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# MORE *Than* BOLLYWOOD

## STUDIES IN INDIAN POPULAR MUSIC

Edited by GREGORY D. BOOTH and BRADLEY SHOPE



More Than Bollywood

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# MORE THAN BOLLYWOOD

*Studies in Indian Popular Music*

Edited by Gregory D. Booth

*and*

Bradley Shope

OXFORD  
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## ABOUT THE WEBSITE

[www.oup.com/us/morethanbollywood](http://www.oup.com/us/morethanbollywood)

This is the companion website for *More Than Bollywood: Studies in Indian Popular Music*. This title provides essays on the scope and depth of popular music in India, and includes many of the leading scholars currently working on Indian popular music and culture. The volume offers a wide perspective on contemporary and historical popular music in India. Oxford University Press publishes this website to accompany the book. It offers additional information, downloads, and supplemental materials to augment the printed publication.

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# Introduction

## *Popular Music in India*

GREGORY D. BOOTH AND BRADLEY SHOPE

In March of 2011, Asha Bhosle, the legendary Indian vocalist, finished a short Asia-Pacific tour with a concert in Auckland, New Zealand. At 78, Bhosle had retired from her career as a playback singer recording songs for films, primarily in Hindi, that had begun in 1948. Nevertheless, this was her first appearance in Auckland, and the event attracted roughly four thousand members of the local Indian community. Some had spent their college years listening to Bhosle's hits; others were small children during the height of her career but had experienced her songs as their parents' favorites; others, still younger, were familiar with remix versions of her hits.

Bhosle's tour was titled "Rahul and I," a reference to film song composer Rahul Dev Burman (1939–1994) with whom she was closely associated, both personally and professionally. Consequently, all the film songs she performed that night were composed by Burman and recorded by Bhosle under his supervision in Mumbai's film studios. The 11-piece band that accompanied her was directed by percussionist Nitin Shankar and featured veterans of Mumbai's film studios (especially in the horn section), as well as some younger guitar-playing rockers.

The latter's influence was quite perceptible in some of the arrangements that combined Bhosle's featured songs with famous hits from the American rock repertoire. A performance that began with the Eagles' "Hotel California," for example, segued quite neatly—if unexpectedly—into

Burman's early "Chura Liya Hai Tumne Jo Dil Ko" ["You've Stolen My Heart"].

In addition to film songs, Bhosle sang four items from a broad category of songs historically referred to as "non-film." The significance of such a label is highly instructive and is discussed below. In this case, Bhosle selected four songs from popular repertoires that are associated—by language and regional style—with four of India's major northern cultural communities (Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati, and Marathi), each of which was well represented in the audience that night. Early in the performance, a *bhangra* song inspired a number of Punjabi audience members to dance their way to the front of the hall.

Toward the end of the program, Bhosle acknowledged her own Maharashtrian heritage by singing a pair of *lavanis*, the often risqué Marathi-language songs associated with the more vaudevillian musical theatre traditions of western India. This provoked an even larger rush to the stage by the Marathis who were present. The crowd grew larger again when Bhosle moved on to one of her most famous film recordings, Burman's nod to psychedelic rock, "Dum Maro Dum" ["Take Another Hit"]. After her final number, Burman's masterful and complex "Piya Tu, Ab To Aaja" ["Lover, Come Soon"] Bhosle left the stage. At that point, her band segued smoothly and loudly into an arrangement of "Soul Sacrifice," an instrumental number from the 1969 debut LP of the Latin-rock band Santana.

This concert in Auckland (though it could have been almost anywhere in the Anglophone world) embodied many issues and complexities. Three of these issues stand out: first, the inescapable importance of the songs produced by Mumbai's commercial film industry (now commonly referred to as "Bollywood") in Indian popular culture; second, the regional and linguistic diversity of India that has played such a role in the shaping of the popular music market; and third, the longstanding interactive relationship—across colonial, postcolonial, and global periods of Indian history—between Indian popular music and the songs of the globally powerful Western music industries. We consider each of these issues in turn here.

## FILM SONG (AND ONLY FILM SONG)

The basis of Asha Bhosle's success was her career as a playback singer for the Hindi cinema. She provided the musical voice of more than 20 important film actresses who emoted, mimed, and danced their way across Indian screens. Despite the fact that she was heard much more than she was seen

for most of her career, and despite the increasingly nostalgic quality of her songs and image, Bhosle remains one of India's most important popular singing stars; the appeal of her film songs remains both pan-generational and global.

India's popular music and its popular culture history were conditioned by the subcontinent's historical relationships with colonialism, imperialism, slavery, the transnational market economy, local governmental factors, international conventions, and a host of other circumstances. At the heart of India's popular music culture, however, is the fact that India's commercial filmmakers often wielded the most direct financial interest in and control of Indian popular song. Across India's print, cinematic, and broadcast media, those songs were imbued with powerful and complex semiotic, cultural, and industrial connections to the images, emotions, and ideologies of the films of which they were a part. Because India's popular music culture has been so enmeshed in the needs and symbol systems of a commercial cinema, it is impossible to approach Indian popular music simply as if it were an Indian version of the culture, industries, and processes that produce Western popular music.

Scholars have gradually come to accept the logic of the seemingly self-evident argument that "film songs are not a tradition of music independent from the cinema" (Morcom 2007, 13). Yet, as Asha Bhosle's concert demonstrated, "independence" (or the lack thereof) is a slippery concept in this (or almost any) cultural context. Film songs in India *did* function very much in the manner of popular songs elsewhere: They were mediated expressions of romantic love to which young (and not-so-young) Indians responded emotionally; they were the materials of popular slang and shorthand social communication; they were the songs people sang or listened to at parties and social gatherings; and at times they were (and are still) the songs to which people danced, both socially and on stages.

## MANY LANGUAGES, MANY INDUSTRIES

Bhosle's Auckland concert also demonstrated the ongoing reality of India's cultural diversity and the ways that diversity has affected its popular music culture. After her opening number, Bhosle asked the audience a question that might be translated into English as "Who all is here?" She meant, of course, which of India's many specific linguistic/cultural groups were represented in this particular Indian audience. She then singled out four groups: Gujaratis, Panjabis, Marathis, and Bengalis. These communities would have been well represented in almost any audience that she



confronted. Bhosle's explicit acknowledgment of the audience's diversity, however, both reified and essentialized that diversity while simultaneously constructing a unified whole. (Indeed, some members of the audience responded by shouting "Indian" in response to her question, intentionally rejecting Bhosle's division of the audience into regional/linguistic components.)

The divisive potential of the "Indian" audience has long been a matter of much debate, and one that has required quite careful handling in all mass-media forms. By confronting community identities in this way, Bhosle expressed direct recognition of each group, facilitating the accessibility of her linguistically specific songs for the audience as a whole. More than the simple fact of her performance of songs representing specific regional and linguistic identities, however, our awareness of Bhosle's management of the cultural diversity within this (or almost any) Indian audience helps refine our understandings of the relationship between India's popular music culture and industry and the subcontinent's diversity.

India's music, theatre, and film industries, from their inception in the live stage-theatre traditions of the latter 19th century, have had to survive in a culture with linguistic, religious, and regional distinctions that sometimes seem to be endless. As Bhosle's *lavani* performance demonstrated, regional styles in regional languages have the power to call attention, usually in a very positive way, to individuals who are simultaneously Indian and also Tamil, Bengali, Konkani, and so forth. Multilingual vocalists such as Bhosle, as well as an often-fragmented music industry, have embraced this impossible diversity. An enormous range of potentially genre-defining factors, most clearly language and regional style, but also devotional content, relationships to "traditional" or to "Western" models, or relationships to visual images and narrative have made for an extremely diverse popular music culture. This diversity of music has influenced individuals involved in music creation, composition, performance, production, and distribution. Multiple industries have catered to India's diversity and incorporated diversity in performances, mediated content, and industrial structures and practices.

Despite the subcontinent's linguistic and cultural diversity, and despite political protests in the 20th century, Hindi is today India's national language. In consequence, the Hindi-language cinema has often been seen as acting in support of a pan-regional Indian nationalism (Chakravarty 1993; Vasudevan 2000; and Rajadhyaksha 2009). Furthermore, the Hindi film and music industry was initially the largest of all the linguistic industries and has been the most consistently influential nationally. In what remains a fragmented market, regional film industries have often followed the

stylistic, technological, and commercial practices of Mumbai's composers and film producers. Bhosle's performance in New Zealand demonstrated both the Hindi dominance and the regional diversity that have been replicated across a transnational Indian culture.

## **"EAST" AND "WEST"**

Finally, the performance in Auckland demonstrated that "East is East and West is West" has never been the rule in Indian popular culture. From the later 19th century at least, and often in direct response to the pressures and opportunities of British (and Portuguese and French) colonialism, Indian artists have been part of a globalizing popular music culture. With the establishment of film song's hegemony in the mid-20th century, globalizing forces converged in the cinema industry and exposed masses of Indians to a synthesis of what were once distinctly Indian and non-Indian styles.

The complexity of India's cultural referents is clear from the very cover of this volume. The original version of the image on the cover was created by a young Indian named Darryl Kirby in 1965 as the program cover for a dance (the Thunder Ball) that was being put on by two young men from Mumbai at the prestigious Crystal Room located in Mumbai's landmark Taj Mahal Palace Hotel (see Chapter 10). One of bands featured at the Thunder Ball was the Jets, whose lead guitarist was Kirby's younger brother Mike (see Chapter 11). The cover was one of many that Kirby, then an art student at South Mumbai's Campion High School, produced for local rock and other events in the first half of the 1960s.

It is indicative of the closeness of the South Mumbai "western" music scene that Darryl Kirby's art teacher was Alex Correa. When he was not teaching art, Correa was also playing drums in the city's leading jazz band, led by his brother Mickey. The Correias were also regular performers at the Taj. It is a further indication of the interconnected-ness of South Mumbai's popular music world that Correa's daughter, Fran, was a member of Mumbai's only "girl group", the Pop-Pets.

In addition to the Jets, the Thunder Ball line-up featured included other early Indian rock or pop acts such as the Beatroutes, the Satellites, Unit 4+1 and Lone Trojan. Biddu Apaiah was the last survivor of the Trojans, another very early Indian rock band. When the Trojans broke up in 1964, Apaiah spent a year or so in Mumbai performing as the Lone Trojan before moving to the U.K. and subsequent fame as a pop song writer and producer. Thunder Ball itself was an early example of a growing trend

in India's popular music culture, in which young people (almost always young men) from the city's elite schools and colleges acted as part-time entrepreneurs to produce events at which they could share their enjoyment of the new popular music with their friends and (hopefully) make some money as well.

The event that resulted in the design on this volume's cover, however, leads us back to Asha Bhosle's Auckland concert. The connections are certainly tenuous, but nevertheless instructive; they demonstrate clearly India's role in the multi-lateral cultural interactions that we now call globalization. It was the younger fans of bands like the Jets and the Trojans who responded so positively to the Indian release—by Polydor Records in 1970—of the three LP-set that chronicled the 1969 Woodstock Music and Art Fair (Woodstock) and to the subsequent release of the film in 1971. Given the relative scarcity of western recordings in India during the 1960s and 1970s, the songs and artists featured on the Woodstock recordings became disproportionately important for Indian rock fans. Accounts of local rock performances during the early 1970s, which built on the success of 1965's *Thunder Ball*, are laden with reports of Indian bands playing the songs performed in up-state New York in 1969. When Asha Bhosle's Auckland musicians closed their concert with Santana's "Soul Sacrifice"—a band and a song that featured prominently in the Woodstock recordings—the Indian audience in Auckland was hearing distant echoes of the impact of an American event on an earlier generation of Indians.

Many of the musicians onstage in Auckland in 2011 that night had personal (if still professional) connections—as Indians—with jazz, rumba, rock, hip-hop, and other musical styles. At the same time, they had all recorded film music at least occasionally during their professional careers. Because of these longstanding interactions, it is frequently difficult (and often pointless) to try to assert the specifically "Indian" or "Western" meanings of songs, instruments, or even genres. In the first decades of the 21st century, we are confronted with a cultural context in which songs by the Eagles or by Santana may contribute successfully and almost unremarkably to a quintessentially Indian performance.

As is already apparent from this brief discussion, the three issues highlighted by this concert interact in endless ways in Indian popular music and culture. This volume argues that these three issues are fundamental. We explore a broad range of styles and meanings in India's popular music from the 1930s and '40s to the first decades of the 21st century; but, like Asha Bhosle's career and her Auckland performance, our research is based on the premise that to perform—or to think, speak, or write about—popular music in South Asia is to confront, in one way or another, the unique

and overwhelming importance of the songs of India's commercial cinemas. Similarly, our various chapters (each contributed by a different author) acknowledge India's linguistic and cultural diversity. We examine film songs and non-film songs sung in Hindi but also consider songs sung in Panjabi, Tamil, Malayali, and Marathi, which are only a small proportion of India's linguistic diversity. Finally, most of our chapters confront, in some fashion or other, aspects of the very real mixtures and the sometimes artificial distinctions that maintain the "East and West" paradigm in various syncretic popular music repertoires.

Despite this linguistic, historical, and stylistic range, however, we (like Asha Bhosle) are never too far from the dominant film song repertoire. Using the English-language metaphor, film song is the elephant in the room at a party. In the Hindi version of that metaphor, film song is the *safed hathi*, the white elephant. In either language, this elephant stands out in the crowd (in Hindi, he even stands out in a crowd of elephants). We may choose to admire or to ridicule his impressive girth and unusual color; we may complain about the amount of room he demands or even try (however futilely) to pretend that he simply does not exist. No matter what form our response takes, however, we must somehow acknowledge and account for the elephant's presence: We know he is there and even if the object of our research is quite distinct (as it is in some of these chapters), we cannot help glancing over our shoulders at the behemoth.

Despite our acknowledgment of the elephantine reality, it is one of our goals to underscore the fact that music and commerce in India have never been entirely subsumed within the domain of film songs and the film industry. Popular music outside the film industry existed in India before, during, and especially after the years of film song's more complete dominance, in more diverse and vital forms than the undifferentiating (and rather dismissive) qualifier "non-film" would suggest, even though this label has been routinely used by those in the music and film industries. Some chapters in this volume directly address musics that have achieved some popularity among heterogeneous audiences outside of the cinema. We address the integrity and sustainability of music at the margins of the film industry, and reiterate the suggestion that even the representation of music in films solely as "film music" is problematic. From the consumption of jazz during the colonial period, to an emerging rock scene in the 1960s, to more contemporary "Indipop" or fusion hip-hop styles, we claim that meaning in India's popular music has been closely linked to historical patterns of the various forms of capitalism and semi-capitalism in Indian music production and to industrial frameworks that often—but not always—shadow the dynamic growth of the cinema.

To extend our pachydermal metaphor to cover all of India's popular music, the authors and editors of this volume are rather like the blind men and women who, when confronted with an elephant, each reported an animal of different shape and size, based on their quite different anatomical experiences with the tail, trunk, legs, and so on. Given the breadth and diversity of popular music as a phenomenon in India, it is not realistic to expect unanimity of perception or interpretation. Nevertheless, our individual accounts are not as disparate as they may appear. As the metaphor implies, the specific and even localized studies in this volume collectively offer a view of popular music on the subcontinent that is both more comprehensive and more detailed than has heretofore been available.

## DANCING (AND NOT) WITH THE ELEPHANT

India's popular music, as a whole, remains understudied. In the first couple of decades after independence, film song was India's only locally produced, mass-mediated popular music, but it was firmly embedded in India's commercial and chaotic film-production system. The composers who produced film songs, their music production workshops, and the recording studios where those songs were recorded—indeed, the film industry as a whole—operated at a frenetic pace in a relatively closed world. Yet only after the musical and industrial changes and growing diversity that occurred either immediately before or (more commonly) after the beginnings of economic liberalization in the late 1980s (cf. Guha 2007) did ethnomusicologists begin to gradually engage with popular music on the subcontinent, producing research that, by and large, addressed new developments rather than the past. Although a number of chapters in this volume are historical, the book as a whole does not (and cannot) fill the historical gap in scholarly studies addressing the popular music of the pre-liberalization era. The years of late colonialism through the 1970s still require extensive primary research by ethnomusicologists. At best, we strive here to create a coherent link between the pre- and post-liberalization periods.

Popular music is directly connected to processes of commodification, reproducibility, mass production, and mass consumption of live performances, sound recordings, and broadcasts. Radios, gramophones, cassettes, CDs, MP3s, sheet music, films, and other entertainment commodities produced capital that enabled the growth of a wide variety of entertainment. In India, these processes and media sometimes took place within, and

often connected to, the historical context of British colonialism from the 19th century onward. Especially after the appearance of recorded sound, local popular music production was sometimes dependent on technologies and media that were initially under the control of the entertainment industries of the British and Europeans, discussed by Booth, Hughes, and Shope in this volume. Wallis and Malm (1984) and Manuel (1993) have examined these issues at global and local levels.

Beginning in the mid-19th century, the global products of the transnational music industry in India were produced by companies located primarily in Britain and the United States, whose influence arose from their embedded positions within the structures of European colonialism and American hegemony. Performers and recordings associated with that industry flowed through India as through the world, carried by the power of colonialism and industrialization, and consumed largely by those following the paths of colonial control. These processes resulted in two streams of music: one transnational and the other local, one catering largely to Europeans or local elites and the other almost exclusively to local mass audiences, one often sung in colonial languages and the other almost always in vernacular languages. Each musical stream flowed alongside the other, and both were constrained by borders that were cultural rather than national. By the mid-20th century, the scope of global music in India was no longer defined by European or colonial culture.

In many ways, India's economic and regulatory environment has been a key factor in the postcolonial history of its popular music. In 1950, India was a newly nonaligned and socialist nation that sought to manage industry and development centrally through carefully prepared economic plans. The Indian Planning Commission's second five-year plan in 1956 sought to encourage indigenous industrialization through government control (Guha 2007). It banned or severely restricted the importation of almost all consumer goods and much technology, imposed high tariffs on all imports, required the licensing of all new private companies, and, most significantly, required almost all Indian-registered companies to have at least 60 percent Indian ownership. This body of legislation, known as the "License Raj," had an enormous effect on Indian business and culture. As Stephen McDowell has argued, "[I]n the first 35 years of its independence from Britain, India pursued national and international economic and political policies that left it truly situated at the margins of the world economy" (1997, 59). There is no evidence that the Indian government thought seriously about its culture industry in terms of development, but the legislation did "indigenize" the music industry by forcing foreign-owned music companies out of India. From 1956 or so onward, India was not part of the world music (or film)

economy; this economic isolation had the concomitant effect of severely limiting the impact of external media culture on the Indian audience. Despite the difficulties and limitations imposed by the License Raj, India's isolation created an environment in which its indigenous popular music and culture (both generated by the film industry) could flourish without significant competition. When Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi initiated the process of economic liberalization in the late 1980s, India's culture industries (along with the rest of the country) embarked on the road toward globalization. Most of the chapters in this volume detail specific outcomes of that journey.

Readers will note that we focus primarily on musical, cultural, and technological innovation in Indian popular music from the 1980s onward, when India's popular culture was characterized by rapidly expanding diversity in such matters as musical style, industrial logic, and technologies of sound and film recording, with India's increasing economic liberalization centered firmly in the background. The popular music of India's colonial era and first few years of independence has received relatively little scholarly attention generally, as we have noted, with the exception of work by Shope (2007, 2008), Hughes (2002, 2007), and Fernandes (2012). Hughes and Shope both provide chapters in this volume (chapters 5 and 10); Booth's study of the key figures contributing to the formation (and formalization) of the Hindi film song style between 1948 and 1952 also examines this era. Otherwise, and with the partial exception of Booth's examination of Indian rock bands (chapter 11), the research in this volume focuses on developments that began with liberalization. The limited historical scope of this volume highlights both the need for more research and the difficulties in conducting historical explorations into the early years of India's popular culture. Our post-liberalization focus also explains this volume's ahistorical organization.

## **FILM MUSIC BEFORE AND AFTER (LIBERALIZATION/GLOBALIZATION)**

As Gregory Booth outlines in chapter 1, the specific (and syncretic) nature of film song during the first two decades after independence (or longer) was formalized and reinforced by a group of music directors (composers), singers, and arrangers who came to prominence in the later 1940s. This group established film song as a genre that was independent from the songs of India's musical stage and integrated into the technological process of producing a musical film. Music directors like Naushad Ali, the duo



Shankar-Jaikishan, C. Ramchandra, and many others often used traditional and classical melodic materials in their compositions, but they also pioneered the use of global popular musics.

The beginnings of liberalization at the end of the 1980s witnessed the first appearances of a major technological shift in Indian film and sound production. By the late 1990s, even newer sound and film production technologies significantly impacted Indian films and film songs. Musical instrument digital interface (MIDI) systems and other computer-based technologies increased filmmakers' use of background music and encouraged a new generation of recording studios, resulting in higher production values across the film- and music-production process. Digital technology also created new opportunities for illegal retailers who began producing cheap audio discs using MP3 formatting.

Natalie Sarrazin continues Booth's focus on the Hindi cinema in chapter 2. She examines the relationship between digital technologies and the expanded scope of film music production and consumption in the post-liberalization cinema. More specifically, she proposes that new digital technologies have significantly broadened access to music from around the world for Indian composers and producers, creating a newly global "digital aesthetic" that has reconfigured patterns of film score composition. She also suggests that the increasingly global quality of the Hindi film song aesthetic is not necessarily a process of "Westernization," but represents yet another development in India's ongoing production of an independent popular culture.

Although Indian music culture has long been affected by global flows of entertainment commodities, the increased level of interaction between Indian popular music and global culture, brought about in part by digital technology, has become increasingly multifaceted. Processes of film song composition have extended well beyond the influence of the "West" on Indian popular music, perhaps best illustrated in the recent work of film composer A. R. Rahman, an international figure who represents India's important function in the global flow of popular music. Sarrazin considers some of Rahman's work for the Hindi cinema. Her chapter is complemented by Joseph Getter's consideration of "Kollywood" in chapter 3, the Tamil-language film industry located in the Kodambakkam area of Chennai, where Rahman began his film-music career.

In chapter 3, Getter offers a study of regional film music. The linguistic diversity of India that we previously discussed produced a quasi-national popular cinema in the Hindi language production center of Mumbai, but it also produced regional centers dedicated to the production of Tamil-language films in Chennai, Telugu-language films in Chennai and



Hyderabad, and Malayali-language films in the south, in addition to films produced in Bengali, Gujarati, Bhojpuri, and other northern languages. Getter examines recent developments in Tamil film song and investigates the impact of online communities in connecting Tamil film music fans globally. He suggests that new patterns of digital circulation reconstitute Tamil film music as a global sound and force us to question our capacity to solely attribute film music to the Indian domestic geographic space.

In chapter 4, Kaley Mason moves beyond the industrial processes in song development, commoditization, and dissemination that Booth, Sarrazin, and Getter develop. Mason addresses a relationship between film songs (and song scenes) and local understandings of gender. As he sorts through newly crafted images of gender in the musical sensibilities of the Malayalam film industry located in Kerala in Southwestern India, he suggests that music and on-screen visual images reflect subjects that reach well beyond the purely musical, or even the purely expressive. His exploration of gender details a thoughtful example of a social matter that informs audience understanding of music, narrative, and images.

## AUDIO CULTURES, MUSIC VIDEOS, AND FILM MUSIC

Before the 1980s, Indian audio culture was largely limited to the cinema and the radio. For primarily economic but also infrastructural reasons, recorded sound discs and records played very little part in most people's lives. Popular music might be fancifully said to have a natural relationship with mediated modes of production, dissemination, and reception; but in truth, those modes were limited to broadcast and public display formats. The individual ability to own the means of music playback as well as individually chosen music commodities only came within the reach of most Indians beginning in the late 1970s during what Manuel has called the cassette revolution (1993).

Audiocassette technology first reached India in the mid-1970s, initially in the form of portable "two-in-one" cassette player-recorders, but professional recording and duplicating technology was in place by the end of the decade. Audiocassettes were robust and easy to mass-produce and could be played on portable battery-powered players. Cassette technology significantly increased the number of consumers who could afford to buy and listen to recorded music and was indeed a "revolution, which fundamentally restructured the commercial-music industry and the nature of Indian popular music in general" (Manuel 1993, 37). The relative low cost and ease of cassette production created an industrial and cultural space for new

music companies and new patterns of consumption outside the context of the cinema hall or the radio.

Because of cassette technology, popular non-film musical genres increased exponentially in the 1980s. Despite the sudden diversity and choice available to consumers, however, film songs did not disappear from the market. Old and new record companies began to produce compilations of older popular songs that had not been easily available or accessible. “Version songs,” re-recordings or reproductions of old melodies, also made an impact in the 1980s. This new genre used film song melodies as the basis for new arrangements that added contemporary rhythms to familiar songs.

As technologies changed, television gradually became a significant force in India’s mediascape. By 1984, the government-owned Doordarshan (literally, tele-vision) was available to 70 percent of the population; in 1991, the privately owned Star Asia satellite network first offered consumers direct, privately controlled access to global television content. MTV and other music channels took advantage of these developments and exposed audiences to the music and media of the world economy. Part two considers some of the developments during this period of increasingly rapid change. We examine audio and video phenomena and the ways mediated cultures have developed around popular practices, genres, artists, and marketing practices.

In his consideration of genre in Indian popular music in chapter 5, Jayson Beaster-Jones connects the range of film song traditions discussed in part one to a variety of non-film popular musics. Cassettes made possible an economically viable mass market that allowed Indian popular music producers to begin a process of genre differentiation that had long characterized the world music economy (Walser 1993). Beaster-Jones takes a broad perspective on the fundamental changes that began in the 1980s, examining global flows of technology as a primer to understanding the development of a *filmi* aesthetic in North India. He assesses the extent to which genre categories in the Indian popular music industry have become even more nebulous in the face of new patterns of composition and production.

In chapter 6, Stephen Putnam Hughes suggests that early Indian entrepreneurs embraced foreign gramophone technology to construct an Indian, and explicitly Hindu, popular music in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Hughes suggests that the complex role played by iconography in Hinduism helped locally owned and managed subsidiaries of the major global recording companies (primarily Columbia and the Gramophone Company of India) construct an ideology in which the image of the gramophone itself and the technological innovations it embodied were incorporated into a modernist Hindu outlook. He argues that commoditizing a conspicuously

Hindu manner of conceptualizing religious music corresponds to the moment that South Indians were for the first time becoming involved in the music recording business. A new business model involved a kind of Hindu makeover for a gramophone industry that lasted for almost a decade until the advent of film music. In these years before the dominance of film song, Hughes teaches us that popular music became a modern reorientation of traditional devotional practice.

Like Beaster-Jones, Anjali Gera Roy traces a connection between film song and non-film popular song. In chapter 7, she addresses the famous, if contested, popular song and dance genre called *bhangra*. Widely known as a “traditional” form of Panjabi performance culture from Northwestern India, Roy examines the early incorporation of *bhangra* as a symbol of Indian identity in the Hindi cinema during the mid-1950s. She then considers how Panjabi migrants living in Britain developed *bhangra* into a pop style eventually repatriated to India, and examines *bhangra* as it has been shaped and transformed through continuous negotiations between the aesthetic and stylistic norms of MTV and Hindi film song scenes.

In the 1990s, with no local examples or models to follow (other than film song), many pop artists such as Alisha Chinai, Remo Fernandes, and others turned to Western pop music and artists for inspiration. Peter Kvetko’s (2005) research on this topic offers the first comprehensive study of popular music in India from the 1980s onward. In chapter 8, Kvetko continues his work and examines the career and recordings of one of the most important stars in the first wave of Hindi pop (sometimes called Indipop), rapper Baba Sehgal. Kvetko asserts that Sehgal reconfigured the music of globally familiar rap stars (as hip-hop was then known) to produce Indipop songs that successfully appealed to a new youth identity.

The continuing development of a non-film popular music market that began in the 1980s and ’90s included new markets for popular devotional genres, regional musics, stylized folk and folk narratives, as well as romantic songs based on light-classical models (after the turn of the millennium). Stefan Fiol offers a detailed example of regional popular music development in chapter 9. He provides a close-up look at non-film folk song production in the context of the dramatic growth of Garhwali *geet*, from the hill region (Garhwal) of the northern state of Uttarakhand. Following these developments into the 21st century, Fiol details the ways that new technologies, requiring much smaller investments in production infrastructure, have increased the viability and popularity of regional styles. This story has been replicated in many regions of India, as India’s mono-genre popular music culture has exploded and diversified in all directions.

With the important exception of musical theater, venues for the live, commercial consumption of popular music—such as concert halls, nightclubs, or dancehalls—were not “traditional” components of Indian culture. As much as the music itself, the development of a popular music culture in India involved the development of new, live forms of popular music production and consumption beginning in the early 21st century. Part three examines live music and performance cultures of popular music in India. This section also considers the interaction of pre-mediated live performance traditions with the world of recorded popular music.

In chapter 10, Shope unpicks the multi-textured entertainment networks that dominated European social life in colonial India. He shows that as early as 1865, these flows washed the songs and performance culture of American black minstrelsy onto Indian shores, but he focuses on the global flow of popular culture in the early and middle 20th century. Those flows brought the popular music and musical cultures of Europe and America, vaudeville, jazz, and their related forms to British India; but, as he shows, those flows spilled over into the film song stream. In particular, he traces the presence of Latin American music in Mumbai from the 1930s to the 1950s.

In the first decades of the 20th century, the local colonial population supported theaters and ballroom venues that booked touring minstrels, burlesques, vaudeville acts, masquerade dances, “follies,” and cabaret routines. Shope suggests that by the end of World War I, a global jazz craze appeared in India, as almost everywhere else. Listeners enjoyed jazz on imported gramophone discs and witnessed live jazz performances by local orchestras and foreign touring groups. He focuses on live cabaret performances, which increased exponentially between the 1930s and 1940s, and argues that they were heavily influenced by Hollywood representations of Latin American music and dance, including the work of Carmen Miranda.

Colonial India thus became an import market for an increasingly global music (and film) industry. When sound recording technology (and industry) appeared in India, it did so in a context that was inherently transnational. European audiences enjoyed exposure to global patterns of music movement, including imported recordings of “opera, comic songs, military band music, marches, waltzes, classical and church music catered primarily to European tastes” (Hughes 2002, 446). These early industries were designed to cater to European and elite Indian populations, and often reinforced social status.

By mid-century, a number of developments radically altered the cultural, political, economic, and regulatory contexts for popular music in India. Indian independence led to the departure of most of the British (and other Europeans) residents who had been the primary audience for the global stream of India's popular music culture. Outside of Mumbai and Kolkata and a few other urban locations, the social behaviors and entertainment economies that provided the basis for the live performance of Western-style popular music ended. The new government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru sought to move the new, economically destitute country toward a more egalitarian, socialist model of society. Among other consequences of this shift was a decline in Western-style cabaret nightlife and the consumption of alcohol, both of which were officially frowned upon. Meanwhile, the Indian government began to regulate the import of foreign culture and technology, limiting Indians' access to global trends. These developments led to a decline in (although by no means the complete obliteration of) the market for, and availability of, "English" popular music, especially outside India's large urban centers.

Despite these daunting conditions, some young Indians—mostly urban and enrolled in English middle schools—became fascinated by British and American rock music in the early 1960s. Those for whom it was especially attractive found no alternative but to make the music (and sometimes their instruments) themselves. Following global developments in youth culture in the later 1960s and early 1970s, these young enthusiasts sought to develop a viable rock music culture, usually in explicit opposition to the sounds and ideologies of film song. In chapter 11, Booth offers three case studies of rock bands from Mumbai, in the context of changing media and access to foreign musical content. Although rock music's distinctly oppositional ideology was attractive to some young Indians, it was not embraced by the country as a whole or by the Indian music industry. As they had in the 1950s, English-language lyrics limited the appeal of rock. Struggling to overcome the challenges of locating instruments and equipment and finding venues that would support them, Booth suggests that most bands found the struggle to survive overwhelming.

Niko Higgins, in chapter 12, examines the history and contemporary outcomes of another development in popular music that began in the 1970s, when Indian classical and folk musicians, seeking to expand their musical and/or financial horizons, began collaborating with Western musicians (from similarly diverse backgrounds and with similar goals) to produce a

genre that the Indian industry labeled “fusion.” The group Shakti combined the talents of three young Indian musicians with those of a jazz/rock/blues guitarist and recorded some of the most influential discs of this new style. In his examination of fusion as popular music, Higgins suggests that genre boundaries in contemporary fusion music in Chennai are created through politically charged, irresolute strategies of classification. In this instance, conflicts between broad “Indian” and “Western” categories are apparent, as are “modern” or “traditional” designations and their associated links to the Indian/West binary.

A number of regional styles of popular music came about from interactions between traditional Indian music forms and the recording studio. In chapter 13, Shalini Ayyagari explores the work of Manganiyar folk musicians and emphasizes the role of industry in regional music development. Her study of these hereditary musicians in Western Rajasthan focuses on two recording studios that engaged in divergent approaches to infusing world music into local song traditions. She explores changing ideas about creativity and innovation among Manganiyar musician communities, and traces a shift from diverse traditional song practices to more expansive markets beyond local patronage and tourism markets.

In yet another chapter addressing a regional style of music, Anna Schultz examines popular manifestations of regional devotional songs in chapter 14. Schultz explains that a diversity of live performers, including classical performers, embraced devotional song styles and used their classical reputations to record popular and devotional songs for record companies. Schultz traces the ongoing shifts in identity and ideology in the Marathi- and Kannada-language devotional song recordings of Pandit Bhimsen Joshi. In doing so, she helps us follow the historical flow of devotional songs, sometimes highly visible and sometimes almost totally submerged by the overwhelming presence of film song.

Finally, in chapter 15, Paul Greene addresses a new style of music production called “remixing” in which club DJs layer vocal lines from Bollywood film songs and remix them over dance beats. Remixing has engendered a reorientation of the politics of music production in the Bollywood industry and expanded the film song market to youths in dance clubs who otherwise might not usually listen to original Bollywood versions. DJs sell these remixes and take advantage of the widespread popularity of older film songs, while still appealing to young audiences who, increasingly, want to dance to contemporary rhythms. This process expands the reach of film songs into a larger demographic market while crossing over into a new style of film music.