor 2003 for other carefully considered case studies.
6. On the gendered dimensions of positioning a local music in a world market, see Aparicio 2000; on racial issues, see, particularly, Meintjes 2003.
7. See Guilbault's study of Antillean *zouk* (Guilbault 1993) for a discussion of dependency.
8. A position I would associate, in rather different ways, with Frith 2000; Feld 2000; and Schade-Poulsen 1999.
9. Brusila's 2003 Nordic case study epitomizes this approach.
10. See Bohlman 1991; Obelkevitch 1977; and Farrell 1997
11. Edward Said 1978.
12. Locke 1991.

13. Woodfield 2000.
14. Sumarsam 1995.
15. This I would associate with Mark Slobin's *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Slobin 1993).
16. Most influentially theorized by Arjun Appadurai. (Appadurai 2002).
17. Feld 2001
18. Bohlman's wide-ranging account of contemporary European pilgrimage practices (Bohlman 1996), for instance, exemplifies a new sensitivity to circulation and spatiality.
19. Simonett 2001.
20. Allen and Wilken 1998.
21. See, respectively, Averill 1997; Austerlitz 1997; Pacini-Hernandez 1995; and Guilbault 1993 for English language accounts.
22. Gilroy 1993.
23. See particularly Monson 1999.
24. Jameson and Harvey hover over these discussions. I have in mind, particularly, Harvey 1989 and Jameson 1991.
25. Anna Tsing 2002.
26. Ibid.
27. Turino 2000.
28. See also Regev 2007.
29. Tsing 2002, p. 469.
30. Born 2006.
31. Ochoa Gautier 2003. The early globalization of Latin American music contradicts a tendency to see musical globalization as something that succeeded the national consolidation of local and regional musical practices.
32. For English language accounts of these figures, see, respectively, Nettl 1992; Stokes 1992; Davis 2005; and Scott Marcus' various contributions to Danielson, Marcus and Reynolds 2002.
33. Davis 2004.
34. Nettl refers to these as "modernization" efforts, as opposed to "Westernization," in his discussion of the musical landscape of modern Iran and elsewhere (Nettl 1978). I would add the word "internationalism" to stress the ways in which such efforts were invariably perceived by those who instigated them as a self-conscious and somewhat competitive act of location in regional, not merely national, efforts to attain the modern, musically speaking.
35. See Bartok 1976.
36. Consider, for instance, transcription 59 of his *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor* (Bartok 1976, p. 190), and the accompanying note: "According to Mr. Ahmed Saygun, this melody is derived from the following urban melody, a 'hit' song which is very well known, especially by soldiers...The composer of this version was evidently 'inspired' by the famous *Canzonetta* 'Halte-la, Qui va la' in Bizet's opera *Carmen*."
37. On Tunisia, see Davis 2005. On Turkey, see Stokes 1992.
38. Stokes 2002; Hesmondhalgh 2000; and Swedenburg 2001.

39. Keyder 1999.
40. Yang 2002.
41. On Aksu's cosmopolitanism, recent Turkish popular culture, and Turkey's neo-liberal moment, see Stokes (forthcoming).
42. This is a point I argue in Stokes (forthcoming), in a chapter reviewing Gencebay's lengthy and influential career in Turkish *arabesk*.
43. Virolle 2003, p. 229.
44. Schade-Poulsen 1999; Gross, McMurray and Swedenburg 2003; and Stokes 2003.
45. See Swedenburg 2000.
46. Langlois 1999; Jankowsky 2006; and Kapchan 2002.
47. Erlmann 1999. On music and/as multimedia, see Cook 2000.
48. I refer specifically to Franco Moretti's and Pascale Casanova's articles and books (e.g., Moretti 2003 and 2006; Casanova 2005) and the heated responses of Christopher Prendergast, Efrain Kristal, Francesca Orsini, Jonathan Arac, Emily Apter and Jale Parla.
49. On *kompas direk* in Haiti, see Averill 1997.
50. On *merengue*, see Austerlitz 1997.
51. On *matachines*, see Rodriguez 1996.
52. Simonett 2001.
53. See, for instance, the contributors to Bohlman and Radano 2000.
54. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 1998.

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