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Dancing Africa in Diaspora: Music, Conundrums and Transnational Encounter[1]

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Abstract
This article explores how Logo Ligi's songs and lyrics function in the diasporic space of Boulder, Colorado (USA). It also examines the function of dances in analysing the cross-cultural nature of the relationship between Africans in Colorado and their American hosts. People like music for different reasons; Logo Ligi music resonates with African beats and rhythms which are difficult from the cultural music in Colorado. This difference leads to fractional differences between the hosts (students) and Logo Ligi creatives, yet it is these subtle undertones that hold the group together in the creation of a hybrid culture or artifact. Further, the article explores the socio-cultural and economic relations, interactions, and consequences of musical cultures in diasporic spaces, and the possibility that creative conflicts might be part of the outcome of these interactions.

Introduction

In my ethnomusicology proseminar class in graduate school, we were required to conduct ethnography-based research on a musical group from the area around Boulder, a university town in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in northern Colorado. I elected to do my research on Logo Ligi, an African musical dance group based in Boulder and led by Maputo Mensah, a Ghanaian dancer.

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2 *Special thanks to Maputo Mensah, Mawuenyega Mensah, Atta Addo Vanderpauye, members of Logo Ligi Dance Group, and some audience and admirers of Logo Ligi Dance Group. They received me with open arms, allowed me to be part of this group, and granted me many interviews during my research. I am also grateful to my mentors and colleagues who gave me meaningful feedback when this paper was presented at some conferences.*

Logo Ligi is famed for its spectacularly theatrical shows, and it is a much-cherished part of the local community. Prior to beginning my research, I had little idea of the group's performance ethos and aesthetics. One of the options was to analyze their music lyrics to reveal how they might function as social commentary in the Boulder community understood as a diasporic space. Since the lyrics in African music commonly provide social commentary on societal issues, I was intrigued to understand how Logo Ligi's song lyrics function in a diasporic space. Another alternative was to look at the dances and analyze how they enact Africa while figuring out why they appeal to members of the Boulder community—Boulderites. In general, people like music for different reasons. Logo Ligi music resonates with African beats and rhythms – what I, as an African in a foreign land, may call "my music" – and while I myself was overcome with acute nostalgia for the music and dance of my native Nigeria, especially the upbeat rhythm and physical movements, it was difficult to understand why Boulderites seemed even more excited than Nigerians each time Logi Ligi performs.

I observed the Logo Ligi Dance group's rehearsal on the first day and joined the dance the second day. On my third day with the group, I was surprised to discover that there were creative tensions that suggested that Maputo Mensah and his American dancers/students did not get along. If so, why did they not get along? Why do the students keep coming despite frequent misunderstandings? How do they put on such impressive performances? It was crucial to address these questions. Shortly, I realized that the subtle undertones that held the group together indicated that the creation of a hybrid culture or artifact does not always result in a problem-free relationship. Hence, this paper explores the socio-cultural and economic relations, interactions, and consequences of musical cultures in diasporic spaces, and the possibility that creative conflicts might be part of the outcome of these interactions. It examines the social contact in music practice between two cultures – Ghana and America, between a Ghanaian dance teacher and his American students.

The methodology I employed in my research on Logo Ligi Dance Group was processual, although it focused on discrete events, such as performances that are inherently temporal and ephemeral, and it was designed to record/document the performance data I encountered in my fieldwork, as well as provide a critical framework for analyzing them. The methodology combined qualitative analysis, observation of participants, interviews, and my own participation. The partnership enabled me to feel the music more. I also collected data in the form of audiovisual records of Logo Ligi performances, archival materials, and information available from their website.[3]

[3] https://LogoLigi.com/

Situating Logo Ligi in a Global Space

Many scholars, including David Held and Anthony McGrew (2013), have generally described globalisation as the integration of socio-cultural and economic relations/interactions among nations. Held and McGrew further explain that in trying to make sense of globalisation, it is crucial to explore social, political, and economic activities and their significance on individuals and communities around the globe. Exploring the socio-cultural interactions in particular will help to understand the intensification and interconnectedness of social coexistence among people from different cultures. Of most relevance to this study is Held and McGrew's persuasive argument that we ought to evaluate the evolution of trans-border interactions as well as the consequences on participants in a shared social space (Held and McGrew 2013: 2-3).

Globalization reinforces the importance of intersectionality as it reveals how local and global factors interact and intersect with cultures such as music and dance (Hayward 2012: 52). Music has been primarily globalised in two ways. The first is by categorising all non-classical or non-Western musical genres as 'world music." While this categorisation is problematic because of its sweeping generalisations, "world music represents a totalizing cultural formation that is shaped by the interaction between global musical production and the various local artistic practices often understood in relation to distinct cultural groups', and therefore reveals shared musical traits among different musical cultures of the world (Haynes 2005: 365). The second way in which music has been globalized is through the transnationalism that often occurs in diasporic spaces. Transnationalism involves crossing nations and continents to create multicultural musical genres (Garofalo 1993: 17). This is the case in Logo Ligi.

Logo Ligi: African Music and Music Mobility

Music in Africa and the diaspora have been linked with mobility that is characterised by technology and movements of people (Kyker 2013:265-267). Many ethnographers or foreigners, like Douglas and Laurel Epps, who encounter African musical cultures have made efforts to preserve or transmit them in their own local communitites (Epps and Epps 2012). This transmission is primarily achieved through teaching African music classes, African music ensembles, or creating an African dance group within the community where they reside. There is a visible effort to preserve the continuity of African musical traditions as a genuine part of an African community's local culture within broader and various diaspora settings as in Logo Ligi.

John and Lara Jenkins founded Logo Ligi in 1998 after their visit to Ghana in 1996. They had learned Ghanaian dances and decided to bring them back to the United States to introduce an African presence to Boulder, Colorado, where

Africans and Blacks, in general, make up 1.1% of the population, according to a 2019 statistical atlas of race and ethnicity in Boulder.[4] The Jenkins began this group and named it Logo Ligi, which means *to tickle* in Ga, a Ghanaian language.[5] They were successful in carrying out this project before they decided to hand it over to a Ghanaian music instructor/dancer – Maputo Mensah – to introduce and reinforce the African component and authenticity of the form and content. Maputo was a member of the Academy of Music and Art in Ghana and had taught African dances and drums at North Carolina State University, Duke University, Dartmouth College, as well as in New York City and New Jersey. He is currently at the University of Colorado, Boulder, where he manages the African ensemble. He started working with John and Lara and later took over the group because the company founders thought he would do a better job handling the group. Maputo gladly accepted this offer to provide an atmosphere where Africans and Americans could work together and share their cultures through music and dance, to extend this culture to other cities and to other parts of the United States, and, of course, to make money. Two other Ghanaian drummers, Mawuenyega Mensah and Atta Addo Vanderpauye, later joined Logo Ligi.[6] The composition of Logo Ligi and the migration of its members from Africa and across locations in the USA shed light on Krüger and Trandafoiu's assertion that migration and tourism reveal ways in which music is produced, articulated and consumed. They define migration – transition and adaptation – as a crucial component of globalisation that provides a new experience of existing in the world (Krüger and Trandafolu 2014: 1,15). They conclude that

> Music travels, especially in the age of globalization. Marked by human movement – voluntarily or forced, temporary or permanent – musical experience around the world is being shaped in often diverse and complex ways (2014: 3).

The complexity of musical experience and experimentations on form and format in Logo Ligi is described in detail later on in this essay in "Music and Conundrums in Diasporic Spaces".

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4 https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Colorado/Boulder/Race-and-Ethnicity

5 Ga is one of the indigenous languages in Ghana.

6 Mawuenyega and Atta Addo Vanderpauye decided to move to Boulder and join the group in 2007. Mawuenyega is Maputo's younger brother, who was a London based African dancer. He decided to join his brother in 2004 and became part of his group and teachings at CU, Boulder. Atta Addo was already performing in the USA.

Figure 1. Maputo, Mawuenyega and Atta Addo Playing Drums[7]

Logo Ligi has made tremendous progress in performing their versions of Sub-Saharan African music and has produced dancers who have moved on to different locations, teaching and performing the dances wherever they are. The members at the time of this research were four American dancers (three women and a man) who have been members of the group since 2007. The American dancers dance voluntarily for fun and are not paid. The concert money goes to the Ghanaians, in appreciation and compensation for their teachings, costumes, and website maintenance. The group members have worked hard and contributed immensely to the production of an undoubted "hybrid" musical culture in Boulder. Logo Ligi's history proves that the creation and maintenance of the dance group, especially in a diasporic space, is a collective effort. This paper reveals that the dances performed by Logo Ligi are only loosely and metaphorically "hybrid" and are essentially non-culture-specific since neither Ghanaians nor Americans can assert sole ownership of the Logo Ligi musical culture in Boulder.

The Africanness[8] **of the Logo Ligi Dance Group**

Arguably, the music of Africa communicates African cultural values more than any other artistic form (Monson 2000: 2). This argument stems from the notion that music is part of the life of the African, embodying African

7 https://LogoLigi.com/gallery/img_7587/

8 I choose to call it African, not Ghanaian, because the dances this group performs cut across most West African countries.

philosophies and an African thought process (Nketia 1974: 21-24). Many musical genres in Africa consist of many arts that are difficult to separate. The art of singing, instrumentation, dancing, costuming, and sometimes dramatisation and masquerading could be various parts that make up a musical genre (Stone 2008: 7). Although Logo Ligi is called a dance group, dancing, instrumentation, and singing are all integral parts of their performance practice. Logo Ligi dance genres communicate literal and symbolic meanings that are an integral part of the Ghanaian people's cultures. For example, there are dance steps that depict the occupations and works of the Ghanaian peoples. Some of the African dances performed by the group – Agbobli, Fume Fume, Gawuga, Bedu, Kan Logo, Egbi Kalela, Aza, Torzo, Gota, Dzijbowaka, Gome, Mani and Highlife – are from many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Songs accompany the dances – mostly sung at the beginning by the teachers and the dancers in a call-and-response style. When the rhythm gets faster, the dancers stop singing and continue to move according to the rhythm, with the drums communicating and cueing them for change in styles and dance steps. These dances embody the upbeat interlocking rhythmic complexities present in African rhythms and the energized dance steps (Green 2002: 15-17). The rhythmic patterns seem different from what people are used to hearing in Boulder. One of the basic underlying rhythmic patterns is represented below:

Clave	X			X			X				X		X			
Rattle	X	x	X		X	x	X		X	x	X		X	x	X	
Conga	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x
Conga 2		X	X	x		X	X	x		X	X	x		X	X	x
Gong	X	X			x	x			X	X			x	x		

The preceding is the basic rhythm for most dance moves. The rhythmic pattern clave is heard without necessarily distinguishing the particular instrument that is playing it. While the instruments maintain these underlying rhythms, the drummers improvise at will to create complex polyrhythms that characterise Logo Ligi instrumentation.

Maputo's pedagogy aligns with Chernoff's assertion concerning African music pedagogy: 'our approach is called divisive because we divide the music into standard units of time. As we mark the time by tapping a foot or clapping our hands, we are separating the music into easily comprehensible units of time and indicating when the next note or chord is likely to come' (1979: 41). In Logo Ligi, Maputo breaks a dance move into small movements while teaching new dance steps. One example is a dance step in Fume Fume that requires the movement of the legs, torso, arms, and the head simultaneously. Maputo patiently teaches the

leg movements first, followed by the trunk, arms, and head as he builds up the moves from simple to complex. Learning a dance step takes many rehearsals and constant practice to accomplish. Boulderites enjoy the new and different energetic dance with upbeat polyrhythmic complexities. Furthermore, the dancers do not necessarily know the meaning of the dances, but they are committed and engaged in their performances, as the dances wow the Boulder community.

Colourful costumes, dressing and clothing styles that are unique to particular dances, are imported from Ghana. Ghanaian members who already know the fabric suitable for specific dances, or who follow the new trend of dance costumes in Ghana for the various dances, make decisions about the choice of outfits. The costumes differ according to the dances, and some of the genres have multiple costumes. They are all sewn in Ghana.

Figure 2. Members of Logo Ligi in some of their Costumes[9]

The musical instruments used in the group are also imported from Ghana. They are usually bought when the members travel to Ghana. The music instruments are three types: conga drums, small gong, and rattles. They are durable and long-lasting and are tightened or loosened to produce distinctive sounds, and replaced when damaged.

In addition to dance, instruments and costumes, the group has assimilated some Ghanaian culture and ideas. Some Ghanaian cultural practices introduced

9 https://LogoLigi.com/gallery/

by Maputo as an integral part of Ghanaian musical traditions are manifest in the group and have become routine among the members. One example is the fact that the Logo Ligi group, with diverse members from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, operates as a family; they look out for one another and share joyous and sad moments. They also gather sometimes to enjoy Ghanaian meals, sing and dance, and share stories. This family tie is extended to Ghana, which they visit occasionally to enjoy familial connections with the indigenous people of Ghana. While communal living is evident in some aspects of American culture, it is not common in Boulder, Colorado to see people from different ethnicities and religious backgrounds engage in communal life in a way that it is done among Logo Ligi members, because the inhabitants of Boulder are predominantly White.[10] Falola argues that despite the adversity and diversity of the African continent, Africans thrive through intergroup relations and communal living (Falola 2000: 19-20). However, America has made it possible for this group to exist.

What America Offers

Boulder has made this social contact possible by providing a space for Logo Ligi. This space is as valuable as the dance itself because there would not have been any Logo Ligi without the "space." Boulder has become a space where homeland (for the teachers) and new home are linked by both a creative space and the music output. Practically and aesthetically, the diasporic space of Boulder becomes a framework for African and unique western sensibilities to co-exist and to co-create new dances and movements derived from African (Ghanaian) roots. As Mark Slobin notes,

> Music is central to the diasporic experience, linking homeland and here-land with an intricate network of sound. Whether through the burnished memory of childhood songs, the packaged passions of recordings, or the steady traffic of live bands, people identify themselves strongly, even principally, through their music (1994: 243).

The diasporic sounds – songs, instrumentations, dances, and recordings – evoke and stir emotions. Because music is “potable” and multilayered, migrants travel and live with it as they strive to maintain their past identities while reassembling the present (1994: 244). For Boulderites and the American dancers, Logo Ligi provides an opportunity to experience and identify with a new culture through music. The dancers are also Americans who have agreed to be students of

[10] http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/boulder-population/

Ghanaian dances and have continued to make themselves available. They are very committed to rehearsals and performances, although they do not get paid.[11] They also take different responsibilities to keep the group going, such as maintaining the group's website,[12] advertising and taking care of the costumes. Logo Ligi dancers have also brought some American musical culture into the group. They have added harmony to monophonic African songs: a trio for female musical genres and a quartet for songs that involve both genders.

The audiences are mostly White Americans who enjoy the dancers' skills. These audiences appreciate the group by attending their concerts and donating for the upkeep of the group. Logo Ligi's artistry and audience reaction are best described by Scott-Maxwell, a scholar of Indonesian music in Australia. He captures what the audience looks forward to and how the performers create stunning works of originality, as well as hybridised musical cultures in diasporic spaces:

> They are open to and, to some extent, expect experimentation – the creation of something new out of something old – while also wanting a flavour of the source culture or tradition, however, hybridized. Those who produce this work are deliberately seeking to take culturally specific performance traditions (or elements of those traditions) in new directions or into new contexts by juxtaposing or blending them with Western forms and practices, or perhaps other 'non-western' cultures (Scott-Maxwell 2013: 9).

Neither Ghanaians nor Americans could claim the sole ownership of the musical cultures of Logo Ligi. These cultures blend so well that they stage great performances, but what are the creative tensions, and how do they impact Logo Ligi processes and product?

Music and Conundrums in Diasporic Spaces

The primary aim of Logo Ligi is to establish an authentic depiction of Ghanaian-African music with its accompanying cultures in Boulder, Colorado. Authenticity is evoked by inviting African artists and performing African music genres alongside the traditions that accompany them, in an attempt to embed culture-oriented music and dance styles in a new place. Connell and Gibson describe this as 'fixing authenticity' (2003:19). Authenticity or at least a semblance of it is vital in the migrant root of Logo Ligi dances; this is essential if the dances and costumes are to merit the label of African experience and culture.

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11 Excuses are not tolerated in the group unless someone is seriously injured. They even believe that dance makes you feel better, thereby not using sickness as an excuse.

12 http://LogoLigi.com/

Furthermore, to attain authenticity, African traditional music is transmitted in its original forms of artistic expression and through African pedagogy (2003: 29-30) to maintain the people's musical identity. However, Mazierska has rightly argued that although music plays a vital role in defining a people's culture and identity, the meaning of a place is not fixed because of the many factors that affect music learning and transmission during movement and in a different space: namely, diaspora (Mazierska 2015: 15).

I expressed earlier that African music had gained reasonable popularity in the diaspora. Musicians interested in African performance practices form groups that teach African music and dance, basically to share their cultural heritage and earn a living in the diaspora. These groups and organisations provide spaces where cultures meet and sometimes clash. The tussle between the Ghanaian teacher of Logo Ligi and his American students is best described using the following three concepts – "contact zone," "anti-conquest" and "autoethnography"— similar to what Mary Pratt suggests for a dialectic and historicized approach to travel writing. First, Pratt describes a "contact zone" as a "space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt 1992: 6). The "contact zone" in this paper represents the interactions and relations between two cultures in a diasporic space – between aspects of Ghanaian and US cultures in Boulder, Colorado.

Second, Pratt refers to "anti-conquest" as a strategy of representation in which the bourgeoisie secure their innocence while asserting hegemony. Pratt's assertion of hegemony can be achieved through policies, educational plans, cultural inclusion or exclusion, political and economic strategies, or a combination of most or all of these factors. This paper exposes tensions and subtleties of resistance in power–relations between two cultures – Ghana and America. Third, Pratt uses autoethnography to refer to 'instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizers' own terms' (1992: 7). This paper incorporates representations of the Ghanaian teacher who seeks to be understood by his American students.

Some studies have tried to simplify the process of musical enculturation by stating that the procedure involves listening, watching and imitating (Green 2011: 49). However, Kiwan and Meinhof argue that it is not without hurdles: 'it is much more difficult when the performance attempts to become part of a wider social platform' (Kiwan and Meinhof 2011: 184). As other cultures get fascinated with African music and sometimes adopt African dances and songs and become performers (White 2012: 22), the relationship between the cultures could be complicated and encompass many aspects of the African musicians' life in the diaspora. Gibert, writing about African musicians in London, explains:

> It became apparent that a common phenomenon of migrant musicians is that they can become trapped in what can be called the 'matrix', which simultaneously articulates three dimensions in tension: (1) the artists' subjectivity, musical expertise, artistic pleasure(s) and desire(s); (2) their professional/economic constraints and opportunities; and (3) the social, political, historical and personal context of their migration/mobility experience (Gibert 2011: 93).

The cross-cultural transmission of musical practices is shaped by the competing ideas and preferences of the cultures that come in contact, with the possibility that cultural encounters could result in a clash. Some of the difficulties Logo Ligi encounters (as will be described) happen as a result of cultural differences. While Maputo likes his profession, economic constraints cause him to be careful in making decisions about his artistic, cultural, and political ideologies and their place in his career. Despite all the challenges, and potential and actual clashes, he engages his work with attention to artistic integrity, cultural affirmation, and negotiation to work things out with his students – professionally and pragmatically – so as to create and sustain a diasporic space.

Many studies on diaspora conditions and dynamics have shown that there are constant negotiations, and challenges in diasporic spaces (Monson 2000: 3). The issues of history, difference, identity, and multiculturalism intersect with musical performance (Ramnarine 2007: 4). The most challenging factor for Maputo in Logo Ligi is the teaching and learning techniques in both cultures. In some African countries, including Ghana, master-apprentice relationships can be rigid. Masters are considered "gods" because of their talents. They make decisions and can discipline the apprentice at will when they "misbehave." The apprentice is expected to respect the master and not "talk too much." They only ask questions when the master wishes to take them and sometimes do not get answers. Although there are flexible master-apprentice relationships, most masters have this privilege. In the area of art, including music and dance, which is usually transmitted through oral tradition, students are mostly expected to observe and imitate their masters. This is what Maputo expects from his American dancers in Logo Ligi. When once in a while, the dancers protest by trying to ask questions, which they mostly do not get answers to, Maputo cries,

> They question my authority, and I am not happy about that. Before I could open my mouth to teach one thing, they have started asking questions piri piri piri.[13] (Now asking me). You know how we do in Africa naa. Does the apprentice question the master craftsman in the forge? Does the apprentice dancer question the "master of the dance without learning the techniques

[13] A sound some Africans use to describe when people speak a foreign language very fast.

> on which a movement or sequence is based? It is so frustrating. Because of this, I decided to leave the group some time ago, but I later realized that questioning is their way of engaging, rather than by the careful observation and imitation of the master as in traditional Ghana, and we continued. I must say that for a long while I did not like that teaching style because I never questioned my dance and drum teachers, and they punished me when I messed up. You can see that the climates for teaching dance and drumming skills in Africa and the West are different.

In Maputo's lament, one can sense how frustrated he is while trying to adjust to American teaching and learning culture. To him, the history of globalisation and transnationalism in music has been characterised by fear, miscommunication, and misunderstandings. This is primarily because the cultures involved have baggage or constituent features that bring about conflicts, irrespective of knowledge of difference (White 2012: 7).

The dancers, on the other hand, get irritated that their questions are ignored most of the time. The students think the teachers do not have the best attitude in rehearsals. Dancers also complain that they do not know the meaning of about 90% of the songs they sing. This is mostly because the teachers think they are "forward and quick" if they ask what the meanings are each time their teachers introduce a song, and they end up not getting any answer as it irritates the teacher. Maputo will always say, "Learn it first". Maputo does not know the meaning of all the lyrics and how they function in specific African societies. This is because he borrowed some of the music from different parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, where hundreds of languages exist and music functions differently. Communication is also hampered because the teacher's first language is Ga. Even when Maputo explains, Ga words often lack corresponding English words and sentences for a relatively good explanation. Sometimes they are misunderstood, and this causes problems for both the students and the teachers.

In most African cultures, skills are applauded and appreciated. In dance groups, drummers and singers, according to their abilities, may be admired as much as dancers – the more skills you have, the more fans and invitations you get. In Logo Ligi, Boulder audiences seem to be more enticed by the dancing than with any other part of the performance. The audience is usually wowed by the dancers' mastery of African dances. This is a problem for the Ghanaian teachers as they expect more than compliments of specific elements and features. They expect a holistic appreciation and engagement with the dance as a process from planning to training and rehearsals to performance. Finally, mentorship differs across cultures. The Ghanaians expect to be recognised by the students who have moved on to other cities, especially the ones teaching and performing the dances. They expect recognition in the form of invitations to perform or to teach, where they

would be introduced as the custodians, master craftsmen and "original" teachers of Logo Ligi dances in America.

Conclusion

Sheila Whitely provides insight into countercultural scenes in connection with music and space. She argues that music plays a significant role in how culture authors space with articulations of the community by providing a shared sense of collective identity. Music and space offer an experiential setting where relationships are defined with a sense of locality, community, and collective identity (Whitely 2014: 12). Also, music, especially the music of Africa, 'holds a special place in the cultural definition of the African diaspora', as it is the 'ultimate embodiment of African and African diasporic cultural values' (Monson 2000: 2).

The Ghanaians and Americans in Logo Ligi share culture through music. Both cultures have contributed immensely to the creation of a hybrid culture/practice, thereby making it possible for one to exist with the other. Although creative tensions exist, they have become aware of the problems and have managed them well, especially on stage. They have created a united international family where they interact and relate as family members. Lucy Green affirms essential features that have allowed the parties in Logo Ligi to find common ground in their process, if not in the value they place on parts of the process and output, at least in their shared understanding of the role the hybrid dances play in the creation of new cultural activities for migrants in the diaspora and or their host communities in America. In the words of Green,

> Development of close personal relationship over time, the nurturing of a mutual emotional attachment, is thought to play a fundamental role in facilitating a gradual percolation to the unconscious of the intangible musical touches considered so critical for powerful performances (Green 2011: 98).

The Ghanaians have made Boulder their home, and they are naturalised American citizens who are not thinking about moving back to Ghana soon. While diversifying the city, the group promotes personal growth and community building through African music. Although the teachers sometimes act out of mild irritation when they are misunderstood or think they are underrated, they are happy doing what they do. Even though they did not attend college to study American music pedagogy, they do not lack intellectual ability or background to teach African music in America. African music need not necessarily be taught in the American style of teaching and learning. Most performers who also teach in Africa did not go to college to study what they teach. Adogame argues that globalisation does not necessarily mean doing things in the ways of the culture

where one finds oneself, and further 'counters the assumption that globalisation is an inevitable and unstoppable force towards standardizing values of work, cultural identity, class strata, voluntary associations, family and religion' (Adogame 2011: 67). Since world music has become a window to look into the world's culture, human experience, and social life (White 2012: 2), it is necessary to accommodate the cultures that accompany its transmission.

Maputo and other Ghanaian performers' status as immigrants in the USA further complicates their musical activities and experience. They always struggle to maintain their culture while maintaining their means of income and their status as immigrants. As Kiwan and Meinhof rightly state,

Transcultural capital is thus a heuristic concept to enable interpretations and analysis of resources typically associated with transnational migrants who retain substantive links between the country of origin and country of settlement and who activate the continuing interdependencies between them in various flows and cycles of migration, return and re-return. It is thus not an essentializing concept through which artists are frozen into their ethnic niches, but rather a valuable strategic resource acquired in their countries and cultures of origin to underwrite and develop their art *and* at the same time underwrite and support their commercial appeal to different publics (Kiwan and Meinhof: 8-9).

To return to my questions, in brief: the conflicts that occur between Ghanaian musicians/teachers and their American dancers/students happen as a result of cultural differences. The Ghanaians continue to attend rehearsals even though there are creative conflicts because they are interested in preserving Ghanaian culture and earning money with Logo Ligi performances. The Americans have a stake because of their contributions and because they are passionate about what they do. Neither can exist without the other, as the Ghanaians bring authenticity, while Americans provide the space. The spectacular performances must go on for the community to continue to appreciate them. All these factors make the relational conundrums secondary. They exist to provide the creative tensions and experimentations that make it possible for hybrid forms to emerge and to shed the tag of hegemonic binaries.

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