



resounding international relations

ON MUSIC, CULTURE, AND POLITICS

Edited by M. I. Franklin



Resounding International Relations

Resounding International Relations

On Music, Culture, and Politics

edited by

M. I. Franklin

palgrave
macmillan



RESOUNDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

© M. I. Franklin, 2005.

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2005 978-1-4039-6755-8

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews.

First published in 2005 by

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN™

175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 and

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England RG21 6XS

Companies and representatives throughout the world.

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-73395-8 ISBN 978-1-137-05617-7 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-137-05617-7

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Resounding international relations : on music, culture, and politics /
edited by M.I. Franklin.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical and discographical references and index.

1. Music and globalization. 2. Music—Political aspects. 3. International relations and culture. I. Franklin, Marianne, 1959—

ML3916.R47 2005

306.4'842—dc22

2005046425

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: October 2005

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

für Jochen

Contents

<i>Editor's Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	ix
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xi
1. Introductory Improvisations on a Theme: Resounding International Relations <i>M. I. Franklin</i>	1
I. Music in a Material World	
2. Concentrated Industry, Fragmented Consumption: The Global Music Industry in the New Millennium <i>Christopher May</i>	29
3. Sounds Complicated? Music, Film, and Media Synergies <i>Jayne Rodgers and Annette Davison</i>	53
4. Sharing as Piracy: The Digital Future of Music <i>Debora Halbert</i>	71
5. Americanization at Its Best?: The Globalization of Jazz <i>Robin Brown</i>	89
II. Music in an Alienating World	
6. Do It Yourself: Punk Rock and the Disalienation of International Relations <i>Matt Davies</i>	113
7. Who Is Listening? Hip-Hop in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Senegal <i>Katrin Lock</i>	141

8. “My Dance Immoral? <i>Alhamdulillah</i> No!” <i>Dangdut</i> Music and Gender Politics in Contemporary Indonesia <i>Sonja van Wichelen</i>	161
9. Of Things We Hear but Cannot See: Musical Explorations of International Politics <i>Roland Bleiker</i>	179
III. Musical Utopias	
10. Sounds of Peace: On Peace Fantasies and Peace Offerings in Classical Music <i>Dieter Senghaas</i>	199
11. Operatic Mythologies, Political Performativity, and Cinema: Verdi, Visconti, and the <i>Risorgimento</i> <i>Terrell Carver</i>	223
12. A Medium of Others: Rhythmic Soundscapes as Critical Utopias <i>Phil Weinrobe and Naeem Inayatullah</i>	239
13. The Clash of Civilization: Notes from a Punk/Scholar <i>Kevin C. Dunn</i>	263
<i>Bibliography</i>	285
<i>Index</i>	308

Editor's Preface and Acknowledgments

A bitterly cold winter's evening in Chicago, 2001; city famous for its jazz and rhythm 'n' blues. Several contributors to this volume take a break from the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association. As plans are made for the following year, to be held in New Orleans, we rejoice—shivering in unison—at these two great conference venues for the music-lover. Why had we not thought before about the links between music and politics? Must music (playing, buying, listening to it, or swapping it with others) remain in the private realms of leisure, with politics (defined as you will) being confined to our public, professional lives? A few more conversations later and it had become clear that there were untapped musical resources for critically thinking about “the” political, “the” international, and nowadays, “the” global. And plenty of knowledge and passion too. With tongue only slightly in my cheek, I organized the first “music panel” for the 2002 ISA Conference in New Orleans, the homeland of jazz. Circumstances beyond our control meant that this “first” didn't actually occur until the 2003 conference, in Portland, Oregon. A shift in venue and heartlands; to the home of that late-twentieth-century version of guitar-band music, *grunge*. Scheduled in the graveyard shift of the conference it may have been, but the high attendance and enthusiasm for that experimental session carried over; finally crystallizing into this edited volume.

It has been a new experience, for most of the contributors here, to concentrate analytical and research skills on an area usually reserved for either personal pleasure or for musicians, musicologists, cultural theorists, and philosophers. It has also been a challenge to mix the intellectual rigors of academic scholarship with an unmitigated passion for the material of choice; music. As editor, it has been an enormous pleasure and privilege as well, to get close to other people's musical lives and loves, and to work through the implications of this kind of critical musical and lyrical endeavor. Others have blazed trails

before us; to these thinkers from other times and disciplines, we all owe a lot. Likewise to those musicians and other practicing artists who have spoken and published on the link between their music-making, the worlds, and times in which they live and have lived. But above all, to those who keep playing and performing; making audible these contemporaneous life-worlds and everyday openings for political agency.

There are a number of people that I want to thank, personally and professionally, for their inspiration, feedback, and ongoing support for this project. First of all, to all the contributors, my gratitude and admiration for their hard work, enthusiasms, and forbearance with me getting so intimate with their thinking, listening, and writing. The BISA International Communications Group, its core, is present here in force; to Robin Brown, Matt Davies, Christopher May, and Jayne Rodgers my thanks for this continuing source of collaborative inspiration. My thanks also to Roland Bleiker, Terrell Carver, Annette Davison, Kevin Dunn, Debbie Halbert, Naeem Inayatullah, Katrin Lock, Dieter Senghaas, Phil Weinrobe, and Sonja van Wichelen for joining in, and with such verve, later on.

Others contributed directly to the early brainstorming, arguments developed, and music accessed for this volume. Some have not found their way into the book in so many words, but their echoes are here, nonetheless. My gratitude to the following people for their input in this respect; Jane Barrett, Edgar Tamieni Bennett, Christian Davenport, Joel Dinerstein, Marcus von Essen, Craig Fowlie, Judie Hammond, Katie Krall, Harry Kunneman, Jennifer Lena, Marcel Maussen, Daniel Reisner, Giles Scott-Smith, J. P. Singh, Inês de Sousa, Susan Stocker, Sally Wyatt. My thanks to Vicky May for her translation and editing work with two chapters here. And a special thanks to Toby Wahl at Palgrave Macmillan's New York office for picking up and believing in this project right from the start.

I am also indebted to a number of people for their formative influence on my own musical training and music-making opportunities. Some go way back, but on preparing this volume, I have been reminded of how much I owe them. Here I am thinking of Richard Dale, Alison Kay, Michael McLellan, Roger Morris, Mary O'Brien, Heather Smith, Hannah Stratford, William Walden-Mills, Judith Watson, and many others. Gratitude as well to my mother, Margaret Franklin, for supporting me in all these activities. Finally, I dedicate this book to Jochen Jacoby with love.

Marianne Franklin
Amsterdam, November 2004

Notes on Contributors

Roland Bleiker is Reader in Peace Studies and Political Theory at the University of Queensland in Australia. He is the author of *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics* (2000); *Divided Korea: Toward a Culture of Reconciliation* (2005); and essays on political theory, social movements, aesthetics, international relations, and Asian Politics. He is currently pursuing a research project that engages key dilemmas in global security through a range of neglected aesthetic sources, such as literature, visual art, architecture, and music. email: bleiker@uq.edu.au

Robin Brown is Senior Lecturer in International Communications in the Institute of Communications Studies of the University of Leeds, a founding member of the British International Studies Association's International Communications Working Group and the International Studies Association's International Communications Section. His research focuses on the political impact of communications in International Relations. email: r.c.m.brown@leeds.ac.uk

Terrell Carver is Professor of Political Theory at the University of Bristol. He has published extensively on Marx and Engels, feminist theory and gender studies, and occasionally on the politics of opera. He is interested in the conceptual linkages between democratic theory and all aspects of popular culture and political representation, including music, stage, film, and digital media. His most recent books are *The Postmodern Marx* (1998) and *Men in Political Theory* (2004). His dream is to have a multi-media workshop course where students make their own propaganda. email: t.carver@bristol.ac.uk

Matt Davies teaches Political Science and International Studies at Pennsylvania State University—Erie, and is a Visiting Professor in the Political Science Department at York University, Toronto, Canada. He has published in the field of culture and international political

economy with regard to communication and intellectuals in Chile and television and the state in Brazil. His most recent projects concern everyday life and labor in the global political economy: his forthcoming book, co-authored with Michael Niemann (Routledge), examines Henri Lefebvre's theories of everyday life and space as a critique of international relations, and another project investigates the circulation of the struggles of unprotected workers in global politics. While his tastes are eclectic, he's probably too old not to be old school. email: jmd22@psu.edu

Annette Davison is Lecturer in Music at the University of Edinburgh, U.K., where she teaches critical and cultural theory, aesthetics, and film music. She has published a number of articles on film music, a monograph, *Hollywood Theory, Non-Hollywood Practice: Cinema Soundtracks in the 1980s and 1990s* (2004), and is co-editor (with Erica Sheen) of *American Dreams, Nightmare Visions: The Cinema of David Lynch* (2004). email: a.c.davison@ed.ac.uk

Kevin C. Dunn is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, U.S.A., and Visiting Professor in Development Studies at Mbarara University, Uganda. He is author of *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity* (2003), and co-editor of *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory* (2001) and *Identity and Global Politics: Theoretical and Empirical Elaborations* (2004). He also released several tapes and albums with numerous bands, including the Republican Death Clap, Sivlesi Dog, and Cops on Crutches. He is currently the vocalist and bassist for the band Lord Scurvy Duck. email: k-d-@mekons.com

M. I. Franklin is Senior Lecturer in Social and Political Theory at the University of Humanistics, Utrecht, The Netherlands, and lectures in International Relations at the International School for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ISHSS), University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. She is the author of *Postcolonial Politics, The Internet and Everyday Life: Pacific Traversals Online* (2004). Amongst others, J.S. Bach, Joni Mitchell, Lou Reed, and The Fall remain staples in her musical diet. email: M.I.Franklin@uvh.nl

Debora Halbert is Associate Professor of Political Science at Otterbein College, U.S.A. She has written extensively about intellectual property rights. Her book, *Intellectual Property in the Information Age: The Politics of Expanding Property Rights* was published in 1999. Her recent book, *Resisting Intellectual Property Law* (2005), examines the

ways in which people have begun to resist the expansion of intellectual property rights. email: DHalbert@otterbein.edu

Naeem Inayatullah is Associate Professor of Politics at Ithaca College, U.S.A. With David Blaney, he is the author of *International Relations and the Problem of Difference* (2004). He has also published in numerous journals of International Relations and International Political Economy. His recent work incorporates aspects of popular culture—literature, film, memoir, and music. While teaching a course entitled “The Political Economy of African Diaspora Music,” he began to understand that his love of certain genres of music had much to do with the political implications of their aesthetic form. While working with Phil Weinrobe, he began to concede that one day he would have to take the Beach Boys seriously. email: naeem@ithaca.edu

Katrin Lock studied at the Chelsea College of Art and Design in London and the Hochschule der Künste in Berlin. She has participated in numerous group exhibitions, including *If I ruled the world*, Shedhalle Zurich and Kunstraum Munich (1997); *Love is in the air*, Love Lounge Hamburg, Hamburger Kunstverein (1997); *ticker*, Galerie Gebauer, Berlin (1999); *Mensch und Genetik*, Museum for Natural History, Berlin (1999); *Forty Minus One*, Stichting Activiteiten in Rotterdam (2000); and *Levels #1*, Gallery im Parkhaus, Berlin (2001); *Schizorama*, National Centre for Contemporary Art, Moscow; *Ortsbegehung 10*, Neuer Berliner Kunstverein and Göttinger Kunstverein, Berlin (2004). She has held solo exhibitions at K&S Gallery, Berlin (2002); Gallery FHS, Hamburg (2002); Haus Schwarzenberg (2003), Berlin. Her videos have been shown at the ICA London, in Tel Aviv and at the Centre d’Art Contemporain in Caen. Her radio features, *Mothers in Pop Music* and *Reggae in Germany*, were broadcast on Zündfunk (Bayrischer Rundfunk) in 1999. She has published on weapons and music in BE Magazine (Berlin), the music magazines, *Spex* and *Groove*, and developed a project for the 2001 *UN Conference On Illicit Trade on Small Arms and Light Weapons* (New York). Her work has been shown at conferences on Small Arms issues and on Arte Television (Germany). She is currently living in London as part of the Artist in Residence Program (Berlin Senate with Delfina and the Whitechapel Gallery). email: k@katrinlock.de

Christopher May is Professor of Political Economy at the University of Lancaster, U.K. He works mainly in the area of intellectual property rights, but has also published widely on the Information Society.

His latest book is a critical international history of intellectual property co-authored with Professor Susan Sell (George Washington University), which builds on work he and Sell have published on Intellectual Property Rights over the last few years. Before returning to study in his mid-twenties he worked for five years in the record industry, and still is an avid vinyl-head. email: christopher.may@uwe.ac.uk

Jayne Rodgers, Ph.D., is Lecturer in International Communication at the University of Leeds, U.K. Her research focuses on the impact of the Internet and global media on political processes. She has published widely on these issues, including the book, *Spatializing International Politics: Analyzing Activist Use of the Internet* (2003). She is currently researching independent on-line journalism, exploring the role of the Internet in the global music industry, and analyzing activism against the U.S. missile defense project. email: f.j.rodgers@leeds.ac.uk

Dieter Senghaas is Professor of International Politics and International Society at the Institute for Intercultural and International Studies, University of Bremen, Germany. His research interests are Peace, Conflict, and Development. He has published extensively in German on these topics. Titles include *Abschreckung und Frieden* (1969); *Aggressivität und kollektive Gewalt* (1971); *Rüstung und Militarismus* (1972); *Aufrüstung durch Rüstungskontrolle* (1972); *Gewalt-Konflikt-Frieden* (1974); *Weltwirtschaftsordnung und Entwicklungspolitik* (1977); *Von Europa lernen* (1982); *Die Zukunft Europas* (1986); *Europas Entwicklung und die Dritte Welt* (1986); *Konfliktformationen im internationalen System* (1988); *Europa 2000. Ein Friedensplan* (1990); *Friedensprojekt Europa* (1992); *Wohin driftet die Welt? Über die Zukunft friedlicher Koexistenz* (1994); *Klänge des Friedens. Ein Hörbericht* (2001); *The Clash Within Civilizations: Coming to Terms with Cultural Conflicts* (Routledge 2001). His most recent book is *Zum irdischen Frieden* (2004). email: tmenge@uni-bremen.de

Phil Weinrobe, as defined by his academic affiliations, is a sociology student at Ithaca College, U.S.A. He is the author of many papers, most notably his series of “how to” essays in seventh grade. As an upright bassist with his band, “Cletus and the Burners,” he has released two albums on I-Town Records <www.itownrecords.com>. He currently composes music based on the American Folk form. While studying with Naeem Inayatullah, he began to understand that his love for Paul Simon was neither innocent nor endearing. Besides

learning to play the banjo, he hopes to explore the overlap between sleep and creative genius. email: phil@cletusandtheburners.com

Sonja van Wichelen is completing her Ph.D. at the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, The Netherlands. The title of her dissertation is *Mediating Bodies: Gender Politics, Citizenship, and Feminism(s) in post-New Order Indonesia*. email: S.J.vanWichelen@uva.nl

Introductory Improvisations on a Theme: Resounding International Relations

M. I. Franklin

Openings

A scene from the film version (2000) of the novel *High Fidelity* opens with the main character amidst a sea of scattered record albums. Self-absorbed record-store owner Rob has been dumped by his girlfriend so, in a fit of self-therapy, he is reorganizing his massive vinyl collection. Not by alphabetical or chronological order, he smugly tells his curious visitor, but *autobiographically*. One more punch line in the plot's running musical joke ("... what really matters is *what* you like, not what you *are* like") duly made. The latent message here, though, is about the ordinariness of this seamless merging of commodity fetishism with everyday sexual politics. The intertwined action, soundtrack and merchandising strategies of films like *High Fidelity*, underscore how the personal is not so much political these days as it is *cultural*, figuratively and literally. Either way it is good for business.¹

Let's shift to a televised scenario, the public signing of the *Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe* on October 29, 2004, in Rome. Beaming Heads of State add their signature to this "single, clear, foundational document for the European Union" (Universidad de Zaragoza 2003). Yet to be ratified by each member state, its economic intent and social consequences strongly contested, the treaty signals the alleged "culmination" of a "fifty-year process" nonetheless.² The musical accompaniment to this pomp and circumstance is the "European Anthem"; from the Fourth Movement (Ode to Joy) of Ludwig van

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The tensions beneath the surface of a "new" European *telos* are belied by this musical underscoring of a quintessential International Relations ritual; treaty-signings between sovereign states. Whether Beethoven would have come up with this particular piece, one of his best-known, to accompany this sequence of events is anyone's guess. The apparent consensus about the "rightness" of his music for certain triumphal historical narratives, aesthetic and cultural claims,³ does beg some intriguing politico-musical questions though.

First scenario; music as consumer item, a function of individualized "brandings" in an ostensibly global political economy of culture. Second scenario; music as the classical rendition of geopolitical union in a post-Cold War world. Here is a third one: music as malleable material, expression, and medium for variations and contestations of the above two. Together, all three are leading themes—*leitmotivs*—for this collection of essays on music, culture, and politics.

I shall dwell a bit longer on the third, complicating and "post-post," scenario; shifting over to the airwaves this time. Gil Scott-Heron's song, "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" (1971/1974), is recast in 1999 by the New York performance artist, Sarah Jones. Her poem, "Your Revolution," broadcast on KBOO-FM (Portland, Oregon), is a remake of Scott-Heron's denunciation of couch potato politics in consumer, mass media societies. Decrying the stupefying effects of endemic disenfranchisement, substance abuse, and the seductions of consumerism, Heron's "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" is a poignant critique of the "Culture Industry."⁴ Not from the latter critique's bourgeois, European vantage point but from the race/ethnic and class lines that lie "below the radar" (Weinrobe and Inayatullah, this volume) of the American Dream itself.

Scott-Heron's rapid, quasi-shouted vocal delivery—"effusive" rapping style (Krimms 2000: 50–51)—is backed by members of John Coltrane's band; Hubert Laws, Pretty Purdie, and Ron Carter. Improvisations on the flute waft over a slow 4/4 rhythm on drums, the melodic-harmonic progression provided by the bass guitar (*The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*, 1974; see play list at the end of this chapter). The vocal and instrumental lines move along distinct, horizontal rhythmic-melodic lines in this pioneering example of the poly-sonic *layering* that characterizes rap/hip-hop spoken-word musical idioms (Franklin 2003a; Krimms 2000: 48–54, 97–110; Rose 1994). Sanguine jazz flows are juxtaposed with the sharp, ironic message behind Scott-Heron's "quick, authoritative slogan"

(Tesser 1988: 5) for a multimedia age:

You will not be able to stay home, brother.
 You will not be able to plug in, turn on and cop out.
 You will not be able to lose yourself on skag and
 Skip out for beer during commercials,
 Because the revolution will not be televised. . . .
 . . . The revolution will not be right back
 after a message about a white tornado, white lightning, or white people.
 You will not have to worry about a dove in your
 bedroom, a tiger in your tank, or the giant in your toilet bowl.
 The revolution will not go better with Coke.
 The revolution will not fight the germs that may cause bad breath.
 The revolution will put you in the driver's seat.
 The revolution will not be televised, will not be televised,
 will not be televised, will not be televised.
 The revolution will be no re-run brothers;
 The revolution will be live.⁵

The title-line of this poem/proto-rap has been echoed and evoked many times since its first release, and since rap/hip-hop emerged as a cultural and commercial force to be reckoned with (see Krims 2000: 123 passim; Negus 1999: 83, 96–97).⁶ From embellishments of this theme from Scott-Heron's former collaborators, The Last Poets, to its reiteration by rappers *par excellence*, Public Enemy, and back again to Scott-Heron himself. In his 1994 "Message to the Messengers" (on *Spirits*, 1994), he addresses those who, at the height of rap/hip-hop's commercial success in the mid-1990s, were amassing huge profits through the appropriation and repackaging of the violence and deprivation that is everyday life in American ghettos.

Nearly thirty years later, Sarah Jones recasts Gil Scott-Heron's pioneering mix of "Old-School" and "Bohemian" styles/genres⁷ in her parodying of rap/hip-hop's political and gender geographies. The song, entitled "Your Revolution," dedicated to Heron with "much respect," stays close to the poetic cadence, spoken-delivery style, and sparse musical arrangement of "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised"; words delivered this time over a four-bar loop, still in a slow 4/4, comprised of three, harmonically static, riffs from drum-machine, synthesized keyboard, and guitar. In her opening dedication, Jones addresses rappers/hip-hoppers around the world who refuse to compromise their artistic and political integrity for the easy money that "hip-pop" can bring. Jones, like Heron, takes rappers (male for the

most part but not exclusively) to task for their misogynist posturing, violent lyrics, “sexploitative” imagery.⁸ Rap/hip-hop has relinquished *en masse* its earlier political edge and social commentary as exponents of its poppy, “illegitimate child” pursue more fame and “more paper” (Missy Elliott 2002). The dynamics of her rhymes and alliteration (“these thighs”—“booty size”—“you buys”—“you drives”) are more muted than those of Scott-Heron as Jones languidly snarls her message over the minimalist instrumental loop (“Your Revolution,” Sarah Jones/DJ Vadim, *USSR: Life from the Other Side*, 1999⁹).

However this music may have developed since Heron was performing with The Last Poets in the 1960s, or since hip-hop’s first, recognized “commercial” success (see Krims 2000), rap/hip-hop music is steeped in “African American verbal culture” (Perkins 1996: 2), in the communicative codes and practices of everyday resistance by African Americans to endemic racial discrimination and socioeconomic disenfranchisement. Jones’s counter-rap makes full use of some of these verbal techniques and idioms (such as “dissin” and “signifying”) in her parodying of this particular “jargon of authenticity” (Adorno 1973: 5–6) in order to speak directly to both an established community and a wider audience.¹⁰ Her sarcastic inversion of sexually explicit colloquialisms, evoke women’s ignominious position (figuratively and literally) not only in rap/hip-hop but in artistic and everyday scenarios of all kinds (Bayton 1993; Detels 1994; Gaunt 1995; Rose 1994: 146 *passim*). As with Scott-Heron, no one is spared in “Your Revolution.” When first broadcast, the song unleashed a roar of protest from offended listeners. It was taken off the air, the radio station fined. The song was then banned in 2001 by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) for its “patently offensive sexual references” (FCC in Strauss 2002). This ruling, Jones’s tireless litigation and public campaigns against it, has become a minor cause célèbre in American media censorship debates in which the FCC’s use of its discretionary power, more recently under the neoconservative leadership of Michael Powell (son of Colin Powell), to penalize “countercultural radio stations” (Heins 2003; *The Village Voice* 2001; *Washington Post* 2002) has been the focus. Jones won her appeal by default in 2003 when the FCC suddenly reversed its ruling (Free Expression Policy Project 2004).

Rap/hip-hop has, over the thirty-odd years that span “The Revolution Will Not be Televised” and “Your Revolution,” crystallized into a multiplex, musical “genre,” urban style, youth culture. A music-cultural form that is characterized by its emphasis on text as content *and* rhythm, verbal virtuosity that is as cultivated and improvisational as it is combative and proactive, performances that are at once in solo and

in concert. Its musical innovativeness lies, amongst other things, in its uses of “old-fashioned” vinyl records (scratching), center staging of the DJ as musician, and preferences for digital sampling and mixing techniques rather than “live” musicians (Garofalo 1993; Krims 2000; Mowitt 2002). Rap/hip-hop musical and cultural forms have become the latest success story in a long history of U.S. economic-cultural exports (Gienow-Hecht 2003: 276 *passim*; Monod 2003; Scott-Smith and Krabbendam 2003). Its recording, merchandising, and distribution networks are now a big slice of music industry majors’ share of the “global market” pie, and a gold mine for emergent hip-hop entrepreneurs alike. Whether in the United States or abroad, it is also the latest provider of minority, male role models and counter-icons, a site of political and countercultural contestations, moral-aesthetic positionings; a theoretical and research focus as well. Like other influential African/African American music (blues, rhythm and blues, jazz), rap/hip-hop needs to be approached as both an American/ized and global/ized music-cultural phenomenon; including the multiplex political under- and overtones that go with these dynamics (see Brown and Lock in this volume; Harris 2003; Krims 2000; Letts 2003; Lipsitz 1994; Mitchell 1996; Monson 2003; Roizès 1999). A complex and complicating politico-musical scenario, indeed.

Three scenarios, then. Three sets of music-makings and an infinite variety of historical, economic, and sociocultural combinations—and political dimensions—to consider.

Enter these reflections on the “intersectionality” (Chowdhry and Nair 2003: 3, 21) of music, culture, and politics.¹¹ Not from the usual research bases of Philosophy, Musicology, Cultural Studies *inter alia* but from the field of International Relations (a rubric for Political Theory, Political Science, International Political Economy research foci on the “global,” “transnational,” and “inter-national” aspects of political and economic life) to be more precise. This collection of essays has been conceived, compiled, and performed as “heterophonic”—in the words of Edward Said (1992: 96)—improvisations on a theme. They are open-ended reflections that ask questions, rather than provide easy answers, about the material, symbolic, and experiential intersections of music, culture, and politics. However construed, music is the substantive focus, analytical entry, and exit-point for these explorations of themes in international relations; as a research field, policy-making processes, institutions of “governance,” and structural, hegemonic power.

As improvisatory explorations, the themes treated here are primarily regarded as political and economic *practices*, which are inevitably, albeit asynchronously, imbued with the sociocultural geographies of *musical*

ones. Politics, culture, and music examined as dynamic processes, everyday practices; “musickings” in other words. This neologism is taken from John Mowitt who (taking his cue from Christopher Small) advocates that inquiries into musical meaning be grounded not only

in sound, but in performance, in the act of doing a piece. . . . [this places] music in a context where many more things than the logic of tonality or the life of a composer can be brought to bear on musical meaning. . . . the point is not to abandon notation but to supplement it. (Mowitt 2002: 211, note 8, see 10–12)

A strong analogy can be drawn here between these sorts of moves in critical music research to free up traditional conceptualizations of the object of analysis—music—and comparable ones in International Relations with respect to politics. In both cases, music and politics are to be taken as verbs (*doing* words, mobile meanings) rather than nouns (naming words, static categories). In both cases, the substantive–normative goal is the incorporation of nonelite, street-level, and underground practices that co-constitute domains of action. Doing so, in both cases too, historically re-situates those well-heeled, elite echelons of (musical and political) practices, which usually set the tone. In this way, politico-musickings are thereby

granted the authority to provoke theorizing—that is to provoke a reading of theory that challenges its integrity. . . . In this sense, theory “responds” to the “call” of music not by smothering it like a salve, but by *discovering in this encounter other possibilities of elaboration, other orientations*. (Mowitt 2002: 12, emphasis added)

Contributors to this volume apply various musico-logical, intra-cultural, and intercultural terms of reference in order to do just this; sound out some new directions for multivalent and multiplex theory and research for a complex and troubled world.¹² At the same time, each brings their own brand of enthusiasm, fascination, and commitment to bear on their topics. Officially nonspecialists in musicological research, contributors—and special guests—combine their respective research areas with the passion and insights of professional, and amateur knowledge of the musickings at hand.¹³ With this sort of intellectual curiosity and desire to integrate “the sacred/mundane with the analytic” (Naeem Inayatullah, October 26, 2004: personal email) comes the acknowledgment that powerful psycho-emotional and visceral dimensions cannot, indeed need not be smoothed over in the process.

Everyday life and politics are “raucous” to a greater or lesser extent. Contributors are enjoying the subversive, countermanding power of making “rough music” (E.P. Thompson in Mowitt 2002: 11; Davies and Dunn, this volume) in the hushed, hallowed halls of academic knowledge (re)production. The Social Sciences in general, and International Relations in particular, are (officially, at least) nonmusical, emotionally detached and, arguably, acculturated areas of inquiry and political engagement.

Before presenting the contributions to *Resounding International Relations*, this chapter will develop the above three openings a little further. First, with respect to the notion that politics—international relations—can be construed as *audible*; studied and experienced as sound—music, noise, silence. An underlying argument for the whole collection needs to be outlined, the fun and contingent aspects any experimental, multidisciplinary undertaking taken as read. The second section traces an inter/multidisciplinary methodological terrain; practical tips and caveats for when embarking upon music/musical research within the preserve of International Relations’ theoretical and empirical preoccupations. Grouped along the “riffs” of key thinkers from other domains on such matters, this part is a rough guide for readers who, whilst interested in literary–musical fusions such as these, may not be sure just how “relevant” they might be to issue-areas that lie beyond Philosophy Departments and Music Conservatoriums. But, just like scales and arpeggios, these riffs (samples in today’s digital lingo) are meant to work as thought-facilitators rather than rigid templates. Their “use-fullness” emerges in the making; in and through practicing; by listening as you play. These essays consciously resonate with philosophical and musicological predecessors and contemporaneous inspirations rather than look to claim a higher analytical ground. A word on the organization of this volume and a brief synopsis of the chapters in the third section draw these introductory improvisations to a close.

I: Audible Worlds

I see music, in many ways, as a defiance of physical laws—one of them is the relation to silence. . . . That is the phenomenology of sound—the fact that sound is ephemeral, that sound has a very concrete relation to silence. . . . And the art of making music through sound is . . . the art of illusion. . . . Because the score is not the truth. The score is not the piece. The piece is when you actually bring it into sound.

—Barenboim in Said and Barenboim, 2002: 30, 31, 33

Whatever anyone says about ADF's [Asian Dub Foundation's] so called "political" lyrics, no one would have taken any notice if it wasn't for ADF's sound and its inherent energy: ragga-jungle propulsion, indo-dub basslines, distorted sitar-like guitars and samples of more "traditional" Asian sounds. The framework of this sound is the [computer] programming and ADF's approach to this was very inspired by the "jump up" ragga-jungle that had it's heyday around 1994–95.¹⁴ . . . Composition for the material [on the albums] was done collectively. The computer would be programmed with guitar and bass being jammed alongside, with each of these influencing the programming as well as each other. . . . For us, programming wasn't just a technical issue, but carried emotional weight—certain sounds suggested certain themes and lyrics. We often wrote words, all of us sitting around a piece of paper, scribbling down ideas. . . . We've also been very inspired by Indian tabla machines and raga sequencers . . .

—ADF Collective 2004

The "predominance of the eye and the disregard of the ear" in Western knowledge production (Seubold 2001: 11/11, note 9) subsumes an everyday truism that meanings, value systems, and power differentials are articulated, relayed, and absorbed by aural means; through sounds; organized and random. Not just for Ethnomusicology but also for International Relations it is, indeed, an audible world (Attali 1989: 3). The logocentric forms of knowledge and meaning-making that characterize Western academe (Borradori 2003; Detels 1994) are ill at ease with those that slide by, defy the purely written articulations of (re)cognition. Music, with or without librettos or lyric sheets, is a case in point. Various philosophical positions and musicological delineations aside—which are myriad—these essays are based on the premise that the "political," the "economic," the "sociocultural" constitute soundscapes as well as landscapes. Their interpretation, comprehension, and enactment are governed by sonic-experiential perceptions, degrees of (un)consciousness, as well as optical-cognitive representations. These sounds are more than incidental phenomena. But neither are they simple by-products, functions of Politics or Society writ large. Sounds and their corequisites, silence or interval, are thoroughly social, historical—relational. As are the political economic realms with which, and from which they resonate, or clash, as the case may be.

In methodological and conceptual terms, what might emerge if the visual, architectural metaphors (lenses, images, models, levels) of political and social science lexicons were retuned, remixed,

rearranged, musically speaking? International Relations discourse since the mid-twentieth century rerouted through the “new music” of the post-Schoenberg generation of composers? World politics perceived along the lines of John Cage’s (in)famous piano piece, *Four Minutes Thirty Three Seconds* (see Grout 1973: 488–499; Salzman 1974: 152 *passim*)? Globalization brought to us by The Beatles, Elvis Presley, the late (great) John Peel, Britney Spears, Eminem? Who is doing the composing, arranging, performing, listening, dancing, singing, or freestyling along? Who are the agents, impresarios, and reviewers?¹⁵

II: Music, Culture, and Politics— A Beginner’s Guide

Defensive specialization is an ideological choice, however, but it is not the only choice, nor the only problem. . . . Once we take for granted that classical music exists, and has always existed, among many competing cultural formations, affiliated with or distinct from some or identical with others, we should be able to see how musical elaboration itself—the composition and performance of music—is an activity in civil society and is in overlapping, interdependent relationship with other activities. . . . [We need to free ourselves] from the orthodoxies, traditions, and authorities in music whose main role is to keep things out, rather than to think things through together, heterophonically, variationally. . . . None of us is involved in music to the exclusion of other things, . . . serious musical thought occurs in conjunction with, not in separation from, other serious thought, both musical and non-musical.

—Said 1992: 96–97

With this maxim from Edward Said ringing in our ears, let’s move on.

Music Research (a rubric for the academic pursuits of Historical Musicology, Philosophy/Sociology of Music, (Ethno)Musicology, Music Theory) has been undergoing some painful ethical–epistemological rehearsals of late.¹⁶ Some stipulations now need to be made on how these chapters bespeak comparable agonies in International Relations. Precisely because definition and parameter-setting are so politically, and personally, charged in theoretic–empirical demarcation disputes, this section simply draws out the main lines of three clusters of insights. Let these be an *aide-mémoire* for the reader as they hum along or listen to the various musical references of the chapters (playlists are provided). Or, better still, are encouraged to read and listen further to the larger repertoires behind these riffs and their resonances in this volume.

First Riff: Play On

In order to distinguish music from the mere succession of sensuous stimuli it has been termed a structured or meaningful totality. These terms may be acceptable in as much as nothing in music stands alone. . . . But the totality is different from the totality of meaning created by intentional language. . . . Music as a whole incorporates intentions not by diluting them into still higher, more abstract intention, but by setting out to proclaim the non-intentioned at the moment when all intentions converge and are fused together. Thus music is almost the opposite of a meaningful totality.

—Adorno, 1956: *www*

. . . a fair amount of ingenuity has gone into explaining, not only why noise is sometimes not merely noise, but why, in fact, it is sometimes music. . . . listening to music is not a passive exercise, as being subjected to noise is, but an activity. Therefore, like any activity, it is something that one can get better at.

—Ridley 2004: 17, 19–20

These observations encapsulate some recognizable analytical pitfalls for any attempt to define, delineate “music” per se, let alone reach a consensus on its ontological–epistemological status, assess its aesthetic worth, its meaning, or social functions (Adorno 2003, 1968: 12 *passim*, 48 *passim*; Scruton 1997: 97 *passim*, 468–474; Sharpe 2000). This Sisyphean feat is not the remit for this volume nor, indeed, that of contemporary “New Music Research” (Alperson 1994; Korsyn 2003). Be that as it may, here is one working definition of “music” for the purposes of these explorations. We all work with the notion of music as a “temporal succession of articulated sounds that are more than just sound” (Adorno 2002: 113, see 1956: URL 1/4). What this sort of intersectional work does need to bear in mind, however, is the powerful link that is made between one “temporal sequence of sounds” to a particular geopolitical and economic historical narrative that takes its aesthetic cues from ancient Greece, classical music, and modern Europe.¹⁷ But, as Edward Said rightly notes, with postmodern and postcolonial political theoretical counterpoints audible, this “relatively distinct entity called ‘Western Classical Music,’ . . . is far from coherent or monolithic and . . . when it is talked about as if it meant only one thing it is being constructed with non-Western, non-classical musics and cultures very much in mind” (Said 1992: xiv).

A blanket dismissal of this “far from coherent” category and its stringent theoretical tradition is not this volume’s aim either. Contributors come from different disciplinary backgrounds, musical

sensibilities toward this “entity,” phrasing their own entries and silences in this regard and not necessarily in unison. There are also various levels of musical training, involvement, and affinities at work here.¹⁸ As a whole, this collection does not position itself along the ontological–aesthetic ramparts separating classical from popular music, high from low culture (see Bennett et al. 1993: 3–5; Mowitt 2002: 1–13; Scruton 1997: 474 passim, 500–505). It does, however, acknowledge and incorporate the historical tensions contained in some of the “structural homologies” (Attali 1989; Bennett et al. op. cit. Witkin 1998: 38–39), the sociological and psycho-emotional “affiliations” (Said 1992: 70) that do exist between musics, cultures, and politics.

Second Riff: Plug In

Music runs parallel to human society, is structured like it, and changes when it does . . . Music is a channelization of noise and a simulacrum of sacrifice, a sublimation to create order and political integration.

—Attali 1989: 10, 26

. . . the study of music can be more, and not less, interesting if we situate music as taking place, so to speak, in a [political economic], social and cultural setting. Another way of putting this is to say that the roles played by music in Western society are extraordinarily varied, and far exceed the antiseptic, cloistered, academic, professional aloofness it seems to have been accorded. Think of the affiliation between music and social privilege; or between music and the nation; or between music and religious veneration—and the idea will be clear enough. The difficulty, however, is to devise modes of articulating musical activity in that larger context . . . to connect [the study of music] to ideology, or social space, or power, or to the formation of an individual (and by no means sovereign) ego.

—Said 1992: xii

With definitional perplexities remaining moot, music research and international relations have been shaped by twentieth-century theoretical and political schisms and collapses. Each critical moment brings its own “historical burden” (Korsyn 2003: 61 passim; Krims 2000: 17) to bear on the form and substance of its respective enterprises. Moves against the “quarantining” of music research from “extra-musical factors” (Goehr 1994: 135) that has created the “generally cloistral and reverential, not to say deeply insular, habits in writing about music” (Said 1992: 58) are well under way in music theory.¹⁹

Political and international relations theory as well, its heart still lost to bygone Colonial and Cold War eras, has been working through its own crisis of conscience, sense of purpose, search for its “added value” in a “time of terror” (Borradori 2003). Critical voices have been addressing the field’s own isolationist tendencies toward the emergence of non-state, substate, or supra-state forces and actors as players in the rarefied, professionalized, atmosphere of international—global—politics. Meanwhile, vested business interests, global environmental and health issues, forms of (other-globalization) political protest have become increasingly *loud*. Hi-Techno-Economic forces and techniques are responsible for peddling a host of powerful realignments on the world stage, so it would seem. Deterministic accounts of technological change notwithstanding many of these contributors share an increasing unease with the way political research and policy-making have been turning a deaf ear to the steady sociocultural, economic, physical, and democratic impoverishment of the planet (see Dunn and Davies, this volume).

This second riff, then, recalls that theoretical and disciplinary boundaries have always been temporal, even when ossified in practice. The canonization of “the rules” governing the form and substance of both musical and political theory and research enterprises do perform important and impressive disciplining functions, are efficiently absorbed and reproduced by their practitioners, and do provide clear pay-offs. But formal rules and traditional practices also operate as unwitting invitations for all manner of border-crossings, fusions, and other sorts of transgressions (Said 1992: 55, ADF op. cit.).

Third Riff: With Feeling

Music resembles a language. . . . But music is not identical with language. The resemblance points to something essential, but vague. Anyone who takes it literally will be seriously misled. . . . Every musical phenomenon points to something beyond itself by reminding us of something, contrasting itself with something or arousing our expectations.

—Adorno 1956: 1, 3, 4 of 4

Attempts to discuss music in relation to politics have always seemed fraught with danger. By its irreducibility to mere words, music has encouraged and shunned such attempts.

—Edinburgh Review 75, 1986

From definition to historical location to aesthetic and analytic–political predilections. This third riff bespeaks the penchant for the “big story” in international relations theory and research vis-à-vis those from other disciplines. This is, admittedly, a field that likes to think big. Macro-level analysis, universal predictive models, and historical explanations still predominate, even when the substantive material may be localized, comparative case study material, or micro-level subtleties (gender, race/ethnicity). There is, still, a fondness for the full, formally attired, symphony concert or the grand operatic production as opposed to smaller, chamber ensembles; the fully amplified, rock extravaganza complete with pyrotechnics as opposed to the intimate, “unplugged” gig; Live Aid/Live 8 sorts of coverage as opposed to garage banding, street busking, or freestyling. In any case, there are both challenges and hazards involved when narratives reduce music (culture and politics) to a functional,

subordinate, passively mirroring role. On the contrary, music plays a role in civil [and international] society that is neither natural nor substitutive. Music is of course, *itself*, even if its way of inhabiting the social landscape varies so much as to affect compositional and formal styles with a force as yet largely uninventoried In short, the transgressive element is its nomadic ability to attach itself to, and become part of, social formations, to vary its articulations and rhetoric depending on the occasion as well as the audience, plus the power and the gender situations in which it takes place. (Said 1992: 70)

This sort of tightrope is walked at times in this volume as well. Nonetheless it can be a productive and revealing one for political analyses that see “musickings” as constitutive, not merely mimetic, of political “realities.” Here, muted, micro-sonic dimensions of counter-narratives become audible, unarticulated, or muffled voices turned up. Hazardous, nonetheless, because counter-narratives, with or without musical scores, cannot present immediate “solutions” or political programs on the basis of these syncopations alone. Reckless in another normative sense because musical inversions of accepted wisdoms can, despite themselves, end up accentuating the aesthetic and political value-hierarchies they set out to subvert. Many recent debates within critical takes on Western, European research modes from cultural and postcolonial theorists pivot on just these questions of voice, emphasis, otherings, and complicities (Franklin 2003b; hooks 1990: 7–10, 173 passim; Smith 1999). Concerns that are echoed in the gendered,

racial/ethnic, and class modalities of these samplings, whether these be articulated as “cross-rhythms,” gendered embodiments, foot-tapping, or crowd-surfing. These other voices point to the visceral and emotional dimensions at stake in all musickings once we look and listen more closely. These “parallels and paradoxes” (Barenboim and Said 2002; Bleiker, this volume; Krims 2000: 4–6, 298 *passim*) are a back-beat to this collection where music and politics, are treated as “at once separate but connected to society” (Goehr 1994: 141).

Several methodological implications follow from the above. The first is that of recognizing and then creating a space in which critical research modes in music and politics meet, and (en)counter their respective isolationist tendencies, which depend “upon development, control, inventiveness, and rhythm in the service of forward, logical control” (Said 1992: 99). Second, given the “desperate pessimism” (Anderson cited in Said 1992: 51) that Marxian, structural–functionalist forms of critical theory bring to discussions of “culture” especially,²⁰ these heterophonic musings offer some new material for more hopeful analysis and action. Edward Said sums up the shifts in perspective that can ensue in this way:

In thinking or experiencing any of the arts we are inevitably led to a discussion about what is intrinsic and what is extrinsic to a particular work. . . . what we are dealing with . . . is not the separation between art or theory and life but rather the powerful, commonsensical, and experiential connection between them. There are reasons for, and there is an interest in, separating them but, I maintain, these two spheres of human effort exist together, they live together, they *are* together. (Said 1992: 35, 37)

How far the lines can be stretched within and between these different sorts of intellectual and artistic practices is worth a try, even when faced with the danger of either overintellectualizing or missing a beat.²¹ Include the word *politics* with music in the following eloquent statement of intent and the exploratory line we are working with should come clear. I quote at length:

music is part of life. It’s a rotten slogan but . . . musical experience occupies a position right at the center. . . . Whether welcome or not, music and musical sounds are ubiquitous; and that, certainly, is an aspect of what my slogan was meant to capture. But it has a wider point too. As part of life, music also shares some of life’s basic characteristics and conditions. It is, for instance, historical through and