Popular Music and Public Diplomacy

An Introduction

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Every year since 30 April 2013, the official date of UNESCO's International Jazz Day, the event's so-called global concert has ended with a jam. After about two hours of live performances by individual artists, all of the musicians involved in the event share the stage for a ritualistic, final performance of John Lennon's "Imagine." The global concert's version of this song builds on Herbie Hancock's 2010 adaptation on his record *The Imagine Project*. While some musicians keep playing throughout the performance of "Imagine," others sing individual fragments of the piece. Some instrumentalists are assigned short sections for solos, while others provide backings toward the end of the performance. "Imagine" ends on a scat riff, which is again based on Hancock's earlier version. Sung by several musicians on the syllables "ba" and "dap," the final unisono motif draws on the shared practice of imitating musical instruments, reaffirming the event's central rhetoric that frames jazz as a "universal language." Launched in 2011, Jazz Day officially celebrates the "diplomatic role" of jazz in uniting people around the world ("About"). It has been hosted by the US (2012 and 2016), Turkey (2013), Japan (2014), France (2015), Cuba (2017), and Russia (2018). The 2019 event will take place in Australia. Barack Obama hosted Jazz Day at the White House in 2016 while the Russian Ministry of Culture supported the global concert in 2018 when it took place at the Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg, Vladimir Putin's home town. In addition to this involvement of several national governments, International Jazz Day has been funded by large corporations such as United Airlines and Toyota.

That an event such as Jazz Day has become significant for some of the best-known jazz musicians as well as for state leaders, large corporations, and audiences testifies to the significance of this volume on the interaction between popular music and public diplomacy. Undoubtedly, jazz and its mediations hold

significant cultural capital both for governments and corporations. Over the last two decades, questions concerning this political significance of music in international relations have been raised in different disciplines. Political scientists and historians, such as Andrew F. Cooper, Lisa Davenport, Penny von Eschen, Jessica Gienow-Hecht, Simo Mikkonen, Frédéric Ramèl, among others, have tended to emphasize the significance of different types of cultural practices, including music, in international relations by looking at the manifold ways in which these practices and their mediations contribute to public diplomacy and become politically effective (Eschen; Gienow-Hecht, *Sound Diplomacy*; Davenport; Cooper; Ramel and Prévost-Thomas; Mikkonen and Suutari).

At the same time, musicologists, literary scholars, art historians, and other academics interested in the study of cultures have begun to inquire about the ways in which the diplomatic politicization of music and musicians reverberates in the cultural sphere (see Fosler-Lussier, *Music;* Ahrendt, Ferraguto, and Mahiet; Bauer; Street; Kemper et al.). The politicization of music can have a great array of resonances and repercussions, ranging from the marketing of musicians to the branding of genres and the transformation of musical practices and aesthetics. Integrating perspectives from history, political science, but also musicology and popular music studies, the present volume therefore understands the relationship between popular music and diplomacy as multidirectional rather than unidirectional or reciprocal, raising questions that are relevant for cultural, musical, social, economic, and political developments in a globalized world.

POPULAR MUSIC AND MUSIC DIPLOMACY RESEARCH

This book illuminates the interconnectivity of popular music and public diplomacy from transnational and transdisciplinary perspectives. Fourteen scholars with diverse national and disciplinary backgrounds provide individual chapters, guaranteeing a wide range of perspectives on the topic. Except for the first chapter, which provides the historical background to the topic, the chapters assembled in this volume take a focused look at one specific aspect and time period in music diplomacy. By concentrating on popular music after World War II, they provide additions and amendments to individual debates on music diplomacy. The book's narrow focus regarding time period and musical practices, then, facilitates an otherwise vast approach to the topic.

The authors' focus on *popular* music rather than music per se results from several considerations. First, popular music has tended to be sidelined in the study of music diplomacy, as initial studies of the role of the arts in propaganda

focused mostly on European concert music. Only recently have researchers begun to dedicate more attention to diplomatic practices that include popular music. The work of Penny von Eschen on the US jazz ambassadors programs may be regarded as a door opener for studies exploring musical practices and genres beyond the canon of European art music that have emerged over the last fifteen years (Eschen). This anthology contributes to closing this gap in music diplomacy research.

Second, the inclusion of popular practices and genres in public diplomacy is closely associated with questions of cultural representation, participation, and power. Looking at processes by which different musical practices have been included and excluded in public diplomacy raises questions about larger phenomena, such as social, cultural, and political participation. Music diplomacy has a unique power to reaffirm, maintain, and intervene in what Stuart Hall calls "regimes of representation" (232). One example of exclusion in music diplomacy is the negligence of popular music in music diplomacy programs of the 1950s, for instance, when the period's most successful music, rock 'n' roll, played only a marginal role in official music diplomacy programs. While the diplomatic use of popular music was initially limited to such "semi-popular"[1] practices as jazz, the second half of the twentieth century saw a growing presence of various popular genres in diplomatic contexts, including country, bluegrass, rock, punk, reggae, and hip-hop. Two events indicate how understandings of national representation and popular culture were changing fundamentally in the 1950s: Dizzy Gillespie's 1956 tour to the Middle East, Turkey and the Balkans on behalf of the US State Department; and the launching of the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) in the same year. As Dean Vuletic details, the ESC has redefined what popular culture means for the forging of European identities (Vuletic; see Vuletic in this volume). In a way, both events fundamentally questioned the politics of representation in music diplomacy, suggesting a more participatory and democratic practice of musical representation.

Third, the reliance on political archives in the field of public and cultural diplomacy entails a tendency to de-emphasize the perspectives of audiences—the ostensible recipients of public diplomacy—and musicians while overemphasizing the views of government officials. This tendency has been critically interrogated by ethnographic studies that have emerged over the last ten years (see

1 According to Danielle Fosler-Lussier, the term "semi-popular music" was actually employed by United States Information Agency (USIA) officials who defined it as "music that 'has achieved a degree of permanence,' including band and glee club music" ("'The State's Canon'").

Aidi; Bayles; Fosler-Lussier, "Cultural Diplomacy"; Salois). Despite these efforts, the inclusion of audiences' perspectives in public diplomacy research remains one of the great challenges within the field. By focusing on popular music and popularization processes, this volume seeks to decenter exclusively government-oriented perspectives. The participatory orientation of popular music and popular culture in general encourages academics to ask questions about reception processes and the manifold cultural repercussions of music diplomacy rather than reducing the field to the study of cultural policies.

The inclusion of popular music is thus more than a question of genre. In fact, attempts to define popular music as a genre have failed repeatedly (Shuker). Within the framework of this book, the "popular" in popular music is less about the nature or essence of music than about the particular ways in which music is practiced and mediated. Consequently, this volume is concerned with ways in which music can help—and, indeed, has helped—to *popularize* by rendering complex messages accessible, appealing, and enjoyable. In the case of Jazz Day, for instance, the shared participatory performance of an extraordinarily popular song such as "Imagine" can make jazz accessible to audiences beyond jazz's otherwise limited circles of devoted listeners. It is this interest in popularization, then, that ties together highly diverse kinds of music, ranging from the Hungarian light popular music discussed by Ádám Ignácz to the Turkish pop music investigated by Nevin Şahin and the US hip-hop performances analyzed by Kendra Salois in this volume. This use of music in order to popularize always works both ways: If music diplomacy musicalizes the political, it also politicizes the musical. The use of popular music practices in public diplomacy, consequently, impacts popular music and the understanding of cultural frames as much as it shapes diplomatic practices. If diplomacy has to do with branding and re-branding (Dinnie), then this re-branding affects musical brands as well as national and corporate ones.

In addition to being culturally powerful, music diplomacy is never dissociated from the social world. Popular music diplomacy, from its beginnings, has been about social as well as cultural participation. The first US jazz diplomacy tours occurred in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, and the representation of the US by African American jazz ambassadors cannot be separated from the movement's call for equal civil rights and social justice (Eschen; Monson). This underlying presence of a larger social reality within music diplomacy is obvious at Jazz Day, too. When he hosted the event at the White House in 2016, Barack Obama drew on the historical association of jazz diplomacy with the Civil Rights Movement. In 2016, Jazz Day's global concert at the White House framed jazz as an African American cultural and artistic contribution to the

world's cultural heritage. If African American music was a "gift" to the United States, as the sociologist and civil rights activist W. E. B. DuBois claimed in 1903, then this gift could be used in order to demand social equality (see Radano). In this way, an event such as Jazz Day not only functions in an international arena, but it also negotiates the social and cultural position of social groups within a respective society. As the contributions to this volume by Nevin Şahin, Gesa zur Nieden, and Kendra Salois demonstrate, contemporary musical ambassadors likewise use popular music in various countries in order to draw attention to similar questions regarding the participation of minorities in the representation of culture.

POPULAR MUSIC AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE

As the range of musical practices included in music diplomacy has expanded, so has the understanding of the practice of diplomacy itself. Over the last fifteen years a number of studies have dealt with various sorts of cultural practices and their diplomatic significance. Researchers have begun to consider the role not only of popular musical practices in public diplomacy, but they have also looked at the ways in which larger popular phenomena impact diplomatic practices. Cooper's studies of celebrity diplomacy, for instance, investigate the symbiosis between popular icons and diplomatic activities, ranging from Audrey Hepburn to Bob Geldof and Bono (Cooper). Other studies have investigated the roles and experiences of non-professional musicians and their musical practices in music diplomacy programs (Fosler-Lussier, "Cultural Diplomacy").

At the same time, the understanding of what constitutes diplomacy has changed. International Jazz Day, in fact, exemplifies this. Although it is a UNESCO event, Jazz Day is organized by a US institution: the Thelonious Monk Institute of Jazz. A nonprofit organization based in Washington, DC and Los Angeles, the Monk Institute had already been involved in US jazz diplomacy initiatives before becoming the chief organizer of Jazz Day. In the 2000s, the US State Department directly funded the institute in order to launch several international jazz diplomacy programs. As von Eschen, Davenport, Fosler-Lussier, and others have demonstrated, the practice of US jazz diplomacy goes back to the 1950s, and is intimately interwoven with the history of the Cold War, or the cultural Cold War (Mikkonen and Suutari; Gienow-Hecht, "Culture"). As tensions between East and West were increasing in the 1950s, the US State Department sent jazz ambassadors abroad in order to gain the goodwill of foreign populaces. Many of the most famous US jazz musicians participated in

these programs. From a US-government perspective, Jazz Day is an attempt to build on the success of these tours.

While the US State Department used to directly fund the Monk Institute to conduct jazz diplomacy programs, private donors have taken on the role in recent years that used to belong to the US government. One of the institute's main sponsors, for instance, is the military contractor Northrop Grumman. Although it is a private corporation, Northrop Grumman is closely tied to the US administration as the company derives more than 83 percent of its business from contracts with the government alone (Dunkel). While Northrop Grumman is interested in creating goodwill with the US government, the government, in turn, has an interest in promoting US culture throughout the world. Even though the multiplicity of stakeholders at work here obscures political and corporate investments in the event, Jazz Day still functions in a way that is not entirely dissimilar to jazz diplomacy programs of the 1950s, promoting African American music in order to ameliorate the global image of the US.

This complex structural set-up of Jazz Day has to do with one of the major changes in the development of music diplomacy in the twenty-first century: It has become increasingly difficult to identify the actors who are invested in diplomatic initiatives. Funding is distributed in ways that are highly elusive. If US jazz diplomacy during the Cold War was clearly framed as a US initiative, organized by the US State Department, stakeholders are now much less transparent. One of the key concepts for understanding this shift in music diplomacy is the "new public diplomacy" as political scientist Jan Melissen described it in 2005:

> The new public diplomacy is no longer confined to messaging, promotion campaigns, or even direct governmental contacts with foreign publics serving foreign policy purposes. It is also about building relationships with civil society actors in other countries and about facilitating networks between non-governmental parties at home and abroad. Tomorrow's diplomats will become increasingly familiar with this kind of work, and in order to do it much better they will increasingly have to piggyback on non-governmental initiatives, collaborate with non-official agents and benefit from local expertise inside and outside the embassy. (*New Public Diplomacy* 22)

This expansive definition of public diplomacy entails a stronger focus on the ways in which cultural and artistic practices function within international relations, including their use by non-government organizations. In the context of this volume, it has the advantage of allowing us to raise questions that concern the

complex interplay of politics, culture, media, commerce, and music in diplomatic practices.

Melissen further argued that this type of public diplomacy had become globally dominant:

> Public diplomacy is becoming less national, not only in terms of the actors involved but even when considering the themes that states pick to tell 'their story.' National governments always have their own interests in mind but, when practicing public diplomacy, they increasingly emphasize common interests as well as global public goods. (*Beyond* 21)

It seems that the resurgence of nationalism and the emergence of such terms as "Twitter diplomacy," "undiplomatic diplomacy," and "me-first diplomacy" since 2016 once again provide challenges to understanding how diplomatic practices are transforming. With its focus on polylateralism and non-government actors, however, the concept of a new public diplomacy remains significant as an analytical approach, as it accounts for the continuing multidimensional complexity of diplomacy.

As the exercise of power through digital and algorithmic diplomacy is becoming increasingly significant (Melissen, "Fake News"), this recent shift also affects music diplomacy. In fact, Jazz Day illustrates how techniques of digital control have amended more traditional communication strategies in music diplomacy. Strategies of mediation range from the event's direct framing in speeches by musicians, UNESCO ambassadors, celebrities, and politicians at the global concert, which are then re-mediated across various broadcast and transmission platforms, to their negotiation in digital media and social networks.

On the one hand, the series of performances by musicians at the global concert, for instance, is framed by a number of speeches that are held in between musical performances. At the 2018 global concert in St. Petersburg, UNESCO jazz ambassador Herbie Hancock said:

> Now more than ever before, the world needs International Jazz Day. A vision for the future of humanity, International Jazz Day champions the connectedness of all people. And this evening, an all-star cast of culturally diverse musicians have assembled here in St. Petersburg and will demonstrate that jazz has the power to unite all world citizens as one race—the human race. (United Nations)

This part of Hancock's speech frames Jazz Day in a language of urgency ("now more than ever before"), global solidarity, transracial diversity, and heroic purpose. At the same time, Hancock's statement is ambiguous enough to allow

for various readings. The first sentence alone can be read in a number of ways, demonstrating that music diplomacy can be a balancing act that involves the fabrication of ambiguous messages. Why, one wonders, does the world need jazz more than ever? Does this have to do with the confrontational politics of the Trump administration? Or is Hancock alluding to Russian military aggression? The answer remains unclear: either message can be read into Hancock's statement.

Speeches by politicians involved in the event tend to me more specific. Sharing a stage with Hancock, Mikhail Yefimovich Shvydkoy, special representative of the Russian President Vladimir Putin, for instance, emphasized the great national contributions of Russia to the flourishing of jazz and the arts generally:

> It is highly symbolic that this year the forum takes place in St. Petersburg. Russia is rightfully famous for a galaxy of talented artists, composers and directors, true masters of the jazz art who perform at the best concert venues and win over audiences with their original talent, virtuosity and splendid improvisation. Due to their creative energy and genuine commitment, our country has been doing much for the professional development of young musicians and implementing outstanding projects in the field of international humanitarian cooperation. The reputation of the Russian jazz education is growing. (United Nations)

Clearly, the struggle over the ownership of jazz is an elementary aspect of the event. It exemplifies a wider debate on claiming popular music practices that has informed this book (Ritter on jazz; Sanz Díaz and Morales Tamaral on flamenco, Salois and zur Nieden on hip-hop, Şahin on dervish performances). This struggle over ownership does not end with the speeches, but it continues in the wider mediation of popular music performance. Jazz Day may appear to be something quite different to the few thousand viewers who actually attend global concerts than to jazz enthusiasts who follow live streams of the event. It also reaches audiences differently who search appearances of individual artists at the global concert on *YouTube* than viewers of abridged versions of the original stream on jazzday.com, the event's official website. Other jazz aficionados may have participated simply by registering their own Jazz Day event on jazzday.com, where a map of the world indicates locations and venues that host Jazz Day events ("2018 International Jazz Day").

Considering the mediation of music diplomacy, then, means investigating how actors seek to control this large variety of ways in which audiences and participants experience a musical event such as Jazz Day. Although Hancock frames Jazz Day as a celebration of peace, harmony, and global solidarity, a

closer look at the global concert's mediation in fact reveals an underlying level of competition between different stakeholders. For the 2018 Jazz Day in St. Petersburg, the Russian Ministry of Culture created its own website (jazzdayrussia.com)—despite the fact that Jazz Day has always had one general website representing the event. Jazzdayrussia.com is clearly modeled after the original website—its structure and design are almost identical. Yet, its contents differ fundamentally from the original. The original website, jazzday.com, which is run by the Thelonious Monk Institute of Jazz, portrayed the 2018 celebrations as a double event that simultaneously took place in St. Petersburg and New Orleans (jazzday.com). The website's main page featured two videos, inviting visitors to "watch the International Jazz Day 2018 concerts from St. Petersburg and New Orleans." In previous years, the website had only featured the global concert that took place in the event's respective host city, which in 2018 would have been St. Petersburg. By emphasizing a simultaneous jazz day event in New Orleans, the website thus reasserts US ownership of jazz while downplaying the significance of St. Petersburg as the host city. By contrast, jazzdayrussia.com does not mention the New Orleans concert, inviting viewers to watch the St. Petersburg global concert only ("International Jazz Day"). Obviously, US and Russian stakeholders mediate the event in different ways, with each side emphasizing their own achievements and sidelining the contributions of the other. These differences in the mediation of Jazz Day testify to the digital competition for musical ownership between different actors invested in the event.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

Both in the digital and non-digital realm, the interconnection between popular music and public diplomacy, then, is characterized by several continuing tensions. It is "pushed and pulled," as Danielle Fosler-Lussier puts it, and has the power to push and pull ("Music Pushed"). This volume, therefore, is separated into four parts dealing with different tensions that have shaped the practice of popular music diplomacy. The chapters of Part I, "Competition and Collaboration," investigate the ways in which tensions between competition and collaboration impact music diplomacy. According to Klaus Nathaus, competition has been a key factor in the historical development of music diplomacy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The studies included in this part illuminate the extent to which popular music diplomacy can be understood as a practice that oscillates between international competition, on the one hand, and transnational collaboration, on the other, in various cultural settings and political contexts.

In "Music in Transnational Transfers and International Competitions. Germany, Britain, and the US in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," historian Klaus Nathaus emphasizes competition as one of the major forces behind the development of music diplomacy in the Western world. He claims that while the transfer of culture in general and music in particular has attracted increasing attention among historians in the last 25 years, studies discussing imperialism, resistance, and appropriation commonly frame cultural relations between nations as cooperative and bilateral. Nathaus's chapter suggests a slightly different interpretative angle as it understands these relations as competitive and prestige-oriented. His approach raises questions of how such diplomatic and cultural relations can be studied, understood, and evaluated. Analyzing both classical and popular music performances, practices, and discursive strategies by musicians and music critics, Nathaus identifies continuities in the institutionalization of transnational musical competition since the early nineteenth century.

Alessandro Mazzola argues that Belgium's musical diplomacy cannot be understood without taking into consideration the country's historical, political, linguistic, and cultural divisions. Unlike federal states whose self-governing components adopt policies that converge and cooperate at an international level, Flanders and Wallonia—the Dutch- and French-speaking communities of Belgium—do not seem to coordinate on this matter. According to Mazzola, popular music is the principal field where the two communities adopt very different approaches and end up competing for resources and international visibility. "The Paradoxes of Cultural and Music Diplomacy in a Federal Country: A Case Study from Flanders, Belgium" showcases how Flanders, in particular, supports self-representation strategies that produce and circulate images of a singular and homogeneous "Flemish nation." Cultural institutions seem to focus on an autonomous nation-building project rather than situating the community in the larger national—Belgian—context.

Closing out the first section, Nevin Şahin's chapter, "Dervish on the Eurovision Stage: Popular Music and the Heterogeneity of Power Interests in Contemporary Turkey," unravels the diplomatic and power struggles behind Turkey's performances at the ESC. In 2004, the popular singer Sertab Erener merged popular music with traditional dance when she performed amidst a group of whirling dervishes, triggering a lively debate between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Sufi organizations, and the audience over the representation of Mevlevi Sufism. The image of the whirling dervish at the ESC performance is still vividly debated and contested today. Having collected data in a 15-month ethnographic field research project, Şahin examines the dynamics of competition

and collaboration between state, commercial, and religious interests in the practice of music diplomacy.

Part II, "Infiltration and Appropriation," focuses on tensions between sender- and receiver-oriented approaches to the practice of music diplomacy. In *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*, Danielle Fosler-Lussier describes the Eisenhower administration's strategy of cultural "infiltration" as a unidirectional, top-down process in which music served as a carrier of American ideas and values that could be "pour[ed] . . . into the minds of the foreign public" (4). By contrast, later concepts of appropriation and exchange emphasize the agency of recipients who defy strategies of cultural infiltration by actively developing their own meanings and cultural practices. While Fosler-Lussier focuses exclusively on US music diplomacy, this part investigates the role of infiltration and appropriation in various settings on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

As Rüdiger Ritter and Maristella Feustle demonstrate, strategies of infiltration and persuasion had unexpected consequences, leading to open or hidden person-to-person diplomacy which often facilitated individual cooperation and exchange. In his chapter "Between Propaganda and Public Diplomacy. Jazz in the Cold War," Rüdiger Ritter argues that scholars of music and diplomacy need to reconsider the similarities and differences between US and Soviet music diplomacy. According to Ritter, jazz was an instrument in the struggle for cultural supremacy not only for the US, but also for the Soviet Union and its satellites. US officials intended to destabilize Socialist societies by introducing jazz via radio broadcasts or by sending jazz musicians as jazz ambassadors while their adversaries in the Eastern Bloc used the music for their own purposes by integrating it into a Soviet-Socialist model of culture. As Ritter argues, US-actors called their efforts cultural diplomacy, while the Eastern Bloc countries simply called their own activities propaganda. Both Eastern and Western actors used jazz to promote their values, and they both tried to benefit from the weaknesses of the other. Ritter concludes that the two ideological adversaries both succeeded and failed: Neither did the West provoke a collapse, nor did the East succeed in diminishing American popular music in their countries. However, as both Cold War opponents undertook intensive efforts to strengthen the Eastern Bloc jazz scenes and to promote jazz contacts, those collaborations facilitated a mutual jazz exchange after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Maristella Feustle explores Willis Conover's famous jazz broadcast, *Music USA*, which was arguably one of the most effective uses of American "soft power" in the mid-twentieth century. As Feustle argues, the jazz diplomacy of Conover's program depended on the integrity ensured by his independence as a contractor as well as his insistence that the music speak for itself. Accordingly,

the Voice of America radio station could talk repeatedly about a free society's advantages, but jazz succeeded in showing those qualities in action, realized in artistic moments which could be efficiently transmitted over the airwaves. Feustle's contribution "'Liberated from Serfdom'. Willis Conover and the Tallinn Jazz Festival of 1967" uses primary source materials from the Willis Conover Collection at the University of North Texas to demonstrate the impact of Conover's approach.

Ádám Ignácz illuminates another unexpected consequence of strategies of infiltration during the Cold War. As he shows, the Hungarian government ended up appropriating and translating mechanisms of Stalinist musical diplomacy in the field of popular music in Hungary. "A Musical Inquisition? Soviet 'Deputies' of Musical Entertainment in Hungary during the Early 1950s" details how communist elites strove to create a jazz-free Hungarian "national dance music" modeled after Soviet musical traditions. While American music diplomacy targeted the people in the Warsaw Pact states during the early Cold War through what the Eisenhower administration referred to as cultural "infiltration," the Soviet Union created its own strategies. With the increased Sovietization of the occupied countries in the late 1940s, Ignácz argues, the USSR had growing motivation to "help" with the cultural revolutions conducted by the local communist parties and to directly command, supervise, and monitor the required changes. Music was an important instrument in this intervention as Soviet musical diplomats visited Hungary to suggest how local cultures could be protected from Western popular infiltrations.

Part III, "Education and Promotion," examines the conflict between two antagonistic purposes of music diplomacy. The rhetoric that surrounds state-funded music programs abroad often implies that music diplomacy seeks to empower foreign audiences by contributing to their musical and cultural education. This perspective on music diplomacy as a benevolent intervention is, however, challenged by the commercial and political interests that underlie such programs. This section exemplifies how the interests of interdependent actors in politics and entertainment industries complicate claims of neutrality and educational motives in the practice of music diplomacy.

Musicians and music managers have often used the alignment of music with politics and politicians as a marketing device (Cooper). At the same time, politicians and political institutions have profited from their association with celebrity musicians. Martha Bayles's chapter, "Dancing in Chains: Why Music Can't Keep the World Free," is specifically concerned with how US popular music becomes a force for repression. She describes how US pop and rap stars such as Erykah Badu, Mariah Carey, and Kanye West performed in authoritarian

countries, thus privileging monetary considerations over humanitarian and ethical ones. Bayles contextualizes what she sees as the romantic notion of music as a liberating force with the post-World War II jazz ambassadors program. Bayles explains how the political, media, and socio-cultural transformations after the fall of the Berlin Wall have affected public diplomacy in Europe and Asia. Discussing various transnational examples of jazz, rock, pop, rap, hip-hop, and country music, Martha Bayles demands that Western nation-states reconsider the relationship between politics, the music market, and the music industry in order to reconfigure the role of popular music in public diplomacy.

Nicholas Alexander Brown analyzes how American singer Billy Joel staged himself during the performances in Moscow and Leningrad in the late 1980s. In his chapter, "Becoming a Blue-Collar Musical Diplomat: Billy Joel and Bridging the US-Soviet Divide in 1987," Brown explores how Joel cleverly fashioned himself as an American working-class musician. This identity construction resonated well with the white male-dominated working-class ideology of the Soviet regime and the experience of Soviet audiences. Brown demonstrates that Joel's lyrics address the concerns of the "common man" who is dissatisfied with his government's politics—an issue that spoke to audiences both inside and outside the USSR. Brown's chapter illuminates how Billy Joel's blue-collar diplomacy was situated between American exceptionalism and Soviet *glasnost* politics while ultimately fulfilling commercial objectives. Even today, Joel continues to repackage and repurpose his iconic concert tour in documentaries and album releases by building on his legacy as an American artist who allegedly helped to destroy the Iron Curtain.

Approaching the East German record industry as a space of relative independence from the Socialist government, historian Sven Kube also sees the popular music industry as a liberating force in authoritarian states. "Music Trade in the Slipstream of Cultural Diplomacy: Western Rock and Pop in a Fenced-In Record Market" argues that the constantly intensifying presence of Western music in the GDR heralded liberalization in the realm of culture that fueled the demand for political change. Based on personal interviews with former managers, executives, agents, and officials, this chapter investigates how the Deutsche Schallplatten, East Germany's only record company, operated between the official socialist state ideology, popular tastes, and capitalist production mechanisms. Ultimately, Kube interprets Deutsche Schallplatten as a space of relative freedom in a restricted country, but he also points out that Socialist officials profited from the popular music exchange by gaining foreign currency in order to stabilize the shaky GDR economy.

Carlos Sanz Díaz and José Manuel Morales Tamaral illuminate how Francisco Franco's regime used flamenco diplomacy as an instrument to promote tourism, trade, and, ultimately, challenge Spain's isolated position on the global diplomatic and economic stage. Presenting a new angle on the phenomenon of "national flamencoism," which has been researched by cultural studies scholars and social historians mainly with regard to identities and aesthetics, the authors approach flamenco as a diplomatic practice which is deeply embedded in the Spanish economy, culture, and politics. "National Flamencoism. Flamenco as an Instrument of Spanish Public Diplomacy in Franco's Regime (1939-1975)" presents a close reading of unique historical sources, such as embassy documents, letters, reports, and international news clippings. Discussing two case studies from West Germany and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Sanz Díaz and Morales Tamaral show convincingly how flamenco, originally a popular, commercial, vernacular, and transcultural art form, was homogenized by Spanish officials in order to promote a homogeneous national identity. The chapter details how flamenco diplomacy was largely organized by private companies, individual managers, and private actors in cooperation with official diplomatic institutions during the Cold War, demonstrating that the program's official, educative intent was enmeshed with underlying commercial and political motives.

Part IV, "Representation and Participation," finally foregrounds how the politics of participation in music diplomacy reconfigure established modes and mechanisms of representation. The chapters in this part investigate participation on both an interstate and an interpersonal level. Not only do national politics of participation influence how nations are represented on the global stage, but participatory processes in person-to-person diplomacy have also provoked a shift in diplomatic practices. In addition, politics of participation have impacted the ways in which minority groups are represented on the international stage. As such, they have affected discourses on the social and cultural locations of minorities within their respective nations. This section asks where and how participation becomes politically effective by intervening in the politics of representation, both on an interpersonal and an international level.

Kendra Salois's chapter, "The Ethics and Politics of Empathy in US Hip-Hop Diplomacy: The Case of the Next Level Program," examines the US State Department's so-called Next Level program. Launched in 2014, this diplomatic initiative connects activists, teachers, emcees, deejays, dancers, and beatmakers. According to Salois, Next Level marks a turning point in the State Department's longstanding promotion of American culture abroad since the jazz ambassadors program. It emphasizes person-to-person diplomacy guided by empathy, emo-

tion, and mutual understanding between American teachers and foreign artists relabeled as students. Analyzing musical performances and interviews with organizers and participants, this chapter makes a case for research which reconsiders the role of music, emotion, and affect in public diplomacy.

In his contribution, "Popular Musicking and the Politics of Spectatorship at the United Nations," James R Ball III investigates the role of subjectivity and emotion in the public diplomacy of the United Nations. The author shows that popular and folk music performances can have quite opposite effects besides the intended objectives of freedom, mutual understanding, and solidarity. Analyzing former Secretary General Ban Ki-moon's participation in the United Nations' International Day of Happiness and in a concert by Serbia's Viva Vox Choir, Ball III demonstrates how Ban's involvement in these performances can create feelings of alienation and frustration among his intended audiences and render diplomatic spaces as highly contested ones. Combining feminist scholarship on abject theory and emotion, Ball III joins Bayles in interrogating the myth of popular music as an expression of freedom and humanism in diplomatic settings.

Similar to the US hip-hop diplomacy program investigated by Salois, the participatory aspects of hip-hop culture have been crucial to recent developments in German music diplomacy. In her chapter, "From Sons of Gastarbeita to *Songs of Gastarbeiter*: Migrant and Post-Migrant Integration through Music and German Musical Diplomacy from the 1990s to the Present," Gesa zur Nieden analyzes how migrant and post-migrant musicians have increasingly been included in the promotion of (West) German culture abroad over the past 30 years. Discussing Sons of Gastarbeita, a local multi-ethnic rap group based in the Ruhr Area who toured Goethe Institutes across France, this chapter elaborates on the development of an educational concept to present German migratory hip-hop culture to French students of German as a foreign language. Zur Nieden's case study exemplifies how musicians emphasizing experiences of migration open up important spaces for cultural institutions to reconsider national representation in an international arena.

Dean Vuletic's contribution on the political significance of the ESC, "Public Diplomacy and Decision-Making in the Eurovision Song Contest," finally explores the ways in which EU and non-EU states reconfigure their public image by participating in this popular music spectacle. Established in 1956, the ESC is one of the most prominent examples of what one might call European popular culture. Organized by the European Broadcasting Union, this contest has enjoyed a high popularity in many states across the political spectrum ranging from liberal democracies to authoritarian states since the end of World War II. The final chapter of this volume looks at the contest's multifaceted history. Because

the event is based on reconfigurations of the nation-state, studying Eurovision performances and discursive strategies allows Vuletic to draw important conclusions about how European nations use the ESC to promote themselves and attempt to gain competitive advantages over other states. As Vuletic examines how audiences perceive those performances, his chapter is an important contribution to the formation of European identities at a time when Europe's political landscape is increasingly fragmenting.

Taken as a whole, the chapters in this volume detail the complex and multifaceted interrelationships between popular music and public diplomacy. The authors' manifold, transnational and transdisciplinary perspectives on the topic demonstrate how the investigation of popular music and public diplomacy is in itself a political practice. The terminology we employ for understanding this relationship—from propaganda to cultural and public diplomacy—is loaded and has been subject to political struggles (see Ritter in this volume). Far from seeking to provide an all-encompassing account, this book highlights individual examples and hopes to open new pathways for research at the interface of popular music and public diplomacy.

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