

“Cause this is Africa”: Contesting Visual, Sonic, and Performed Representations of Africa in
Paris, Montreal, and the 2010 South African World Cup

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines ways in which representations of contemporary Africa are created, perpetuated, subverted, and reinforced through African popular music in Paris, France, Montreal, Canada, and the 2010 World Cup Games in South Africa. As a response to the notion established by scholars such as Achille Mbembe (2001) and Kofi Agawu (2003) who assert that postcolonial discourse on Africa creates a binary that reinforces the otherness of Africa, I suggest that the notion of Afropolitanism provides an alternative approach to understanding representations of contemporary Africa in a way that recognizes the multiplicities of transnational identities and cultural products without writing out the importance of the African continent. I view the artists whose music I analyze as contributors, whether intentionally or not, to a sense of Afropolitanism that straddles multiple levels of representation in a single event. I ultimately argue that representation of contemporary Africa is complex and that Afropolitanism as a framework recognizes the complexities of these representations.

This dissertation highlights different approaches to representations of contemporary Africa through four case studies that, taken together, are the products of my multi-sited fieldwork and analysis of live performances, music videos, and popular songs. Drawing on scholarship

from the fields of ethnomusicology, musicology, African studies, French and Francophone studies, and immigration studies, I posit that African immigrants subvert the established power of representation by asserting representations of themselves in a way that departs from the prevalent narratives set in place. Furthermore, I find that prestigious cultural institutions also represent African music and performance in ways that, while temporary, demonstrate an idealized approach to integrating African minorities into the cultural identity of the majority culture in a way that is hopeful for the future, yet does not recast the established status quo. Visual, sonic, and performed representations of Africa provide insight into the contemporary approaches to cultural pluralisms in Paris and Montreal resulting from ongoing trends of incoming immigrants from Africa. Stakes are high for those who are the focus of representations as global movements of African individuals and cultural products can be perceived as a threat to the majority cultures in Paris and Montreal, especially as the demographics of these cities become more diverse.

For Nancy and George,
who continue to be an inspiration.

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Preface

This dissertation has been shaped in ways that I had not expected at the beginning of my graduate studies. Upon entering graduate school, I was initially interested in the discrepancies between the Malian popular music that I had encountered in the United States through the world music industry and the Malian popular music that I had encountered in Mali as a Peace Corps volunteer in 2005-2007. While there, I was surprised when my Malian neighbors and friends in the towns of Diabaly and Markala responded with confusion when I asked them about then-world music favorite Ali Farka Touré, the Malian guitarist from Niafunké (near Timbuktu) who launched a successful international career after recording a Grammy award-winning album with Ry Cooder in 1994. Striking to me was that the music I heard on a daily basis in Mali was highly dependent on contemporary music technologies such as synthesizers and drum machines—not exactly what I had expected of African music. Moreover, neither the *djembe* nor the *kora*—two instruments that have become synonymous with West African Mande music through narratives created by the world music industry—were present in the rural communities where I lived. I instead encountered these instruments at tourist centers. My observations of musical taste, along with the informal conversations I had with members of the community, started me on a line of questioning that shaped how I understand African popular music. The points I argue about representation in this dissertation are a result of these early queries.

My initial research was made possible by four Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships from the Canada Center at the University of Washington's Jackson School of International Studies. The FLAS fellowship required their recipients to enroll in language and related area studies classes. In fulfilling these requirements, I took classes on France and Canada

that I would not have sought out otherwise. It was in these courses that I was first exposed to ideas about mobility of people and ideas between francophone countries, concepts that are the backbone of this dissertation. I was fortunate to participate in a summer intensive French course at the Université de Montréal in 2011 as part of the FLAS fellowship. During this time I conducted preliminary research at the 2011 Nuits d’Afrique festival, an event that I returned to in 2014 for further observations.

The French area studies courses I took as part of the FLAS fellowships exposed me to the experiences of France’s African and immigrant populations. Of particular significance were the classes “Making Contemporary France” and “Francophone Literature and Culture” taught by Richard Watts. These courses were instrumental in guiding me to scholars who had been thinking about the relationship between France and former French colonies and the implications of this relationship for French culture today. I began to see a pattern regarding France, and Paris in particular, as an important hub for African cultural production, especially for popular musics that were then broadcast back to West African countries. I also began to see Montreal as an emerging hub in the production and circulation of French-language popular music, including that of francophone West Africa. I choose to focus on Africa, Canada, and France in this dissertation because of the unique francophone cultural link shared among these geographically distant sites facilitated by the movement of people, technologies, and ideas connected by a heritage of French imperialism.

I would like to thank the Canada Center for supporting me through FLAS fellowships in the early stages of forming my research questions. My thanks go to the Chester A. Fritz and Boeing Fellowship for International Study and Research as well. With the Fritz and Boeing fellowship I was able to conduct research in Paris in the spring of 2014. Similarly, I would like to

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There are many people whose support has shaped my scholarship in general, and this dissertation in particular. First I would to thank the chair of my committee, Christina Sunardi for the ceaseless hours of pushing me to clarify and to address the “so what.” Your time and efforts have made a tremendous impact on my writing. Thank you to the rest of my committee members Shannon Dudley, Richard Watts, Philip Schuyler, and Rene Bravmann for reading my work, providing constructive feedback, and posing challenging questions. Thank you to archivist Laurel Sercombe who has been a devoted friend and confidante as I navigated my way through the degree. Thank you to the faculty at University of Washington ethnomusicology division and to my cohort of ethnomusicology graduate students for the years of lively discussions, debates, and celebrations that we have taken part in together. I would also like to recognize Franya Berkman, *in memoriam*, who encouraged me to give a conference paper on Bollywood as an undergraduate student at Lewis and Clark College, launching me on this journey.

Thank you to my parents Robert and Carol and my sister Anna for their patience and support from afar. Thank you also to my many friends and cheerleaders, who are too numerous to list here. And finally, to my husband Michael who has contributed to this dissertations in so many ways. Thank you for using your vast knowledge of music notation software to input and help check my transcriptions for accuracy. Thank you for being a sounding board as I worked out my ideas. More importantly, thank you for the emotional support, encouragements, and unwavering belief in my abilities. I love you.

Chapter One:

Introduction

This dissertation examines different ways in which representations of contemporary Africa are created, perpetuated, subverted, and reinforced at sites where African cultural products—popular music in particular—are performed and consumed in Paris, France, Montreal, Canada, and the 2010 World Cup Games in South Africa. As scholars on such postcolonial projects point out, representations of Africa often frame Africa through the negative, treat the continent and its people as a singular object, or invent an African realm so foreign to Europe and other countries in the West that it “complete[s] Europe’s lack” (Agawu 2003: 104, Mbembe 2001a, Ebron 2002). I embrace the concept that discourse about Africa is rarely about Africa and that it instead reinforces what Africa is not. This us-versus-them narrative is increasingly challenged with contemporary global flows of people, ideas, and culture. Exchange between Africa, Europe, and North America has narrowed the physical and cultural distance between Africa and the rest of the world, facilitating a convergence of people, ideas, tastes, and cultural products.

With these modes of exchange and mobility in mind, I posit that representation of contemporary Africa is complex. Analysis of representations of Africa associated with popular music performance, production, and promotion in Paris and Montreal reveals that representations of Africa presented by prestigious cultural institutions such as museums and music festivals can disclose anxieties about changing demographics of the cities that are the result, in part, of immigration from Africa. Subversion of such representations by artists, musicians, and

performers cultivates hope for what these demographic changes can mean for the future cultural identity of these cities. I propose that Afropolitanism, a contemporary configuration of a translocal and transnational Africa, is a way of representing the complexities of subject positions, the multiplicity of voices, and the global sites that comprise contemporary Africanness.

The political issues of immigration in the twenty-first century inspired my interest in the visual, sonic, and performed representations of Africa that I address. My analysis presents insight into the pressing issues of cultural pluralisms in Paris and Montreal caused by ongoing trends of incoming immigrants from the African continent. At stake for the cities that serve as hosts is the effective integration of immigrants into the host society in a way that is deemed acceptable by the majority populations. Rejection of immigrants and integration plans by the host society can lead to increased instances of both causal Othering and official policies that promote marginalization. At stake for individuals and communities who have emigrated from Africa since the second half of the twentieth century is access to cultural belonging in host societies where they are a visible minority. In this setting, subversions of prevalent representations of Africa can be transformative for both the majority society and the immigrant communities who are the focus of the representation. I view the artists whose music I analyze as contributors, whether intentionally or not, to a sense of Afropolitanism that straddles the multiple levels of representation in a single event. I ultimately argue that representation of contemporary Africa is complex and that Afropolitanism as a framework recognizes the complexities of these representations.

Representation and Scholarship on Africa

By analyzing representations of contemporary Africa at sites of African cultural production I consider how such representations contribute to a definition of African popular music that either reinforces Africa as distinct from the West or subverts this perception by presenting Afropolitan representations as an alternative. I consider the power that cultural institutions such as museums and concert halls wield to represent Africa outside the continent and how African immigrants and their descendants subvert this power to represent themselves in ways that depart from the prevalent narratives in place. Representation of the people from the African continent has long been dominated by Western discourse of the Other. Indeed, seminal works by Edward Said (1979) and V.Y. Mudimbe (1988) demonstrate the importance of Eurocentric bodies of theory and practice in the invention of a non-European Other, which is also a reinforcement of the European Self. Such scholarly investment has contributed to a system of knowledge about Africa and created a framework for this discourse to be normalized in popular culture.

While the particulars of this discourse and the nature of Western countries' involvement with Africa as a continent, African countries, and African peoples have changed since the twentieth century, representations of contemporary Africa continue to be regularly framed through the lens of disease, poverty, hunger, and corruption (Mbembe 2001a, Ebron 2002). Even representations that celebrate African arts and cultures tend to restrict the narrative of African cultural production to themes of the authentic, traditional, or functional (Agawu 2003: 104). Such singular representations ignore the diversity of subject positions within contemporary Africa, not to mention the multiplicity of cultural productions that are created, drawn upon, and circulated globally. Furthermore, narrow representations write out the strengths of contemporary

Africa including, African participation in global culture and contributions to global culture that are facilitated by the increasingly fluid movement of people, ideas, and cultural products like popular music.

Representation is significant because it is entangled with the power to represent, an act that can hold real consequences for those who are the focus of the representation (Dyer 1993: 4). Moreover, representation has implications in terms of “the way representations delimit and enable what people can be in an given society” (Dyer 1993: 3). The pairing of representation with power can also contribute to experiences of racism, marginalization, and exploitation for the subjects of the representation (Ebron 2002: 13). In other words, representation of Africa and Africans in Europe and North America can affect the access that African immigrants have to Western societies in terms of equal treatment.

Representation and Ethnomusicology

Scholarship on African music has been a site for both representations of and the challenging of representations of Africa. Drawing on other postcolonial scholars, anthropologist Paula Ebron suggests that “contemporary discussions of African music form one such site of speech, in which the difference between ‘Africa’ and ‘the West’ are repeatedly rehearsed” (Ebron 2002: 30). She argues that representation of Africa through performance becomes a convention or trope that creates Africa as “a recognized cultural object in the world” and that Africa is thus understood as an “ur-site of performance” from the perspective of the West (2002: 23, 16).

While Ebron provides a general critique of how African music is understood within and outside of the academy, musicologist Kofi Agawu has more pointed critiques of Africanist

ethnomusicology. Agawu argues that ethnomusicologists thrive on the “classic binary of opposition between Self and Other” which reveals the asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and the subject as per colonial modes of knowledge production (2003: 153). “The very framework of knowledge production has not been recast,” writes Agawu, “nor has the balance of power shifted. Rather by claiming even more of the cognitive geography of African musicians, the metropolitan scholar paradoxically acquires more territory, more power to celebrate difference” (ibid. 166). Agawu’s critique is focused on ethnomusicological study of African traditional musics. He asks why there is so much emphasis on traditional musics to the detriment of other more ubiquitous musical forms, notably African popular musics.

These critiques have merit in terms of past scholarship on Africa that presented musical practices as representatives standing in for the whole of the continent. An illustrative example is pioneer Africanist A.M. Jones’ generalization that African music can be characterized as “an indivisible whole” (1959: 200). The incredible diversity of the African continent constitutes one of the major challenges of representing African music. Nevertheless, these studies have contributed substantially to the field of ethnomusicology. Past scholarly contributions to ethnomusicology from research on African music has focused primarily on the theme of rhythmic complexity such as the formation of temporal order in music, the creation of aggregate patterns from interaction of multiple interconnected parts, the function of physical movement in performance, and the relationship of musical forms and processes to patterns of social life (Waterman 1993: 243). Other common topics of inquiry for twentieth century Africanist ethnomusicologists included the relationship between musics or performance styles, distribution of instruments (Jones 1959; Zemp 1971), cultural contact and political hegemony of musical styles, relationships between sub-Saharan Africa and other places, and music histories of specific

regions. Analyses of music and dance (Keil 1979), music and language (Jones 1959; Blacking 1967; Nketia 1971; Agawu 1984), and transcription as an analytical tool have also been prioritized in this literature (Blacking 1967; Jones 1959).

Nevertheless, the challenge to the study of African music is that “[e]ven well-intended efforts to turn around the valences of ‘Africa’ and ‘the West’ or to question the sophistication of this contrast still tend to repeat the framework” (Ebron 2002: 30). This framework, according Ebron, is one where factual information about African music becomes truths about Africa overall (34). As an example Ebron points to how ideas about polyrhythmic or communal elements of African musical practices are mapped onto generalizations of idealized African social structures rooted in notions of authenticity and tradition (ibid.). Thus, scholarship on and performance of African music in Europe and North America is in itself a representation of a sense of Africa that has been carefully curated through processes of knowledge production. The emergence of the study of African popular music has helped to complicate past representation of Africa in scholarship by highlighting urban Africa and musical collaboration, hybridity, and practices of exchange.

African Popular Music

Studies of African popular music have broken the cycle of representation of African music grounded in tradition or ritual. Instead studies of African popular music cast music making as an interactive force that is shaped by and contributes to the contemporary African lifestyles connected by global cultural flows (Appadurai 1990). The study of African popular music encourages scholars to adapt to “contemporary social and political realities” (Waterman 1993: 253). Significantly, African popular music received little academic attention until David

Coplan's 1985 monograph on popular music performance in South Africa. Before then, African popular music was often seen as a dilution of traditional practices or as an "inauthentic" offspring of Western cultural colonialism (Barber and Waterman 1995; Coplan 2008: 5).

The wealth of scholarship on African popular music that followed helped to cast a different perspective on African music. Coplan's study demonstrated the value of popular music as a means of understanding the experiences of people who actively contribute to dimensions of South African cultural history and political struggle in black South Africa (2008: 4). Veit Erlmann, also working in South Africa, posited that the popular music *isicathamiya* facilitated the construction of community, a powerful sense of "home," and a regional identity among laborers who had migrated from rural to urban areas for work (1998). Popular music in Zimbabwe as with elsewhere in the postcolonial world, asserted Thomas Turino, is a vehicle for understanding the changing processes of colonialism, nationalism, and cosmopolitanism as they are evident in places where music making has rapidly changed in the past half century, especially in terms of shifts from participatory to presentational practices and the significance of the stage and the studio that is shaped by the aesthetics of transnational markets (2000). In Yoruban popular musics in Nigeria, Karin Barber and Christopher Waterman find that using creolization as a theoretical framework demonstrates that people are active creators rather than passive receivers of culture, that postcolonial cultures actively create new musical products instead of mimicking or diluting colonial ones, and that the musical influences that they draw on do not transfer prior meanings but instead have unique meanings assigned by the local practitioners (Barber and Waterman 1995; Waterman 1990a, 1990b). These are just a few landmark studies of African popular music available that exemplify how the development of scholarship on African popular music has addressed many of the scholarly anxieties about a postcolonial representation

of Africa. This scholarship emphasizes the interconnected networks of influence, the fluidity of individual and group identity creation, and the mobility of Africans both on the African continent and worldwide. I contribute to the scholarship on African popular music by suggesting that an Afropolitan reading of representations of contemporary Africa accounts for the interconnectedness, fluidity, and global exchanges that shape African popular music today.

Afropolitanism and the World in Movement

Afropolitanism is an ideology that recognizes the complexities of representing contemporary Africa by highlighting the complexities of Africa itself. It foregrounds that individuals and communities with multiple subject positions and relationships to Africa and other parts of the world navigate personal realities that are often cast as being in opposition to one another. Afropolitanism is a way of thinking about what Mbembe calls the “world-in-movement phenomenon” which recognizes that there has always been a continental history of movement, cultural hybridity, and immersion in Africa. It facilitates a fluid definition of Africanness by considering how the African continent has long been both a destination and a point of departure for population and cultural movements (Mbembe 2007). The portmanteau ‘Afropolitanism’ (a combination of Africa and cosmopolitanism) was first introduced by novelist Taiye Tuakli-Wosornu who self-identifies as part of more than one nation, race, and culture based on her own experience as the daughter of Ghanaian and Nigerian professionals who raised her in North America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East (2008: 37).¹

Afropolitanism is a compelling framework because of the potential it holds for a narrative of contemporary Africa that accounts for multiple and relational subject positionality. Tuakli-

¹ She now uses the pen name Taiye Salasi. I will continue to use Tuakli-Wosornu as this is the name under which her work relevant to my argument is published.

Wosornu's definition of Afropolitanism is heavily influenced by her personal experience of multiple belongings:

Like so many African young people working and living in cities around the globe, they belong to no single geography, but feel at home in many. They (read: we) are Afropolitans—the newest generation of African emigrants coming soon, or collected already, at a law firm/chem lab/jazz lounge near you. You'll know us when you see us by our funny blend of London fashion, New York jargon, African ethics, and academic successes. Some of us are ethnic mixes, e.g. Ghanaian/Jamaican, Nigerian/Swiss; others are merely cultural mutts: American accents, European affect, African Ethos. Most of us are multilingual.... There is at least one place on the Continent to which we tie our sense of self: be it a nation-state (Ethiopia), a city (Ibadan), or simply an Auntie's kitchen. Then there's the G8 city or two (or three) that we know like the backs of our hands, and the institutions (corporate, academic) that know *us* for our famed work ethic. We are Afropolitans—not citizens, but Africans, of the world (Tuakli-Wosornu 2008: 36).

Tuakli-Wosornu's definition of Afropolitanism, which is based on her personal experience as a well-educated jazz-loving jet-setting professional, is an attempt to redefine the twenty-first century African experience in a positive and relational way, a response to the query “where are you from?”

Afropolitanism subverts the geographical grounding of Africanness in Africa. It acknowledges instead an emerging global Africa where Africanness is fluid (Eze 2014: 235). In this sense, Africa cannot be defined along racial lines. Space must be made to consider diasporic and settler populations from Europe, the Middle East, the Americas, and Asia within the African continent as individuals that, while they may have relationships with countries elsewhere, consider themselves to be “fully fledged Africans” (Mbembe 2007: 27). Mbembe elaborates:

Awareness of the interweaving of the here and there, the presence of the elsewhere in the here and vice versa, the relativisation of primary roots and memberships and the way of embracing, with full knowledge of the facts of strangeness, foreignness and remoteness, the ability to recognize one's face in that of a foreigner and make the most of the traces of remoteness in closeness, to

domesticate, the unfamiliar to work with what seems to be opposites—it is this cultural, historical and aesthetic sensitivity that underlies the term ‘Afropolitanism’ (2007: 28).

Mbembe’s answer to the question “where are you from?” points out the “reconfigurations in progress” that look to the future to resolve who is and who is not African.² Thus, Afropolitanism is an aesthetic or poetic of the world; it is a way of being, a refusal of the victim identity that often defines Africa, and a political and cultural stance of nation, race, and difference (Mbembe 2007: 29).

While Afropolitanism has been criticized as a concept that embraces an African elitism or commodifies African ethnic identities and cultural productions (Ogbechie 2008; Santana 2012; Tveit 2013; Dabiri 2014), I find it to be a compelling approach to representation of contemporary Africa, Africans, and African cultural production in a way that recognizes the aforementioned multiplicities. Afropolitanism is thus a reaction against the Afro-pessimism that frames Africa through the negative (Gikandi 2011), nativism and nationalism (Mbembe 2007), and essentialist discourses of oppositionality that construct African identity along geographic, racial, ethnic, religious, or cultural binaries (Eze 2014). Afropolitanism recognizes the many sites where senses of African cultural identity exists, and yet does not write out the African continent as the source these identities (Mbembe 2007). Contemporary Africa exists in complex networks of politics, movement, and cultural production and consumption. I therefore find Afropolitanism to be a useful way to address global Africa through the lens of networks of relationships, as suggested by Chielozona Eze (2014), with recognition of the multiplicities of subject positions, as presented by Ryan Skinner (2015a, 2015b), and with emphasis on self-identification as blogged

² According to Mbembe, the other principle “reconfiguration in progress” is nativism, which is built on the glorification of the idea of the autochthons and the shunning of the non-native. Mbembe equates nativism with a cancer and condemns it at length (2001b).

by Taiye Tuakli-Wosornu (2008). Moreover, I see Achille Mbembe's position that Afropolitanism serves as a new configuration of the African cosmopolitanisms that have existed for centuries as an essential way to nuance contemporary African global flows from more generic senses of globalization (2007).

Afropolitanism influences my discussion of how representations of contemporary Africa are claimed and reworked by those who seek to represent personal experiences of, relationships to, and identities from Africa in their own ways. An Afropolitan reading of African popular music accounts for the global reach of urban Africa, wherever that may be located, and recognizes that artists navigate myriad musical influences and expectations in the cultural products that they create (Skinner 2015a; 2015b). I employ Afropolitanism to account for the multiple subject positions that are represented in museums and nightclubs in Paris, an African music festival in Montreal, and in songs and music videos that hold the potential for a global reach. I favor Afropolitanism over other scholarly approaches to the world in movement, specifically diaspora, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism. While I do not explicitly discuss these scholarly terms in the case studies that I provide, study of these fields has shaped my approach. Moreover, the important ethnomusicological work in these fields reinforces the value of unconventional or multi-sited fieldwork for pursuing knowledge of global flows of people and popular culture.

Diaspora, Transnationalism, and Cosmopolitanism

Scholarly attempts to recognize the fluidity of movement globally have in studies of diaspora, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism that have influenced my approach to the representations that are created and consumed through African popular music in Paris, Montreal,

and at the 2010 World Cup. It is challenging to define widespread movements across the globe due to the scale and unique reasons of the individuals and communities on the move. Thinking about these movements, and the integration of communities once they arrive in the host city are critical aspects of what makes this dissertation timely and relevant. An overview of the ethnomusicological scholarship in these fields reveals the important contributions such work have made to the field while also demonstrating why I turn to Afropolitanism in my own contributions.

Diaspora as a field of scholarship first emerged in the 1990s as a conceptual tool for the study of the movement and resettlement of people (Safran 1990; Clifford 1997; Brubaker 2005; Cohen 2008). The classic definition of diaspora required the existence of a dispersal of people from a single place or homeland to multiple other sites. The rhetoric of return to the homeland, whether this can be accomplished or not, is an essential aspect of this sense of diaspora (Safran 1990). More recently, however, scholars have worked to move the definition of diaspora away from one that is rooted to a physical homeland to one that is deterritorialized and based on a series of relationships, identities, or political motivations (Slobin 2012, Cohen 2008).

Ethnomusicologists have contributed stimulating ideas and taken nuanced approaches to the discourse of diaspora (Slobin 2012: 106). For example, Su Zheng demonstrates the internal complexity within the Chinese American community in New York City and how diaspora is claimed differently by individuals within this group depending on generation, political stance, class, and experience (Zheng 2010). Similarly, Elizabeth McAlister reveals the diversity of methods that members of the Haitian diaspora use to resettle themselves conceptually rather than geographically, some looking back to Haiti and others to West Africa (2011).

Ethnomusicologists have also contributed to diaspora studies through projects such as the edited

volume on hip hop in Africa (Charry 2012) and the diaspora of material culture via musical instruments such as the *mbira*, *djembe*, *gamelan*, or *sitar* (Slobin 2012: 105). In sum, ethnomusicologists have contributed to the field of diaspora studies in ways that further complicate the notion of diaspora, an issue that is facilitated through the fluidity of music.

“The African Diaspora” is a common term that is usually employed to describe the communities and resulting cultures of people who were forcibly moved from Africa as part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade spanning the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. This conceptualization of the African Diaspora, however, does not account for postcolonial movement of people from the African continent to other parts of the world as well as the Americas (Ebron 2003; Koser 2003; Okpewho and Nzegwu 2009). The term the “New African Diaspora” has emerged as way to speak about Africans who have migrated away from the African continent after the end of the colonial era around the 1960s. In other words, the African Diaspora is precolonial, a diaspora caused by enslavement; the New Africa Diaspora is postcolonial, a diaspora caused by imperialism (Okpewho 2009: 5).

I refer to people and musics that have circulated, for the most part, as part of the New African Diaspora. They do interact with the African Diaspora, however, through instances where the rhetoric of race and Africanness are used interchangeably by the cultural institutions that I analyze. Following James Clifford (1997), Rogers Brubaker (2005), Mark Slobin (2012), I use the term diaspora sparingly in favor of specificity. Transnationalism and cosmopolitanism are better able to account for the kind of back-and-forth mobility within which many individuals of immigrant communities cycle.

Transnationalism studies highlight the need to account for the pluralism of dispersed groups or peoples on the move while simultaneously connected to one or more homeland in

multiple ways. Transnationalism studies look at the relationships of the links between sites, the multiplicity of subject positions, and the deterritorialized spaces of community and cultural production (Appadurai 1990; Gilroy 1993; Hannerz 1997; Ong 1999; Kennedy and Roudometof 2002; Lionnet and Shih 2005). Ethnomusicologists have shown that music is an important site of identity negotiation for individuals who are situated in spaces that are exposed to transnational musical flows (Guilbault et al. 1993; Turino 2000; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007: 140; Marshall, Rivera, and Pacini Hernandez 2008; Berríos-Miranda and Dudley 2008; Pacini Hernandez 2010). Ethnomusicologists have also shown that transnational audiences and listeners, even those who originate from the same home culture, will interpret or seek out musical engagement differently depending on their experience of immigration (Pacini Hernandez 2010; Kyker 2013). Prioritizing shared experiences between people instead of shared country of origin contributes to understandings of how networks of musical tastes and influence are created and then circulated. Thomas Turino calls this cultural formation cosmopolitanism (2000).

Cosmopolitanism is distinct from other transnational cultural formations such as diasporic, expatriate, or immigrant communities because it is not grounded in a sense of real or symbolic homeland (Turino 2000: 8). Instead, argues Turino:

Particular cosmopolitan lifeways, ideas, and technologies are not specific to a single or a few neighboring locales, but are situated in many sites which are not necessarily in geographic proximity; rather they are connected by different forms of media, contact, interchanges (what I call 'cosmopolitan loops'). Most important, cosmopolitan groups are connected across space by a similar constitution of habitus itself, which created the foundation for social communication, alliances, and competition (7-8).

Cosmopolitan formations allow for ideas or social constructs that were initially foreign to be adapted or internalized and made into their local or individual cultural practices. My understanding of cosmopolitanism is grounded in the work of Turino, who favors the concept of

cosmopolitanism over globalization to refer to “objects, ideas, and cultural positions that are widely diffused throughout the world and yet are specific only to certain portions of the population within given countries” (ibid.). In other words, cosmopolitanism aesthetics travel between groups that share common life experiences such as those of class or education. Cosmopolitanism is therefore a cultural formation that is simultaneously localized and translocal (9).

My research sites provide a distinct set of translocal social factors, relationships, subject positions, and cultural expectations that all contribute to the representations that I address. I am informed by discourse in studies of cosmopolitanism, diaspora, transnationalism, and other global mobilizations that complicate where the boundaries of an African “home” exists and where global identities of Africa are performed. I examine these questions in the context of how contemporary Africa is represented in Paris, Montreal, and the 2010 South African World Cup.

Overview of the Sites

Sound as a Site of Representation

I take both a broad and a specific approach to my research sites. As the broad approach, I consider sound to be as a site of representation. While I acknowledge that the creators and the contexts of these sounds are tied to real and often multiple locations, I find that transcription and analysis of songs produced as part of the international popular music industry to be a productive site of research. Thinking about sound as a site of representation allows me to follow transnational and global flows of a musical genre. In doing so I am able to analyze implications of the circulation of musical motifs that take on new meanings as they become distant from their original contexts. The case of a simple musical motif that has come to stand in sonically for the

whole of Africa through a back and forth transfer between South Africa and the United States is the focus of chapter five.

Sounds are forms of representations that circulate easily worldwide. Patterns of global musical exchange between North America, Europe, and Africa have been in progress since the late 1800s (Hamm 1988; Erlmann 1991; 1994; 1996). With changes in technology, however, the processes of exchange have sped up drastically. Indeed, in many cases people can consume or influence a music simultaneously from different hemispheres with contemporary technology, especially with the assistance of worldwide social media platforms.

With increased access to music worldwide, the abstraction of sound from its context becomes a relevant issue because of the speed with which it may occur. Such circulations can create sonic entanglements with the broader issues such as rhetoric of Africa as a site or source of an identity. This raises issues of cultural appropriation and rapid widespread circulation of sonic representations. Thus, I use sound as a site to analyze how musical signs were employed to evoke and broadcast a specific sonic representation of Africa during the 2010 World Cup games, an issue that I explore through transcription and musical analysis. By embedding sonic representation of Africa in songs associated with world scale events, the issues of asymmetrical power dynamics, cultural appropriations, and even race are embedded in and circulated with the song. However, because of the slickly produced professional quality of the song, consumers may overlook these issues. Furthermore, sound-editing technologies can make these sonic signs difficult for the listener to extrapolate from the rest of the song's texture. Analyzing sound as a research methodology allows me therefore to open up a dialogue regarding the sources and circulation of sonic representation as well as how these signs are manufactured. Considering how

and what these signs signify reveals how othering notions of Africa are perpetuated through music.

The specific approach to sites consisted of fieldwork based research in 2014 in the cities of Paris, France and Montreal, Canada. With an understanding of the social and cultural issues prevalent in Paris and Montreal, I hope to link my conclusions to broader global events. Paris has been, and continues to be, an important destination for immigrants from West Africa not only as a new home, but also as a hub for the exchange and circulation of African popular culture, especially music. Montreal, by comparison, has emerged as an important new hub for a French-language music industry. Because of accommodating immigration policies in Canada, Montreal now serves as an attractive alternative to France for African immigrants.

Paris, France

Chapters one and two compare the ways prestigious centers for cultural production—museums and concert halls in Paris—represent contemporary Africa with the ways Ivorian immigrants in Paris subvert these types of representations by using popular music to assert the existence of an elite Afropolitan Paris. Taken together, these two chapters present what journalists Rokhaya Diallo and Jean-Eric Boulin called “two Frances” (2015). Reflecting on the November 2015 terrorist attack in Paris, Diallo and Boulin outline the “first” France as the France of cultural institutions that have the power to control the narrative of Africa. The “second” France, they write, is comprised of the Africans, African immigrants, and French citizens of African descent who either endure narratives created about them by the first France or

subvert these narratives, as I will demonstrate, through popular music.³ To understand the creation of these two Frances it is important to understand how France as a country accommodates incoming immigrants, recognizes its minority populations, and addresses the changing demographics and cultural identities of its cities.

The French system for receiving immigrant populations has long been caught between an ideology of universal humanism and the realities of the social, economic, and political marginalization of minorities. Part of the problem is that the notion of a minority in France is incomprehensible from a French republican perspective (Marshall 2009: 5, Keaton et al. 2012; Tshimanga et al. 2009). The French approach to integrating minorities is to absorb the ethnic and cultural differences brought by immigrants into French culture, thus dissolving the need for official discourses or policies around the race or minority status of French citizens. Because there is no official capacity to acknowledge difference in France, there is no method for addressing instances of discrimination. This problem is exemplified by the fact that race is not acknowledged in French census data or governmental literature.

Moreover, the French notion of universal humanism has existed, paradoxically, along with the realities of French involvement in the slave trade, colonial expansion, and contemporary attitudes toward visible minorities in the French *banlieues* (suburbs). To solve the housing crisis in urban areas caused in part by incoming immigrants from former French colonies in the 1960s, the French political elite and urban planners erected massive housing projects known as *cités* in the banlieues of major cities like Paris. Today the *cités* and the banlieues that contain them have become synonymous with poverty, crime, and for the residents, lack of access to majority French

³ It is worth noting here, that there is no one cohesive African, or even West African, community in Paris. Divisions tend to exist along socioeconomic and class lines (Lesbros 2002). There is a discrepancy between those who are privileged with access to the professional world and clandestine, undocumented immigrants.

society and culture. The term *banlieue* has come to have a derogatory meaning and is associated with the ghettoization of the marginalized communities contained at the physical and social periphery of French cities. The children of immigrants from former French colonies in Africa who are French citizens in the *banlieue*, particularly those in the *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis north and east of Paris, are seen as dangerous foreigners—especially those who are Muslim—and continue to be understood as a definitively un-French Other.⁴

In 2005 France faced an opportunity to address the problem of unequal Frenchness when riots in the *banlieue* erupted after two teenagers of African descent were electrocuted as they hid from police in a power plant in the *banlieue* of Clichy-Sous-Bois. The treatment and absence of options for youths living in the *banlieue* have been the topic of public and academic discussion increasingly since then (Tshimanga, Gondola, and Bloom 2009; Keaton, Sharpley-Whiting, and Stovall 2012; Packer 2015). Despite increased awareness of the plight of the residents of the *banlieues*, these urban youths were met with further suspicion, fear, and disgust. The governmental response to the 2005 riots placed the blame on African immigrants and their children for their failure to assimilate into French culture, again exposing the paradox of French national identity with the shattering of universalism. The 2005 riots brought the issue of the changing demographics of France into conversation and consciousness at national and international levels, revealing an inability to move away from colonial approaches of past centuries toward diversity in the present day.

The discrimination faced by residents of the *banlieue* does not affect only sub-Saharan African communities in particular. French citizens of North African descent are marginalized in similar ways. Further complicating this the presence of populations from the overseas

⁴ A *département* is an administrative division that I equate with being at the county level in the United States.

départements in the French Caribbean, who are naturalized citizens of France, but often receive second-class citizen treatment. The strain and distrust of accommodating incoming migrants is increasing as a surge of refugees flood into Europe from the Middle East and Africa. Fear and territorial thinking, not to mention anti-immigrant backlash following the series of terrorist attacks in 2015-2016, has pushed marginalized populations of all kinds farther away from mainstream French society and identity.

The layout of Paris is important in terms of how the power of representation tends to be controlled by cultural organizations at the center of the city. Paris consists of twenty borough-like administrative subdivisions called *arrondissement*, each with its own reputation and historical significance. The twenty *arrondissements* are situated in a clockwise spiral starting in central Paris in the area that includes the Musée du Louvre and surrounding Jardin de Tuileries, as shown in figure 1.1 below.



Figure 1.1) Map of the twenty arrondissements that comprise Paris. Map courtesy of Google 2017.

The arrondissements located on the north and eastern edges of the city, specifically the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth arrondissements, have historically been homes to incoming migrants from Europe and former French colonies. These are among the most diverse parts of Paris. Today, certain roads and metro stops are closely associated with specific communities. For example, the Rue de la Goutte d'Or, Boulevard de Barbès, Rue Doudeauville, Boulevard de la Chappelle and the metro stops Château Rouge, Barbès-Rochechouart, and Porte de la Chappelle, all in these northeastern arrondissements, are linked to the sections of Paris home to many of the

North and West African populations that have arrived since independence from France since the middle of the twentieth century.

These northeastern arrondissements are often more culturally similar to the communities across the Boulevard Périphérique, the highway around Paris that marks the city limits, than those in other parts of the city. People living in these areas are closer in many instances—in distance, culture, and circumstance—to their neighbors in the banlieues than to those in the central arrondissements of Paris. This exemplifies a physical segregating of the first France from the second as well as the symbolic separation of the sites of cultural production that hold the power to represent Africanness in Paris. As I discuss in chapter three African artists and nightclub personnel capitalize on the meanings based on the layout of Parisian arrondissements to subvert narratives of the otherness of African cultural production.

Montreal, Canada

As tensions surrounding the assimilation of immigrants in France have risen in the new millennium, Montreal has emerged as an attractive alternative to Paris for emigrants from francophone West Africa. In a 2012 interview for Public Radio International's radio show *Afropop Worldwide*, Algerian Canadian musician Karim Benzaïd concisely summarized the choices that immigrants make given the options available to them by saying, "It is impossible for immigrants from Africa to go to Europe because [it is] saturated there... so we decided to come here to Quebec, to Montreal" (Eyre 2013). Benzaïd's statement implies that immigrants to Canada are able to make a choice about where and when they migrate. The result of this decision-making is that much of the African population in Canada is made up of individuals who are part of an educated and professional class.

Canada has experienced an influx of immigrants from the African continent since the 1980s. Despite this increase, scholarly attention on this subject has only recently begun to catch up (Konadu-Aguemang et al. 2006: 76). At the time of the 2001 Canadian census African migrant groups constituted the fourth highest minority populations in Canada (Lindsay 2001: 9). In 2001, there were 50,000 African Canadians living in the province of Quebec, the majority in Montreal (Lindsay 2001: 9). Furthermore, over half of Montreal's population, approximately fifty-six percent, was either born abroad or had a parent who was born abroad (Centre d'Histoire de Montréal n.d.). Moreover, seventy percent of immigrants to Quebec chose to live on the Ile de Montréal, the island in the Saint Lawrence River upon which the city is located. These numbers have only increased in the past twenty years, leading to a culturally vibrant African Canadian community. This positions Montreal as a diverse and cosmopolitan city central to cultural activity in Quebec and an understated hub for international francophone cultural production.

Canadian immigration policies make Montreal an attractive destination for many West African immigrants in addition to the shared French language. As compared to the assimilation model in France where incoming immigrants are expected to lose identifying markers of their prior cultural identity and practices to instead become culturally French, the Canadian multiculturalism model for integrating diverse populations emphasizes equality among diverse Canadian minorities. The cultural mosaic is a term that has been used to describe idealized Canadian diversity promoted through multiculturalism. The mosaic metaphor illustrates how each Canadian culture that exists in Canada is a tile in the mosaic that is celebrated and positioned equally among all other ethnicities. The appeal of the Canadian cultural mosaic is in its statement about the intended equal treatment of all Canadian minorities.

The cultural mosaic metaphor, however, also demonstrates the problem with systemic inequality of Canadian multiculturalism. In his seminal book *The Vertical Mosaic* (1965), sociologist John Porter shows how even within the context of the cultural mosaic metaphor class hierarchies exist and are maintained by multicultural ideology (Helmes-Hayes and Curtis 1998). More recently, scholars have pointed to the inequality of Canada's cultural mosaic tiles: "Some are raised while others are lowered, reflecting differences in social statuses and unequal contributions to society. The grout that fastens these tiles into place provides a sharp reminder of who is control" (Tepper quoted in Fleras and Elliot 2002: 41). Critics of Canadian multiculturalism have claimed that what this policy actually does is celebrate diversity at a surface level while managing difference and luring the majority of the population to complacency regarding fundamental inequalities that exist in Canada (Fleras and Elliot 2002: 23). In short, Canadian multiculturalism has been critiqued as a method that feigns equality of all ethnic groups in Canada, but in reality manages difference in a way that privileges those of British ancestry.

The relationship between anglophone Canada, the majority culture, and francophone Canada, the country's most powerful minority culture, has interesting implications for how the provincial government of Quebec has approached receiving African immigrants. As French speakers emigrate from the Caribbean, and North and West Africa, the Québécois government and public must come to terms with how the changing demographics of the province alters the values that make Quebec distinct from the rest of Canada. A core Quebec values is the use of the French language in governmental and public spaces. Because many new immigrants come from French-speaking countries, this increases the presence of French as an official Canadian language and helps defend this part of Quebecois identity and culture from the ever-present

perceived threat of anglophone cultural domination. But even with the increase of French speakers in Quebec, the influx of immigrants from the Caribbean, North Africa, and West Africa challenges the cultural identity of the province.

Demographics in flux lead to anxieties about Quebec's claim to nation status in Canada and have led to discourse about how to best integrate new arrivals to Quebec in a way that is distinct from Canadian multiculturalism. This is of particular importance for Montreal as a majority of new immigrants to Quebec reside there (Centre d'Histoire de Montréal n.d.). Quebec has thus opted for an integrative approach to pluralism in the province, interculturalism. The intercultural model proposes a way of linking the majority culture in Quebec—that of French Canadian heritage—with the cultural minorities who have arrived through phases of immigration to create an inclusive future Quebec culture that prioritizes the French language (Bouchard 2015: 7). Interculturalism is a model of ethnocultural diversity that strives to situate cultural minorities as participants in and contributors to the francophone cultural makeup and identity of the province. The act of modeling an ideal interculturalism takes place through the framing of and performances by African artists at an annual music festival in Montreal, as I discuss in chapter four.

The reception of and efforts to integrate immigrant communities in Paris and Montreal set the tone for the kinds of representations of Africa that I analyze. Cities like Paris and Montreal experience a perceived strain on resources and can thus become hostile to newcomers as recent waves of displaced people relocate to the Northern hemisphere. According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, the number of forcibly displaced people worldwide for the year 2014 was the greatest since World War II (Edward and Dobbs 2014). While the number of migrants and refugees entering Europe has been rising steadily since 2011, it has increased

sharply in 2015 as people flee the crises in the Middle East and Syria in particular. In 2015 alone, the International Organization for Migration recorded over one million registered migrants into Europe (IOM 2015). These numbers indicate that the rapid influx of people into the European Union adds increased pressures on an already delicate setting. The implications of the movement of refugees for major cities have become sources of anxiety for members of the majority culture who seek to make sense of the diversification of the demographics of the city and an evolving cultural identity of the nation.

Methods

While my research methods are informed by an area studies model prevalent in ethnomusicology, I have taken a different approach for this dissertation. This is due in part to circumstance; I did not have access to the grant funding that would have allowed me to spend extended time in the field. I play with the conventional model of ethnographic fieldwork while also challenging the representations of Africa as an “area” that this model reinforces in my efforts to use the rich material that I collected from the fieldwork that I was able to conduct between March and July of 2014. I therefore contribute to complicating the notion of the “field” as a remote place that the scholar travels to and immerses herself in as a means to conduct deep ethnography. I find there is value in recasting the field to including urban metropolitan areas and sites of digital cultural production and consumption. I am not alone in rethinking the ethnographic field, nor is this a recent project, as the two editions of Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley’s edited collection *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* demonstrate (1997; 2008). The circumstances beyond my control have nevertheless challenged me to approach my dissertation research in a way I had not expected,

specifically through reliance on transcription and analysis of studio recorded music. My approach led me to think about representations of Africa in several different contexts and through different lenses, which offered me the opportunity to dig into fields such as museum studies that I had not previously considered and to revive the listening skills required to detailed transcriptions.

At the same time, the arguments that I make are informed by observation made during five months of fieldwork in 2014 that consisted of participant observations in public settings. In Paris I attended museums that had either permanent or temporary exhibits on Africa or African immigrants in France. I spent hours sorting through the collections of books, DVDs, and CDs at the multimedia libraries at the Musée du Quai Branly, Cité de la Musique, and Musée National d'Histoire d'Immigration. I attended concert series and music festivals. For the events that I was unable to attend I collected promotional material in the form of free pamphlets and fliers or took photographs of posters hung in public spaces (appendix A). I mapped the location of African music venues, CD shops, recording labels, restaurants, markets, and boutiques on a map of the city (chapter three). This act of plotting of sites of African music in Paris contributed to the main thesis of chapters two and three. In Montreal, I observed ticketed and free concerts, workshops, and demonstrations at the Festival International Nuits d'Afrique. I attended other music and cultural festivals as well including the Carifesta parade, Week-ends du Monde festival, Festival International de Jazz de Montreal, and Just Pour Rire.

I support my main arguments through transcription and analysis of songs and music videos, a process through which I was able to engage with this material at an intimate level. In my analysis I was required to make decisions about what information to privileged and how to best support my arguments, in effect using transcription to represent African music and, by

extension, African culture. As Ter Ellingson writes, “The problems of transcription are the problems of ethnomusicology itself” (1992: 146). In other words, the choices made by ethnomusicologists about how to represent music are linked to the choices they must make about representing the musicians and music cultures that are the subjects of ethnomusicological study.

I chose to use the notation of Western art music traditions for my transcriptions because I deem them the most accessible way to visually support the main arguments that I present. Moreover, Western staff notation is a *lingua franca* for music scholars in a variety of subfields, audiences that I invite to consider my arguments and apply similar methods of analysis to their own research on global popular musics. Nevertheless, I encountered challenges representing musical elements such as the shifting positions of voices in the audio mix, the sonic textures created by digital effects, and the nuances of different timbral variations in highly produced popular music. There is not an elegant way to represent such musical components through standard staff notation even though these aspects of the music influence how a listener may hear a song overall. As a result, I have thought carefully about what each element of the transcriptions demonstrates and why I have included it in the transcription. As a result, the transcriptions that I provide are descriptive rather than prescriptive (Ellingson 1992: 111, 153), depicting what I hear as the transcriber instead of the music creators’ intent, of which I cannot be certain without further research. The processes of making decisions about the musical elements to highlight and the deep listening required for me to write them out became an important method of analysis. The points I make about sounds and images in music videos are similarly informed by processes of analysis based on how to best represent an audio visual medium on paper. All of the songs, videos, and artists that I discuss are present on the internet and I invite the reader to seek them out to experience the music beyond the content that I am able to provide here.

Overview of the Chapters

Each of the chapters that follow is a case study that investigates a different way of approaching representation of contemporary Africa. I emphasize Afropolitanism as a mechanism for navigating the complexities of representations of Africa and explore the reason for and implications of the representation. I consider how prevalent representations of Africa are either reinforced or subverted through African popular music, live or recorded. Sometimes representations are both reinforced and subverted simultaneously in a single event. In chapter two I examine representations of Africa at five museums in Paris, the Musée du Quai Branly, the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, Palais du Tokyo, Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique, and Cité de la Musique. Drawing on Michel de Certeau's notions of place—fixed and rigid—and space—constantly being claimed and practiced (1988)—and James Clifford's idea of museums as contact zones (1997), I investigate how each museum either represents Africa as an exotic other or facilitates the creation of spaces wherein such representations are challenged, reclaimed, and even mocked. I end the chapter with an analysis of a performance by Debademba, a band with roots in Burkina Faso and nearby West African nations, at the formal concert hall at the Cité de la Musique. I cite this performance as an example of an Afropolitan representation of contemporary African music that challenges musical categorization of a West African band based on the range of musical styles incorporated into Debademba's music. By focusing on museums, I address the different representations of Africa presented by these prestigious institutions at the center of Parisian cultural life.

In chapter three I analyze three music videos featuring the Ivorian popular music genre *coupé-décalé* to provide a different perspective on representations of contemporary Africa in Paris. In these music videos, *coupé-décalé* artists appropriate imagery of the Eiffel Tower, the

ultimate landmark of Frenchness, in order to create and perpetuate a myth of an elite African Paris. By mapping the locations of African music venues that hold events in Paris, I suggest that the Ivorian nightclub L'Alizé Club, which regularly features coupé-décalé artists, capitalizes on its physical proximity to the Eiffel Tower to create a space for a temporary manifestation of the elite African Paris of coupé-décalé for its patrons, most of whom live in the arrondissements and banlieues at the peripheries of this city. While access to the elite African Paris of coupé-décalé is temporary for patrons of Alizé, I claim the world created around the genre—including promotion efforts—contributes in effect to the presence of an Afropolitan representation of the African population in Paris.

I then turn to the annual Festival International Nuits d'Afrique in Montreal in chapter four to continue thinking about the transformative potential of Afropolitan representations. Because Québécois identity has been closely tied to music practice and festivals in the past, I see the Nuits d'Afrique music festival as a site where an idealized future Québécois identity is negotiated. I thus argue that Nuits d'Afrique has become a space where the Quebec model of interculturalism is performed and broadcasted back to the city of Montreal, the province of Quebec, and the rest of North America. I suggest that the broad and inclusive definition of African music that frames the festival as well as statements made and performed by festival artists regarding gender equality, opportunity for immigrants in Canada, balancing heritage and innovation, and diversity of artists and genres all point to how Nuits d'Afrique not only models Québécois interculturalism, but also displays an Afropolitan representation of contemporary African musical performance.

In the final chapter, I depart from examples of Afropolitan representations of Africa to highlight how the 2010 World Cup in South Africa missed an opportunity to represent

contemporary Africa in constructive ways. In this case study I apply topic theory from musicology to follow the emergence of a musical sign from the South African genre *isicathamiya* to its entrance into popular culture in the United States and how it has become associated with a conventional meaning of Africanness. I then analyze the presence of this musical sign in the anthems created for the 2010 World Cup games in South Africa. I posit that topic theory provides a useful vocabulary for addressing how a simple musical motif can be extracted from its original context and assigned a new meaning. I use topic theory to provide a way of addressing sonic representations of Africa that are based in the fantasy of the otherness of African cultural production.

In this dissertation I compare different representations of contemporary Africa in the following four case studies. In doing so, I address the complexities of representing Africa in Paris, Montreal, and at the 2010 World Cup. I build my arguments from scholarship on African music in ethnomusicology as well as studies on diaspora, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism. I suggest that Afropolitanism is a useful framework for addressing the complexities of a contemporary Africanness that is multiple in location, voice, and cultural identity.

Chapter Two:

Making Space and Facilitating Contact Zones in Five Paris Museums

This chapter examines how representations of contemporary Africa and African Parisian experience are perpetuated or complicated in five museums in Paris. I use the term African experience to mean the experience of individuals and communities who have a link to the African continent as either recent immigrants or as French citizens who have been in France for multiple generations. I demonstrate the variety of approaches to the representation of Africa at these museums and suggest that the differences between each museum's representations reveal the complexity of representing contemporary Africa in Paris. By engaging with museums that reinforce and subvert predominant representations of Africa, I facilitate a conversation about Paris as a crossroads of cultures, societies, classes, political opinions, and musical styles. The museums that take inclusive and interactive approaches to their exhibits and events present an Afropolitan reading of these representations of Africa that recognizes the complex relationship between France and francophone Africa and the resulting African populations in the Paris metropolitan area.

In France, museums are prestigious institutions. This is significant because museums hold the power to frame narratives of Africa, African arts, and African experience in ways that either contribute to or challenge the status quo of French society. I frame this negotiation of Africa in France through Michel de Certeau's distinction between place and space (1988). I argue that museums in Paris hold the power to maintain place, which mutes the voices of people tied to the cultural artifacts displayed and who are the focus of the representations, or to facilitate space-making, which brings the communities represented by the museum into interactive contact

zones. Embracing the potential that museums hold as contact zones, as defined by James Clifford (1997), allows for the active transformation of place into space. I claim that space-making and contact zones are mechanisms for creating Afropolitan representations. Concert series associated with museum events do this in real time and potentially in ways that cannot be predicted by museum curators, which in some cases allows performers the opportunity to assume the power of representation while the prestige of the venue is maintained.

Many of the buildings that house the museums I discuss were erected as part of former world's expositions in Paris. Others were part of *grands travaux* projects, the often ostentatious monuments built by French presidents. Many of these *grands travaux* are now landmarks in Paris such as George Pompidou's Centre Pompidou, which holds the Musée National d'Art Moderne (National Museum of Modern Art); Françoise Mitterrand's glass pyramid at the entrance of the Louvre, the Opéra Bastille, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and the Parc de la Villette; and Jacque Chirac's Musée du Quai Branly. Politicians' *grands travaux* projects exemplify past and contemporary intersections of art, artifacts, and political power. Museums, and the narratives that are created through exhibits within them, are further points wherein power, contact, place, and space-making are entangled.

Contact Zones and Space as Practiced Place

Two guiding ideas shape my analysis in this chapter. The first follows James Clifford's assertion that museums act as contact zones (1997). Clifford—who borrows the term contact zone from Mary Louise Pratt—uses it to describe a site of colonial encounter. It is a term that favors “how subjects are constituted in and by relationship to each other” (Pratt quoted in Clifford 1997: 192). The concept of a contact zone stresses interaction, co-presence, and

convergence of understanding and practice that often sit within the uneven power dynamics inferred by a centers and peripheries model (ibid.). The museum is an ideal contact zone because it is a center par excellence regarding power of credibility. As Clifford states, “the museum, usually located in a metropolitan city, is the historical destination for the cultural productions it lovingly and authoritatively salvages, cares for, and interprets” (193). The museums that I address are located in the center in terms of prestige and power to curate narratives of what is discovered and collected from the periphery.

For Clifford, the value of the contact zone lies in the interactions of people and actors with differing levels of access to the power to represent themselves and others (Clifford 1997: 200). These actors may be attracted to or included in museum projects for differing reasons. The essential characteristics of contact zones are that they foster the complication of existing power relationships (204). Contact zones are places of hybrid possibility and political negotiation. They are also sites of exclusion and struggle (212). Contact work must therefore go beyond consultation to involve active collaboration and shared authority between the museum, its staff, and the community represented (210).

I expand on Clifford’s notion of contact zones by including performances associated with museums along side the choices made by museum and community personnel who curate exhibits. Live performance can be an extended contact zone because it facilitates improvised exchange in real time by both those on stage and in the audience. During live performance, such as museum sponsored concert series, the interactive relationship between the performer and the audience can subvert the careful efforts of curated framing in subtle ways. This opens an opportunity for conversation and engagement that is not possible in the same way through the display of art, objects, or artifacts. Furthermore, different levels of interaction exist between the

performers and different types of audience members based on differing subject positions. In this chapter I think about how museum sponsored concerts act as contact zones and what that means in terms of self-representation of African music in a setting where a pre-existing frame of what African music is is already in place.

The second guiding idea in this chapter is that of active production of space from place. Following the work of Michel de Certeau (1988), I consider the role that museums in Paris play in reifying senses of place, on the one hand, and fostering the creation of space, on the other. For de Certeau, place is rigid and “there”—a force used by powerful elite to confine and control even in its most basic examples, such as roads or the layout of buildings. By contrast, space gives the ordinary person agency to subvert the power of place. De Certeau gives examples of individuals creating shortcuts across roads as an act of space-making. While place is rigid and formal, space is constantly invented, produced, and appropriated (Andermatt Conley 2012: 2). As de Certeau puts it, “space is a practiced place” (1988: 117). Given that the power of cultural production held by museums at the symbolic center of the city is rooted in the legacy of colonization, the museums, temporary exhibits, and interactive art installations that I discuss challenge this power of representation, although often just temporarily. The museums that strive to address the existing asymmetrical power relationships embrace their role as contact zones to open up negotiations of space and place. This is particularly true in circumstances where museum exhibits and events attempt to push back against the colonial legacy that looms over representations of African cultural production at the center and the periphery of the city.

I observed that institutional attitudes toward maintaining established senses of place differed as much as the objects on display within the twelve Parisian museums that I visited. I address the importance of these in five museums that provide distinct approaches to representing

difference, establishing contact zones, and negotiating place into space. My analysis of each museum demonstrates the complexities of representing contemporary Africa in Paris.

Furthermore, the museums that I address actively fostered contact zones and engaged in space-making contribute to an Afropolitan presence in Paris, one which recognizes the complexities of the people and cultures who are the focus of the museum's representation. I therefore suggest that space-making and contact zones are mechanisms for Afropolitan representations of contemporary Africa in Paris.

First I discuss the Musée du Quai Branly as an example of a museum that not only reifies place, but also inherited the attitude of place along with its collection from an enduring relationship with colonial power. I posit that the Musée du Quai Branly passed on an opportunity to be an Afropolitan space in the center of the city. As counter examples I highlight three museums—Le Palais du Tokyo, La Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, and Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique—that actively encourage contact zones as ways to facilitate space-making and subvert the kind of representational power held by the Musée du Quai Branly. Each of these three museums exhibits approach the subjects of their representations in different ways, revealing the diversity of contemporary African experiences in Paris. By addressing these differences, the Palais du Tokyo, Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, and Petit Musée de la Françafrique support the nuances of an emerging Afropolitan Paris. Finally, I analyze the temporary Great Black Music exhibit and African Remix concert series held by the Cité de la Musique to explore how museum-sponsored interactive events can toe the line of place and space, and how formal performances can become a negotiation of an Afropolitan aesthetic in real time within active contact zones. Recognizing the power that museums hold as space-makers and contact zones acknowledges the continued importance of museums as cultural institutions in the

twenty-first century. Moreover, analysis of these five museums reveals the layers of complexity involved in representing contemporary Africa in Paris and the value of an Afropolitan approach in recognizing these complexities.

Reifying Place and Representing Africa: Musée du Quai Branly ⁵

The Musée du Quai Branly displays cultural artifacts and artwork from Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Oceania inherited from two major sources, the Musée de l'Homme and the Musée Nationale des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie. Its collection, as of 2014, consists of approximately 300,000 artifacts dated between 2000 BC and the twenty-first century (Musée du Quai Branly n.d.). Of these pieces, 3,500 remain on display as part of the permanent exhibit (Dias 2008: 300). The rest are displayed through temporary exhibits that rotate quarterly (Musée du Quai Branly n.d.). Between its opening in 2006 and my research period in 2014, the Musée du Quai Branly had featured fifteen temporary exhibits on African art, including statues and masks, in addition to the 1,000 African pieces on display for the permanent collection.

At the main entrance of the Musée du Quai Branly there is a round, glass-encased room that extends vertically over the multiple floors of the building. Inside this dimly lit room are shelves upon shelves of the museum's collection of 9,000 musical instruments organized by region of origin and organological classification (Leclair 2003:179; Lebovics 2006: 96). Patrons access the permanent collection of the museum by walking up a long ramp textured to look like the packed clay of a riverbed. Words projected onto the surface of the ramp create a sense of a living river. At the top of the river ramp, the visitor enters the permanent exhibition hall, which is

⁵ In 2016, the ten-year anniversary of its opening, former French president Jacques Chirac's name was added to the museum to recognize his contribution as instigator of the Musée du Quai Branly as his *grand travaux*. It is now called Le Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac. I will continue to refer to it by its 2014 name since my observations were made during that time.

divided into the regions of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and the Americas. Each region was further divided into sub-regions. The Africa section consisted of the sub-regions of South and Eastern Africa, Central Africa, Western Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Maghreb, which led into the comparatively small Middle East section.⁶

At the entrance to the Africa section displays was a pre-Dogon statue from what is now Mali. Paired with this was a recording of a *kora*, also from Mali but from a distinctly different culture group and region. Because I am familiar with the different Malian ethnic groups and their respective cultural products, I found this pairing at the entrance of the Africa exhibit undermined the accuracy of the information, when provided, about the pieces on display. Art scholar Sally Price provides multiple other examples of artifacts displayed in ways that privileged artistic aesthetics at the detriment of cultural precision at the Musée du Quai Branly. In each case—a Vietnamese textile positioned in such a way that the images of American B52 bombers on the back was obscured, a cape from Suriname misattributed to Guyana and displayed on its side, and carved painted boards from Papua New Guinean ceremonial houses credited to the wrong ethnic group—experts in these areas who noticed the errors and reached out to curators at the museum received a blasé response (Price 2007: 147-148). These inconsistencies within the aesthetically impressive museum reveal a lack of input from people from the community being represented as well as scholarly experts on the cultural practices of the same community. The pre-Dogon statue paired with the Mande *kora* was particularly striking given the sizable local Malian and West African population in the Paris area. Moreover, as former minister for Malian culture and tourism Aminata Traoré pointed out in her critical essay of the museum, objects from Mali were

⁶ I believe the Middle East region was so small at the Musée du Quai Branly because of the presence of the Institut du Monde Arabe in the fifth arrondissement.

treated with more respect in France than people from Mali, who were struggling under the French policy of *immigration choisie* (selective immigration) at the time of the Musée du Quai Branly's opening (Traoré 2006). Thus, it is clear that visual aesthetics at the Musée du Quai Branly are valued over detailed cultural accuracy, input from scholarly experts or the community that is being represented, or attention to political issues that impact these same communities.

The encounter with the pre-Dogon statue and *kora* music set the tone for the rest of the visit for me as a museum patron. The exhibition hall was dark with overhead lighting that emphasized the featured pieces—statues carved from stone or wood, clay figurines, wooden masks, metal adornments, and woven textiles. The dim lighting contributed to the sense of mystical Other throughout the gallery space. Themed exhibits in smaller, side galleries offset from the main display accentuated features of masks, fetishes, and figurines without providing information about how they were used within cultural context. The information that was provided privileged acknowledgement of the collector of the object over the artists-creator. The creator rarely has been the direct source of the pieces that make up the Musée du Quai Branly's collection (Price 2007: 141).

The absence of cultural context is particularly confusing given the Musée du Quai Branly's rhetoric of cultural dialogue. The motto printed on all the promotional material for the Musée du Quai Branly is "*là où dialoguent les cultures*" (where cultures dialogue). The goal of the museum is described in the English language brochure for the Musée du Quai Branly as

A cultural organization dedicated to the *civilization* and arts of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas, the museum was born as a result of a meeting with the *collector* Jacques Kerchache and the culmination of a long-term dream; *to attribute non-western cultures their due place* within the national [French] museum structure (Musée du Quai Branly n.d.; emphasis mine).

The ideas of collection, civilization, and Otherness of non-western cultures are woven into the promotional statements for the museum in addition to the choice of artifacts used in exhibits. The exhibits featured at the Musée du Quai Branly show African creations as a kind of otherworldliness of traditions that celebrated African creators, in the vein of the noble savage, as the epitome of Otherness in French society. Thus, despite the intentions of cultural dialogue presented in the museum's promotional material, not only has Musée du Quai Branly inherited its collection from the legacy of French colonial expansion, it also inherited a mindset that is resistant to complicating the power dynamic that this history maintains.

This collection is entrenched in France's history as a colonizing power. It is comprised of objects and artifacts brought back to France by missionaries, explorers, military personnel, and ethnologists from the era of colonial expansion in Africa, which started in the final decades of the nineteenth century and extended until the middle of the twentieth century. It was compiled for the spectacle of world's and colonial fairs that took place in Paris in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many of the parks and buildings built for these events have housed part of the collection as it moved from museum to museum before arriving at the new Musée du Quai Branly in 2006. Museum personnel who held the power to make decisions regarding what was considered art versus anthropological curiosity, which museums or galleries these pieces were displayed in as a result of such considerations, and how the museums that held these collections were (and continue to be) rebranded engaged in the process of place-making that reified a narrative of Africa as a continual Other in relationship to France. Addressing the history of how the Musée du Quai Branly's current collection has been treated in the past reflects societal attitudes toward both colonial and postcolonial perceptions of Africa.

The story of the Musée du Quai Branly's collection began during the reign of Charles X (1824-1830) when a section of the Louvre, the Musée Dauphin, became a gallery for the display of the non-European "ethnographic curiosities" brought back by French explorers and missionaries (Louvre.fr; Price 2007: 30).⁷ In the late 1800s, debates in the French art community about the placement of superior versus inferior art resulted in the removal of the ethnographic collections from the Louvre. These pieces were placed along with other ethnographic artifacts from archeological, colonial, and natural history museums across France in the Muséum Ethnographie des Missions Scientifiques in 1877. A year later it was renamed the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in the Palais du Trocadéro, newly built for the 1878 Exposition Universelle (Price 2007: 81). In 1937 the Palais du Trocadéro was once again rebuilt as the Palais du Chaillot for that year's Exposition Universelle and the ethnographic collection was installed in the new Musée de l'Homme where it remained until 2003 (Price 2007: 93). After initial public and political support, both the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro and the Musée de l'Homme struggled with low funding and public disinterest as anthropological research turned away from the emphasis on material culture. Furthermore, at the Musée de l'Homme the museum leadership was divided and tense, exhibits were out of date, displays were neglected, and 200,000 of the museum's 250,000 artifacts were disorganized, poorly inventoried, and inaccessible to the public (85). Much of the Musée de l'Homme's collection transferred to the new Musée du Quai Branly 2006.

The second major source of the Musée du Quai Branly's collection came from the former museums at the Palais de la Porte Dorée, which was built as the exhibition hall for the Exposition

⁷ The Louvre, initially built as a medieval fortress, first opened as a museum in 1793. The first exhibits consisted of 600 pieces of artwork, most of which were already part of the Louvre palace (Price 2007: 30).

Coloniale Internationale in 1931. After the colonial exposition the Palais de la Porte Dorée became home to the foreign pieces deemed unfit for art museums. In 1935 it was the Musée de la France d’Outre-Mer (Museum of Overseas France), displaying artifacts from the colonial empire. After many colonies received their independence in the 1950s-1960s, the same museum was renamed the Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens (Museum of African and Oceanic Arts), and eventually changed to the Musée National des Arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie (National Museum of the Art of Africa and Oceania) in 1990 (Palais de la Porte Dorée n.d.). The collection from the Musée National des Arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie was merged with the collection from the Musée de l’Homme and is now part of the Musée du Quai Branly.

The paring of the history of the collection, neglect to include to the voices of the cultures whose art makes up their collection, and a lack of access to these collections for these communities—especially given the then-recent riots in the banlieues—reifies the Musée du Quai Branly’s status as place. It is rigid and unmoving in its framing of non-European art through an Othering lens. The Musée du Quai Branly, at least through the permanent exhibits, denies museum patrons and communities with cultural ties to the artifacts on display in the museum access to the types of colonial encounter that makes museums productive contact zones. This is ironic given that the museum’s motto suggests that it is a site that fosters dialogue between cultures. I would be remiss if I did not mention that the Musée du Quai Branly does have facilities outside of the exhibition galleries that attempt to reach out to the community in a broader way including an impressive reading room; a media library for researchers and students with access to the museum archives; an auditorium for lecture series, presentations, concerts, and film screenings; rotating temporary exhibits; classrooms and a workshop space; an outdoor amphitheater, open-air gallery, and gardens; and a gift shop, café, and restaurant. The extra-

exhibition events held at the Musée du Quai Branly are evidence of genuine interest in fostering dialogue with the community, especially as many are free to the public. While much of the groundwork is in place for the creation of viable contact zones at the Musée du Quai Branly, the final steps are missing. The tenor of these events continues to be controlled by the museum personnel; input of minority voices remains absent (Lebovics 2006: 104; Traoré 2006; Clifford 2007: 19; Hennes 2009: 210). As a result, the Musée du Quai Branly misses an opportunity to be an important space for exchange and dialogue, a space where nuanced representations of African art and the contexts from which this art is created are displayed in a way that recognizes the complexities of contemporary Africa.

The Musée du Quai Branly is an example of a cultural institution that aims to lift up art from non-European parts of the world and give these pieces, as the promotional brochure for the museum states, “their due place within the national [French] museum structure” (Musée du Quai Branly n.d.). The Musée du Quai Branly does this in a way that reifies existing dynamics of power regarding who decides what is art, where it is fit to be displayed, what information is displayed with it, and how it is framed in terms of visual aesthetic. Personnel at museums such as Musée du Quai Branly who address these decisions take part in the process of reifying the museum as place, a process that has been repeated many times as the history of the Musée du Quai Branly’s collection demonstrates. By ignoring the communities with ties to the artifacts on display, many of which were negatively impacted by French laws such as *immigration choisie*, Musée du Quai Branly controls the tone of the dialogue it purportedly fosters and which voices take part (Lebovics 2006: 104; Traoré 2006; Clifford 2007: 19; Hennes 2009: 210). It simultaneously shuts out the potential to be a space of lively encounter, exchange, and contact.

The singular meanings imposed through the permanent exhibit at Musée du Quai Branly demonstrated an unwillingness to relinquish narrative control, a necessary step for the transformation of place into space. Furthermore, by excluding wider community contribution at the museum, the Musée du Quai Branly closes off the potential for interactive cultural work that contact zones facilitate. In effect, the Musée du Quai Branly opts out of employing mechanisms that contribute to Afropolitan representations of contemporary Africa. I turn now to three exhibits at museums that embrace their role as contact zones. These museums openly encourage space-making and thus address the complexities of representing Africa in Paris today.

Museum Events that Facilitate Space-making

The next three museums that I address counter the narrative of Africa perpetuated by the Musée du Quai Branly by embracing the potential of contact zones for space-making. While each abuts music and performance, I save my analysis of performance for the final section of this chapter. The three museums differ from the Musée du Quai Branly in many ways. I focus on how each highlights a certain African related experience in Paris—that of immigrants, marginalized residents of the suburban housing projects, and minority French citizens. In other words, the following museums represent contemporary Africa in ways that are nuanced assertions of Afropolitanism. Each museum fosters contact zones in distinct ways. The first museum, la Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, encourages community stories and presents the colonial past as a teachable moment for moving to the future. The second, *Banlieue is Beautiful*, initiates a social sculpture that gives a voice to marginalized French citizens in order to subvert the negative media representation of youth from housing projects. The third, le Petit Musée de la Françafrique, set within a shrine to the aesthetics of vintage Africa, invites mockery

of corrupt political ties between France and Africa in the years after African independences. Together these three museums provide a counter perspective to that of the Musée du Quai Branly, which reifies place. They do so through three different approaches to overlapping yet distinct experiences of Africanness in Paris. These three museums are thus examples of cultural institutions that strive to address the existing asymmetrical power relationships of museums and utilize contact zones and the negotiations of space and place as mechanisms of Afropolitan representation.

Reclaiming a Colonial Site: La Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration⁸

La Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration (the National Complex of the History of Immigration) opened in 2007, the year following the Musée du Quai Branly in the Palais de la Porte Dorée. The curators at the Musée Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration facilitate space-making through the tone and content of the exhibits that encourages visitors to identify with the stories featured and contribute their experiences. Paradoxically, this museum exists within a former exposition palace built as a propaganda tool to help justify the French colonial project. The convergence of the contrary purposes of the site points to the processes of space-making that have occurred to transform the palace from a colonial place to a contemporary space that not only embraces being a contact zone that extends the museum's project into the community, but also sees this role as an essential aspect of the museum's existence.

The Palais de la Porte Dorée (Palace of the Golden Door) was initially built for the 1931 Exposition Coloniale Internationale. The six-month long exposition, which stretched across 270

⁸ The word "cité," used here and at the Cité de la Musique, indicates the entire compound and all the resources within including the multimedia library, bookstore, café, auditorium, assembly rooms, and the museum. "Cité" is also a term used for the housing projects in the banlieue and often with a negative overtone.

acres of the Bois de Vincennes on the periphery of Paris, enabled French citizens to understand their place in the far-reaching colonial France on existential and symbolic levels. The goal of the exposition was to facilitate the sensation that French citizens had rights of ownership over the distant marvels obtained from colonization, including animals, plants, humans, and goods (Lebovics 2008: 371). While many of the world's fairs held in Paris in the prior decade showcased colonial subjects, the 1931 Exposition Coloniale was the most expansive of such endeavors.

The aggrandizing imagery of the colonial project at the Palais de la Porte Dorée is striking, especially juxtaposed against the idea of a national immigration museum. The massive bas-relief on the outside walls of the colonial palace depicts wild animals, exotic plants, and semi-nude colonial subjects working to produce the economic goods that benefited France—peanuts, cocoa, palm oil, rice, sugar, and cotton, to name just a few. The frescos inside the *palais* portray France benefiting its colonial subjects through self-congratulatory imagery of civilizing missions of colonization (Hennes 2009: 206). The aquarium and zoological gardens, also constructed as part of the 1931 exposition to present the flora and fauna of the colonies alongside the human inhabitants, remained intact (Lebovics 2008: 369). The Aquarium Tropical is still in the basement of the Palais de la Porte Dorée.

After the exposition, the Palais de la Porte Dorée subsequently housed the museums that eventually became the Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie before its collection went to the Musée du Quai Branly. Unlike the Musée du Quai Branly, however, the Cité Nationale d'Histoire d'Immigration self-reflexively addresses the colonial history of its campus and its role as a propaganda tool to gain civilian support for the French colonial project (Lebovics 2008). The Cité National d'Histoire d'Immigration endeavors to own this history by

featuring the voices of immigrant communities in France, many of which were from former French colonies, in an effort to open the space to plural narratives of French identity, experience, and belonging.

The Musée Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration consists of both permanent and temporary exhibits spaces, a multimedia library, meeting spaces, auditorium, café, and bookstore. The museum takes a three-fold approach to their permanent exhibit which incorporates history, anthropology, and artistry, something that is not done in other museums in Paris that tend to focus instead on fine arts (Toubon n.d.: 3, 2). The permanent exhibit presents two centuries of immigration into France, highlighting the diversity this history brings to contemporary French society as well as the difficulties migrants have faced. The exhibit is well balanced in its representation of immigrants from all over the world, not just former French colonies. For example, there is much emphasis on immigrants from other parts of Europe, especially Poland, Portugal, Spain, and Italy.

The Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration embraces the potential that museums hold as contact zones. The Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration facilitates storytelling that reaches out to the museum patrons in a way that encourages the community to be part of the narrative. For example, a promotional postcard for the permanent exhibit depicts an immigrant laborer laying bricks over which is written "*Ton grand-père dans un musée*" (Your grandfather in a museum). By using second person for the text the Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration extends ownership of the museum exhibit on the immigrant experience in France into the community. The team at the Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration values and promotes the plurality of representation and contributions from the community at large. This team asserts that, "*La Cité et son musée désirent en effet instaurer un rapport participative avec le public et plus généralement avec la société,*

autour de l'élaboration et de la narration du patrimoine de l'immigration.” (The *cité* and its museum desire to institute a participatory relationship with the public, and with society more generally, around the elaboration and narration of the heritage of immigration)” (Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration n.d.: 10). Thus, the decision makers at the museum not only represent past histories of immigration to France, but also see the potential to create discussion about present and future realities of immigration (Toubon n.d.: 2).

The Musée de l’Histoire de l’Immigration acknowledges the need for plural approaches in addressing the issue of immigration to France, an issue that continues to be at the forefront of French politics. Support for positive narratives of immigration into France is the exception instead of the rule in contemporary times. For example, the Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration opened in 2007 during Nicolas Sarkozy’s 2007-2012 presidential term. Sarkozy ran and won office on an explicitly anti-immigrant platform and refused to attend the museum opening, an event that the French president is usually present for (Packer 2015). Guided by the idea that history must not be a monologue, at minimum a it must be dialogue, the curatorial team at the museum has opted for pluralistic approaches—plural voices in terms of who is represented, disciplinary contributions, and types of displays. The permanent exhibit consists of daily objects such as musical instruments, cookware, and heirlooms brought from countries of origin, personal testimonies by immigrants, archival documents such as workers’ permits or passports, personal photographs, and artwork about immigration or by artists who were part of an immigrant family. The artwork included in the exhibit utilizes multimedia mediums, especially film or sound recording. The Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration offers free resources to the public—the media library, workshops, public lecture series, even podcasts—which are valuable tools for those interested in learning about their own heritage, the history of

immigration to France, reception of these immigrants during different moments in French history, as well as creative reactions to these experiences. There are also resources available for individuals seeking information about French law and citizenship.

The Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration demonstrates a commitment to its role as a contact zone. The approach taken by the Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration serves to humanize the people and the experience of immigration, a particularly sensitive issue in France and Europe prior to and since the time of my research. Furthermore, it uses the colonial history of the *cit * as a warning from which to jump into the discussion of contemporary issues surrounding immigration and diversity in France today, demonstrating the complex and competing approaches to representing contemporary Africa in Paris. Just as the Palais de la Porte Dor e was used to normalize the idea of colonial empire, the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration is a tool to promote the multiple definitions and experiences of French heritage. It does so by giving the people represented within its colonial encrusted walls the option to contribute their experience in their own voice. Engagement, contribution, and conversation are at the core of the museum's project. By promoting this project openly, the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration reclaims the place of the Palais de la Porte Dor e from its birth for colonial propaganda and more than seventy years as place for the display of foreign curiosities. Through facilitation of pluralities, it encourages space-making by museum patrons and contributors by asking them to add personal experience to the collective history of France that it promotes. The Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration draws on the colonial past in an effort to learn from and avoid such missteps for the future. The next two museums I discuss take action on the issues of contemporary marginalization in France by creating spaces for projects

that humanize the residents of the banlieue and mock corrupt postcolonial politicians from Africa and France.

Resisting Negative Representation: Banlieue is Beautiful

Banlieue is Beautiful was a temporary interactive art installment that was exhibited over three days at the Palais de Tokyo, one of the largest centers for contemporary art in Europe (Palais de Tokyo n.d.) The objective of the Banlieue is Beautiful installation was to facilitate exchange between residents of the banlieues—the suburbs of the city characterized by housing developments and underprivileged communities—and museum patrons from other parts of the city. In other words, the highly interactive art installation was designed to be a three-day long contact zone. In working to give a human face and voice to populations from banlieues in the *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis located northwest of Paris, Banlieue is Beautiful facilitated space-making by providing access to a prestigious institution in the center of the city.⁹ The entire exhibit was couched in the rhetoric of creativity as a form of activism. It was framed as a response to the issue of negative media representations of the residents of the banlieues in the aftermath of the 2005 riots triggered by the deaths of two minority youths who were killed while evading the police. These riots were covered in the international news and sparked conversations about equal access to opportunity for French citizens who are racial minorities. Banlieue is Beautiful aimed to challenge the portrayal of youth in the banlieue as angry, destructive, violent, and un-French.

⁹ The *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis is colloquially referred to as “93” because these are the first two digits of the postal codes for all communities within the *département*. The number has become synonymous with the northeastern banlieues of Paris.

Banlieue is Beautiful presented this same demographic, young minority citizens from the banlieue, in a way that strove to bypass the pejorative stereotypes of these residents by giving individuals a space to represent themselves through art, photography, film, music, slam poetry, round table discussions, conferences, and other interactive events. Banlieue is Beautiful made a space for the public in attendance to engage with the creative performers, social activists, and the ideas they promoted. The Banlieue is Beautiful project strove to promote the culture and diversity of the banlieue through what the artist activist and founder of the project Monte Laster termed a social sculpture, artwork that patrons take part in by participating through their presence at the installation (Laster and FACE 2014).

Drawing on the rhetoric of the civil rights and the then-recent Occupy Wall Street movements in the United States, Banlieue is Beautiful “occupied” the basement level of the Palais de Tokyo with thousands of car tires in piles that separated it into different cubicle-like rooms. This part of the installation was called #OccupyTokyo, shown in figure 2.1.



Figure 2.1) Looking into the #OccupyTokyo part of the Banlieue is Beautiful installation. Photograph by the author, 2014.

Within these tire enclaves was furniture covered in packing tape that served as hang out spots. Patrons were able to play video games, watch American movies, sit and contemplate or read from the collection of philosophy books by thinkers such as Hobsbawm, Gramsci, Glissant, Plato, Said, Kissinger, and Dissanayaki. Patrons were encouraged to contribute to the exhibit by printing out their thoughts in response to different prompts from the provided computers and taping them to the furniture, tire-pile walls, or anywhere they would stick. These prompts, hung on large banners, pieces of cardboard, or simply on sheets of printer paper, asked patrons to respond to “*L’opposition révolutionnaire est le propre...*” (“Revolutionary opposition is the essence...”) and “*Les hommes avant les profits! Non aux...*” (“Men [people] before profit! No

to...”). These prompts asked the museum patrons to think critically about the discrepancy between the French ideas of revolution and humanism, and the treatment of the residents of the banlieue.

Organizations from the banlieue partnered with Monte Laster to create Banlieue is Beautiful. The #OccupyTokyo part of the exhibit was created for Banlieue is Beautiful by a banlieue-based organization called Bondy Blog that has become an important resource for minority youth to assert their voice. Bondy Blog started shortly after the 2005 riots and is now considered an important source for journalism that highlights news stories from the perspective of minority youth. These stories engage with issues that mainstream French media tend to skirt around, especially islamophobia, racial marginalization, and police brutality. Other partners included the *département* of Seine-Saint-Denis, cities within this department such as La Courneuve and Aubervilliers, contemporary art organizations, and American institutions for cultural exchange.¹⁰ The scale of this project was bigger than the three-day installation in the center of Paris. The creative force behind Banlieue is Beautiful, artist Monte Laster, has an ongoing, long term creative arts and activism project through his art space in an old mill near the infamous housing project la Cité des 4000 in the banlieue of La Courneuve.

Other components of Banlieue is Beautiful included performances, workshops, roundtables, multimedia projections, talks, cultural encounters such as hair braiding, temporary art installations along with the broader installation, and concerts. For example, the installations “Portraits” consisted of photographs of residents of *la Cité des 4000* in domestic settings in their apartments. Another installation was “The Family of Poets,” part of an earlier project by Monte Laster that brought young rappers and slam poets from the banlieue to the Harlem borough of

¹⁰ The American Embassy in Paris, French American Creative Exchange, and Texan French Alliance for the Arts were all partners for this project.

New York City, and young rappers and slam poets from Harlem to Paris. In “The Family of Poets” these young artists were recorded performing works resulting from these experiences at the Louvre museum, the gothic Saint-Eustache cathedral, and the Palais de Tokyo and projected across three different screens.

The juxtaposition between high art and street art was a major part of the *Banlieue is Beautiful* installation. Not only does *Banlieue is Beautiful* aim to humanize the residents of the banlieue, but it also brings performances of street art into places where it is not usually found. The performance of street art in institutions of high art, which includes the Palais de Tokyo, parallels that of bringing residents from the margins of the city and society into the center to present their perspectives. By using the Palais de Tokyo for the *Banlieue is Beautiful* installation instead of a venue closer within Seine-Saint-Denis, the partner organizations that helped implement this project drew on the cultural capital of the museum in central Paris to elevate the status of street arts, street artists, and the narratives presented through these mediums. Whereas the Musée Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration strives to put plural narratives of French experiences on display, *Banlieue is Beautiful* performed these narratives instead.

Banlieue is Beautiful drew on genres and tactics that are common among street performers. One aspect of this was the temporary staging of the Palais du Tokyo. Artists performed in open areas, sometimes with a block of cement for the performers to stand on to increase their visibility to the crowd, and others with the audience surrounding the performers as in an amphitheater. In most performances, the audience gathered around all sides of the performer. The line between artists and audience was blurred, which contributed to the broader vision of the event as a social sculpture within which the audience was a participant (Turino

2000: 47). The dissolution of a stage brought the audience into the performance as active participants, foregrounding the spacialization of the Palais de Tokyo as a contact zone.

Banlieue is Beautiful brought marginalized voices and peripheral perspectives into central Paris. Since the three-day installation was free, it was accessible to those who may not have the means to pay for museum admission. It opened a space for true dialogue, unlike the Musée du Quai Branly. As compared to the Musée Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, this dialogue was active and took place in real time. Despite the productive conversation about the representation of marginalized voices that Banlieue is Beautiful fostered through multiple creative avenues, it was a temporary event, lasting only an elongated weekend. While an art installation like Banlieue is Beautiful subverts the norm regarding representation of an Other in museums in central Paris, the temporary nature of the installation demonstrates the give and take required in the process of reassigning place as space. One reading of Banlieue is Beautiful could be that while voices from the periphery were presented with a space in the center of the city to share their perspectives as residents of the banlieue, the temporary nature of this space reveals that it continues to be controlled by greater powers. Banlieue is Beautiful granted the power of self-representation to minoritized French perspectives, but not long enough for these voices to become a real threat to the established status quo. Another reading of Banlieue is Beautiful could be that by giving immigrant youth from the periphery of the city a voice to represent themselves, Laster and the other collaborators of the installation, in effect, contribute an alternative perspective of contemporary Africanness in France to the Afropolitan presence in Paris.

Both the Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration and Banlieue is Beautiful focus on giving a voice to marginalized French experiences, many of which are tied to Africa as recent immigrants or families who have been in France for multiple generations. The next museum I

discuss represents Africa by removing the voices of the politically powerful who have shaped West African nations since the 1950s. By treating political elite as obsolete collectables of bygone times, the power of these politicians is muted. As compared to the exhibits at Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration and the installation at the Palais de Tokyo, which addressed issues of power dynamics in more direct ways, Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique takes a casual tone, inviting the patron to create space by mocking figures of power.

Rejecting Power Through Nostalgia: Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique

The tone of the Petit Musée de la Françafrique (The little museum of the Françafrique) mocks the French and African political leaders who have taken actions to maintain the established power hierarchies in France and African countries. *La Françafrique* is a term first used in 1955 by Ivorian President Félix Houphouët-Boigny to describe the relationship between the political leaders of the West African colonies, soon to be nations, and France. Since its first use, La Françafrique has become a term for the relationships between corrupt French and West African political leaders and as a critique of these neocolonial ties. Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique and Le Comptoir Général (the General Counter), the event venue that houses the museum, provide a counter narrative to the place-maintaining one perpetuated by the Musée du Quai Branly by sidestepping the questions of the value of artistic cultural production. This is accomplished through the event space that is grounded in the aesthetic of an African thrift shop which surrounds patrons with object that are no longer valued by their former owners.

The irony of including the exhibit of politicians who took part in the Françafrique within the event space is that the association suggests that the politicians' value has also been discarded. Within the context of Le Comptoir Général, la Françafrique is not commemorated in a way that

warns against repeating history. Instead it is presented as a shabby African curiosity waiting to be repurposed, but for the time, discarded by the people that were affected by these corrupt alliances. The Petit Musée de la Françafrique creates a zone on colonial encounter and invites the viewer to laugh at postcolonial dictatorships and neocolonial power dynamics, to seek *joie de vivre* in the face of discarded systems of oppression, and to actively contribute in the transformation of place to space by doing so. Furthermore, by recasting the dominant representation of corrupt African politicians it presents an Afropolitan representation of contemporary Africa, one where the negative aspects of African politics are seen as amusing anomalies rather than pessimistic proof of inadequacy.

Contained entirely in the entrance hallway to the multiuse event space Le Comptoir Général (The General Counter), Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique is a tongue-in-cheek installation that draws attention in an ironic way to the history of corrupt leadership of African nations post-independence and the neocolonial agenda of French leaders in the decades after independence of many West African nations. The exhibit consists of portraits of African and French politicians, album covers with African leaders on the front, campaign propaganda—fabrics, buttons, and t-shirts with candidates' faces or campaign slogans—and a timeline of postcolonial political events. The exhibit looks amateur, a reminder to the viewer that it is satirical in nature.

The aesthetic of the single-hallway museum is consistent with the overall atmosphere of the Le Comptoir Général: one of reverence for vintage items from the African continent. The large room is split into many smaller areas that offer different attractions, such as the hallway that contains the Petit Musée de la Françafrique. The main attractions are the café-bar and restaurant. The other boutiques that contribute to Le Comptoir Général's ambiance include the

Marché Noir (Black Market), a store for second hand clothes from Africa; Centre des Objets Perdus (Center of Lost Objects), which sells second hand knick-knacks; the Bush cinema, which presents movie screenings of African films as well as American cult classics from the 1970-80s; and other regular weekly events such as a farmers' market, La Ferme (The Farmhouse), the barber or hair braider Ici Bon Coiffeur (Good Hairdresser Here), and Le Petit Boutique des Horreurs (Little Shop of Horrors), an onsite garden of unusual plants such as nettles, cacti, cannabis, and carnivorous plants. Another important part of Le Comptoir Général is Secousse (shake), a record label and online radio station that plays African and Caribbean popular music from the second half of the twentieth century.¹¹ Secousse also sponsors DJ sets, live concerts, workshops, and clubbing/dance parties for children at Le Comptoir Général as well as producing and promoting new artists and albums.

In 2012 Secousse produced the song “Tout restera ici-bas” (Everything will remain down here) by octogenarian Congolese *sanza* player Papa Kourand.¹² Papa Kourand takes a jab at African dictators and the French political powers that have supported them while asserting that the good of the world cannot be squashed, even if the makers of this good have been exiled or worse. In the song Kourand sings about the stars of Congolese popular music who have disappeared, but are immortal through their music. The music that they created continues to bring happiness to the world. Le Comptoir Général selected “Tout restera ici-bas” as the official hymn of the Petit Musée de la Françafrique.

¹¹ The radio station and record label Secousse is a clever reference to the name of the Congolese genre *soukous*, an adaptation of the French word *secousse* (tremor or shake) (Stewart 2000: 135).

¹² The *sanza* is a large handheld plucked lamellophone found throughout central Africa (Musical Instrument Museum 2012).

The museum, with the help of its official hymn, establishes a space where the power structures that remained after the dissolution of colonial rule can be openly mocked even though there is nothing explicitly funny about either the song or the museum. It is the irony of the existence of such a museum in a subsection of an event space that frames the past through a romantic view of the nostalgia of collectable objects. Le Comptoir Général is a meeting ground for individuals interested in socializing in the context of second hand commercialism and African popular culture. By including Le Petit Musée de la Françafrique as part of this environment, Le Comptoir Général weaves the history of these politically corrupt relationships into the fabric of the venue. Le Comptoir Général is in effect an Afropolitan space that simultaneously celebrates African popular culture in Paris while geographically and symbolically decentering African culture and political power from the African continent.

Music and Performance at Museums as Process: The Great Black Music Exhibit and the African Remix Concert Series at Cité de la Musique

In the final museum of the chapter I address music exhibits and performances to consider contact zones in the process of negotiating space with special emphasis on how the spontaneity of live performers can disrupt the careful curatorial framing set in place by a museum. During live performance, such as museum sponsored concert series, the interactive relationship between the performer and the audience can subvert the meticulous efforts of museum boards and curators to frame a museum event in spontaneous and improvised ways. This is a departure from the controlled narrative held over the exhibition of objects. Performances break down the barrier between the members of the audience and the musicians on stage. They become an extension of the contact zone through performative actions. Moreover, different levels of engagement exist

between the performers and different types of audience members based on the performers' and audiences' differing subject positions. Thus, museum-sponsored concerts act as extended contact zones and facilitate processes of space-making wherein representations of African musicians and music are contested through performance. By examining of the Great Black Music exhibit and associated African Remix concert series at the Cité de la Musique I consider how museum events can fluctuate between space and place, how staged performances can be settings for this place-space negotiation, and how Paris serves as a crossroads of musical influences which in turn facilitates zones of contact.

The Cité de la Musique was an arts complex on the edge of the Parc de la Villette in the nineteenth arrondissement of Paris.¹³ It consisted of an instrument museum, concert halls, multimedia library, and rooms for workshops, conferences, and teaching. While the overall emphasis of the Cité de la Musique was Western art music, the complex brought in popular, jazz, and world music artists for concert series. The inclusion of musical performance from outside of Western art music traditions linked the Cité de la Musique to the other venues and activities in the 135 acres of the Parc de la Villette, the site of a former slaughterhouse and meat market now home to the science and industry museum, the “geode” Imax theater, the Zenith stadium concert venue, and other attractions such as theater, cabaret, outdoor recreation, playgrounds, and expositions.¹⁴ The outdoor space for the Parc de la Villette was a meeting place for people of different racial, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. Indeed, this was one of the most diverse areas of Paris that I experienced. The events and activities—museums, festivals, concerts, and

¹³ Like the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacque Chirac, this museum has undergone changes since my fieldwork. With the opening of a new facility in 2015 the Cité de la Musique has since become La Cité de la Musique-Philharmonie de Paris. I describe the 2014 museum in my analysis.

¹⁴ The shift from slaughterhouse to park and event space was a *grand travaux* project associated with President François Mitterrand Paris in the 1980s.

recreation—offered by the Parc de la Villette cater to this demographic. The Cité de la Musique taps into the wider demographic of the park patrons and surrounding neighborhoods through temporary exhibits and concerts.

In 2014 the Cité de la Musique held the temporary exhibit “Great Black Music.” It was an ambitious exhibition designed to cover, as the promotional flier for the event states, “*toutes les musiques noires*” (all black music). This ambitious endeavor was coproduced by the Cité de la Musique in conjunction with the world music recording label Mondomix. It presented the museum visitor with an immersive multimedia display of the traditional, sacred, and popular musics of Africa, the Caribbean, the Americas—with specific emphasis on Black American music—and contemporary global trends that are not rooted in a single place but are instead a product of transnational flows of people and musical taste. Great Black Music revealed the diversity of African music worldwide and, intentionally or not, the challenges of representing all of this music in a single setting.

At the entrance of the exhibit museum patrons received a handheld music player and exhibition guide that allowed the patron to hear the music tracks and video clips that made up the exhibit. In addition to accessing the music of the exhibit through this device, visitors could also select certain songs or artists as favorites and a playlist was sent to their email at the end of the visit, enabling patrons to continue to engage with the material from the museum at home. The first room of the Great Black Music exhibit was called “Les Légendes des Musique Noires” (The Legends of Black Music). It contained twenty-one short pedestals with video footage of an internationally famous black or African artist projected onto each one. These artists were Fela Kuti, Miles Davis, Bob Marley, Gilberto Gil, Miriam Makeba, James Brown, John Coltrane, Ray Charles, Nina Simone, Kassav’, Aretha Franklin, Salif Keita, Jimi Hendrix, Michael Jackson,

Franco, Harry Belafonte, Billie Holiday, Youssou N'Dour, Celia Cruz, Duke Ellington, and Elvis Presley.

This initial representation demonstrates the challenges of taking on a project intended to encompass global black music as it was skewed heavily towards artists from the United States—twelve of the twenty-one performers represented. The inclusion of Elvis Presley as a legend of black music points to a history of cover songs in the US from which many of his hits derived. As an artist who drew heavily on Black American genres such as gospel and rhythm and blues in a career that changed the aesthetic tastes of American listeners, Presley's presence in the exhibit suggests the importance placed on the blackness of the music rather than on the race or origin of the performer. This inclusion undermines the idea of Great Black Music of the exhibit, especially as it is framed as black or African artists as the creators of black or African music. I consider this question further in an analysis of part of the African Remix concert series.

The second room of the exhibits was called "Mama Africa." It had five wall-sized screens arranged around the perimeter of the room. Documentaries, performances, and music videos from one of five designated regions of Africa—North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, and Oceanic Africa, which included South Africa—were projected onto each screen. Patrons sat in the middle of the room and selected which screen to match their audio with through the handheld music player. Each screen had three different videos to choose from, each approximately ten minutes long for an approximate total of two and half hours of footage that pieced together a narrative of authentic black expression rooted in the performance practices of the African continent. This framing established a definition of African, and by extension, black music that was built on throughout the rest of the exhibit and into the correlating concert series.

The third room, called “Les Amériques Noires” (the Black Americas), was set up in the same way and featured footage of music from the African diaspora in the Americas. The videos covered the origins of hip hop, Latin music in New York with special emphasis on the Fania record label, reggae, calypso, *zouk*, blues, and jazz. Between the Mama Africa and Les Amériques Noires rooms were hallway displays with a timeline that framed historical events that connected Africa and the Americas in terms of the creation of an authentic African sound between Africa and the Americas. This display built upon the narrative of the “Mama Africa” gallery by pointing to the sense of authenticity created through African roots. An additional element was added for the black Americas: the narrative of music as a form of resistance to oppression. Other hallway exhibits showcased instruments from Africa, the Caribbean, and North and South America.

The fourth room, called “Global Mix,” subverted this narrative of authenticity and presented an Afropolitan representation of African popular music as an alternative. It focused on urban Africa as sites of music production and connected these sites to other urban hubs, such as Paris, worldwide. Instead of wall-sized screens, Global Remix was comprised of many small stations where the museum visitor could sit and view the video footage, hear the featured songs, and read the informational signage on the themes of reggae, hip hop, disco, and “African Mix.” There were also interactive aspects to this particular room such as a studio with instructional videos of different dance moves. Contemporary popular music genres from Africa and the African diaspora were featured in this room. This included acknowledgements of the contributions to and overlaps with French popular culture by African artists. Examples from this gallery included videos of the Ivorian popular genres *zouglou* and *coupé-décalé*, the significance of which I will discuss in chapter three.

Because Great Black Music was an ambitious project in terms of its scope and the volume of video footage that made up the exhibit, patron agency became an important element to allow the visitor access to the wealth of information on display. As this was an unrealistic amount of information for an individual to process in the course of a single museum visit, patrons generally had to choose where they wanted to spend their time. Decisions about which materials to privilege were made based on how curators arranged the organization and categorization of the displays. While each museum discussed in this chapter allowed patron agency within the museum, the Great Black Music exhibit took this to another level by giving visitors the power to select the songs and videos they spend time with in the exhibit and have the songs sent to the patrons' email from the individual music playing device provided by the museum. Without this device, access to the exhibits was limited. Thus, the setup of the Great Black Music exhibit asked patrons to curate their own museum experience from the resources assembled. This is significant because it allows the patron to move through the exhibits with their own agenda and to put the pieces of the exhibit together in a way that resonated with personal musical interests, a mechanism of space-making.

The Great Black Music exhibit presented overarching narratives of authenticity, resistance, and race. Despite museum visitor agency to shape their own experience, the narratives put forward by the audio-visual content on display positioned black artists and traditions in terms of blackness instead of as music makers of distinct genres from Africa or the Americas. The exhibit tapped into an idea that implied social justice is inherent in black music. From the blues to *santaria* to *zouglou*, the Great Black Music exhibit demonstrated how black musicians worldwide have innovated and adapted musically to preserve traditions of music making in the face of oppression of many kinds. In the displays that focused specifically on African music, the

narrative of black music as resistance dovetailed with that of the authenticity of African ritual or tradition. Emphasis on unadulterated African cultural production contributed to a sense of Africa as the root of global black power. Localized practices of music traditions were framed as a pure and untainted source of authenticity. The racialization of distinct regional musical genres tied all of these disparate musics together and blurred the conceptual line between blackness and Africanness to strengthen these narratives. The efforts to represent global black music demonstrate the complexities of representing contemporary Africa. Focus on exchange between urban Africa and other metropolitan cities in the exhibits highlighted the relevance of an Afropolitan reading of Great Black Music in terms of recognizing the contributions of Africa popular music to global popular culture.

In conjunction with the Great Black Music exhibit, the Cité de la Musique sponsored a three-part concert series called African Remix. Each of these concerts was named for an urban African city known for specific styles of popular music. These were Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo; Lagos, Nigeria; and Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. The Kinshasa and Lagos concerts, which featured performances by Basokin Ensemble and the New Afrika Shrine with Femi Kuti, son of Nigerian afrobeat pioneer Fela Kuti, fit into the narratives of the Cité de la Musique's framing of African music as either a source of authentic senses of Africanness or as a method of circumventing asymmetrical power relationships. The ideas of authenticity, resistance, and race that were presented in the Great Black Music exhibit were challenged by Debademba, one of the bands that took part in the Ouagadougou concert of the African Remix series. Debademba complicated expectations regarding what African music performed by African musicians should sound like, especially as part of a concert series framed by the narrative presented at Cité de la Musique through the Great Black Music exhibit.

Performers and audience members participated in making space, at least temporarily, within the formal place-like confines of the Salles des Concerts, a concert hall designed for orchestral performances where the African Remix concerts took place in the Salle des Concerts at the Cité de la Musique, a music hall designed for formal presentations of orchestral music. The use of this formal place for a concert series that defies the musical characteristics of Western art music that the hall was designed to enhance reveals the Cité de la Musique's openness to space-making at the venue. Over the course of the three concerts the hall was altered to fit the needs of the African remix concerts. The shape of the hall is designed to aid in the projection of acoustic instruments. Not only were the instruments electric, but also in certain circumstances like the Kinshasa performance, the sound was mixed in such a way that privileged the buzzing aesthetics of the treble range of the audio, a timbral aesthetic that is common in many African musical practices. At the beginning of the African Remix series, the fixed seats were present in the Salle des Concerts, which left little room for dancing or socializing and delineated the audience from the performers on stage. By the third concert these seats were removed to create a dance floor. The separation between audience and stage was bridged by audience members getting on the stage to dance as well as musicians prompting the audience to participate by leading them through the words of choruses or specific dance moves. The qualities of the concert hall built for the performance of formal acoustic Western art music were adapted for the purposes of African popular music concerts.

Like the Great Black Music exhibit, the African Remix concert series was advertised in highly visible locations such as the Paris metro. The poster for the African Remix series shown in figure 2.2 shows two of the dancers for the Kinshasa-based group Basokin Ensemble in the middle of a dance movement. The photograph was taken from below, so the angle of the image

puts the dancers' hips at eye level. The dancers wear short loose skirts made from strips of African print fabric, bright green shirts tied up under their chests to expose their stomachs, and body paint on their arms and faces. The choice of this photograph to advertise the African Remix reveals promoters' work appeal to the audiences' desire for the exotic. Even though the dancers appeared in these costumes during the Kinshasa concert, the angle of the image emphasizes the dancers' bodies.



Figure 2.2) Advertisement for African Remix concert series posted in Paris Metro station. Photograph by the author, 2014.

The absence of the six-person band reveals how the promoters targeted their audience, one that is knowledgeable enough about the Cité de la Musique, interested in world music, and can afford the ticket price between eighteen to twenty-five euros per concert. The ticket price can be a deterring factor for some patrons and will thus encourage a different type of audience than venues and events such as the Comptoir Général and Banlieue is Beautiful.

The final concert of the African Remix, “Ouagadougou,” complicated the narratives of African or black cultural production as a form of resistance or authenticity. It also complicated a definition of African music overall through the mixing of musical influences and performance styles, presenting an Afropolitan representation of a contemporary African band in Paris. Within the context of the Cité de la Musique’s events the Ouagadougou concert was most closely aligned with the theme of African Remix and Global Remix from the Great Black Music exhibit. The band Debademba, translated as big family in Bambara, made musical choices that revealed an alternative narrative that undermined the regionalist framing of the concert series. The band’s sound ultimately uprooted established understandings of African music while also drawing on past notoriety and expertise of West African popular genres. Considering the African Remix concert series, in general, and the band Debademba, in particular, allows me to explore how place and space were constantly negotiated over the course of this event. The series demonstrated how performances framed by museums can be active and volatile contact zones. Moreover, the concert demonstrated how space-making and contact zones are mechanisms for Afropolitan representations of contemporary Africa in Paris museums.

The heart of Debademba is guitarist Abdoulaye Traoré and singer Mohammed Diaby. Abdoulaye Traoré, from Burkina Faso, is a virtuosic guitarist who has toured throughout West Africa in that role. In Debademba Traoré composes and arranges the music inspired by popular

genres in Burkina Faso, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, and the musical convergence of these styles in Paris (Bensignor 2014: 11). Mohamed Diaby came to Paris in 2008 after participation in a televised Malian singing competition brought him notoriety. Diaby has a powerful voice and utilized it in his early career to emulate the female *griot* singing style—tight vocal timbre high in his range that descends over the course of a melodic phrase. In the words of François Bensignor, the author of the program notes for the concert: “*Sans micro, sa voix peut aisément combles le silence du désert,*” (Without a microphone, his voice can easily fill the silence of the desert)” (2014: 11). Diaby, son of the Ivorian *griot* Coumba Kouyaté, is a master of this singing style.

Debademba stylistically straddles West African popular genres—Mande-pop in particular—and other genres such as American blues, funk, and rock. These influences were audibly apparent in their set for the Ouagadougou concert at Cité de la Musique, which I attended on April 23, 2014. In addition to Traoré on electric and acoustic guitars and mandola (tenor mandolin) and Diaby on vocals, Debademba consisted of electric bass, keyboard, and drum kit and congas. While this instrumentation is not a drastic departure from other afropop groups rooted in West Africa, it did allow musicians of Debademba to transition fluidly between the stylistic markers of various genres. Traoré accomplished this by utilizing different playing techniques on both acoustic and electric guitars, although he played the acoustic guitar the most. Even on this single instrument, Traoré demonstrated his range by moving between genres like afrobeat, blues, rock, *soukouss*, and Mande-pop.

Similarly, Diaby drew on his background in *griot* singing styles, especially the Wassoulou style of Southern Mali made internationally famous by singer Oumou Sangaré. Diaby utilized the *griot* singing style of his past, but altered aspects of his vocals to fit within the

musical context arranged and cued by Traoré. Diaby thus fluctuated between using the tight timbre at the top of his vocal range to produce a sound that fits within the cannon of Mande-pop and an emulation of American blues rock or hard rock singers from the later twentieth century such as Janis Joplin, Axl Rose of Guns and Roses, and Brian Johnson of AC/DC. When paired with a rock or blues accompaniment laid out by Traoré and the rest of the band Diaby's manipulated *griot* singing style fit the aesthetic norms of these blues or hard rock genres. Similarly, Abdoulaye Traoré's playing style alternated between Mande guitar, Spanish guitar, blues guitar, and references to the Arab world and regional West African traditional genres for which he switched to the tenor mandolin. Despite the genre of the particular song performed, Diaby sang in Bambara, a Mande language spoken in Mali and surrounding countries. At times the Bambara lyrics were the only thing that sounded African in a certain song.

Debademba's myriad influences and performance styles played into their assertion that they, like Paris, acted as a crossroads. In Paris, the musical styles—as well as the members of the band—converge, mix, and then disperse again with new stylistic information or musical tastes. Debademba's performance at the Cité de la Musique presented a compelling Afropolitan representation of a contemporary African band. Moreover, their performance demonstrated how musical interaction transforms a formal performance space into a contact zone. Not only are the music and artists that inspire Debademba brought together musically in this contact zone, but when Debademba performs, the product of this crossroads-cum-contact zone is extended to draw in the audience. Through this process of bringing in and fusing influences, Debademba creates a sound that challenges categorization of the band as performers of a more narrowly defined African music. Like the inclusion of Elvis Presley in the Les Légendes des Musique Noires gallery of the Great Black Music exhibit, Debademba challenges a conflation of race with origin

and blackness with Africanness in sound. Mohamed Diaby's vocal channeling of hard rockers such as Axl Rose is a particularly interesting because the genres of hard rock and blues rock grew from the same history of black music in the United States as the music of Elvis Presley. In the case of rock and roll in the United States, stars in these genres emulated aspects of black American music and performance style. In the case of the Ouagadougou concert, an African artist who sang lyrics in Bambara in a female *griot* singing style appropriated a vocal technique from an American genre associated with white masculinity. The convergence of the musical influences as performed by Debademba once again demonstrated the complexities of representing contemporary African music. Reading Debademba as an Afropolitan band recognizes the myriad African and global musical influences from which they draw.

Thus, Debademba is not merely a musical crossroads, nor solely facilitator of contact zones, but are instead actors in the process of transforming place into space. At the "Ouagadougou" performance Debademba converted the formal place of the concert hall into a space of exchange and contemplation about the future of African music as a nameable genre. Contrary to the varied narratives of African cultural production that are propagated by museums in Paris through exhibits, advertisements, mission statements, and resources available to the community, Debademba strove to recast the story of West Africans in Paris by performing the ideals of humans as family, music as a crossroads, performance as a contact zone, and space as practiced place. In doing so they performed Afropolitan space-making, requesting audiences to recognize the complexities of their music as an African band.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how five museums in Paris reify or complicate representations of Africa and African Parisian experience through exhibits, installations, and concert series. Drawing on the concepts of place and space by Michel de Certeau (1988) and museums as contact zones by James Clifford (1997), I have argued that museums in Paris hold the power to maintain place, which mutes the voices of people tied to the cultural artifacts displayed and who are the focus of the representations, as in the case of the Musée du Quai Branly, or to facilitate space-making, which brings the communities represented by the museum into interactive contact zones, as was the case with the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, *Banlieue is Beautiful*, Petit Musée de la Françafrique, and Great Black Music exhibit.

I assert that even through the Musée du Quai Branly laid the ground work to be an important space for nuanced representations of contemporary Africa, they missed the opportunity to do so by not incorporating the perspectives of the people related to the cultures that are represented in the museum, many of whom reside in the Paris area. By overlooking these perspectives, the Musée du Quai Branly undermines its advertised goal to be a space where cultures dialogue. By comparison, the exhibits and installations that made up the Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, *Banlieue is Beautiful*, and Petit Musée de la Françafrique actively leaned into the role of the museum as a contact zone. Moreover, I argued that these three museums opened up negotiations of space and place by bringing the community stories of immigration into the walls of a colonial palace, giving marginalized citizens on the periphery of society a voice through an interactive contemporary social sculpture, or in treating powerful individuals as objects of nostalgia. I have shown how the Great Black Music exhibit and African

Remix concert series acted as sites where place and space were negotiated in real time, especially in terms of how the spontaneity of live performers can disrupt the careful curatorial framing set in place by the museum by extending the contact zone into the audience. In chapter three I turn to another approach to the representation of contemporary Africa in Paris. I focus on the imagery of the Eiffel Tower in three music videos for the Ivorian popular music *coupé-décalé* to explore how the myth of an elite Afropolitan Paris is created through this music and manifested at an Ivorian nightclub in the center of the city.

Chapter Three:

Representing an Elite Afropolitan Paris through Coupé-Décalé

This chapter examines an alternative representation of contemporary Africans in Paris from the perspective of the Ivorian popular music *coupé-décalé*. I analyze three *coupé-décalé* music videos wherein *coupé-décalé* artists appropriate the imagery of the Eiffel Tower in order to create and perpetuate a myth of an elite African Paris. Laying claim to location is an important way that *coupé-décalé* artists and venues represent an African Paris. I build on the assertion by geographers John Connell and Chris Gibson that myths of locale are embedded in and reinforced through music (2003: 6). This is key to the appeal of *coupé-décalé*, which perpetuates a representation of Paris wherein Ivorians, and by extension Africans in general, have access to an elite Parisian lifestyle.

I also build on Roland Barthes' claim that the Eiffel Tower holds extraordinary potential as both a universally understood emblem of Paris and an empty sign that encourages individuals to project meaning on to it (Barthes 1979: 3-5). Even though the Eiffel Tower is physically located on the western edge of the seventh arrondissement, it remains a powerful symbolic site of the central point of Paris from which everything else is peripheral (4). The image of the Eiffel Tower is folded into narratives of successful assimilation of Ivorian migrants into contemporary France in the music videos of *coupé-décalé*. Ivorian artists who were early pioneers of *coupé-décalé* used the Eiffel Tower in music videos to portray images of African success abroad. These images became essential aspects of the extra-musical aesthetic of the genre, a practice that has continued as the genre has developed. Significantly, the representation of Ivorian success that is disseminated through the music, videos, and performances by *coupé-décalé* artists through their

appropriation of the Eiffel Tower and other symbols of Frenchness is tied to a myth of an African Paris that has been part of the Ivorian popular music industry since the 1960s.

Drawing on the work of Ryan Skinner (2015a, 2015b), Loren Kajikawa (2015) and Diane Railton and Paul Watson (2011) who suggest that music videos add an element of meaning to a song, I consider the significance of the image of the Eiffel Tower in three key coupé-décalé music videos by Douk Saga, Meiway, and DJ Arafat. While not all coupé-décalé music videos depict the Eiffel Tower or reference Europe, my first argument in this chapter is that the three coupé-décalé videos that I analyze represent Paris as an elite African space through symbolic proximity to the Eiffel Tower. These coupé-décalé music videos thus act as “key site[s] through which cultural identities are produced, inscribed and negotiated” (Railton and Watson 2011:10). I posit that part of the initial appeal of the representations of an elite African Paris presented in coupé-décalé was the framing of Ivorians in a positive light on a global stage during a national crisis in Côte d’Ivoire.

My second argument in this chapter is that the Ivorian nightclub L’Alizé Club, which regularly features coupé-décalé artists, capitalizes on its physical proximity to the Eiffel Tower to create a space for a temporary manifestation of the elite African Paris of coupé-décalé for its patrons, most of whom live in the arrondissements and banlieues at the peripheries of Paris. I support this claim by mapping the locations the African music venues that have events in Paris. While access to the elite African Paris of coupé-décalé is temporary for patrons of Alizé, I claim the world created around the genre—including promotional efforts—contributes to a presence of an Afropolitan representation of the African population in Paris, a presence which is highly visible on the peripheries of the city where such Afropolitan representations can be transformative for the populations that reside there. I claim that Alizé Club enables its patrons to

complete the journey from the African continent to Paris to become a member, even if temporarily, of the elite African Paris broadcasted through coupé-décalé by providing African Parisians on the periphery of the city, both figuratively and geographically, access to the center of Paris.

Ivorian Politics and Music since 1960

After independence from France in 1960 Côte d'Ivoire became a top exporter of coffee and cocoa, the returns of which secured the port city Abidjan as Côte d'Ivoire's commercial and cultural capital. Côte d'Ivoire continued to act as a portal to West African resources for France during the 1960s and 1970s. Regardless of the suspiciously close relationship between Côte d'Ivoire and France—Côte d'Ivoire's first president Félix Houphouët-Boigny, in office from 1960 until his death in 1993, was the one to first coin the term *la françafrique*, as discussed in chapter two (Bovcon 2011: 5)—the two decades of economic growth and political stability secured Côte d'Ivoire as an important regional powerhouse, earning Côte d'Ivoire the moniker “the Ivorian Miracle.”

By the end of the 1970s, Abidjan exerted a strong cultural influence over other parts of West Africa (Land 1995: 438). The city became a relay station for the African popular musicians who traveled abroad to Paris and New York as part of a cultural pilgrimage in order to gain legitimacy for their music (Land 1995: 438). Singers and musicians from neighboring African countries traveled to Abidjan's television station, RTI, in order to elevate their songs to hit parade status, a feat that was unlikely without passing through the doors of this musical gatekeeper. While this television station held the power to make or break West African artists, it celebrated Western culture and privileged artists who modeled their output on Western popular

musics and culture (Land 1995: 438). An aspiring star's goal was simple: travel to Paris or New York City and return to Abidjan to start a successful career based on the notion that the singer had achieved success abroad, whether or not the artist had indeed done so (Land 1995: 444). The notion of gaining legitimacy through a musical pilgrimage to Paris or New York City later became an important point of departure for the myth of African Paris created by early coupé-décalé artists.

Paradoxically, while the role of gatekeeper gave the popular culture industry in Côte d'Ivoire significant power to shape the careers of West African performers, Ivorians felt that they lacked a genre of popular music or an individual artist who represented a uniquely pan-Ivorian national identity as other West African nations had (Konaté 2002: 777). There were, of course, many Ivorian popular music stars at the time, and Côte d'Ivoire had developed popular genres, but these genres, such as *ziglibity*, *ziguéhi*, *zoblazo*, and *zogada*, were associated with particular regions, specific ethnic groups, or individual artists (Konaté 2002: 777). Many popular artists also imitated the music of their African neighbors as well as the West. This irked many Ivorians because, in their eyes Côte d'Ivoire was not susceptible to the political, economic, and social ills that many neighboring nations experienced as they navigated the volatile years following independence.

The anxiety about the absence of a national popular music was eased somewhat with the rise of Ivorian reggae artist Alpha Blondy (Konaté 2002). In the early 1980s Blondy emerged as a pan-Ivorian star, keying into themes that define reggae including resistance to oppression and pan-Africanism. Alpha Blondy refused to mimic the musical forms of North America or Europe. Blondy instead used reggae to comment on current events such as police brutality (*Jah Glory*

1983), resistance against colonization, and the dignity of the poor (*Cocody Rock* 1984).¹⁵ Later Ivorian reggae man Tiken Jah Fakoly took up these same themes in his music. A particularly salient example is his song “Mangecratie” (Eatocracy), on the 1999 album of the same name, in which Fakoly demands a style of governing where everyone is able to eat equally (Akindes 2002: 94; Reed 2012: 96).

By the early 1990s Côte d'Ivoire's prosperous economy took a downward turn. University students were tired of the poor conditions of student housing and the bleak economic prospects for graduates (Akindes 2002; Schumann 2009). They were fed up with what they saw as a “pro-Western, pro-capitalist, mildly dictatorial” farce of a government (Reed 2012: 93). Frustrated students met in the streets for casual social gatherings and started creating music to alleviate their anxiety about their uncertain futures, expose political corruption, vent about restrictive family structures, and enlighten the nation about the conditions of student life (Akindes 2002: 98). One result was *zouglou*, the first pan-Ivorian popular music.

The name “zouglou,” which comes from a *Baulé* expression that means “dumped together like trash,” reflects the musical fusion of traditional *Bété* percussion and Congolese guitar riffs with an attitude of outspokenness similar to that of reggae (Akindes 2002: 97; 101).¹⁶ Furthering zouglou's appeal was the use of *nouchi*, an urban youth language. The objective of zouglou was to create an atmosphere of *joie de vivre* while simultaneously criticizing the social ills of the 1990s. Zouglou thus became the medium of choice for disenfranchised youth to

¹⁵ The theme of reconciliation was important to Blondy. For example, in the 1980s his focus was on the conflict in Israel. Blondy was also one of the main proponents for a reconciliation tour after the violence following the 2010 presidential elections in Côte d'Ivoire. Two of the other artists that I discuss, Meiway and DJ Arafat, were also involved in this tour (Taylor 2016: 135).

¹⁶ *Baulé* and *Bété* are ethnic groups from the southeast and southwest regions of Côte d'Ivoire respectively.

communicate their anxieties over the lack of political freedom, access to educational opportunity, political corruption, and constraining traditional family structures in an uncensored way (Akindes 2002: 98). While reggae artists were also vocal about local and current problems in Ivorian government and society, zouglou addressed these issues with a distinctly Ivorian music and without looking away from the African continent for stylistic inspiration. Côte d'Ivoire had finally developed a popular music genre that appealed people in to all regions of the country, at least up to the new millennium.

The sense of agency that reggae and zouglou gave Ivorian youth in the 1990s facilitated their demands for political change in Côte d'Ivoire. For example, when president-for-life Félix Houphouët-Boigny died in 1993, Ivorian youth who were widely unhappy with the practices of his successor Henri Konan Bédié organized through zouglou and reggae. Through these musical outlets they made demands on the political elite that ultimately contributed to the successful 1999 coup led by General Robert Guei. Zouglou and reggae artists later revoked their support for Guei in the 2000 election after he began employing the same corrupt political practices of his disposed predecessor (Akindes 2002: 87) and Laurent Gbagbo was ultimately proclaimed president. Gbagbo's presidency marked a decade that was defined by instability. Côte d'Ivoire experienced coup attempts, institutionalized discrimination and xenophobia against Muslim northerners who were seen as foreigners, rebellion, civil war, and delayed elections followed by election violence.

It was in this climate of civil crisis, the dramatic departure from the "Ivorian miracle," that coupé-décalé developed. The need for distance from the reality of the political crisis led to the creation, dissemination, and popularization of the sounds and images associated with coupé-décalé in 2002. Coupé-décalé departed from the earlier trends of Ivorian popular music that

commonly critiqued social or political ills. It did not, however, depart from the idea of travel to France as a way for artists to claim legitimacy in Côte d'Ivoire. The imagery of French landmarks in coupé-décalé has been folded into a narrative of Ivorian success from the economically prosperous decades following colonial independence, an era of success which many Ivorians desired to reclaim. Like the Congolese *soukouss* from which it draws, which Mbembe described as a “successful expression of *serenity in the face of tragedy*” (McGovern 2011: 121, original emphasis), coupé-décalé became a method for framing Ivorian culture in a positive light during turbulent times.

Unlike in zouglou and reggae, early coupé-décalé artists avoided overt political commentary and social critique. This allowed Ivorian television and radio (RTI) to promote the genre widely because the apolitical content bypassed censorship. By comparison, artists who were vocal about the injustices during this time period were threatened, leading many to flee the country (Reed 2012).¹⁷ With the aid of the RTI, the messages of coupé-décalé that promoted an idealized elite lifestyle achievable through ostentatious displays of wealth and access to Africanized European cities was spread throughout Côte d'Ivoire, francophone Africa, and Europe.

Although the exact chronology and originator is contested, popular belief is that coupé-décalé was created in late 2002 or early 2003 by a group of Ivorians in Paris who called themselves the Jet Set (also La Jet-7).¹⁸ The Jet Set was a group of friends who had succeeded

¹⁷ Reggae artist Tiken Jah Fakoly fled to Mali because of his politically critical lyrics (Reed 2012: 92).

¹⁸ The number seven is *sept*, pronounced ‘set,’ in French. This kind of word play wherein a word or phrase has multiple meanings across languages is common in coupé-décalé. The Jet Set, however, initially had nine members (Aliman 2013: 46).

financially in Paris against the odds—under questionable circumstances—and sought to flaunt their achievement in a provocative way (Mitter et al. n.d.). They performed the personas of young successful Ivorians abroad through the imagery of extravagance. With this financial success and the appeal of a “rags-to-riches” story, the members of the Jet Set quickly made a name for themselves as personalities in the Parisian nightclubs, such as *l’Atlantis*, that catered to a young African clientele (Mitter et al. n.d.).¹⁹ Conspicuous distribution of money allied them with the DJs at these clubs, providing the Jet Set with the opportunity to create their own songs, and in effect, gave birth to the genre coupé-décalé.

Coupé-Décalé and the Myth of an African Paris

The Jet Set created a cosmopolitan world where the African elite of coupé-décalé were projected onto an Africanized Paris while Europeans were relegated to the background when present at all (Kohlhagen 2006: 104). My analysis of three coupé-décalé music videos for songs by Douk Saga, Meiway, and DJ Arafat demonstrates how coupé-décalé artists recreated an Africanized Paris over the course of decade. I selected music videos from these artists because each video features the Eiffel Tower in a distinct way that, taken together, perpetuates the myth of an African Paris. Furthermore, the massive popularity of both the songs and the artists enabled a wide dissemination of the pairing of the Eiffel Tower with the notion of an Africanized Paris throughout Côte d’Ivoire, West Africa, and France. An explanation of the components of coupé-décalé, including music, dance, dress, and lifestyle, aids in understanding the significance of the genre and the three songs that I have selected for analysis.

¹⁹ *L’Atlantis* has since closed and is now a neo-punk event space. I suspect that Alizé Club, which I discuss later in this chapter, now serves the client base that would have been patrons at Atlantis.

Coupé-décalé is strongly influenced by the fast style of Congolese *soukouss* known as *n'dombolo*, zouglou, and hip hop. In its most basic form, coupé-décalé consists of an unrelenting rhythmic pattern often provided by a drum machine or a mix of digital and acoustic percussion, transcribed in figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1) Transcription of the standard coupé-décalé rhythmic pattern.

It often includes a synthesizer oscillating between two or three chords and the voice of the artist usually giving instructions regarding the dance movements. Other instruments can be layered onto these elements, but rarely does a coupé-décalé song lack the characteristic rhythmic pattern. Furthermore, coupé-décalé emphasizes the DJ, the artist/MC, and his dancers instead of instrumentalists.²⁰ Performances and videos highlight the physical capabilities of the dancers and the coolness of the artist, who sings over the recording of his song.

Dance is an essential aspect of coupé-décalé as the dance movements give the song flash. Many of the lyrics are instructions to the dance moves that correlate with that song in particular, or are part of a wider coupé-décalé movement repertoire that can be inserted into other songs. An example of this is the name coupé-décalé itself. The French words “coupé” and “décalé” have a triple meaning in this context. In standard French “couper” means “to cut” and “décaler,” “to shift.” In nouchi, Ivorian street slang, coupé-décalé has the connotation of scamming someone and getting away with it (Kohlhagen 2006; McGovern 2011). The words also instruct specific dance movements. Coupé is to wave one arm in the air with the elbow bent like a blade and

²⁰ Coupé-décalé is largely a male dominated genre, although there are female coupé-décalé artists.

décalé is to bring bent legs together and apart at the knees. The elements of trickster, cleverness, and double meaning are a major aspect of the aesthetics of the lyrics and the corresponding dance motions, which maintains a sense of playfulness that reminds the listeners not to take the genre too seriously.

Extramusical elements are an important part of coupé-décalé as well. Coupé-décalé artists emulate the fashion sensibilities of Congolese SAPE or *Société des Ambianceurs et des Personnes Élégantes* (Society of Ambiance-makers and Elegant People). Members of SAPE, called *sapeurs*, participate in a cultural movement that is based on the idea of elegant dress and is strongly associated with Congolese *soukous*, especially the artist Papa Wemba who was a pioneer of the SAPE movement (Kabwe and Segatti 2003:136). Coupé-décalé artists blend the high fashion dandyism of *sapeurs* and hip hop's flashy aesthetic in dress, access to resources of high society with street-wise cunning, coolness, and larger than life egos. In videos and performances coupé-décalé artists show off expensive clothes, fur coats, shoes, watches, jewelry, women, cars, Champaign, cigars, luxury hotels and apartments, and access to world landmarks. Thus, coupé-décalé as a popular music projects the *joie de vivre* of a generation of carefree cosmopolitan Ivorian youths regardless of the reality of the circumstances. Like *soukous* and hip hop, coupé-décalé can be seen as a kind of a lifestyle in addition to a popular music genre.

“Sagacité,” Douk Saga and the Jet Set (2003)

Douk Saga, self-proclaimed creator of coupé-décalé, was a member of the Jet Set in Paris in the first years of the 2000s (Aliman 2013: 83). Saga's song “Sagacité” (2003) is considered to be the first coupé-décalé hit (Kohlhagen 2006: 93; McGovern 2011: 118). The title is another example of the kind of word play common in coupé-décalé. Saga's stage name draws from the

French word *sagacité* (wisdom). The same word in *nouchi* means to hustle someone (McGovern 2011:120). The music video for “Sagacité” emphasizes the display of material wealth as well as access to Paris. Featuring obvious landmarks in Paris was a nod to the practice by Ivorian popular musicians of taking symbolic pilgrimages to France to gain legitimacy for their music before the 1999 Ivorian coup sparked unrest. It was also a way that Douk Saga and the Jet Set positioned themselves as achieving the dream of not only immigrating to France from West Africa, but also to assimilating Paris into their Africanized version of the city.

“Sagacité” standardized musical and extra-musical aspects of *coupé-décalé*. The song is simple in terms of consistent musical elements are layered in and taken out, giving the five minute song a musical arc. Crucial to this arc are the percussion break and Douk Saga’s percussive vocal break. The song begins with a digital snare drum playing the *coupé-décalé* rhythm accompanied by a digitally produced descending bass pitch, which I have called “bass drop” in figure 2.3 below, that resembles a glissando on timpani. Soon after, more digital percussion is layered in—a bass drum hit on the beat, an off beat conga pattern, and an accent rhythm on the digital toms, transcribed in figure 3.2.

The musical score is written in 4/4 time and consists of six staves. The Snare Drum staff shows a complex syncopated rhythm with eighth and sixteenth notes and rests. The Hi-hat staff has a similar rhythmic pattern. The Congas staff has sparse accents. The Tom staff has a few notes and rests. The Bass Drop staff has a steady eighth-note pattern. The Bass Drum staff has a simple eighth-note pattern.

Figure 3.2) Transcription of the opening percussion of “Sagacité” with the coupé-décalé rhythm represented in the snare drum.

Over this Douk Saga introduces himself by his real name (Stephan Doukaré), his stage name, and then boasts his credentials as the first creator of the coupé-décalé. The melodic hook enters, a cyclical repeated pattern in what sounds like either an electric guitar or a synthesizer set to sound like an electric guitar, shown in figure 3.3 below. A second melodic instrument that plays a high-pitched melodic flourish that accents the melodic pattern on the electric guitar is occasionally layered in and dropped out throughout the course of the song.

The score consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Synthesizer' and shows a melodic flourish with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff is labeled 'Electric Guitar' and shows a cyclical repeated pattern of eighth notes.

Figure 3.3) Transcription of the melodic pattern in electric guitar and embellishment in synthesizer from “Sagacité.”

This melodic pattern persists throughout the song without harmonic modulation. It is ongoing with the exception of breaks where instruments drop out and subsequently return in phases.

Douk Saga alternates between sung and speech-like vocals where he brags about creating coupé-décalé and imparts wisdom (*sagacité* in French) through the lyrics:

*Hé hé, Stéphane Doukouré, Douk Saga de la Sagacité
Le créateur du coupé décalé, l'ennemi de l'homme c'est l'homme
Les gens n'aiment pas les gens, Affaire de prodada
Seul le travail paye, silence ici on travaille
Le feu sans le feu, Celui qui n'a pas peur n'a pas le courage*

Hey, hey, Séphane Doukouré, Douk Saga of Sagacité
The creator of coupé-décalé, the enemy of man is man
People don't like people, matter of showing off
Only work pays, silence here, we're working
Fire without fire, those who don't have fear don't have courage
(Douk Saga 2003, translation mine).

In other lyrics Douk Saga acknowledges DJs and members of the Jet Set, and calls out dance moves. The self-promotional nature of the lyrics position Douk Saga and the Jet Set as creators of coupé-décalé despite the fact that there are some questions regarding the legitimacy of that claim. The name-dropping in the lyrics is as important as dance movements as many moves are associated with certain individuals.

Throughout the song backing male vocals sing “décalé coupé” and “sagacité” in response to Saga’s lines or as part of the chorus. Halfway through the song there is a musical break where a female voice praises the Jet Set. Similarly, half way through the song all the instruments drop out for another breakdown except for the bass line, coupé-décalé rhythm, and the digitally produced toms. The melodic hook layers returns, as do Saga’s vocals. At 3:21 Douk Saga begins percussive vocalization on vocables and repeated words. This signals the part of the song that highlights the dancing capabilities of the Jet Set. At this point in the song, Douk Saga primarily

lists dance moves, members of the Jet Set, and DJs. The emphasis on listing dance moves in “Sagacité” helped to establish a repertoire that belongs to coupé-décalé as well as the importance of dance—and the invention of new dance moves—in the genre.

The music video for “Sagacité” depicts a Paris that is run by the Jet Set (Douk Saga 2003). The video opens with Douk Saga peeling euro notes from a wad of money and handing them to the concierge of Prince de Galles Luxury Hotel in the eighth arrondissement, one of the main business districts of Paris that contains high-end designer boutiques and the Champs Élysées. Cigar in mouth, Douk Saga then hands more euros to a group of white women, signs autographs for them, and kisses them on the cheeks. The footage alternates between scenes of the Jet Set flaunting accessories such as watches, cigars, champagne, designer clothes, fur coats, and a Mercedes Benz convertible. These scenes are interspersed with scenes of the Jet Set dancing in what appears to be a high-end mall, next to the Mercedes, in a bar, at the Atlantis nightclub (Aliman 2013: 87), and most importantly dancing at the Palais de Chaillot—the main viewing point for the Eiffel Tower. At the Palais de Chaillot, Douk Saga dances alone at first. Over the course of the music video others from the Jet Set and female dancers that show up in other parts of the video join him. Even tourists are recruited to join in by the end of the video.

Despite the extravagance depicted in the music video, “Sagacité” has an amateur production quality, an aspect of the genre that changed a decade later with the advent of video sharing via online social media technology. Throughout the “Sagacité” music video sightseers walk behind Douk Saga at the Eiffel Tower, cluttering the video footage. At one point the shot transitions away from the Eiffel Tower with the digital effect of Douk Saga singing from what looks like a restaurant or club ringed by a logo for Versace designer jeans. Other digital effects contribute to the amateur quality of the video. The final scenes switch between the Jet Set

dancing with the Eiffel Tower in the background and performing at the nightclub. Figure 3.4 is a still from this section of the music video.



Figure 3.4) Still from the music video for “Sagacité” showing Douk Saga at the Palais de Chaillot and at the Atlantis nightclub through a split screen. The poor resolution suggests the amateur quality of the video (Douk Saga 2003).

This section of the video features the physical skill of the dancers as well as their knowledge of the coupé-décalé dance repertoire. Many of these moves, such as *s’envoler* (fly away/flee), *petit vélo* (small bicycle), *pédaler* (pedal), and *équilibrer* (balance), are associated with the individual members of the Jet Set who created and named them.

The visuals used in “Sagacité” tie the song, the genre, and the artists to Paris in undeniable ways. The use of the Eiffel Tower is particularly potent as it is a landmark unique to Paris. It serves as backdrop to the antics of Douk Saga and the Jet Set. It is occasionally eclipsed as Douk Saga demonstrates a move or recruits a group of tourists to try the arm waving coupé move. From the vantage point of the camera, it is Douk Saga who decides how much of the

Eiffel Tower is visible and when. The Eiffel Tower in effect becomes a passive member of the Jet Set waiting in the backdrop to be assigned significance in the Jet Set's world of coupé-décalé. All of these elements together—music structure, clothing, attitude, dance, group membership, cars, cigars, and nightlife—became the baseline for the genre, which continued to evolve over the next decade. Douk Saga unfortunately passed away in 2006 (Aliman 2013: 4). Nevertheless coupé-décalé artists continued to draw on the elements present in Douk Saga's music as they built up the genre.

“Voilà String,” Meiway (2004)

The massive popularity of coupé-décalé encouraged artists known for other genres to take advantage of and contribute to its success. By further developing the musical and extramusical elements established in “Sagacité,” artists who dabbled in coupé-décalé created more access to the myth of an African Paris for a wider listener-base. Ivorian *zoblazo* star Meiway (the stage name of Frédéric Désiré Ehui) attempted to capitalize on coupé-décalé's popularity on his eighth album *Golgotha* (2004). Meiway is known primarily for performing *zoblazo*, a genre of his own creation that fused rhythms of various ethnic traditions from southern Côte d'Ivoire with musical influences from other parts of the country, notably *zouglou*, and from neighboring nations such as Ghana (Radio France International 2010). Meiway was a staple in Ivorian popular music in Côte d'Ivoire in the 1990s, reaching the same level of national and international acclaim as reggae artist Alpha Blondy, discussed earlier in the chapter (ibid.). The 2004 album *Golgotha*, which has a handful of coupé-décalé tracks, was not Meiway's first time experimenting with

other genres.²¹ Meiway has performed and recorded with many of the superstars in West Africa and the French Antilles (ibid.). Meiway's tendency to experiment with other genres as a superstar demonstrates the level of popularity that coupé-décalé had achieved in the first years of its existence.

“Voilà String,” an ode to women's thong underwear, brought coupé-décalé to the mainstream in Côte d'Ivoire through Meiway's celebrity. A side-by-side comparison of “Sagacité” and Meiway's song “Voilà String” from *Golgotha* reveals that the later may not fit perfectly within the coupé-décalé repertoire. Nevertheless, there are important similarities that I believe were a conscious attempt to bridge the age gap of listeners of coupé-décalé, a music that appealed primarily to young Ivorians. The main similarity is the inclusion of the standard coupé-décalé rhythm played in the drum set. This pattern and Meiway's use of “coupé” and “décalé” in the lyrics and dance movements show that this is an intentional nod to the genre.

“Voilà String” has the genre defining coupé-décalé rhythm and the corresponding dance move, but incorporates the musical elements of Meiway's trademark zoblazo such as instrumentation and form. Meiway has his own band, the Zo Gang—consisting of electric guitar, electric bass, drum set, hand percussion, synthesizer, and a brass section— and the resulting music sounds polished and professional in comparison to “Sagacité.” The music video for “Voilà String” takes place in Paris and includes the Eiffel Tower, but lacks the brazen display of wealth as performed by the Jet Set. Additionally, Meiway utilizes a troop of female dancers who

²¹ In a second coupé-décalé song on *Golgotha*, “DJ Tassouman,” Meiway sings about the different DJs of coupé-décalé including Douk Saga, members of the Jet Set, and DJ Arafat. The overall musical form and aesthetic of “DJ Tassouman” aligns with the standards coupé-décalé: Meiway performs percussive vocalizations in the final third of the song. He introduces a new dance move, which replicates the dancer's reaction when a cell phone vibrates in his or her front pocket. However, “DJ Tassouman” lacks the characteristic coupé-décalé rhythm. It was featured with “Sagacité” in the Great Black Music exhibit at Cité de la Musique discussed in chapter two.

perform choreographed moves in unison as compared to the Jet Set, where knowledge of the dance-move lexicon and ability to improvise these moves are a demonstration of the dancer's ability and cleverness.

The music video for "Voilà String," begins with a close shot of Meiwai on the banks of the Seine River. He laughs and holds his hand up to the camera as if to signal the hilarious nature of the source of his laughter. His laugh is overdubbed and accompanied by a break on a drum set that leads into an introductory fanfare by the brass section with accents by electric bass. A group of women in matching outfits, later revealed as his dancers, appear around him. The footage then cuts to Meiwai standing with legs slightly splayed, looking up with one arm raised in parallel formation to the top of the Eiffel Tower visible just behind him (figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5) Still from "Voilà String" showing Meiwai and his dancers at the Palais de Chaillot with the Musée de l'Homme on the right and the Eiffel Tower in the background (Meiwai 2004).

Using Paris as a backdrop for the music video reinforces the narrative of an African Paris. Like “Sagacité,” Paris is framed in terms of Meiway and his dancers. Unlike the Jet Set in “Sagacité” who are filmed at a variety of sites across Paris, attired in multiple individualized designer outfits, and brandished their knowledge of the dance move repertoire, Meiway and his dancers are shown in fewer locations, wear matching costumes, and perform synchronized choreographed dance moves. Douk Saga and the Jet Set not only cover Parisian monuments, high end boutiques, wide boulevards, and nightclubs, but they are framed as socially powerful agents. They direct white women into action; they compensate hotel and boutique staff for their efforts. The world is their oyster and the Eiffel Tower is a reminder of the success—the tremendous feat—they have accomplished. In “Voilà String,” Meiway not only buys into the success of coupé-décalé and the notion of the myth of an Africanized Paris disseminated through it, but he also validates both of these ideas because he has already attained success as an artist.

The footage for the music video alternates between two locations along the Seine River. The first site is at the Palais de Chaillot, the same place where “Sagacité” was filmed but from a different vantage point. Meiway and the dancers are viewed from a low camera angle to accentuate the female dancer’s buttocks and feature parts of the buildings of the Palais de Chaillot such as the Musée de l’Homme and the Eiffel Tower in the backdrop (figure 3.2). The other location used in the video is along the banks of the Seine River looking southeast toward the Pont d’Austerlitz, a bridge that crosses the Seine on the eastern side of the city and from which the major monuments of French culture are not visible. The inclusion of this site adds dimension the depiction of an African Paris where Meiway and his dancers claim Parisian space along the riverfront and the French public are relegated to watch from the background.

While “Voilà String” has footage from the Palais de Chaillot in common with “Sagacité,” Meiway departs from the extramusical aesthetics of coupé-décalé that draw from the posturing and posing of Congolese *sapeurs* through clothing. His dancers wear coordinated outfits of matching pink shirts and white pants at one of the locations, and sky blue elastic leggings with a wide band of colors around the hips and pelvic area with matching tops at the other. In some instances, the top of the dancer’s thong underwear is revealed above these leggings. Meiway’s outfits complement those of his dancers—white pants with a sleeveless t-shirt covered in bright green dots and a lime green long-sleeved t-shirt tied around his waist, and a sleeveless button up shirt with colorful circles over a black sleeveless undershirt and pants. The coordinated clothing is an aspect of zoblazo that Meiway maintains for “Voilà String.”

Another element of zoblazo present in “Voilà String” is the choreographed dancing. Meiway and the dancers move in unison in two staggered lines so that each is visible to the camera. Meiway rhythmically speaks an opening riff that ends with the dancers turning to their side so that their hips are facing the camera and lifting a leg to show their buttocks to the viewer. This is one of the two dance moves that correspond with the song. The other occurs during the chorus where Meiway and backing vocalists sing “voilà string.” At this moment the dancers look behind them while pointing to their buttocks twice.

“Voilà String” utilizes a predictable verse-chorus form as compared to the sectional form of “Sagacité.” The music of “Voilà String” is consistent once each section is established. The verse-chorus form includes instrumentals, breakdowns over which Meiway speaks, and transitional riffs. The opening material introduces the harmonic progression, brass section that appears to add flourish during transitions, and the active role of the electric bass. The first instance of the transitional section, which appears three times throughout the song, is where the

coupé-décalé beat enters, along with a pounding bass drum pulse, a circular guitar pattern, and the electric bass line. In the eight-bar verse, Meiway sings about the value of thong underwear. His voice is harmonized in the background. Under the melody is the persistent coupé-décalé rhythm in the drum set, bass drum, electric guitar, and electric bass. Backup singers join for the chorus, as do occasional bell embellishments. These are the three main sections of the song, which are then repeated with interspersed instrumentals. In these instrumental sections the brass instruments are added as is a digitally produced brass counter melody, likely from a synthesizer.

The instrumentals are balanced with breakdown sections. In the breakdowns all the instruments drop out except for the guitar on the circular pattern, the electric bass, and the coupé-décalé rhythm in the drum set. Sometimes the bass drum remains, and sometimes it drops out. Over this, Meiway provides his praises for thongs. In the video he crouches so that he is singing directly to the dancers' buttocks.

The final third of "Voilà String" is interspersed with a section in which Meiway sings the words "décalé" and "coupé" while making the signature coupé-décalé cutting motion with his arms directly into the camera. Meiway's coupé-décalé section of the "Voilà String" correlates in timing with the section of "Sagacité" that features Douk Saga's improvised vocal percussion and calling out of dance moves. However, in "Voilà String" the dancers are limited to the choreographed moves and the coupé, and décalé movements in the final section of the song. While the coupé and décalé motions and words were briefly present during one of the breakdown sections, lasting approximately fifteen seconds, the final minute of "Voilà String" is dedicated explicitly to reproducing the basic coupé-décalé dance moves. Meiway sings the words "coupé" and "décalé" over fragments of the song's melodic themes sung by the backup singers. His dancers take turns demonstrating their best "coupé" dance move for the camera, pushing each

other out of the way playfully to do so. All the while the Eiffel Tower flashes in and out of view as the dancers move, another French bystander observing this Africanized Paris from the background.

Meiway has not been the only artist who has experimented with and within coupé-décalé. Just as Meiway fused the sounds of zoblazo into coupé-décalé, so have other artists with different genres. One of these is DJ Arafat, a coupé-décalé artist who started his performing career at nightclubs in Abidjan. DJ Arafat (whose real name is Ange Didier Houon) had an early coupé-décalé hit in Côte d'Ivoire as a teen.²² Since then he has rebranded to present a tougher image, and to continue updating coupé-décalé by pushing at the boundaries of the genre, thereby becoming one of the most influential artists in West Africa (Ewané and Winiarski 2016).²³

“Gbinchin Pintin,” DJ Arafat (2014)

The image of the Eiffel Tower in “Gbinchin Pintin” is subtle compared to “Sagacité” and “Voilà String,” visible for only three seconds at the end of the music video after the song has finished. Reading “Gbinchin Pintin” within the context of other coupé-décalé hits reveals that DJ Arafat can dismiss markers of Frenchness to a certain degree because he performs active achievement and normalization of the migrant dream. And yet, Arafat includes footage of the Eiffel Tower at the end of his video, which is out of context from the internal logic of the rest of “Gbinchin Pintin.” The Eiffel Tower’s presence ties the success that DJ Arafat flaunts throughout the video to Paris. It also links this contemporary version of coupé-décalé to the

²² Part of DJ Arafat’s origin story is that he chose his stage name because his childhood Lebanese friends called him Arafat after Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat.

²³ A survey conducted by *Forbes Afrique* magazine and Trace music television station named DJ Arafat the most influential artist in all of Africa in 2015 (Ewané and Winiarski 2016).

narrative of the origin of the genre. Moreover, the music video for “Gbinchin Pintin” exemplifies contemporary coupé-décalé aesthetics. The sound and video for “Gbinchin Pintin” demonstrates how artists like DJ Arafat have pushed the genre forward since the early 2000s and yet maintain certain core elements including emphasis on dance moves, ostentatious and boastful behavior, normalization of African success and cultural production in Europe, the importance of appropriating landmarks of Frenchness to creating a narrative of belonging, and, importantly, the coupé-décalé rhythm.

DJ Arafat pushes at the genre in terms of how he uses form to let the song unfold. For example, in “Gbinchin Pintin” the beginning minute is at a slower tempo though still driven by a slowed down coupé-décalé beat. In this section, Arafat’s vocals are more melodic and less percussive, though still gruff. After the transition when the tempo picks up, Arafat’s vocals are much more percussive and the lyrics are repetitive. The emphasis here is showing off athletic vocal percussion and dancing, especially to promote the dance move that corresponds with the song. DJ Arafat takes the role of dance to next level by hiring highly athletic (male) dancers and promoting them as a selling point for his performances.²⁴

“Gbinchin Pintin” begins with a fade in on a synthesizer similar to the THX effects that might be heard at the beginning of a movie. DJ Arafat brags about himself egotistically, comparing himself to Zeus, calling himself the master of coupé-décalé and the owner of the world in a gruff vocal timbre that is also auto-tuned.

*Appellez moi désormais Zeus, car je n'ai plus rien à prouver en Afrique.
Les enfants s'amuse, je reste le kôrô des kôrôs [...]
Je demeure, je reste, je serais toujours le maître du coupé décalé
Arrêtez de me comparer à ceux qui ont commencé avant-hier*

²⁴ DJ Arafat and his dancers performed at Alizé in April of 2014 to promote the song and corresponding dance moves for “Gbinchin Pintin.”

Call me thus Zeus, for I have nothing more to prove in Africa
The children amuse themselves, I remain the grand of the grand [...]
I remain, I stay, I will always be the master of coupé décalé
Stop comparing me to those who have started the day before yesterday
(DJ Arafat 2014, translation mine)

The lyrics of the song consist of this kind of bragging—claims that neither Ivorians nor Africans understand the genius of DJ Arafat—and vocal and physical acrobatics associated with the song specific dance move. Like “Sagacité” a repeating riff in electric guitar is present throughout the song, but its timbre is borrowed from hard rock. This rock electric guitar hook and a slowed version of the coupé-décalé beat accompany DJ Arafat’s boasts about his superiority at the opening of the song. As the slow part of the song unfolds, Arafat’s singing doubles the melodic hook, although he takes rhythmic liberties. Sometimes he sings this melodic fragment with syncopation and other times this melody is emphasized with momentary appearance of other digital instruments.

At this point all the instruments drop out and Arafat commands the listener not to compare the women of coupé-décalé with the men of coupé-décalé. The screen starts flashing. Following a rhythmic fill on drum set DJ Arafat begins singing fast and rhythmically, followed by a digitally created brass hit. This musical break signals the transition into the fast and dance-oriented part of the song. DJ Arafat begins basically rapping, the melodic hook on electric guitar layers in, and the dancing—both the athletic dancing of his crew of male dancers and the gluteal shaking of the women present—commences as the words “Gbinchin Pintin” are repeated. This is the musical tone of the rest of the song, although there are multiple interesting musical events that take place such as the doubling of the electric guitar riffs by a flute or whistle (figure 3.6), solo on drum kit that the dancers interact with through movement and backflips, and even a turn table break, a clear nod to hip hop. All of these musical elements demonstrate how DJ Arafat

redefines the sound of contemporary coupé-décalé as well as how professional the quality of the musical and video recording has become.

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Flute, Electric Guitar, and Snare Drum. The music is in 4/4 time and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The Flute part consists of a sequence of eighth notes: F#4, G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F#5, G5, A5, B5, C6, D6, E6, F#6, G6, A6, B6, C7, D7, E7, F#7, G7, A7, B7, C8, D8, E8, F#8, G8, A8, B8, C9, D9, E9, F#9, G9, A9, B9, C10, D10, E10, F#10, G10, A10, B10, C11, D11, E11, F#11, G11, A11, B11, C12, D12, E12, F#12, G12, A12, B12, C13, D13, E13, F#13, G13, A13, B13, C14, D14, E14, F#14, G14, A14, B14, C15, D15, E15, F#15, G15, A15, B15, C16, D16, E16, F#16, G16, A16, B16, C17, D17, E17, F#17, G17, A17, B17, C18, D18, E18, F#18, G18, A18, B18, C19, D19, E19, F#19, G19, A19, B19, C20, D20, E20, F#20, G20, A20, B20, C21, D21, E21, F#21, G21, A21, B21, C22, D22, E22, F#22, G22, A22, B22, C23, D23, E23, F#23, G23, A23, B23, C24, D24, E24, F#24, G24, A24, B24, C25, D25, E25, F#25, G25, A25, B25, C26, D26, E26, F#26, G26, A26, B26, C27, D27, E27, F#27, G27, A27, B27, C28, D28, E28, F#28, G28, A28, B28, C29, D29, E29, F#29, G29, A29, B29, C30, D30, E30, F#30, G30, A30, B30, C31, D31, E31, F#31, G31, A31, B31, C32, D32, E32, F#32, G32, A32, B32, C33, D33, E33, F#33, G33, A33, B33, C34, D34, E34, F#34, G34, A34, B34, C35, D35, E35, F#35, G35, A35, B35, C36, D36, E36, F#36, G36, A36, B36, C37, D37, E37, F#37, G37, A37, B37, C38, D38, E38, F#38, G38, A38, B38, C39, D39, E39, F#39, G39, A39, B39, C40, D40, E40, F#40, G40, A40, B40, C41, D41, E41, F#41, G41, A41, B41, C42, D42, E42, F#42, G42, A42, B42, C43, D43, E43, F#43, G43, A43, B43, C44, D44, E44, F#44, G44, A44, B44, C45, D45, E45, F#45, G45, A45, B45, C46, D46, E46, F#46, G46, A46, B46, C47, D47, E47, F#47, G47, A47, B47, C48, D48, E48, F#48, G48, A48, B48, C49, D49, E49, F#49, G49, A49, B49, C50, D50, E50, F#50, G50, A50, B50, C51, D51, E51, F#51, G51, A51, B51, C52, D52, E52, F#52, G52, A52, B52, C53, D53, E53, F#53, G53, A53, B53, C54, D54, E54, F#54, G54, A54, B54, C55, D55, E55, F#55, G55, A55, B55, C56, D56, E56, F#56, G56, A56, B56, C57, D57, E57, F#57, G57, A57, B57, C58, D58, E58, F#58, G58, A58, B58, C59, D59, E59, F#59, G59, A59, B59, C60, D60, E60, F#60, G60, A60, B60, C61, D61, E61, F#61, G61, A61, B61, C62, D62, E62, F#62, G62, A62, B62, C63, D63, E63, F#63, G63, A63, B63, C64, D64, E64, F#64, G64, A64, B64, C65, D65, E65, F#65, G65, A65, B65, C66, D66, E66, F#66, G66, A66, B66, C67, D67, E67, F#67, G67, A67, B67, C68, D68, E68, F#68, G68, A68, B68, C69, D69, E69, F#69, G69, A69, B69, C70, D70, E70, F#70, G70, A70, B70, C71, D71, E71, F#71, G71, A71, B71, C72, D72, E72, F#72, G72, A72, B72, C73, D73, E73, F#73, G73, A73, B73, C74, D74, E74, F#74, G74, A74, B74, C75, D75, E75, F#75, G75, A75, B75, C76, D76, E76, F#76, G76, A76, B76, C77, D77, E77, F#77, G77, A77, B77, C78, D78, E78, F#78, G78, A78, B78, C79, D79, E79, F#79, G79, A79, B79, C80, D80, E80, F#80, G80, A80, B80, C81, D81, E81, F#81, G81, A81, B81, C82, D82, E82, F#82, G82, A82, B82, C83, D83, E83, F#83, G83, A83, B83, C84, D84, E84, F#84, G84, A84, B84, C85, D85, E85, F#85, G85, A85, B85, C86, D86, E86, F#86, G86, A86, B86, C87, D87, E87, F#87, G87, A87, B87, C88, D88, E88, F#88, G88, A88, B88, C89, D89, E89, F#89, G89, A89, B89, C90, D90, E90, F#90, G90, A90, B90, C91, D91, E91, F#91, G91, A91, B91, C92, D92, E92, F#92, G92, A92, B92, C93, D93, E93, F#93, G93, A93, B93, C94, D94, E94, F#94, G94, A94, B94, C95, D95, E95, F#95, G95, A95, B95, C96, D96, E96, F#96, G96, A96, B96, C97, D97, E97, F#97, G97, A97, B97, C98, D98, E98, F#98, G98, A98, B98, C99, D99, E99, F#99, G99, A99, B99, C100, D100, E100, F#100, G100, A100, B100, C101, D101, E101, F#101, G101, A101, B101, C102, D102, E102, F#102, G102, A102, B102, C103, D103, E103, F#103, G103, A103, B103, C104, D104, E104, F#104, G104, A104, B104, C105, D105, E105, F#105, G105, A105, B105, C106, D106, E106, F#106, G106, A106, B106, C107, D107, E107, F#107, G107, A107, B107, C108, D108, E108, F#108, G108, A108, B108, C109, D109, E109, F#109, G109, A109, B109, C110, D110, E110, F#110, G110, A110, B110, C111, D111, E111, F#111, G111, A111, B111, C112, D112, E112, F#112, G112, A112, B112, C113, D113, E113, F#113, G113, A113, B113, C114, D114, E114, F#114, G114, A114, B114, C115, D115, E115, F#115, G115, A115, B115, C116, D116, E116, F#116, G116, A116, B116, C117, D117, E117, F#117, G117, A117, B117, C118, D118, E118, F#118, G118, A118, B118, C119, D119, E119, F#119, G119, A119, B119, C120, D120, E120, F#120, G120, A120, B120, C121, D121, E121, F#121, G121, A121, B121, C122, D122, E122, F#122, G122, A122, B122, C123, D123, E123, F#123, G123, A123, B123, C124, D124, E124, F#124, G124, A124, B124, C125, D125, E125, F#125, G125, A125, B125, C126, D126, E126, F#126, G126, A126, B126, C127, D127, E127, F#127, G127, A127, B127, C128, D128, E128, F#128, G128, A128, B128, C129, D129, E129, F#129, G129, A129, B129, C130, D130, E130, F#130, G130, A130, B130, C131, D131, E131, F#131, G131, A131, B131, C132, D132, E132, F#132, G132, A132, B132, C133, D133, E133, F#133, G133, A133, B133, C134, D134, E134, F#134, G134, A134, B134, C135, D135, E135, F#135, G135, A135, B135, C136, D136, E136, F#136, G136, A136, B136, C137, D137, E137, F#137, G137, A137, B137, C138, D138, E138, F#138, G138, A138, B138, C139, D139, E139, F#139, G139, A139, B139, C140, D140, E140, F#140, G140, A140, B140, C141, D141, E141, F#141, G141, A141, B141, C142, D142, E142, F#142, G142, A142, B142, C143, D143, E143, F#143, G143, A143, B143, C144, D144, E144, F#144, G144, A144, B144, C145, D145, E145, F#145, G145, A145, B145, C146, D146, E146, F#146, G146, A146, B146, C147, D147, E147, F#147, G147, A147, B147, C148, D148, E148, F#148, G148, A148, B148, C149, D149, E149, F#149, G149, A149, B149, C150, D150, E150, F#150, G150, A150, B150, C151, D151, E151, F#151, G151, A151, B151, C152, D152, E152, F#152, G152, A152, B152, C153, D153, E153, F#153, G153, A153, B153, C154, D154, E154, F#154, G154, A154, B154, C155, D155, E155, F#155, G155, A155, B155, C156, D156, E156, F#156, G156, A156, B156, C157, D157, E157, F#157, G157, A157, B157, C158, D158, E158, F#158, G158, A158, B158, C159, D159, E159, F#159, G159, A159, B159, C160, D160, E160, F#160, G160, A160, B160, C161, D161, E161, F#161, G161, A161, B161, C162, D162, E162, F#162, G162, A162, B162, C163, D163, E163, F#163, G163, A163, B163, C164, D164, E164, F#164, G164, A164, B164, C165, D165, E165, F#165, G165, A165, B165, C166, D166, E166, F#166, G166, A166, B166, C167, D167, E167, F#167, G167, A167, B167, C168, D168, E168, F#168, G168, A168, B168, C169, D169, E169, F#169, G169, A169, B169, C170, D170, E170, F#170, G170, A170, B170, C171, D171, E171, F#171, G171, A171, B171, C172, D172, E172, F#172, G172, A172, B172, C173, D173, E173, F#173, G173, A173, B173, C174, D174, E174, F#174, G174, A174, B174, C175, D175, E175, F#175, G175, A175, B175, C176, D176, E176, F#176, G176, A176, B176, C177, D177, E177, F#177, G177, A177, B177, C178, D178, E178, F#178, G178, A178, B178, C179, D179, E179, F#179, G179, A179, B179, C180, D180, E180, F#180, G180, A180, B180, C181, D181, E181, F#181, G181, A181, B181, C182, 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Dress is important in “Gbinchin Pintin” because it is one method that Arafat uses to point to Africa. For example, one of the outfits he wears in the video is a *korhogo* cloth shirt, shown in figure 3.7. *Korhogo* cloth, from Côte d’Ivoire, is made of strips of hand-woven cotton that are dyed with mud. Korhogo is the name of a city in the north of the country, and this style of cloth is common in much of West Africa. It is in this outfit that DJ Arafat and one of his dancers first demonstrate the “Gbinchin Pintin” dance move.



Figure 3.7) DJ Arafat and one of his dancers in African shirts in a still from the music video for “Gbinchin Pintin” (DJ Arafat 2014).

For the rest of the video the scenes alternate between DJ Arafat in his different outfits, female dancers’ backsides, athletic dance moves by Arafat’s male dance crew, and the signature dance move of the song which simulates searching for lost or dropped items such as car keys or a mobile phone (Trace Urban 2014). This is peppered with visual digital effects such as lens flairs, flashing screens, and flashes of alternative coloration, giving the video a professional and up-to-

date production value. The visual and sonic digital effects demonstrate how far the coupé-décalé has evolved since “Sagacité” and “Voilà String,” whose production value seems outdated as a result. Not only that, it shows how DJ Arafat as an artist continues to push the genre forward. He remade his personal musical style since his first coupé-décalé hit. Now his brand of coupé-décalé is known to incorporate hip hop, electronic dance music, and hard rock influences, as in “Gbinchin Pintin.”

DJ Arafat includes visual reference to the Eiffel Tower in “Gbinchin Pintin,” although in a more subtle way than Douk Saga and Meiway. In the final seconds, the video cuts away from the apartment for the first time to show footage of the Eiffel Tower lit up at night from the vantage point of the Palais de Chaillot, the same angle as “Sagacité,” as if to tip the hat to Douk Saga. Moreover, the Eiffel Tower is seen only once in the video, after the song has finished, and without sound or commentary of any kind. This image of the Eiffel Tower lit up at night with the searchlight spinning from the top, shown in figure 3.8, tacitly reinforces the success that DJ Arafat flaunts throughout the video to Paris.



Figure 3.8) Still of the Eiffel Tower from the final three seconds of the video for DJ Arafat’s “Gbinchin Pintin” (DJ Arafat 2014).

It also links this contemporary version of coupé-décalé to the original narrative of African success established by the Jet Set in “Sagacité.” DJ Arafat is able to initially dismiss European elitism in “Gbinchin Pintin” because he is shown as having already achieved it and thus moves easily between Africa and Europe as a transnational star. And yet, by including the Eiffel Tower he demonstrates the importance of the French landmark in terms of legitimizing a journey from Côte d’Ivoire to Paris, which is key to the initial narrative of coupé-décalé.

“Sagacité,” “Voilà String,” and “Gbinchin Pintin” show how coupé-décalé has developed in terms of sound, popularity, and normalization of an Africanized Paris. By borrowing from other popular music genres, particularly hip hop, rock, and electronic dance music contemporary coupé-décalé artists such as DJ Arafat have been able to keep coupé-décalé relevant and reach more listeners across Africa and the globe. The aesthetics set in place by the first generation of coupé-décalé artists like the Jet Set persist even if implementation of these aesthetics nowadays is more professional because of the resources that are increasingly available to coupé-décalé artists that have resulted from the genre’s popularity. Visual confirmation of Ivorian economic success abroad through coupé-décalé music videos like these reinforces an idea that anything is possible in the realm of coupé-décalé (Mitter et al.).

While coupé-décalé has matured in terms of production quality, core elements remain central to its aesthetics: the display of an ostentatious lifestyle, the emphasis on dance movements, the signature rhythm, and the importance of visual depictions of success reinforced through the aesthetics of the genre. This is apparent in the music videos where the coupé-décalé artists control how much of the Eiffel Tower is visible while ensuring that it is still seen. By showing the Eiffel Tower in their music videos coupé-décalé artists like Douk Saga, Meiway, and DJ Arafat claim access to the center of French culture by identifying the Eiffel Tower with

themselves. Not only that, but these songs and music videos bring the viewers of coupé-décalé videos—in Africa, France, or elsewhere—into the myth of an Africanized Paris.

This pairing demonstrates the power the Eiffel Tower holds as an empty sign available for such appointment of meaning. There are many coupé-décalé music videos that show other landmarks in Paris such as the Arc de Triomphe, Champs-Élysées, and even some lesser-known sites such as the wide boulevards of the central arrondissements and even the medieval Château de Vincennes on the eastern edge of the city. The videos that show other parts of Paris, other European or African cities, and even studios still contribute to a narrative of African elitism through the characteristic elements of coupé-décalé, especially the flaunting of wealth, demonstrating skill in dance, and bragging about self-importance. While these connections between coupé-décalé and African elitism are made in more subtle ways, the link is made explicit by images of the Eiffel Tower in “Sagacité,” “Voilà String,” and “Gbinchin Pintin.” The power the Eiffel Tower holds to tie the African elitism of coupé-décalé to an Africanized Paris also occurs spatially. The owners, promoters, DJs, and artists at Alizé Club harness the potential the Eiffel Tower holds to facilitate elite African space-making.

Afropolitan Space in the City of Lights

Alizé Club—the private nightclub located in central Paris that features coupé-décalé—reinforces the notion of an African Paris tied to the symbolism of Eiffel Tower in similar ways as the songs by Douk Saga, Meiway, and DJ Arafat. Even though the Eiffel Tower is not visible from the nightclub, its physical proximity to Alizé facilitates its patrons’ physical and symbolic journey to the center of the city to participate in coupé-décalé. Because coupé-décalé is the primary genre performed at Alizé and because Alizé is open on a regular weekly schedule, it has

become a site where the transformation of place to space occurs in a consistent way. In other words, coupé-décalé at Alizé makes an Afropolitan space where Côte d'Ivoire as a success story abroad is manifested. This space-making is always, and necessarily, in process (de Certeau 1988). More broadly, the production of elite Afropolitan space is represented through the posters that Alizé uses to advertise its featured artists. These advertisements perpetuate the myth of African success propagated through listening or dancing to coupé-décalé, encouraging patrons of Alizé from the northeastern arrondissements and banlieue to cross the city to participate in an evening of Afropolitan revelry. The advertisements for Alizé also contribute to the visibility of an Afropolitan representation of African artists in Paris at a street level.

The owners of and artists who perform at Alizé Club subvert expectations of acceptable locations for African music in the area. Alizé's tactics regarding its location and spatial advertisement strategy stand out from the many other African venues in Paris because Alizé capitalizes on the meanings of place in Paris in terms of how the city is geographically, socially, economically, and racially organized. Alizé is located in the fifteenth arrondissement within walking distance from the Champ-de-Mars, the park that extends from the base of the Eiffel Tower (see figure 3.8) and is distant from the northeastern arrondissements and banlieue where its clientele is based and where Alizé's promoters advertise. These northeastern neighborhoods are where most African nightlife occurs in Paris. In contrast to these clubs that advertise in the same areas of their location and client base, Alizé offers an opportunity for its patrons to leave the peripheries of Paris to access the center of city, serving as a transitional site for its clientele. The promoters for Alizé harness this idea by widely describing Alizé as "*L'ambassade de l'Afrique a Paris l'Alizé Club la boîte Parisienne du moment la plus branchée [sic]*," ("The African embassy to Paris, the trendiest Parisian nightclub of the moment" (Alizé Club Privé

n.d.). Alizé is thus positioned through promotional rhetoric and physical location to serve as a symbolic means of social mobility for African immigrants in the northeastern regions of Paris.

Mapping African Venues in Paris

Examination of other nightclubs and concert venues that feature African music help to highlight the significance of Alizé's location in central Paris. Documenting the locations of various African music venues as well as the venue's target audience and types of featured performers allowed me to map the sites of African cultural production. I did this by compiling advertisements for concerts and nightclubs during my fieldwork. Posters advertising African music concerts in the Paris area were readily visible in public spaces such as walls, posts, doors, and bridges, particularly near transit hubs in the northeastern arrondissements and nearby banlieues. By mapping the location of the venues from these posters I noticed patterns regarding the types of African music advertised, the location of these venues, and the targeted audience (see Appendix A for photographs of selected posters and Appendix B for a table of African venues).

Figure 3.9, on the following page, shows the spatial layout of these venues in Paris and the banlieues. Venues that advertise to audiences with specialized tastes in African popular music, indicated by the darker markers, are clustered in the northeastern arrondissement and the neighboring banlieue. Venues that feature world African music, indicated by light markers, are across Paris and include sites in the center of the city. As figure 3.9 demonstrates, the three arrondissements of northeastern Paris serve as an unofficial hub for African musical activity in Paris with one noteworthy exception—Alizé Club, represented by the star on the map.



Figure 3.9) Map of twenty-nine venues that feature African music in Paris. Light markers indicate venues that feature world African music. Dark markers indicate venues that feature more specialized African music. Alizé Club is depicted by the dark star icon in the fifteenth arrondissements. Map courtesy of Google 2017.

I compiled thirty-one advertisements for African music related concerts in the Paris region, including many banlieues. Eleven of these posters were for concerts marketed to a broad African and non-African audience. These concerts had a decidedly “world-music” flavor. I will refer to these as “world African music” to distinguish them from African concerts that target specific African audiences, e.g. coupé-décalé, Cameroonian popular genre *bikutsi*, or a night of

Guinean *griots* (see Appendix A). Because the target audience for world African music concerts had a wide appeal and, in general, the featured artists usually have some kind of international notoriety in the world music circuit and often have concert series that include many kinds of artists in addition to the world African artists, the types of venues available for such performances were spread across arrondissements throughout the city. These types of venues appeal to audiences interested in world, jazz, fusion, or traditional musics.²⁵ Furthermore, advertisements for these world African music concerts tended to be posted in highly visible locations in the center of the city such as metro tunnel platforms and depict the artist in a way that visually enhanced the exotic appeal of the artist's otherness, often in a tokenizing way as did the advertisement posters for the African Remix concert series at Cité de la Musique discussed in chapter two (see figure 2.2).

By comparison, African music venues that advertise and appeal to African audiences within Paris tend to be concentrated in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth arrondissements and nearby banlieues of Seine-Saint-Denis. The types of musical events that were advertised and that occurred in these areas often featured artists who performed genres of music that were associated with specific African popular music or cultural traditions. As compared to the sleek advertisements for the world African music concerts such as the African Remix series posters for African music venues were visually busy. Each contained an abundance of text, multiple images such as those of the featured artists, landmarks such as the Eiffel Tower, or instruments, animals, and the outline of the African continent in reference to Africa (figure 3.10 and Appendix A). In other words, these venues catered to a more specialized target audience familiar with specific

²⁵ The promotional material that I found for the African performances related to world African music, jazz, or traditional genres advertise for venues located in the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, twelfth, eighteenth, and nineteenth arrondissements.

African popular genres that had not been adapted to match a world music aesthetic. Moreover, the venues, the advertisements, and the target audience are all located in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth arrondissements and nearby banlieues.

Despite being physically located across the city from the other venues open for African nightlife, Alizé advertises heavily through posters placed on both sides of the northeastern border of Paris. The advertisement strategy for Alizé is high visibility through quantity of posters. Alizé advertisers plaster as many posters as possible onto areas where their target audience will see them. For example, in the twelve weeks that I was in Paris I photographed eight different posters for artists featured at Alizé. These eight posters do not account for the number of times the same poster for one event was present. Nearly all of these posters were visible in the eighteenth arrondissement or near transit hubs in the banlieues of Saint Ouen and Saint Denis, areas of Paris where Alizé's patrons typically live and work. Of all the promotional material that I collected, advertisements for Alizé were by far the most prevalent. Thus, Alizé overpowered other venues in terms of visibility as well as regularity of events taking place at the club, evident from their advertisement campaign.

Furthermore, the posters for L'Alizé were sleek and professional looking in comparison to posters for events for other African nightlife. Instead of an advertisement crowded with images of every featured performer for the event (see figure 3.10 below) or a depiction of performers in a tokenizing way (figure 2.2), Alizé's posters were eye-catching, streamlined, and visually pleasing. They depicted coupé-décalé artists as cool, sexy, and successful. Alizé posters were not only the most visible of those advertising for African music venues through sheer volume and the regularity of events at the same venue, but they were also visually compelling because of the professional polished quality of the poster design.



Figure 3.10) On the left is an ad for a night of Ivorian music located in the banlieue Asnières Sur Seine. On the right is an ad for Alizé. Both feature the coupé-décaté artist Debordo Leekunfa. Photograph by the author, 2014.

Alizé curates visual representations of elite Africans through highly visible and widely available poster advertisements for the club in addition drawing on the meanings associated with the layout of Paris, appropriating the symbol of the Eiffel Tower through physical proximity, and encouraging the extramusical aesthetics of success that are part of coupé-décaté. Because Alizé is located on the opposite side of the city from where they advertise and where their patrons live, the club subverts expectations regarding where urban Africanness can be found. Furthermore, as the most visible African club because of their heavy advertisement campaign in the northern borders of Paris, Alizé Club promises access to an elite African Paris for a night at a time by crossing the city.

By promoting evenings with coupé-décalé artists in the symbolic center of the city, Alizé thus becomes part of the narrative of coupé-décalé that started with Douk Saga and the Jet Set dancing in front of the Eiffel Tower: Coupé-décalé artists Africanize Paris for African use, adapting, Africanizing, and assimilating the city into a reimagined Côte d'Ivoire (Taussig 1993: xviii). Coupé-décalé personalities do this by cultivating access through the appropriation of markers of Frenchness such as the Eiffel Tower, claiming legitimate membership to an African Europe. The proximity to the Eiffel Tower creates clout in terms of nearness to French cultural belonging. Alizé is thus a site through which multiple modes of representation of an elite Afropolitan Paris serve to transform the place of the city into a space of social mobility.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have made two main arguments regarding alternate representations of contemporary Africa in Paris through the Ivorian popular genre coupé-décalé. My first argument was that three coupé-décalé artists appropriated the imagery of the Eiffel Tower in their music videos to create a narrative of an elite African Paris. Through analysis of the music videos “Sagacité” by Douk Saga, “Voilà String” by Meiway, and “Gbinchin Pintin” by DJ Arafat I have demonstrated that the presence of the Eiffel Tower in these videos supports the notion of an elite African Paris that is projected onto the city through coupé-décalé.

My second argument was that the Ivorian nightclub Alizé in central Paris draws on physical proximity to the Eiffel Tower to create a space for a temporary manifestation of this elite African Paris of coupé-décalé for its patrons, most of who reside in the arrondissements and banlieues at the peripheries of Paris. Alizé’s aggressive advertisement campaign in these neighborhoods contributed to a highly visible Afropolitan representation of African artists in

Paris. By crossing Paris for a night at Alizé, these patrons along with the staff and featured artists accessed the elite African Paris created in the world of coupé-décalé and, in effect, reinforced the Afropolitan representation of contemporary Africans in Paris made visible in the ads.

Because Alizé featured coupé-décalé artists, it too is part of the narrative of African success broadcasted through coupé-décalé music videos. If the coupé-décalé of the early twenty-first century acted as a space, though imagined, where Ivorian youth coped with political helplessness, participated in world-wide cosmopolitanism, and realized values for future economic and social stability as a way to escape the realities of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, then, in 2014, Alizé is where this Africanized Paris was manifested and where its patrons could participate in the transformative Afropolitan representations of contemporary Africa by crossing the city for a night out. In the following chapter I present another approach to the transformative potential of Afropolitan representations by analyzing performances of the 2014 Festival International Nuits d'Afrique African music festival in Montreal, Canada. I consider ways in which representation of contemporary Africa become entangled with the overall ideology of interculturalism as a contemporary approach to integrating ethnocultural diversity in Montreal.

Chapter Four:

Performing Future Québécois Identities at the Festival International Nuits d’Afrique

In this chapter I explore connections between performances at a festival of African music in Montreal and cultural identity that is derived from the past, performed in the present, and directed toward the future of the province of Quebec, Canada. I suggest that the annual Festival International Nuits d’Afrique in Montreal provides an additional approach to representing contemporary Africa. Moreover, I posit that the transformative potential of Afropolitan representations of African music at Nuits d’Afrique is compatible with the project of interculturalism in Montreal. Because Québécois identity has been closely tied to music practice and festivals in the past, I see the Nuits d’Afrique music festival as a site where an idealized future Québécois identity is negotiated. I thus argue that Nuits d’Afrique has become a space where the Quebec model of interculturalism is performed and broadcasted back to the city of Montreal, the province of Quebec, and the rest of North America. I suggest that the broad and inclusive definition of African music that frames the festival point to how Nuits d’Afrique not only models Québécois interculturalism, but also displays an Afropolitan representation of contemporary African musical performance.

Music and performance in Quebec are tied to senses of identity that are rooted in French Canadian heritage. A strong part of this identity lies in the desire to maintain cultural distinction from anglophone Canada. French Canadian identities are reproduced and reinforced through the performance of musical traditions such as *chanson*. In the twenty-first century, cultural production through festival performance in Quebec continues to be a tool for reevaluating and

reproducing Québécois identities and values. The festival stage is a site where these identities and values can be worked out and disseminated. Festivals in Montreal—the largest city in the province of Quebec and the second largest city in Canada—address the changing demographics of the city’s population through musical performances that model the contemporary Quebec value of interculturalism, an approach to integrating ethnocultural diversity in Quebec. I consider ways in which artists at the annual Festival International Nuits d’Afrique (International Festival of African Nights) promote a model of interculturalism through the performance of African music and the implications of this performance within the wider context of Canadian multiculturalism. The Festival International Nuits d’Afrique is a two-week long African music festival consisting of a series of ticketed and free concerts, workshops, and presentations that brings together local artists and global superstars of African popular music. It takes place every July in the heart of Montreal.²⁶

Furthermore, staged performances at Nuits d’Afrique represent Africanness in a way that makes a statement about Montreal as a host society to an increasingly diverse population. Montreal’s role as host society is informed by Quebec’s history as a linguistic and cultural minority in Canada and as a host to ethnic minorities as the city becomes an attractive destination for French-speaking immigrants. Montreal’s position as a city that can claim both a minority and a majority cultural status contributes to its openness to an annual celebration of Africanness. Nuits d’Afrique recognizes the contributions that African communities in Montreal make, especially in terms of strengthening the local francophone culture, without eclipsing the influence of Québécois culture. Because festivals are bound by time and space, in this case two weeks once per year at the Place des Arts, this kind of performed acceptance of difference is

²⁶ From this point onward I will refer to the festival simply as Nuits d’Afrique.

embraced and experimented with, yet cast aside at the end of the two-week period. Local society draws from past ideals of social values, seeks to modify these ideals in a way that continues to honor Quebec's history, and accommodates the newcomers that will make up the future populations of the province. The celebration of African Montreal at Nuits d'Afrique is framed in a way that reduces a perceived risk to the status quo of majority culture while simultaneously performing an idealized version of the city's future diversity.

In addition to considering the how the Nuits d'Afrique festival shapes an expression of interculturalism in Montreal, it is also important to think about how music and cultural heritage festivals in the province are tied to the identity of Quebec as a francophone culture distinct from the rest of anglophone Canada. The impulse for a unique Québécois cultural identity shapes the political and societal norms that are perceived as at risk of assimilation into the rest of Canada; the emphasis on interculturalism is in itself an attempt to push against official Canadian multiculturalism. Musical performance and cultural festivals are not only an important venue for the manifestation of interculturalism, which is in itself an expression of Québécois identity, but also a place where Québécois identity and culture are reinforced and broadcasted to the rest of the province, the nation, and the world.

I draw on scholarship on festivals to explain the importance of the cultural work that takes place at the music festivals in Montreal and to argue that Nuits d'Afrique contributes to and subverts Québécois interculturalism and Canadian multiculturalism. More specifically, I posit that Nuits d'Afrique acts as a temporary model of interculturalism—one that privileges French language and francophone culture—with the rhetoric of cultural mixing, exchange, and hybridity that dominate the promotion of the festival. Regardless of the public celebration of intercultural diversity in Montreal the festival continues to be temporally and spatially confined, revealing the

kind of compartmentalization of culture that contributes to the metaphor of Canadian multiculturalism as tiles in a cultural mosaic.

Music Festivals as Sites of Cultural Production and Québécois Interculturalism

I analyze music festivals as sites where cultural identities are negotiated and performed. Approaching festivals as sites of cultural production allows me to connect two aspects of this chapter that are separated by time. The first is that the musical practices that defined a French Canadian heritage were grounded in centuries of tradition. The second is that musical performance act as a site for negotiations of a future identity that resonates with a changing definition of what it means to be part of Québécois culture and society. I am guided by folklorist Beverly Stoetlje's claim that "festival emphasizes the past. Yet festival happens in the present and for the present, directed toward the future" (1992: 268). I suggest that *Nuits d'Afrique* taps into methods of reinforcing French Canadian identities from the past within the Québécois present to perform ideal intercultural identities for the future.

Like the museums and performance venues discussed in earlier chapters, the contact zones created at festivals facilitate exchange between identities and ideologies. Festivals depart from such museums, however, because festivals communicate messages about authenticity through the sensual and active participation in an inclusive, non-elite, and often public setting (Karp 1991: 282). Access to active, public participation for all members of the social group is a core aspect of festivals. Because of this, central messages of festivals have to do with shared group experiences as well as the many interpretations of those experiences (Stoetlje 1992: 262). Festivals are able to communicate these types of messages because active participation from many levels is encouraged at festival sites (Bauman and Sawin 1991; Auerbach 1991; Karp

1991; Stoetlje 1992; Guss 2000). The rhetoric, performances, and displays that comprise the festival anticipate a social response. The active mode demands participants' attention, which in turn heightens the participants' consciousness to create an intersection of performance and reflexivity (Stoetlje 1992: 263).

As a result of this contact, social group identities are strengthened, social issues are articulated, and multiple interpretations of experience are put into dialogue (Stoetlje 1992: 270-271). As Stoetlje claims, "Because festival brings the group together and communicates about the society itself and the role of the individual within it, every effort either to change or to constrain social life will be expressed in some specific relationship to festival" (1992: 263). The meaning and function of the festival are closely related to the values that the community sees as essential to its ideology, worldview, and historical continuity in society (Falassi 1987:2). Not only do festivals facilitate the exchange of identities and ideologies, but they also act as vehicles that allow identities to be contested and forged (Guss 2000: 12).

Festivals usually occur within a timeframe that is abstracted from daily life, thereby elevating the role of the festival as a site for social reflexivity (Falassi 1987; Karp; Stoetlje 1992). The same extra-temporal nature of festivals that allow them to be spaces for rethinking group identity also means that the group identity that is celebrated is its ideal version. For example, the multiculturalism that is performed at festivals is not a reflection of a multicultural Canada, but instead a projection of what could be a functioning cultural pluralism in Canada (Auerbach 1991: 225). Festivals are safe locations where ideologies of liberal pluralism can be explored and celebrated (Bauman and Sawin 1991: 289). A defining characteristic of festivals is thus the fact that they are "multiple in voice, scene, and purpose" even though they are rooted in group life (Stoetlje 1992: 261). If the community that the festival takes place in is made up of

many ethnic groups, then this is reflected in the activities available and the choices that the participants make (266). Paradoxically, however, the difference that is recognized in the context of the festival is celebrated as well as encouraged to integrate into the majority culture (ibid.).

Festive practice as cultural production allows a community, culture, or society to exhibit these values to outsiders, and more importantly, to themselves (Singer in Guss 2000: 7). As a result, politicians, government funding agencies, and even the public often give such festivals as proof of cultural pluralism. At the heart of this impulse is the belief by such groups that celebration of differences in a festival format will indeed enhance multicultural understanding and cross-cultural exchange (Auerbach 1991: 225; 236). Such is the case in Montreal. Through the annual Nuits d'Afrique festival, publically supported by local and provincial political entities, celebrations of African music showcases Montreal's diverse demographics and encourages messages about an intercultural Quebec that are performed from the stage. This practice links contemporary festivals in Quebec to a French Canadian heritage of performing identities. It also raises the question of how to approach the creation of a future Québécois culture through the Québécois approach to ethnocultural diversity, interculturalism.

The Québécois province, government, and people value a distinct regional identity that is grounded in the French language and francophone culture. These values are reflected in Québécois interculturalism, which emphasizes the integration of immigrants within the parameters of French language and francophone culture. The goal of interculturalism, as summarized by Charles Taylor, is to “bring it about that successive waves of immigrants come to see themselves as co-authors of the culture of the host society that will receive and integrate their successors” (Bouchard 2015: viii). Interculturalism is favored in Quebec because the population of the province has historically been a cultural and linguistic minority in relationship to the rest

of Canada, but is also in a position as a cultural majority in relationship to incoming populations from other diverse backgrounds, creating a minority-majority status for the Québécois within the context of North America (Bouchard 2015: vii). Because francophone culture is a minority in Canada, the Québécois desire to approach their minority populations in a way that is distinct from Canadian multiculturalism.

Canadian multiculturalism “involves a process of engaging diversity as different yet equal” (Fleras and Elliot 2002: 16). This assumes that multiculturalism is understood as a social concept that values diversity and believes that minorities have a right to be part of society while maintaining their own language and culture without losing access to social and economic equality (Fleras and Elliot 2002:16). Before official policies of multiculturalism were instated by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971, Quebec’s contributions to Canadian history and culture were framed as an equal partnership with that of British Canada, often referred to as the myth of the two founding nations. Official federal and provincial policies of biculturalism and bilingualism evinced this partnership.²⁷ Trudeau introduced multiculturalism as a way to “diffuse the binational rift into multicultural fragments” (Fleras and Elliot 2002: 54). In doing so, Trudeau effectively demoted the status of the Quebec as a nation and equal partner with anglophone Canada to a minority group, a single fragment of the cultural mosaic of multicultural Canada.

Many in Quebec, however, did not favor the move from official biculturalism to multiculturalism. Some felt that it diminished the French contributions to Canadian nationhood, demoting Quebec to the same minority status as indigenous populations and immigrants. Others feared that it elevated ethnic groups to the same status as the two founding nations (Kymlicka

²⁷ Note the exclusion of First Nations, Métis, or indigenous peoples in this narrative.

1995: 17). While English-speaking Canada embraced the united yet multicultural Canada, Quebec, as a whole, did not. These tensions can still be felt in contemporary Canada.

The often tense relationship between anglophone Canada and Quebec influenced how Quebec approaches its minority and immigrant populations through interculturalism. The goal of interculturalism is to respectfully integrate diversity while keeping the rights of immigrants and minorities in mind, on one hand, and to honor the history, values, and culture of Quebec as a host society, on the other (Bouchard 2015: 3). The desire to accommodate diversity and minorities in this way is grounded in Quebec's double status as a majority-minority culture in Canada. It is also, however, a reaction to a perceived weakening of Quebec's status as a distinct francophone nation and culture stemming from a dilution of a "old-stock" Québécois population due to their aging population and low birth rates. The influx of immigrants to Quebec who do not speak French as a first language further threaten Quebec's claim to a francophone nation. By foregrounding French language and francophone culture in provincial policies of ethnocultural diversity, Quebec can work toward a future cultural identity that includes newer generations of Québécois and the heritage of the "old stock" French Canadians.

This perceived threat of diluting Quebec's francophone cultural heritage is grounded in a shifting of demographics in the province. The majority of the incoming immigrants and anglophone Québécois are located in the Montreal region, making it an important site for cultural and linguistic diversity in Quebec (Audet and Saint-Pierre 2013: 258). Furthermore, seventy percent of immigrants to the province of Quebec choose to live on the Ile de Montréal, the island that contains the core of the city within the Saint Lawrence River (Centre d'Histoire de Montréal n.d.). Moreover, approximately fifty-six percent of Montreal's population was born abroad or has a parent who was born abroad (Centre d'Histoire de Montréal n.d.). Montreal's immigration and

interculturalism policies set a certain standard for the rest of the province given that the Montreal metropolitan area is a regional economic and cultural powerhouse and that it constitutes forty-eight percent of the total population of Quebec province (Audet and Saint-Pierre 2013: 258).

Interculturalism addresses this changing population by advocating for a “future of the francophone culture inherited from four centuries of history and the future of all Quebec culture” (Bouchard 2015: 11). This can be accomplished by considering interculturalism as an integrative pluralism that strives to balance cultural, civic, political, and social dimensions through seven points—equal rights, promotion of the French language, developing the relationship between francophone majority and other minorities, emphasis on integration of immigrants, promotion of intercultural exchanges, and the development of a shared Quebec culture comprised of the majority, minority, and shared Quebec cultures (Bouchard 2015). Heritage and music festivals in Quebec are public sites wherein these ideas converge and are negotiated.

Performing Past Heritage: Music, Festivals, and Identity in Quebec

Music performance, repertoire, and style have long been important areas of a distinct French Canadian and Québécois cultural identity and heritage. Contemporary festivals in Quebec such as Nuits d’Afrique are a space where old, new, and shared Québécois cultural lives intersect. Not only are festivals essential platforms for asserting a Quebec identity and culture that is distinct—especially from the rest of anglophone Canada—but they are also sites where this identity is broadcasted back to the Québécois as well as out to the world with the assistance of seasonal tourists and through Montreal’s position as a hub for the global French-language music industry.

During the 1960s the province of Quebec underwent a period of rapid secularization, economic growth, and modernization known as the Quiet Revolution or *Révolution Tranquille*. Before the Quiet Revolution, French Canadian festivals were tied to Catholic holidays and cultural identity was strongly linked to the folksong traditions of French Canadian *chanson* (Lavallée and Lafond 1998: 214). Significantly, during the Quiet Revolution the nomenclature of self-identification shifted from French Canadian, associated with rural and Catholic Quebec, to Québécois, associated with contemporary Quebec's active participation in domestic and foreign affairs.²⁸ After the Quiet Revolution, traditional religious festivals were cast aside in favor of festivals that celebrated the strengths of twentieth century Quebec's regions, communities, natural resources, agricultural richness, art, industry, sport, film, comedy, cultural heritage, and, of course, music (Lavallée and Lafond 1998: 214).

The 1960s and 1970s were an important period for nationalistic music in Quebec. During this time the singer-songwriter-poets known as *chansonniers* were key figures in the movement for a sovereign state. The *chanson* became “the most important musical style to guide Québec through the Quiet Revolution” (Morrison 2001: 1155). The power of the singer-songwriter-poet form was in the fact that the structure was based on French Canadian folk music. The *chanson* repertoire was in effect an oral cultural history of the region and became a musical jumping point for organized nationalist efforts. The *chansonnier* movement captured a moment in Quebec's history that eagerly looked forward to an independent and sovereign Quebec, but relied on past successes and defeats in shaping a collective memory. The *chansonniers* of the late twentieth century played an important role in perpetuating the collective national identity developed during

²⁸ I use Québécois throughout this chapter for this reason except when referencing pre-1960s Quebec.

and after the Quiet Revolution (Rioux 1969; Bertin 1988; Chamberland and Gaulin 1994; Morrison 2001; Keillor 2006).

In the second half of the twentieth century there was a sudden increase of music festivals and cultural events of all kinds in Quebec. This boom facilitated the development of municipal, regional, and provincial governmental support for new cultural programs (Audet and Saint-Pierre 2013: 254). There was a sense, which continues today, that the preservation of musical practices contributed to a cohesive francophone identity and helped facilitate the growth of a future Québécois culture. Although French-language popular music in Quebec since the 1960s and 1970s struggled to compete with the influx of English language American music (but not English language Canadian music, incidentally), popular music remains an important way that a distinctive Québécois identity is reinforced and celebrated (Piroth 2008). The music exhibit at McGill's Musée McCord exemplified this balancing of past practices with contemporary trends in forging a cultural identity in Quebec. The poster for the exhibits situates music in Quebec between the *chansonnier* Robert Charlebois and the contemporary indie rock group Arcade Fire, shown in figure 4.1 below.



Figure 4.1) Metro station poster for McGill’s Musée McCord exhibit celebrating the legacy of music in Quebec. The sign translates as “Music: Quebec from Charlebois [a famous *chansonnier*] to Arcade Fire [a contemporary indie rock band]. Photograph by the author, 2014.

After the era of *chanson*, local independent labels helped to define a mainstream French-language popular music in Quebec (Grenier 1993). Additionally, the emergence of the Organization International de la Francophonie—a global organization made up of nations that use and promote French as an international language—put Montreal in a central position for international political, economic, and cultural influence (Grenier 1993). As a result, Montreal is now a global hub for French-language music. This position in the French language music industry has important implications for the reach of Nuits d’Afrique, especially in terms of attracting international superstar performers who perform as headliners for the free main stage concerts.

Not only is Montreal a hub for French-language music production, but it has also emerged as a prominent host for festivals, earning the moniker “the city of music.” Two of the three biggest annual festivals in Montreal are music festivals—Festival International de Jazz de Montréal (The International Jazz Festival of Montreal) and Les FrancoFolies de Montréal (The Franco-Follies of Montreal). The third—Juste Pour Rire (Just for Laughs)—shares the arts and entertainment district in downtown Montreal, the Quartier des Spectacles, with Nuits d’Afrique, which increases the foot traffic to the smaller event. The construction of the Quartier des Spectacles, which consists of performance venues, art galleries, exhibit halls, and the outdoor stage area called the Place des Festivals is Montreal’s most visible act of support for its festivals (Audet and Saint-Pierre 2013: 258). Within this context, Nuits d’Afrique continues to receive support from local and regional politicians who agree that Nuits d’Afrique “contributes to Montréal’s enviable position in the international world music scene” (Poëti in Nuits d’Afrique Program 2014: 4).²⁹ By being part of Montreal’s summer festival schedule at the Quartier des Spectacles Nuits d’Afrique is connected locally as the festival city and internationally as part of an important hub for global French-language music and performance.

Montreal as the city of festivals demonstrates local governmental and civic levels of interest in approaching group identity through performances of cultural production, a fitting move given the province’s history of social identity tied to musical practice. Festivals in Montreal are also an important draw for tourists. Festival tourism brings money to the local economy, especially as cultural festivals became an established part of Quebec’s appeal. In their

²⁹ The following political figures provided diplomatic welcomes and well wishes for the 2014 Nuits d’Afrique: the festival Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages; the Minister of Culture, Communications/Protection, and Promotion of the French Language; the Minister of Transport/Montreal Region; the CEO of the Council of Arts and Letters of Quebec; the Mayor of Montreal; and the CEO of Tourism Montreal (Nuits d’Afrique Program 2014: 4-5).

study of festivals in Quebec, Audet and Saint-Pierre found that in 2011 the forty-three festivals in Quebec that they considered brought in 5.6 million spectators. Fifty-five percent of these spectators attended festival events that had free entry (2013: 258). Thus, governmental organizations' financial support is key in facilitating the growth of the festival scene in Quebec, which in turn continues to bring in tourist money. In 2011-2012, for example, 12.4 million Canadian dollars were allocated by the city of Montreal for cultural, sport, and tourist festivals and events (256). Nuits d'Afrique has been recognized by Tourisme Quebec, the ministry of tourism, for its contribution as a tourist draw as part of the summer festival season. For example, Nuits d'Afrique has been a finalist for the Grand Prix du Tourisme Québécois nine times since 2004 and won the title in 2005 and 2007. In 2015, Nuits d'Afrique was officially listed as one of the ten most important events in Montreal (Les Productions Nuits d'Afrique n.d.). These recognitions demonstrate the level of visibility and influence that Nuits d'Afrique has in Montreal and Quebec.

The rhetoric of Québécois interculturalism was present throughout the 2014 Nuits d'Afrique festival. By examining the creation of the festival, the parameters for what qualified as African music at the festival, and four performances from the festival I demonstrate the ways in which the values of Québécois interculturalism permeated Nuits d'Afrique. I draw on the seven points by which Bouchard defines interculturalism—equal rights, promotion of the French language, developing the relationship between francophone majority and other minorities, emphasis on integration of immigrants, promotion of intercultural exchanges, and the development of a shared Quebec culture comprised of the majority, minority, and shared Quebec cultures (2015). I suggest that the Nuits d'Afrique is a site for temporary manifestations of interculturalism through performed representations of African music as well as through the

extramusical elements of the festival such as food and merchandise vendors, workshops, and promotional material. These representations contribute to the creation of a Québécois intercultural identity, which is reinforced and broadcasted widely via Montreal's status as the festival city and a hub in the French language music industry.

Performing Future Identities: Interculturalism and Festival International Nuits d'Afrique

Nuits d'Afrique is a two-week long festival that occurs annually each July in downtown Montreal. It consists of a series of ticketed concerts held at small- to medium-sized venues around the city and five days of free outdoor concerts, workshops, and presentations at the Place des Arts.³⁰ These concerts bring local Québécois musicians onto the same stage as internationally renowned artists such as Tiken Jah Fakoly (Côte d'Ivoire), the Sierra Leon Refugee All-Stars (Sierra Leon), Oumou Sangaré (Mali), Kassav' (Guadeloupe), and Tabou Combo (Haiti).

Nuits d'Afrique founder Lamine Touré built the festival and its audience from his small nightclub Club Balattou to the multiday event held at the Quartier des Spectacles, the neighborhood in downtown Montreal that hosts festivals all summer and into the autumn. In the mid-1980s, Touré, originally from Guinea, saw the need for a space for musical expression in the African Canadian community and he opened Club Balattou. Since then Touré has been an important advocate for African and Caribbean music in Montreal, showcasing both local and international acts at his club. From 1987 to 1990 Nuits d'Afrique took place at Club Balattou. Its popularity quickly outgrew the space available. In 1990, the festival was moved to the street outside of Balattou, which was shut down to accommodate the event. The popularity of Nuits

³⁰ The venues for the paid concerts for the 2011 and 2014 festival were Le Cabaret du Mile End, La Sala Rosa, Club Balattou, Métropolis, L'Olympia, Le National, Le Gesù, Le Lion d'Or, and Le Société des Arts Technologiques.

d’Afrique continued to grow and in 1995 it was moved to the stage at the Place Emilie-Gamelin, a site that could accommodate an audience of 8,000, where it remained for over a decade (Les Productions Nuits d’Afrique n.d.). In 2011, its twenty-fifth year, Nuits d’Afrique was integrated into Montreal’s summer festival lineup at the Quartier des Spectacles alongside much bigger events like the Festival International de Jazz de Montréal and the massive comedy festival Juste Pour Rire. Nuits d’Afrique now has the capacity, international renown, and global star power to reach an audience of tens of thousands (Eyre 2013; Les Productions Nuits d’Afrique n.d.).

Nuits d’Afrique is Afropolitan in its conception. The “African music” represented at the festival encompasses a multiplicity of relationships to the African continent. It emphasizes collaboration between artists and fusion of musical influences. It recognizes the mobility of the artists, audiences, and musical cultures that participate. Moreover, it is accessible to anyone in Montreal and encourages the building of future Afropolitan representations of contemporary Africa. Nuits d’Afrique encompasses a *mélange* of traditions, genres, and artists from around the globe. I therefore define African music within this context as a musical style or practice that has roots on the African continent, is influenced by a music from the African continent, or is any genre performed by artists descended from people from the African continent. I choose not to use the term African diaspora because the African Diaspora refers to communities in the Americas that are descended from victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Okpewho and Nzegwu 2009). I find that this term neither recognizes nor adequately describes the experiences of those who have mobilized from Africa for any reason in a more contemporary time frame. Moreover, “music of the African Diaspora” does not adequately describe the kinds of performances that were included in Nuits d’Afrique such as the Chinese reggae group Long Shen Dao or the Quebec-East European klezmer band Oktopus.

The open understanding of what qualifies as African Music at Nuits d’Afrique reflects the inclusive nature of interculturalism. An open definition of Africa fits with a goal of the festival, which Nuits d’Afrique director Suzanne Rousseau stated as to “always make sure that music and artists are presented in a way that honors who they really are” (Eyre 2013). In addition to the goal of thoughtful representation, the themes of cultural and musical hybridity, as well as uniting the African community—broadly defined—in Montreal through music, are foregrounded in the press, band biographies, and other promotional materials associated with the festival. These themes are also present in the lyrics and dialogue that the performers provide from the stage.

For example, Touré’s statement of welcome in the 2011 Nuits d’Afrique program notes takes a celebratory tone that addresses how far Nuits d’Afrique has come and with the excitement for its future. Touré writes:

It has been 25 years now since I dreamed of offering the public the opportunity to discover the fabulous wealth and multiplicity of African Cultures! Recognition and renewal are the keywords of this anniversary edition, under the theme “a quarter-century of World Music!” This reflects the long way we have come and also provides a glance of what the future holds for us, through concert series, presenting pioneers and recognized world music artists, new revelations and megaconcerts (Festival International Nuits d’Afrique 2011: 3).

Further emphasizing the sense of coming together that such festivals can foster, Touré declares that the 2014 Nuits d’Afrique will include “even greater and broader diversity, with an incredible multitude of approaches to world music, both traditional and innovative” (from the provided

English version, Festival International Nuits d’Afrique 2014a: 3). Touré’s use of “world music” is interesting given that Nuits d’Afrique is a festival celebrating African music.³¹

Because the definition of African musicians and African musics are broad within the context of Nuits d’Afrique, the festival includes performances with origins from the African continent as well as the Americas and an abundance of hybrid and fusion genres. Moreover, Nuits d’Afrique is a space where African musicians perform music that is associated with North American rock and pop genres as much as any African popular or traditional ones. For example, of the eighty-seven events (paid concerts, free main stage concerts, workshops, demonstrations, and after hours concerts) that comprised the 2014 festival, thirty-nine events featured genres or performers that were not from Africa; in 2011 there were just eighteen non-African events out of the total ninety-three events, as shown in figure 4.2.

Type of Event	2011			2014		
	African Performances	Non-African Performances	Total	African Performances	Non-African Performances	Total
Indoor concerts (ticketed)	13	6	19	15	6	21
Outdoor Main Stage (free)	19	9	28	17	13	30
Workshops (free)	6	2	8	7	3	10
Demonstrations, Meet and greet (Free)	32	-	32	18	2	20
After hours at Balattou (cover)	5	1	6	1	5	6
TOTAL	75	18	93	58	39	87

Figure 4.2) African vs. Non-African Performances at the 2011 and 2014 Nuits d’Afrique festivals.

³¹ The terms “world music” and “world beat” in the North American and European music industries indicate musics that are oriented toward audiences in North America and Britain (Taylor 1997: 3).

In 2014 the main stage performances—the core of the festival attracting the most performers and spectators of all of the events—had nearly as many non-African performances, thirteen, as African performances, seventeen. This chart of the African versus non-African performances at Nuits d’Afrique reveals an all-encompassing definition of African music, one that borders on a conflation of either Africa with race or Nuits d’Afrique with one of the many world music events in Montreal’s summer festival lineup. By maintaining an emphasis on African music at Nuits d’Afrique, the festival models a broad approach to understanding Africa and African cultural production in a way that celebrates but is not limited to the African continent, revealing the complexities of representing contemporary Africa. Thus, Nuits d’Afrique is a vehicle for thinking about how to define future African, Canadian, and Québécois musical production for the future.

The “Africanness” of the music and performers at Nuits d’Afrique varied. Indeed the number of non-African acts increased in 2014 as an additional day of free programming was added. In both 2011 and 2014 when I attended Nuits d’Afrique, popular music groups from the francophone Caribbean—Kassav’ (Martinique) in 2011 and Tabou Combo (Haiti) in 2014—were the closing headliners of the festival and their performances attracted the largest audiences both years. By including groups from the Caribbean, Latin America, and elsewhere, Nuits d’Afrique appeals to a larger audience base, provides free concerts for more consecutive days, and facilitates musical innovation and collaboration that models interculturalism in Montreal.

Asserting Interculturalism through Performances of African Music

Through analysis of four performances that I attended at the 2014 Nuits d’Afrique I examine how interculturalism is projected from the stage. I highlight actions performed by both

local and international artists that contributed to the festival Nuits d’Afrique’s role as a model of functioning interculturalism. In these performances the artists on stage illustrated many of the aspects of interculturalism outlined by Bouchard such as promoting the French language, building a relationship between the majority francophone culture and local minority cultures, and cultivating intercultural exchange. The four different performers that I focus on highlight other specific points of interculturalism. The local band Les Lions Noirs exemplified the development of a shared Québécois culture that consists of majority, minority, and shared cultural components in Quebec. Another local artist, Doussou Koulibaly navigated gender equality through her different roles as a musician and performer in the contexts of Montreal instead of West Africa. Senegalese hip hop group Gokh-Bi System merged traditional and contemporary music practices often understood as being at odds with one another, thus advocating for a harmonious integration of difference. Congolese *soukous* band Black Bazar addressed the elements of integration and shared Quebec culture through explicit statements about experiences of immigrations and the positive contributions African immigrants have already made to Montreal. It is through performances such as these that Nuits d’Afrique is able to model a functioning interculturalism for a future Québécois cultural identity.

Les Lions Noirs: Performing a Shared Québécois Cultural Identity

The local Quebec group Les Lions Noirs (The Black Lions) opened the outdoor performances of the 2014 Nuits d’Afrique festival. Led by Lionel Katshingu, Les Lions Noirs consists of artists from “the four corners of the world” who perform “international groove” (Festival International Nuits d’Afrique 2014b). Katshingu is of Congolese decent with a thick Québécois French lisp; his band mates are other local musicians with roots in Peru and Mexico

(ibid.). The group's makeup, the festival program notes suggest, is as improbable as seeing a black lion (Festival International Nuits d'Afrique 2014a: 42). Given the multiethnic makeup of the group and the broad global jazz-based genres that they perform, it is significant that Les Lions Noirs were selected as openers for the performance of interculturalism through the annual African music festival.

I see Les Lions Noirs as a local, band-sized microcosm of interculturalism. The diversity of their ethnic and linguistic backgrounds points to an ideal, functional method of integrating diversity in Montreal. Moreover, Les Lions Noirs' performance of a diverse musical repertoire serves as an active creation of shared Quebec culture, one of Bouchard's hopes for interculturalism in Quebec. Les Lions Noirs model Québécois interculturalism by using French as the common language shared by the diverse group of musicians in the festival performance setting. As a band they speak to a Montreal audience interested in African music because of the local, yet accessible and cosmopolitan nature of their performance. Les Lions Noirs performed intercultural exchange musically on stage during their set at Nuits d'Afrique. Despite being described in the program notes as "International groove," Les Lions Noirs performed jazz styles influenced by afrobeat, fusion, and reggae.

I observed that musical diversity was an important aspect of the band's identity. From the stage, leader and bassist Lionel Katshingu described the backgrounds of Les Lions Noirs' musicians in his own words as classical, latina, techno, and oriental. For this performance the band consisted of electric bass, two saxophones, trombone, drum set, percussion (such as *djembe* with synthetic drumhead, congas, *doumbek*, and a whistle) and a synthesizer keyboard. The strength of the band was in the horn section, bass, and drum set. The groove established by the drum set and electric bass with the horn section over it encouraged a sonic comparison to

Nigerian superstar Fela Kuti's afrobeat from the late 1960s-1970s. The inclusion of synthesizer in Les Lions Noirs facilitated the genre blurring that was a large part of Les Lions Noirs appeal. The pulsing musical motifs on the synthesizer helped the band transition between genres and gave their music a contemporary sound by referencing musical tools from electronic dance music, especially during sections where the rest of the band either vamped or soloed.

Les Lions Noirs were the opening band for the outdoor stage at Nuits d'Afrique because of their ability to successfully perform multiple genres that connect to Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean, a feat that earned them one of the top prizes in the 2014 Étoiles du Métro competition.³² Les Lions Noirs are thus a local band that resonates with Quebec values for musical diversity, of both the band members and performed musical styles. Les Lions Noirs are a potent example of the kind of integrated society and vitality of a shared Quebec culture for which interculturalism advocates.

Doussou Koulibaly: Performing Gender Equality

Doussou Koulibaly was another local Quebec-based performer whose performance I observed at the 2014 Nuits d'Afrique. She is a singer and instrumentalist who is originally from Guinea, has lived in Mali, and relocated to Montreal in 2010 (Festival International Nuits d'Afrique 2014b). She sang and performed her own compositions on the *kamale n'goni*, a harp-lute with between ten and twelve strings associated with the Wassoulou region and musical style

³² The Étoiles du Métro is a competition started in 2012 by the Montreal transit system (Société de Transport de Montréal or STM). Their stated goals are to make Montrealers' metro commute more enjoyable and to promote promising new musical groups. Musicians can audition to participate and if accepted are given exposure at busy metro stations as well as being recommended to other musical events in the city, such as Nuits d'Afrique.

of southern Mali made famous by singer Oumou Sangaré (Charry 2000: 79).³³ The *kamale n'goni* is a modified version of the six-stringed *donso n'goni*, an instrument found in Mande regions of West Africa associated with hunter ceremonies, storytelling, and sacred power (Charry 2000: 80). It is also an instrument associated with men.

Koulibaly's performance exemplified the emphasis on equal rights in interculturalism, in this case equality between genders. The way that Koulibaly performed her gender on stage in addition to how it was framed by the organizers of Nuits d'Afrique revealed Montreal as a site where she could negotiate two conflicting senses of identity: one where she is confined by her gender and the other where she is celebrated for overcoming the barriers of the first. The more expansive version of program notes available from the Nuits d'Afrique website emphasizes this even more explicitly: "Her lyrics, both tender and critical, portray the hopes and fears of a young African woman torn between her pride in her heritage, and the desire to liberate herself from the customs of her people, which hinder women's emancipation" (Festival International Nuits d'Afrique 2014b). I suggest that her performance as an instrumentalist and a vocalist demonstrate this disregard for convention, which contributes to the model of interculturalism put forth at Nuits d'Afrique.

Koulibaly's departure from Wassoulou music convention is an element of her larger departure from gender roles in Mande music. Most female artists from this area are singers, not instrumentalists.³⁴ Not only does Koulibaly compose and play an instrument, but she does so on

³³ Charry spells this as *kamalen ngoni* (2000: 79).

³⁴ One of Mali's most famous singers, Oumous Sangaré, is from the Wassoulou region. Sangaré was one of the headlining performers at the 2011 Nuits d'Afrique Festival, as was Ivoirian artist Meiway, discussed in chapter three.

an instrument that is closely linked to men, a detail the Nuits d’Afrique program notes celebrated by framing it as an act of women’s liberation:

Seeing a woman play the Kamale n’goni *is quite* rare. The name of this harp-cum-lute from the Wassoulou region of Mali literally means ‘instrument of young men!’ While proud of her ancestry, and while paying tribute to Africa and its heritage, Doussou Koulibaly is a free and independent young woman who takes up the cause of women and, as a Mandinka, does not hesitate to come back to tradition (Festival International Nuits d’Afrique 2014a: 43, original emphasis).³⁵

This narrative of disruption of gender roles is based on Koulibaly as an instrumentalist. It also portrays Koulibaly as a woman who is conflicted by a love of a rich cultural heritage and a desire to reject this in order to stand up for her rights as a female musician.

At Nuits d’Afrique Koulibaly defied the Mande conventions of gender and music making through the lyrics of her songs and the performance on the *kamala n’goni*. She also did this with her singing style. Koulibaly sang in Bambara in the lower part of her vocal range. Her melodies stayed within a narrow range instead of the melodic contour of Wassoulou singing that begin high and descend over the course of the phrase. Her vocal timbre was soft and husky as compared the high and tight timbre in common for Wassoulou singers.

During one song, Koulibaly put down her instrument and while the rest of her backing band—guitar, electric bass, drum set, *djembe*, and conga—continued to play, she interacted through dance with the *djembe* player. In this transition she relaxed into the role of dancer, a role common for women. By doing so, she threw into relief that she was actively subverting the gender roles considered appropriate for female musicians in West Africa through her role as an

³⁵ Charry corroborates the translation of *kamala n’goni* as “young man’s *ngoni*,” but suggests that it has more to do with the instrument being one to which youth dance, sidestepping the sacred power of *the donso n’goni* (2000:80).

instrumentalist. Moreover, Koulibaly made it clear that Montreal is a place where her musical actions are celebrated.

Koulibaly's performance spoke to a point about women's rights that was unique among the four bands that I discuss. The narrative of freedom from the constraints of gender roles was also foregrounded in her online artist biographies. First of all, Koulibaly was "pursuing her mother's dreams," dreams deferred, no doubt, due to the lack of access to music performance she faced as a woman (Festival International Nuits d'Afrique 2014b). By positioning herself as a performer who is proud of her *Mandinka* heritage and yet desires "to liberate herself from the customs of her people, which hinder women's emancipation" (ibid.), Koulibaly exemplified the point of interculturalism that addresses equal rights for the population of Quebec.

This narrative of gender equality was instrumental in bringing Koulibaly's music to audiences in Montreal. After moving to Quebec, Koulibaly performed at Club Balattou as part of an ongoing music series that focuses on female musicians in Montreal—the Rythmes au Féminin (Feminine Rhythms)—as part of the Spectacle Bénéfice de Jeunes Musiciens du Monde (Benefit Show of Young Musicians of the World) (ibid.). At Nuits d'Afrique her role as instrumentalist and the themes of her songs pointed to the opportunities she had as a Canadian and as a musician because of the importance placed on the advancement and equality of women. Thus, an act like Doussou Koulibaly can be much more successful in Quebec than in Guinea or Mali. The audience at Nuits d'Afrique celebrates the performance of her journey as a female musician who simultaneously draws on musical tradition while refusing to be confined by that same tradition which she uses for her musical appeal.

Gokh-Bi System: Balancing Heritage of the Past with Innovation for the Present

Senegalese hip hop group Gokh-Bi System also draws on musical tradition tied to a West African instrument. As a group, Gokh-Bi System blended tradition and contemporary styles of Africa popular music into Senegalese hip hop, a creative tactic that was highlighted by the central role of the *ekonting*, a three string Senegalese lute, shown in figure 4.3.



Figure 4.3) Ndaiye singing on the left and playing the *ekonting* on the right. Photograph by the author, 2014.

In other words, Gokh-Bi System brought together musical genres that are often understood to be at odds with one another. The inclusion of the *ekonting* demonstrated that it is possible to successfully highlight an instrument that is understood as belonging to a traditional African music practice with contemporary urban genres like afrobeat and hip hop. Thus, Gokh-Bi System's repertoire played with this sense of balance between the traditional and rural with the modern and urban, while being bound by the tonal possibilities of the three-stringed *ekonting*. I see the commitment to balancing musical roots with contemporary artistic creativity as

performed by Gokh-Bi System at Nuits d’Afrique as a nod to music making in Quebec, which strives to balance these same aspects of its cultural identity.

Gokh-Bi System modeled four aspects of interculturalism in addition to that of balancing past and future musical cultural identities at Nuits d’Afrique. The musicians made spoken and sung comments about human rights from the stage. They engaged in intercultural exchange by agreeing to be part of the festival as well as by interacting with the audience, drawing them into the performance through guided dance moves. Gokh-Bi System’s use of French in song and to address the audience helped promote French as the dominant language of public cultural life in Montreal. Each of these aspects of interculturalism as performed by Gokh-Bi System propped up their most obvious contribution, a model for balancing the traditional and contemporary in their own art by building their style of hip hop, often understood as being an articulation of contemporary urban issues, around the *ekonting*, an instrument with an associated playing style that are both understood as belonging to the realm of the traditional.

Gokh-Bi System consisted of vocalists/rappers Mamadou Ndaiye and Diasse Pouye and *ekonting* player Sana Ndaiye. The other members of the group were Backa Niang on shakers and *djembe*, *sabar*, and *tama* drums, Greg Garska on electric guitar, Joe Sallins on electric bass, and Matt Garska on drum set.³⁶ Sana Ndaiye played the *ekonting* in a way that pointed to the

³⁶ The *djembe*, *sabar*, and *tama* drums are common in across West Africa, although the *sabar* is more particular to Senegal. A *djembe*—likely the most recognizable drum from Africa—is a goblet shaped drum with an animal skin stretched across the wide end and tuned by cord. It is played with both hands (Charry 2000: 214). A *sabar* drum is usually smaller than a *djembe*. It is shaped like a tube, has animal skin across one end that is attached and tuned by wooden pegs, and played with one hand and one stick. Different sized *sabar* provide different pitch possibilities (238-239). The *tama* drum is a small double-headed hourglass-shaped tension drum that is placed in the player’s armpit. The player squeezes the ropes of the drum between the arm and body to change the pitch of the drum. Like the *sabar* drum, it is also played with one, usually curved, stick and one hand. It is sometimes called a talking drum, especially in other regions of West Africa such as Ghana and Nigeria (233).

historical role of the instrument. He introduced songs with a riff on the *ekonting* and a vocal line, with melodic contours that started in the upper part of the range in both the voice and *ekonting* and descended over the course of the phrase in a the *griot* singing style. These musical introductions opened Gokh-Bi System's songs and established the tonal parameters, over which Mamadou Ndaiye and Diasse Pouye rapped in Wolof, English, and French. Within the song the rappers occasionally employed a call and response form either between themselves and Ndaiye, the *ekonting* player, or themselves and the audience. Between songs as the rappers talked to the audience, the *ekonting* player continued to play underneath them in a way that was consistent with musical practices of *griots* and hunters in West Africa, an aesthetic that is common for contemporary radio programming in West Africa. This is yet another way that Gokh-Bi Systems pointed at the traditional music of West Africa.

Gokh-Bi System used the familiar musical conventions of hip hop to make political and social comments about then-current events. In fact, much of the lyrical content of the songs was political in nature, something quite common for Senegalese hip hop, but paired with rhetoric of the visceral nature of African music. For example, the emcees dedicated songs to Nelson Mandela and made political comments against the Israeli airstrikes targeting the Gaza Strip, a topical world event that week. These comments could be interpreted within the context of Nuits d'Afrique as advocating for the respect of human rights.³⁷ They also compared the sound of the *djembe* to a heartbeat and called themselves modern-day *griots*, two tropes that circulate widely in the world music industry.

Gokh-Bi System performed as the penultimate act on Friday evening at the main stage for the festival. They thus had a larger audience in comparison to Les Lions Noirs and Doussou

³⁷ The 2014 Nuits d'Afrique festival was dedicated in memory of anti-apartheid revolutionary and former South African president Nelson Mandela, who passed away in December of 2013.

Koulibaly, giving their message had greater reach. The version of interculturalism that they performed emphasized the need to balance the past with the present. Moreover, it demonstrated the cultural possibilities of negotiating this balance through their *ekonting*-rooted hip hop with which they commented on the world. This commentary was in part an encouragement for festivals like Nuits d’Afrique to continue to facilitate musical exchange in Montreal, which they called “the city of music.”

Black Bazar: Celebrating African Immigrants

The Congolese band Black Bazar reinforced the importance of the experience of African immigrants in Europe and North America through music. Black Bazar consists of “veterans of Congolese music’s golden age leaning on a younger generation” as the Nuits d’Afrique program state (Festival International Nuits d’Afrique 2014a: 50). Black Bazar is made up of world-class *soukous* musicians from Kinshasa and Brazzaville, as well as other African countries such as Cameroon. Nearly all band members performed in the bands of big names in Congolese popular music—Zaïka Langa Langa, Franco, Koffi Olomidé, and Papa Wemba—as well as more *soukous* artists from a younger generation. They came together in Paris at Congolese author and scholar Alain Mabanckou’s urging; Mabanckou published a novel about a Congolese man living in the eighteenth arrondissement of Paris by the same name in 2009. In the few years that they have been together they have already put out two albums. Black Bazar’s second album, *Round Two* (2013), featured multiple guest artists from Africa and the Caribbean. One of these guest artists was Fanfan of the Haitian *koumba* group Tabou Combo, which incidentally was the closing headliner for the 2014 Nuits d’Afrique festival.

Black Bazar's main talking points, both spoken and sung, were on the issue of immigration. Throughout their set, the singers made comments and sang about the difficulties of being an immigrant, contributing to the narrative of Montreal as a more accommodating place for francophone African immigrants than Paris. For example, singer Ballou Canta made comments from stage about Canada being the land of immigration, claiming that people do not end up in Montreal by accident. Black Bazar therefore implied through their performance that a shared culture is a strong culture and that integration of immigrants into society makes for a stronger society. For Black Bazar, Nuits d'Afrique and Club Balattou were proof of the positive contributions African immigrants can make to the shared culture in Montreal.

Black Bazar performed two sets at Nuits d'Afrique. The first was the headliner for the Thursday night show and the second was the penultimate performance of the festival, which had the largest audience of the week.³⁸ Black Bazar attracted a considerable-sized crowd and were thus able to reach a wide audience. Their set started with the drum set player alone on stage. One by one the other musicians entered—congas, then bass, and the electric guitars. Each musician added to the growing musical texture, establishing a moderate-tempo groove. Finally the two singers arrived dancing and yelling “*Est-ce que ça va?!?*” (“How is it going?!”) to the crowd, gesturing for them to clap along to the music. After introductory sung lines in a call and response format, all the instruments dropped out and the drum set led into an unmistakable *soukouss* rhythmic pattern, transcribed in figure 4.4.

³⁸ Haitian *kompas* stars Tabou Combo were the final performers of the festival. Their set brought in a large Caribbean, especially Haitian, audience for the final night.

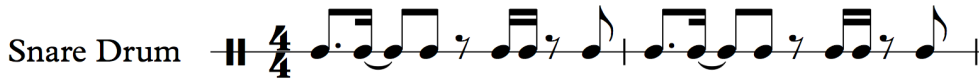


Figure 4.4) Transcription of the *soukouss* rhythm in the snare drum.

The electric guitars joined with circular melodic patterns in the high bright timbre made famous by *soukouss* guitar. The electric guitarists and percussionists played patterns that interlocked and transitioned in such a way that the musical momentum was constantly moving forward.

Black Bazar’s dancer, who came onto the stage intermittently during their set, assisted in bringing the audience into the performance as active participants. Wearing a crop top version of the band’s “Black Bazar” t-shirt with black shorts and a thick gold chain around her waist that accentuated her hip movements, she danced between the two male singers who also moved in a choreographed unison with one another, and led the audience through different hand motions, clapping, stepping patterns, and specific dance moves. One of these moves was the “moto,” which involved squatting with hand outstretched in front of the body and then leaning to the left then right as if going around a bend in the road on a motorcycle.³⁹ Assigning time within the performance to teach the audience each step of the dance moves is an example of the kind of intercultural exchange present at Nuits d’Afrique.

The idea of blending the old, the traditional, or the “classic,” with the new was exemplified by the members of Black Bazar, the music they performed, and the issues that they raised from the stage. Black Bazar modeled the importance of intercultural, and intergenerational, exchange through the musical collaboration within and outside of the band. They demonstrated the longevity and relevance of building a shared musical culture for the future. This same balance was at the crux of contemporary Quebec’s need for interculturalism.

³⁹ This “moto” dance move is not unlike the kinds created in coupé-décalé.

Thus, Black Bazar's performance at Nuits d'Afrique, as with the other three groups I have highlighted and the many that I did not, modeled a kind of functioning and idealized version of Québécois interculturalism that integrates the contributions of African populations in Quebec. Furthermore, the rhetoric of drawing on past traditions in contemporary cultural production leaves a space for the French Canadian cultural heritage, still considered to be an essential source of Québécois cultural identity, to be both recognized and celebrated.

Conclusion

In the program notes for the 2011 festival Lamine Touré referred to the intersection of interculturalism and Nuits d'Afrique by stating, “[The twenty-fifth anniversary of Nuits d'Afrique] reflects the long way we have come and also provides a glance of what the future holds for us, through concert series” (Festival International Nuits d'Afrique 2011: 3). Facilitated by Nuits d'Afrique, performance of African music in Montreal has looked to the future and reflected on the past, as Touré states. Furthermore, Touré points to ways in which Nuits d'Afrique displays an Afropolitan representation of contemporary Africa through performances by local and internationally renowned African artists in Montreal. Afropolitanism and interculturalism are thus compatible ideologies that focus on positive aspects of diversity that strengthen the future of Québécois culture. At Nuits d'Afrique these ideologies have been explored in ways that are at the same time in their idealized version and confined in a way that does not disrupt the status quo of majority culture in Montreal in threatening way. This has occurred on stage, as the performances I have described demonstrated. It also has occurred within the rhetoric of the festival, in the promotional material, and through the choices that

directors of Nuits d'Afrique have made regarding the kinds of musicians and musics that have qualified for participation at an African music festival.

Nuits d'Afrique, however, has been a temporary model of interculturalism that has the potential, given Quebec's history with music and identity and Montreal's status as the festival city, to facilitate the growth of a shared Québécois culture for the future. The temporary nature of Nuits d'Afrique makes it a powerful site for the negotiation of an idealized intercultural Montreal but also ensures that the identities that are explored during this festival so not seriously disrupt the established status quo of francophone language and culture. Nevertheless, the presence of Afropolitan representations of contemporary Africa in Montreal, as in Paris, can be transformative whether or not this transformation was the intent. In the final chapter I transition from the festival stage to the world stage to analyze a sonic representation of contemporary Africa that is embedded in the anthems of the 2010 South African World Cup Games.

Chapter Five:

Representing Africa Sonically through the *Mbube* Topic

This chapter examines one approach to a sonic representation of Africa through the emergence of a musical sign that has come to index Africa sonically from its original form as a South African a cappella choral genre to a simplistic musical sign embedded into the songs associated with the 2010 World Cup games in South Africa. I term this the *mbube* topic and trace its evolution from genre, to a sign of the genre, to a topic understood as indexically standing in for a perceived Africa. I address how the *mbube* topic has entered the expressive vocabulary of Western listeners through popular culture, and is thus understood through convention as an index for Africa as a whole. This chapter departs from the visual and performed representations of contemporary Africa in cosmopolitan cities of Paris and Montreal to instead investigate an event that took place in South Africa and was mediated by global organizations based outside of the African continent. The South African World Cup held potential to be an important moment of recognition of South Africa as hub for global Afropolitanism. I suggest that the global organizations that mediated this event missed an opportunity to grant South African artists a voice to represent themselves in the official anthems of the World Cup.

While the sonic representations of Africa that I discuss are grounded in sounds of South African music, these sounds have been abstracted and normalized in popular culture in the United States, reproducing a preconceived idea of Africa that verges on caricature. By employing topic theory from historical musicology, I argue that a particular musical sign, the *mbube* topic, not only signifies a sense of Africa, but also has reached a conventional meaning

through ubiquitous use by music creators to intentionally evoke a sense of Africanness in the major anthems of the 2010 World Cup.

The 2010 South Africa World Cup games marked the first time an African country hosted an event of such scale and international attention. The media rhetoric surrounding the event pronounced the World Cup a coming of age for Africa as a continent. At the final press conference after the completion of the World Cup, Joseph “Sepp” Blatter, then-president of the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) declared, “This is a great day for FIFA. It is a great day for international football, a great day for Africa and for South Africa” (FIFA.com 2010). Shakira, singer of the official 2010 World Cup anthem “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa),” responded to an interview for the BBC with similar rhetoric: “This is historical [sic] for South Africa; it is historical [sic] for Africa after being the *forgotten continent*, now being *the chosen one* for such an amazing event, for such a world celebration” (British Broadcasting Company 2010, my emphasis). In the surrounding media celebrations of post-apartheid South African culture and society, South Africa was conflated with broader ideas of Africa as a whole. This type of condensed Africanness was heard in in the musical signs embedded into the official songs of the 2010 World Cup. Drawing on past scholarship of music and representation, semiotics, and topic theory I approach the songs of the 2010 World Cup as a case study through which musical signs with conventional meanings are used to evoke senses of Africa.

My contribution to the body of work on music and meaning draws from ethnomusicological studies that advocate for positioning listener experience and agency at the center of the interpretation of musical signs encountered (Feld 1984; Meintjes: 1990; Turino 1999; 2000; 2008). Listener agency is an important aspect of understanding musical signs that

helps explain the potency that music holds for people as a link to memories, people, nation, and events. I diverge from this scholarship to highlight that musical signs can also gain a conventional meaning and are thus used by music creators to intentionally evoke a certain association or emotional response in the listener.

I am particularly interested in musical signs that have come to have conventional meanings in contemporary popular music. In other words, these signs have an agreed upon meaning based on an indexical relationship—meaning that is created through an associative relationship—between the sign and the object that the sign represents. With this kind of sonic sign, music creators such as composers, songwriters, producers, and recording engineers as well as listeners are accustomed to a specific musical sign being associated with a particular meaning. Because such associations are understood through cultural conventions, music creators can use them intentionally to evoke specific associations for the listeners, who have the cultural tools to decode these signs and interpret them in the way expected by the music creator. These specific types of musical signs are called topics.

The study of topics, or topic theory, comes from musicological analysis of eighteenth-century European art music from the classical period.⁴⁰ Topic theorists claim that these types of musical signs came to have conventional meanings that were understood by audiences of that time period and were thus used intentionally by composer (Ratner 1980; Allenbrook 1983; Agawu 1991; Monelle 2000; Head 2000). Inspired by topic theorists' work in musicology, I identify what I term the *mbube* topic and trace its transformation from a genre to a topic. I then use the *mbube* topic to analyze two songs of the 2010 World Cup Games –“Waka Waka (This

⁴⁰ I use the term classical instead of Western art music to specify this period of music history and distinguish it from the baroque, romantic, or other periods. Topic theorists working on music from this period often use the term “classic” instead.

Time for Africa)” performed by Shakira and “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” performed by K’Naan—to demonstrate how topical analysis can be a valuable approach for ethnomusicologists to use to examine and articulate how musical representation is created and understood.

Semiotics, Topic Theory, and the Mbube Topic

My understanding of how signs create meaning in music is informed by the important work that Thomas Turino has done with Peircian semiotics and music (1999; 2000; 2008). Turino uses semiotic analysis to address the unspoken and indescribable associations, emotional responses, and meanings that musical interaction can create. Music’s ability to create such responses, as well as facilitate senses of personal or social identities, lies in the fact that “musical signs are typically of the direct, less-mediated type. Music involves signs *of* feeling and experience rather than the types of mediation signs that are *about* something else” (Turino 1999: 224, original emphasis). The strength of Turino’s application of Peircian semiotics to music is that it gives the listener, consumer, or participant agency of interpretation. This is a significant contribution to a body of work in ethnomusicology that explores how music creates meaning in a way that is distinct from reading music as “text” (e.g. Feld 1984; Meintjes 1990; Kyker 2013).

The most elemental aspect of Peircian semiotics is the relationship between the sign, object, and interpretant. A sign is something that stands in for something else. An object is the something else for which the sign stands. The interpretant is the effect produced by the sign and object coming together for the perceiver (Turino 1999: 224). Peirce also outlines three different relationships between the sign and the object it signifies. An icon stands in for the object through resemblance. An index stands in for the object through co-occurrence or association. A symbol has assigned meaning, as in language (1999: 226-228). For example, a musical icon could be a

flute playing a melody that sounds like birdsong. An index might be associating the same flute passage with morning, because experience has taught us that birds sing in the morning. A symbol might be the words “bird song” written on a score or in liner notes, assigning this meaning through a mediated system of language. For the most part, musical signs are icons or indices (Turino 1999: 228). According to Turino, signs with an indexical relationship to their object are among the most powerful since they are grounded in lived experience, personal memory, and can be building blocks of personal or social identity they are perceived as “real” (Turino 1999: 229). In this chapter I focus primarily on signs, objects, and the iconic and indexical relationship between the two.

Topic theory from musicology provides a compelling method for approaching musical signs that have conventional meanings known to those who create and consume the same kind of music. A topic is such a sign in the form of a musical feature that stands in for a different musical feature, genre, or style. The topic can be comprised of any number of musical characteristics such as a certain timbre, a specific melodic, harmonic, or rhythmic figure, a distinct musical form, or the use of a particular instrument, to name just a few. Topic theory pioneer Leonard Ratner first proposed that eighteenth-century composers drew from a “thesaurus of *characteristic figures*” that were associated with certain “feelings, affections, and flavors” (1980: 9, original emphasis). By collating these characteristic figures, Ratner demonstrated the existence of musical conventions that signaled a “semantic universe within which the music is composed” (Monelle 2000: 14). Eighteenth-century composers who wrote “decidedly listener-oriented music” such as Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven used topics to intentionally reference other musical styles in their works to create a certain effect (Agawu 1991:4).

In order to decode the topic, listeners of that time period had to have had an “acquired competence” or shared an expressive vocabulary with the composer to be able to understand the musical reference and interpret the meaning (Agawu 1991:33; Allenbrook 1983: 2). For example, Mozart used a French Overture topic—a slow march in cut time that utilizes the rhythm of a half note followed by a double-dotted quarter note and a sixteenth note—to musically create a sense of ceremonial gravitas by referencing the French theaters and courts under Louis XIV (Ratner 1980: 20). Another example from Mozart is his inclusion of the Turkish topic in the form of instrumentation such as drums, triangles, or cymbals—common for a Turkish janissary bands, uncommon for art music of the classical era—into his operas. By doing so he evoked the Turks in such a way that his audience understood the Orientalist reference (Ratner 1980:21; Agawu 1991:3; Head 2000).⁴¹ These are two examples of many topics identified in the work of eighteenth-century composers.⁴²

The idea of sharing an expressive vocabulary is essential to understanding how ethnomusicologists can use topic theory in contemporary analysis of popular music, especially as certain popular music aesthetics are easily found worldwide. How is such an expressive vocabulary established? How does a musical sign change from referring to its object by sonic resemblance (an icon) to one that derives meaning from patterns of association? If not all musical signs are topics, then how can one tell the difference between the two? A topic emerges when conventional use and meaning are established. As topic theorist Raymond Monelle writes,

⁴¹ Mozart’s letters to his father prove that he intentionally used “Turkish Music” to evoke a certain reaction from the audience (Agawu 1991: 3; Head 2000).

⁴² See Ratner (1980) and Agawu (1991) for a more complete listing of topics used by composers of the eighteenth century.

The central questions of the topic theorist are has this musical sign passed from literal imitation (iconism) or stylistic reference (indexicality) into signification by association (the indexicality of the object)? And, second, is there a level of conventionality in the sign? If the answers are positive, then a new topic has been revealed, whatever the period of the music studied (2000: 80).

In other words, for a musical gesture to emerge as a topic, it must be more than simply a sign.

The sign and an understanding of what it stands in for must be ubiquitous enough to create a conventional meaning that is disseminated widely through a shared expressive vocabulary between the creators of the music and the target audience. Listeners are then able to decode the topic to experience the effect intended by the creator when they hear the sign.

Raymond Monelle's description of the topic theorist's "central questions" guides how I define a topic, that is to say what distinguishes a topic from other musical signs and how a topic emerges from being a genre or open musical sign to one that is understood as having a specific conventional indexical meaning. The mbube topic is a persuasive example of how such a sign has transitioned from a regional genre in South Africa across the globe and then returned to South Africa as a simplified topic that stands in for the entirety of the continent. The most prominent characteristic of the mbube topic from which all the variations derive is vocals in the bass range of the male voice. In most cases these vocals outline the harmonic progression of the song sounding the tonic at the beginning of the measure and grounding the harmony statically until the chords change. This may occur with or without other voices filling in the middle harmonies of the chord. Such instances of the mbube topic resemble the genre from which it derives, a point I develop later.

Often, however, the bass vocals act as an embellishment that serve to emphasize what is happening harmonically while also adding an African "flavor" to the music. In such instances syllables such as "huh," "hmm," and "mmm," words in an African language, or vocables that

stand in for an African language are used. It is not unusual for the bass vocals of the mbube topic to be doubled by or replaced with an electric bass. Other common characteristics of the mbube topic are a swooping, scooping, or sliding onto the first instance of each the pitch heard. Apart from this bending of the pitch, the bass line—on electric bass or in the bass vocals—is static, as indicated in the previous paragraph, usually consisting of a single pitch instead of arpeggiated chords or a walking bass line over the course of that instance of the mbube topic. Figure 5.1 on the following page presents an overview of the five instances of the mbube topic that I discuss.

1) "You Can Call Me Al," Paul Simon (1986)

2) "Can you Feel the Love Tonight," *The Lion King* (1994)

3) "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)," K'Naan (2010)

4) "Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)," Shakira feat. Freshly Ground (2010)

5) "Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)," Shakira feat. Freshly Ground (2010)

Figure 5.1) Five instances of the mbube topic discussed in this chapter.

About the Transcriptions

I provide transcriptions of the music I discuss in this chapter as a stand in for the recording to give the reader the best tools possible for understanding my points. These

transcriptions are descriptive and taken from the record label recordings of the songs discussed. Although I do acknowledge that there are many methods of graphically representing that which occurs musically, and that each notation systems poses some problems of misrepresentation while solving others, I use staff notation to tie my analysis to other scholarship on topic theory coming out of musicology. Transcribing music that has been sound engineered in the studio, like popular music, poses many challenges. The digital manipulation of sounds in the studio to achieve a highly polished final product makes it difficult to distinguish instrumental timbres. Furthermore, the representation of where a certain musical line or instrument is heard in the mix cannot be elegantly captured with staff notation even though the mix is critical to how the song is heard and interpreted. An additional complication that I encountered was the use of African languages in the lyrics. In this circumstance my ability to speak *Bambara* and identify *Mande* languages was not useful. I have taken the steps to identify the use of African languages in the lyrics of the songs and distinguish them from what I hear as vocables standing in for an African language. It is possible that I am mistaken and what I have heard as vocables are from a language with which I am unfamiliar.

I have had to make choices about each transcription. In all cases I have striven to showcase my point about the mbube topic, which is a simple musical motif, while providing enough context from the rest of the song to demonstrate how the mbube topic emerged from other genres, functions as a sign, and relates semantically to Africa. While my aim for my transcriptions to capture most of what I hear in the music, there are instances where I have chosen to leave out certain ancillary happenings such as an irregular cymbal crash, the individual pitches of a chord, and digital effects that are far more complicated to capture with staff notation than they are to hear. Instances where a musical element is left out, but still of importance will be

discussed in the text. I made these choices to highlight the mbube topic by muting the literal and figurative noise surrounding it.

“Mbube”: From Song to Genre to Topic

The development of the mbube topic began geographically in South Africa, although there is a long history of exchange, influence, and assimilation of American popular and religious musical styles such as hymns, gospel, and minstrel songs in that region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (c.f. Hamm 1988; Erlmann 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999b; Coplan 2008).⁴³ This history of exchange between South African and African American genres is important to note because these exchanges established a baseline expressive vocabulary and elements of shared musical aesthetics between South African and American consumers of popular musics. A relevant example of this kind of exchange is the South African tour of African American gospel choir Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers, which inspired the formation of local gospel choirs (Erlmann 1991: 23).

Zulu male choral singing styles are tied closely to the history of industrialization and urbanization and the lives of the migrant workers who were part of this social and economic change in South Africa (cf. Copland 2008; Erlmann 1996). The prevalence of local Zulu traditional vocal styles in combination with the influence of South African gospel aesthetics and the migration of male laborers from rural to urban areas contributed to the emergence of a new genre, *isicathamiya* (Erlmann 1991: 23). *Isicathamiya* is a male a cappella singing and performing style that grew out of this context of labor migration to urban areas at the turn of the twentieth century (Erlmann 1998: 14). These workers sought out forms of entertainment in their

⁴³ For example, a Zulu translation of Sankey’s *Gospel Hymns* was used as part of music education programs for black South Africans students (Hamm: 1988: 7).

new and often temporary environments. As a result, isicathamiya competitions took place between different isicathamiya groups during leisure time. Isicathamiya exemplifies a way in which African American spirituals and gospel choirs were indigenized and adapted into a distinct South African style. It is also an example of a South African genre that has become widely accessible to listeners in the United States because of shared musical building blocks and aesthetics, such as notions of tonality and homophonic textures.

Solomon Linda's Original Evening Birds

During a 1939 recording session at Gallo Recording Company in Johannesburg, the isicathamiya group Solomon Linda's Original Evening Birds found themselves a few songs short of a full album. The group set new words about Solomon Linda killing a lion cub when he was a herder over a traditional Zulu wedding song and recorded it for the B-side of their record. This song, titled "Mbube"—which means lion in Zulu—became the "greatest South African hit of all time" (Copeland 2008: 159). The song was so popular in South Africa that the term *mbube* became synonymous with the singing style of isicathamiya. The terms *mbube* and isicathamiya were thereafter used interchangeably to describe this vocal genre.

The song "Mbube" opens with Solomon Linda singing an introductory call, which the rest of the Original Evening Birds respond to in a homophonic texture. Then the upper voices drop out, leaving the bass voices to outline the harmonic progression (I, IV, I_4^6 , V) for the first four bar phrase, shown in figure 5.2.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ I transcribed this section of "Mbube" based on the pitches I heard from the 1939 recording. Because of the inexact pitch I chose to keep the accidentals with the pitches instead of assigning a key signature. Erlmann includes a transcription of this same song in his book *Nightsong* (1996: 63-64). He puts the example in the key of F major and uses a key signature.

Bass Voice

mbu - be - ah we - mbu -be we - mbu -be we - mbu -be

Detailed description: This figure shows the bass line for the first four measures of the song 'Mbube'. The music is in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bass line consists of quarter notes and rests. The lyrics are 'mbu - be - ah' in the first measure, followed by 'we - mbu -be' in the next three measures.

Figure 5.2) The bass part of “Mbube.”

Linda’s high falsetto then melody soars over this bass line as the middle harmony voices are added to fill out the middle of the chord, represented in figure 5.3.

Solo Voice

Harmony Voices

Bass Voice

mbu - be - ah we - mbu -be we - mbu -be we - mbu -be

i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be

mbu - be - ah we - mbu -be we - mbu -be we - mbu -be

Detailed description: This figure shows an excerpt from the song 'Mbube' from 0:10 to 0:30. It features three staves: Solo Voice (treble clef), Harmony Voices (bass clef), and Bass Voice (bass clef). The Solo Voice part starts with a long note 'I' followed by a melodic line with lyrics 'mbu -be ma ma ma'. The Harmony Voices part provides accompaniment with lyrics 'i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be i - mbu -be'. The Bass Voice part repeats the bass line from Figure 5.2 with lyrics 'mbu - be - ah we - mbu -be we - mbu -be we - mbu -be'.

Figure 5.3) Excerpt from “Mbube” (0:10-0:30).

The bass and middle voices repeat this phrase for the duration of the song with occasional variation from the mbube-related words to “hmm” in the middle and end of the song. Over these

“hums” at the end of the song, Linda improvises a short and influential melody. Significantly, the bass vocals function as the grounding voice of the harmonic structure and occur at the beginning of the measure when chordal change occurs rather than moving within the harmony. This grounding role for the bass voice is a defining characteristic of the mbube topic.

In 1949 Gallo Recording Company sent a box of popular South African recordings, including the track “Mbube,” to Decca Records in New York with hopes of expanding their market by releasing South African hits in the US (Copland 2008: 187). Although Decca did not release any of this material for American audiences, Alan Lomax passed a copy of “Mbube” on to his friend Pete Seeger who taught it to his folk band the Weavers (who also happened to have a contract with Decca Records) with a slight change in name—“Wimoweh” (188). The core of “Wimoweh” that the Weavers recorded in 1951 is musically faithful to “Mbube,” encased in a big band arrangement performed by the Gordon Jenkins orchestra (*ibid.*). Seeger’s falsetto melody follows Linda’s without significant change to the shape or texture of the song. “Wimoweh” was one of the Weavers’ hit songs, reaching the top ten on the Billboard charts in 1952. The popularity of “Wimoweh” created another instance of musical exchange between South Africa and the United States, adding another element of South African sound to the expressive vocabulary of American listeners.

In 1961 RCA record producers hired songwriter George David Weiss to arrange “Wimoweh” for the doo-wop group The Tokens (Copland 2008: 188). The song “The Lion Sleeps Tonight” was number one on the Billboard charts for three weeks and in the top ten for eight weeks between 1961-1962 (Billboard n.d.). The melodic fragment that Solomon Linda improvised in the final twenty seconds of “Mbube” became the melody for “The Lion Sleeps Tonight” with lyrics on the theme of a sleeping lion in the jungle. Although “The Lion Sleeps

Tonight” is a different song from “Mbube,” elements from “Mbube”—or more accurately “Wimoweh”—were left intact in the chorus, including the bass line and homophonic texture underneath the main melody. Twenty-two years after “Mbube” was originally recorded in South Africa, an adaptation of it became a major hit in the United States for a second time.

The popularity of the covers of “Mbube” in the United States, facilitated by the musical building blocks shared between isicathamiya and American popular music, contributed to a burgeoning notion in the United States of what African music sounds like. The fact that the genre that the song belongs to is highly influenced by the tonality, form, and aesthetics of American music helped to make “Mbube” easily transferable to American popular music. The tie to Africa, through emulation of a South African song or lyrics about lions in the jungle, added an extra appeal of an exotic Other experienced within the safe confines of familiar musical consumption.

These covers facilitated the development of a shared expressive vocabulary by providing listeners with a sonic reference to a general sense of Africa. Covers are not topics, however. A topic is a sign, and the object of the sign cannot be the sign. In other words, a sign cannot stand for itself. A song standing in for a previous version of that same song is not a sign and therefore not a topic. It was in Paul Simon’s 1986 album *Graceland* where the mbube topic emerged in a distinct form. This album provides an interesting example of how the mbube topic became codified—bass voices doubled by electric bass swooping onto the pitch—and how these sounds became indexes of Africa. On *Graceland*, the topic is used on tracks that are preceded or followed by tracks that feature isicathamiya, other South African genres, and afropop aesthetics (e.g. Gumboots—body percussion and dance moves that include slapping rubber boots, township jive and *mbaqanga*—South African popular dance musics, the bright timbre of African guitar, *djembes*, and tension drums). *Graceland* thus contains a range of performances with South

African genres on one end and the studio-engineered sign-cum-topic that represents Africa on the other, with Paul Simon's unique style of songwriting and singing tying the album together.

Paul Simon and Graceland

In the mid-1980s, Simon traveled to Johannesburg for two weeks to record with South African musicians. Simon was inspired to take on this project after receiving a cassette tape of gumboots performance and other South African popular genres. During Simon's short visit to South Africa he spent time recording with South African musicians including Bakithi Kumalo on electric bass, Ray Phiri on electric guitar, Vusi Kumalo on drum set, isicathamiya group Lady Smith Black Mambazo, and General Shirinda and the Gaza Sisters. Much of *Graceland* was then composed in the sound booth using this material from South Africa. While *Graceland* became Simon's biggest hit since the dissolving of Simon and Garfunkel in 1970, it was controversial because of Simon's compositional technique, in which he was accused of cultural appropriation and violating a United Nations instituted boycott of South African apartheid (cf. Erlmann 1999a; Hamm 1989, 1995; Meintjes 1990). Despite the criticism, *Graceland* won a Grammy for album of the year in 1986, sold over five million copies, and brought a new generation of South African musical aesthetics to American attention (Starr and Waterman 2014: 473). It has even been considered by many as a stepping-stone in the development of the World Music industry, proving that there was a viable market for both traditional and popular music from other countries (ibid.).

The success of *Graceland* helped to launch the international career of South African isicathamiya group Lady Smith Black Mambazo, the most prominently featured South African musicians on the album. In the years after *Graceland's* release Lady Smith Black Mambazo

toured and performed with Simon including the televised performances on US comedy show Saturday Night Live in 1986 and the *African Concert* in Zimbabwe in 1987. They were increasingly visible in popular culture in the United States. Just two years after *Graceland*, Lady Smith Black Mambazo's version of "Mbube" was used in the opening credits for Eddie Murphy's film *Coming to America* (1988) about a fictitious African prince in New York City. Lady Smith was also featured in the closing credits for Michael Jackson's film *Moonwalker* (1988). Lady Smith Black Mambazo continues to be a staple of the world music touring circuit and still performs with big name artists to this day.

The presence of the South African musicians on *Graceland* and the rhetoric of collaboration between South African musicians and Simon that surrounds the album facilitated the associative relationship between *Graceland* and South Africa. The other instances of South African music heard on *Graceland* assist in demonstrating how a topic is distinct from an instance of musicians performing a genre. By comparison, the mbube topic is such a condensed version of the isicathamiya genre from which it derives that it could be understood as a sonic caricature. Moreover, Simon's emphasis on collaboration with South African musicians in the liner notes and joint tours with many of these musicians contribute to listeners' understanding of the mbube topic as an index of Africa. In the liner notes for the album Simon writes out a narrative of the musicians he worked with the their processes of collaboration. Simon's approach to song writing in the studio is significantly downplayed in this narrative. Nevertheless, the success of the album and narrative of collaboration present in the extramusical material that accompanied the album strengthened the association between the music of *Graceland* and a

sense of Africa.⁴⁵ The popularity of the *Graceland* disseminated and normalized the expressive vocabulary essential to understanding the mbube topic for American listeners.

The mbube topic fully emerged, strikingly, through studio manipulation, in the track “You Can Call Me Al.” To create this song, Simon abstracted a fragment of Lady Smith Black Mambazo’s vocals in the studio, manipulated these vocals to make them swoop up to the desired pitch, and doubled these swooping vocals on electric bass, shown in figure 5.4. With a close listen, one can hear how Lady Smith Black Mambazo’s vocals have been manipulated in the studio to fit within the pitches and sonic texture of Simon’s composition.

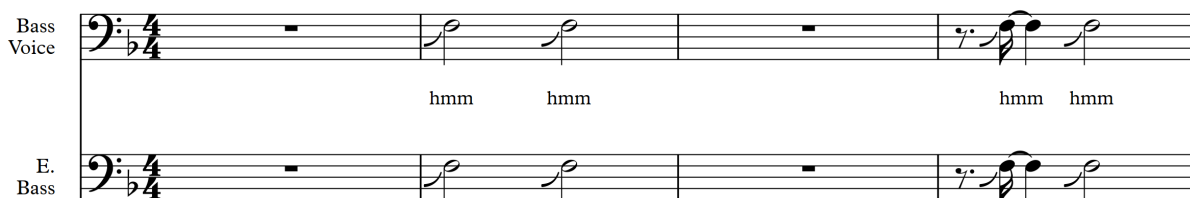


Figure 5.4) The two version of mbube topic in “You Can Call Me Al” shown in bass voices and electric bass.

The mbube topic is heard in the second part of each verse (at time points 0:29-0:43; 1:13-1:27; 2:43-2:57). Note in figure 5.5 below that there are two electric bass lines, one which shows the harmonically static mbube topic doubling the bass vocals and the other which shows the harmonically active slap bass line that is essential in establishing the groove of the song. The speed and slap bass techniques made this line a particular challenge to transcribe. The same is true for Simon’s vocal line, which has a kind of rhythmic flexibility that is not well represented

⁴⁵ Louise Meintjes provides a fascinating analysis of *Graceland* as a polysemic sign in her 1990 article in *Ethnomusicology*. She asserts that South African listeners will understand the collaborative nature of the *Graceland* as an interpretant in different ways depending on their subject position within South Africa in the 1980s and 1990s. Meintjes discusses specific instances of the collaboration with Lady Smith Black Mambazo’s style of isicathamiya within Simon’s songs and shows how different audiences interpret the idea of collaboration depending on their race and socioeconomic status.

through staff notation. Both lines are close approximations of what happens in this example to highlight the functionality of the mbube topic.

In later parts of the song the vocals are omitted and the mbube topic is in the electric bass instead (at 1:59-2:13 and 3:27-3:42). For instance during the bridges of “You Can Call Me Al” when other South African musical elements are featured, the first is the *kwele* penny whistle solo, the second is the *djembe* solo and the famous bass solo, the swooping of the electric bass functions as a reminder of Lady Smith Black Mambazo’s presence. This is an example of how the electric bass can be interchangeable with the bass vocals of the mbube topic.

Simon’s engineering of the mbube topic in “You Can Call Me Al” dictates the defining characteristics of the sign: bass vocals, particularly in the low range and the use of an African languages or vocables that stand in for an African language, especially vocal swoops on the syllable “hmm” or percussive vocal hits on the syllable “huh.” While this is primarily heard in bass voices, it is not uncommon for the vocal swoops version of the *mbube* topic to be played on electric bass. While the swooping electric bass is present as an embellishment in four other tracks on *Graceland*—“The Boy in the Bubble,” “Graceland,” “Gumboots,” and “Under African Skies”—its use in “You Can Call Me Al” is tied with the manipulated vocals of the emergent mbube topic.

The image displays a musical score for the song "You Can Call Me Al". It is divided into two systems. The first system includes a Solo Voice part with lyrics: "Now that my role model is gone, gone. He ducked back down the alley with some roly poly little". Below this is the Mbube Topic section, which consists of a Bass Voice part with "hmm" vocalizations, an E. Bass part, another E. Bass part with a rhythmic melody, and a Percussion part with a consistent rhythmic pattern. The second system continues the Solo Voice part with lyrics: "bat - faced girl. All along, long, there were incidents and accidents there were hints and allegations." and repeats the Mbube Topic instrumental parts.

Figure 5.5) Excerpt from “You Can Call Me Al” (1:12-1:28).

“You Can Call Me Al” was released as one of the singles from *Graceland*, and thus the mbube topic was disseminated widely. The music video for “You Can Call Me Al” stars comedian Chevy Chase lip syncing over Simon’s vocals and is absent of any reference to the

people and place that make “You Can Call Me Al” and *Graceland* significant, further abstracting the sound of Ladysmith Black Mambazo’s vocals from their musical context. After *Graceland*, other media projects capitalized on the mbube topic being part of American expressive vocabulary. The mbube topic was used to reference Africa in a way that was distant from any actual aspect of African music or performance, which was a departure from Simon’s controversial songwriting style.

The Mbube Topic Normalized: Disney’s The Lion King

The *mbube* topic became synonymous with sounds of fictional Africa for a wide audience through the 1994 animated Disney film *The Lion King*. *The Lion King* features the mbube topic in nearly every song on the film’s soundtrack sung by a main character with the exception of the song “Hakuna Matata.” It is also present in two of the four orchestral tracks that are included on the soundtrack. While the soundtrack for the *Lion King* contains musical reference to a fictionalized Africa in many interesting ways, I will continue to focus solely on the mbube topic.

The mbube topic in *The Lion King* is most commonly heard in bass voices using the syllables “huh,” “hmm,” or vocables standing in for an African language. These manifestations of the mbube topic range from percussive breathy vocal attacks to hums sustained over the course of a measure. In each instance the mbube topic adds to the sonic landscape portraying a primitive Africa where the laws of nature rule the animal kingdom. One interesting example of the mbube topic in *The Lion King* is in the love song “Can You Feel the Love Tonight.” The mbube topic is present underneath the arcing melody of the love song in the solo voice and oboe, the lush harmonies of the orchestra and choir, and the harmonic movement guided by the string bass section.

The mbube topic is present in each chorus of “Can You Feel the Love Tonight.” The first instance of the chorus, transcribed below in figure 5.6, is the most subtle use of the mbube topic in the song.

The musical score for the first chorus of "Can You Feel the Love Tonight" is presented in a multi-staff format. The key signature is one flat (Bb) and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes the following parts:

- Solo Voice:** The vocal line with lyrics: "Can you feel_ the love___ to night the peace the eve - ning brings? The".
- Oboe:** A melodic line that mirrors the vocal line.
- Strings Chorus:** A chordal accompaniment with chords: F, C, Dm, Bb, F, Bb, C.
- Bass Voice (Mbube Topic):** A bass line featuring a characteristic mbube pattern of eighth notes with 'x' marks. Lyrics include: "hem hem Ba de da cho ri Bwa de da cho re" and "huh huh_ huh_ huh huh_ huh_ huh huh_ huh_".
- Bass Strings:** A simple bass line providing harmonic support.

The second system of the score continues the musical piece with the following parts:

- Solo Voice:** Lyrics: "world for once in per - fect har - mo - ny___ with all its liv - ing things?___".
- Oboe:** Continues the melodic line.
- Strings Chorus:** Chords: Bb, F, Dm7, Dm/C, Bb, Gm, F/A, Bb6, C.
- Bass Voice (Mbube Topic):** Continues the mbube pattern. Lyrics include: "Ba - de da do la___ so way" and "huh huh_ huh_ huh huh_ huh_ huh huh_ huh_".
- Bass Strings:** Continues the bass line.

Figure 5.6) Excerpt from “Can You Feel the Love Tonight” (0:33-0:58).

In each subsequent chorus, including the modulation into a new key, the mbube topic becomes more prominent and other musical signs that signal Africa—drums, hand percussion, and additional vocal embellishments in male and female vocal ranges—enter layer by layer. *The Lion King* soundtrack is one highly visible example that demonstrates not only how normalized the mbube topic has become for American listeners, but also provides extensive examples of the indexical relationship between a single fantasy of Africa with multiple iterations of the mbube topic.

By tracing the music that has influenced the genre mbube and, in turn, the music that mbube has influenced I hope to have demonstrated how the mbube topic emerged and entered popular culture in the mid-1980s, where it continued to be normalized through projects in the 1990s such as the film *The Lion King*. Understanding the development of the mbube topic reveals how it has come to stand in indexically for Africa through co-occurrence. The mbube topic has become a placeholder for Africa in the expressive culture of popular music. The back and forth of South African and American musical styles established common musical building blocks that facilitate listener access to music from across the Atlantic. The mbube topic became a particularly potent sign during the South Africa World Cup because of the rhetorical emphasis on Africa that surrounded the event.

Despite the many possible readings of the musical events in the 2010 World Cup songs, I continue to focus on the mbube topic in my analysis for two reasons: 1) the presence of the mbube topic in both “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” and “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)” is striking in light of its absence in previous versions of the songs, and 2) I find that while other musical signs and topics can be identified, they have the potential to create vastly different interpretants depending on the listeners’ expressive vocabularies. This is of course true for any

sign, but I assert that the mbube topic has become so closely associated with a perceived Africa that it has achieved a conventional meaning.

“Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” Performed by K’Naan

“Wavin’ Flag” by Somali Canadian rapper K’Naan is a track from his 2009 album *Troubadour*. In the original version of the song K’Naan sings about the experience of growing up and subsequently leaving war-torn Somalia, but with a message of hope for the future, over a light rock accompaniment. A close variation of this version of “Wavin’ Flag” was chosen as a fundraising song for relief for victims of the destructive earthquake in Haiti in 2010 by the Canadian Young Artists for Haiti. In this version, performed by twenty-seven Canadian artists, the lyrics are changed slightly to add a greater sense of urgency and to appeal to charitable impulses in the listener. In a remix of the original that was released as a single in 2010 featuring American hip hop artist will.i.am and French DJ David Guetta, the original lyrics and form of the original were kept intact with small artistic deviations that kept the tone of the song celebratory and hopeful for the future.

“Wavin’ Flag” underwent a major change in music, content, and overall tone when it was selected as the 2010 Coca-Cola World Cup anthem. Because “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” was used as an advertisement for Coca-Cola during the 2010 World Cup, the lyrics of the verses were completely rewritten to express the excitement and celebrations of the World Cup, a drastic move from the previous life of the song. The catchy chorus of the song remained unchanged, but within the context of the newly worded verses, the overall narrative of the song became one of unity through sport (and Coca-Cola) instead of hopefulness for a peaceful future.

“Wavin’ Flag” underwent drastic musical changes to become “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix).” In “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” K’Naan’s vocals are accompanied by synthesizer, cello, strings, percussion, chorus of bass voices, and two iterations of the mbube topic. The first consists of a percussive unpitched vocal hit on the syllable “huh,” depicted in figure 5.7 below.



Figure 5.7) Example of percussive mbube topic in “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix).”

The second instance of the mbube topic is made up of sustained “hmmms” in bass vocals that outline the I-IV-vi-V harmonic progression in the key of C major (C Major-F Major-a minor-G Major). This is represented in the lower line of figure 5.8. This second version of the mbube topic does not occur without the first one, which is why I have kept them together in figure 5.8.



Figure 5.8) Example of both percussive and sung mbube topics in “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix).”

This version of the mbube topic doubles the percussive hits on the downbeat of each measure. Both versions of the topic are heard in the low range of the bass voice.

The musical construction and form of “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” is fairly standard for a pop song. The instrumental makeup remains consistent between each section of the three and a half minute long song. “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” consists of melodic blocks that

make up the verse, chorus, and transitional material. The song opens with six measures of percussion: quarter note triplets played on a pitched drum over wooden sounding quarter note hits (played either on the rim or side of a drum, or by hitting drumsticks together) and beneath this a groove created by quarter note hits with an eighth rest and eighth note on beat two. This beat consists throughout the song, changing only during the chorus where an off-beat dominant rock pattern played on a drum set takes over, shown in figure 5.9 below.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for percussion in 4/4 time. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff of each system is for a pitched drum, and the bottom staff is for a wooden-sounding drum. The first system shows a pitched drum part with four measures of quarter note triplets, followed by two measures of quarter notes with eighth rests on the second beat. The wooden-sounding part in the first system has a quarter note on the first beat, an eighth rest followed by an eighth note on the second beat, and quarter notes on the third and fourth beats. The second system shows a pitched drum part with four measures of quarter note triplets, followed by two measures of quarter notes with eighth rests on the second beat. The wooden-sounding part in the second system has a quarter note on the first beat, an eighth rest followed by an eighth note on the second beat, and quarter notes on the third and fourth beats.

Figure 5.9) Introduction to “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” (0:00-0:10).

Between the introduction and the first verse are eight measures of transitional material. In this transitional material a chorus sings an arcing melody with the syllable “oh” which is repeated twice, the second time harmonized. A synthesizer fills in harmony in the bass line as well as in the back of the mix. Underneath these the percussion marches onward (figure 5.10).

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the song "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)". Each system consists of three staves: Voice, Synth, and Percussion. The top system shows the vocal line with the lyrics "Oh" and "Oh" under the notes. The Synth part features a bass line with a steady eighth-note rhythm. The Percussion part includes a drum kit with a consistent pattern of snare, bass drum, and hi-hat sounds.

Figure 5.10) New material added to “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” (0:10-0:21).

This section is a new addition to the song. Some of the collaboration versions of “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” use an inverted variation of the vocal melody.⁴⁶

The first instance of the mbube topic occurs on the down beat of the next measure—the beginning of the verse. As K’Naan sings about the senses of pride created by soccer champions, bass vocals accentuate the downbeat of each measure with percussive vocalizations of the syllable ‘huh.’ They are accompanied by cello, which repeats the same pitch on each beat of the measure, indicating the harmony of the verse.

⁴⁶ This melody is closely tied to the marketing of Coca-Cola as a product. In fact, the first measures of this section were used in advertisements for Coca-Cola during the 2014 World Cup in Brazil.

The image displays a musical score for the song "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)". It is divided into two systems, each with four staves: Voice, Cello, Mbube Topic (Bass vocals), and Percussion (Perc.).

System 1:

- Voice:** Melody in 4/4 time. Lyrics: "Give me free - dom, give me fire, Give me rea- son, take me high- er, make us feel proud. See the cham- pions take the field now, Un - i - fy us,". First and second endings are marked.
- Cello:** Bass line in 4/4 time, providing harmonic support.
- Mbube Topic (Bass vocals):** Features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents, labeled "Huh" under each measure.
- Perc.**: Drum set notation in 4/4 time, including a snare pattern and a triplet bass drum pattern at the end.

System 2:

- Voice:** Melody in 4/4 time. Lyrics: "In the streets our heads are lift - in' as we lose our in - hi - bi - tion. all a round us. Cel - e - bra - tion it sur - rounds us, Ev' - ry na - tion". First and second endings are marked.
- Cello:** Bass line in 4/4 time, providing harmonic support.
- Mbube Topic (Bass vocals):** Features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents, labeled "Huh" and "Hmm" under each measure.
- Perc.**: Drum set notation in 4/4 time, including a snare pattern and a triplet bass drum pattern at the end.

Figure 5.11) Verse of “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” (0:22-0:46).

As shown in figure 5.11 above, the second eight measures are identical with the notable addition of the second iteration of the mbube topic. In addition to the percussive “huh” in the bass voices,

pitched “hms” that outline the tonic of the harmonic progression sustain for the first three beats of the measure. The two versions of the mbube topic repeat unrelentingly until the chorus. In the following eight measures—which is a variation of the melody of the verse, shown in figure 5.12 on the following page—backup singers join K’Naan, the melody changes, the cello shifts from repeated quarter notes to repeated eighth note intervals, and most of the percussion drops out. Both mbube topics sustain. It is significant that these two examples of the mbube topic are prominent in the sections of the song that have been reworked through new lyrics, melodies, and instrumentation specifically for the 2010 South African World Cup. The presence of the mbube topics in the altered parts of the song help to further strengthen the indexical relationship between the sound of the mbube topic and a sense of Africa.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for an excerpt from "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)". Each system consists of four staves: Voice, Cello, Mbube Topic (Bass vocals), and Percussion. The music is in 4/4 time.

System 1:

- Voice:** Treble clef, 4/4 time. Lyrics: "Stay ing for - e - ver young, Sing - ing songs un - der - neath the sun, Let's re".
- Cello:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. A steady eighth-note accompaniment.
- Mbube Topic (Bass vocals):** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents, labeled "Huh" above and "Hmm" below.
- Perc.** Percussion clef, 4/4 time. A steady eighth-note accompaniment with accents, marked with 'x' symbols.

System 2:

- Voice:** Treble clef, 4/4 time. Lyrics: "joice in the beau - ti - ful game, And to - ge - ther at the end of the day, we all say,".
- Cello:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. A steady eighth-note accompaniment.
- Mbube Topic (Bass vocals):** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes with accents, labeled "Huh" above and "Hmm" below.
- Perc.** Percussion clef, 4/4 time. A steady eighth-note accompaniment with accents, marked with 'x' symbols.

Figure 5.12) Excerpt from “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” (0:47-0:59).

I mention this altered musical content because the material in the chorus remains faithful to K’Naan’s original version. As shown in figure 5.13, the groove moves away from the heavily accentuated downbeat created by the mbube topic and percussion to a lightly syncopated rock groove provided by the drum set. The other percussion instruments and cello drop out. K’Naan’s

vocals are doubled an octave below in the bass vocals, which are no longer functioning as the topic. Other bass vocals in the back of the mix outline the harmony on a sustained syllable “ah.”

The image displays a musical score for the chorus of "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)". It consists of four staves: Voice, Bass vocals, Perc., and Strings. The music is in 4/4 time. The Voice staff features a melody with lyrics: "When I get old - er I will be strong - er, They'll call me free - dom just like a wav - in'". The Bass vocals staff provides a lower octave of the melody with lyrics: "Ah When I get old - er I will be strong - er, They'll call me free - dom just like a wav - in'". The Perc. staff shows a rhythmic pattern with 'x' marks above the notes. The Strings staff has a simple accompaniment with sustained notes.

Figure 5.13) Excerpt of chorus of “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” (1:00-1:19).

These are not additional versions of the mbube topic because their role is different than in the verse. Instead of grounding the harmony at the beginning of each measure as the mbube topic does, the vocals shown in figure 5.13 double and harmonize with the melody of the chorus. I draw attention to this non-topic use of the bass voices to once again point out that use of bass

voices does not necessarily mean that the mbube topic is being employed. The ways the bass voices interact within the sonic texture of the song distinguish the mbube topic from other compositional elements. This changed role of the bass vocals in the chorus of “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” is represented in figure 5.13 to facilitate this comparison.

New musical material is not added for the rest of the song. Strings join in in the chorus just to drop out again as the transitional material brings back the downbeat of the heavy groove. Each of the sections repeat: the transitional material with percussion and “ohs” in the voice leads to the verse, which brings in one and then the other mbube topic, which leads to the chorus where the groove shifts off the beat and then back again. The percussion groove and arching melody of the transitional material are the final section of the song. In response to a fragment of the melodic material K’Naan sings, “Everybody will be singing it,” and then, “and we all will be singing it” to conclude the song.

The additions of the mbube topic and new lyrics occur in the verses of the “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix);” the chorus is the one component of this song that is altered the least. These two forms of the mbube topic—the unpitched percussive version and the sustained pitches that outline the harmonic progression—give the “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” a drastically different feel from the original. Instead of evoking an imagery specific to Somalia, or the plight of the third world broadly, as the original lyrics do over a fairly standard “light rock” background, the “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” evokes a broad sense of Africa for the Western imagination, an Africa that is united both internally as well as with the rest of the world through sports. And it does so unrelentingly through the two prominent versions of the mbube topic I have identified that have been written into the song specifically for this occasion.

To facilitate a global draw, K'Naan's vocals and video footage were combined with other big name stars of popular music from across the world so that there were multiple versions of "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)" in circulation in the language of the target regional audience. For example, French hip hop artist of Nigerian descent, Féfé, recorded the French version; the version for the Arab world was performed by Lebanese star Nancy Ajram. While these calculated collaborations altered the lyrics of the verses and even the chorus—i.e. Féfé's chorus was changed from "wave your flag" to "*chanter dans les stades*" (sing in the stadium)—which are sung alternately in English by K'Naan and in the language of the featured artist, the mbube topic remained unchanged regardless of singer or language, ensuring that the indexical relationship between the mbube topic and Africa is disseminated everywhere that Coca-Cola is advertised. In doing so, the association of the "Celebration Mix" with the South African World Cup continued to reinforce the association between the sounds of the mbube topic and the evocation of Africa, spreading this conventional interpretation to a broader audience base worldwide.

"Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)" Performed by Shakira

If "Wavin' Flag (Celebration Mix)" helped disseminate the mbube topic while selling Coca-Cola to the world, the official 2010 World Cup song "Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)" sold FIFA as an organization and the rhetoric of arrival for the African continent. "Waka Waka," as I will refer to it henceforth, contains myriad signs drawn from and referencing to parts of Africa and the African diaspora. I see this as an intentional choice as it widens the listener base. I hypothesize that the producers and sound engineers who worked on "Waka Waka" intentionally curated the musical elements to cater to the different ways that listeners could decode these signs

based on their personal or cultural experiences. The presence of the mbube topic, however, indexes a sense of Africanness that the other musical signs and characteristics cannot.⁴⁷

The song choice in itself was controversial because the chorus is taken from a section of the 1986 *makossa* hit “Zangelewa” by Cameroonian band Golden Sounds.⁴⁸ Moreover, FIFA’s selection of the Lebanese-Colombian artist Shakira to perform the 2010 World Cup song added to the controversy because she is not an African. There was a sense that this was a wasted opportunity to highlight South African artists, especially given the rhetoric of celebrating Africa that was tied to the 2010 World Cup. The song consists of a collage of African and African diasporic musical elements making it difficult to single out one feature as significant above the others. By including the mbube topic within this bricolage of a hit song, however, the song writers and sound engineers guarantee that listeners who may not be familiar with genres such as Cameroonian *makossa*, Congolese *soukous*, or African and African-inspired rhythmic aesthetics still associate the song with the sonic Africanness that has become familiar through other media projects. I recognize the significance of the many musical characteristics used to evoke Africa in “Waka Waka.” I also see tension between the aesthetics of the African and African diasporic genres and the “cleaning up” of the sound quality to create a glossy final product.⁴⁹ In the

⁴⁷ My project here is focused solely on the sound as signs. While there are numerous visual elements to unpack in the music video for “Waka Waka,” a video analysis is outside of the scope of my project.

⁴⁸ Due to the success of the song, Golden Sounds changed their band name to Zangelewa. Original band members Dooh Belly Eugene Victor, Ze Bell Jean Paul, and Emile Kojidie have writing credit for the 2010 FIFA version of “Waka Waka.”

⁴⁹ Meintjes discusses this act of cleaning up the *kwele* penny whistle solo in “Call Me Al” on Simon’s *Graceland* by making the pitch and rhythmic alignment more exact and the timbre less breathy in order to appeal to the aesthetics of an international audience (1990: 44).

following transcriptions I show these different elements that are employed to reference Africa and how they complement or offset the mbube topic in “Waka Waka.”

From “Zangelewa” to “Waka Waka”

In “Zangelewa,” the Cameroonian band Golden Sounds depicts the plight of a new recruit into the military in humorous way, a theme that is further demonstrated in their performance and dress as bumbling soldiers with big bellies and back ends in their original music video. The lyrics, which are in a combination of local Cameroonian language *Douala*, Pidgin English, French and patois (www.emilekojidi.com), playfully capture the experience of a befuddled new soldier. Over the course of the nearly twelve-minute long song the new recruit fumbles about, marches in the wrong direction, and complains about aches from training and strict drill sergeants who threaten punishments of jail time with no food, a grave threat as the recruit’s only solace is eating. “Zangelewa” was an international hit in the late 1980s and circulated across Africa and Latin America.⁵⁰

Some of the characteristics that I have used to define the mbube topic are present in “Zangelewa,” such as bass vocals singing in homophonic texture. However, this is not an instance of the mbube topic because of the way these characteristics function musically. The melody used in “Waka Waka” is from the final of three distinct sections of the song. In this section Golden Sounds employs a call and response form. A single voice sings the melody and a choir of bass voices repeat the same melody in response, as shown in figure 5.14.

⁵⁰ Dominican girl group Las Chicas del Can had a hit with their merengue version “El Negro no Puede” in 1988. Like Shakira after them, they used the words and melody from the third part of “Zangelewa” as the chorus and added new verses in Spanish.

Call

tsa-mi-na mi-na eh eh wa-ka wa-ka eh eh tsa-mi-na mi-na zan-ge-le-wa a-na-wa ah ah

Response

Call

Response

tsa-mi-na mi-na eh eh wa-ka wa-ka eh eh tsa-mi-na mi-na zan-ge-le-wa a-na-wa ah ah

Figure 5.14) Excerpt from “Zangelewa” (7:42-7:57)

The vocals function differently here than they do in the mbube topic. Rather than outlining the tonic of the harmony, the bass chorus harmonizes the melody in open chords that match the rhythm and contour of the melody. In other instrumental lines of this section of “Zangelewa” (not shown in figure 5.14) an electric bass line actively arpeggiates chords in a walking bass style instead of the static repetition of the tonic of the chord that is common in the mbube topic. Unlike the mbube topic the lead voice and bass chorus alternate over an active bass line. I highlight the similarities in voicing to the mbube topic in “Zangelewa” to once again demonstrate how it is distinct from the mbube topic because of the active role the bass voices in the texture of the song. As represented in figure 5.14 a chorus of bass voices respond to the call by the singer in a homophonic texture.

“Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)” performed by Shakira and featuring South Africa-based band Freshly Ground, uses the material from “Zangelewa” for the chorus of the song. The mbube topic can be heard in the chorus, instrumentals, and the bridge of the song. Note that in

the second example in figure 5.15, the bottom staff shows the mbube topic in the electric bass and the top staff shows it in bass voices.

1)



Bass Voices

Tsami- na, mi- na Tsa mi- na, mi- na a - na wa ah, ah.

E. Bass

2)



Bass Voices

— Humm_ Humm_ Humm_ Humm

E. Bass

Figure 5.15) Two examples of the mbube topic in “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa).”

The mbube topic takes the form of low bass vocals, which sing parts of the chorus on “tsamina” or swoop on the syllable “hmm” depending on the section of the song, and in the swooping electric bass.

The song opens with an unmetred vocal call from a male voice, not unlike the opening to the song “The Circle of Life” from *The Lion King*, that is held for five seconds and joined by a pitch on the electric bass that sounds like electrical feedback when you first plug in the instrument, shown in figure 5.16.

Figure 5.16) Opening to “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (0:00-0:05).

The song then proceeds to an eight-measure call and response introduction, shown in figure 5.17 below. In it, the male voice calls out in a voice with a husky timbre “Edjibe Zangelewa.” This is a sample from, or a close emulation of, a part from Golden Sounds’ “Zangelewa.”⁵¹ This is doubled by a blast on a low reed instrument, likely a baritone saxophone. A group of people standing in for the sound of a crowd reply “wa-ka wa-ka” doubled by hand clapping that reinforces each syllable of the words as well as the beat.

Figure 5.17) Excerpt from “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (0:06-0:20).

⁵¹ This can be heard at approximately 1:46 of “Zangelewa” (1986).

Underneath the call and response, a bass drum pounds out the beat with a four-on-the-floor pattern that sustains throughout the song with few, yet significant, breaks. Over this unrelenting beat, the drum kit fills out the off beats with a syncopated rhythmic pattern that conjures Congolese *soukous* music and *coupé-décalé*, to my ear, but could also be heard as an emulation of other Caribbean popular genres.

At the beginning of the first verse, shown in figure 5.18, all the instruments from the introduction drop out except for the bass drum, which continues to sound on each beat of the measure. Shakira’s solo vocals are added along with a throbbing synthesizer motif that pulses in response to the bass drum on the offbeat.

The musical score is presented in two systems. Each system includes three staves: Voice (treble clef, G major), Synth (treble clef, G major), and Snare + Bass Drum (percussion clef, 4/4 time). The first system covers the first two measures of the verse. The second system covers the next two measures. The lyrics are written below the vocal line, with some words underlined to indicate syllable boundaries. The synth line features a consistent eighth-note pulsing pattern. The drum line shows a steady four-on-the-floor bass drum pattern with snare hits on the offbeats.

Figure 5.18) Excerpt from first verse of “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (0:21-0:35).

Percussion lines are layered back in over the next phrases of the verse, depicted in figure 5.19 below. A syncopated rhythm on the hi-hat is added for the next four measures, and a snare drum is added for the final three measures of the verse.

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is labeled "Voice" and contains the melody for the first phrase: "The pres - sure's on, _____ you feel it, _____". The second staff is labeled "Synth" and shows a chordal accompaniment. The third staff is labeled "Hi-hat" and shows a syncopated rhythm pattern. The fourth staff is labeled "Snare + Bass Drum" and shows a simple drum pattern.

The second system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is labeled "Voice" and contains the melody for the second phrase: "You've got it all, _____ be - lieve it. _____". The second staff is labeled "Synth" and shows a chordal accompaniment. The third staff is labeled "Hi-hat" and shows a syncopated rhythm pattern. The fourth staff is labeled "Snare + Bass Drum" and shows a simple drum pattern.

Figure 5.19 is a musical score for the phrase "When you fall, get up, oh oh, And if you fall, get up, eh, eh," from the song "Waka Waka (This time for Africa)". The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of four staves: Voice, Synth, Hi-hat, and Snare + Bass Drum. The Voice staff shows the melody with lyrics. The Synth staff features a pulsing accompaniment of chords. The Hi-hat and Snare + Bass Drum staves show a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Figure 5.19) “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (0:36-0:47).

In the last measure of the phrase leading into the chorus, all instruments drop out, including the bass drum after beat one, shown in figure 5.20. Accompanied only by vocals in harmony in the back of the mix, Shakira sings the lead into the chorus: “Cause this is Africa.”

Figure 5.20 is a musical score for the ending of the verse of "Waka Waka (This time for Africa)". The score is written in G major and 4/4 time. It consists of four staves: Voice, Synth, Hi-hat, and Snare + Bass Drum. The Voice staff shows the melody with lyrics: "Za - mi - na mi - na zan - ge - le - wa 'Cause this is A - fri - ca." The Synth, Hi-hat, and Snare + Bass Drum staves show the instrumental accompaniment, which drops out after the first measure of the final phrase.

Figure 5.20) Ending of verse of “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (0:47-0:51).

The first instance of the mbube topic is heard in the bass vocals in the chorus. Shakira sings Golden Sound’s melody over the pulsing synthesizer, the hi-hat-snare-bass drum combo,

triangle, and electric bass. Under this groove bass vocals double Shakira on the words “*tsamina mina*” and “*waka waka*” (see figure 5.23 on the following pages). A different iteration of the mbube topic is present in the first instrumental (figure 5. 21, below). Under the electric guitar solo, the mbube topic takes form in electric bass swoops doubled by “mm” in the bass vocals much like the mbube topic found in “You Can Call Me Al” by Paul Simon. Note that the topic in the electric bass is only the first note of each measure, the one that is doubled in bass voices.⁵²

⁵² The instrumental features the bright timbre of the African electric guitar (labeled e. Guitar in Figure 5.21) commonly associated with Congolese *soukous*. This style of electric guitar was also featured in *Graceland*. For some American world music listeners *Graceland* may be the primary sonic reference while listeners from Africa or the Caribbean might immediately think of *soukous*. It is because these discrepancies in listener expressive vocabulary that I focus only on the mbube topic in “Waka Waka” despite the many other musical signs that I associate with African popular genres.

E. Guitar

Mbube Topic

Bass
Voices

E. Bass

Triangle
+ Hi-hat

Snare +
Bass Drum

E. Guitar

Mbube Topic

Bass
Voices

E. Bass

Triangle
+ Hi-hat

Snare +
Bass Drum

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the instrumental and electric guitar solo in "Waka Waka (This time for Africa)".

System 1:

- E. Guitar:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp (F#), 4/4 time. Features a complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Mbube Topic (Bass Voices):** Bass clef, key signature of one sharp. Shows two measures with a half note followed by a quarter rest, marked *mm*.
- E. Bass:** Bass clef, key signature of one sharp. Shows a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes.
- Triangle + Hi-hat:** Percussion staff with rhythmic notation including eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Snare + Bass Drum:** Percussion staff with rhythmic notation including eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 2:

- E. Guitar:** Treble clef, key signature of one sharp. Continues the complex rhythmic pattern.
- Mbube Topic (Bass Voices):** Bass clef, key signature of one sharp. Shows two measures with a half note followed by a quarter rest, marked *mm*.
- E. Bass:** Bass clef, key signature of one sharp. Shows a rhythmic pattern of quarter notes.
- Triangle + Hi-hat:** Percussion staff with rhythmic notation including eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Snare + Bass Drum:** Percussion staff with rhythmic notation including eighth and sixteenth notes.

Figure 5.21) Instrumental and electric guitar solo in “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (0:59-1:14).

The following verse does not have an instance of the mbube topic, but the subsequent chorus includes the longest version in the bass voices before transitioning to the bridge. In the beginning of the verse the sonic texture returns to Shakira’s vocals over the synthesizer, snare,

bass drums, and shakers. This continues for eight measures. The next phrase adds the hi-hat pattern to the groove and the following four-measure phrase brings in the pulsing synthesizer from the first verse. In the final measure before the chorus all of the instruments drop out again by the first beat except for the synthesizer and both Shakira's and the harmonizing vocals that sing "This time for Africa." The second instance of the chorus is identical to the first, except that it is repeated twice, lasting for eight measures instead of the four measures like the first chorus. Because it is longer, the mbube topic doubles Shakira's vocals on "*tsamina mina*," "waka waka," and "anawa ah ah." Consistent with the rest of the song, in the last measure before transitioning into the two-part bridge the groove drops out by the first beat and Shakira's vocals and the synthesizer lead into the bridge.

The first part of the bridge features the South Africa-based fusion band Freshly Ground. All instruments drop out except for the drum set and triangle, which accompany lead singer Zolani Mahola in her solo in *Xhosa*. The rest of Freshly Ground joins in singing two times in the second part of the phrase and then in the final measure leading into the second part of the bridge where they sing the lyrics "'cause this is Africa." In the second part, all percussion and melodic accompaniment drop out and are replaced with the sounds of heavily reverberated chant layered over pulsing synthesizer in the backdrop and the pounding bass drum. In these eight measures, the vocals from the first part of the bridge are manipulated with reverb and the word "Africa" repeats and fades into the back of the mix, as if it were an echo. Other vocals, with heavy reverb, pulse on chant-like syllables, matching the musical role of the synthesizer in earlier parts of the song. The mbube topic is foregrounded in second half of the bridge (figure 5.22 on the following page). It is brought to the front of the mix as the highlighted musical feature, though only five times: three instances of "*tsamina mina*" and two "*anawa ah ah*."

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It features four main parts: Voices, Synth, Mbube Topic (Bass and Voices), and Snare + Bass Drum. The Mbube Topic is a traditional African drumming style that provides the rhythmic foundation. The lyrics are: "A - fri - ca A - fri - ca... ah oh eh eh hey hey ah ah ah oh eh eh", "uh ah ah ah oh eh eh yeah ah ah", "ah oh eh eh", "a - na - wa ah - ah tsa - mi - na mi - na", "tsa - mi - na mi - na a - na - wa ah - ah".

Figure 5.22) Second half of bridge from “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (2:15-2:29).

It is in this moment that the mbube topic is the most prominent in the song. It is no longer the foundation upon which the featured musical components are layered; the mbube topic is the

featured musical component. The mbube vocals are brought to the front of the mix, binding the mbube topic to this sonic creation of Africa. Both parts of the bridge point to Africa in opposite ways; the first features the small contributions of a real South African group within this large-scale music and sporting event, and the second reinforces an Othering fantasy of Africa sandwiched between celebrations of African achievement.

In the final chorus, shown in figure 5.23 on the following pages, all the parts that comprise the groove return as do Shakira's vocal line, the backing vocals, the triangle, and the mbube topic in the bass vocal line doubling the melody in the back of the mix with swoops of the electric bass underneath. In the second eight-measure phrase of this chorus the mbube topic in the bass vocals shifts from doubling the words of the melody to swooping hums that begin on the eighth-note pickup of the previous measure and land on the downbeat. The electric guitar returns as well. This is the only instance of the chorus in "Waka Waka" that includes the electric guitar and additional lyrics from "Zangelewa."

Voices

Tsa - mi - na, mi - na eh, eh Wa - ka wa - ka, eh, eh,

Synth

Mbube Topic

Bass
Voices

Tsa - mi - na, mi - na

E. Bass

Triangle
+ Hi-hat

Snare +
Bass Drum

Voices

1. 2.

Tsa - mi - na, mi - na, zan - ge - le - wa, a - na - wa ah, ah. This time for A - fri - ca.

Synth

Mbube Topic

Bass
Voices

Tsa - mi - na, mi - na a - na - wa ah, ah. Humm

E. Bass

Triangle
+ Hi-hat

1. 2.

Snare +
Bass Drum

Voices

Jan - go, — eh, eh Jan - go, — eh, eh,

Guitar

Bass
Voices

— Humm — Humm

E. Bass

Triangle + Hi-hat

Snare + Bass Drum

Detailed description: This system contains the first two measures of the piece. The vocal line is in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "Jan - go, — eh, eh Jan - go, — eh, eh,". The guitar part is in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp, playing a rhythmic accompaniment. The bass line is in a bass clef with a key signature of one sharp, featuring a melodic line and a "Humm" section. The percussion parts include Triangle + Hi-hat and Snare + Bass Drum, both showing rhythmic patterns with 'x' marks for notes.

Voices

Tsa - mi - na, — mi - na, zan - ge - le - wa, a - na - wa ah, ah.

Guitar

Bass
Voices

— Humm — Humm

E. Bass

Triangle + Hi-hat

Snare + Bass Drum

Detailed description: This system contains the next two measures. The vocal line continues with the lyrics "Tsa - mi - na, — mi - na, zan - ge - le - wa, a - na - wa ah, ah." The instrumental parts (guitar, bass, and percussion) continue with their respective rhythmic and melodic patterns. The bass line includes another "Humm" section. The percussion parts maintain their rhythmic accompaniment.

The image displays a musical score for the chorus of "Waka Waka (This time for Africa)". It is organized into two systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal line with the lyrics "Jan - go, eh, eh Jan - go, eh, eh", a guitar line, a bass voice line with "Hummm", and an E. Bass line. The second system includes a vocal line with the lyrics "Tsa - mi - na, mi - na, zan - ge - le - wa, a - na - wa ah, ah.", a guitar line, a bass voice line with "Hummm", and an E. Bass line. Both systems also feature a percussion section with Triangle + Hi-hat and Snare + Bass Drum. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C).

Figure 5.23) Chorus from “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (2:30-3:00).

At the end of the phrase, the groove drops out again for the final six measures of the song. In the outgoing transitional material, transcribed in figure 5.24, Shakira says, “We are all Africa” which a chorus responds to in *Xhosa*. This is accompanied by the bass drum beat and patterns on the electric guitar. The mbube topic in the bass voices and electric bass continues to be prominent in the final measures before the song fades out.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the song "Waka Waka (This time for Africa)". Each system includes six staves:

- Voices:** The top staff in each system, featuring the vocal melody with lyrics "This time for A - fri - ca".
- Guitar:** The second staff, showing a rhythmic guitar accompaniment.
- Bass Voices:** The third staff, containing vocalizations such as "...mm" and "Humm".
- E. Bass:** The fourth staff, representing the electric bass line.
- Triangle + Hi-hat:** The fifth staff, depicting the rhythmic patterns for these percussion instruments.
- Snare + Bass Drum:** The bottom staff, showing the drum patterns for snare and bass drum.

A bracket on the left side of each system groups the Bass Voices, E. Bass, Triangle + Hi-hat, and Snare + Bass Drum staves under the label "Mbube Topic".

Figure 5.24) Outgoing material for “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)” (3:00-3:07).

To summarize, “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)” relies on three forms of the mbube topic to evoke a sonic sense of Africa. I have included additional examples to provide a visual representation of what is happening musically besides the mbube topic. “Waka Waka” samples Golden Sounds’ “Zangelewa” in the introduction of the song (figure 5.16) in addition to using the melody from a section of “Zangelewa” as the chorus (figure 5.14). In the first verse (figures 5.18-5.20), percussive lines are layered into the accompaniment in a way that could signal African or African-diasporic rhythmic traits and aesthetics. The instrumental with the electric guitar solo (figure 5.21) shows how African popular music characteristics are folded into the sonic bricolage of “Waka Waka” in tandem with the mbube topic in electric bass and bass vocals.

The two-part bridge juxtaposes the contributions of South African band Freshly Ground with the sounds of a fantasized Africa. In the second half of the bridge, the mbube topic in bass vocals is the featured musical event. However, this occurs in the musical context of an Othered Africa created by the use of the heavily echoed chants on vocables, the pulsing synthesizer that has the effect of tunneling all sounds that are not the mbube topic, and the throbbing of the four-on-the-floor bass drum rhythm (figure 5.22). The final repetition of the chorus, which I have transcribed in full, leading to the outgoing material demonstrates how all these elements come together for the grand finale of the song (figure 5.23). At this moment the many elements that signal Africa in “Waka Waka” come together: the chorus in a mix of Cameroonian and pidgin languages, the interlocking percussion parts, all three versions of the mbube topic—swooping electric bass, sung words in bass vocals, and swooping on “hummm” in bass vocals—the bright timbre of the electric guitar, and the lyrics that insist that it is “This Time for Africa.” As figure

5.24 shows, the mbube topic in the bass voices and electric bass are prominent into the final moments of the song.

“Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)” was the best-selling World Cup song to date, selling over four million copies and reaching more than one billion views on YouTube by 2016 (Cobo 2016). Like “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix),” the worldwide dissemination and consumption of “Waka Waka” reinforced the indexical relationship between the sound of the mbube topic and a sense of Africa, particularly within an event that is couched in the celebratory rhetoric of post-apartheid South Africa joining the modern world, a coming of age for the African continent. Within an event that claims to celebrate Africa, the presence of the mbube topic in the promotional music for the World Cup serves to reproduce assumptions about what African music sounds like, and in turn, reifies Othering tropes about African music, culture, and society.

Conclusion

In this chapter I departed from examples of Afropolitan representations of Africa to highlight how the 2010 World Cup in South Africa missed an opportunity to represent contemporary Africa in constructive ways. I did so by I applying topic theory from musicology to follow the emergence of a the mbube topic from the South African genre isicathamiya to its entrance into popular culture in the United States where it has become associated with a conventional meaning of Africanness through the music of Paul Simon and the Disney animated film *The Lion King*. Through analysis of the mbube topic in the 2010 World Cup songs “Wavin’ Flag (Celebration Mix)” performed by K’Naan and “Waka Waka (This time for Africa)”

performed by Shakira and Freshly Ground I argued that the mbube topic was intentionally embedded into this music to evoke a sense of the entirety of Africa.

Topic theory provides a useful vocabulary for addressing how a simple musical motif can be extracted from its original context and assigned a new meaning. My analysis of the mbube topic presented one way of addressing sonic representations of Africa that are based in the fantasy of the otherness of African cultural production and a lack of recognition of the complexities of representing contemporary African music. I hope to have demonstrated the value of topic theory for musical analysis by scholars who study popular music. Topic theory provides a vocabulary for scholars of study popular music to identify the musical signs that reach a certain level of convention in meaning and are used intentionally by music creators to create certain effects, as I have shown through my discussion of the mbube topic. Armed with this vocabulary, we as music scholars can analyze how even simple sounds can impact perceptions of an entire continent within a society that has the tools to decode these sign. Topic theory is an analytical tool that will prove useful as technologies facilitate rapid exchange and consumption of music across the globe.

Epilogue

In this dissertation I have investigated different representations of contemporary Africa through performances at music festivals, concerts series, nightclubs, temporary art installations, permanent museum exhibits, music videos, promotional materials, and a musical sign. In each chapter I examined how representations of Africa and Africans were created, reinforced, subverted, or circulated. Taken together the arguments of these chapters demonstrate that representation of Africa today is complex and that Afropolitanism, a contemporary configuration of the world-in-movement phenomenon, is a way to approach these representations in way that recognizes complexities.

I continue to find Afropolitanism to be a compelling approach to account for the multiple subject positions of producers and consumers of African popular culture and the global settings within which these products exist. Afropolitanism facilitates the breaking down of the binaries that frame much postcolonial scholarship on African musics, a binary that I have attempted to complicate here. This is of increasing importance as the boundaries between Europe, North America, and Africa begin to blur as African immigrants and their nonimmigrant children, move and settle into cosmopolitan cities in the northern hemisphere.

The repercussions of the changing demographics of major cosmopolitan cities such as Paris and Montreal are currently a critical issue. Many newsworthy events have occurred since I began drafting this dissertation that highlight the anxieties around the changing face of Western nations, particularly in Paris. For example, just months after I left the field Paris experienced the first attack in a wave of homegrown terrorist activity. The result is that France is more distrustful of its minority populations, especially those who are Muslim.

Thinking critically about representations of contemporary Africa in the ways that I have detailed matters now more than ever. Representations can positively and negatively affect access that African immigrants have to the societies within which they live. I have suggested that when African artists are given a space for self-representation, that these spaces are often bound spatially and temporally and thus celebrate African contributions in a way that is not seen as a threat to the establishment or status quo. I also see these spaces of self-representation as ones where notions of the idealized versions of future diversity are performed.

This is why I understand the presence of Afropolitan representations to be transformative for both immigrant populations and the members of the majority cultures with which they live side-by-side. The prevalence of Afropolitan representation can humanize African populations portrayed as Others or foreigners. I have suggested that the Musée du Quai Branly and the songs of the 2010 World Cup missed an opportunity to do exactly this. The artists, musicians, and performers that I have highlighted at museums, in coupé-décalé music videos and at Alizé Club, and at the Nuits d'Afrique music festival contribute to the visibility of Afropolitanism, whether they intend to or not, by presenting their own representations of Africa in the specific ways I have detailed my case studies. The exposure of a diversity of subject positions of Africanness available through the visual, sonic, and performed representations of contemporary Africa by different African artists through a variety of media, in effect, demonstrates the value of Afropolitanism as an alternative approach to framing Africa today and representing a global Africa for the future.

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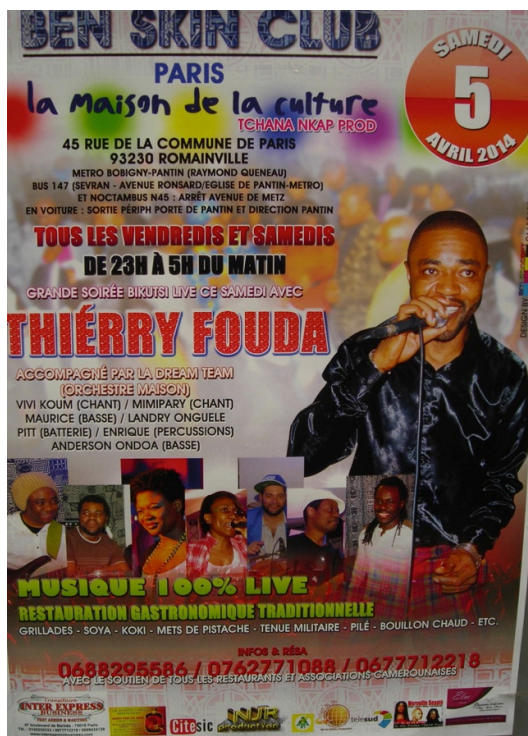
Appendix A

Posters for African Concerts and Nightclubs in Paris

Below is a sampling of the photographs of posters advertising African concerts in Paris and surrounding *banlieue*. All photographs were taken by the author between April and June 2014.



On the left, poster for album release concert for Guinean artist Gbessa Sekou Dioubaté. On the right, poster for concert featuring music from Mande areas of West Africa.



Top left, concert of African Divas, Titi (Senegal), Oumou Sangaré (Mali), Tshala Mwana (DRC), Affou Keita (Côte d'Ivoire), and Adiouza (Senegal). Top right, benefit concert for children of Haute Sanaga region of Cameroon. Bottom left, poster for Cameroonian *bikutsi* artist Thierry Fouda. Bottom right, Poster for Guinean *griot* Djely Kany Fanta Diabaté.

Below are photographs of posters for performances at Alizé Club. Photographs were taken by author between April and June 2014.



Top left, Congolese coupé-décalé artist DJ Marshal. Top right, another ad for DJ Marshal and Ivorian coupé-décalé artists Doliziana Debordo. Bottom left, Ivorian coupé-décalé artists DJ Arafat. Bottom right, Ivorian zouglou artists Dezy Champion and Ivorian coupé-décalé artist DJ Zidane.

Appendix B

Chart of Locations of African Music Venues in Paris

The below chart contains the compiled results of the venue advertisements collected for this dissertation research. The map on page 105 (figure 3.9) is a spatial representation of these venues. The venues are organized from left to right by event or artist name, venue name and metro stop, arrondissement, and date of performance. Note that events that take place at Alizé are shaded in and event that that advertise to African, as compared to world music, audiences are bolded.

EVENT	VENUE	ARROND	DATE
DJ Arafat (CI)	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 4
Djely Kana Fanta Diabaté	72 Blvd Ney, Porte de la Chappelle	18	Apr. 6
DJ Marshal	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 6
Deezy Champion (CI)	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 9
Debordo Leefuka	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 10
Gbessa Sekou Dioubaté (Guinea)	____, Porte de la Chappelle	19	Apr. 12
Divan Airlines (MO DJ-Mali)	Le Divan du Monde, Pigalle	18	Apr. 12
Doliziana Debordo	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 13
Africa Remix (Basokin Ensemble, Africa Shrine/Femi Kuti, Baba Commandant, Debademba, Victor Démé)	Cité de la Musique, Porte de Patin	19	Apr. 15, 17, 23
DJ Zidane	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 16
Mathematik de Petit Pays (Cameroon)	Titan Club, Place de Clichy	18	Apr. 18
DJ Maréshal	L'Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	Apr. 20

Salif Keita	Le Carreau du Temple, Temple/République	3	Apr. 25
Les Divas d’Afrique	Zenith, Porte de Patin	19	Apr. 26
La Nuit du Mandingue	72 Blvd Ney, Porte de la Chappelle	18	May 3
Beureung Beurigo (Senegal)	Zénith, Porte de Patin	19	May 3
Revolution	L’Alizé Club, Cambronne	15	May 8
Dez Altino (Burkina Faso)	Titan Club, Place de Clichy	18	May 16
Souleymane Mbodj	Musée du Quai Branly, Pont de l’Alma	7	May 24
Gladiator	Centre Musical Fleury Goutte d’Or-Barbara, Barbès-Rouchechouart	18	June 13
Festival de l’Imaginaire	Maison des Cultures du Monde, Notre-Dame-des-Champs	6	Mar. 7- June 1
Black Summer Festival	Cabaret Sauvage, Porte-de-Patin/Porte-de-la-Villette	19	July 14- Aug. 2
X Maleya (Cameroon)	L’Olympia, Opera	9	Sep. 14
(World Music and Jazz line up)	New Morning, Château d’eau	10	Ongoing
(Arena Stadium size concerts)	Bercy Arena (Accors Hotel Arena), Bercy	12	Ongoing
African Swagga Theme Night	Magnum Club, Blanche	18	n/a (past)
“Afro” since 1970s	Keur Samba, St. Philip du Roule	8	Nightly
Community Center for Goutte d’Or	Salle Saint Bruno, La Chappelle	18	For rent
Performing arts center	Le Tarmac, Saint-Fargeau	20	Ongoing
Event space/ bar/resto/shop/Radio	Le Comptoir Général	10	Ongoing
Performance schedule	Institut de Monde Arabe	4	Annual 2013-2014