The Discourse of Diversity: the making of identities in the music industry[1]

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Abstract: This article investigates the definitions of "particular" and "universal" found in the music industry, especially the so-called "World Music" industry. It will be demonstrated that since these definitions are not constant, they can be used for creating differences and similarities, which produce social impact. In the case of World Music elaborated in this study, I argue that the discourse of diversity divides musicians into "flexible" or "fixed" actors. Accordingly, these distinct categories of actors also possess varying degrees of facility when dealing with their identity and negotiating the value of that identity; consequently, musicians are faced with unequal conditions and opportunities.
Keywords: Diversity. Discourse. World music. Globalization. Music industry.

Resumo: Este artigo investiga as definições de "particular" e "universal" encontradas na indústria da música, especialmente no assim chamado mercado de "World Music". Propõe-se demonstrar que essas definições não são constantes, podendo ser usadas tanto para criar diferenças, quanto similaridades, produzindo em todo caso impactos sociais. No caso da World Music pensada neste estudo, argumento que o discurso da diversidade divide os músicos em atores "móveis" e "fixos". Essas categorias distintivas de atores se relacionam com o modo pelo qual as identidades serão tratadas e com a negociação do próprio valor das identidades. Conseqüentemente, os músicos estão diante de condições e oportunidades desigualmente distribuídas.
Palavras-chaves: Diversidade. Discurso. World music. Globalização. Indústria da música.

In the present article, I want to investigate how the discourse of diversity is articulated in the music industry by analyzing the category of World Music and focusing on its relation to national, international, and local identities. I will propose that this discourse determines how actors manage the conditions of the World Music industry relative to their identities. More specifically, these conditions generate musicians who are either strictly tied to a larger, collective identity or are able to operate as individual actors. This premise serves as the basis for my thesis that globalization conceptualizes flexible and fixed actors.

I will start this analysis by proposing a definition of the discourse of diversity and defining several key terms. Then, I will investigate how the mapping of the world by the music industry organizes the discourse of diversity, creating visible and invisible structures. Lastly, I will try to show that in the discourse of diversity there are processes of selection and power relations that create flexible and fixed actors.

Conceptualizing diversity

In the contemporary world, diversity is not neutral. It has taken on a positive character, especially since the second half of the 20th Century in different areas of human knowledge. In

fact, according to a UNESCO Convention (2005) diversity should be promoted and protected. As it becomes a positive value, universal discourse is devalued, in a process that inverts the predominant ideology of the 19th century. Progress, Reason, The Absolute, Mankind, Truth – all ideas proposed to have universal validity – have become contested, and not only by the post-structuralists, but also, in many ways, by the media and the industry. Therefore, I agree with Renato Ortiz (2007) that diversity cannot be understood without the idea of the universal, as both are intrinsically related.

We can better understand the relation between diversity and the universal if we bring another term into this complex, which is the particular. The traditional philosophical dichotomy 'the particular versus the universal' is not useful here, but we can investigate the sociological relationship between the two extremes within material life

In very simplified terms, any particular must be related to a universal. This is the motto of the Aufklärung, which despite its predominance for two centuries has been fundamentally contested over the past fifty years. Concepts which were deeply interlaced with social materiality, such as progress, reason, and nation, based their existence on the relation of the universal with the particular. In this sense, each particular history was seen as part of a universal progression of history; each mode of knowledge could be explained by the single use of a universal reason; and any individual was to be a particular of the nation, which was his/her universal. The universal, in this sense, dictated the particular.

Even with a minimum amount of sociological imagination, it is not hard to realize that these universals are constructions that serve specific interests and actually impose a particular Weltanschauung on the other particulars. Therefore, European (almost exclusively German) classical instrumental music of the 19th century became the Music itself[2]; "the man" in the Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen (1789) of the French Revolution was the universal Man; in the 19th century, Western Europe became the model of "advanced" civilization. The separation of state and religion, as well as of religion and science, or of nature and culture was not simply a way of social organization, but the universal model of such an organization. The European way of being rational became Reason itself (see GOODY, 1996).

What is most important to notice here is that the particular and the universal were necessarily linked. However, this universal is in itself a particular. Consequently, when a particular was disconnected from a universal, two options were available. First, the particular could be in the process of becoming part of the universal (as in the ideology of progress). Second, the particular could simply seem to not exist. Many conflicts have derived from this assumption. However, even such conflicts may reveal that the universal itself was not to be denied. Two examples illustrate this point.

In 1791, Olympe de Gouges proposed the Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne to the National Constituent Assembly of revolutionary France (see SENGER 1993), which stated in its first Article: 'Woman is born free and remains equal to man in rights. Social distinctions may only be based on common utility.' It was openly addressed to the first Article of the Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, which stated 'Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be based only on common utility.' De Gouges' declaration is written in parallel to the official declaration. Whereas one reads 'men' in the latter, it should be read 'woman and man' in the former. Therefore, De Gouges does not deny the universal value of the official proposal, but criticizes its limited scope, making

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[2] For more on this see Dahlhaus (1987) and Mueller (1958).

a claim to be integrated more explicitly within it. There is no affirmation of anything specific about womanhood that could differentiate it from manhood, and, therefore, there is no denial of the universal itself. However, it is important to note that de Gouges' claim was not taken into consideration. The fact that she was condemned to death in 1793 underlines what I have proposed above: the particular, having been denied a share in the universal, loses its right to exist. For de Gouges this non-existence became literal. In fact, the category 'woman as a rights holder' did not exist in 18tth and 19th century Europe.

In music we can see a similar phenomenon. As Dahlhaus clearly explains, at the turn of the 18th century the Romantics based their idea of absolute music on instrumental music, also known as 'the 'Being [das Wesen] of music' (DAHLHAUS, 1987, p.13). They were convinced that they "discovered in instrumental music the 'true music'" (idem, p.17).

Although this definition of music was based on a universal proposition, it was not unanimous. As Dahlhaus specifies, this definition of music predominated until the mid-twentieth century, which is not to say it was not previously contested. Important thinkers of the past two centuries, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau opposed this perspective. Arguing against Rameau, Rousseau believed that music should be considered to be primarily melodic and based on the voice. Moreover, he asserted that music should resemble speech, given his belief that both capacities had evolved simultaneously (see DAHLHAUS, 1987; DERRIDA, 2006; ROUSSEAU, 1998, p.319-323).

It is important to note that while there existed a critique about a particular definition of music as a universal (as in 'man' and the case of de Gouges), there was no definition for or critique of the universal itself. Moreover, Rousseau agreed that it was important to define music according to some generic presupposition that could be integrated with a 'progressive' history (for more on progress and music, see KNEPLER, 1982, p.361-532)

Therefore, until the second half of the 20th century the relation between the universal and the particular was mainly based on the supremacy of the first over the second. It was at this moment when this relation began to be broken apart, and the contestation of a particular as the universal or of the universal per se began to acquire a constant and legitimate force. I must skip the discussion of the reasons for this change, due to the limited space and my focus here, but it should be clear that, as Clifford Geertz (2000, p. 33-54) puts it, if a person was defined in the 19th century independently of his/her cultural characteristic, he/she will be, more recently, defined according to his/her cultural variants. For example, whereas the German Romantics were especially concerned with using Culture to define the character of a nation and Volk, now, culture is often pluralized and discussed in terms of its diversity. Music, which was for the Romantics and the enlightened something universal and singular, comes to be pluralized as 'musics' (see KADEN, 2004, p.34-39).

Ethnomusicology may shed some light on this discussion, given that my interest here is music. Many ethnomusicologists deal in their work with the same musics dealt with by the World Music market. In fact, historically and in some cases currently, both areas have used the term 'World Music' to define their object of interest. Not by coincidence, the institutionalization of Ethnomusicology began during the same time period as was described above. It was in 1953 that the first journal of Ethnomusicology (named Ethno-Musicology) started as an alternative to traditional musicology, which was, as the first ethnomusicologists thought, devoted only to the study of European musical systems. Ethnomusicology's use of the discourse of diversity has been an effort to break the trend of European dominance in the study of music. Bruno Nettl clearly pointed to this issue, when he stated that especially after the 1990s, "Ethnomusicologists have all along been students of groups of 'others', and they have been the champions, in the

academy, of diversity" (2005, p.420). In addition, diversity's positive aspects are frequently espoused by scholars. Max Peter Baumann, for example, proposes that variety and diversity of the cultures of the world "ensure the resources and democratic plurality of tomorrow" (1992, p.11-12). Based on this assumption, music should no longer be observed through general rules, but according to particular circumstances and uses. Accordingly, music can no longer be universally defined, but culturally determined.

Sociologically speaking, it must be pointed out that the positive value that diversity acquires in the contemporary world turns it into a powerful discourse, sometimes able to break (by destroying or re-organizing) the relation between particulars and universals. However, as Foucault puts it, "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (in HOWARTH, 2000, p.67; see FOUCAULT, 2007). The discourse of diversity cannot be neutral; it brings within it new ways of knowing an object and of dominating its surroundings relations. The positive connotation that diversity has gained has allowed its discourse to redefine the relation between the particular and the universal. This relationship may be enunciated in new ways. However, this redefinition depends on the social position of the enunciator, in terms of his/her accumulated capitals. (Here, I obviously follow Pierre Bourdieu, 2002).

In the remainder of this article, I want to investigate how the discourse of diversity, in its enunciation of national, international, and local identities, organizes and manifests this relation of power and knowledge in the World Music industry. It may be frustrating for some readers that the text remains very inconclusive. I should say, however, that the intention here is more to pose a question and to argue the importance of dealing with diversity in the contemporary world, especially in sociological studies of music, than to find clear answers.

Mapping the world

The discourse of diversity in the World Music market is frequently accompanied by some geographical description or reference. There are many ways of 'geographizing' this discourse. The one I chose to analyze here is perhaps the most expressive, since it is based on a very recognizable image: the world map. Besides, working with the world map allows me to better see the relations between the particular (as the discourse is based on particular enunciations: cultures, regions, and nations) and the universal (since the whole world is depicted)[3]. Once again, it should be pointed out that the interaction between the universal and the particular is re-organized within the discourse of diversity.

The following map can be found in one of the first editions of The Rough Guide (BROUGHTON et al., 1995) dedicated to World Music[4]. We can see that although the whole world is depicted, only parts of it are described. Almost the whole of Western Europe is ignored – or I should say dislocated, because, according to the Rough Guide, we will find Portugal, Greece, and Spain in the chapter 'Mediterranean and Maghreb'. We find Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany in the chapter 'Celtic World'. Britain also appears within the chapter 'Caribbean' under 'Reggae and Ragga', and in the section 'Bhangra,' in the chapter dedicated to the Indian Subcontinent.

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[3] 'World Music' itself carries this dichotomy, since it is based on the universal (world) and on the particular (different musics) enunciations.
[4] It is important to say that the map has a practical function on the guide, which is the facilitation of its readership. However, and this is my point here, the way it is proposed has implications.

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Thanks to GlobeStyle for the map concept

Figure 1

The map above, which differs only slightly from the 16th century "Mercator Projection", shows Europe at the center of the globe, in spite of the aforementioned fact that this continent is of minor importance in relation to the places from which the music mentioned in the guide originates. In addition, the world is still mostly described in terms of nations, which is a point Philip V. Bohlman has already remarked upon in his discussions of World Music (2002, p.93). I want to discuss this matter more deeply, because I believe it can illuminate important issues.

If we look at the area corresponding to the United States on the map in order to assess how the area's music is described, this is what we find:
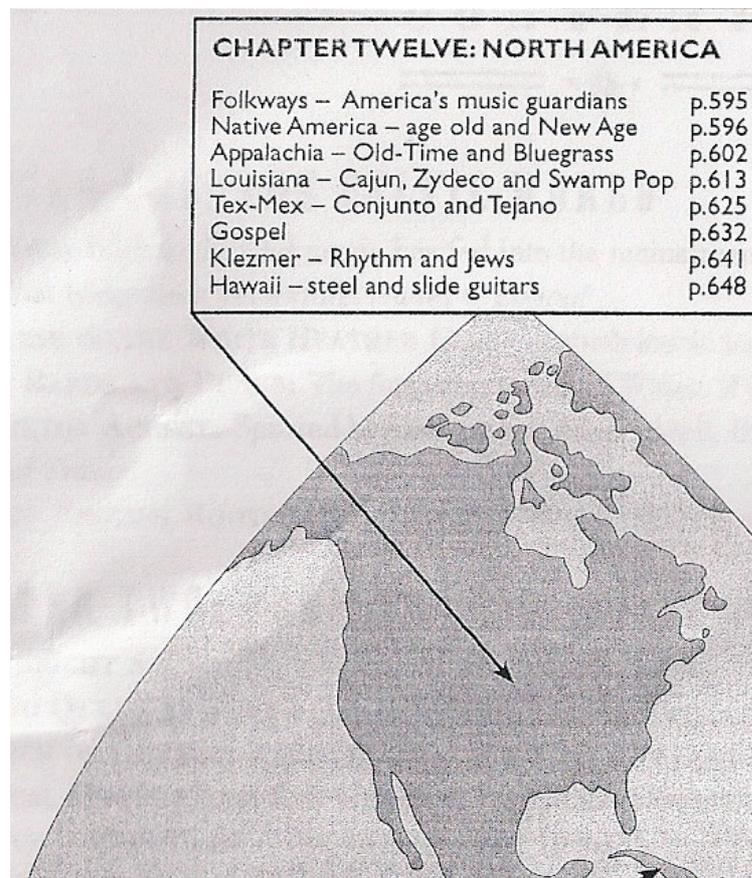
Figure 2

Notice that there is no reference to the nation. Instead of mentioning the United States itself, the map focuses on the different groups and ethnicities contained within it. This is a clear example of what I call 'discourse of restricted identities'. By restricted identities I mean those social groups whose affiliations are exclusive, geographically limited, and not national (for more about this concept, see NICOLAU NETTO, 2009). However, if we look at the rest of the map, we realize that the nation becomes the main discursive referent. Let us look at the following example:

CHAPTER THREE: MEDITERRANEAN AND MAGHREB

CHAPTER TEN: THE CARIBBEAN

CHAPTER ELEVEN: LATIN AMERICA

CHAPTER SIX: WEST AFRICA
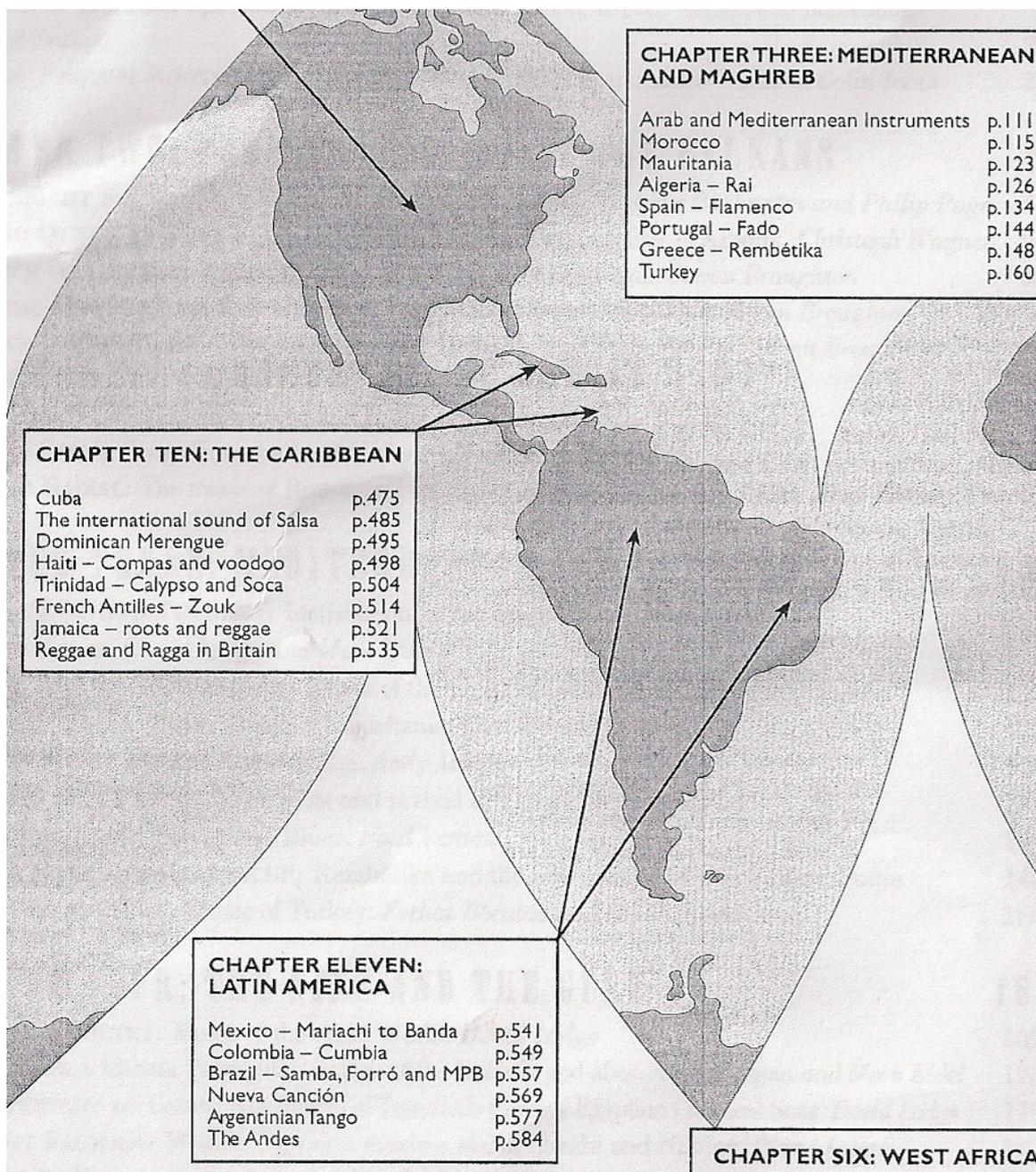
Figure 3

In this map, nations appear. We have Brazil, Argentina, Mexico (by the way, positioned in South America), Colombia, Haiti, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, French Antilles, Jamaica, Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey.

If we look at the other side of the world, we see the same predominance of the nation:
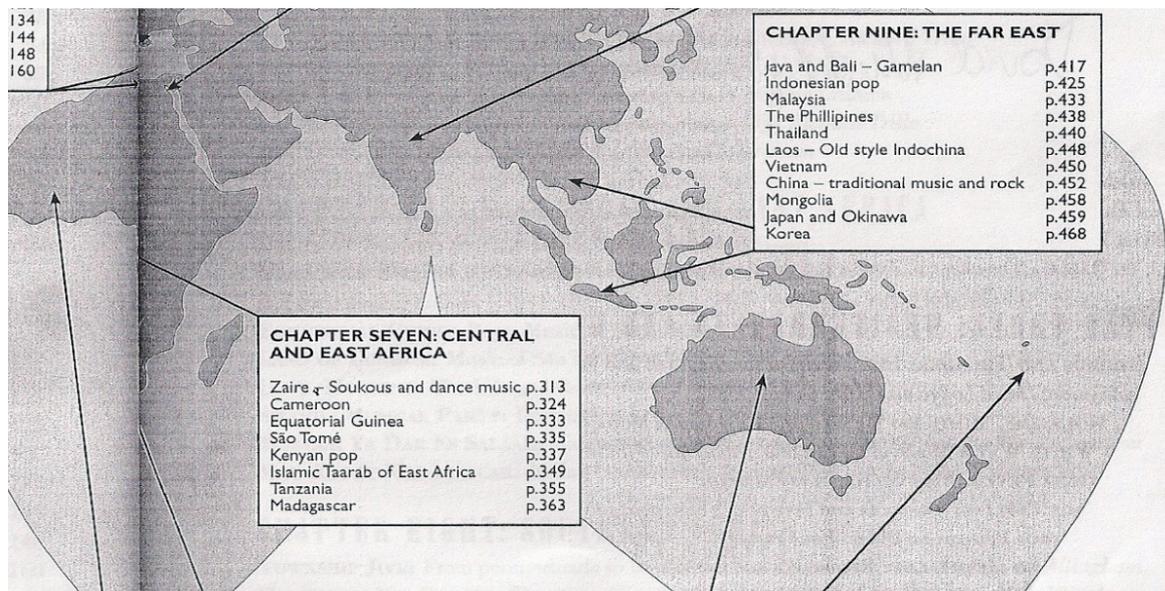
Figure 4

Now we have Zaire, Cameroon, Guinea, São Tomé, Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, Java, Bali, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, China, Mongolia, Japan, and Korea. The question I want to pose here is: why are nations not mentioned with regard to the United States and Europe, while the 'rest of the world' is enunciated in terms of nations?

We can conclude that *The Rough Guide* is based on a Eurocentric point of view. First, as already mentioned, Europe is positioned at the center of the map. Besides, the ninth chapter is named 'Far East', and we know the 'east' is 'far' only if one takes Europe as reference. Therefore, the enunciations emanate from Eurocentrism. This is not to say that Eurocentrism is homogeneous, without conflict, or that it acts alone, but it is nevertheless predominant. I argue this perspective illustrates that the idea of nation can be seen at the same time as a particular enunciation – and as such, visible on the map – and as a universal enunciation, and as such, invisible on the map. Some nations are invisible, as they are not described on the map, still, they are quite present, since they are central to the organization of the discourse. They are the central figure, the hidden image of the discourse. Therefore, whether the nation is an expressed enunciation in the discourse of diversity will depend on what nation is under consideration. From a Eurocentric point of view, the nations that are depicted are those that are seen as the 'Other' in opposition to the 'Self' (Europe/USA). I argue that even if it is not expressed, universal enunciation can be present and be an element of the discourse of diversity.

The European nations and the United States are related to a universalistic *Weltanschauung* (for economic, political and historical reasons), and as such they are not described when it comes to the discourse of diversity. Instead, these nations must be ignored or dislocated to other parts of the world where they are related to particular identities, which can be legitimately claimed within the discourse of diversity.

However, the mere fact that some central enunciations are hidden shows us that the discourse is Eurocentric at its core. In other words, the hidden enunciations (the European nations as such, and the United States as a nation) are located in the exact same places as the enunciator. Only the enunciator is capable of 'hiding the nation' and at the same time making it present, therefore defining how the world (the universal) is drawn and presented. Hence, both universal and particular ideologies are articulated within the discourse of diversity.

Fixed or flexible actors

The mode of organizing the world described above is not likely to be well received in those cultures that have been circumscribed as nations. For example, from a global view, nations such as Kenya and Brazil are representations of the enunciation of the particular. Yet, from a local perspective these nations could be seen as part of a universal enunciation. Under these conditions it is possible to see some musicians and managers drawing on their restricted identities to question national identity through the discourse of diversity. When producers, artists, the media, and even governments fight against what they call "stereotypes", which are usually related to national identity, they are using their restricted identities. For example, one Brazilian music producer asserts that "we have to get rid of the limiting stereotypes that see us as the country of samba and football" (in INSTITUTO ITAÚ CULTURAL 2006, p.73). Furthermore, a Brazilian journalist states that "people all around the world can now enjoy not only samba, but also rock, funk, and electronic music produced in Brazil – and that is very good" (SANCHES, 2007, p.58-9).

It is even more interesting to notice that during the 2006 World Cup, the Brazilian Ministry of Culture sponsored a project called "Copa da Cultura", in which Brazil was presented as the "Land of Diversity". Accordingly, the Brazilian Minister of Culture, Gilberto Gil, claimed: "I have nothing against the clichés. Samba, the beach, and carnival belong to us. However, I want to show the diversity of our culture." When Gil was asked about the meaning of being Brazilian, he answered: "Being a Brazilian does not mean being a single thing. It means being many things. But the first thing one must do to become a Brazilian is to recognize difference as a value." To conclude, when the Minister was asked which was the most striking style of Brazilian music he responded[5]:

> The scene from Espírito Santo, for instance, is characterized by a fusion of congo with religious forms of expression and with the celebrations of Blacks, Indians, and Europeans, as well as rock, pop, reggae and electronic music. It is syncretic music that unites the casaca [a local musical instrument] with the electric guitar, and the tambourine with the laptop, thus expressing both tradition and modernity. I could also speak of hiphop from São Paulo, funk carioca from Rio de Janeiro, popular songs from Pará, reggae from Maranhão, new music from Minas Gerais, the sons of manguebeat from Pernambuco, and bossa eletrônica. There are people from every age group and from all parts of the country making music that maintains tradition, incorporates new inspirations, replaces old forms, and invokes inconceivable associations. You have to hear it to understand it.

If *The Rough Guide* map suggested how the discourse of diversity can re-signify the nation, then here the discourse of diversity becomes a means of questioning national identity itself. This is not to say that national identity is being denied, but rather that national identity is not enough to encompass the cultural expressions within a territory.

In other words, national identity was traditionally related to national popular culture. What happens now is that national identity is employed to embrace also what could be called 'restricted popular culture' and 'international popular culture'. The idea of being Brazilian is never denied. What is denied instead is the necessary relationship between being Brazilian and being attached to certain cultural traits. One can be Brazilian, according to Gil, but being Brazilian means being many things.

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[5] All these quotations from the former Minister of Culture were collected during the year 2006, both in the international and in the Brazilian press. Detailed references can be found in Nicolau Netto, 2009.

In this sense, within the discourse of diversity we can find a range of different levels: we can find a specific nation, specific regions, and even the global. In other words, we can find the national, the restricted, and the international popular cultures, articulated with one another. We can understand this articulation better when we look at a practical case. Let us look at the *Music from Pernambuco* project, a local governmental project, which aims to export music from the eponymous Brazilian state. Since 2004 the project's organizers have attended such music trade fairs as Womex and Midem where they distributed two issues of a double CD and a catalog written exclusively in English. In the catalog one can read what motivated the project. Here are three quotations from the catalog about what motivated the project.

1. "Pernambuco is also known for being at the forefront in the renewal of the 'Música Popular Brasileira'. The main reason for that was the birth of the Mangue Beat, with bands creating a new music style that blends traditional and local roots with rock, hip-hop, pop and other international influences."

2. "Pernambuco has its own original rhythms like Maracatu, Ciranda, Frevo, Forró, Coco de Roda, Afoxé, Baião, Caboclinho and others."

3. "Another thing that inspired us to produce this compilation and promote it outside Brazil, is the fact that most international agents, bookers and music promoters have never visited Pernambuco and their knowledge of Brazil is restricted to Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. So, when you hear this compilation, you might have an idea of the richness and diversity of the music produced in Pernambuco ."

Here we can see the articulation of the national, international, and restricted popular cultures through enunciations within the discourse of diversity. I propose to organize these enunciations as follows:

Excerpt 1	Excerpt 2	Excerpt 3
National popular culture is affirmed and Pernambuco claims to be renewing it through a blend of international and restricted popular culture.	Restricted popular culture is affirmed and the others are ignored.	National popular culture is seen as an obstacle to knowledge of the music from Pernambuco, an obstacle the project wants to overcome.

As I mentioned before, the discourse of diversity must be seen through its different enunciations. In this case, we can see clearly that the particular (which appears in excerpt 2 – tradition, so to speak) and the universal (in excerpt 1: Brazilian Popular Music, pop, rock, etc), including the questioning of national and the affirmation of international popular culture (in excerpts 1 and 3), are enunciations of the same discourse: the discourse of diversity. In this sense, what these enunciations articulate is a new way of organizing the identities and cultures involved in a local music export project.

However, if so far what we see is something that could be considered emancipatory (bearing in mind that this emancipation may cause many other problems[7]), I contend that this is not the case when this discourse is applied to the artists. When the discourse of diversity is applied to the artists, we can methodologically separate them into two groups. In the first group, the ar-

tists are either fixed to their identities or located within restricted popular cultures. In the second group, the artists are free to be part of different cultures. I propose to look now at two groups of enunciations about artists taken from the *Music from Pernambuco* (and now I aggregate the second volume of the project to analysis)[8] catalogs and from the *Ceará Original Soundtrack* catalog. The latter is a CD sponsored by Ceara's[9] state government for the exportation of local music and is very similar to *Music from Pernambuco*[10].

First group:

MARACATU NAÇÃO ESTRELA BRILHANTE: "Founded in 1910 by former slaves Maracatu Nação Estrela Brilhante from Recife is based in Alto José do Pinho, a community well-known for its cultural effervescence. This Maracatu follows religiously the traditions of the African rites with all their deities. Their musical instruments are still made as they used to be during the slavery period. The alfaias (African drums) are carved from the wood of the macaiba, which gives them their authentic rustic sound" (**Music from Pernambuco**, no page).

TAMBORES DE OXUM: "The band sings the magic of an age-old culture which was able to defy time and is impressive by its strength, richness and beauty. Tambores da Oxum – ex Oxum Pandá - is known for its musical work which highlights the Afro-Brazilian culture and rhythms of the Afoxé" (**Music from Pernambuco**, no page).

DONA MARIA: "Of all voices that pass over the soundscape of Cariri, it is the hymn from the edging streams laundresses [sic] and the piously devoted women that nurture a genuine and passionate faith that brings up such latent poetry. Those feelings are expressed in a delightful original presentation of a widely known religious canticle performed all over the Cariri by a singular lady named Dona Maria. Under the sober tone of a 'rabeca' (an ancient rustic kind of viola [sic]) emerges the touching voice of this gifted respectable lady" (**Ceará Original Soundtrack**, p.9).

Second group:

DJ DOLORES & APARELHAGEM: "DJ Dolores… has been doing remixes for great names of Brazilian music…. Aparelhagem is the new project of the Brazilian producer… DJ Dolores. This new project includes wind instruments, a female choir, vintage instruments: the latest of Brazilian electronic music" (**Music from Pernambuco**, no page) .

LULA QUEIROGA: "His latest CD, 'Azul Invisível, Vermelho Cruel' was launched in the end of 2004, showing the latest pop sonority" (MUSIC FROM PERNAMBUCOu, Vol. 2, no page).

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[7] What I mean is that in terms of freeing a local culture from the domination of the national popular culture, the process I described can be seen as emancipatory. At the same time, this emancipation is operated through the international market and that has consequences. For the cultures which are included in this process, the damage may come in terms of transformations to the symbolic meanings of those cultures. For those that are not included in this process the damage may come in the form of forgetfulness.

[8] **Music from Pernambuco Vol. 2.**

[9] Prodisc/Gerador Cultural/Sebrae-CE. **Ceará Original Soundtrack.**

[10] These excerpts are direct citations from the original catalogs.

KARINE ALEXANDRINO: "The neo-tropicalist anti-diva that likes to try new things out. In thematic records, she presents an overdose of cinematographic influences that fits perfectly her infantilized and diabolically ironic character, Producta, which looks like it came out from a pulp fiction or a graphic novel. There is no limit for the 'splendor in the grass' and the most delicate youth irony. Punk by nature, great in sentences, with an acid merciless humor" (**Ceará Original Soundtrack**, p. 16).

We could organize these enunciations as follows:

Discourse of Diversity	
First Group	*Second Group*
Magic/ Religion/Myths	Technology
Clear locality	De-territorialization
Traditional profession (not music-related)	Professional musicians
Traditional instruments	New instruments (techno)
Old or immemorial times	Contemporary

I argue that within the first group, when myth, tradition and immemorial times are affirmed, the individual becomes the representation of his/her collective. He/she does not act in the international market as an individual, but only in connection to the collective. The collective here becomes the culture to which this individual is attached. In these terms, we could say that the artists – if they would be called artists – of the first group are fixed to their collective identities. They are, as I call them, the 'fixed actors' of globalization. In the second group, we have the opposite. The individual is affirmed through the disappearance of any aspect other than that relating to the artist him/herself. Locality, myths, religion, and so on, disappear or are subsumed within the individual. Everything that is seen as "contemporary, modern" increases the ability of the professional musician to be considered an artist. As an individual, freed from constraints, this artist is 'flexible' and can be related at the same time to tradition and to modernity as it suits him/her. I call this artist the 'flexible actor' of globalization.

The question is: what are both of these actors, the fixed and the flexible, doing together in the same discourse, the discourse of diversity? I contend that in the international music market the enunciations of diversity, in spite of being apparently opposed to one another, are necessarily articulated together. On the one hand, flexible actors cannot act in the international market if they are not contained within the discourse of diversity and integrated into enunciations related to tradition, magic, and religion. That is what makes them exotic and attractive to the market, a market which has long discovered the commercial benefits of difference. On the other hand, fixed actors cannot act in the international market without enunciations related to technology, modernity, and the like, because we know quite well that the 'globalized ears', mostly based in the richer countries, need standardized variation. In other words, in order to succeed, fixed actors need to be close to enunciations similar to those that flexible actors employ. Such enunciations endow them with the legitimacy necessary to operate in this market. In turn, the flexible actors need the attributes of the fixed actors, because without them they cannot offer a differentiated product, one that will be accepted in the economy of niches.

The problem, however, is that within the international market these two groups operate through different modes. While flexible actors act mainly through their individuality, fixed actors act mainly through their collective or broader identities. Potential consequences for the fixed actors include the possibility of being easily discarded as individuals; meanwhile, flexible artists use the culture from which fixed actors are alienated in order to valorize themselves.

Perhaps we would be horrified should we ever encounter the laundress Dona Maria singing Madonna's song, "Like a Virgin", instead of playing the "authentic" *rabeca*. However, we would probably celebrate if Madonna ever decided to record a song that included this instrument from Brazilian Northeast.

Conclusion

As a discourse, diversity reunites knowledge and power. The discourse of diversity may be defined according to the interests of those who forge it, and also in terms of the articulation of the elements of power and knowledge it comprises. Given these terms, one can create a discourse of diversity from the nation's point of view by pointing out that the many particular nations, understood within their own systems, comprise affirmations that refer strictly to them. Another may find the nation in itself far too broad and instead use the same discourse of diversity to break up this whole, which at this moment is a universal reference, in order to propose other particulars. This process can go on endlessly, because what defines the similarities or the peculiarities of the particulars is inconsistent.

The managing of differences and similarities is what allows for the creation and the separation of the Self and the Other. One can select from an infinite array of elements to create the Self and the Other. The Self is composed by selecting elements perceived as similar. Qualities that are seen as different are used to create the Other, although these aspects may be similar within the Other.

If one was to pick out other elements or if there existed other points of view within any of these elements, then other definitions of Self and Other could emerge. Alan Lomax, for example, used Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas* to develop the 'cantometric computer map' and divide the world into six regions, 56 cultural areas and 233 cultures. More interesting still, he redrew the map of the world using cultural concepts; Lomax arranged Chile and Argentina in Europe while he placed Salvador, the capital of Bahia, in Africa (LOMAX, 1968).

The power of the discourse of diversity, once it breaks the traditional relation between the universal and the particular, lies in its ability to re-define particulars and universals, sometimes bringing back old, traditional elements (such as the "Mercator Projection"), while other times creating new modes of enunciation (especially in terms of defining cultures). This process is not innocent. In it, one finds struggles, different interests, control, and negotiations. Moreover, the discourse of diversity currently takes place within a worldwide context, in which the particular and the universals are necessarily global. Thus, within the use of the discourse of diversity one may find the possibility for emancipatory movements as well as very perverse modes of domination.

Certainly, it is important to examine what kinds of music are being targeted in national or ethnic ideologies. However this text has attempted to do something else. It has strived to reveal that the discourse of diversity itself has the ability to define the scope and limits of such articulations. A logic sets this scope and these limits: the logic of conditions and interests, of particulars and universals.

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