Exploring Music in a Globalized World

Introduction

by Andrea Hollington, Tijo Salverda, Sinah Kloß, Nina Schneider, Oliver Tappe

Beyond the simple fact that many people enjoy music, as a social act music is also related to a wide range of emotions, associations, politics, and identifications that draw people to making, playing, and listening to music. Below the surface, in other words, music is shaped by, and shapes, a very broad range of social phenomena. In this issue of *Voices from Around the World,* a number of contributors explore interactions between music and various social phenomena in more detail. They share with us their thoughts on the social and cultural importance of music in our globalized world. Although music is too wide a topic to discuss all its relevant aspects in this issue, the different contributions illustrate, among other things, the variety of perspectives on and of music practices, how music is lived and experienced in a range of settings, and why music has such an important role in the lives of many around the world.

Music is often not only individually experienced but is also a powerful social activity. It has many purposes and functions, and can evoke strong feelings of joy, sadness, or nostalgia. In many instances, both in globalized/transnational spaces and specific localized contexts, music also plays a crucial role in cultural practices such as ceremonies and rituals; Katarzyna I. Wojtylak's interesting account of the Murui of Northwest Amazonia demonstrates this, for example. Moreover, music can reinforce a sense of belonging, which, as plenty of examples demonstrate, may even transcend boundaries and cross continents. Yet apart from shaping processes of global entanglement and connection, music can also serve as a marker of exclusiveness and distinction. In either case, though, a crucial factor in understanding the relevance of music in peoples' lives is the concept of "feeling". The intangibility and elusiveness of "feeling", nevertheless, is also a great challenge for musicians and those who study music, as David Aarons demonstrates in his contribution. As a matter of fact, many past and contemporary examples illustrate that the positions of musicians and their listeners are often very ambiguous. While many people love to hear and listen to music, musicians (and their listeners/fans) often also occupy a liminal position in society.

The liminal position of musicians, as well as the fact that many people are drawn to the power of music, is also reflected in music's contribution to bringing about social change, for instance by challenging authorities or established "truths", or by expressing issues that are yet to become widely considered. There are countless examples that show how music has been an expression and essential part of the protests of various political and social movements or subcultures. Sometimes musicians and their listeners mark(ed) the arrival of a new generation and/or challenge(d) dominant customs, this often leading to worries among the authorities, such as in the case of rock and roll. In other instances, the target of opposition is more explicitly political. For example, Pink Floyd's song *Another Brick in the Wall* became a popular anthem of protest against, and a critique of, the British educational system, while the current revival of punk rock may also relate to increasing concerns about geopolitical instability, inequality, and the future of our planet – even though it is argued that punk will not regain the position it had as protest music as in its heyday. Music, in such cases, may be part of the aim of promoting structural change. Also, in the case of Bob Marley, and reggae more generally, music was part and parcel of the hope of underminig the position of dominant forces, such as the imperial state. In his song *Zimbabwe*, for example, Marley targeted the white minority regime in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia).

Yet even in the case of music genres that are associated with resistance and revolution, such as Reggae and Hip Hop, this is often not a static condition. Over time, genres may transform (or diversify) from being explicitly political to more mainstream and/or focusing on mundane issues rather than the revolutionary potential of their listeners. When we go back in time, however, many music genres and styles at one point (in time) or another challenged social realities and propagated change, as Attali (1985) demonstrates – even music styles associated with established groups, such as classical music, often have a history of challenging social realities.

But also in the music industry itself, one often sees competing interests. These may not necessarily be expressed in the songs, such as in protest songs mentioned above, but the struggles may nevertheless be apparent. Especially due to the commercial realities of music production, consumption and distribution, singers, record companies, listeners, etc. are involved in an almost constant struggle about the costs and distribution of gains – see also an interesting contribution on the Focaalblog about the link between music and capitalism. There are many examples of singers abandoning their record companies. The arrival of new technical possibilities also often leads to the challenging of existing power balances, such as the Internet has clearly shown. The usual suspects in the form of powerful record companies can now more easily be circumvented, a fact which forms part of the subject matter of Sylvie St-Jacques' contribution about cutting out the middlemen. In this regard, apart from the illegal downloading of music of renowned (and often already wealthy) musicians, moreover, a particularly interesting aspect of the World Wide Web is that it allows independent and beginning artists to spread their music across the world – via, for example, SoundCloud. The physical reality of geographical distance has been collapsed and nowadays we can as easily listen to African hip hop as to a band three blocks down the road.

Contributions

Ranging from the Caribbean to, among other destinations, the southern tip of the African continent and India, the contributions in this issue provide a fresh amalgam of perspectives on music address. They explore numerous relevant questions aimed at a better understanding of the role of music around the world, such as what role music plays in the lives of people, and how music transcends boundaries and forms connections. David Aarons' contribution *Feeling Reggae In Ethiopia*, for example, describes music in a transnational contact scenario, namely that of repatriated Rastafari who play Reggae music together with Ethiopian musicians in Ethiopia. By drawing on the elusive but important concept of "feeling", the author illustrates the processes of musical cooperation and learning in a band that comprises members of different cultural backgrounds, but also addresses the challenges that they face. As Aarons argues, it is not only through the music practices themselves but also through bodily experiences and movements, as well as through personal descriptions and specific "vocabulary", that musicians get to understand the other's "feel" of the music, and that ex-

change processes and mutual learning become possible.

The Zimbabwean-born and German-based singer and musician Zuluman discusses social issues of music in his contribution which also includes a short acoustic performance of his song *Vanity*. In his interview, the artist shares his opinion on the role of music in life, which he describes as crucial, especially with a focus on African societies. Coming from Africa, he explains how music is an important part of everyday life, and also of specific actions or phenomena that change society. In the final part of the interview, Zuluman criticizes the term "world music", which is a wide category and a "catch-all term" into which his music, as a Reggae musician with a Zimbabwean background, is often classified. He argues that the term does not do justice to the musical diversity in the Global South and that it would be better to refer to music genres and styles with the terms that are used by the actual creators of the music.

Katarzyna I. Wojtylak introduces some of the music practices of the Murui of northwestern Amazonia and describes their music from an emic perspective in the context of Murui ritual discourse. By using the peoples' own genres and terms, the contribution illustrates the complexity of Murui music practices within their cultural contexts. In a documentation project that especially involves film making, the Murui themselves tell their stories and document their cultural practices, music, and language. This multimodal contribution, which includes songs, pictures, and a video, involves the Murui's own perspectives in a presentation of their music in their own way.

In a piece that was initially published on the Focaalblog, Rajalakshmi Nadadur Kannan demonstrates that a genre that was originally a form of "religious" music, deemed to be "divinely inspired," could actually transform over time. Though still close to its religious and divine origins, during British rule of India Karnatic music functioned as a means of resistance against the colonial rulers. Today, however, the link with the past is increasingly obscured, because, as Rajalakshmi shows, contemporary musicians are more inclined to "protect" their individual creativity and performances by means of copyrights. As knowledge about the music was traditionally a form of shared knowledge, this introduction of copyright law leads to the decontextualization of Karnatic music from its (religious) history.

Another connection to the material world is highlighted by the interesting parallels between the development of rock and metal music and urban architecture in the Cape Verdean archipelago, as discussed by Martin Ringsmut, with both music and architecture strongly affected by the phenomenon of migration. With regard to the construction of houses, the author describes the building process as a transnational issue, as house builders usually work abroad in order to be able to afford to build a house. Likewise, the Cape Verdean rock scene is seen as a translocal and transnational phenomenon due to the scene's ties to and dependences on the diaspora, which Ringsmut exemplifies with the migration practices of the members of a Cape Verdean band. He concludes that both rock music and house-building, are complex and often long-term or ongoing processes that are strongly tied to migration and diaspora relations.

Following upon this view of music as a translocal and transnational phenomenon, Carlos Culebra takes a transregional approach. On the basis of from long-term fieldwork on the small Caribbean island of Culebra, he challenges dominant representations of Caribbean music and identity. Instead of linking particular music genres to one of the Caribbean islands, such as reggae to Jamaica, he demonstrates that music in the Caribbean is far from static. We should rather look at the *transinsular* aspect of music in the Caribbean and, as such, think of the Caribbean more in terms of an archipelagic rather than insular experience, Carlos argues.

Going in another direction, Julian Schmitz shows that music from the Caribbean has also had a strong influence in West Africa. In his case, he discusses the influence Afro-Cuban music had on Senegalese music between the 1940s and the 1960s. Without this influence, he demonstrates, the popular music style Mbalax would not have been what it is today – probably unknown to most, even the renowned singer Youssou N'Dour actually sang in Spanish at the start of his career. With his example of Mbalax, Julian stresses that

within the form of a music genre associated with a particular geographical setting, influences from different corners of the world may come together.

Reflecting the aspect of power within the music industry, Sylvie St-Jacques subsequently takes us, in her podcast, on a musical tour through Cape Town. She discusses how local musicians try to cut out the "middlemen", who, as she shows, are manifold. These middlemen range from music producers and music labels to music critics, both in South Africa itself and also, for example, in Britain. In a lively report, accompanied by music from the local scene, Sylvie highlights that especially the drivers of the minibuses, the local form of transport, play an important role in cutting out the middlemen in this regard.

Whether with or without all the intermediaries, David Diallo demonstrates that there is often a close link between certain music genres, rap in his case, and capitalism. In an interesting piece, which has previously been published on the Focaalblog, he argues that the hustling and informal activities, such as drug pushing, that feature prominently in many rap lyrics are also part and parcel of the musicians' embracing of a capitalist mode of life. Making money isn't "dirty" for rappers and their listeners, though in this case it is not just any kind of capitalism, but particularly street capitalism, as David defines it, that gives rappers credibility and defines the authenticity of the aesthetics of many of their lyrics.

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Feeling Reggae Together in Ethiopia
by David Aarons

"Keep it there for now. Just let it groove for a bit." Sometimes in our rehearsals in Addis Ababa, Ras Kawintseb would close his eyes and ask us to keep the reggae groove going for a few minutes to develop rhythmic feel. His body swaying to and fro, simultaneously feeling the music and demonstrating the feel he wanted from the band. Ras Kawintseb, originally from Trinidad and Tobago, is part of a group of Rastafari who repatriated to Ethiopia from the West believing Ethiopia to be the Promised Land. His reggae band, Aetio-frika, mainly comprises Ethiopian musicians who enjoy reggae and identify with Rastafari philosophy to varying degrees. Engaging Ethiopians through reggae music is a significant aspect of the repatriation experience for many Rastafarians who have chosen to make Ethiopia their home. Based on ten months of research between 2015 and 2016, observing and performing with reggae bands in Ethiopia, I posit that a commitment to cultivating musical feeling is pivotal to the building of relationships between Ethiopians and repatriates through reggae music.

"Feel" is one of the most distinguishing features of reggae [1], and it presents the biggest challenge to Ethiopian musicians who wish to play reggae. The feel is such an important element in music, and yet describing exactly what it is or how to achieve it can be quite difficult. Feel can encompass "what notes are chosen, how they are played, and where they are placed by a musician" (Washbourne 1998: 161). Feel can also refer to the essences of larger-scale structures and how parts interact with each other throughout a song – what Shannon Dudley refers to as "interactive rhythmic feel" (1996). In reggae, feel can also take on a mystical quality whereby musical expression emerges from an attitude or mindset (Hitchins 2013). Many Rastafarians liken the reggae feel to the heartbeat, for instance (Bilby 2010).

Part of the reason for reggae being a challenge to some Ethiopian musicians is that Ethiopian music tends to emphasize melody more than harmony and groove. In reggae music, different rhythmic patterns come together in ways that do not always line up exactly, creating an interactive rhythmic feel. The slight out-of-sync-ness that occurs, what Charles Keil calls "participatory discrepancies" (1987), is what pushes the music to groove. For reggae to "feel right", rhythms must be executed in a delayed manner with a certain laid-back attitude (Hitchins 2013: 35).

To demonstrate how reggae musicians manipulate and articulate feeling and how this feeling impacts music, I want to (re)present one of my experiences performing with Sydney Salmon and the Imperial Majestic Band in Addis Ababa. This band mainly comprises Rastafarians who repatriated to Ethiopia from the West, but also includes Ethiopian musicians. Whenever I performed with this band I always preferred to set up my steelpan beside the keyboardist, Ma'an Judah, because I liked her vibes (performance energy) and she gave clear instructions on what was coming next. The following is an excerpt from my field notes:

"While keeping the reggae skank[2] pattern going in her left hand, the keyboardist played a melodic line with her right hand and said to me "play this". I tried to quickly pick out the melody. As soon as I had it, she switched to the bubble[3] pattern with two hands playing chords in an alternating manner. The bubble pattern cradled the guitar skank in a way that caused me to bounce up and down as if the sounds themselves were moving me. Further along in the song Ma'an raised her eyebrows at the drummer who then skipped the first beat and they both came crashing down on the third beat—emphasizing the one drop[4] feel. I missed that cue. She was rocking back and forth, leaning into the one drop with her body. My body fell in sync with hers. All the different sounds seemed to revolve around and orient themselves to this accent on the third beat—as if a gravity-like force was at work. A few bars later she yelled "dubwise" and the rhythm guitar and I dropped out of the texture leaving mainly bass and drums. The guitarist strummed chords out of time to imitate an echo effect. Although the drum rhythms became more busy and active, the "out of time" sound from the guitar made the music feel even more laid back. I was being pulled in different directions. I inserted a few improvised melodic lines into the spaces making sure to respect the disorienting feel. After a few cycles of this we returned to the original groove."

Within this song, there were different sections that required specific musical attacks, rhythms, and spaces for which prior knowledge and experience is important. While this experience was not new to me as a Jamaican musician, I noticed that my performances with this band over time became more natural as I became more accustomed to the way they played. Ma'an, a Filipino American Rastafarian, not only demonstrated an intuitive sense of what sounds were required for each section but she was also able to communicate and initiate these requirements. Even though she did not grow up in Jamaica, she has developed a strong feel for reggae through immersion in reggae bands and the Rastafari movement. What happens in musical settings such is this one is that Ethiopian musicians begin to pick up the feel from her and other repatriated musicians in the band.

Renowned Ethiopian pianist Samuel Yirga is one such musician, who spent time playing with the Imperial Majestic Band and admitted that he "took lessons" from repatriated musicians Ma'an, Alton, and Sanjay and

learned how to achieve the right rhythmic feel from them. He explained, "the bass player should be a bit behind… The connection of my bubble with the bass line and the hi-hat with the bubble and… everything is related. And unless you really got the feeling, it's just a technique and not the music" (personal interview. Feb 2016). The Ethiopian saxophonist for the Imperial Majestic Band, Wondwosson Woldeselassie, who brings a distinct Ethiopian flavor to the music, said that he sometimes had trouble knowing when to come in with his melodic lines, especially when he first started playing reggae. Melodies in reggae feel different for him because they do not consistently begin on the first beat of the bar as they do in many Ethiopian songs. In some cases, these challenges may have caused frustration both for himself—an expert saxophonist—and other band members, but through his commitment to the music and the band's commitment to him he is now much more comfortable performing reggae.

By participating in bands comprising Ethiopian and repatriated musicians I could observe and experience the challenges of feeling the music both in myself and others. Discussing the dynamics of playing together, Nachmanovitch states that "each collaborator brings to the work a different set of strengths and resistances. We provide both irritation and inspiration for each other—the grist for each other's pearl making" (Nachmanovitch 1990: 95). To feel the music better, therefore, musicians must spend time playing together and working through the irritation while recognizing each other's strengths. The exchanges that happen in these sessions are much more than musical ones. Relationships are formed and people are brought closer together. It is not just the act of playing together but feeling together—a much deeper experience—that achieves this sense of togetherness.

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Footnotes

[1] For a more thorough discussion on feel in reggae music see Hitchins, R. (2013). Rhythm, Sound and Movement: The Guitarist as Participant-Observer in Jamaica's Studio Culture. Ethnomusicology Forum,22(1), 27-48.
[2] Skank is one of a few terms that refers to the rhythmic pattern heard in the guitar and keyboard that emphasizes the offbeat.
[3] Bubble refers to the rhythmic pattern heard in the keyboard or organ that features an alternation between a chord in the left hand and the same chord in a higher register in the right hand
[4] One drop is the characteristic rhythm heard in the drum set in which the third beat of each bar is emphasized by the bass and snare drums.

Dance rituals and songs of the Murui from Northwest Amazonia
by Katarzyna I. Wojtylak (Language and Culture Research Centre, James Cook University, Australia)

The real authors of this introduction to Murui dance rituals and songs are the Murui people, principally Walter Anacleto Agga Arteagga. Since my first encounter with the Murui in 2010, Walter has been a remarkable teacher. Over the years, he has sung all types of songs, many of which he has patiently repeated time after time. As he put it: 'These songs are part of the Murui identity; I hope that by teaching them, the Murui way of life will not be forgotten.' The songs included here have been recorded and edited by Kristian Lupinski.

Walter Anacleto Agga Arteagga, a leader of one of two communal houses
in the Murui community of Tercera India in Colombia (Cara-Paraná River) (by Kasia Wojtylak)

The Murui people – the Witoto people
by Katarzyna I. Wojtylak

Walter is a member of the Tercera India community, a small Murui village located in the remote parts of the Amazon rainforest in southern Colombia. Murui communities, such as that of Tercera India, are mainly located along the Cara-Paraná and Igara-Paraná tributaries of the Putumayo River in Colombia. Some Murui speakers also live in northern parts of Peru, along the Ampiyacú and Napo rivers.

The Murui, like many other indigenous groups in the Amazon, share the tragic history of enslavement and disease that in the early 20th century caused the death of many thousands (Casement 1912). In 1908, Thomas Whiffen, a traveller and an ethnographer, estimated the total population of the Murui, Mɨka, Mɨnɨka and Nɨpode (referred to also as the Witoto) people at 15,000. Today, they collectively number about 6,000 people.

Approximate locations of the Witoto
(Murui, Mɨka, Mɨnɨka, and Nɨpode) people (Wojtylak, forthcoming)

Over the last century, Spanish has become the language of everyday life for the Murui. This is more evident for communities located closer to cities, but nevertheless, even speakers located in remote areas are nowadays bilingual. Among the young people, the use of their native tongue is mainly associated with traditional performances and ritual discourse.

Murui ritual discourse and songs
The Murui ritual discourse has several genres, including *bakakɨ* (mythology), *yoraɨ* (sung narrations of the origin of lineages), *ruakɨ* (songs), and the dominant *rafue,* a discourse which has power to 'evoke' things in the world (Echeverri 1997: 185).

The *ruakɨ* song genre is an inherent part of *rafue*. In fact, *rafue* consists of many genres and styles. One of them is the fascinating hunting avoidance speech style, which is a system of lexical substitution meant to 'deceive' animal spirits by avoiding the utterance of the animals' 'true' names (Wojtylak 2015). In the context of *ruakɨ*, *rafue* has a performative function as a dance ritual that takes place in a communal house.

During the dance ritual, the invited groups bring game and perform songs; the hosts 'repay' the gifts with tobacco, coca, and food.

Dance rituals have their origin in the story of creation. In Murui mythology, at the beginning of time, the cultural hero, Buinaima, distributed a yucca shrub among his sons. The yucca shrub was Buinaima's first-born daughter, and, upon being given to her brothers, she branched out and became four main dance rituals:

- *yadiko* (ritual of reproduction)

- *zɨkɨi* (ritual of dance sticks)
- *menizaɨ* (ritual of 'charapa' turtle)

- *yuakɨ* (ritual of fruits)

Each of the four rituals has its own meaning and purpose. *Yadiko* and *zɨkɨi* honour the first and the second-born sons, *menizaɨ* and *yuakɨ* celebrate the third and fourth. *Yadiko*, being the ritual of reproduction, is most secret, and has major cosmic, social, and personal implications (Gasché 2009; Urbina Rangel 1997).

Other types of Murui dance rituals include:

- *muruikɨ* (ritual of cultivated fruits)
- *eraɨ ruakɨ* (ritual of house inauguration)
- *marai* (birth ritual)
- *bai* (ritual of commemoration of eaten enemies)
- *zɨyɨko* (ritual that takes place before assembling pieces of *manguaré*)
- *ruakɨ* (ritual of inauguration of a newly made *manguaré*)
- ɨfonako (ritual to celebrate the end of a duel).

Dance rituals have their own styles and adornments. For instance, *zɨkɨi* (ritual of dance sticks) is performed with long undecorated sticks. During *menizaɨ* (ritual of 'charapa' turtle), a person's body is painted in imitation of 'charapa' turtles; throughout the ritual, those invited approach to touch a turtle shell. All dance rituals also involve a myriad of songs.

Each of the Witoto group (Murui, Mɨka, Mɨnɨka, Nɨpode) have their own dance rituals (and, therefore, inherent repertoire of songs). For instance, the Mɨka 'own' the *jaiokɨ* ritual; *muinakɨ* is of the Mɨnɨka people; the Murui 'possess' *muruikɨ*.

The distribution of 'payments' during the *muinakɨ* dance ritual
in the Mɨnɨka community of La Chorrera, Igara-Paraná, Colombia (picture by Kasia Wojtylak)

Ritual and corresponding songs can also be 'borrowed' from other (non-Witoto) groups. A case in point are the Carijona neighbors to the north, the eternal enemies of all the Witoto. *Rɨaɨ rua* or 'carnivore songs' are celebrated by Murui on occasions of joy and sorrow, such as farewells, and, nowadays, also birthdays. The Carijona dances involve a combination of songs with slow and fast rhythms.

Voices From Around The World (GSSC)
Murui Song 1

5:03

Some characteristics of Murui songs

Murui songs are characterized by frequently occurring patters. For instance, *muruikɨ* and *jaiokɨ* songs have many interjections, among others *yi, hɨi, huu,* and *haa*. Another characteristic of Murui songs is a frequent repetition of the structural elements, such as phrase, verse, and chorus. Each song also has a special formulaic ending that involves words from other languages (Witoto and non-Witoto).

Voices From Around The World (GSSC)
Murui Song 2

2:34

Voices From Around The World (GSSC)
Murui Song 3

1:32

The Manguaré Instrument

Murui dance rituals are frequently accompanied by the *manguaré* instrument, consisting of a pair of large hollowed-out wooden drums called *juai*. The 'male' drum is thinner and has a higher pitch; the 'female' drum is thicker and has a lower pitch. Through dance rituals and songs, the *manguaré* is associated with words. It is said that the souls of people, living and dead, are enclosed within the manguaré (Preuss 1921, 1923).

A pair of wooden signal drums in the Murui
community of San José, Cara-Paraná, Colombia (picture by Kasia Wojtylak)

To construct a wooden drum, the interior is burnt out through the two holes and a connecting slit. This is accompanied by the *ziyɨko* and *ruakɨ* dance rituals, with the former taking place before assembling pieces of the *manguaré*, and the latter to 'inaugurate' the newly made instrument.

Traditionally, the drums played an important role in social life. In addition to being the musical accompaniment during dance rituals, the *manguaré* was also used for announcements by means of drummed codes within the community and between distant communities (Wojtylak, 2016). The *manguaré* was used to summon kinsmen or clans, to report danger or a communal activity, and to announce a hunt, war, the arrival of an important person, a death, and suchlike.

Language preservation attempts through songs and documentation projects

The latest initiative to support the community efforts to 'revive' the interest of young Murui in their language was the The Murui Oral Literature Collection Project (funded by the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research, 2014). The project focussed on documentation of Murui songs, and involved basic training in audio-visual documentation skills. It resulted in a short documentary, *Murui Filmmakers*. *Murui Filmmakers* features an excerpt from one of the films made independently by the members of the Tercera India community, including the song *Jokozoma urue ɨnɨtaja*.

Murui Filmmakers short documentary film by Kristian Lupinski
and the Murui community of Tercera India

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Copyright, capitalism, and a postcolonial critique of Karnatic music
by Rajalakshmi Nadadur Kannan

Karnatic music, or South Indian classical music, is understood as "religious" music, deemed to be "divinely inspired," and performers are seen as embodying the divine. Because of its association with "religion," Karnatic music is generally considered a shared traditional knowledge that has historically been bequeathed from one generation to another through oral teaching. However, at the same time, Karnatic music also has a complex history with capitalism, having been constructed by bourgeois-nationalist elites in the early twentieth century from traditions that formed an inseparable part of the operation of temples and courts. This history has recently become further complicated. Some contemporary Karnatic musicians, while adhering to the beliefs of the "religious" and "divine" nature of the tradition and indeed the creativity of musicians therein, now raise concerns about protecting individual creativity and performances—specifically against unauthorized recordings of performances in concert halls and the availability of such recordings on the Internet (Paitandy 2011).

This essay explores the contradictions of this new level of interaction of Karnatic music with capitalism via copyright. Invoking Polanyian conceptions of (dis)embeddedness, I show how music was part of an embedded economy before the twentieth century and outline how Karnatic music itself is an ideological construct dating from the early twentieth-century nationalist movements in South India. I then explore how the contemporary market economy represents new forms of disembedding and, indeed, re-embedding of labor, and, using Chakrabarty's work on histories and capitalism, I look at the paradoxes and problems this produces.

Music patronage within an embedded economy

The fundamental aspect of the pre-twentieth-century embedded economy was how (what we now distinguish as) religious and secular (encompassing the political and the economic) domains were intertwined. From the fourteenth century, temples in South India served as the space where kingship was initiated, legitimized, and functioned through invocation of the divine. As a representation of the legitimacy provided by the divine to the king and his throne (Dirks 1993: 37), kings (and chieftains) performed rituals with the aid of priests, who were mostly Brahmans. Accordingly, the kings took on tutelary deities' names as titles that reiterated their position as an embodiment and representative of the divine (Sastri 1955: 266; Stein 1989: 56). The temples contributed toward their revenue system through agriculture and irrigation using land gifts received from the state. The patronage toward temple development was a strategy to cater to the agrarian economy and to transform dry zones into mixed agricultural lands (Stein 1989: 21, 25). Moreover, the food offered to the deity, called *prasadam*, was either given or sold, thus contributing to the larger revenue system (ibid: 96). While the selling of *prasadam* contributed directly to the temple revenues, a gift of *prasadam* and the right to receive it was seen as a form of honoring royal temple patrons. As Polanyi has argued, the economic activities of such an economy were based on reciprocity and redistribution (2001: 49).

Performance arts and patronage of these arts were integral to this setup and were thus deeply embedded practices that were seen to keep the sovereignty and consequently the kingdoms (or empires) intact. As a space for performance and in many cases residence for performers, patronage to the temples was patronage to the performance arts. Performances by music bands and dancing girls, known as *devadasis*, were part of daily ritual food offerings to the deity. Because the performance of the bands was part of daily worship at the temple, patronage to the temples also supported the bands. In the kingly court, *devadasis* were a part of regular performances, and *melam* (literally, orchestra) performed during special occasions and festivals. The king patronized musicians and dancers by awarding titles and giving gifts; the performers in turn exhibited their talents through performances praising the king (Radhika 1996: 211–213). The king's cordial relationships with the temples and the performers in part ensured their sovereignty. Together these three spheres represented a synergy through which each of the spheres derived power from the other.

Now, contemporary theoretical (and mundane) distinctions of the "religious" and the "political" would not allow us to identify such synergies, leading to an incomplete understanding in the nature of sovereignty in these South Indian kingdoms, where, also, kings performed the functions of the "political" but derived legitimacy from the "religious" domain in order to perform those functions. Thus, the two categories literally did not exist in such societies because their embeddedness in other social relations.

"Inventing" Karnatic music against the colonial state

By the early twentieth century, the colonial government had prohibited all court performances along with abolishing patronage in Tanjavur (Weidman 2006: 63).[1] Consequently, performers moved to the newly emerging urbanized colonial city of Madras and changed their performances to suit new audiences and performance spaces. The Madras intelligentsia, educated Brahmins and upper-class non-Brahmins, "invented" the term Karnatic music as part of early nationalist identity construction. "Karnatic music," as "Hindu" and as a "religious" art form, now emphasized distinctiveness and superiority over that of the colonizers (Subramanian 1999, 2006), having its supposed roots in the Vijayanagara Empire (historically constructed so and until today often seen as the "true" origin of Karnatic music by music historians and musicians—perhaps due to the extensive patronage music received from those kings).

More importantly for my argument, early nationalism built on a hierarchy of a superior Indian "religious" realm and an inferior Western materialistic and "secular" realm. Music belonged to the "religious" sphere, which represented "Hinduism." Reconstructing the history of Karnatic music in the early twentieth century was then a venture of local colonial elites creating a mysticized and "sacralized" view of Karnatic music, superior to European classical music. The process also involved a decisive exclusion of the *devadasis* (who performed in temples and as courtesans in wider society) as such practice conflicted with bourgeois-nationalist notions of traditional and religious "purity."

The premise of the elites' nationalist movement that constructed the musical traditions of the temples and courts in their new form was that of "protecting Indian culture." Recently, contemporary Karnatic musicians have been raising new concerns over protecting their performances in the public sphere. Albeit these now revolve around individual ownership, wishing to copyright specific renditions of particular pieces of music (composed and improvised). The emergence of mechanical reproduction and the Internet have played a significant role in this, as well as an intensifying awareness of copyright issues in India more generally in recent decades (*The Hindu* 2011). For example, in 2011, a prominent musician, T.M. Krishna, argued that recording by audience members at concerts should not be carried out without the permission of the musicians, saying a "ticket does not entitle a person to bring in his recording device" (Paitandy 2011).

This presents a paradox: the same musicians maintain that Karnatic music is traditional knowledge. So notions of individual creativity that are separate from the divine have little salience. This can be seen clearly in *guruparampara*—the tradition of oral transmission by a teacher. While music is seen as the divine, teachers are equally deified. A musician's authenticity of "devotion" displayed during concerts is dependent upon their teacher. Thus, the teacher imparts not only the art but also the spirituality; this is the same with North

Indian classical music, as Neuman has explored (1990: 43–60). Indeed, the payment of a fee to a teacher is not seen as a "wage" but rather as an appreciation for sharing his or her knowledge. Hence, a performance is a display of dialectic relationships between the musician and the divine, the musician and the teacher, the musician and the audience, and finally, the audience and the divine through the musician.

Thus, to treat a performance as an "individualized" (Foucault 1979: 153) expression of creativity (as assumed by ideas to copyright) is problematic, an ideological contradiction. To understand these issues more deeply, they must be contextualized within the broader ideological shift from an embedded economy (described above) to a market economy.

Copyrighting: Disembedding Karnatic music for a market economy

According to Polanyi, through the belief in and institutionalization of "free" market mechanisms, modern formal economics (as opposed to substantive economics) undermines the traditional forms of local social relations and transforms them into relations of production and consumption mediated by capital in global markets. This is the case with copyright laws, which treat artistic expression as an individual's creativity and as owned by the artist. Therefore, any consumption of such creativity must be compensated monetarily. Polanyi has argued that such a shift disembeds labor from its contexts and renders it individualistic (2001: 171). Such a move, he argues, came from the European Enlightenment ideas of individual freedom (141–170) and was established in other regions of the world through colonization (171). However, Karnatic music, which emerged in the latter colonial period, is performed and experienced as a collective social experience.

In this context, Chakrabarty's well-known "Two Histories of Capital" (2007: 47) is helpful to understand how copyright law decontextualizes Karnatic music from its histories by treating performances as individualistic human labor. Chakrabarty, invoking Marx, discusses the abstraction of labor brought about by modern capitalism. Accordingly, "History 1" is "a past posited by capital itself as its precondition," and the second, "Histor(ies) 2(s)," is "the past that does not belong to the capital's life process" (ibid: 63). Chakrabarty defines History 1 as the "universal history of capital" (2008: 92)—or rather, the history of capital that has been rendered universal through historicism—that abstracts labor as a function that is removed from its contexts. Thus, in accordance with Polanyi, History 1 can be seen as a definitively "modern" process of disembedding "economy" and "markets" from local traditional practices (Histor(ies) 2(s)). Accordingly, Chakrabarty argues that labor in India "often entails, through rituals big and small, the invocation of divine or superhuman presence" and that "secular histories are usually produced by ignoring the signs of these ['enchanted'] presences" (2007: 72). He thus theorizes Histor(ies) 2(s) as "numerous other tendencies in history that did not necessarily look forward to the telos of capital but could nevertheless be intimately intertwined with History 1 in such a way as to arrest the thrust of capital's universal history and help it find a local ground" (2008: 92). Thus, copyright laws are very good examples of History 1, pushing toward the disembedding of those religious and other practices and contexts of Karnatic music that have shaped its meaning as a performance art and a tradition, which can be seen as what Chakrabarty calls Histor(ies) 2(s).

Chakrabarty theorizes History 1 and Histor(ies) 2(s) not as polar opposites, because the latter constantly attempts to subvert the complete takeover of the former (2007: 66). However, the distinction between local traditions and global instrumental rationality is itself ideologically constructed, especially insofar as "local traditions" or "indigenous practices" tend to be classified as "religious" in contrast to the "secular" nature of politics and economy (Fitzgerald 2011: 9–10). The religion/secular binary is itself an integral feature of modern ideology and thus makes Chakrabarty's analytical distinction possible.

If the distinction between History 1 and Histor(ies) 2(s) is to do more than merely "map onto" the globalizing ideology of market rationality progressively replacing local superstitions, then it must come to terms with the religion/secular binary as an ideological operator (ibid: 80–81). That the possibility of the ideological contradiction between copyright laws and the traditions of Karnatic music even exists is because of, as Chakrabarty argues, the idea that economics is a secular and rational science, and therefore laws of production and consumption should disregard what is deemed to be religious practices (such as in the case of Karnatic

music). While Chakrabarty argues that there are multiple versions of History 2 that cannot be homogenized, we need to consider that even within History 1, there is a possibility for multiple secularities. It certainly is so within the context of Karnatic music. Chakrabarty refers to only one type of History 1, which is the "secular" history, to indicate the "non-religious" history. However, the latest attempts of capitalism and the labor market to monetize Karnatic music through copyright of live performances is but one of many "secularities" that Karnatic musicians negotiate.

Chakrabarty's argument on the problem of universalizing narratives of "secular" history is right, in that, as Fitzgerald points out, these narratives have created ideological contradictions among, in this case, Karnatic musicians in India. On the one hand, they understand what Karnatic music represents as a performing art, as representing their traditional cultural identity, but on the other, the laws of the market (and needs of livelihood) compel them to break with this tradition and profit from their performances. In order to make sense of how a total takeover by History 1 would transform Karnatic music, musicians must confront this disconnect. Thus, applying copyright laws to Karnatic music is problematic not (only) because Karnatic music is understood as a form of prayer but (also) because when we deconstruct the categories—Karnatic music, "religion," and "secular"—copyright laws decontextualize the expression of creativity through Karnatic music from all of these histories.

Conclusion

Attempting to situate Karnatic music in a particular, specifically capitalistic, contemporary context is problematic in many ways. The art has been transforming over decades according to historical developments and yet carries with it certain "histories" or contexts without which it loses its meaning. Arguably, it would acquire a new meaning; yet, that meaning would be within the framework of a "secular" capitalist economy that, even if it does not give a new meaning to Karnatic music, would ignore the contexts within which Karnatic music emerged. Thus, while historically music was embedded in collective social relations (even after reform in the late colonial period under a society transformed considerably by capitalism), copyright law is attempting to decontexualize music from its histories and to render it a creative expression of art that can be owned by individuals, as in the case of the right to private property. Paradoxically, within this market economy, Karnatic music is embedded with a newer social context in which commodification of music as a property and as a form of human labor takes precedence.

In describing these ideological shifts, I want to draw attention to certain patterns in the historical developments surrounding Karnatic music: a) while constructing Karnatic music from the temple and court nexus, music was disembedded from its then traditions and histories resulting in caste-based and class-based ownership of music; b) contemporary musicians are engaging in a different kind of disembedding and disembodiment by attempting to copyright Karnatic music; c) while doing so, musicians are themselves becoming new ideological agents or operators much like the Indian nationalists; d) while musicians want to copyright Karnatic music, they also want to adhere to the traditions that were put in place during the early twentieth century, signaling a paradox; e) finally, this shift, from one type of economy to a market economy, is wrought with complexities and contradictions, which if not addressed by the musicians, will only problematize how performance arts are learned, performed, and experienced.

Dr Rajalakshmi Nadadur Kannan graduated from the University of Stirling with a PhD in Religious Studies in 2014 and is currently on the Critical Religion Association staff. Her forthcoming publication is an article on gender violence and religion in India in *Sikh Formations.*

Footnote

1. The postcolonial state abolished princely states in 1952 (Qureshi 2006: 312).

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- See more at: http://www.focaalblog.com/2015/04/16/rajalakshmi-nadadur-kannan-copyright-capitalism-and-a-postcolonial-critique-of-karnatic-music/#sthash.RuvQKQtQ.dpuf

The culture of migration –
parallels between urban architecture and rock music in Cape Verde
by Martin Ringsmut

The Cape Verdean islands are an archipelago in the middle of the Atlantic, some 450 kilometres away from Africa's western coast, next to Senegal. Since its colonization by the Portuguese in the 15th century, Cape Verde's transnational ties and its dependence on the outside world have been a constant in the nation's history. Today, more than half of all Cape Verdeans live in the diaspora (Sieber 2005).
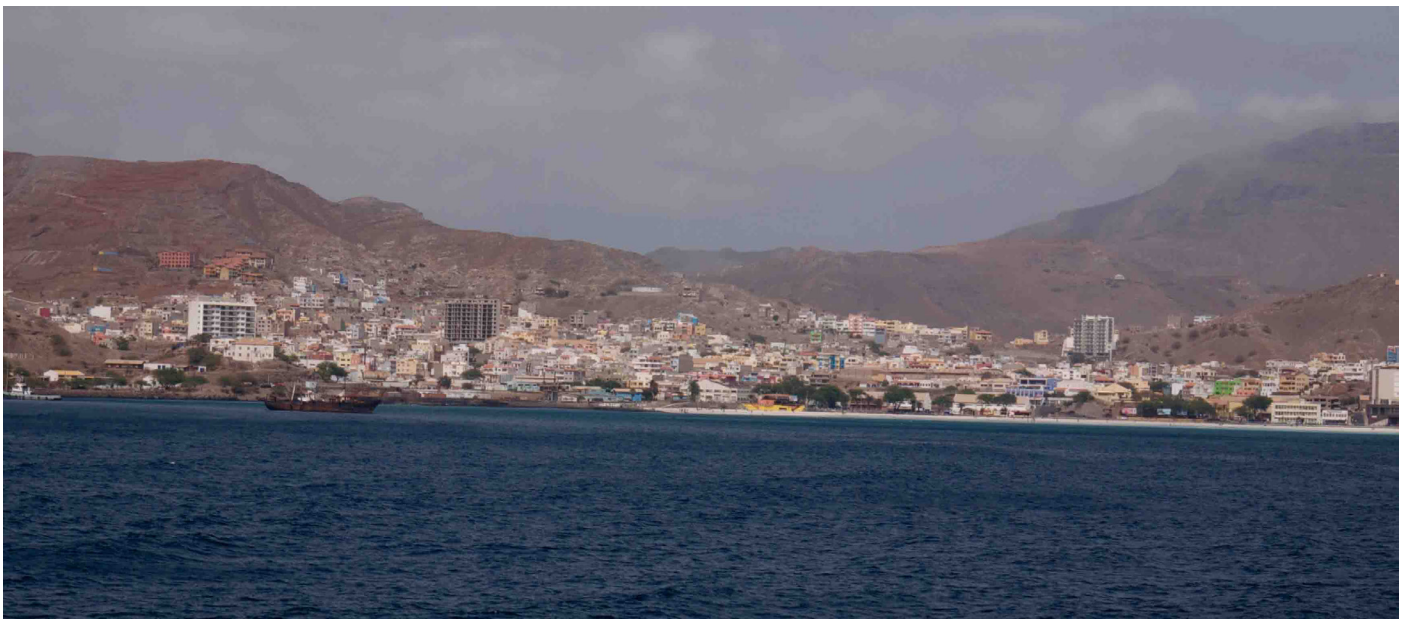
On the island of São Vicente, where I conducted fieldwork in 2015 and 2016, migration was concentrated on European countries such as the Netherlands, France or Portugal and on the USA (Carling 2003: 2). Lisa Åkesson argues that this culture of migration has been a deeply integrated trope in Cape Verdean everyday life (2004:14). Quoting one of her informants – "you work hard abroad, you build a nice house in Cape Verde, you come home, and then you live the good life." (ibid:87) – Åkesson highlights the importance of migration in junction with achieving financial security and the subsequent building of one's own house as cornerstones of a desirable life trajectory in the Cape Verdean imagination. In this short article, I want to present some interesting parallels between Cape Verdean urban architecture and the production of rock and metal music in the archipelago, both shaped by Cape Verde's culture of migration.

The unfinished faces of Mindelo

Established as a port city in 1838, Mindelo is the urban centre of the northern Cape Verdean islands, and home to over 70,000 people. With a few exceptions, such as the city centre between Praça Nova and Praça Estrela, where many old and magnificent buildings are reminders of colonial times, the city's overall face is in a constant flux. As Lisa Åkesson writes, in Cape Verdean society the building of a house fosters one's respectability and social autonomy, as the owner of a house is usually also the head of the household or *kaza*. Trust in banks and loans is notably low on the islands. Therefore, many Cape Verdeans see migration and working abroad as a precondition for building a house and setting up one's own domestic unit in the islands (ibid:128-130). Strolling through the city, one encounters buildings that are essentially works in progress. Houses appear in all possible states between bare brickwork and fully painted multi-storied buildings.

The progress of construction depends on the resources provided by the migrant builders, who either periodically send money from abroad to further the construction or return to the islands and work on the construction site during their vacations. Both practices establish the house as a transnational tie between the diaspora and the homeland. Building a house is a process which often lasts for years. Many Cape Verdeans are therefore living in transitional buildings.

During my stays in Mindelo, I also noticed that buildings which I had thought to be finished had once again turned into construction sites as the owners decided to add an additional level to the houses. In other cases, buildings remain carcasses when financial resources in the diaspora run dry. Building a house in Cape Verde is a process divided into several construction phases, interrupted by phases of inactivity. Under these conditions, houses are evaluated as "representational spaces" (Lefebvre 1991:33) of the diaspora's well-being, and – depending on the construction progress – reaffirm or challenge the Cape Verdean culture of migration on the islands.

Architectures of Cape Verdean rock

Following Bennett and Peterson's concepts of local and translocal scenes (2004:6-12), one might argue that the Cape Verdean rock music scene is in fact a translocal scene due to its strong ties and dependence on the diaspora, with many of its main actors living at least temporarily abroad. Interestingly, this does not seem to be the case. Although tied to comparably highly mobile actors with access to the Internet and digital recording technologies, Cape Verde's rock and metal scene is solely realized on the islands themselves. I argue that playing concerts and recording an album, like building a house, are laden with social prestige, and manifest the band's otherwise "invisible" musical activities, such as composing and rehearsing songs. Like the construction process, the "life" of the Cape Verdean rock music scene is divided into several time periods, which are influenced by the migrational patterns of its actors.
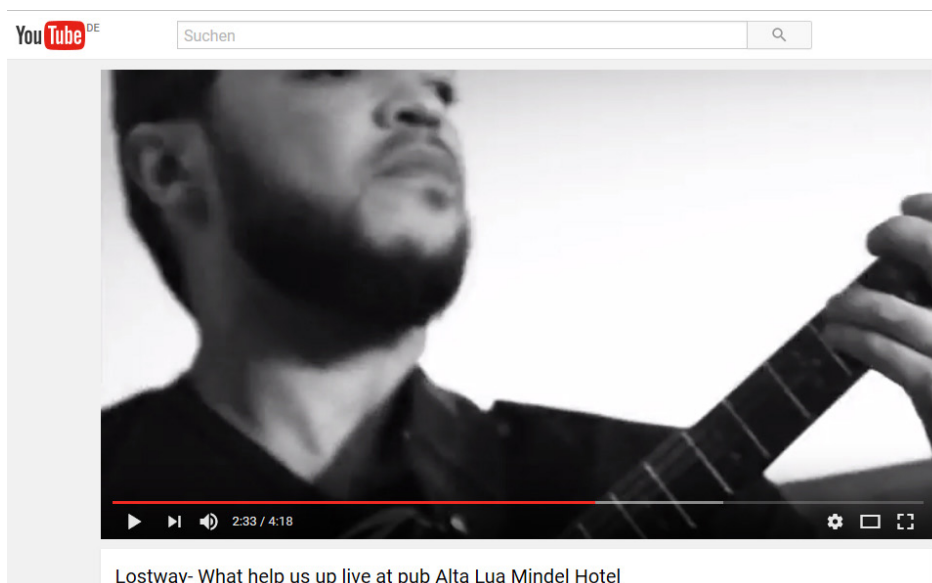
On my second night in Mindelo, I met Spenk – a walking encyclopaedia of metal music and the history of rock in Cape Verde. He is also a member of the iconic rock band *Freak*. Founded in 1996 by Djodje (bass), Mário (guitar), Bicho (drums) and Spenk (guitar), Freak is acknowledged as the first Cape Verdean metal band playing original songs. Spenk and Mário describe their musical style as Grunge. Their lyrics, sung in English, deal with themes such as rejection, love, hurt, and personal growth. They played several concerts on the islands, including two gigs at Cape Verde's largest music festival at Baia das Gatas, which were broadcast on national TV and in turn raised the band's prestige.

FREAK ao vivo na Baia das Gatas 1999 - Human Seek / I don´t know

Link to video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2GcU-_e8YFA

Until 2003, the band's line up had changed several times, and Bilan (bass) and Quizinho (drums) were part of the band's last lineup before they went on a hiatus that lasted until 2010, and then again went on hiatus in 2012. In the meantime, Mário studied Jazz in Portugal and made a living as a musician before meeting his future wife and returning to Mindelo and the band. Bilan also worked as a musician in Portugal, playing traditional Cape Verdean music as well as pop and jazz music. In 2016, Bilan returned to the island for a vacation, which in turn lead to *Freak* reuniting for a show. The other members, who live permanently on the island, are acknowledged as musicians and partake in the overall cultural life. Even in times of inactivity, the scene is kept alive in the Mindelense imagination, which shows in the rather large numbers of fans that attend the rare concerts.

Lostway- What help us up live at pub Alta Lua Mindel Hotel

Link to video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNTQeOoRAUE

Mário's second band, *Lostway,* started off highly ambitiously in 2012, playing at the newly installed Grito Rock festival in the capital, Praia, on Santiago, and recorded a live session with the intention of releasing a music video. Lacking the financial means to finalize the recordings, the band's first release is still awaiting completion. In fact, none of the Cape Verdean metal bands from São Vicente or Santiago have yet released an "official" recording. YouTube videos and song fragments uploaded on platforms such as Soundcloud represent sonic equivalents of the transitional buildings that constitute the face of the city. With no other physical manifestations of the scene, concerts are the only occasions on which rock and metal music is shared by a group of like-minded people.

Link to Soundcloud: https://soundcloud.com/helder-dias-4/welcome-1

As Jacqueline Silva, manager at the Cape Verdean music label *Harmonia,* states: "The market on the island is too small to make a living. It is hard as musician to make some money. You have to get big outside to make a living." Mário expressed his frustration with the Cape Verdean music market by stating "if you are not recognized abroad, nobody cares for you here". He also considered leaving for the USA to try to make his life there, but with today's immigration politics, the chances of him succeeding are rather small.

The last example is a younger band from Mindelo called *Krad*. Describing their style as metal and post-grunge, their songs employ growls and highly distorted guitar sounds. Founded by Enaldo and Danilo, the band was later joined by Valter (guitar), Airton (drums) and Marino (bass). They played at both big festivals, Baia das Gatas and Grito Rock, and began recording their first EP in 2014. In the meantime, Danilo went to the Netherlands for one year, which put the band on hiatus. I visited the band during their recording session in a friend's home in 2016 when Danilo told me that they had to rearrange and change some songs because Enaldo was going to leave for Portugal.

Grito Rock Praia 2014 Krad-Behind the Laws

Link to video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EVSxGXwLZH8

However, up until 2017, Enaldo and Mário did not migrate, and stayed in Mindelo. Nevertheless, the Cape Verdean culture of migration significantly impacted their bands, their social lives, and their creative output.

Conclusion: Culture on hold

Understanding music scenes as centred around collective cultural activities, one might think of the rock scene in Mindelo as existing mainly in hibernation – with a few waking moments in which cultural production is pushed forward. The sonic landscape of Cape Verdean rock is made up of "works in progress". Concerts at Baia das Gatas and Grito Rock, videos, and song snippets account for the work and dedication already put into the scene while at the same time raising hopes for "official" releases in the future.

The dream of recording an album (or a smaller format) resembles the dream of building one's own house: both promise a higher social status, by either raising the subjects' domestic autonomy or by enlarging their audiences and possible markets. Also, both the metal and rock scene and house construction are realized in between periods of inactivity due to Cape Verde's dependency on the outside world.

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Caribbean Music: An Open Specificity

by Carlos Cubero (Tallinn University)

Abstract

This article examines the relationship between musical practices and discourses and island identities in the Caribbean context. I wish to challenge Caribbeanist musicological research that emphasises the structural features of Caribbean music and identity, by creating an isomorphism between musical genres and island musics (e.g. Cuba is to salsa as Jamaica is to reggae). A side effect of this relation is that it takes either musical genres or island identities for granted, resulting in a static picture of either category. In this article, I propose the notion of *transinsularism* as a methodology and language with which to discuss the mutually informing process of music and island identity as consistently evolving and practice-based, rather than static and discursive.

The article is based on long-term fieldwork on the Caribbean island of Culebra, in the north-eastern Caribbean. The ethnographic material that I present in this article will show how the musicianship of Culebran musicians is informed by practices of travel and interaction with multiple discursive spaces of the Caribbean. Culebran music is informed by the musical practices of the English, French, and Spanish Caribbean. These interactions, appropriations, and iterations result in fluid musical conventions that are continously being reinvented in relation and opposition to different island locations. These instances illustrate and inform an island identity that is not static or isolatory, but mobile and interactive. My concept of transinsularism is a proposal to address the complexities of these processes in ways that do not limit the capacity of musicians or islanders to be mobile and interactive in the process of constructing a specific island identity discourse.

*This article is based on extracts from the upcoming book: <u>Caribbean Island Movements: Culebra's Trans-insularities,</u> to be released in November 2017 by Rowman and Littlefield International Limited.

Caribbean Music: An Open Specificity

Culebra is located in the north-eastern Caribbean, within the archipelago of the Virgin Islands. In juridical terms, Culebra is an offshore municipality of Puerto Rico. In ethnographic terms, the Culebra island experience is informed by a complex network of relations that include the Spanish-, English-, and French-speaking Caribbean. Local musicians draw from their experiences of this network in the process of crafting a specific

island music. This presents *Culebrense* music with a double condition of being simultaneously networked and specific. The networked quality of Culebra's island music is illustrative of the way in which the island's open-ended quality transcends colonial histories and offers an alternative to the isomorphism between island, colonial history, and musical practises. However, the networked, and otherwise mobile, characteristic of Culebran music does not result in island musicians failing to produce a sense of uniqueness, nor does it suggest that Culebra's music does not have a specific identity or tone to it. What I have found in the process of carrying out my fieldwork amongst Culebran musicians is that the process of making music in the Caribbean is not limited by colonial narratives, which fragment the region into discrete island music units such as French, Spanish, English, and Dutch. Rather, Culebran musicians produce a unique sense of island music identity in relation to their neighbouring island spaces. This results in a music that simultaneously is networked, references multiple locations, and yet is unique. I call this *trans-insular tension.*

This paper concerns itself with the ways in which transinsular movements inform musical practises and discourses of the Caribbean island of Culebra. My take on transinsularism is methodologically inspired by transnationalist discourse in the sense that it recognises the reciprocal relations that inform multiple locations (Glick-Schiller et al. 2005). Transinsularism also acknowledges the ways in which islands retain and develop their specificity in relation to other sites, rather than assimilate, collapse into, or otherwise fold into a single entity with its relational locations. Transinsularism is an attempt to make a positive case for the creative potential of Caribbean island experiences on their own terms.

Transinsularism is a critique of the terms used to describe the Caribbean experience. I argue that traditional Caribbeanist concepts such as creolisation and the plantation have tended to present an inconsistent picture of the Caribbean, which alternates between the romantic and the victimised, or the attractive and the repulsive (see Lowenthal 2007 and Sheller 2003). For example, the way the concept of Caribbean creolisation has historically been used in Caribbeanist research suggests a move towards archipelagic homogenisation, and yet it is also used to describe island specificities. To what degree, then, can a singular concept of creolisation account for a homogenising, conservative, and traditionalist view of pan-Caribbean culture at the same time as explaining a revolutionary, island-specific, and newly emerging plural voice of the archipelago? In a similar vein, was the slave plantation a site of imperialist insularisation, the laboratory where racial imaginaries were invented and enacted, or was it an open site of creolisation, resistance, and creativity? On what grounds could Caribbeanist researchers make the case for island specificity and argue for pan-Caribbean creolisation? Or argue for Pan-Caribbean solidiarity and maintain markers of regional difference based on imperial legacies? I suggest that at the heart of this paradox, and its consequent confusion, is a logic that understands mobility and insularity as opposing forces in the constitution of a place-based political programme. As an alternative, I propose a narrative that understands the tension generated by mobility and insularity as constitutive of Caribbean island life. Transinsularism, I suggest, allows researchers to think of the Caribbean more in terms of an archipelagic, rather than insular, experience; of island spaces as inherently connected, rather than isolated.

I will expand on this tension as it expresses itself in contemporary musical practices on Culebra with an eye on one music group, La Wiki Sound. *Culebrense* musicians continuously draw on musical resources from various island locations and their respective transnational networks when composing and performing their island music. I will contextualise the musical process of Culebra in relation to narratives of other island musics of the Caribbean in order to argue that movement and its concomitant hybridisation is a consistent driving force in the constitution of musical identities throughout the region. The music produced in Culebra is yet to be fixed, named, or enclosed as "Culebran music" by the academic, political, or musical establishment. The lack of fixation of a distinct Culebran sound or naming of Culebran music is primarily due to an absence of a capitalist music infrastructure and network that is interested in exploiting Culebra's musical potential, and because of Culebra's marginal location within the national musical identity process of Puerto Rico.

Sounds of Culebra: La Wiki Sound

Julio Enrique "Wiki" Munet and his brother Rubén Munet got together with Jorge Acevedo, a local artist who had been living on the island since the late 1990s, to form La Wiki Sound. Wiki and Rubén were part of the percussion section of the well known La Sonora Culebrense during the orchestra's busiest time in the mid-1980s. Jorge Acevedo learned to play the congas with various people but claims to have learned most of his skills in an Afro-Puerto Rican percussion workshop run by the Ayala Family in the town of Loíza, Puerto Rico. The three of them got together in the year 2000 to create an all-percussion ensemble.

Jorge was familiar with the basic beats associated with the Afro-Puerto Rican genre such as bomba, plena, salsa, cumbia, guaguancó. He approached Wiki, who was rehearsing with the short-lived Culebra Tropical Swing, to ask Wiki if he could teach him how to play the West Indian calypso beat on congas. Later, Jorge and Wiki would meet occasionally to play for pleasure. They were joined by Rubén, who owned an electronic drum machine, and began playing as La Wiki Sound Machine. Rubén would programme the drum machine to following specific structured beats that would keep Wiki and Jorge in time as they played variations and improvisations over the beats. During a presentation at a bar, a *culebrense*, who was annoyed that they were using a drum machine, disconnected the apparatus so as to taunt the musicians . To their own surprise, the absence of the drum machine did not affect their playing, nor did it affect the necessary communication between the drummers. Jorge says that the disconnection of the drum machine had a positive effect for them because it obliged them to play while listening to each other, and it culminated the process of making La Wiki Sound fully acoustic, which is what they had been striving for in the first place.

The music that La Wiki Sound play is a constant negotiation between structure and improvisation. Jorge commands four differently pitched congas, one of which he shares with Wiki, to provide the basic rhythm of the piece. Wiki uses the highest-pitched conga in order to produce "the voice" of the piece, "the voice that flutters over the basic rhythm" (J. Acevedo interview in film "Mangrove Music"). Rubén traded the electronic drum machine for percussion accessories such as a scraper and cowbells. The three musicians complement each other in a tension between keeping the assigned beat and improvising in distinction and in relation to each other.

The types of beats La Wiki Sound play have historical precedents in salsa, guaguancó, merengue, plena, bomba, samba, calypso, soca, and others rhythms that require a specific metre and beat, which are reproduced through traditions of music playing and a documented recording history. Rubén explained to me that their basic method of composition begins with attempts to cover their favourite beats. They will discuss the beat shortly before a presentation, attempt it, and improvise over it during the presentation. Given that they do not rehearse, each presentation that they give is an attempt to build on the rhythmic patterns they worked on during their previous presentation. They will repeat certain motifs if they decide they work, but La Wiki Sound are always looking for new ways to experiment and build on established rhythms.

La Wiki Sound claim to be original in two ways. First, their originality stems from their combination of pan-Caribbean rhythms, which suggests a non-nationalist or pan-Caribbean musical conversation. According to Rubén, their knowledge of West Indian rhythms such as calypso and soca and Latin American rhythms such as salsa, plena, bomba, and samba makes their musicianship innovative and unique amongst percussion players in Puerto Rico. Second, the constant negotiation between structure and improvisation at times blurs the distinction between the rhythms as they attempt to reconcile and negotiate them. Musically, their performances consists of working in and around the differences between the rhythms, providing smooth transitions from one beat to the next and making necessary adjustments as the piece proceeds. According to Rubén, this gives La Wiki Sound a unique and distinct sound that is not reproduced elsewhere. Another aspect of La Wiki Sound's sense of originality is Wiki's performative and technical skill on the congas. Wiki's showmanship adds another dimension to the presentation, making the presentation enjoyable regardless of the listeners' previous knowledge of the musical concepts they are negotiating with reference to.

The popular and musical success of La Wiki Sound functions around their improvisation over recognisable beats and because of the affective qualities that their percussion music has on its listeners. Percussion music has an inviting quality to it. La Wiki Sound play in relation to their audience. They speed up, slow down, and change beat according to the general vibe of the room and the dancers they are playing to. Dancers often clap along and try to improvise lyrics alongside the percussionists. However, I have observed how La Wiki Sound get annoyed at people trying to join them and improvise with them. Rubén Munet explained to me that he understands why people would like to join them, because the kind of music they play is associated with communal participation in an improvised manner. However, the three men have been playing together for so long that they have shaped a specific way of playing that is difficult for people who do not share their experience to join in and keep up with. Also, the pieces that they play have set arrangements which a person who doesn't know the song will not be able to follow.

After years of playing together consistently, La Wiki Sound have composed original pieces. These compositions do not necessarily imply the invention of new beats or rhythms. The music they play every Saturday is, according to the musicians, the product of organised composition that was authored by La Wiki Sound. The way La Wiki Sound play their percussion music and the way they organise their plans as a band are suggestive of discourses and practices of both mobility and insularity. Their songs follow a repetitive pattern, given that they strive to keep within the confines of prescribed rhythms. However, they claim to break away from prescribed rhythms through the process of improvisation and radical changes of speed and pattern within the same song. Also, their intention to professionalise themselves, through logos on their shirts and on their CDs, business cards, and uniforms suggests a nascent insularity in their intentions to become a music group from Culebra. However, they do not seem to have any specific plan as to how to achieve professional status and be able to make more money from their art. They have no plans to organise a tour, nor have they contacted any elements of the media, and they seem wary of promoting themselves gratuitously. They are selective about the gigs they accept, and take pride in the way in which they are treated by the venue that hires them.

As of 2017, La Wiki Sound have been playing every week, for over 15 years, to a full audience at a local bar in Culebra, and have done a few presentations in Puerto Rico. They have recorded two live CDs, using Jorge's personal computer as a recorder and CD burner, and are selling them from Jorge's shop. They have been approached by Puerto Rican television producers for short presentations on Puerto Rico national television, but such presentations have not panned out. In the meantime, the group continue to play every week at the bar and in public events they are called to. The most lucrative contracts have come from tourists passing through the island that become interested in the group and hire them for special events in Puerto Rico. During my most recent visits to Culebra, I did not get a sense that La Wiki Sound were particularly interested in developing a musical career. The three members work in different capacities, travel often, and I get the impression that they just enjoy playing with each other, always trying to figure out new directions for the group.

For a clip of La Wiki Sound visit: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wt_ef9ppZzQ

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"Everything has to be mbalaxed!" (Panzachhi,1994: 202)
The development of a Senegalese Popular music.

If one thinks of the West African country of Senegal, one does not necessarily imagine hearing Afro-Cuban music. A few decades ago, especially from the 1940s until the 1960s, music from Cuba and south America was ubiquitous in Senegal, especially in the capital Dakar. Mbalax, the musical genre to be focused upon in this essay, would be hard to imagine without any Afro-Cuban influence. But how did it change from a straightforward adaptation of Afro-Cuban music into a "re-Africanized" musical genre?

Dakar – a hybrid place

The capital of Senegal, Dakar, is one of the most important harbor cities in western Africa.
Dakar has also evolved into the political and cultural center of Senegal since the first decades of the 20th Century, and has *"always been a hybrid place, where African interact with European"* (Brunner, 2010: 11).
At that time, one would listen to what was currently modern in Europe (especially in France, which has been the colonial power of Senegal) and that was mainly Afro-Cuban music, for example Salsa or Cuban Son (ibid: 35).
The first records with Cuban Music arrived in Dakar sometime around the 1920s. They were brought mostly by sailors and marines (ibid: 36). The Cuban Son El Manicero, for example, enjoyed a tremendous popularity, and not only in Cuba (ibid). The success of this Son led the record company *HMV* to produce and sell a whole series of Latin American and primarily Cuban Music in Senegal (ibid). Also, one could listen to Cuban Sounds on the radio programs broadcast by the French colonial power (ibid: 38).

Cuban Sounds in Dakar

One reason why the music of the distant Caribbean island of Cuba was so popular in Senegal was that this music more than any other (especially the rhythm) was often perceived as *"[…] something vaguely African"* (ibid: 36)*.* This is hardly surprising, since most of the music was strongly influenced by slaves who had been dragged from Africa to Cuba. Cuban music gained in popularity until the late 1950s, and gradually became the *"modern music of choice for many Senegalese"* (Brunner, 2010: 39).
Senegalese Bands initially adapted the sound of Latin American and Cuban Bands. They even sang in Spanish, even though they often did not speak that language (Stapleton and May, 1987: 116). A prominent example is *Laba Sosseh* who sang numerous Cuban Sons, including the above-mentioned Son hit <u>*El Manicero*</u> or <u>*Guantanamo,*</u> a song about the corresponding Cuban province in the east of the island. But Youssou N'Dour, too, sang in Spanish at the beginning of his career and adapted Afro-Cuban sounds (Panzachhi, 1996: 65). Many artists learned Spanish and the Son or Salsa songs only by ear (Brunner, 2010: 55).

"Re-senegalization" of the music

Not until the early 1970s, so ten years after the declaration of Independence of Senegal from France, did the often quoted "senegalization" of popular music begin (ibid: 35). Increasingly, the audience in the Dance clubs in Dakar agreed that the bands did not compose sufficiently "Senegalese" music, but only adapted Latin-American and Cuban sounds (ibid). This change of perception of many Senegalese is probably related to the political process of Independence of Senegal. Furthermore, this was surely a music oriented toward the European taste, and therefore was considered a sound for more prosperous Senegalese people. As a result of the cultural changes around 1966, there was a need for Senegalese people to return to their own traditions and no longer to continue to reproduce an imported, merely appropriated culture (Stapleton et al., 1987: 116). At first, the musical styles were still oriented toward Cuban and Latin American musical genres, but Wolof was subsequently established as a song language (Brunner, 2010: 54). The Wolof are the largest ethnic group in Senegal, and Wolof is also considered a national language (Becher,2010: 10 et seq.). The well-known Band Orchestre du Baobab was one of the first Bands that would still compose in a very Cuban way, but started to sing in Wolof. A few years later, Star Band de Dakar, featuring Youssou N'Dour, took another musical step towards "Senegalization": They signed a Tama Player who played some solos, but was initially mainly used in the background (Brunner, 2010: 71). Also, many Bands felt back on old griot traditions. The singer Youssou N'Dour, for example, calls himself a *"modern griot"* (Taylor, 1997: 131). A griot is best known as an artist of the spoken word, serving as an oral historian, genealogist, storyteller, and praise singer, mostly found in West African Countries (Tang, 2007: 1 et seq.). For many Senegalese, these (new) aspects represented a decisive step in the development of Mbalax, if not announcing the hour of its birth (Brunner,2010: 72).

"This mix gives a special music that is not like any other, but certainly African and Senegalese" (Panzachhi, 1996: 56). This is mainly due to the use of the the Tama, which is a small double-headed so-called "talking drum" (Tang, 2007: 180).

Youssou N'Dour – "King of Mbalax"?

The already mentioned Star Band de Dakar, whose singer was the later world star Youssou N'Dour, quickly made Mbalax popular in the capital.
This well-known singer, often referred to as "King of the Mbalax" (Brunner, 2010: 70), is not only the most popular representative of the genre but also one of the most important for its development and establishment. He grew up in one of the poorer quarters in Dakar and, as his mother was a griotte, he was socialized early on with traditional sounds and music traditions (Stapleton et al., 1987: 56). Thus, it is obvious that N'Dour wanted to establish a new kind of popular music, which would integrate native and traditional musical elements as well as local languages like Wolof (Tayler, 1997: 127). This was not only important because most of the musicians probably did not speak any Spanish, but also, and above all, because Wolof allowed the musicians to make a musical impact on political circumstances in Senegal and to make them, through the music, accessible and comprehensible to a broader public. Henceforth, the musicians could also communicate with the audience about socially relevant problems. This at first glance inconspicuous aspect of the music certainly led to a new and open view of the Senegalese audience's own culture (Panzzachi, 1996: 58). The Senegalese diplomat Abdoulaye Kebe said of this:

"People went mad when they heard it. Before that, bandleaders used to despise griots and players of traditional instruments" (Stapleton et al., 1987: 117). The subtle use of traditional Instruments quickly found enthusiasm and inspiration.

It is also thanks to Ibra Kasse, the owner of the important and famous club for mbalax called the Miami Club, that such innovations were promoted and that there existed some platforms for such bands which could spread this musical genre (ibid.). Many of those bands, Orchestre Baobab or Xalam for example, experimented with the mix of Afro-Cuban and traditional Senegalese rhythms and instruments (Tenaille, 2002: 229). Some initially failed to successfully incorporate those two musical cultures (Brunner, 2010: 58). However, in some cases it took some time until this reverberation and use of traditional instruments came to harshness, while on the other hand some bands undertook "re-senegaliza-

tion" too quickly and intensively.

The already mentioned Star Band de Dakar, with Youssou N'Dour's concise singing, probably succeeded the most with this return to traditional elements. The further development and establishment of Mbalax, which means *"the rhythm of the drum"* (Panzachhi, 1996: 129) in Wolof, brought Youssou N'Dour to international attention and popularized the new music from Dakar in the West. It is not exactly clear which rhythm is explicitly meant. N'Dour even claimed to have established the word *Mbalax* himself:

"I took the word mbalax because it's a beautiful and original word, it's a purely Wolof word and I wanted to show that I had the courage to play purely Senegalese music" (Duran, 1989: 277). However, it is difficult to reconstruct exactly when this music came to be called Mbalax (Brunner, 2010: 104).

The establishment of a new popular music

Nonetheless, N'Dour and his Star Band de Dakar are often credited with having created and constituted a new genre of music through the successive reconsideration of local (Wolof) rhythms.

An important aspect of this "re-senegalization" was surely the introduction of the Tama, as well as the detachment of this "talking drum" from the rhythm section to become a virtuoso leading instrument, which became a characteristic of Mbalax (Stapleton et al., 1987: 117). Mbalax "[…] *is the rhythm that the Wolof feel and love the most, above all it's the rhythm of the griots*" (Duran,1989: 277).

Youssou N'Dour also added modern instruments such as the electric guitar to his sound.

It is an interesting fact that the Kora, on the other hand, is rarely used in Mbalax music. The Kora is a 21-string West African harp. It dates from at least the 18th century and is today mainly known in the Gambia, Senegal, Guinea, and Mali (Knight,2016 [online] retrieved from https://mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg15595&v=1.0&rs=mgg15595).

N'Dour believes that many of the old traditional instruments like the west African Mandinka harp, the Kora, are restricted in their sound (Stapleton et al. 1987: 120).

By using modern instruments, Mbalax received the progressive image and sound we know today. Certainly also for this reason the audience grew continuously, and not only in Senegal.

Internationally, listeners and artists were also increasingly attentive to this Senegalese popular music and in particular to Youssou N'Dour. This led to collaborations with famous, Western artists like Paul Simon and Peter Gabriel, with whom he went on tour (Tenaille, 2002: 231). Especially the tour with the latter in 1987, turned out to be a complete success (Stapleton et al., 1987: 122). N'Dour`s album *the Guide* from 1994 even received a Grammy, and probably no other artist so embodies the rhythmic energy which comes through Mbalax music (Sadie, 2001:200).

Nowadays, Mbalax seems to have established itself. Especially thanks to Youssou N'Dour and his international success, it still exhilarates a broad audience – even if the "Senerapper" Simon Bisbiclan disagrees with this and provocatively declares Mbalax dead in his song *Mbalax Déna*.

The music producer Mark Ernestus disagrees with this, and said in an interview in the German newspaper *TAZ*:
 "Senegalese hip hop is certainly popular with people under 25, but across the society with all age groups, I think Mbalax is still the most widespread" (Weber, 2013. "Musikalisch auf einen Nenner" [online] retrieved from http://taz.de/Mark-Ernestus-ueber-den-Senegal-Sound/!117904/ [24.03.2017]).

Mbalax (and above all Youssou N'Dour) still plays a significant role in Senegal, as attested to by the abundance of current Mbalax music videos one can find in diverse video-sharing websites on the Internet. Simultaneously, a dance has been established to this music called "Ndaga" (Stapleton et al., 1987: 120). In addition, the style is constantly evolving, combined with new styles and changed by younger artists. An example of this is the song *Samba Mbalax* by the Senegalese singer Adiouza. In this song, as the title already suggests, Brazilian samba is mixed with the Senegalese Mbalax music.

So this Senegalese pop music, called Mbalax, has developed from a purely adaptive (Afro-Latin) style into an independent, innovative, and distinctive musical genre (Mbalax). And this Senegalese pop music genre can hardly be described more precisely than by the "King of the Mbalax" himself:

"You'll never hear a sound like Mbalax" (ibid: 121).

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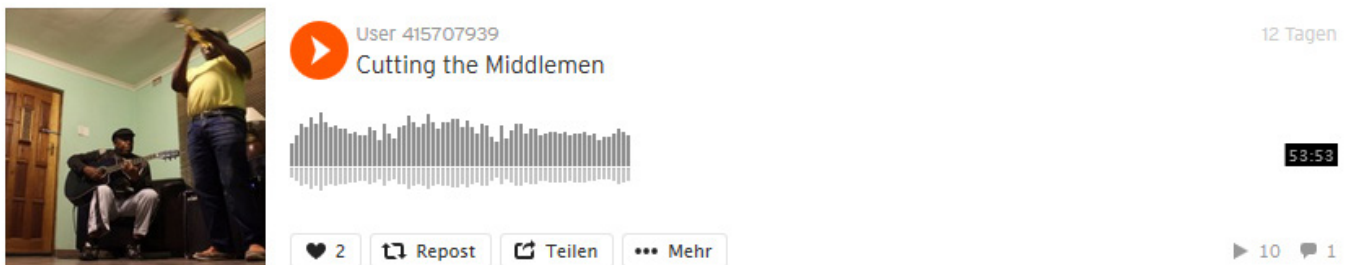
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Cutting The Middlemen
by Sylvie St-Jacques

South Africa maintains a long and respected music tradition, from the jazz of Sophiatown, to the protest songs of the Apartheid and the political sound of Johnny Clegg and Juluka. Yet, in a country that gave birth to outstanding musicians like Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim, The Soil, and Die Antwoord, it has become increasingly difficult for South African artists to reach their listeners, both at home and internationally. The domination of American mainstream music, with a push by giants like iTunes and Spotify, along with a lack of music venues are amongst the reasons why many South African artists are talking about "cutting out the middlemen." In this podcast, we meet some Capetonian musicians and actors of the industry who tell us about new and inventive ways to broadcast music in South Africa.

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## "Every day I'm hustlin'": Rap music as street capitalism
by David Diallo

In a 2004 article, rap scholar Mickey Hess remarked, "Making money is a legitimate goal for rappers, and one that is stated outright in lyrics" (635). Rap musicians, it is true, very often display a capitalistic frame of mind in their performance. They consistently refer to money—more specifically, to making money through entrepreneurial activities—and generally draw on a semantic field of capitalism. For example, EP-MD—a rap group whose moniker stands for Eric and Parish Making Dollars and who released the albums *Strictly Business* (1988), *Unfinished Business* (1989), *Business as Usual* (1990), *Business Never Personal* (1992), *Back in Business* (1997), *Out of Business* (1999), and *We Mean Business* (2008)—clearly favored a business-oriented and capitalist discourse. Record labels like Cash Money in New Orleans and Jay-Z's Roc-A-Fella, whose name explicitly references the capitalist heights rappers seek to climb, similarly point to this inclination. Whether they do it through their aliases or in their lyrics, rap musicians brazenly display a capitalist frame of mind and repeatedly brag about their enterprises, whether legitimate (like outstanding record sales) or criminal (particularly, accomplishments in the underground economy of the "hustle").

Although the capitalist logic of bragging about sales is quite obvious, since selling records is a legitimate business, rapping about pushing drugs or pimping has not commonly been associated with capitalism as it is generally acknowledged. Yet a growing body of work has addressed the interdependencies of legal and illegal economies and has convincingly shown how some informal economies are very much a part of capitalism (Nordstrom 2007). For example, and as sociologist and urban ethnographer Sudhir Venkatesh demonstrates, drug trafficking and prostitution belong to what he calls "outlaw capitalism," an underground capitalist economy that has been reconstructed hyperbolically, in rhymes and in rhythm, in the lyrics of rap emcees (2008: 37–38).

This underground economy of black ghettoes, also called "shadow" or "informal," has been documented in several works of the past thirty years. In the 1990s, sociologist William Julius Wilson published authoritative books and articles on the theory of the urban poor as an "underclass." He argued, along with sociologists like Loïc Wacquant, Elijah Anderson, and Lawrence M. Mead, that the ghetto underclass was a separate social stratum that had developed into a group isolated from the rest of society (Wilson 1993). In the wake of their findings, several sociologists conducted detailed ethnographic research on the economic activities that characterized this group. Wacquant (1993), Philippe Bourgois (1993), Mitchell Duneier (1999), Anderson (1999) and, more recently, Venkatesh (2006; 2008) each published highly documented studies on this field of illegal activities that commonly requires a particular type of symbolic capital in order to generate immediate financial gain.

Wacquant uses the term "hustle" to refer to these mutually dependent activities. This term, in African-American ghetto vernacular, refers to various extralegal ways of obtaining money, generally through deception or violence. It gained prominence in scholarly works of the late sixties in the wake of pioneering books like Elliot Liebow's *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men* (1967) and Bettylou Valentine's *Hustling and Other Hard Work: Life Styles in the Ghetto* (1978). It can also be found in the more recent ethnographic work of sociologists (Bourgois 1989; Venkatesh 2006) and, also, extensively, in rap lyrics. For example, there is an Atlanta rap label called Grand Hustle Records, and of course there is Rick Ross's well-known song "Hustlin'" (2006), whose famous chorus I borrowed in my title (see video below). Countless other examples illustrate this point. For L.A. Dennis, the hustle's economic activities range from illegal gambling to drug trafficking, from selling stolen goods to pimping (1972: 19). Although it tends to call to mind images of devious back-alley business deals, the hustle, or to hustle (as a verb), for urban ethnographers and rap emcees refers in fact to the entire uncensused, untaxed underground economy of inner-city street culture. During his ten-year research in the Chicago high-rises, Venkatesh documented the constellation of ghetto dwellers who work off the books to make money, as well as the vastly structured underground economic web that surrounds the neighborhood and weaves its social fabric (2006).

Rick Ross - Hustlin'
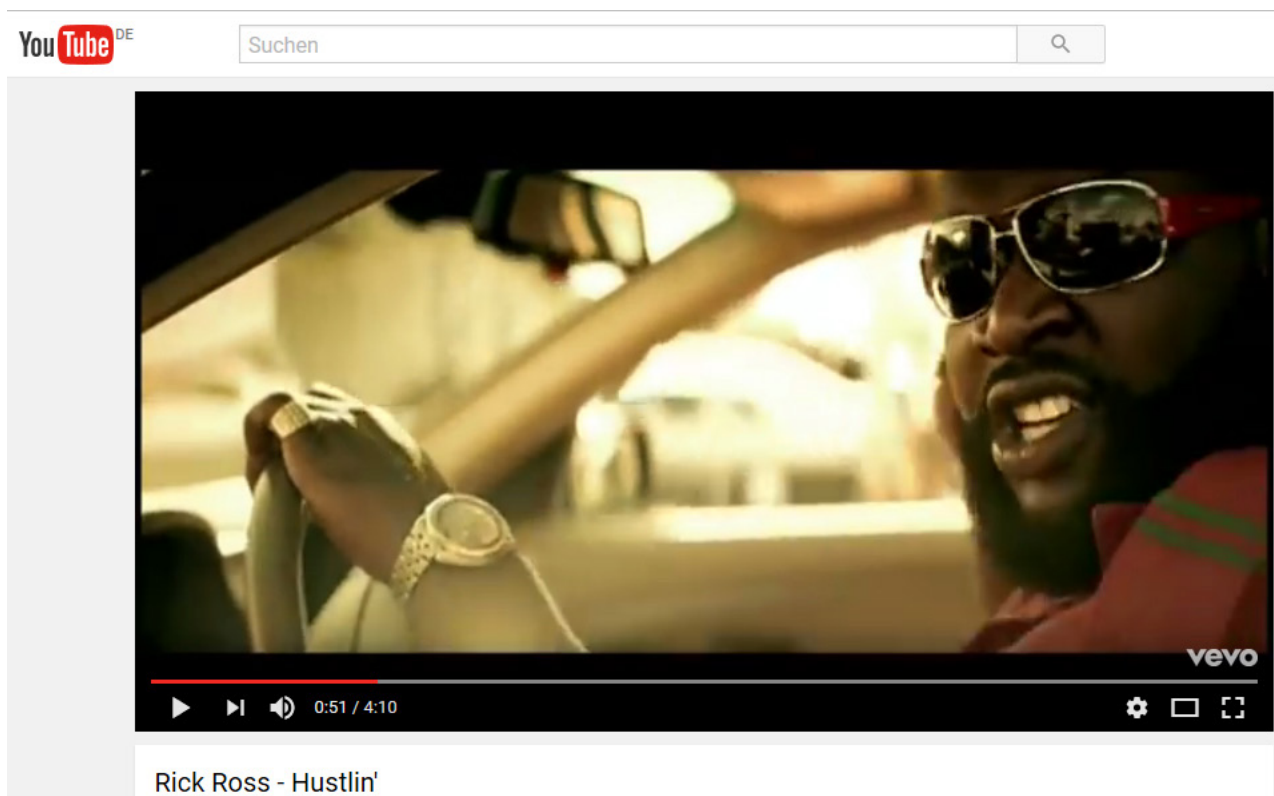
Building on this research, I hold that it is important to insist on the *structured* aspect of the informal/criminal economy, since it has often been portrayed as entropic and lacking organization. However, as the latest research has brought to light, this economy is, in fact, far from disorganized. There is a vast structure in place, with a set of rules that define who trades with whom, what prices can be set, and what revenue can be earned, just like in the documented or reported capitalist economy. Also, just as in the documented capitalist economy, there are codes in place for settling disputes and adjudicating conflicts. In *Off the Books* (2006), Venkatesh unveils an economic web of underground dealings and shady enterprises that weave together residents, families, businesses, and even politicians and police. Other scholarly works on the hustle have similarly demonstrated how this economy provides ample opportunities to make money and to maintain the community, through an element of necessity and pragmatic logic.

The informal economic activity in the United States is commonly acknowledged as a criminal world peopled with devious street workers (drug dealers, pimps, stickup men—characters with considerable symbolic capital in expressive forms of the ghetto as oppositional folk heroes). It is also sometimes acknowledged as a

world peopled with welfare parents not capable, or not willing, of working as a "good American" would. Urban ethnography, however, has exposed an entrepreneurial drive from ghetto residents who run operations or are involved in a beneath-the-radar capitalist economy. As Bourgois's research reveals, these workers and entrepreneurs have garnered street forms of cultural capital needed to operate in the underground economy that can be transplanted under different forms to the documented, censused economy.

What Bourgois shows in his ethnography of the Puerto Rican East Harlem conducted in the 1980s is that the mastery of street culture and economy can enable ghetto residents to administer their businesses successfully in the underground economy but also help some of them, with some support and expertise, to operate as legal entrepreneurs. The main problem of people involved in the hustle (in his study, drug dealers) is not lack of skills—they manage a complex system involving marketing, distribution of resources, and human relations—but rather their lack of cultural capital (literacy, know-how) in handling city agencies, or the ability to switch between the street and white-collar worlds.

The world of the street, and its economic web, being at the center of the life of ghetto residents, is predominant in rap discourse, rap being a highly ghetto-centric expressive form. Rap music's stylized and rhythmic productions are profoundly marked by street culture. Several books and scholarly articles have brought to light how rap musicians frequently glorify street life and criminal activities in their lyrics (Diallo 2012; Evil 2005; Quinn 2004; Riley 2005). Rappers' repeated allusions to drug trafficking and the underground economy result from the symbolic reconstruction of the social space of the street hustle and of gang culture. Rap music's constant references to the black ghetto and to its informal practices confer rap artists' credibility in a field where to evoke illegal activities enables the demonstration of sociocultural authenticity. If rap lyrics are replete with representations of the hustle, it is predominantly because in order to have some legitimacy or street credibility ("cred") in the rap scene, emcees must refer symbolically to this social space. This an established convention of the genre, "a staple of rap music," as Charis Kubrin points out (2005: 369).

Mentioning their capitalist accomplishments confers credibility to rappers in a field where rapping about getting rich through music or illegal activities, or both, enables performers to demonstrate sociocultural authenticity. It has been established numerous times that rap music is an extremely competitive expressive form (Costello and Wallace 1990: 24; George 1992: 86). Without dwelling on this here, it is important to note that emcees must exhibit lyrical dexterity through sophisticated rhymes and demonstrate how each of their characteristics surpasses those of any potential or identified rival. Through this agonistic inclination, they must celebrate their rhetorical virtuosity and invent status markers determinedly superior to those of any potential opponent to sway the audience or the listeners.

Such bragging (or boasting) is one of the conventions of rap music (Edwards 2009: 25). It mainly derives from DJ battles and other forms of expression where exaggeration is commonplace, like break dancing and battle rhyming. This unwritten rule has led rap emcees to recurrently brag about how much more of everything (especially money) they have than the next emcee—hence the emphasis they frequently lay on their capitalist enterprises, glorifying the hustle as a lifestyle or simply addressing it to get cultural recognition. In rap lyrics, "hustlin'" is indeed either glorified or at least mentioned in a discourse that constantly shifts between need and greed. Rappers are either celebrating street capitalism or "grindin'" (working hard) for the dollar. This "shadow" capitalistic imagery that prevails in rap does so not simply in what is commonly and rigidly labeled "gangsta rap," but also in the discourse of rappers conveying a political message. In other words, rappers rap about making money and easy women when choosing a gangsta persona, but they also rap about "hustlin'" as an inexorable way to "get by" in America's disadvantaged neighborhoods (e.g., "The Corner" by Common, video below). Addressing this theme is critical in the rap performance and the reception of rap lyrics.

Common - The Corner ft. The Last Poets

Countless examples point to this capitalist frame of mind and at the celebration of an outlaw capitalism whose structure, as Levitt and Dubner have revealed, is very similar to corporate structure (2005: 86–113). Emcees continually rap about making (and spending) money under its various metonymic forms: paper, cheese, cheddar, green, payola, C.R.E.A.M (an acronym coined by the Wu-Tang Clan for "Cash Rules Everything Around Me"), cash, dough, collard greens. They also rap about the advantages of money, evident in the noms de plume chosen by rappers and groups like American Cream Team, Lloyd Banks, Bo$$, B. Rich, Cash Money and Marvelous, Ca$h Money Click, E-Money Bags, and Too $hort; in songs like "Get That Dough," "Put Your Money," and "Got My Money Right," and albums like *Straight Outta Cashville* by Young Buck, *Paid in Full* by Eric B. and Rakim, and *Power of the Dollar* by 50 Cent. In rap discourse, talking about money and earnings is predominantly posturing and complying with a formal convention in a greatly standardized production.

To conclude

This article's intentions are twofold. First, I have shown that a great deal more can, and should, be written about rap music and capitalism. In doing so it is important to highlight that the structuring role of the rap genre's ghetto-centric discourse and competitive spirit has obliquely shaped the content of its emcees' rhymes. Second, the rappers' permanent use of representations of street capitalism, I have argued, results from the symbolic reconstruction of the social space of the "street hustle." Also, rappers' constant references to the ghetto and its illegal practices confer them credibility in a field where to evoke criminal activities demonstrates sociocultural authenticity. These observations are simple, but they are particularly insightful and enlightening for understanding the aesthetic choices of rap musicians. Looking at rap lyrics in the light of recent ethnographic work substantiates that rap lyrics and the verbal discourse of rap emcees are plainly part of capitalism. Although the activities they bring to light remain illegal insofar as they are beneath the radar and unreported, their inner workings and the entrepreneurial spirit that drives them are highly capitalist in nature.

David Diallo is an Associate Professor at the University of Bordeaux (France). His research interests focus on rap music, African-American expressive forms, urban ethnography, sociology of art, and contemporary social theory. He has been a Visiting Research Scholar at the University of Pennsylvania, Memorial University of Newfoundland, and New York University and has contributed to the *Journal of American Folklore* and *Ethnologies*.

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