Transnational Music

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Transnationalism has become increasingly popular in contemporary scholarly and journalistic discourses, even though the term has fuzzy boundaries and often overlaps with the concept of diaspora.[1] Transnationalism resulted from the major changes brought on by global media and technologies, increasing (human) migration, modernization and Westernization, and commodification throughout the previous century—commonly referred to as globalization. Transnationalism refers to processes that transcend international borders, and is often used to refer to migrants' durable ties across countries, and to capture not only communities, but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups, and organizations. Transnationalism connotes the everyday practices of migrants engaged in various activities, including reciprocity and solidarity within kinship networks, political participation in home and host country, small-scale entrepreneurship across borders, the transfer and re-transfer of cultural customs and practices, and others.

Transnationalism as a concept is relatively new, not only in public debates but also in academic analysis, and emerged in migration studies in the 1990s from previous scholarly work on the nation state and national identity (Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm 1990), offering an alternative category to "black" and "white" in dominant Western discourses to refer to recent immigrant cohorts ("people out of place") entering industrial societies in North America and Europe. While transnationalism initially referred to migration as a one-way process, sociologists, historians, geographers, anthropologists, and others gradually reconsidered its meaning to also include reverse, temporary, circular, and other kinds of migration. The term also gradually expanded to include other groups of people, notably the capitalist class, as well as a whole array of cross-border activities, including tourism, marriage, cross-border activism, journalism, academic collaborations, criminal activity, news coverage, religious communities, social movements, mobility, communication media, and so forth. Thus, while transnationalism is a facet of international migration, it is no longer restricted to immigrant groups, which has reconfigured the scholarly object of enquiry away from national society and toward *transnational social spaces* (Roudometof 2005)—the emerging spaces of human interaction, including spaces of popular music.

Music and Transnationalism

Musicians represent some of the most mobile migrants in transnational culture and are thus a major focus on scholarly attention in transnational music studies. The proliferation of different levels of transnationalism across the globe has thus increasingly become the object of study in music studies, notably ethnomusicology, popular music, and music sociology, where explanations of globalizing transnational trends are often made through the lenses of globalization, migration and diaspora, the transnational music business and capitalism, musical hybridization and cosmopolitanism (Garofalo 1993; Krüger Bridge 2018; Regev

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[1] The term diaspora has often been used to denote religious or national groups living outside an (imagined) homeland. For further reading, see Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, eds. (2010). *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. Amsterdam University Press.

2013; Taylor 2016). While much of this work focuses on the economic and financial dimensions of globalization and its mediation and facilitation by large-scale corporate transnational companies and organizations, research has increasingly demonstrated empirically the everyday life realities of the people involved in transnational networks and flows, while recognizing the crucial role played by individuals within processes of globalization from below—the human dimension of globalization. Transnationalism thereby facilitates the study of migration as a dynamic process in which people travel readily between places of origin and resettlement and communicate on multiple levels across geographical boundaries via diverse media. Specifically, the work of ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin provides important foundations for theories of musical transnationalism by using the notion of "scape" to explore the articulation of several musical translocal contexts, while adopting a sociological view on popular and secular music repertoires that have acquired a transnational dimension (1992, 1993). Such a sociological perspective is shared by others, including Nadia Kiwan and Ulrike Meinhof's study of musicians whose careers are part of transnational networks (2011), as well as some notable collections on music, diaspora, migration, and cosmopolitanism (Aparicio and Jaquez 2003; Kiwan and Meinhof 2011; Krüger and Trandafoiu 2014; Ramnarine 2007; Toynbee and Dueck 2012).

Studies of musical transnationalism often pay attention to the ever-increasing migration of musicians and their routes, networks and (new hybrid) identities; the proliferation of new recording and other technologies; global power perspectives and disparities; the sense of belonging and imagined communities; and newer (online) and multi-sited research approaches. Indeed, the role of the internet in the creation and development of virtual communities is indeed highly relevant in transnational musical studies that seek to understand music's role played in transnational cultural development (e.g. Lysloff and Leslie 2003). Yet despite some pioneering work on music and transnationalism (e.g. Slobin 1992, 1993, 1994, 2012; Ramnarine 1996, 2001, 2007a, 2007b; Manuel 2000; Shelemay 2006; Um 2005; Stokes 2004, 2007; Solis 2005; Muller 2006; Baily and Collyer 2006; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008; Pistrick 2015; Zheng 2010), the interconnectedness between music and transnational social spaces still remains to be further explored. The following sections will contribute in three ways to existing studies of musical transnationalism: an ethnographic look at migrant experiences of hybrid identities in the local context of Liverpool; a historical analysis of reggae in the UK in the context of migration, memory, and place; and a sociological view of the global music genre of hip hop as it has become inextricably linked to ideas of transnationalism.

Transnational Identities in a Local Context: Migrant Experiences in Liverpool

Salsa emerged from the rhythmic cultures of Africa and developed through the movement of people along transnational routes embracing the Caribbean, particularly Puerto Rico and Cuba, as well as the United States, Europe, and other parts of the world. In its transformation to a hybrid and transnational dance practice, for example in the Latin communities of New York where it was mixed with different South American and Caribbean music styles, as well as rock and jazz, salsa gradually transcended its original localized identity from a Hispanophone post-colonial imaginary to become a much wider Latino/a identifier, particularly in moments of collective pleasure experienced by dancers, which can unite migrants with very different histories and everyday life experiences. Indeed, diasporic

migrant experience does not reflect one united sense of identity, but contradicted and fragmented identities united in a search for belonging.

That migrant identities are not fixed and static, but differentiated and heterogenous, became clear to me when in 2009, during ethnographic research in Liverpool, I met Flor (female, 24), Alan (male, 23), Valessi (female, 21) and Indira (female, 17), four siblings from Bolivia, who arrived in the UK about eight years prior to that, and who related to local salsa nights "Noche Clandestina" at Liverpool's Latin venue El Rincon[2] in very unique ways. The salsa dance events were often attended by local Liverpudlians, who were attracted to salsa by a sense of exoticism and otherness, yet Flor explained to me that in Bolivia, salsa dancing was about celebrating life and hope. Alan agreed that salsa represents their "real" culture and triggered memories of "who we really are". Alan felt that due to their young age when migrating they hadn't yet learnt to cook Bolivian food, so music and dance became more central to them in evoking memories of homeland. The two oldest siblings, Flor and Alan, who were in their mid-teens upon arriving in the UK, had somewhat different experiences and felt Bolivian more strongly than Valessi and Indira, who also felt in tune with British identity. Salsa evoked strong memories in Flor and Alan: they spoke at length about the importance of salsa in Bolivia "as a way of life", and how they grew up with salsa music and dance around them. Both Flor and Alan now lived with British partners and socialized mostly with British colleagues in their work places, so salsa music helped them to remember their homeland and to maintain a sense of Bolivianness. Flor even wished to return to Bolivia, which she referred to as "my country", especially when starting a family, to give her children a similar upbringing to herself. Indira, who was 9 years old when arriving in the UK, similarly explained that listening to salsa was integral to her identity, as listening to western music would mean to "pretend" and "fake" to be someone she was not. She remembered people dancing salsa at home, and while she tried hard to fit into British culture at school, she felt increasingly confident to establish herself as Bolivian, while listening to salsa and other Latin music as a means to express her identity to herself and others—to be in touch with an essential part of herself.

Salsa events at El Rincon were thus important to the siblings in their confusion as to who they "really are" and central for constructing and maintaining their Latin identity. Even so, there were some clear differences in how Valessi viewed and constructed her identity. On one occasional at El Rincon, I noticed that Valessi did not dance salsa with the rest of the family, and this was so since her memories were very different to her siblings'. As a child, while living in Bolivia, her family moved frequently, and this lack of attachment to a place and instability meant that Valessi felt a lack of attachment to Bolivia as a country. Valessi focussed much on how she felt "free" and does not need to be attached to a place to feel strong. After migrating at the age of 11, Valessi tried hard to fit in with the Latin community in the UK, but always felt slightly out of place. Consequently, her relationship to salsa differed greatly from her siblings, and she clearly lacked her siblings' shared and idealized

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[2] El Rincon was opened by the company All Things Latin, now called One Latin Culture, which promotes contemporary Latin America, its people and its culture; and to develop projects and presentations that represent different aspects of Latin America. OLC also works to advance the education of the communities of Liverpool and the UK and to develop their understanding of Global education (see http://www.allthingslatin.co.uk/, accessed 26 April 2019).

sense of Bolivian culture more generally. Moreover, Valessi believed to be a bad dancer while lacking rhythm, and so felt uncomfortable dancing in El Rincon. Indeed, rhythm has been used as a significant marker of Latinness in western media, constructing the idea that dancing salsa comes "natural" to Latin Americans (Román-Velázquez 2002:220), which further impacted on her feeling inadequate and excluded, even non-Latin because of her lack of rhythm, especially in her teens. Only when Valessi grew older did she no longer feel the need to "fit in", but that this "doesn't make me any less Bolivian". In her case, there was a sense of "homing desire", which was not the same thing as a desire for returning to the homeland. While the Bolivian siblings expressed their identities in heterogenous ways, I noted that none of them were "naturally" Latin, but this was something they were all actively and consciously working on, driven by a desire to fix identity, to feel a sense of core identity. This was, at least to Flor, Alan, and Valessi, found in their ethnicity, as identifying themselves in ethnic terms is indeed a basic human need to express social belonging (Simonett 2007:88). Even so, it is important to remember that migrants may also have a contradictory relationship with this imagined belonging to an idealized homeland, and that individual experiences may indeed differ due to sociocultural circumstances.

Migration, Memory, and Place: The Case of Reggae in the UK

Music in a migration context, which has become the everyday lived reality of people in many urban areas of the world, evokes collective memories and experiences of place, which is demonstrated by the post-war Caribbean migration to the United Kingdom and its impact upon the creation and dissemination of reggae music. While Caribbean migration to the UK was largely based on the post-war economic needs of British industries, it maintained the racialized appropriation of the African diaspora that was forcibly constructed through the slave trade and the forcible dispersion of people from their African homeland. Thus, while many migrants had preconceived idealistic ideas of job success, housing, and social roles within British society, they found themselves in shock due to continuing racial segregation and prejudice, and the realization of being duped into the promise of a better economic standing in society (James 1993:231; Hebdige 1987:90). Coping with the hardships of this reality, many migrants took refuge in their own West Indian culture, including food and music. Post-war events such as Blues Dance that played reggae-precursors Blue Beat and Ska were popular, but these were gradually replaced by the 1960s phenomenon of the sound system, particularly in London-areas heavily populated with Caribbean migrants, which successfully reproduced social events similar to those in Jamaica with toasters rhyming and talking over a bass-heavy sound system playing quintessential Rock Steady, Dub, and Reggae.

To Caribbean migrants, the marginalization of Caribbean music in the British music industry at the time made these sound system events even more significant, further strengthened by the lyrical messages that echoed the social commentary in Jamaica, with themes including Rastafarian ideas of repatriation, rebellion against and emancipation from slavery, the mythologizing and idealizing of Africa as homeland, particularly Ethiopia, and the desecration of Babylon, as well as highlighting social issues in the UK such as unemployment, poor housing, and racial abuse. In 1964, the first Notting Hill Carnival was held to enable West Indian and Afro-Caribbean migrants to emulate the annual Trinidadian carnival, which was originally conceived of to celebrate "black" people's emancipation from

colonial slavery. This event was the first of its kind in the UK in that it was both associated with and celebrated Caribbean (black) identity. Yet during 1976, the Notting Hill Carnival featured for the first time a particularly large sound system and so introduced reggae, which attracted half a million people and led to the culmination of increasing tensions that resulted in violence between West Indies youth contesting the oppression they had suffered in the UK and the British police force (Gutzmore 1993:217). Thus, while music serves as a means to evoke collective memories and experiences of place, it also binds the politically opposing positions of people within a migrant culture.

In the late 1970s/early 1980s, second-generation socially-conscious reggae artists, including bands like Aswad, Matumbi, and Steel Pulse, continued to use themes of oppression, rebellion, Rastafarian themes, and migrant culture in the UK in their lyrics,[3] but they also talked about displacement and Jamaica-as-homeland in their lyrics, thereby translating the Africa/Jamaica theme to a West Indies/UK enforced exodus (Bradley 2000:431). The visual elements on vinyl sleeves of British reggae albums further reflects the glocalization of Caribbean cultural practices in the UK, while also providing stereotyped images to its fans and consumers. For example, album covers by Steel Pulse and Aswad signified Rastafarianism via images of dread-locked hairstyles, the colours of the Rastafarian flag (yellow, green, and red), and the Lion of Judah as a Rastafarian religious symbol. By actively adopting writing styles similar to those produced in Jamaica by telling stories and relaying messages to both inform and influence social thinking, re-interpreting reggae music to adapt a rhetoric of oppression that makes sense beyond Jamaica, and absorbing Caribbean imagery in visual artwork to both evoke memory and a sense of place thus meant to add new meanings as these were shaped by the new sociocultural contexts in the UK (Daynes 2004:32). Second-generation reggae lyrics and images thereby portrayed the social circumstances of second-generation Caribbean migrants, with reggae used to provide a strong link between the cultural idioms of the African diaspora and Jamaican one.

The clothing and fashion accessories of British reggae artists influenced subsequent music groups, as well as white working class youth, who had lived alongside and socialized with second-generation Caribbean migrants and attended sound system events, and felt similarly rejected by society and discriminated on the grounds of their appearance and beliefs. The punk subculture of the 1970s also turned to reggae, who similarly talked about Britain's crisis in much the same way as roots reggae artists dwelled on the decline of Babylon, which led to the ska revival by record label Two Tone mixing ska, reggae, and punk elements. The Specials signified this social, musical, and ethnic hybridity and transnationalism between Caribbean and English ethnicities and racial identities, building a new collective memory that blends elements from both place and time, while drawing on different traditions and harmonizing both old and new.

Transnational Popular Music: The Global Hip Hop Phenomenon

Technology, corporate expansion, mediatization, and commodification on a global scale have led to the diffusion and globalization of music, with some styles and genres spreading far and wide from their places of origin and becoming part of the expanding repertoire of transnational popular music. While salsa and reggae are clearly such examples (e.g.

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[3] A good example is provided by Steel Pulse's 'Handsworth Revolution' (1978), released by Islands Records.

Savishinsky 1994), it is probably right to say that since the 1990s hip hop has diffused more widely, more intensely, and more successfully than any other genre of popular music. Hip hop has thereby become linked to ideas of transnationalism as it has developed in different diasporic contexts and become the most widespread form of urban popular music since reggae, addressing many young migrants' search for identification that media corporations have gradually commodified globally. However, the cultural meanings of hip hop music as a global commodity are often challenged and subverted in the streets of locally-based rap cultures where it is re-used and re-interpreted stylistically. Initially seen as black music, rap music emerged in the late 1970s as part of a wider hip hop culture in the South Bronx in New York and was quickly taken up by residents in other American urban neighborhoods. Hip hop has increasingly been adopted by a much wider ethnic audience inside and outside of the US, and was diffused across the world and appropriated by artists in all sorts of countries, especially those associated with more recent international migration. It is largely a product in cities of the diaspora, particularly among the more depressed urban groups with imagined links to distant "sources" and roots in Africa. Hip hop was also appropriated in places without a history of international migration, but where there were significant ethnic minorities in urban settings. Existing in various locations around the world today, hip hop is a transnational musical form that uses black music and liberation theory as a base, and through which artists can resist the trappings of their respective cultures. It reflects that music in both the homeland and diaspora is never static, but a living product of synthesis and hybridity. Two examples of hip hop from France and China will illustrate some of the range of practices specific of migrant ethnic groups, in space and time, while linking the sociocultural, geopolitical, and historical contexts to narratives of identities.

In France, hip hop developed in the outer suburbs (*banlieus*) of Paris and Marseilles among youths of West Indian, African or Maghrebi descent, and represents the separation of migrant groups from the music of their homelands. As elsewhere, rap lyrics have gradually been localized through the use of the French national language (with regional variants) and other languages, while resonating with the specific cultural, economic, and political issues and circumstances of particular migrant groups, to whom the genre has given a voice to express their identities and sensitivities, and to understand life in the inner-city *banlieus.* Two scenes dominate the French hip hop scene: a US-influenced "hardcore" gangsta-rap hip hop that addresses the issues faced by young people in France and is represented by the likes of Supreme NTM and Ministére Amer; and a more localized "cool", laid-back kind of rap music reflects the ethnic identities of its Central African and Maghrebi protagonists, inflected by local languages and represented by groups and rappers such as De la Soul, A Tribe Called Quest, Mc Solaar, and Alliance Ethnik. Language is an important cultural and political signifier of national difference, especially since English dominates popular culture and music. The reasons for using local language are varied: they may be cultural, economic, and/or political. In using their own language, including local forms of slang, rap artists emphasize local experience and localized sub-cultures, stressing difference and often marginality. Thus, over time, lyrics, styles, and delivery become adapted to particular migrant circumstances.

While their adoption of Afro-American hip hop props, including Nike trainers, has continued in both more handcore hip hop scenes and among middle-class kids as a form of resistance against the Parisian urban milieu, hip hop crews often deal with French colonial and post-colonial history, factory exploitation, anti-immigrant policies, and experiences of migration.

For instance, Mc Solaar, one of the French hip hop artists closer to the mainstream, raps in his first single "Bouge de Là" (transl. "Get Out of Here") about the arrival of a Senegalese immigrant to France—probably Mc Solaar's own alter ego and experience of cultural shock—and the movements of the migrant body in a desire to change and disguise his cultural identity, to let it disappear, in order to conform and reappear under a new hybrid transnational identity (Huq 2006:121). Dressed in the Senegalese *boubous* and a bohemian "old-skool" urban style, connoted by the flat cap worn to the side, Mc Solaar's song represents musical narratives of transnational hybrid identity. Meanwhile, IAM (*Invasion arrive de Mars*; transl. Invasion from Mars [abbreviation for Marseilles]) from Marseille delivers a rap message of "pharaoism" in the *verlan* dialect, a form of French slang that reverses letter orders and plays with syllables and represents a refusal of the nationalistic hierarchies reinforced by the *Loi Toubon* (transl. Toubon Law), which evokes Marseilles' Mediterranean inheritance via a mythical connection between the river Rhone and the Nile. Their album cover for *De La Planete Mars* (1991) uses Arabic fonts in the title to depict the Islamic identity of two of its members (Algeria and Mali), while the image depicts Marseille from a hill top to evoke their adopted "in-between", hybrid identity.

French hip hop reflects elements of the heritage of transnational migrants—visually, linguistically, ideologically—, thereby giving a voice to urban youths to make communitarian claims within their different sociocultural transnational environments, and critique racism and the growing gaps between suburbs and inner cities in French society, and with it the experiences of transnational multi-ethnic underclasses in the *banlieus*. It shows the ways that hip hop connects people across most of the African diaspora through a pan-African consciousness, whereby diasporic, transnational peoples are engaged in a dialectic of opposition and resistance to the hegemonic logic of multinational capital, reflexive of a certain liberatory character of global, diasporic practices. This use of transnationalism as a counter-hegemonic political space is found in the many musical practices of non-white and white hip hop artists across the globe, and reflect the ways that transnational practices surrounding hip hop culture are potentially counter-hegemonic, but not always resistant (see also Krüger Bridge 2018:132-42).

In China, musicians from mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan had injected rap elements into rock and pop music already in the 1990s, however hip hop did not really attract widespread attention at the time. Following the globalization of economies and cultures worldwide, hip hop began to become prominent in China during the 2000s and impacted on the youth born in the 1980s and 90s, although the Golden Age of Chinese Hip-Hop is yet to come. Earlier hip hop was predominantly American, which contained strong negative emotions and was associated with violence, sex, drugs, and dissatisfaction with social status. Operating in a society of state cultural policy limitations that selectively backs state-approved musicians, the hip hop scene has become increasingly difficult to navigate. Thus, hip hop in China became influenced by Sinicization and more concerned with socialism and "Chineseness", and less with political resistance to comply with Chinese state regulations. Rapping in Mandarin became prominent in the noughties. During this decade, hip hop artists and crews sprung up all over the country and began appearing on public occasions, with a nationwide growth in freestyle battles, hip hop parties, and music festivals. In 2017, Chinese hip hop went literally mainstream almost overnight due to *The Rap of China*, a talent show on the streaming platform iQIYI, which reflects Chinese commercialism and "good" citizenship

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in the hip hop music market. Indeed, Chinese hip hop musicians need commodification and widespread popularity to support themselves financially. Mainstream record labels often utilize consumer psychology to create superficial hip hop that it intrinsically pop music and attractive for large audiences, so the state-backed record companies flood the market with their versions of hip hop by pushing pop artists like Jay Chou (Figure 1), the Justin Bieber of China, to look and sound like a rapper, which reflects an industry-wide trend across Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the mainland. Many Chinese artists thereby turn to hip hop to aspire to enter the mainstream market, and commercialism and capitalist profitability is an indispensable part of the hip hop trajectory in contemporary China.

Figure 1: Jay Chou, the Justin Bieber of China, dressed and posing as a rapper. Image available at https://www.amazon.cn/音乐/dp/B00QW9H9B6, accessed 9 July 2019.

While it is difficult to make enough money as an underground artist, many hip hop artists willingly commercialize their music to make it "acceptable", but there are also independent musicians who firmly reject commercialization. The Chinese hip hop scene is thus divided into an "official" state-promoted hip hop scene that reflects a contemporary fashion trend in popular culture and lifestyle, and an underground hip hop scene that reflects artists' counter-hegemonic practices in response to censorship of freedom of speech and capitalist tendencies in China. One of the most pioneering underground Chinese hip hop bands, Yin Tsang, hailed from the capital city of Beijing, and their first album *Serve the* People, which was a ground-

breaking success with its hit single 'In Beijing' going viral and receiving millions of downloads, television, and radio play, reflects the harsh reality of expressing national identity with counter-hegemonic critiques. Yin Tsang was officially established in 2001 by MC Webber (Chinese), MC Jeremy (American), MC Sbazzo (Chinese-Canadian), and MC Hef (Irish-American). This pioneering joint Chinese-American-Canadian crew started to rap in Mandarin, the official Chinese language, and is localized by MC Jeremy via his rhotic accent, a phonological process that adds the r-suffix in standard Northern Mandarin (Beijing Mandarin). While influenced by American hip hop, Yin Tsang include instruments like Chinese drums and *erhu*, a Chinese two-stringed traditional instrument, with video shooting locations in the most distinctive spots in Beijing: the Lama Temple, the Drum Tower, and the Quadrangle, cultural symbols that challenge and subvert the stereotypical images of the hip hop tradition, and reflect the icons of Chinese national identity.

Yet the album title *Serve the People* (2003) is the same name as the well-known political slogan in Mao Zedong-era China, and in particular when, on 5th September 1944, President Mao Zedong gave a speech to commemorate the sacrifice of a soldier from the Chinese People's Liberation Army. His slogan 'Serve the People' represented national identity after the liberation and the establishment of P. R. China, and is still today capsuled as the tenet of the Communist Party. It is unclear whether Yin Tsang's album name demonstrates the same meaning, or whether it is a political statement, however, to a certain extent, it also reflects the aspirations of many Chinese hip hop musicians to enter the mainstream state-controlled music market, although Yin Tsang received only $7000 for sales and 3 years of touring. Indeed, before Yin Tsang released the album, the record label asked them to revise almost half of their lyrics in order to meet censorship conditions, which are reinforced and controlled by the Ministry of Culture and State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television. MC Webber even rejected to perform on China-Central Television (CCTV) because it restricted his wearing of a baseball cap and colourful clothes containing English writing. Recently, the Ministry of Culture announced a "blacklist" of 120 pieces of online music after analysing over 5,700 pieces of Chinese songs in the hip hop ranking list (Zhou 2018), which contained content that promotes obscenity, violence, abetting crimes, or endangering social morality, which violated the provisions of Article 16 of the Interim Provisions on Internet Culture Management and were removed from all streaming platforms. Most underground hip-hop musicians feel that Chinese hip hop should reflect counter-hegemonic opinions due to these political limitations, however censorship of Chinese hip hop reflects the State's intention towards cultural protection and safeguarding of certain social and aesthetic values. Nevertheless, contemporary transnational musical activities such as hip hop are often a reaction against purist constructions of Chinese nationalism, reflecting the changes in political agendas and social and musical values that are more relevant to Chinese youths' current perceptions of the world and their position in it.

Conclusions

Musical interactions across nation state boundaries are an everyday occurrence in today's interconnected world, thus transnationalism has become an important concept in contemporary music studies. Transnationalism facilitates the meaningful study of local music scenes as socio-musically connected to other sites in the transnational scene, and how these connections impact local musical practices. Transnational music studies consider the

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multilocality of diasporic musicians and audiences, and their lifeworlds beyond hybridity, creolization, new performance contexts, and cultural contact. With their focus on the transcultural production, performance, and consumption of music, transnational music studies also acknowledge the intensity and simultaneity of multiple ties and interactions of individuals or institutions across nation states (Vertovec 1999: 447-8). Transnationalism allows us to think beyond old categorical ideas of geographic space and social identity, and importantly relates to the interactions of musicians, and it is these networks of social and cultural relations that are particularly important in contemporary studies of music and transnationalism. This chapter has focused on three case study examples of cross-cultural musical activities as an assertion of peoples' transnational identities, which are maintained and expressed through social and cultural relationships. The examples show the varied ways in which migrant and non-migrant people today make music useful and meaningful in their transnational lives, and how musicians collaborate, source new material, adopt musical instruments, and market their music across geographical boundaries. By listening to music, appropriating music, and creating hybrid glocalized fusions, people perform their ideal transnational social lives and relationships.

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