Greenwich Academic Literature Archive (GALA)
– the University of Greenwich open access repository
http://gala.gre.ac.uk

___

___

Please note that where the full text version provided on GALA is not the final published version, the version made available will be the most up-to-date full-text (post-print) version as provided by the author(s). Where possible, or if citing, it is recommended that the publisher's (definitive) version be consulted to ensure any subsequent changes to the text are noted.

___

Contact: gala@gre.ac.uk

Dr. Aaron C. van Klyton

Working Paper

Title: All the way from… authenticity and distance in world music production

Final Version accepted for publication in *Cultural Studies* online from December 2014.

All the way from… authenticity and distance in world music production

Abstract

World music and the narratives it produces are at the very centre of a formerly transnational production and consumption process. However, the shortened distance between the sites of production and consumption of this good, brought on by migration and greater participation, has created a dilemma for the UK-based artists who perform it: how to maintain authenticity without the added value of 'distance'. Therefore, the aim of this article is to examine the ways in which musicians and other participants attempt to overcome this problem and in doing so (re)-construct particular aspects of their identity. Rather than being just another critique on authenticity, this paper uses distance as an organising concept in understanding the challenges facing world music production in the UK.

Introduction

The term 'authenticity' has often been used in representing and assessing the value of many forms of music. The genre of world music is no exception. The term 'world music' was first used in 1987 in London as a way to describe music that was largely non-Western or -modern and did not have a genre of its own (Guilbault, 1997; Taylor, 1997). World music was commercialized in Western markets through discourses of 'Otherness' and exoticism; and authenticity formed a key component of early marketing strategies. Distance was reinforced as the important, underlying marketing concept. For example, in introducing live music performances to culturally thirsty Western audiences, announcers would regularly declare that the band came 'all the way from' Guinea-Conakry or Kinshasa, the Congo, or Bamako, Mali. The notion of distance, of hailing from distant African lands, became critical to appreciating the singer and the music.

Authenticity, nourished on the imagined exotic other, as a discourse became constitutive of the genre of world music, having particular bearing on its commercial value.

More than 30 years have passed since the label of world music was retroactively applied to what is a loose collection of musical styles. Although many aspects of its production and marketing have changed, distance remained an enduring aspect and is foregrounded as critical knowledge about the performance. In the early days of world music, the perception of distance was a definitive way to differentiate it from other forms of music because of the sites of production were often non-Western locations and the sites of consumption were almost always in the West. However, with global migration, more and more of the musicians (and nearly all of the promoters) could be described as British or EU nationals. This creates a dilemma about how promoters and musicians maintain perceptions of distance and the contribution that distance makes this genre, particularly when it is being (re)produced in the well-worn markets of London and the UK. The concept of distance then becomes re-spatialised (Mansfield, 2003, p. 180) giving way to increasing quantities of world music production occurring at the site of consumption rather than in far-off distant places. In this paper, I will argue that perceptions of distance, either from a real or posited place of origin for musical style, offers a means of constructing authenticity through which world music performers and promoters shape their identities and continue their livelihood.

Current literature tends to focus on place in music (Brandellero and Pfeffer, 2011; Hudson, 2006; Leyshon et al., 1998; Lovering, 1988; Stokes, 2004), identity in music (Cohen, 1995, 1991; Haynes, 2005; Thornton, 1996; Valentine, 1995) and other aspects of what it is essentially a fetishized commodity (Finn, 2008; Gilroy, 1990). There remains a lacuna in understanding the lives of the musicians, promoters, and DJs involved in the British world music scene (exceptions to this include: Haynes, 2011, 2005) and the extent to which 'distance' plays a part in shaping their identities. Therefore, this study fills an important gap and further

develops the notion that distance is the most basic component of this production process. The increasingly localness of live world music production in itself limits the performer's ability to draw on narratives of distance and the ideas and values traditionally associated with this commodity. I intend to show that although the conditions of production of world music have changed significantly, this production process still relies on the discourse of distance as a means to produce authenticity and value.

World Music and Authenticity

The tension that exists between world music and authenticity is distance. Authenticity is 'a conceptualisation of elusive, inadequately defined, other cultural, socially ordered genuineness' (Spooner, 1986, p. 225). In many ways, 'world music' as a term offers up the inadequately defined…genuineness in that it obfuscates the music and traditions of singers' from different (non-Western) countries. Using the world music label to describe particular types of music creates a shapeless geography of the commodity that reprioritizes place and, partly, de-authenticates the music. This label privileges Africa and other non-Western locations as generalized sites of representation that are then 'socialized, temporalized, and fantasized' (Duncan, 1993, p. 43) through a commodification process that (re)-authenticates the music for Western audiences. For example, the term world music suppresses the extent to which the music of Malian singer Salif Keita represents his Mandinkan culture or his *Malian* Mandinkan culture, as opposed to Mandinkan cultures from other parts of West Africa.

In spite of the fact that Keita has maintained a residence in Paris for nearly 25 years[1], our own 'social expansion' (Spooner, 1986, p. 225) obliges us to modify the criteria used in assessing authenticity in the product he provides. In other words, we can re-create the distance necessary to maintain a static, cultural biography (Kopytoff, 1986), that repositions him and his music to either to his

---

[1] http://www.allmusic.com/artist/salif-keita-p3311/biography

native Mali or to a place called World Music. Of course, the global flows of this singer's extraordinary life complicate an essentializing application of a purely African label. One could argue that Keita is being further excluded from Western mainstream audiences due to the distance that the world music label creates (Negus, 2002). Given Hall's (1995, p. 207) interpretation of diaspora, Keita should be able to draw on 'different maps of meaning, and of locating himself in different imaginary geographies at one and the same time' and to multiple places. Therefore, Keita and other world music performers living in the West can 'claim a space' in which they 'reconcile divergent, sometimes opposing' forces (Alexander, 2009, p. 465) in constructing their identities. This would theoretically facilitate the production of distance and authenticity for non-Western artists who have migrated to different countries away from the sites of production of their native lands. But to what extent does such a capacity lend itself to world music artists born in the West? Research conducted for this study shows that the production of distance (and authenticity) for this group of performers has been both problematic and has had varying results. As I will later show, world music performers in the West are compelled to find ways to reconstruct distance by reinterpreting and embodying authenticity for themselves and their audiences.

The interconnectedness of space (Massey and Jess, 1996) means that artists and their music are influenced by many factors, not least of these are the social, political, and economic contexts in which the artists find themselves. Because music and its performance often reflect these contexts, world music performances from West Africa, for example, could have a more modern (and less authentic feel) than it originally did 30 years ago. The music would represent the reality of the artist: a new, modernizing West Africa, or in the case of Keita, even Paris. This calls for an examination of the linkages between distance, authenticity, and world music.

Participant observation at 70 world music performances in the UK (predominantly in London) and 45 interviews were conducted between 2009 and 2010. The

experiences of three respondents (Bill, Millie, and Julia) were drawn on extensively in the discussion of this paper. In most cases, performances began with an introduction of the artists and much of their backup band as being '*all the way from… (some distant land)'*. Hence, perceived distance is a clear selling point. The representation of geographical, social, temporal, and cultural distances and their embodiment within the identities of the musicians are seen to contribute to the value of the performance. Such representation occurred despite the fact that many artists had lived in London for some years or were even born in the UK.

Notions of authenticity are shown to be as 'subjective as any other social value' (Grazian, 2004, p. 34). Different identities and values are associated with different places. For example, introducing a musician as being 'all the way from Plaistow, East London', rather than 'all the way from Douala, Cameroon' does not have the same ring of authenticity, and instead contributes to a different set of conditions and meanings in the production of the performance, thereby shifting its 'biography' (Kopytoff, 1986, p. 67). Del Casino and Hanna (2000, p. 26) argue that 'authenticity can never be fully realized because it is constantly staged through the process of creating representations.' This implies that no matter how authenticity is defined, it can also be elusive because of the contradicting representations of localness embedded in the live performance.

London-based artists construct their identity around the commodity of world music and this has implications on how authenticity and distance are enacted and performed. This will be explored in the next sections of the paper, which will be followed by a discussion of how actors construct spaces of empowerment through the performance of world music.

The Production of Distance and Authenticity

Distance and narratives about the music and its performers work together to

produce value in world music. Keita's being 'all the way from Mali' and a 'pure' African performer, as described by one music critic, are examples of this. Appadurai (1986, p. 41) notes that different knowledges are required for the production and consumption of a good that may 'diverge proportionately' because the social, spatial, and temporal distances between the sites of production and consumption exist. As knowledge travels from the sites of production to the sites of consumption it can become distorted and reinterpreted. Spooner (1986, p. 199) shows that knowledge is received divorced from the social conditions of the good's production and consumers 'seize on the information' that comes [with the product], however imperfect, in order to authenticate its value. Authenticity is not only based on imperfect knowledge about the good, but also on the 'interpretation of genuineness and [the consumer's] desire for it' (Spooner, 1986, p. 200). However, as the sites of production and consumption converge, as is the case for much of London-based world music production, the discourse of distance that feed authenticity has to be, at least partly, artificially produced. This section explores some of the embedded politics of representation that are generated by and through the activities of these musicians in their efforts to construct authenticity.

Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000, p. 16) argue that the geographical imaginary in music as an attempt to construct 'a relation of absolute difference, non-recognition, and non-reference'. This can be seen in the description of Keita's 2002 album 'Moffou'. Charlie Gillett, a former British radio presenter, musicologist and writer, offers the following critique of the album:

> The power and the glory of that record dispelled all doubts that an African record could match Western rock at its most dramatic and anthemic, with Salif soaring to vocal heights no singer in the West could hope to emulate, framed in arrangements that broke new ground. Western and African rhythms made room for each other, while the backing vocalists tipped the balance towards the sound of the Sahara.

Here, a narrative is being produced that positions world music as an invitation for listeners to abandon Western artists, to some degree. World music becomes a valid 'alternative' that does not represent or partake in the status-quo of Western music. The critic's choice of words constructs a space of music that is inaccessible to Western musicians, but not to other African musicians, or, for that matter, Turkish or Andean musicians. The use of the Sahara desert evokes cultural, social, and temporal distances that produce authenticity for audiences in the upmarket world music clubs of Central London.

One has to question how this critic is framing 'singers in the West'. The critic's declaration that Western musicians are unable to achieve Keita's level of performance creates an exclusivity that adds value to the production process. It also emphasizes that world music does not seem to include 'the world'. There are a few obvious complications inherent in the critic's observations. If his reference point is traditional constructions of a white Europe and a white West, then singers of African origin living in the UK would also not be allowed to access this constructed space of musical superiority. Many of the musicians interviewed for this study had lived in the UK or other European countries for many years. For the most part, however, their continued success is contingent on their ability to evoke an imaginary very much tied to perceptions of distance that gives this music both the mobility and cultural expression (Connell and Gibson, 2003) associated with traditional sites of production, i.e. West Africa.

Artists and writers have long been represented or have chosen to represent themselves in 'rebellion against the conformity of the bourgeoisie' (Zukin, 2008, p. 729), where authenticity becomes associated with 'downwardly mobile' artists and intellectuals, a bohemian chic heavily inscribed with romantic tradition. World music, however, was marketed on a particular globalised mobility that included 'performance types and musical spaces rebuilt in new circumstances… rekindling traditions or inspiring unexpected borrowings and appropriations' (Connell and Gibson, 2003, p. 45). One participant in this study illustrates this point well. Bill is

a Ghanaian-born singer who has lived in the UK for more than 30 years. He is a founder of a music group that performs in Margate, Bristol, and in London. At every performance observed for this study, the lead musician of the band, a white Englishman named Niles, introduced him as being 'all the way from Ghana'. This reconstructed mobility offers up perceived distance that creates and substantiates authenticity thereby adding economic value. When I asked Bill why Niles introduces him as being 'all the way from Ghana,' he replied 'oh, it's just a thing that he does… anyway I am from Ghana'. My follow-up question was 'When do you get to be "from England"?'… to which he did not reply. This is reminiscent of Feld's (2000, p. 262) argument that 'schizophrenic makeovers' of world music performers is disempowering because the artists 'never gain control over how they are discursively represented'. While this may be an extreme view, there is an argument to be made that many of these artists struggle with how they are made over in the commodification process.

As mentioned, Bill responded that he was in fact from Ghana. On reflection, it seems that it was important for him to maintain distance from his Gloucestershire residence, thereby creating perceived authenticity through an imagined Ghanaian identity. Spooner (1986, p. 231) helps to explain the position in which Bill may have found himself. For Spooner, authenticity becomes the result of 'choice and negotiation within (Western) society'. This requires that the 'Other be preserved in its pristine form.' Furthermore, the value in cultural goods is tied up in particular representations of those goods, which is 'inspired by an interest in the Other and its products.' An interest that can be satisfied through the production of critical knowledge (Crang, 1996, p. 57) that accompanies the performance, such as Bill's being 'all the way from Ghana'. In this way distance is adding exclusivity to the production process.

So does this representation of Bill create a source of empowerment or disempowerment for him? Does this perceived distance create greater authenticity? The answers would depend greatly on how power and authenticity

are understood by both Bill and the audiences he entertains. Frith (1996, p. 110) argues that postmodernism introduces questions of the 'decentred subject'; and, challenges one's ability to distinguish the 'real' and the 'simulated' self. Hence, Bill is complicit in this way of representation, as are other such musicians living in the UK and the cultural intermediaries who promote the music. Collectively, they create what Zukin (2008, p. 728) terms 'an authentic space' needed to add value and profit. By necessity, they must also create a space that is far removed from the everyday life for all the participants (Certeau, 2002; Grossberg, 2006). If musicians feel that the music is too familiar with the 'everyday', then the product may not provide the necessary distance for it to be included under world music moniker. I will come back to this point later in the paper.

Musicians need to stay connected to real and imagined roots outside of the West while working in London (and the UK) and this seemed to be reflected in how they live. Of course, this is especially difficult for musicians who have lived in Britain for many years (or were born in Britain) because distance functions to create geographies. Going back to the example of Bill, despite using Senegalese, Caribbean, and European musicians in his band, he commented that he is able to maintain an authentic sound by visiting Ghana every few years but his main strategy for creating authenticity was through watching Ghanaian movies on the Internet. He uses technology to draw inspiration for creating music and to reproduce distance. This is a bit ironic given that world music is marketed as being relatively void of technological filtering. His own authenticity is in fact created at a distance since he's not really all the way from Ghana, or at least has not been for quite a long time. He himself is distanced and detached. In using world music in this way, Bill has created a dis-belonging that positions him as 'betwixt and between' (Turner, 2004) the sites of production and consumption.

Due to scheduling conflicts, Bill's interview took place in his studio in Bristol, located on a small housing estate in the neighborhood of St. Paul's. This choice of location is quite interesting because it is a largely black Caribbean neighborhood that sits just in the shadow of Cabot Circus, a swanky mall housing upscale stores such as Harvey

Nichols, Zara, and LaCoste, among others. His studio location is reminiscent of hooks' (1990, p. 145) argument of choosing spaces of marginality from which to 'shape and determine our response to existing cultural practice and our capacity to envision new, alternative, oppositional aesthetic acts.' Bill's choices of the margin for his studio no doubt facilitates his efforts to maintain an identity that complements the Ghanaian music he performs and, in some ways, keeps him in a counter-hegemonic position to mainstream and commercial articulations of 'Britishness'.

After the interview, we walked from the studio to Cabot Circus because he wanted to show me where he often performs. On the way, he joked about his days in Brixton, South London, when he went to rave parties and would 'hang out with white girls' after his music sets. He also has a daughter who is mixed race from his white English partner of many years. As distance between the sites of production and consumption closes, musicians who have longtime residency in the UK, have to balance their own social needs within British society with the necessary perceptions of social, cultural, and temporal distance to maintain their livelihood. World music performers have to resist borrowing from local British culture in an attempt to (re)produce a good whose value is based on distance and the authenticity of cultural roots elsewhere.

Staying commercially relevant and authentic?

Staying commercially relevant requires that world music performers use a number of activities to maintain a livelihood for themselves. Relevance becomes the result of a negotiated process between the audience, the musicians, and the promoters. This research outlines the ways in which these musicians have constructed and re-constructed themselves in the UK market over time in order to remain commercially viable. The list of the strategies below was derived from interview fieldwork and secondary data. It is neither exhaustive nor hierarchical; however, it gives an insight into how some performers attempt to diversify in order to appeal to a broader market:

- Musicians are able to group and regroup with other bands.
- Offering drumming and dance lessons

- Performing in universities and schools
- Keeping the sound 'pure' through watching movies from their native countries
- Repeat visits to the 'homeland'

The first three bullet points pertain to diverse strategies to order to maintain commercial relevance on the world music scene and potentially broaden the market for world music, while the last two are attempts to produce the distance necessary for its commercial viability. Strategies for success should be seen against a backdrop of constantly-changing production demands that reflect a 'consumption culture' (Jackson, 2002) laden with struggles and negotiations.

It is important for world music performers to embody particular attributes in order to have continued economic viability (Taylor, 1997). In an industry with few cultural intermediaries, a small but powerful cohort of people control how world music gets marketed and which music and musicians are deemed relevant. Jackson (2002, p. 4) shows how the 'mutual constitution' of culture and economy creates entanglements that influence how musicians operate within and around this industry. Given that both the performers and the music are commodities, the entanglements to which Jackson refers are embodied within the musicians. All three performers discussed in this article use this music in a variety of ways, including for commercial means and for shaping and reshaping their identities.

Fieldwork for this study showed that West African music performed under the world music moniker is used as a form of expression not only by Africans living in the UK but also by whites and British blacks. Although some (for example Gilroy, 2006) have argued that the exchange value of this music is yet another example of post-colonial appropriation, this does not seem to be the only motive nor the only result of this engagement. Like Appadurai's (1986) conceptualization of commodification, Gilroy is assuming a one-directional perspective on appropriation with the implication that only non-Africans are drawing upon African forms of music as a source of inspiration. However, interview data showed that

the production of world music by white and black Western performers was in many cases a show of resistance to their own perceptions of a status quo British identity. As such, performers attempted to (re)create authenticity in their own identities that necessitated the perception of being distant from mainstream British culture in order to be valuable. However, even the West African singers, Youssou N'Dour and Angelique Kidjo, have argued that Western music forms and culture influence their identity and music too (Taylor, 2004). Regardless of their ethnicity and the Western influences that surround them, these artists need to create the perception of distance from Western culture in order to remain relevant in this market. In the quote below, one world music promoter shows that authenticity in the midst of globalized diversity implies respatialising distance, and thereby adapting, or even disintegrating, the old 'authenticity' in favour of a new bespoke one:

> I think that authenticity is, well, passion. As long as one is passionate about the music then it is authentic. Take for example, a cannabis plant, if you plant the seedling in the UK instead of the Caribbean, is it no less potent? Does it make it less authentic?

The promoter's reflections suggest that authenticity in world music can and should be couched in a language that removes distance; which, as discussed earlier, the label of world music partly achieves. But it also suggests that adherence to an idea can, to some extent, substitute for a distance-based conception of authenticity in world music. This has direct implications for its commercial relevance. For, as Connell and Gibson (2003, p. 88) show, the consumer 'engages with and reacts to the reputations and associations' that accompany both the music and the performer. Consequently, meaning in world music is constituted through the histories and perceived realities of the artists. So it would seem unlikely that disassociating distance from the reproduction of world music would be effective without the re-articulation of it within the artists themselves.

Locally-based musicians are in a better position to tailor their music to local tastes than are musicians based abroad. Ironically, being based in the UK does

not automatically give these musicians the agency they seek, particularly for performers who are in the country illegally. Spooner (1986, p. 218) shows that as producers of cultural goods become more familiar with the markets they are serving, they begin to 're-modify the motifs they happen to know in ways they calculate will please (consumers).' This actually becomes a detriment to world music because it erodes the distance on which this genre was built, which in turns affects authenticity and commercial relevance.

The next section looks at the experiences of two British female musicians of world music to see how they have overcome the challenge of distance in creating authenticity and shaping their identity.

World music as a means of empowerment

No single society can provide the 'authentic' source of meaning for any particular commodity or cultural form (Jackson, 2004, p. 166). World music is a coveted and contested space of identity construction in which black Caribbean artists have also partaken. However, it is unclear the extent to which being a black or black African musician gives the artist particular social capital in West African world music. If race can be 'constitutive through power relations between groups' (Barker, 2007, p. 250; see also Ignatiev, 2008), then the increasingly global flow of people and ideas (Massey and Jess, 1996) means that any artist should have the power to represent any place. Hence, many artists of Caribbean descent in the UK have increasingly been performing different forms of black music, as have many white British artists. In like fashion, such opportunities for reshaping identity through a musical form that was directly tied to black African artists is now open to non-African black and white artists. This section looks at the experiences of two female world music performers, Millie and Julia. Their stories speak to the point just made and shed light on how and why identity shaping through world music is chosen by some British musicians.

Millie is a black British woman of Jamaican descent from the East Midlands in England, and Julia is a white British woman of Welsh ancestry. These two interviews indicate that identity and representation is very much a concern among some non-Africans performers. Millie performs music in many different black music genres. She sings jazz with a Russian quintet, Caribbean music at The Tabernacle (a venue in West London), and Ghanaian-funk fusion music with the Brixton-based group. Recently, Millie collaborated with a New York-based black female musician, Cynthia, on a series of performances in some well-regarded world music clubs in London. Notice her reflections on that experience:

> Interviewer: …at the gig, Cynthia introduced you to the audience as Jamaican, and I was thinking…Millie is not Jamaican.
>
> Millie: '[Cynthia] feels, she thinks that she's Jamaican as well but she is born in New York and I am born in Birmingham.' 'That's how we kind of got to know each, you know like we both have Jamaican parents but we are very different. I realized that as we got to know each other and it is a bit strange. But I think that that's part of   the whole world music thing. You know holding on to something…well, she's Jamaican, so that makes her part of the gang… you know (laughter) she is related to Bob [Marley]'

Although Millie and Cynthia are both of Jamaican descent, their identities are arguably influenced more by their immediate surroundings: the East Midlands and London for Millie and New York City in the case of Cynthia. Millie is also making a connection between distance and value in music. In some ways, it is beneficial for her to have connections to the Caribbean because it gives her more currency in some music circles. Pratt (1999, p. 163) argues that boundaries that are 'blurred in one place can be reinvented elsewhere.' Hence, for Cynthia, Millie, and others, the complications of place and belonging can be re-constructed on stage in the way that coincides with the redefinition of distance that the world music label provides.

Millie's main work as a musician occurs in the Brixton-based band that creates fusion with funk and Ghanaian rhythms. The choice of fusion removes distance between cultures and the sites of production and consumption thereby working against the ideals of world music. It was important to understand how Millie

related to the Ghanaian cultures she is representing in her work. She remarked that she often experiences feelings of awkwardness when performing in front of African audiences 'despite being black or maybe because of being black' (interview transcript). I have seen Millie perform in different capacities as a musician. Originally, I believed that her blackness allowed her flexibility over and above musical talent, passion and motivation. However, the interview told a different story:

> I am a black Brit but I feel like I am made invisible. I am hybrid person anyway, because I have so many different races in me. So, it's like, what is authentic? It's a weird one for me because I feel like I have been made invisible in this country and I am fighting that… or the politics of that.
>
> When I started singing jazz, it was like with a group of white men. I was like this lone black woman… I felt like, you know, I should have been this middle-aged white woman singing Billie Holiday songs (laughs).
>
> I am in this band that's sort of Ghanaian. You know, Highlife music, and I feel like we have mostly Europeans (as band members) and then I am this black person representing African music… but then again the music is a hybrid. And also the world is a hybrid and London is like this mishmash of, you know, everything. So I don't really know what authenticity is…
>
> I just think that we have all these labels, Jamaican, Nigerian, and so on. You can never be from 'here'. You can still see [othering] and we need about 100 years before we can have something different…

The first point speaks to the part that skin colour actually plays in creating authenticity in West African world music. As mentioned, being black in itself may not lend a particularly authentic element to the performance of West African music. The second point is discussed in Pollock and van Reken's (2001, p. 21) description of third culture kids that have grown up in two different cultures and whose 'experiences affect deeper parts of their personal or cultural being.' This may lend some insight to Millie's feelings about her life in the UK and could explain why Millie was drawn to world music in the first place. In her case, it is precisely her blackness in a British context that forced her to seek out alternative ways of self-empowerment. By her own account, Millie faces struggles reminiscent of the discourses of disempowerment that surround the working class (Fraser and Ettlinger, 2008; Ignatiev, 2008; Paul, 1997).

Again, music is being used as a tool or outlet by which she can create her own sense of being. However, her skin colour alone was not sufficient to gain currency in representing this music. Her hairstyle and other choices of aesthetic expression suggest a non-conformist stance against British middle class, for example. When I asked her about her choice of hairstyle (Rastafarian style braids), she responded:

> This is me, this is how I like to dress. I like my hair this way. But, um, I like natural sort of things… (pauses) um, you know I feel empowered, you know. I am empowering myself as a black African queen. And Cynthia likes to paint herself up when performing. You know she is kind of leading in the way that Fela (Kuti) did.

Hebdige (1979, p. 43) identifies this look as a visual corollary used in particular by Caribbean British in an attempt to express forms of resistance and black identity. It is the result of negotiations between herself and her environment (Said, 1979; Sarup, 1996). By Millie's own admission, music has become her outlet. The irony is that none of the music forms that she is performing is providing her with the comfort she seeks. She is creating distance for herself but her 'invisibility' as a black British woman has not necessarily improved because she is performing this music. In fact, her invisibility has continued within the industry in which she participates. Notice how she continues to discuss the Brixton-based band's relationship with the world music industry:

> You wonder whether you can go into WOMAD because you don't fill that label. You are not ethnic enough. I have not played at WOMAD because they don't want to book some Black Brit like me… But I have played at Glastonbury and some other contemporary places. But for some reason, I am not ethnic enough for [WOMAD]. We have a lot of Europeans playing in our band. And I don't know if that makes you 'world' enough…unless somebody is playing folk music from Germany. I just get the feeling that we are not acceptable to [WOMAD].

As the foremost authority on world music performance in the UK, the World of Music and Dance (WOMAD) festival organisers form an important cultural intermediary for this good. Millie indicates that she views WOMAD as not contemporary, perhaps this is not so much in the music but rather a reflection on

its management style. However, her assessment of WOMAD's choice of not including her band could be link to the band's inability to create the appropriate distance as a key element in the performance. The processes of creating an imaginative geography are part and parcel of what sells world music. Said (1979, p. 55) argues that 'imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away.' What he does not mention in this comment is the role that cultural intermediaries play in this process. Millie's being born in the West privileges her in many ways, but at the same time locks her out of the imaginative geography that is linked to the production processes of WOMAD and by extension of world music. Specifically, her status as a black British woman does little to create the distance needed for an authentic performance at WOMAD. According to many respondents, the WOMAD audience is not interested in 'celebrating its own'. She may never reach the top level of world music in its current state despite the fact that she has restructured her identity to facilitate participation in world music performances.

hooks (1990, p. 145) argues that the politics of location necessarily 'calls those of us who would participate in the formation of counter-hegemonic cultural practice to identify the space where we begin the process of re-vision'. If we could qualify this music as 'counter-hegemonic', which in itself is an elitist assumption, then Millie's choice of performing African-influenced world music appears to be one that positions her into further invisibility. Related to this, notice her remarks on a second form of invisibility she endures:

> I love meeting female musicians because, you know, it's a man's world especially in the music business (laughs)…it's really hard. And even though you know people are your friends or colleagues. It happens in the Brixton-based band and you sort of turn around and think, oh my god, they are treating me like this because I am a woman. I am not trying to be negative but you know, I am not accepting it and I think that we have to continue to fight against it.

It appears that a combination of gender, ethnicity, and social positioning (McRobbie and Garber, 2006) contribute to her feeling marginalized. In some

ways, Millie is crossing boundaries of British society by representing African music in and around London that is fused with Western musical styles, but for whom? By her choosing this course, she is in many ways reifying the marginality that she expresses. She is separating herself from a mainstream British identity and reconstructing an identity that hopefully empowers her against a Britain that she feels has ignored her. In many ways, Millie's predicament is reminiscent of Rousseau's notion of authenticity that implies moving away from institutional disciplines of power. Zukin (2008, p. 728) argues that, for some, defining their authenticity in this way provides a 'psychic consolation' for them, as they may not have a 'realistic chance of gaining rewards from powerful elites or of taking control of powerful institutions'.

Pratt (1999, p. 153) argues that mobility 'articulates a non-essentialist identity that emerges out of identifications rather than an essence.' So, in a performance at the Ritzy Café in Brixton, South London, the lead singer, who was born in Ghana, introduced Millie as being 'all the way from' Jamaica via Derby via Brixton. With each location, Millie made a different 'crazy' face. It was a hit with the audience. However, it also exemplifies Millie's struggle to position herself within (or outside of) British society.

We can compare Millie's case to Julia's, a white woman of Welsh descent who plays percussion. In an interview Julia described her life in Britain as being quite mainstream, but uneventful. She said that she 'absolutely hated' her desk job and could not get along with her colleagues. She is one of the few white female musicians performing West African music on the world music scene in London (although there are more white females promoters). Having previously trained at a prestigious art school in London, she said that playing this music was something like a 'coming out' for her. She learned drumming by taking lessons in Maida Vale (northwest London) from a white British man who had traveled around West Africa and studied the art. She mentioned that it was 'quite fortuitous' that she had him as a tutor because his Western music training made

him very precise and he was able to 'systematize' her learning of African music. She said that she patterns herself after him when she teaches music.

The boundaries that we construct around music that we feel possess similar characteristics can sometimes be erroneously drawn around the people who produce or consume the music. In our interview at a Brixton café, Julia pointed out that she loved 'black music', much to her father's chagrin. She makes a reference to a James Brown song blasting in the background – 'you see? This is the kind of music that I like. My father was a wonderful man but he absolutely hated music that was not classical and calm'. Agawu (2003, p. 231) asks whether difference in music is real. Of course, this includes different kinds of music and is certainly not bounded by race. But this gives some insight into how Julia constructs and gives purpose to 'black music' for herself. Julia felt that 'mainstream' music or life does not give her satisfaction in one area or another. The alternative, then, is the sub-cultural space of world music. Hebdige (1979, p. 91) describes subcultures as representing 'noise' that interrupts the 'orderly sequence' that follows from a system of representation of mainstream. Weinstein (2000, p. 218) argues that 'songs performed by the band embody the values of the subculture.' Becker (1963, p. 81) describes this as a (sub)culture that 'arises essentially in response to a problem faced in common by a group of people, insofar as they are able to interact and communicate with one another effectively'. In such a case, they choose this form of representation regardless of the associations people make with this music and precisely because of such associations. According to Becker (1963, p. 81), participants in

> deviant activities have the opportunity to interact with one another, thereby developing a culture built around the problems rising out of the differences between their definition of what they do and the definition held by other members in society. (emphasis added)

The very act of performing music positions the performer as oppositional to 'conventional behaviour' (Becker, 1963, p. 87). Hence, an attraction to performing and representing West African music could be precisely because the narratives associated with world music are in some ways oppositional to

mainstream music consumed en masse. The music itself is not a complete embodiment of a subculture's values but it is sufficient enough to be built upon by identity-constructing participants. Songs and musical styles performed by Julia, Millie and others are chosen based on their ability to 'give voice to sub-cultural themes by idealizing them' (Weinstein, 2000, p. 218). Notice Julia's comments on music in 'Africa':

> When I have been in Africa, it seems that young people are not interested in their own music. They are into hip-hop. I mean that is a big sweeping generalization but they are not interested in their own music.

Julia says that her involvement with West African music comes from a love of music. Interestingly enough, more than once in the interview she noted that Africans, in particular young Africans, should not forget their music (although hypocritically, she chose to forget her father's music). There is an increasing presence of hip hop on the Senegalese music scene and this art form has been developed and owned by many Senegalese musicians who position themselves against 'world music' (Motley and Henderson, 2008; Osumare, 2007). She continues that

> they do not realize what thing they have. They take it for granted. Other cultures have long lost that connection with culture and music.

There are two critical points that need to be made here. The first pertains to the issue of whether non-Western (for example, West African) music partakes in a culture of change or remains frozen in an essentialised view. Frith (1996, 122) shows that musical identities are a reflection of 'the social world one inhabits'. Julia's argument acknowledges a contemporary and changing Africa, however, she does not expect its music to change to reflect this. Therefore, any efforts to maintain representations of West African music through particular Western ideals of authenticity would then imply that West African culture itself remain unchanged: socially, culturally, and temporally distant from the West. This would result in the essentialising and romanticizing of West African music and of the people who perform it and also occludes the possibility of Africans partaking in contemporary, non-essentialized musical production.

The second point pertains to the ways in which Western culture itself has changed (and been allowed to change). Music in the West coincides with social and political changes in the West, as does music in societies everywhere else. Julia's statements imply that Western music no longer represents Western culture or in some ways is not connected to Western culture. Contemporary British culture then would and should be represented by and through contemporary music. But so should a contemporary 'African' culture. Julia is not alone in feeling this way about West African music. Almost all of the white respondents in the study, either directly or indirectly, expressed the hope that West African world music performed in London not begin to mirror 'Western' music or even current African musical forms. Frith (1996, p. 111) argues that social groups 'only get to know themselves as groups through cultural activities', such as music production. For many of the white respondents, it is critical that world music remain othered, outside of the mainstream, for the music to maintain particular social meanings for them and their audiences. This is obviously a contradiction on many levels, as discussed throughout this paper.

There is a lot that we can learn about the relationship between distance and authenticity in the production of world music from these two women. Julia seemed to approach world music with a musical and cultural authority that was absent from Millie's case. Julia asserts that she understands that West Africa cannot remain underdeveloped otherwise 'it will fossilize'. However, change in West Africa is inevitable because socio-economic development touches upon all aspects of life including what music gets produced (Jackson, 2002). Development can be a double-edged sword for world music. For example, with increased investment, the music industry in West Africa can begin to make use of better technology to produce and record the music, which, in turn, gives the musical sound more polish, which consequently may produce a less 'authentic' or raw sound historically associated with world music (Taylor, 2004), making it less desirable for Western audiences. Furthermore, the unequal and uneven

effects of economic development in regions such as West Africa ensure a steady stream of impoverished musicians to the West and a ready network of club owners and promoters in London to commercialise them.

Julia says that she has experienced dissatisfaction with what she terms 'the status quo of Britain and its bureaucracy' and is, in her own way, opting out. She is using West African music as an instrument to construct and preserve a sense of nature and purity, however artificial. Hers is a nostalgic reflection of tradition. However, this reflection can also be a form of delusion. It is not only that young Africans 'need to realize the beauty of their music' as she argues, but more importantly she needs West Africa to remain suspended in a particular geographical lens. The suspension of Africa in time serves as a key resource to reproduce West African music here in London. Modernisation in West Africa reduces the distance between the sites of production and consumption, spelling potential disaster for her efforts to reproduce a so-called authentic representation of world music in London.

Both women are exploring their identities through this 'fragile empowerment' (Fraser and Ettlinger, 2008). However, what they have discovered about themselves differs greatly. The motivations that drove them to participate in West African world music reflects a particular means of expression that is rooted in feelings of not belonging in British society. However, their approach to this music differed. Julia had a much more authoritative view of West African music and exuded a confidence when discussing it. An interesting point during our interview was her reflection on her recent performance with a Malian singer at a small club in Camden, Central London that I attended. During the performance, a Malian woman was called up to the small stage to sing along. She sang in her native language and was warmly received by the audience. She appeared to be part of the band; however, to my surprise, Julia said that she was not part of the band nor had they even rehearsed the song the woman sang. Julia expressed annoyance at the woman's taking up part of the physical space on stage with

Julia. I was left wondering if she felt that the safety and sense of belonging she found in West African music was being challenged. No longer was she the only female on stage, her uniqueness of being a white female who easily circulates in this music scene was suddenly overshadowed in a five-minute ad-hoc performance. She became invisible. During this part of the interview, her voice showed clear irritation at what she said was a 'lack of order'.

By contrast, Millie seemed more cautious in how she was representing West African music. She commented on the very frequent rehearsal schedule that her band maintains. In this hybrid group, only the male lead singer is of Ghanaian descent, which creates an interesting dynamic of how the other members receive filtered Ghanaian-influenced material to perform. At many points during the interview, she appeared to be on the margins of the band, which was strange because she was the lead female singer. One can argue that she has rejected marginalisation in British society in exchange for a form of marginality in world music; exchanging one form of subjugation for another (Foucault 2000, 337).

Conclusion

This paper discussed how perceptions of distance contribute to constructions of authenticity in world music production and the challenges that locally-based musicians encounter in maintaining distance in the production of this good. The issue of distance and the concentration of world music performers working in London lends new insights into how non-Western, diasporic music plays an important function in identity construction for some in Western societies. The world music label obfuscates the processes and complexities that encompass the production of this music. As more Western musicians partake in this art form, creating the perception of distance in world music becomes increasingly more challenging. London-based world music performers face a conundrum of how to maintain the perception of distance in this music in order to create value. This is increasingly difficult for two reasons: global flows of people and ideas are

diminishing the social, cultural, and temporal gap between West Africa and Western societies and the music of West Africa is starting to reflect this shift.

The second reason is that the site of production and the site of consumption of West African music have become one. All of the musicians interviewed for this study were either born in the UK or have lived here for many years. This obliges them to find different ways to preserve particular notions of authenticity in their music. Hence, musicians need to reconstruct narratives and histories of the song and of themselves. Feld (2000, p. 263) argues that the material and commodity conditions of music create new possibilities 'whereby a place and people can be recontextualized, re-materialised, and thus re-invented'. This process depends on particular perceptions of the musician and audiences in different spaces and social contexts.

Perceived social, cultural, and temporal distances were not only a key feature in authenticating the good, but they were also important in efforts to construct particular identities for the African, Black British, and white performers who participated in this study. The way in which they chose to represent themselves in this industry has much to do with how they see themselves in British society. A unifying concept was their discontent with some aspect of their current sets of identities and relationships in Britain.

The fact that the respondents were all playing and promoting West African world music speaks to a number of points. First, there is an implied reliance on 'distance' in order to remain relevant in this industry although this presented clear challenges for the performers. The increasing deterritorialization of world music (Connell and Gibson, 2004) and the recontextualization of knowledge about this commodity disaggregate former ideas regarding what authenticity in world music actually means. Second, world music is a changing commodity that has enabled a hybridity, which can in turn lends itself to multiple interpretations of both Western and non-Western identities.

The third point can be seen in the extent to which some of these musicians use this good as a means of empowerment in their own lives. Both of the female respondents attempted to opt out of many aspects of mainstream British society through this music, while Bill maintains a studio where he accesses Ghanaian movies and practices his sound in the shadows of a high-end shopping complex, almost in opposition to mainstream narratives of consumption.

As demonstrated by white participation in this art form, world music has become an accepted form of self-expression where authenticity extends beyond ethnicity. Respondents interviewed for this study expressed strong narratives of nostalgia and authenticity when referring to West African music. However, the construction of these narratives was very much tied to maintaining distance between cultures. These narratives varied according to the respondents' own needs highlighting the balance between identity and authenticity, and the wider structures of representation in world music. The 'Ghanaian' musician, Bill, tries to maintain distance between the sites of production and consumption through watching movies and traveling to Ghana, the 'original' site of production. Julia has also visited the West African countries of Senegal and the Gambia 'many times' and brags about how she drinks in the culture in an effort to find meaning for herself. Millie and her Brixton-based band have very regular practice sessions and have also traveled to Ghana to further authenticate their sound.

However, none of these efforts provide unambiguous access to authenticity because it remains the outcome of a multifaceted, negotiated process that changes according to circumstances and the meanings that participants attach to a performance production. The elusiveness of authenticity results, in part, because the search for it does not occur in isolation. Hence, the 'social mechanism' of that search traverses distance and results in different interpretations of authenticity that are 'negotiated and renegotiated over time' (Spooner, 1986, p. 220). If 'authenticity' is as intangible as Connell and Gibson

(2004) suggest, then it will forever be contested in world music, which keeps the genre in a state of 'conflict of interpretations' (Clifford, 1988, p. 8).

Despite changes in world music, there is still an undercurrent of what Gilroy (1990, 113), terms as 'the changing same', seen and felt in the stated and the implied. For example, Julia's sense of order and preservation is reminiscent of colonial and post-colonial speak. She is fighting against the politics of being British and finds some respite in West African music forms, but in order for her fight to have meaning, she needs for West Africa to remain suspended in a particular geographical lens. Millie still struggles with her identity as a black British woman more than 50 years after the Windrush ship docked carrying the first group of black Caribbean migrants (Gilroy, 1991) and the 1958 riots of 'Notting Hill to Nottingham' (Paul, 1997). She wears African aesthetics and draws upon alternate expressions of her blackness in ways that may not be accessible (or desirable) to Julia. Their approaches to West African music are also a reflection of who they are as people. They are finding themselves in this art, however, with very different results—one is from a position of subjugation, the other of authority.

The depiction of West African world music being performed by people who look West African as a representation of authenticity has increasingly been replaced by mixed bands of non-African and non-black musicians. These groups have been accepted by audiences as long as they can reproduce distance as a key part of the narratives that accompany the music. However, this is not easily accomplished and the impact that this has on audiences is indeterminate for a number of reasons, which I will briefly discuss. It is difficult to measure authenticity in a contemporary city such as London. People have many different notions of what constitutes an authentic experience (Grazian, 2004). If authenticity were just about passion, as one respondent expressed, then measuring an authentic production would be fairly difficult. Spooner (1986, p. 225) argues that consumers play a complicit role in measures of authenticity

because their social expansion requires them to alter the criteria of what constitutes authenticity. This has also allowed for the relative success of non-black and non-African performers of West African world music in London and the UK. The shift in the 'necessity' of seeing a black person representing West African world music might in fact be a reflection of a host of societal changes. If so, this would support Appadurai's (1986) argument of the commodification stages of a good.

As a performer, actually being 'All the way from…(some non-Western place)' may no longer matter in terms how authenticity of the performance is interpreted. However, for the moment distance remains an enduring feature for the continued viability of world music despite other changes in the production process. Introducing performances by highlighting a distant land of origin implies that distance can function to create geographies by inflecting an understanding of a time 'away' (culturally and socially) from a musical home, an understanding that gets mapped onto relationships of between musicians, the audience, and the good itself. Transposing a geographic imaginary onto the performance adds to its value and frames the performer's identity in that particular space and time.

References

Agawu, K., 2003. Contesting Difference: A critique of Africanist Ethnomusicology, in: Clayton, M., Herbert, T., Middleton, R. (Eds.), The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction. Routledge, New York, pp. 227–237.

Alexander, C., 2009. Stuart Hall and "race". Cult. Stud. 23, 457–482. doi:10.1080/09502380902950914

Appadurai, A., 1986. The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Barker, D.C., 2007. Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice, Third Edition. ed. Sage Publications Ltd.

Becker, H.S., 1963. Outsiders: Studies In The Sociology Of Deviance. Free Press.

Born, G., Hesmondhalgh, D., 2000. Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music, in: Born, G., Hesmondhalgh, D. (Eds.), Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation and Appropriation in Music. University of California Press, pp. 1–58.

Brandellero, A.M.C., Pfeffer, K., 2011. Multiple and shifting geographies of world music production. Area 43, 495–505. doi:10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01057.x

Certeau, M. de, 2002. The Practice of Everyday Life, 1st ed. University of California Press.

Clifford, J., 1988. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art. Harvard University Press.

Cohen, S., 1991. Rock Culture in Liverpool: Popular Music in the Making. Clarendon Press.

Cohen, S., 1995. Sounding out the City: Music and the Sensuous Production of Place. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr., New Series 20, 434–446.

Connell, J., Gibson, C., 2003. Sound tracks popular music, identity, and place, Critical geographies. London:

Connell, J., Gibson, C., 2004. World music: deterritorializing place and identity. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 28, 342–361. doi:10.1191/0309132504ph493oa

Crang, P., 1996. Displacement, consumption, and Identity. Environ. Plan. A 28, 47–67. doi:10.1068/a280047

Del Casino, V.J., Hanna, S.P., 2000. Representations and identities in tourism map spaces. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 24, 23 –46. doi:10.1191/030913200673388638

Duncan, J., 1993. Sites of Representation: place, time and the discourse of the Other, in: Duncan, J., Ley, D. (Eds.), Place/culture/representation. Routledge, London, pp. 39–56.

Eyben, R., Moncrieffe, J., 2007. The Power of Labelling: How We Categorize and Why It Matters, illustrated edition. ed. Earthscan Ltd.

Feld, S., 2000. The Poetics and Politics of Pygmy Pop, in: Born, G., Hesmondhalgh, D. (Eds.), Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music. Universit, Berkeley, pp. 254–279.

Finn, J., 2008. Contesting culture: a case study of commodification in Cuban music. GeoJournal 74, 191–200. doi:10.1007/s10708-008-9220-2

Fraser, A., Ettlinger, N., 2008. Fragile empowerment: The dynamic cultural economy of British drum and bass music. Geoforum 39, 1647–1656. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.03.003

Frith, S., 1996. Music and identity, in: Hall, S., du Gay, P. (Eds.), Questions of Cultural Identity. pp. 108–27.

Gilroy, P., 1990. "Sounds authentic": Black music, ethnicity, and the challenge of a changing same. Black Music Res. J. 10, 128–131.

Gilroy, P., 1991. "There Ain"t no Black in the Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation. University Of Chicago Press, Chicago, US.

Gilroy, P., 2006. Postcolonial Melancholia. Columbia University Press.

Grazian, D., 2004. Authenticity in Chicago Blues Scene, in: Bennett, A., Peterson, R. (Eds.), Music Scene: Local, Translocal and Virtual. Vanderbilt Univ Pr, Nashville.

Grossberg, L., 2006. "Is there a fan in the house?" The affective sensibility of fandom', in: Marshal, D.P. (Ed.), The Celebrity Culture Reader, Cultural Studies/Film Studies. Routledge, New York, pp. 581–590.

Guilbault, J., 1997. Interpreting World Music: A Challenge in Theory and Practice. Pop. Music 16, 31–44. doi:10.1017/S0261143000000684

Hall, S., 1995. New Cultures for Old?, in: Massey, D., Jess, P. (Eds.), A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization. pp. 175–211.

Haynes, J., 2005. World music and the search for difference. Ethnicities 5, 365 –385.

Haynes, J., 2011. Music, Difference and the Residue of Race. Routledge.

Hebdige, D., 1979. Subculture: The Meaning of Style, 1st Edition. ed. Routledge.

hooks, bell, 1990. Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics. South End Press Boston.

Hudson, R., 2006. Regions and place: music, identity and place. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 30, 626 –634.

Ignatiev, N., 2008. How the Irish Became White, 1st ed. Routledge.

Jackson, P., 2002. Commercial cultures: Transcending the cultural and the economic. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 26, 3 –18.

Jackson, P., 2004. Local consumption cultures in a globalizing world. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 29, 165–178. doi:10.1111/j.0020-2754.2004.00123.x

Kopytoff, I., 1986. The cultural biography of things, in: Appadurai, A. (Ed.), The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 64–91.

Leyshon, A.L., Matless, D., Revill, G., 1998. The Place of Music. The Guilford Press.

Lovering, J., 1988. The Global Music Industry: Commodification of the Sublime, in: Leyshon, A., Matless, D., Revill, G. (Eds.), The Place of Music. Guilford Publications, New York and London, pp. 31–56.

Mansfield, B., 2003. "Imitation crab" and the material culture of commodity production. Cult. Geogr. 10, 176–195. doi:10.1191/1474474003eu261oa

Massey, D., Jess, P., 1996. A Place in the World?: Places, Cultures and Globalization. Oxford University Press, USA.

McRobbie, A., Garber, J., 2006. Girls and subculture, in: Hall, S., Jefferson, T. (Eds.), Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain. Routledge, London, pp. 177–188.

Motley, C.M., Henderson, G.R., 2008. The global hip-hop Diaspora: Understanding the culture. J. Bus. Res. 61, 243–253. doi:doi: DOI: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2007.06.020

Negus, K., 2002. The work of cultural intermediaries and the enduring distance between production and consumption. Cult. Stud. 16, 501–515. doi:10.1080/09502380210139089

Osumare, H., 2007. The African aesthetic in global hip-hop: power moves. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Paul, K., 1997. Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era. Cornell University Press.

Pollock, D.C., Reken, R.E.V., 2001. Third Culture Kids: The Experience of Growing Up Among Worlds, 2nd Revised edition. ed. Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Pratt, G., 1999. Geographies of identity and difference: marking boundaries, in: Massey, D., Allen, J., Sarre, P. (Eds.), Human Geography Today. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 151–168.

Said, E.W., 1979. Orientalism, 1st Vintage Books ed. ed. Vintage.

Sarup, M., 1996. Identity, culture, and the postmodern world /. Athens, Ga :

Spooner, B., 1986. Weavers and dealers: authenticity and oriental carpets, in: Appadurai, A. (Ed.), The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 195–235.

Stokes, M., 2004. Music and the Global Order. Annu. Rev. Anthropol. 33, 47–72.

Taylor, T., 1997. Global pop: World music, world markets. Routledge, London, UK.

Taylor, T., 2004. Strategic Inauthenticity, in: The Globalization Reader. Blackwell, Oxford, p. 454.

Thornton, S., 1996. Club Cultures: Music, Media, and Subcultural Capital. Wesleyan.

Turner, V., 2004. Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage, in: Sacred Realms Essays in Religion, Belief, and Society. Oxford University Press, USA, New York, pp. 177–184.

Valentine, G., 1995. Creating Transgressive Space: The Music of kd lang. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr., New Series 20, 474–485.

Weinstein, D., 2000. Heavy metal: the music and its culture. Da Capo Pr.

Zukin, S., 2008. Consuming Authenticity. Cult. Stud., Cultural Studies 22, 724–748.