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Title: Space and place in world music production

Abstract

Space and place are central to understanding the conditions of world music production. This article examines how three world-music venues generate particular imaginaries, identities and expectations for those involved: performers, consumers and promoters. These venues form part of a city's nighttime economy and as such they are replete with and reenact the spatial-cultural dymanics of their location. Drawing on interview data and participant observation I show how live performances create new tensions between the global and the local, in part, through spatialized interactions among social actors, representations of world music, and constructions of place and identity through the venues themselves.

Introduction

Place and space are key to understanding the conditions of production of world music and how this music contributes to the shaping of identities. Venues are anything but neutral or even passive spaces where music is simply played and enjoyed. These places are crucial in creating a particular atmosphere aimed at including segments of the population and, consciously or not excluding others. The people who run (and shape) these venues are, accordingly, important gatekeepers and tastemakers in the field of music production and consumption. Venues facilitate the 'consumption of an ideology transmitted through culture' (Miles, 2010, p. 56) Hence, venues matter because they present a more explicit spatiality than cities; in essence they are really local. Venues matter because they are shaped by the political economy of music as a cultural industry (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005; Leyshon et al., 1998; Pratt, 2007). Leyshon et al. (1995, p. 425) argue that space and place should not be thought of as simply 'sites where or about which music happens to be made', but rather as 'different spatialities' that are formative of the 'sounding and resounding of music'. This article focuses on three venues where the materialisation and commodification of world music has occurred and hopes to create a framework for understanding the localised and contested nature of world music production.

Watson et al. (2009, p. 873) argue that urban spaces where live music is performed are crucial to the 'creative processes' because they become (re)constituted through interactions between people and between people and the physical environment. This way of thinking about geography and music is a central category of scholarship where music is considered in the 'social and cultural construction of place, space, and identity.' Such interactions and musical practices help to define the 'particular geographical and material space within the city' (Cohen, 1995, p. 438). These interactions infuse spaces with 'meaning and a sense of identity and place' that not only transform them into sites of music production, but also produce and reify the identities of the people who interact

within the spaces. The venue's location (place) also tells a story about the production going on within it. This article will show how different locations create different production conditions that *require* particular types of world music and artists to represent the music appropriate for the venue. Venues are not arbitrary selections but represent the deliberate efforts of cultural gatekeepers (Bourdieu, 1993) to establish 'rules aimed at maintaining' a particular social vibrancy (Gallan, 2012, p. 44). Such efforts have direct implications on how musicians emphasize and/or (re)construct aspects of their identity in order to be part of this production process.

Scholars (Barrett, 1996; Reily, 1992; Slobin, 1992) have argued that the early success of world music was based on differences situated through discourses of exoticism, discovery, authenticity, othering/difference, and a sense of place. World music, like any other genre, is governed by conventions and forms that provide legitimacy for this cultural product. The tensions between place and space in world music production reproduce and perpetuate these conventions and forms and the implications of this tension for how musicians (and consumers) use these spaces to construct their identities Although difference is still represented in (live) world music, it is being constructed through the tension between place location and the space in which these performances occur in the city. Miles (2010, p. 8) argues that spaces celebrate difference by imposing uniformity.

The term world music is imbued with contested and contradictory meanings, in addition to social and political connotations. Its exact definition is neither clear nor standardized across different markets (Brennan, 2001; Frith, 2000). However, the *implied* meaning of this term is that this music has been 'deterritorialised' (Connell and Gibson, 2004) from its original locations and purposes, usually *outside* of the West (i.e. Europe and North America), and reconstructed with new meanings for new audiences, usually *within* the West. Not only do creating and performing difference occur by and through musicians,

difference is also produced through the work of a web of cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu, 1987). As such, this constellation of actors and the venues they control are central to this discussion. As such, the architecture of world music production, including its location within the city, becomes critically important to the music's continued success.

I studied twelve music venues over the course of two years.. The study was limited to performance of African forms of world music. The particular nights' performances analyzed here were chosen because they typified the experience at each venue. In addition, advertising materials and interview data[1] were analysed using semiotics and narrative analyses. Here I focus on three venues in order to show the diverse narratives produced within them and the repercussions that this process has for the production of space. These small venues run live world music performances year-round and draw crowds of 50 to 200 people. Grazian (2004, p. 39) argues that venues are sought out by consumers as a result of 'internalizing myths that celebrate clubs as bastions of community and solidarity in contrast to the asphalt jungle of the city at large'; particularly as consumers seek alternative forms of entertainment. These venues also highlight the complexity of live performances, which are commodified in ways that draw on interactions between musicians and audiences.

The following section looks at how live world music venues contribute to our understanding of the construction of spaces. Conceptually, it builds on work developed by Cohen (1995) and Valentine (1995), among others. Next is a discussion of the three venues and the themes that are commodified within them: resistance, nostalgia, and peace and reconciliation; followed by a discussion and conclusion.

Small venues—big lessons

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[1] Interviews were conducted with the promoters of two of the three venues. Secondary data was used to understand the vision of the third venue as expressed by the venue's founder. Twelve venues throughout London were analysed through more than 70 visits where participant observation was conducted.

Some currency in world music has necessarily been shifted from artists onto venues in order to compete with other leisure activities, particularly as European or non-African artists increasingly perform this music. van Klyton (2014) argues that the reduction in distance between the spaces of production and consumption necessitates that new forms of symbolic difference, such as venues, play an ever increasing role in this music's authentication. Hence, the spaces themselves create value above the production activity (Ley, 1982, p. 220). Music offers associations of place that serve to cross boundaries and create multiple and overlapping spaces; which are brought to life through performances (Butler, 1999; Thrift, 2006).

London has many small world music venues heavily reliant on informal networks for advertising, such as Facebook. Promoters also rely on advertisement through specialist magazines, fRoots and Songlines, and the more mainstream magazine, Timeout London. Small venues are often themed with particular aesthetics and afford close contact between musicians and the audiences as unique selling points. However, London also hosts many African music clubs, including at least six Ugandan clubs in North London, and several West African clubs in South East London. Club Afrique, in Canning Town, East London, caters to Francophone Africans. These clubs are located in areas that have high concentrations of working class whites and ethnic minorities, specifically Black Africans. By contrast, world music venues are located in areas that are predominantly white and middle-class in Central London neighborhoods such as Notting Hill and Clerkenwell.
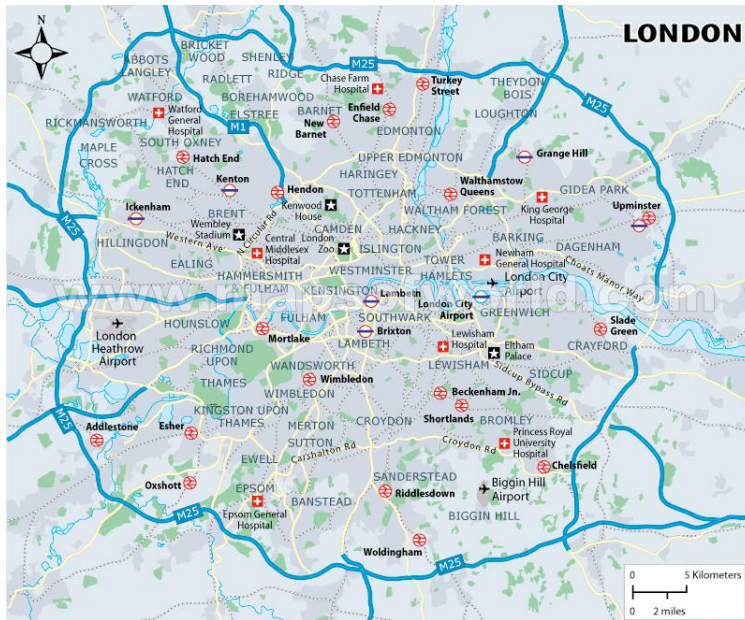
Figure 1: Maps of the Boroughs of London. Most world music venues are located in Camden, Hackney, and Kensington and Chelsea (K&C). Source: www.mapsoftheworld.com. Accessed: June 29, 2011.

With similar cover charges, all venues attempt to showcase some form of deterritorialised music (Connell and Gibson, 2004); however, the key distinction between world music and 'African' music venues appears to be what Troy (1996) calls 'locational disadvantage'; meaning that outlying venues have difficulty in accessing the benefits of a central London location. Mainstream media outlets rarely advertise African clubs, which in itself revalorizes discourses of class, race and identity. In some ways, this is an 'odd' result. Brandellero (2011) points out that 'African' clubs would reflect tastes and preferences strongly linked to diasporic/transnational communities with a particular cultural capital not readily found in world music venues. World music venues offer a contemporary world music; which is marked by 'traditional to hybrid sounds' and 'a quest for the exotic' (Brandellero, 2011, p. 110). These audiences tend to be 'global audiences'; whereas community-based music is performed for audiences that are 'locally-based communities/transnational/diasporic'.

In any case, these spaces draw upon the different cultural systems views of participants to re-produce spaces of oneness, resistance, and/or

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counterculture—in addition to art production and consumption for 'communities of world music enthusiasts' (Frith, 2000). In these ways, small venues are able to continue to operate in London.

Resistance can take many forms, particularly through third space or conceptual spaces (Bhabha, 1990; hooks, 1990; Soja, 1996). Art and music offer particular moments of resistance against the mainstream and Passing Clouds in Dalston, East London offers an interesting place to observe this. The owner, born in Knightsbridge, Central London, lived in the Congo before returning to London. He moved into a bedsit in the gentrifying east London community of Dalston.

The venue website mentions that they hope to bring West End Londoners to East London to experience 'what life was really like'. Furthermore, the owner refused help from his wealthy family and successfully sought a 'sizeable grant' from the very tight budgets of the Arts Council.[2] Passing Clouds promotes itself in the following way:

> Our musicians are a family of revolutionary-minded people that spreads its wings across London as part of a growing movement seeking an alternative to commercially- and individually-minded society that threatens to destroy both us and the planet we live on.[3]

The owner and the venue's discourse of community-building attempts to break down barriers in social class, race, and culture. The venue generates particular counter-hegemonic discourses; however, its bar charges are that of West London clubs. Additionally, the venue proudly sells its home made organic ginger beer, which appeals to the hipster generation that seek out niche commodities and lifestyle choices often in opposition to the overly commercialized West End. This is expressed by the owner, for whom West End

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[2] www.passingclouds.org
[3] www.myspace.com/ passingclouds

symbolizes the establishment, commercialisation, and with that, forms of social exclusion. He positions his club in opposition to these so-called negative qualities. Ironically, without the West End as its Other, the identity of Passing Clouds would diminish

Figure 2: Passing Clouds non-descript door; Source: www.passingclouds.org; Accessed: June 27, 2011

Passing Clouds hosts bands that fulfill its mission; bands that have some connection to African or Afro-Caribbean music. The venue is located in an alleyway facing train tracks and receives no car traffic. Its location, in a not-so-vibrant area of Dalston, is in itself another layer of resistance. It is further differentiated from mainstream entertainment through signifiers of a dangerous, poorly lit, and gritty area; in opposition to the clean, orderly, and middle class leisure consumption symbolized by the West End. It creates exclusivity similar to the West End that it so opposes.
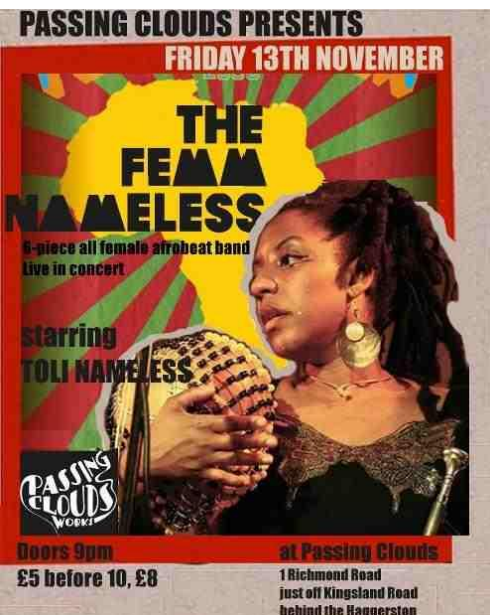
Passing Clouds presents itself as an 'Afrospot' with promotional material that uses the backdrop of the continent of Africa in yellow with red and green stripes emanating from it (Fig. 3). The venue capitalizes on a shabby chic decor; a converted warehouse with bare brick walls and limited seating all emphasize active dance participationg.

On one occasion, an all-female band performed (see figure 2). Most of the audiences were in their 20's, European and British whites with a smattering of non-white and mixed race people. Many wore some type of ethnic clothing-- a purse with south Asian detail or parts of saris. These displays were an active selection that provides the wearer with outward symbols of particular social and cultural knowledge (Dwyer, 1999; Jackson et al., 2007; Khamis, 2010).

Just after midnight, the performers appeared: three black women singers, including the lead singer: a woman from New York called Toli Nameless; a Latin woman playing the Conga drums and two white women. The three black women wore make-up of African-inspired masks, while the non-black women did not wear any unusual outfits or make-up. The first song was an Afro-rock rendition of Eddy Grant's Electric Avenue; the hit song from 1983, around the time of the Brixton riots, describes the poverty, crime, and violence faced by Jamaican immigrants and their descendants in South London.

Music can create activist spaces that contain multiple layers of resistance that entails a 'local/global dialectic…where music challenges and contests power and the (re)colonization of space by the process of capitalism' (Jackiewisz and Craine, 2009, p. 70). Therefore, the song choice could be understood as a New York black woman of Jamaican descent wearing make-up representative of traditional African tribal markings performing a song that originated in London and describes the plight of Afro-Caribbeans living in poverty in Brixton. A discourse produced alongside £5 gin and tonics and organic ginger beer. There is an affective link between 'contemporary music practices and musical heritage' that are seen to 'render this contemporary activity appropriate within a given context' (Straw, 1991, p. 373). Shank (1994, p. 125) observed music scenes where audience and musicians participate in a 'nonverbal dialogue about the significance of the music and the construction of their selves.' His analysis does not include spaces of consumption directly. However, the integration of self with musical performance and the environment in which it is consumed was very much integral to the experience in Dalston.

The musicians offered up politically-themed songs combined with West African dance movements. We jumped when cued and rocked to and fro in synch with the rhythms. Undoubtedly, many fans attending the performance that evening were drawn to the venue because of its ability and commitment to create 'spaces

of activism' (Jackiewisz and Craine, 2009, p. 67). The combination of the performances, venue, and aesthetics created a multi-scalar of resistance to various social and commercial forces.

Clerkenwell gentrified many years before nearby Dalston. The former working class neighbourhood could be described as a City fringe; a 'transitional zone where micro and small enterprises can take advantage of the value of centrality without traditionally high city centre rents' (Banks et al., 2000, p. 455; also Keddie and Tonkiss, 2010). Its transformation represents a 're-organisation of urban space to meet changing market demands and ascendant forms of intermediate services production' (Hutton, 2004, p. 95). The area's location also symbolizes

Figure 4: The basement lounge of Darbucka; Source: www.darbucka.com; Accessed: June 29, 2011.

broader processes of changes in the economic and social fabric of the inner city. Both neighbourhoods are constituted by a new urban middle class, which Zukin (2010) argues the results in consumption that has both economic and social implications. Clerkenwell's high-end restaurants and real estate are 'interrupted' by a small world music venue that draws on narratives of nostalgia for a particular type of consumer.
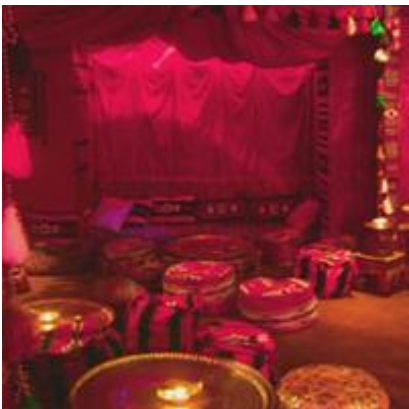

Figure 5: Darbucka Lounge. www.darbucka.com; Accessed: June 29, 2011.

The Darbucka World Music Lounge is in a prominent location on the corner of St. John's Street in the basement of a well-regarded Lebanese restaurant. The venue ran a world music series from 2004 until 2012. Its location seemed almost coincidental rather than politically determined as in the case of the Passing Clouds. The lounge is described as a Bedouin basement bar (www.darbucka.com) and reproduces a Bedouin space through aesthetics: the small space, low seating arrangements and rich middle eastern colours of the décor work to produce a cosy, intimate space (see Figs 4 and 5).

Connell and Gibson (2004) discuss the complications involved in maintaining balance between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' in world music. They argue

Accessed: January 24, 2011.

that some music that is re-invented and marketed as traditional may in fact be entirely contemporary in authorship. The difference might be found in how believability gets generated. To illustrate this, let us examine the annual World Music CD launch held there in July 2009. The performance space and its effect on an invitation-only audience of world music cultural intermediaries say much about

how nostalgia can be commodified as part of some world music products.

Figure 7: The leader, Hukwe Zawose, of the Zawose family band. Source: http://www.bbc.co.uk/africabeyond/africao nyourstreet/features/19488.shtml; Accessed: September 14, 2010.

The performance was given by the Zawose family, traditional performers from Tanzania. Since the 1970s, this group has been a world music fixture. They played instruments and wore the feather headdresses and outfits of traditional tribes – or at least their performance evoked an imagined tribal community. The

performance was highly physical and involved synchronized dance moves. In their twenty minute performance, the Zawose family transformed Darbucka from a fictional (North African) Bedouin space to fictional pre-modern, tribal Africa. The Zawose family performance is illustrative of how entertainment becomes embroiled in colonial legacies, and in this instance in the re-enactment of colonial understandings of African histories and cultures. The Zawose are an example of what Said (1978) called orientalism, the practice of creating particular ideologies of non-Western cultures for the titillation of predominantly Western, or in this case cosmopolitan, audiences.

Following Said (1978), postcolonial cultural theorists, Hutnyk (2004), Connell and Gibson (1998), and Pacini-Hernandez (1998) point out that world music is acceptable to Western audiences as long as it continues to have a sufficient geographic distance between the source and listeners. Hence, cross-fertilization of the theme (North African), the music and performance (colonial Tanzania) would be acceptable for European and British audiences. Furthermore, purity and authenticity, so valued in earlier discourses of world music (Barrett, 1996), are in themselves shown to be a fabrication and almost coincidental to this space-place dialectic. Hence, it is entirely 'believable' that tribal Tanzanian singers would perform in a Bedouin tent!

In this context, strategic inauthenticity was created by the space and then reconstructed by the performance. 'Strategic inauthenticity' is described as the 'constant pressure from westerners' for this music and its musicians to remain 'premodern or culturally natural' because of 'racism and western demands for authenticity' (Taylor, 2004, p. 126). Furthermore, world music artists, Youssou N'Dour and Angelique Kidjo, asserted that African music and its narratives were constructed by the West to remain pre-modern or modern, while 'the rest of the globe moves further toward a postindustrial, late capitalist, postmodern culture' (Taylor, 2004). The space itself is also producing strategic inauthenticity. Although Clerkenwell is a neighborhood that is constantly transforming and is 'multidimensional' where a variety of ideas blend and clash (Butler and Lees, 2006), most performances observed at Darbucka did not reflect rapid changes occurring in the neighbourhood. Instead, the space and the performances create a contrast not only to Clerkenwell's urban renewal experience but also to the world music industry by remaining suspended with artificial narratives that harken an era long gone.

PEACE AND RECONCILIATION AND THE CHURCH ON BISHOPSGATE ROAD

The history of St. Ethelburga's Church contributes to its discourse of peace and reconciliation. It also offers opportunities of resistance but in ways that are strikingly different from Passing Clouds. The church was bombed by the Irish Republic Army in 1989 but was reconstructed as the 'Centre of Reconciliation'. This venue holds about 50 people and lies in the heart of the Liverpool Street commercial district at 78 Bishopsgate Road in the City of London. The surrounding tall, modern, commercial buildings dwarf the church. Perceptions of oneness and peace contribute to reshaping this former church into a space of music production, reinterpreting the church space *and* its history.

It moves participants beyond the past inequalities that prompted the bombings to new global inequalities between a global North, symbolized by the commercialism of the area, and the Global South, embodied in the musical performances. Most of venue's performances are with musicians who are non-British and non-European with occasional collaborations with English musicians. The associate director of its world music series mentioned that performances are chosen based on their ability to offer 'solace from any number of social ills' (interview transcripts).

On a night in September 2009, the venue hosted a band called the Adriano Adewale Group. The performance was promoted as a 'fusion of musical traditions of Nigeria, Angola, and Brazil, infused with contemporary European classical and jazz styles' (promotion literature). The venue is reminiscent of a Baroque concert setting. Hence, the space between the stage and the audience is quite narrow inhibiting the audience from dancing. The venue felt more like a theatre, which distinguished it from the other two sites. The auditorium-styled

seating also obliged the audience to fix attention on the performance and discouraged side conversations.

The cover charge was £12; more than twice the price of the other venues. Homemade fusion South Asian rice concoctions with stew were available for £5 and wine or beer at £2.50. As the first performance of the series, the director gave a brief introduction including an overview of the season and a general progress report of their efforts to put on 'high quality' performances. The band then entered the small auditorium to the distilled applause of the 50-member strong audience.

The four-member band was composed of two black Africans and two non-Africans. The Africans were Senegalese and Nigerian, both dressed in traditional West African attire. The other two members were 'white': an Australian and a Brazilian. They were dressed in modern clothing and played multiple Western instruments, such as the saxophone, flute, and the double bass. The promotional brochure described the performance as 'rooted in the musical traditions of Nigeria, Angola, and Brazil and infused with contemporary European classical and jazz styles.' The choice of outfits reinforced this expectation. The first set was experimental, incorporating traditional instruments and vocals that invoked a combination of a Phillip Glass piece and the African-American performer, Bobby McFerrin.

The second set started with an interpretation of the lullaby, 'Rock-a-bye Baby'. At first the audience hummed along and then sang the lyrics at the encouragement of the Nigerian lead singer who contorted and twisted in the small spaces between the stage and audience. Barefoot, with his hair in dreadlocks, he used small bells and other instruments to add a distinctive flavour to the melody. The audience was encouraged to clap and move, even in their seats. The response went from lukewarm to sluggish. At such point the director slipped out of the room and returned standing at the back with a silver painted

'thumbs down' sign attached to a stick. The singer immediately but smoothly joined the other musicians onstage and returned to a more hands-off performance reminiscent of the first set.

A few reasons might explain the director's actions. The industry is not financially lucrative and venues often struggle to maintain a consistent customer base. Hence, performance errors such as artists not connecting with audiences are highly risky. Promoters must ensure the scope of world music offered meets expectations, exemplifying what Gallon (2012, p. 39) terms as gatekeepers occupying an 'authoritative position between the production and consumption spheres'. The director noted:

> Music for me has to touch me inside. Move me, lift me, and soothe me… we offer a unique space for musicians and audience alike to connect and understand how close we really are. A common link through rhythm, string and silence…

However, the Nigerian musician's attempts to incorporate what he interpreted as a 'common link' with the audience were not well received by the audience and rejected by the director.

When asked about the audience demographic, he commented:

> They are mostly Western, meaning white. With some exceptions, for example, if an Iranian or Afghan musician is performing then we will get some members of the audience from those places; however, the core audiences are British white.

He continues:

> I am very easy in how I run the event. I am easy with the artists and audiences; however, I seek artists [whose music is] slightly mellow because it matches the church [aesthetics].

He further argues that the music and performances should allow each audience member to get in touch with themselves and to encourage people to overcome their fears (without indicating *what* people were supposedly afraid of; however, this seemed irrelevant to his case). He looks for performances that are 'fluid and

expand people's ideas' and wants people to leave the venue to be better able to embrace 'this world that we are living in'. This underscores Connell and Gibson (2003, p. 195) suggestion that music 'shapes spaces and spaces shape music.' In fact, a reciprocal relationship interweaves and connects the performers, audience, and the venue. This venue gives a particular feeling of peace and comfort; and, the carefully selected performances reinforce or affirm the collaboration of music and space (Connell and Gibson, 2003, p. 192). Hence, music becomes part of the space and *must meld* accordingly into its architecture and ambiance. The venue has a bearing on which forms of world music are performed within it and which types of world music attendees will participate.

This example also shows the ways in which identities can be manipulated for commercial purposes; in particular, how both white and black musicians feel obliged by the space and audience expectations within it to perform particular narratives connected to their perceived ethnic origins. Nevertheless, the roles and identities of the Australian and white Brazilian appeared almost tangential, if not suppressed altogether by dominant African themes. Yet, their presence and jazz contributions to the performance were sufficient enough to create the kind of 'chill effect' that the director wishes to promote.

Discussion

The three venues discussed here illustrate how space in world music performance has been commodified in opposition to place; meaning that the locations of world music venues create tensions with prevailing discourses of capitalism (Bishops Gate), ultra-modernity (Clerkenwell) and uncontrollable gentrification (Dalston). This dialectic of space and place offers commercial value because it produces an authenticity, not so much in the music, but within the consumer because he or she is seduced into eschewing the associated discourses of these locations. Attending an African club outside of Central London would not necessarily provide this experience.

World music spaces are 'fabricating and maintaining' a perceived authenticity that is commodifiable precisely because it contradicts the place the venue inhabits. Hence, as Hughes (2000, p. 191) argues, the 'moral demand' for authenticity is not found within the relationship between the fans and the performers, but through the 'nature of the impressions created and managed in performance and promotion'. I extend this argument to include the dynamics of the production of space and its impressions. In other words, the spaces themselves help to create and manage the reconstruction of world music that has very little to do with the original sources of production. Rather, these spaces serve as sites of contradistinction to the discourses of the places that surround them.

The situatedness of world music clubs facilitates their being 'picked up' within a postmodern, neoliberal, cosmopolitan discourse. Mullins et al (1999, p. 47) argue that consumption spaces such as these are very much part of a 'postindustrial-postmodern city.' By their very positionality within the London, these spaces create opportunities for a 'sanitised rebellion' in contradistinction to the so-called African music clubs located in poorer areas of the city. These three venues, with their inexpensive cover charges, serve as opportunities to oppose the capitalist 'success stories' of their locations. These opportunities are seized upon by producers, creators and audiences in their efforts to 'manipulate conventions' that, by their location, ironically excludes the very people, i.e. diasporas communities (Brandellero, 2011), from which the music originates.

In conclusion, these venues provide a broad range of world music experiences at the local level. The spatial experiences of these venues differ from each other and contribute insights into the production of place and space. The physical arrangement of space, location in the city, and their aesthetics all represent new discourses of differences for live world music consumption.

This study showed how different spaces were created from a similar source and how its representation could be manipulated in order to meet particular consumer expectations. It is not only contributing toward the city's cultural economy as a new type of economic agent (Amin and Thrift, 2007), but these venues were also reclaimed and reconstructed as cultural assets to the city (Seman, 2010). These spaces create particular forms of social agency for its participants taking on different ideological constructions that were then commercialized in different ways. The venues are marketed as a product that is in some sense dislocated from the music itself, adding a layer of value to a highly-competitive, niche market. Venues tap into consumers' particular desires and position themselves as focal points for particular kinds of consumption. Venue locations are in trendy, gentrified areas that in one way or another support the very ideas of exclusion, which promoters opposed.

Each place could be evaluated on its own, as they each privilege different components of the concept behind world music. This is achieved through commodification processes of particular combinations of ideas, aesthetics, and music. In a city such as London, the global and the local are already greatly interwoven. These live performances create new tensions between this dynamic, in part, through the interactions among social actors, representations of world music, and constructions of place and identity through the venues themselves.

Massey (1996, p. 173) calls for an examination of 'the different sets of relations to place and the power relations which construct social space'. The dynamics that occur during live world music performances differentiate it from, say, listening to a CD. Specifically, themes are infused with life and work to create space in different ways for each venue that showed a different kind of transformation highlighting various ideological aspects surrounding world music. Whether venues are presented as spaces of activism, peace, or otherwise, they provide an outlet for musicians and audiences alike to shape their identities in various ways. They also work to revitalize and reproduce various forms of

marginality that exist within the city. As opposed to commodifying differences as previous research suggests, these spaces work to commodify ideas about how we live our everyday lives and values that we place upon ourselves.

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