

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: **WORLD MUSIC AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
ETHNOGRAPHY OF GLOBALIZATION**

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How are theories of globalization understood and employed by individuals working in world music and international development? Using a world music CD and concert project created by a Washington D.C.-based non-profit, this paper explores power relationships in world music and international development through aesthetics, authenticity, and hegemony. An ethnographic approach emphasizes the roles of individuals, providing a "bottom-up" approach to studying globalization. The non-profit Sustainable Environments for Health and Shelter (SEH+S) combines recording industry concepts for world music with organizational goals to achieve a distinct and practical organizational identity. Power relationships with musicians are also determined through a combination of organizational goals and individual musicians' motivation and knowledge. SEH+S administrators, producers and musicians both challenge and validate theories of globalization in their interpretations of world music and international development.

WORLD MUSIC AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
ETHNOGRAPHY OF GLOBALIZATION

by

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

World music is intertwined with globalization by virtue of its cross-cultural musical exchanges and its creation and distribution within a multinational recording industry. It is in globalization that world music intersects with international development. While making this connection is something of a departure from existing ethnomusicological literature, connections between world music and international development are not uncommon. Benefit concerts and CDs are increasingly used to increase consciousness of important social, economic, and environmental issues around the world. Consumers in North America and Western Europe, "the West,"¹ cannot only buy musical bits of other cultures, but they can also invest in the continued vitality of those cultures with their purchases. Westerners' understandings of the world, and of the place of the West in it, are often framed by cultural imports like world music and by images of "Third World" poverty on the news and in television commercials.

The Washington DC-based nonprofit organization Sustainable Environments for Health and Shelter (SEH+S) explicitly combines world music and international development in its work. Through producing and promoting world music compilation CDs SEH+S plans to raise funds to support sustainable facility improvements to organizations that help orphaned and disadvantaged children in locations around the

¹ I find the "Western"/"non-Western" terminology arbitrary, and I would prefer not to use it, but it is a division through which globalization is commonly understood. The "West" refers to some assumed shared culture among the dominant social groups in North America and Western Europe mostly associated with industrial and economic dominance and European heritage. The "non-West" is understood as geographically separate, ethnically distinct, and/or technologically and economically "under-developed." This labeling is ambiguous, and is often used to invoke ambiguous feelings of difference. When more specific differences between the "West" and the "non-West" are in play, I will do my best to identify them specifically.

world. SEH+S's work provides an opportunity to examine the ways that ideologies of world music and international development, under the rubric of globalization, relate to one another, and observe how individuals and small organizations validate or challenge existing theories of globalization both for world music and international development.

More than in any other area of ethnomusicological study, it seems that discussions of world music (or any other permutation of that categorization, including world beat) have been distinctly flavored by moralistic arguments. For example, in his 1994 analysis of world beat, a term which for practical purposes has since been lost in the all-encompassing label world music, Steven Feld remarks that despite heavy criticism of the genre, "many (some would say most) researchers and writers have stressed the optimistic aspects of world musical contact and industrialization" (Feld and Keil 1994, 262). Later, in the same volume, Charles Keil admits his prejudice against world beat: "My big enemies—racism, imperialism and capitalism are all served by that mushy label, world beat" (Feld and Keil 1994, 319-20). While Keil, Feld, and others who have studied world beat and world music have certainly made contributions that extend beyond such judgments, these vehement pre-dispositions for or against world music have likely influenced its study.

The strongest claims that have been made against the commercial genre of world music are as follows: 1) world music industry practices disempower non-Western musicians, stripping them both of fair financial compensation and aesthetic decision-making power for their music, and 2) world music, although it claims to represent diversity, has a homogenizing effect on the musics that it absorbs, and encourages appropriation and musical tokenism. While it is true that artists often change their music

when they record for international audiences, and even the most famous world music artists do not make as much money as the most famous musical stars in the United States, there are important flaws in these criticisms. Both assume a nearly totalitarian power on the part of the music industry, and imply that this amorphous entity is a monolithic force that reaches into many levels of decision-making in the production of world music.

Although the music industry is highly concentrated and has a nearly complete monopoly on all levels of music production, its internal organizational structure is increasingly de-centralized. The separation of industry units not only into function-related departments (forming artists & repertory, marketing, et cetera) but also into semi-autonomous labels only loosely under central management means that decision-making in the industry is also de-centralized. Additionally, as the cost of producing high quality recordings decreases and the potential for wide distribution via the internet increases, alternative recording industries gain significance in the world market. The second flaw of these criticisms is the assumption that non-Western musicians will not be able to navigate music industry bureaucracies to assert musical control over their work, at least as much as Western recording artists, is patronizing and paternalistic. It has also proven to be false, as the efforts of many world musicians to control their own careers have come to fruition.²

Although international development is not commonly thought of as an "industry" like world music, throughout its history international aid has been marketed as a product both to developing countries and to donors. Countries theoretically have the right to

² Two musicians (among many) who illustrate this of this are Youssou N'Dour, whose socially-engaged music reflecting issues facing youth in Dakar and investment in Senegalese musicians through productions at his studio Xippi in Dakar (Taylor 1997, 127-136), and Baaba Maal who has held seminars to educate young Senegalese musicians in the business of making music (Maal 1997, 197).

accept or refuse aid, but no aid comes without a price. This generally entails the apparent adoption of some ideological, political, or financial system and could also involve a variety of diplomatic concessions. Through the 1944 Bretton-Woods Conference, which created the pre-cursors for the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and through subsequent legislation by the United States government, notably the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, the United States gained a leading role in re-developing post-World War II Europe. The United States often exchanged reconstruction funding for trade and political agreements (Bordo and Eichengreen 1993). This trend of manipulative globalization as part of international development, with the United States at the lead, continues. The Bretton Woods agreements and the Marshall Plan also left another legacy for international development—a focus on industrial development and a belief in "trickle-down" benefits from top-down development. Top-down development worked well in Europe, but has not worked well in the "Third World" countries in which it was later applied.

Beginning in the 1970s, "people-centered" approaches re-focused development on investment in rural agricultural areas and immediate needs (Korton et al. 1984). The role of large international development organizations like the World Bank, IMF, and the United Nation's development arm has changed in response to the call for people-centered development. These organizations acknowledge the importance of people-centered development principles but are unsuited to functioning at this level. The responsibility for new development strategies falls on the shoulders of non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

There are interesting similarities between the way that NGOs and world music are

understood. World music is a term that is said to mean nothing because it tries to mean everything. NGOs, on the other hand, are defined by what they are not—government affiliated and profit-seeking—rather than by what they are. NGOs, like world music, are so diverse that the categorization seems to lack real meaning. NGOs often have government affiliations, and while some are local and grassroots, some are international. They receive funding from a variety of sources and have diverse goals.³ World music is both viewed as a breeding ground for Western hegemony, appropriation, cultural stereotyping, and exploitation; and also as a symbol of diversity and multiculturalism and a site of resistance (Lipsitz 1994). The endorsement of NGOs by the conservative institutions of development, like the World Bank, and by liberal and progressive organizations alike demonstrates a similar polarization of opinion about what exactly NGOs do. As a world music NGO, SEH+S deals with the ambiguity and duality in both worlds.

The methods of study of international development and of the music industry are alike in the abundance of systems-based studies of meta-structures, and the relative absence of field work-based study. SEH+S's project presents a unique opportunity to understand both world music and international development, and consequently the relations between the two, through fieldwork in one small but active organization.

Power distributions need to be examined from the bottom up, beginning with individual actors, rather than from the top down, as in most previous studies. Implicit in my approach is the idea that hegemonic structures in the globalized "industries" I am discussing may be more flexible than we have imagined. Mark Slobin's propositions for

³ For discussion of types of NGOs, see Fisher 1997.

understanding the way that subcultures, supercultures and intercultural are linked in music-making in a globalized world are useful here. It is important to examine hegemony in the social structures that produce music, but hegemony is not an easy thing to identify. It is not confined to supercultures; it can reflect unequal distribution of power at many levels of interaction. In Slobin's words,

There are times when we should invoke the power of hegemony, but other times when the superculture seems to be just another strand in the web of group affiliations, chosen out of aesthetic affinity (Slobin 1993, 57).

Micro-level analysis provides a means to tease out the impact of hegemony at local levels of action and to explore the real impact of supercultures. Supercultures in this study might include agents of globalization and specifically organizations like multi-national recording companies or organizations sponsoring international development such as the World Bank and the United Nations.

Beyond the challenges of locating hegemony, it is also important to consider its impact on lived experience. Cultural theorists define hegemony as neither monolithic nor inescapable. Raymond Williams has expounded on Marx and Gramsci's ideas of hegemony:

Hegemony is not then only the articulate upper level of 'ideology,' nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination.' It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values—constitutive and constituting—which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming (Williams 1977, 110).

While William's description does preserve some of the monolithic and pervasive qualities of hegemony that have questioned above, his emphasis on individual engagement with

hegemony suggests that it is a type of control that is perpetuated by individuals' engagements with it.⁴

An approach that begins with the individual does not deny the importance of overarching organizational or theoretical structures. Since the 1970s international development has also taken the bottom-up approach to understanding international need with "people-centered" development strategies that have perhaps not been employed as often as they have been recommended.

Studying world music and international development alongside one another provides an opportunity to ethnographically examine globalized institutions from within, rather than through theoretical constructs of globalization. Both the circulation of world musics and ideas about health and poverty abroad shape our concepts of the world, and our concepts of globalization. I would like to begin to look at globalization as a set of ideas that individuals use to shape the world and their places in it. This process takes place in and shapes practices in both world music and international development. I propose to study how global structures work, how they are used, and if they might be changing from the perspective of individuals—individual musicians and producers, or individual community planners or individuals in need.

In the remainder of this chapter I will explain my methodology and provide background information on SEH+S. Chapter 2 discusses world music as a musical genre and explores the relationship between SEH+S and the industry ideologies implicit in SEH+S marketing strategies. SEH+S world music marketing strategies largely came

⁴ Hegemony is an important but difficult subject to address in ethnographic research. Individuals influenced by hegemony in various ways would not always be likely to recognize their own complicity, and it would be difficult for a researcher to claim hegemonic influence with an informant who has insisted that a decision was based entirely on free choice. Thus, claims of hegemony in this paper are cautiously deductive.

about through the decisions of one individual, Arch Cromer, an SEH+S co-founder and album producer for the first CD project, *See With Your Heart*. Chapter 3 describes in detail the allocation of power and decision-making within SEH+S, both in relation to the music recorded on the first album, and in the international development projects of the organization. In SEH+S musicians often play double roles, contributing to both musical and developmental endeavors. In Chapter 4 I will discuss the role that aesthetics of authenticity play in SEH+S's musical vision and its promotion of development projects. Aesthetics related to world music play into the homogenizing / diversifying binary common in discussions of globalization and in discussions of international development.

Methodology

Studies of both world music and international development have focused on overarching structures rather than the roles of individuals and small organizations, reflecting a lack of field-based study (Erlmann 1996, Guilbault 1993, Laing 1986). The following ethnographic analysis of world music and international aid through the work of SEH+S is an attempt to address this. In August through December of 2005, I observed several recording studio sessions with a group of Brazilian musicians for the SEH+S album, two multi-group rehearsals, and the CD release concert in October, all of which took place in Washington, DC and the surrounding suburbs in Maryland and Virginia. I also conducted interviews with several musicians and producers involved with the project.

Because Arch and his co-founders see the image of the organization as integral to its success, my efforts at documenting the musical events surrounding the CD were of

special interest to SEH+S. I willingly agreed to make all of my work, including photography, video, interview materials, and write-ups available to SEH+S for use on their website or wherever else it might serve them. While my desire to help SEH+S does not take precedence over the integrity of my research, I would like to think that something I do will be of service to them.

I discovered SEH+S through my partner, Leonardo Lucini, who was contracted as a musician for the project. Through him, I was also previously acquainted with several other musicians on the project. My relationship with Leonardo made my presence in the studio and in rehearsals less obtrusive—Wes Crawford publicly announced at one rehearsal that I was studying the SEH+S project, but most musicians did not seem to give much thought to my role. I also benefited from Leonardo's musical skills and rapport with the other musicians.

I defined the field of study for this project by following an object (Marcus 1995), the CD that SEH+S produced, as far as I could. While SEH+S's location in Washington is significant, both because of Washington's status as a United States power center, and because it is a particular local music and development scene in which SEH+S needs to succeed, the "field" would better be defined as a network of connections, rather than a "local" geographic place.

For example, Arch Cromer frequently shuttled between Washington and San Francisco to work with a graphic design team there on all of the promotional materials for SEH+S. He also plans to have a promotional concert there soon. Helping orphanages internationally requires forging relationships with geographically distant organizations. In addition to corresponding with potential and decided partner organizations, SEH+S co-

founders visit partner organizations in person.

The musicians on the project who were born in or who have close ties to other countries also create musical pathways from the project to their homelands. These connections often become paths for development opportunities as well. Cameroonian musician Armand Ntep has become involved with Arch in planning a development project in Cameroon. SEH+S is structured around external connections; musically and through development projects, the organization's goal is to affect many dispersed individuals and locations.

Following pathways or connections outward from the central object of study not only creates a better understanding of the contemporary field but also provides a framework for analyzing global theory in practice (Cohen 1993, Marcus 1995). The way that participants in the SEH+S project define their role in relationships and frameworks facilitated by globalization provides a way to re-examine the meaning of globalization.⁵

SEH+S Background

Arch Cromer, by profession an architect and by passionate hobby a drummer, is one of the three founding partners of Sustainable Environments for Health and Shelter (SEH+S). The goal of the organization is to help disadvantaged children around the world by funding facility improvements to the orphanages and homes for children that care for them. By re-suiting the existing facilities with basic energy-saving technologies, effective water filtration, and other environmentally sound improvements, SEH+S hopes to lower

⁵ Physically tracing some of the paths forged by SEH+S would provide insight into the how the music is perceived by partner organizations and the success of the development projects. Also, at the time I concluded my research, distribution systems for the CD were not fully in place, so analysis of SEH+S marketing goals and audience reception lacks the depth that I would prefer.

the overhead operating costs of homes for children. They thus aim to provide a sustainable increase in the percentage of their budgets that homes for children can direct to improving the quality of care that the children receive, and to conserve energy and other resources. Helping improve the lives of disadvantaged children in various locations around the world is the end goal of SEH+S's activities.

Music plays a central role in the process of achieving SEH+S's goals. The development function and the publicity and fundraising strategies of the organization were conceived of at the same time, and Arch and other project organizers see them as being integrally related. To begin raising funds and awareness for the organization, SEH+S recorded a world music compilation CD entitled *See with Your Heart*. Arch was the executive producer of the album, composed one song entitled "What About the Children?" and recorded drums for two versions of his song, one in English and one in Spanish. For the rest of the tracks, Arch, through contacts with professional musicians in the Washington DC area where the CD was produced, and largely through Wes Crawford, a drummer and friend who Arch brought onto the project as co-producer, hired musicians living in and around Washington.

Out of the blue, in September 2004, Wes Crawford, a professional drummer in the Washington DC area, got an email from Arch, who had found Wes's contact information on the internet. The two had known each other as children growing up in South-Western Virginia where Wes had taken his first drum lessons from Arch. Arch told Wes about a song he had written and about the development project he had just started. Wes saw the way Arch had merged his interests in music and architecture with the goal of helping children as an ideal combination. Arch planned to use his musical talents and interests to

make a promotional DVD to support the charity's goal to provide orphanages around the world with solar panel energy kits. Arch asked Wes to help him record the song he had written. Although Arch was still active in music, Wes's contacts as a full-time professional musician with recording studios and other musicians were an asset. By December 2004, they were in the studio recording Arch's song.

Arch found recording the song so enjoyable that he asked Wes if he thought they could do something more, an album. Wes recalled,

I came back a few days later, trying to think of a model. What he wanted to do was not just to do an album for his own self financially or whatever, but he wanted to use his love of music to raise funds for this charity. And I'm a great believer in that when you're going to do something in life, or you do something as a project, do what really interests you and where your talents lie, and that's the way you'll succeed, don't try to do something you're not. And I guess, to the extent that I'm still alive and doing what I'm doing, that'd be my story too (Crawford 2005).

Both Arch and Wes loved world music, and together they came up with the idea of asking different artists in different styles to donate songs and their time, and offered cover the cost of recording and producing a compilation CD. Wes said, "I think we had that concept by January-February and immediately began recording people, and the result was what you heard on Oct. 14th which was the concert and the release of the CD" (Crawford 2005).

The musicians chosen were primarily migrants to the United States whose countries of origin were particularly associated with tough living conditions for children. Other musicians born in the United States were chosen to represent U.S. musical traditions like jazz or to contribute to other musicians' songs. Saxophone and flute player Al Williams, for example, was initially contacted to add a saxophone solo to the

Cameroonian singer Armand Ntep's song, and later was asked to contribute his own song, representing "that urban, American, black thing, whatever that is" (Williams 2005). The musicians were asked to contribute an original composition that would speak about the problems facing children.

The musicians on the album donated their compositions and the time spent recording the album. Wes and Arch secured the recording studio and provided additional musicians as needed for each song. Many individuals involved with the album played multiple roles—Arch acted as producer, composer and performer; Wes both managed the musicians and performed, and the studio engineer Derek Wille doubled as the keyboard player on many tracks. Musicians contracted for the album also brought in some of their own musicians, at least those that they could also convince to volunteer their time, to complete their ensembles for the recording. The CD was recorded during the summer of 2005, only about six months after SEH+S had received its non-profit status, and only about a year and a half after Arch and his partners started to think about a way to help kids.

Arch Cromer describes himself as "a multi-task creative person" (Cromer 2005). Throughout his youth and as he began college, he devoted himself to music and to playing drums. However, when it came time to decide on a career, reviving his interest in drawing and painting, he decided to go into architecture. Still deeply committed to music, he saw a relationship between music and architecture: "... they both deal with rhythm and time and space and dimension, so there's a relationship... to me it's just a natural..." (Cromer 2005).

After several years in private practice, however, Arch felt that the work he was doing was too narrow, and began teaching at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg, Virginia. He felt that academia would give him more freedom to pursue his own interests, particularly an interest in children's health care environments / hospitals that had developed through his own experience treating his son's disability. "My son and my family, my wife and myself... spent a lot of time in children's hospitals: and I found them to be really demoralizing. You know, I mean humanly insensitive..." (Cromer 2005). Arch was awarded a research grant to study design of children's hospital rooms, a project on which he worked on for several years both at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and at the Europe Center in Switzerland.

Arch had also hoped that working at a university instead of in private practice would free more time for music. Although this was not always the case, while he was living in Europe he had more opportunities to play some jazz, and found himself playing a lot more about three or four years ago. More and more he realized that for him, "Music... is kind of a creative necessity" (Cromer 2005). It was at this point that Arch began to work with the idea of starting a non-profit to benefit children.

Arch, his wife Barbara, and their friend Peggy Ferris are the "founding partners" of SEH+S. The organization's administrative arm consists of five board members, and three advisors to the board—all volunteer positions. A number of individuals have been recruited for their expertise in particular areas. For instance, some of SEH+S's initial donors also provide expertise in non-profit relief work. For example, one headed a rehabilitation center in DC for women living on the streets. Another affiliate contributes her experience with relief work in Africa, which she conducted for the National

Democratic Foundation.

Musicians have also been recruited for SEH+S's administrative end. In addition to



Figure 1.1: Arch Cromer and Peggy Ferris at the CD Release Concert October 14, 2005

Wes Crawford's crucial involvement as associate producer on the first album, Al Williams, who performed on the album, was recruited as an advisor for future projects, according to Arch, to contribute a practicing musician's perspective (Cromer 2005).

SEH+S initially planned to use the proceeds from the first CD to benefit a partner organization outside of the United States, but after the destruction caused by Hurricane Katrina in the southern United States in September of 2005, Arch and his partners began to search for a partner organization in an area effected by the storm. For many people across the United States, seeing images of the storm's aftermath on television and in the newspapers revealed the "Third World" within the United States. In New Orleans, the

poorest inhabitants were often the most grievously effected by the storm. SEH+S made contact with an organization called Covenant House in New Orleans, and decided to focus their immediate fundraising efforts on helping that organization repair damage to its facility caused by the storm.

On October 14, 2005, SEH+S produced a CD release concert at the Imagination Stage, a children's theatre in Bethesda, Maryland just outside of Washington. Many, but not all of the musicians who recorded on the CD performed in the concert. A core set of musicians backed up over half of the performers in the concert, creating a stylistically versatile "house band." Dan Leonard, for example, who had recorded electric guitar on Brazilian musicians Kiko and Leonardo Lucini's song, performed in the concert with Kiko and Leonardo, Cameroonian singer Armand Ntep, jazz musician Al Williams, Spanish singer Meritxell and many more. Unlike the recording, musicians were paid for their concert performances. Following the New Orleans benefit theme, SEH+S added a brass marching band and a zydeco group to the line-up. SEH+S also hired a documentation team to film the concert and to conduct interviews with the musicians with the intent of compiling a DVD.

In the extended future, SEH+S plans to continue the kind of work they plan to do with the facility in New Orleans. Arch is in contact have with a small school and home for children in a semi-rural area in Namibia. He also is working to find a partner orphanage in Cameroon through Armand Ntep, one of the musicians on the album. Arch and his partners are still searching for a contact in Bela Horizonte, Brazil. Arch has a special interest in Bela Horizonte because it is the hometown of his son's caregiver, who he describes as a part of his family. Also, a concert is planned for San Francisco because,

according to Arch, of the "world music culture" there, and also because of personal and business contacts there, including the designers working for SEH+S (Cromer 2005).

One of the dreams Arch shares with his partners is to build a center for kids to donate to a partner organization. Within that building, they would like to have a small performance venue and invite musicians to come and play for the kids. Arch would love to think of inspiring children with less advantaged life circumstances, and "from a venue no one's ever heard of" (Cromer 2005) to be prominent musician in the world themselves. Arch sees giving kids the opportunity to be positively influenced by art and music, and seeing what opportunities they create from there as an important offshoot of SEH+S's work: "Music has a tangential role in helping kids to be rehabilitated" (Cromer 2005).

SEH+S represents an intimate relationship between music and international development. While world music was the genre of choice for the project, Arch's commitment to musical expression as a "creative necessity" was an important driving factor. The interests and experiences of key players in the project like Arch Cromer, Wes Crawford, and the many musicians who recorded on the project, and an ideology of global communication connect the two.

An interesting feature in the analysis of SEH+S is the degree to which the new organization developed both identity and agency due to the actions and speech of key players in the organization and in the CD recording process. For Arch, it seemed that the organization represented his ideals for helping children, creating music, and engaging in a global community. Decisions that may have been made by a single or few individuals were often attributed to the organization, perhaps to vest them with significance that individual decisions would not carry. It seemed that during the process of recording the

CD and beginning development projects, the organization became perhaps not more than, but certainly something different than its composing parts.

Chapter 2 - World Music Marketing

The first impression many listeners will have of the CD is in its packaging. It is thus carefully constructed to portray the desired image of the organization and of the musical collection. On the front cover, the CD's title *See with Your Heart* is scrawled in what appears to be thick red pencil above the image of a child, with his back to the camera, sitting in the shade of a large tree. The overwhelmingly predominant visual is a collection of images of children in rural settings, photographed in black and white, against a red background. While visually the CD draws attention to the goal of the project, to help children, representations of world music are also key. Beneath the image on front cover SEH+S advertises that the CD is a "World music collection for the benefit of children world wide" (Sustained Note Records 2005). A booklet insert in the CD package ties together the diversity of the musicians, represented both in their photos and their biographies, and their conviction to help children, framed through their own life experiences.

Arch Cromer and Wes Crawford decided on world music as the genre for the SEH+S CD both because of personal musical taste and because of a perceived ideological fit between world music and the development issues targeted by SEH+S. As album producers, Arch and Wes's balance between their love of the music and their firm grasp of the project's ultimate goal—to promote and raise money for SEH+S's development projects—is important in understanding how world music was defined as a genre and incorporated into the SEH+S's organizational identity. The resulting interpretation is functional and flexible, and reflects the organization's ideology and marketing goals.

Individual interpretations of producers and musicians selectively employed

hegemonic categorizations originating from the superculture-like recording industry to suit the needs of a specific project. As the main link between SEH+S's development and music projects, as well as a major driving force in the organization as a whole, Arch Cromer was primarily responsible for defining musical genre for publicity purposes, and Wes Crawford, as the primary contact for the musicians, was often responsible for explaining and interpreting this definition in the studio. However, musicians on the project also had ideas about the categorization of their contributions.

Arch's choices for the album were based on creating

a message that a lot of people could understand... world music in particular, seemed to be an avenue to kind of cut across a lot of cultural, socioeconomic boundaries that exist with various forms of, you might say, PR or advertising, or media (Cromer 2005).

While the world music label was his initial choice and appears on the CD cover, near the end of the recording process, Arch, who as executive producer of the CD was ultimately responsible for the decisions, felt that terming the collection "world music fusion" or "world fusion" might be more apt, and on the program for the CD release concert, the CD is explained alternately as a "collection of world music fusion," and by the world music epithet on the CD cover. The use of the "world music" label here might have to do with the wider currency of the term, while the addition of the "world fusion" might be considered an elaboration on the initial concept, indicating contemporary rather than traditional musics from around the world.

A more detailed description of styles on the CD in the October 14th concert program (see figure 2.1) declares:

See With Your Heart is a multi-artist release featuring new artists of cultural authenticity and originality in World, Afro-Cuban, Latin Jazz, and World Fusion (SHE+S 2005).

If this description expounds on the overarching definition of the album as world music, genre designation becomes a little confusing. Are "world" and "world fusion" sub-genres of world music? If Afro-Cuban and Latin Jazz are also sub-genres of world music, why are they differentiated from the sub-genres of world and world fusion? Is this differentiation a response to recording industry categorization, which often distinguishes Latin musics from world musics in its marketing strategies?

It is also interesting that this description attributes "cultural authenticity" and "originality"—which could be interpreted as opposing traits—to the artist themselves, rather than to the music. Describing the music itself as authentic might imply that it is traditional, but describing the artists as authentic gives them credibility as world

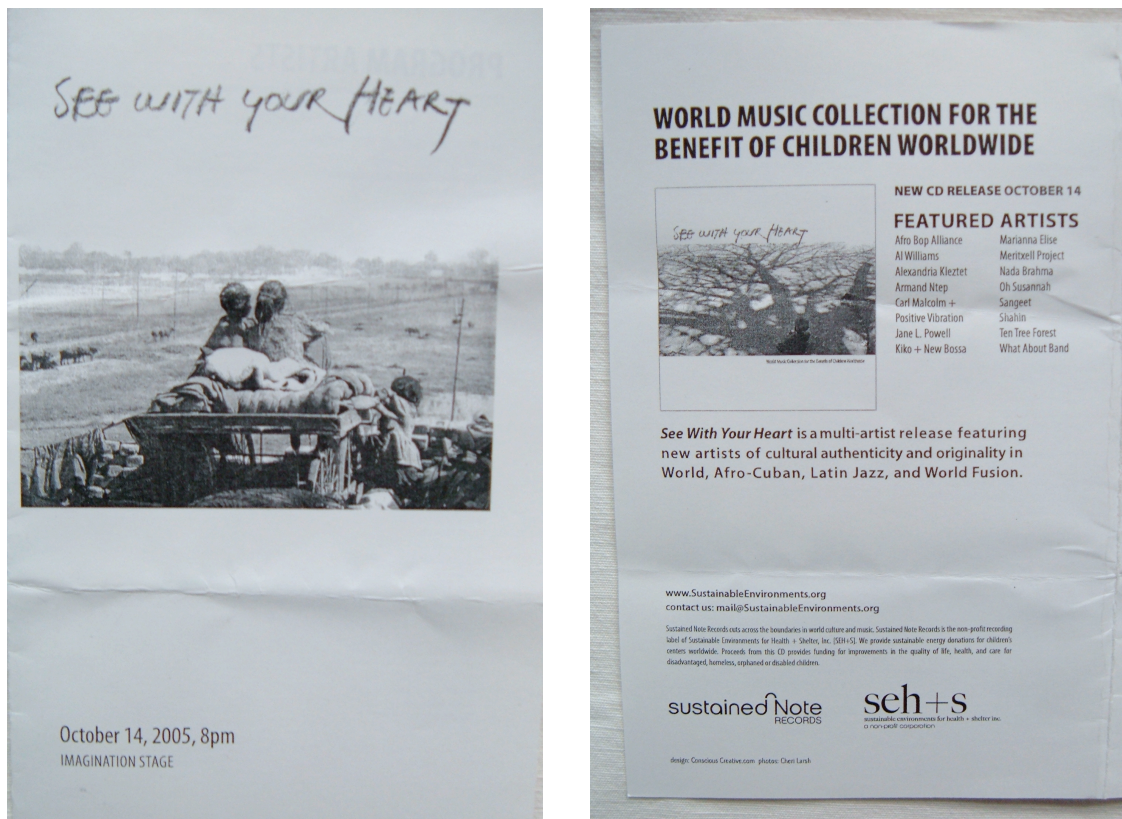


Figure 2.1: Concert Program, October 14, 2005

musicians while still allowing for originality to enter the musical picture. Combining authenticity for artists and originality for music might be a defining characteristic of "world fusion" as employed by SEH+S.⁶

Wes Crawford was the first point of contact most of the musicians had with the project, so he shaped musicians' first impressions of the album's musical concept. Each of the musicians received different input based on the type of music they performed and their relationships with Wes, but the theme of combining traditional and modern influences was common. Asha Srinivasan, a composer and pianist, noted that the very choice of her composition and her mother's performing group indicated that Wes and Arch were looking for a contribution with modern Indian styles, rather than traditional classical Indian music. Asha is a doctoral composition student specializing in electronic music at the University of Maryland, and her mother regularly performs Indian film music with a group locally. Asha felt that, since Indian film music is inherently a synthesis of elements of classical Indian music and contemporary popular music, it fit well into the concept for the album (Srinivasan 2005).

Leonardo Lucini, arranger and bassist for a Brazilian song on the album, recalled that when Wes explained the project to him, Leonardo specifically asked if he should use modern or traditional music from Brazil or a mixture of both, and Wes liked the idea of mixing both (Lucini 2006). Many artists indicated that they were not given strong musical guidelines, and that Wes knew their work and the styles in which they composed. Wes, and through him Arch, had a pre-existing understanding of what the music would sound like, and perhaps what the implications were of contributing to an album of artists

⁶ This definition of "world fusion" is identical to the definition of "world beat," but it is significant that SEH+S chose to create a new descriptive term. While practically the terms are quite similar, the new term seems to reflect a new way of viewing these musics.

originating from diverse locations on the globe.

Wes Crawford noted that defining genre for the album was primarily a publicity concern. Genre definition was important for selling the CD and promoting SEH+S. Wes and many musicians on the album felt that world music was primarily a commercial categorization; the term was important for their music only after it was created and recorded, and they distanced themselves from the categorization and marketing process. Cameroonian singer Armand Ntep even found the "world music" label discriminatory, manipulative to record buyers, and confusing in the way it lumped different musical genres and cultures together. For the SEH+S project, however, he could find no better term.

But about this project, I think so many people coming from everywhere, fusion? World? I don't know. I would like to say world music, I don't like it, but... (Ntep 2005).

Despite concern over the category itself, however, Armand's experience with the SEH+S project was positive. Armand did not indicate that the process of labeling interfered with the creative process of composing.

For Asha, as a classical composer, the question of genre and categorization invoked very different responses. The question of whether a piece is considered classical or popular had little import to her, but she found that this was an issue to those who heard her work in an academic environment. Because "anything goes" in Western art music today, she felt that there would not be any particular musical category that she would fall into as a composer of Western art music with Indian influences.

People now days, in the market for classical music, sort of brining that fusion of foreign and Western seems to be the thing, so I guess I'm just going to ride that, if I can. But again, I don't want to do it forcefully, I don't want it to be just a farce of, 'okay, let me do this

to sell myself' or something (Srinivasan 2005).

Regardless of whether or not she submitted to "selling herself," as a Western art music composer, regardless of the non-Western influences she used, she did not feel her music would be categorized as world music.

Although SEH+S did have a unifying musical concept for the album, planned before any musicians were contacted, they did not explicitly define that concept to the musicians or to audiences. Attendees of the CD release concert and CD buyers were provided with a flexible and contradictory definition of genre. Arch and Wes's concept of world music for SEH+S was realized through a set of working assumptions about what would best serve the purpose of communicating the ideology of the organization and raising funds for development projects. The first assumption was that musicians who specialize in musics from countries outside of the U.S. would contribute songs reflecting those foreign specializations. In other words, SEH+S assumed musicians would continue to do what they already do, and it would therefore not be necessary to instruct Indian musicians to play Indian music or to instruct Brazilian musicians to play Brazilian music.⁷

A second working assumption was that selected musicians would combine traditional musical influences from their regions of specialization or descent with "modern" music. Arch and Wes both spoke of "modernizing" traditional music. They were well aware that in practice "modernizing" really meant "Americanizing," in Wes's words, adapting the music to a North American or Western European popular music sensibility to make the music appealing to a broad audience. Musicians were chosen for

⁷ This is not to say that Arch and Wes expected, for example, Brazilian musicians who only play jazz to suddenly play traditional Brazilian music; expectations were based on a combination of nationality and performing history.

their capacity for fusing "traditional" and "modern" musics as well as their knowledge of styles origination outside of the U.S. It is also in this area that Arch and Wes intervened the most, encouraging musicians to balance these elements.

The third working assumption in SEH+S's definition of world music was that defining terms are flexible. Musicians on the album overwhelmingly felt that the music "spoke for itself" and avoided strict genre categorization. But in SEH+S's publicity materials, both "world music" and "world fusion" function as overall genre terms. The enthusiasm of SEH+S's promotional text, invoking a variety of enticing catch phrases, all applicable if also overlapping, suggests that the spirit of the music and of the purpose of the project over-rides and defies strict categorization.⁸

These three qualities are working assumptions, rather than a definition, because these issues were under continual negotiation. While a musician can be expected to perform a certain style of music based on his or her past work, no musician's output is entirely static. Musicians are creative artists, so innovation is essential. This creative uncertainty applies both to usage of non-U.S. musical styles and to fusions with U.S. popular music. Arch and Wes were both very active in the studio recording process and both gave aesthetic input in a variety of songs and styles. Input from producers varies from song to song and from musician to musician, and the end result is always a new product, and a new interpretation of the musical working assumptions. Publicity tactics also will vary according to SEH+S's changing goals, for instance, the shift to emphasize New Orleans music in the CD release concert to reflect SEH+S partnership with an orphanage in New Orleans affected by Hurricane Katrina, or on changing perceptions of

⁸ Taylor's describes this strategy as the splatter effect as in the 1990s cartoon program *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* and in advertising for *Vision: The Music of Hildegard von Bingen*. The goal is to "throw some buzzwords together and hope they strike home" (Taylor 1997, 15).

the audience.

World Music Theory

How does SEH+S's interpretation of world music reflect critical interpretations of the term? The vagueness or flexibility with which SEH+S applies the term corresponds well to the ambiguity many critics have identified. SEH+S's emphasis on fusion most closely mirrors the definition of "world beat," a sub-category of world music.

Ethnocentrism and appropriation are key elements of the discussion on world music, both because of the inequality inherent in the term itself, which separates music from North America and Western Europe from the rest of the world, and the imbalanced power relationships within the genre, between non-Western musicians and both pop music stars and recording labels.

Steven Feld remarked that, "What 'world music' signifies for most of us, quite simply and innocently, is musical diversity" (Keil and Feld 1994, 26). In that vein, world music becomes the vehicle for cross cultural understanding, through both musical collaboration and diverse and dispersed audiences, and for often empowering the oppressed by giving them a powerful musical voice wherever music is commercially circulated. Timothy Taylor also found that, prior to the recording industry adoption of the term, world music was an innocuous designation used by ethnomusicologists to describe their field of study.

As early as the late 1970s and early 1980s some ethnomusicologists were using the term world music to describe all the musics of the world's peoples. No one then saw it as a phrase with potentially pejorative undertones; it was merely a shorthand way of separating the musics of the West and the rest (Taylor 1997, 2).

Of course, and I assume that the irony of Taylor's phrase "separating the musics of the West and the rest" is not unintentional, the very act of defining all other music by the fact that it is not "our" music is pejorative and ethnocentric, painting the music of the supposedly musically homogeneous West as a standard to which all other musics must be referenced.

Even if "most of us," as Feld claims, interpret world music as diversity, world music is also commonly understood as a creation of the recording industry. World music is a genre in a commercial sense, or as Negus suggests, citing Frith, as it "provides a way of linking the question of music (What does it sound like?) to the question of genre (Who will buy it)" (Gebesmair & Smudits 2001, 23). The music industry, which created and maintains the term, is based on capitalist principles and is interested in maximizing profit. Both Burnett and Negus emphasize the business side of the music business, Burnett noting that "The music business has often very little to do with music" (Burnett 1996, 10), and Negus that accounting, rather than any creative impulse, is the guiding principle for management (Gebesmair & Smudits 2001, 22).

The term "world music" was adopted by the recording industry in a marketing meeting held by record company executives in the summer of 1987 (Taylor 1997, 2). The Billboard world music chart was created in 1990, as a delayed reaction to the popularity of the term and the genre in the United States, and in 1991 the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS) created a Grammy award for "Best World music Album" (Taylor 1997, 10). The genre heading "world beat" gained currency at relatively the same time as world music. As a pair, both designated musics and artists originating outside of North America and Europe, but world music relied on the allure of traditional,

untainted, "authentic" music, and world beat was understood to combine sounds from outside of the West with popular influences learned from European and American musics. "World beat" gained a far more dubious reputation than world music; the creation and marketing of these fusions seemed ripe with racism and inequality (Keil and Feld 1994, 319-20).

Many of the criticisms of world beat also apply to world music, particularly as "world beat" has lost individual identity in the umbrella category of world music (Taylor 1997, 3; Feld 1994, 267).⁹ World music is seen as neocolonial because it treats musics from the "Third World" as raw material to be used by the West. Commodification and copyright laws disadvantage rightful owners of music held in oral tradition. While "Third World" collaborators on albums produced by Western stars may derive benefits from the collaboration, the benefits derived by the Westerners are astronomically greater. Categorization as a world musician is dependent on race and ethnicity, and racial and ethnic minorities are confined to the less prestigious and less profitable world music category.

My understanding of world music as a genre is based on its commercial categorization. As music from anywhere in the world is commodified and packaged as world music, I would argue that it undergoes a degree of hybridization; as music journeys over time and space and undergoes commodification and labeling as world music, it is changed. In this way, all "world musics" are what Krister Malm has called "transnational musics" (Malm 1993, 343-4). Given the increasing tendency to embrace hybridity I

⁹ "World beat" may have been abandoned because it was strongly associated with African derived musics, which created two problems 1) defining the music by the race of the artist and 2) excluding non-Western fusions not produced by black artists (Pacini Hernandez 1998, 112), or also because authenticities of world music changed allowing greater acceptance of hybrids and is marketing artists as individuals (Taylor 1997, 16).

wonder if the category world music is not becoming more and more populated by transnational musics and less and less by the supposedly pure and authentic.

SEH+S has constructed a marketing strategy based on the idea that world music represents diversity and can be a vehicle for cross-cultural understanding, as with the optimistic academic readings of the term. Pairing world music with international development relies on the music's ability to invoke diversity and understanding, the idea that children in different countries around the world face different problems, but that our common humanity should convince us all to help them if we can. Choosing the label, though, immediately implies ethnocentrism, in the way it chops up the musics of the planet into two camps, "us" and "them."

So is SEH+S ethnocentric? An interesting feature of the CD is that, although it is a world music compilation, all of the artists currently live in the United States, and several of them were born in the U.S. and perform styles common to the U.S. on the CD. In addition to the previously mentioned jazz contribution from saxophonist Al Williams, Susan Berg McNelis, also known as "Oh Susannah," performs and composes children's songs in the Washington D.C. area. Her contribution "All Fall Down" reflects U.S. folk and popular musical influences. "What About the Children?" the trademark song for the album and for SEH+S, written by Arch Cromer, is also primarily inspired by U.S. popular styles. Outside of the CD, this music would not likely be categorized as world music, but on *See With Your Heart* it all falls under that category.

SEH+S is clearly not separating "us" and "them" here; Western and non-Western music and musicians are all categorized under the same heading. The conscious balance of Western popular and non-Western traditional styles might indicate an ethnocentric

Figure 2.2: Arch Cromer performing with bassist Gary Grainger and vocalist Meritxell. Meritxell contributed a Spanish language version of Arch's song "What About the Children?" to the album.



division. This understanding, however, is primarily used for targeting audiences, who are understood to be primarily from the West and thus more familiar and more comfortable with Western musics.

For Wes, and likely for Arch as well, the CD was by no means a commercialized popular music album whose primary intent is to sell millions of copies, but it was shaped by certain guiding principles about how it would appeal to the desired audience. Wes commented about the "marketability" of the CD:

If you're going to try to do something worthwhile from a financial point of view or a popularity point of view... then you have to do it for an American sensibility... everything comes here [US]. Which in some sense might mean blandness, but in some sense it might mean innovation with technology and innovation with other more American rootsy styles too. So, it could be somebody's judgment as

to whether that's a good thing or a bad thing. But, Arch, and to the extent that I've been working through him as a musical consultant, would have been very negligent in responsibilities toward the organization if we tried to do something so esoteric, or even so pure, as to do something that it didn't have some kind of commercial appeal, so as to raise funds, that was the ultimate goal. It's easy when you have music in your head to just go with the goal being the music project in and of itself, but really it's a tool, and I think Arch has kept that firmly in mind as he's gone along (Crawford 2005).

For marketing purposes, it seems that SEH+S taps into whatever music industry terms ("world music") and marketing strategies they find useful in promoting the organization through the CD. Artistic decisions about instrumentation, song structure and other aesthetic features, however, are more often based on the musical tastes of Arch, Wes, and musicians or other aesthetic decision-makers, and the resources available to a small non-profit recording in one locality with a limited network of contacts. Of course, these two areas greatly overlap, but it seems that in SEH+S's understanding of the project, this division helps create a balance between commercial strategy and artistry.

World Music Audience Construction

Finding the right audience is crucial for SEH+S, which depends on the audience to become supporters of SEH+S's international development projects. Due in part to the marketing efforts of the music industry, world music has a set audience niche. This pre-identified audience group was one of the advantages for SEH+S of choosing world music as a genre for the album. World music, as identified by the music industry, is linked with the "adult contemporary" and "new age" categories, indicating respectively adult listenership an interest in "alternative" spirituality (Taylor 1997, 5). This group of people is well positioned both to donate to SEH+S and to understand the "one world" concept

essential to both the music and development projects. Arch Cromer did not limit the potential audiences for the CD, but he did express understandings of world music audiences that closely paralleled those within the music industry.

Arch had in mind two types of listeners for the CD. He identified one group "the traditional world music listener that's fairly educated, out there in the world, no matter where they are," as the first. These listeners may be, "people that have a little bit of world consciousness or world travel, or have an interest in a wider culture outside of, certainly the U.S., or maybe just the U.S. or Europe. He felt that particularly in England and in France, where the world music recording industry is very active, the CD would find many listeners in this group. These listeners might be familiar and enjoy the world music genre as a whole, or may be drawn in by particular regional styles, such as African or Brazilian music, that are featured on the CD. These listeners would primarily support the organization by buying CDs and accompanying concert DVDs, and as a consequence of interest in the music, may decided to support SEH+S in other ways. Despite Arch's awareness of this discrete world music audience group, one of his main goals in combining different styles on the CD was to make the music accessible, and to give it a broad appeal.

If you could be motivated by the rhythm and the feel of the music but not understand the language, that to us was a good thing. And most of the people, every one that recorded on this album, I don't think you need to know the language at all, in a lot of cases. Musically there's so much flowing...

Interestingly, however, he qualified this statement with a reference to this first audience group, "... if you're attuned to world music, you're going to have a good experience with it, I think" (Cromer 2005).

Arch defined the second audience group as individuals whose music listening patterns do not usually include world music, although they may have some familiarity with one of the regional styles on the album. Presumably, the accessibility of the album would give them a greater opportunity to enjoy and understand the music, but they would have slightly lower odds of enjoying the music than the regular world music listener. This group would likely receive the CD as a part of a press kit, or as a package soliciting donations. Arch estimated that this group would be significantly smaller than the first, with numbers in the hundreds, rather than numbers in the thousands. Although Arch did not specify this, it seems that members of potential partner organizations, who would benefit from funds raised rather than donated them, would fall into this category of listeners. Arch hoped that, when approaching organizations that care for disadvantaged children in countries outside of the United States, a connection could be made using songs in the same language or in the same region as the potential partner organization to communicate a common understanding of the problems they faced. Arch also noted that, as they were still in the early stages of distribution and marketing, and that there were audience groups that SEH+S had identify and approach.

These two audience groups seem to separate those who would be more interested in the music production side of SEH+S from those who would be likely to be donors or partner organizations who would be primarily interested in the development side of SEH+S's activities. Of course SEH+S hopes that donors will come from the first group as well as the second, but Arch seemed believe that the development projects would be secondary to the first audience group, the regular world music listeners.

As I have defined world music listeners, they do have a certain degree of group

identity, but this affinity group does not require social interaction with other members as much as it requires individual listener's beliefs that they are part of "one world" and that their awareness of their part in that world is expressed through their expertise and enjoyment of world music. Malm comments that, "What can be called 'international communities of interest' are created around, e.g., a global music style" (Gebesmair and Smudits 1993, 92), through mass mediation and distribution, but within these communities, variations in local meaning develop. Individual interpretations of meaning and individual reasons for listening will vary infinitely, but the "international community of interest" of world music listeners still exists.

SEH+S's World Music Marketing Results

After launching the project, Arch still feels that using music to raise funds and awareness for the organization is a good strategy, but that it takes a lot of management and public relations expertise that SEH+S has yet to acquire. The album needs to be heard by people who will appreciate both the music and the message, and that takes time.

Having that CD to give to anybody in the world to say, 'here's what we're doing, this is what we're about, and we need you to help us in this area, can you do that for us? would you consider it?'... I think it says who we are (Cromer 2005).

Because plans for the CD and for the development project took shape simultaneously, rather than one being the result of the other, the CD is a key expression of the organization's identity. The musical diversity on the CD represents the diversity of the problems children face around the world, and the collaborative efforts of the musicians and the fusion of different musical styles represents the idea that, amidst such diversity, individuals are bound together in an effort to help one another, to improve human

conditions by recognizing the humanity in one another.

Attendance was lower than expected at the CD release concert; Arch and his partners hoped for a full house but only filled about two thirds of the seats in the theatre. He found that he would have rather had lower attendance and a musically successful concert, like they did, than a full house and a mediocre performance (Cromer 2005). He was inspired by the strong emotional expression from all of the music, and felt that that can be felt even on the video. They hope to use pieces of the DVD recorded at the concert to promote the next concert and certain musicians that they want to bring back.

Creatively, the music was important to Arch, but to SEH+S the music's primary purpose was "public relations," or, in other words, to advertise the organization to potential donors. CD sales are intended to raise funds, and Arch acknowledged that SEH+S would be delighted to sell a lot of CDs, but that's not the primary goal. "You have to remember that the bottom line is not necessarily selling large numbers of albums, but selling, or having it promoted in such a way so that the music gets into the right channels," recruiting patrons of the organizations, in small or large ways. Arch described this as very different from being a for-profit recording label (Cromer 2005). SEH+S's "bottom line," its goal above all others is helping disadvantaged children, but the single necessary step to accomplish that goal is raising funds to route to organizations that help kids. In this way, the "bottom line" for both SEH+S and major recording companies is using music to make money.

The differences are, obviously, that what SEH+S intends to do with the money is different that what recording companies do with the money they make, and also the way the music generates profit. Record companies generate profits through pure sales figures,

but by attaching a humanitarian cause to the music, SEH+S can generate more funds through donations solicited by the CD than through pure CD sales.

Regardless of whether SEH+S is ultimately using the CD to sell CDs or is using the CD to sell the idea of donating to the organization, the advertising function is key. The music must advertise itself, as an entry point, and then advertise the organization. Because of this connection, SEH+S is in a position of figuring out what music is appealing to group whose attention they are trying to solicit, and responding to that understanding of that group's preferences.

At the writing of this paper, SEH+S is still in the early stages of marketing and distributing the CD, and the concert provides the only real measure of success. In spite of low attendance, according to both Arch and Wes, many more tickets were sold than seats were occupied, indicating that many who could not or would not attend the concert still wanted to support the organization. The CD sales at the concert were, according to Wes, "astronomically high," at almost a one to one ratio with audience attendance.

The "world music" genre label was a useful tool for SEH+S that helped to identify marketing strategies to reach a particular audience, but the label was redefined as it was applied. Arch Cromer and Wes Crawford guided musical interpretation of the genre on the album to create a musical product that supported the organizational identity of SEH+S. Ethnocentric divisions inherent in the musical genre were diminished, and the producers shaped the music to convey the idea of "one world." "One world" was also represented in the emphasis on fusion, previously associated with "world beat," but newly termed "world fusion," disconnecting with appropriative associations tied to the older label. Redefinition here is an interaction with the superculture of the globalized music

industry, and the SEH+S's process demonstrates the roles played by key individuals interacting with this system. Individuals acting for SEH+S use elements of the superculture as tools, and adjust them to fit the very individualized goals of the organization.

Chapter 3: World Music Aesthetics

Although the diversity of the music and the musicians on the SEH+S album was important to its identity, several unifying aesthetic principles provided a consistent musical appeal and message throughout. Diversity is in itself a unifying aesthetic. This idea was mirrored by many of the musicians; the variety of styles on the album was an inclusive and unifying theme.

From a production perspective, however, the over-arching aesthetic of the album had much to do with SEH+S's interpretation of the world music genre, with its emphasis on fusion between Western and non-Western elements. The use of Western musical elements was intended to provide North American and European listeners with a familiar entry point into the music. The non-Western "world" elements were intended both to invoke dispersed areas of the globe where children are perceived to face serious hardship, and to provide CD listeners from potential partner organizations in those countries with familiar entry points into the music. The entry points into the music, both for Western and non-Western listeners, are also crucial as entry points into the organization, both as financial supporters and partner organizations.

The recording engineer Derek Wille played an important role in maintaining this balance between Western and non-Western elements. He recalled,

[Arch and I] talked up front about the need to keep it [the recording] as organic as possible. We used real instruments instead of synthesizers or samplers as much as possible. We tried to record each track with as little punching in on tracks (fixing) as possible. To keep the natural human feel. We let each group set up and play in the order that was most comfortable for them (Wille 2005).

Arch and Derek also made a point of featuring percussion in all of the tracks

keeping the Western drum kit sound in the back of the mix, which Derek found to be common of recordings from many countries outside of North America and Europe. The prominent percussion was a common theme for most of the tracks, since most of the groups used percussion (Wille 2005). The idea that rhythm and percussion are less important in North American and European popular and art musics than in music from anywhere else in the world is a common assumption about world music. This assumption often carries undertones of exoticism and yearnings for "primal" rhythms—and has been a key marketing factor in much world music. Derek and Arch based their emphasis on percussion on recording techniques they observed in non-Western recordings, so I would assume that they are not operating under this misconception, but it does play into certain preconceptions of the genre.

In describing his tactics for recording percussion on a Brazilian contribution to the album, Leonardo Lucini described a similar technique, recording simple drum set tracks and adding prominent percussion layers on top, as being a practice he observed in Brazil for creating the characteristic street samba batucada percussion sound (Lucini 2006). In any case, the emphasis of percussion provided a uniform way to highlight difference in each track on the CD. The diversity of percussion instruments brought in by each musician was distinct, and ranged from Brazilian agogo, surdo, and quica to Indian tabla to West African "talking drum."

Arch found that adding American elements to musics from around the world did not compromise the musics' authenticity. "Sometimes there's enough dimension to the work that it's more than just one geographic idiom, without losing its roots, without losing its originality, without losing its truth" (Cromer 2005). Particularly because the

musicians on the recording, if they were born outside of the U.S., all currently reside in the U.S. Arch said:

In America we have, I think, a crossroads, with our history, and with fusing different music forms, like jazz and blues and, to some degree rock music, all evolving to the levels that today you can authentically find so called world fusion, world jazz, world music that's really hard to characterize as being only from one setting (Cromer 2005).

Arch found that most of the musicians conveyed the message that SEH+S wanted to send a message of "one world" marked simultaneously by the kinship of all humanity and significant diversity, both musically and in the lyrics of the songs. Arch had to stop working with a few groups that did not convey this message.

For example, SEH+S recorded a demo with a group that specialized in one particular European folk style. Arch decided not to pursue the recording because it was too specific to a single country and even a single region, and therefore inaccessible to too many people. It did not carry the message of "a wider world" that they were trying to express. Arch viewed part of his role as producer to ensure that projects did adhere to SEH+S's goals.

I think, as the producer, I tried to keep the music focused and the musicians focused with their own work to reinforce it to be as original as possible, but at the same time try to make that originality not be too narrow... If you could be motivated by the rhythm and the feel of the music but not understand the language, that to us was a good thing (Cromer 2005).

Arch was not alone in this universalist understanding of the CD. Musicians such as saxophonist Al Williams observed this broad, cross-cutting appeal in the finished CD:

I think that there's something here in the CD for everybody that would sweep an ear in all parts of the world... if you have this world music project, you can attract more ears from all over (Williams 2005).

From both the musicians' and the producers' perspectives, the album was simultaneously able to convey diversity and unity through music. The combination of two such opposite ideas is crucial to SEH+S's project, and is also representative of one important facet of globalization. In the previous chapter, SEH+S selectively employed rhetoric and strategies of the multinational music industry, and consequently of globalization. Decisions about world music aesthetics are drawn from the music industry's marketing repertoire, but also reflect the dichotomies that are central to understanding globalization.

Global Binaries and Authenticity

Literature on world music and internationally distributed popular music has frequently drawn on dichotomies evident in globalization theory to explain similar processes in music. Viet Erlmann, following Jameson's understanding of capitalism as a "difference-making machine," which produces difference in the same way, suggests that world music is a hegemonic framework that produces musical difference. For world music, the unifying process of commodification produces a pastiche aesthetic in which difference is signified. Points of difference are only symbols of themselves and they fit into a homogenous mold (Erlmann 1993, 13). Or, in Malm's words:

A lot of different groups declare 'We are different!' But they all have to do it in the same ways, with the same means and modes of performance on the same kind of arenas (Malm 1993, 91-2).

Robert Burnett has stressed Appadurai's argument that tension between homogenization and heterogenization is the central problem of modernity (Burnett 1996, 17-18). Feld found the polar sets of unity and multiplicity, and of amplification and diminution to be

characteristic of hybridity in world music (Feld 1996, 27).

Malm theorizes this tendency by naming a number of distinct "fields of tensions" or "discordant trends" which include, "homogeneous / diverse," "global / local," "hybrid / pure," "mediated music / live music," "individual / collective," and "the great tradition / the little tradition." (Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, 89-90) While each of these pairs has a specific relevance in the study of popular music, it seems to me that they all stem from the same basic idea: they all express a tension between big and small, and between the sameness and difference fostered by each respectively. SEH+S's specific interpretation of this binary is the tension between a "one world" aesthetic, which is tied to authenticity of emotion, and a diversity aesthetic, which is tied to authenticities of origin and experience.

Authenticity is not an objective term, although it has in the past been used that way. It is understood differently depending on the context in which it is used. Authentic Western art music performance would be historically accurate, while authentic traditional and folk music performance would not bear the influence of any outside traditions. These two examples are both roughly based on historical accuracy, but the importance of purity in the second might push us towards recognizing these as two different concepts, or at least different authenticities.¹⁰

The problem is, however, that neither of these authenticities are attainable: one can never really know the details of historic performances of a particular piece of music to accurately re-create them, and however isolated a traditional or folk music is, all music changes over time for one reason or another, and complete cultural isolation is extremely rare. Even though authenticity, as it is colloquially understood, is objectively

¹⁰ For discussion of globalization and authenticity in ethnographic representation, see Bruner (2001).

unattainable, it does still play an important role in the way people appreciate music.

Timothy Taylor also claims that authenticity is real, as "something that many musicians and listeners believe in *and* use as a discursive trope" (Taylor 1997, 21). He also notes that, "Notions of what we call 'authenticity' seem to be increasingly common in the global postmodern" (Taylor 1997, 22). In working with ideas of authenticity in world music, Taylor has developed this idea of multiple authenticities, and has identified three types: 1) "Authenticity of Positionality," 2) "Authenticity of Emotionality," and 3) "Authenticity as Primality."

Authenticity of positionality demands adherence to the assumed place and condition of origin of an artist. Audiences play a large role in positioning the artist, and if, for example, a hip-hop artist is valued for speaking truth about African-American life in poor urban neighborhoods, they experience pressure to stay close to those "roots."

Authenticity of emotionality includes trueness to one's self, but also often draws on spirituality. Music that is authentically emotional is music that listener's can respond to on a "gut level" without having an exact understanding of content or context. This is music in which, "It seems that if the feelings presented and evoked are so real, they must therefore also be deep, or spiritual" (Taylor 1997, 25).

Authenticity as primality shares this idea of spiritual connection, but the connection is understood to be so deep as to connect to "the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic..." (Taylor 1997, 26) This last authenticity seems to be uniquely relevant to the world music genre, especially where it intersects with "new age" music, in which the separation between "gut" response and "spiritual" response would be of crucial significance.

For SEH+S, Taylor's first category, authenticity of positionality is very important, but it seems to matter in terms of two distinct sub-categories: geographical place of origin and life experience. One factor influencing the choice of musicians was their countries of origin. Being born in Brazil, for example, lends singer and songwriter Kiko a certain credibility; we assume that being from Brazil he must really know Brazilian music. He is authentic because he really is from Brazil, and his music is authentic because it is also Brazilian. The same applies to all of the musicians on the album who were really from India, Cameroon, Ethiopia, et cetera.

The musicians' authenticity of origins transfers onto SEH+S too, because they record musicians who are authentically from these places where children face hardship, SEH+S demonstrates an international scope.

A second deciding factor in choosing musicians for final inclusion on the album was whether or not they could effectively communicate the hardships facing children in their countries of origin. This has largely to do with experience, which may have been inside or outside of their countries of origin. Wes Crawford, for instance, commented that people who had children became far more involved with the album than those who did not (Crawford 2005).¹¹

Taylor's second category, authenticity of emotionality, was also important for SEH+S. Particularly because the songs on the album are sung in such a wide variety of languages, it was important that the music conveyed an emotive message to audiences.

Returning to an earlier quote from Arch Cromer, "If you could be motivated by the

¹¹ I did not notice this, however, in interviews with musicians. Some individuals who did not have children seemed very passionate about the project, even more so than other musicians who did have children. None of the musicians mentioned their own children as being inspirations for their compositions or performances or for their commitment to the project.

rhythm and the feel of the music but not understand the language, that to us was a good thing" (Cromer 2005).

Emotional authenticity was of the utmost importance to Arch, but it intersected heavily with authenticity of experience: the idea being that a musician who had experience with the children's struggles would then create an authentically emotional message that could be received by audiences musically, even if they could not understand the lyrics. Arch said that was looking for musical material that was authentically original to the musicians' identities, rather than authentic representations of particular musical styles. Arch believes that authenticity has comes from the performer:

It has to come from the artist first, and if that's really authentic, all the other things are in addition to that... The music has to be authentic from it's own experience to communicate the truth about the situation. You can't, in my opinion, write the scripts for that, you can't invent it, it is what it is, it exists all over the globe. But if we are fortunate enough to keep working with artists who have a sensitivity and a heart to feel what that's about, or have come from that, then I think those are the best ambassadors we can have to both record and promote music that helps to speak about what we're about. So I think it's really important that it work that way (Cromer 2005).

I would like to make a change in Taylor's categorizations: authenticity of emotionality was for many musicians highly spiritual. Belief in the "one world" concept was often a spiritual belief. Al Williams expressed satisfaction in working with the diverse group of musicians on the album and contributing to an international cause, describing all of these rewards of participating in the album as "spiritual" (Williams 2005). Taylor places spiritual authenticity under the label "authenticity of primality," which pessimistically emphasizes exoticism in ideas of universal spirituality, strikingly present in the 1990s world beat on which his study focuses. SEH+S's CD is completely



Figure 3.1: As a part of the CD Release concert, a number of children from different countries were asked to come on stage and say "What About the Children?" in their native languages. The musicians still on stage looked on. From right to left: Meritxell (voice), Susan Berg McNelis (voice), Dan Leonard (guitar), Gary Grainger (bass), Al Williams (alto saxophone), and Wes Crawford (drums).

devoid of the concept of primality, especially since it so strongly emphasizes modernization. But the idea of transcendent spirituality in the "one world" concept is strong, both in the relationships between the musicians and the musical diversity on the album, and in the relationship of donors and audience members to disadvantaged children. For musicians on the album, understanding and musically expressing this idea was an important factor in authenticity. "One world" is most frequently invoked as an emotional concept for SEH+S, so I would suggest adding an element of spirituality to the authenticity of emotionality and doing away entirely with the authenticity of primality.

I would like to add a new concept to Taylor's scheme: artistic authenticity or authenticity of artistry. Artistry is a sub-categorization of authenticity of emotionality

because for many musicians artistry is both emotional and spiritual, and artistic performances solicit emotive reactions from audiences. Artistry arises from connections between performing musicians and from musicians' own expressive ability with their chosen medium. Particularly for musicians, the most important judgment of quality is whether or not the music is good, that is, how well the musician has mastered the artistic tools at his or her disposal.

In sum, I would suggest that two authenticities are at play in SEH+S's aesthetic presentation: authenticity of positionality, which includes the important sub-categories of origin and experience, and authenticity of emotion, which overlaps some with experience, and also contains the ideas of spirituality and artistry. SEH+S producers and musicians emphasized different authenticities at different times, and the negotiation of these often mirrored the tensions between the polar global tensions of big and small or homogenizing and heterogenizing. The following two examples illustrate the interplay between authenticities in aesthetic considerations.

"Bon Bés" (To the Children) - Armand Ntep

Armand Ntep, a songwriter from Cameroon, more than any of the other artists on the album was appreciated for his authenticity of origin. The recordings that appeared on the CD and the concert performance are, however, in line with SEH+S's musical goal for broad appeal, a fusion. Armand's song creates an interesting opportunity to analyze which musical elements are considered authentic and how "modern" Western aesthetics are incorporated. Arch in particular valued Armand's facility for communication through music and his dedication to SEH+S's goals to help children. Wes was impressed at

Armand's sincerity and apparent absence of ego. "He's such a real, genuine person. No ego... he's just really down to earth and heartfelt, and I couldn't imagine anybody being better for this project, but also coming from that background" (Crawford 2005).

Armand's song, "Bon Bés," is sung in Bassa, Armand's native language, and uses a 6/8 meter. Armand identifies lihongo (see fig. 3.1), a traditional rhythm from Cameroon, as the main rhythm for the piece (Ntep 2005).

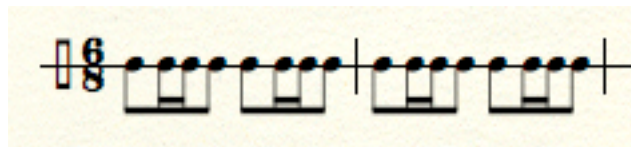


Figure 3.2: Lihongo rhythmic pattern in "Bon Bés" by Armand Ntep

The lihongo rhythm is a dominant feature of the vocal verses, and is played on the hi-hat cymbal. Instrumentation for the song includes keyboards, drums, electric bass, guitar and voice, with talking drum playing a prominent role in the repeated introductory theme. West African pop music uses Western instrumentation and musical styles heavily. This fusion is a defining element for many West African genres, so it is not remarkable that Armand has chosen this instrumentation.

Armand's good friend Tanash, who he played with in Africa and re-connected with in the U.S., recorded the guitar. Armand described his guitar sound as very African, sounding sometimes like the balafon, a traditional xylophone-like African instrument. Armand recalled that when he showed Tanash the song, he understood exactly what Armand was aiming for musically. "He [Tanash] knows I'm some kind of traditional guy, and also I have an eye on modern music, African music, every kind of music in this

world. I'm so open about music" (Ntep 2005).

It was during the recording of the song that Arch suggested that they add saxophone solo parts. Armand recalled:

Al Williams came on that song because Arch, it's not because me. Yeah, Arch told me he had an idea, he think maybe we want to use a sax, or something like that, he know somebody who can do that. And I think he found a good guy for that, a real guy.... and it was a really brilliant idea. Because, you know, the thing is that, it's just to compliment what you've got (Ntep 2005).

Wes Crawford contacted Al Williams to record a saxophone part for Armand's song. Al recalled that he was very interested in the project because both the music and the non-profit "just sounded so cool..." Initially, however, he had doubts that he would be able to contribute something worthwhile to Armand's song, feeling that he was not knowledgeable enough about the style of music. He decided to give it a try, and, he remembered:

When they called me to do the session with Armand, I got to the studio and I started listening to the track, and it was just so cool, so original, real, real world music. Not plastic at all... It's genuinely the ethnic music that he grew up with.... And there was a moment where I thought well, I don't know if I can even fit into this, I'd love to, but I didn't want to spoil it... They put me in a room and turned on the tape [he laughs] and... and I played, and, I thought, 'Well, I hope I didn't mess it up too bad,' and he [Armand] was like, 'that's great, man, that's exactly what I want' (Williams 2005).

Al toured for a number of years with Cuban percussionist Mongo Santamaria, and had been influenced by listening to African percussion in his youth. Al currently plays mostly jazz. Armand felt that Al contributed musically, by incorporating ideas from smooth jazz, and that he added to the intention of the song as well, and performed "with really big heart." He and Al got along well personally as well as musically (Ntep 2005).

Al used spirituality as a way to summarize his entire experience on the album. This resounded strongly with Armand, who commented on the heart that Al put into his solo and thus into the song. Al, Armand, Arch and Wes were all very happy with the way that the recording turned out and felt that it was one of the best on the album. Arch mentioned that he is eager to work with Armand again because of his particular facility for expressing himself and the needs of children musically.

Arch summarized the effect created by Al and Armand's collaboration:

If you listen to Armand Ntep's recording on the album, it's a very emotive recording, and just the way it feels. The saxophone soprano solo by Al Williams, definitely coming from an American jazz kind of influence. So you have two worlds coming together of musical influence coming together to make something much more worldly, you might say. So maybe that's part of what world music is. But what we've found is just the way that music feels to a lot of people that have never heard any African world music, they like it. It has something familiar and yet something very unfamiliar that speaks to their heart... (Cromer 2005)

Arch's suggestion to add a saxophone solo to Armand's song implies that he felt it was too stylistically specific, that it needed "broadening" and/or "modernizing." Despite the "Western" instrumentation that has over decades become fully incorporated in the West African popular music, the addition of a saxophone solo was intended to make the song more appealing to the audiences SEH+S is targeting.

Within the interaction of creating a recorded song, the idea of diversity is embraced in the selection of Armand to be on the album and in Al's appreciation of Armand's authenticity to his origins, a feeling in which Al was not alone. This is the heterogeneous pull of the album, the need for difference. Not only was Armand musically different, he was also able to lend a unique perspective on the needs of children because

of first-hand knowledge of the needs of children in his home country.

Praising the "heart" and the emotiveness of Armand's recording, however, emphasizes a universal sentiment that can be understood regardless of language or cultural heritage. Adding Al's jazz solo to Armand's song makes Armand's music more of a fusion, as defined by Arch and Wes, and consequently a more homogenized artistic expression, shaped to blend in with other music on the CD. Armand's collaboration with Al demonstrates the ability to mix music from different areas of the world and the enjoyment they gain in working together. One of the reasons that this collaboration worked was the "authenticity of emotion" that both performers lent to the recording.

The effort to mix heterogeneity and homogeneity in the recording shows this point of tension created by dependent and opposite poles of globalization. It is interesting, though, that the interaction described above was not a tense one. All of the actors were open to suggestion and seemed truly happy with the outcome. For Armand and Al, Arch's suggestion resulted in a meaningful personal and musical connection that could lead to further collaborations. The tension lies in the opposing forces simultaneously at work, not in the interactions of individuals.

"Ye Bachche Pyare Pyare" (These Loving Children) - Asha Srinivasan & Sangeet

About a year ago Asha Srinivasan, a doctoral student in composition at the University of Maryland, College Park, worked on musical with a friend that was based on the Nutcracker. She described the work was mostly classical, but in one part, where the nutcracker travels through different countries/lands, her friend asked her to write a Bollywood song.

One of the countries was India, and he wanted me to write a very Bollywood song, and I hated him for it [laughs]. He wanted it to be really cheesy and campy, and I did, and if you ever hear the song, you'll see that it is, and people really love it, they really like it. And I don't mind it now, but I still listen to it and cringe. So in a way this song [for SEH+S] is kind of like a redemption for me because it was the same idea, but not campy or cheesy, but honest and sincere. And I can listen to this song and be like, yeah, this is mine, it's everything about me because it is Western and Indian, it's not something that I would put down or say that it's cheesy or anything (Srinivasan 2005).

Wes contacted Asha and her mother Lalitha Srinivasan to contribute a song to the SEH+S album because of Lalitha's experience with popular Indian film music. As Asha understood it, Wes and Arch had initially considered using classical Indian music, but in the end,

[They decided] they wanted obviously, a very world, ethnic, authentic kind of flair to it but it was also supposed to be fun and light, so he didn't want anything that was too serious, he didn't really want classical music (Srinivasan 2005).

Wes thought of Asha's mother because she does light, Indian pop, film music, but also because he thought Asha might be able to make an original song, given her background in composition. Wes really liked the idea of Asha and her mother working together because Lalitha has only worked in Indian music, and Asha has focused her studies on Western classical music.

While the overall effort for "Ye Bachche Pyare Pyare" was collaborative, combining Asha, her mother and her band and a friend who wrote the lyrics for the song, the composition itself was not. Asha wrote it on her own. Asha started composing with the lyrics that one of her mother's friends composed for the song, per her request.

I was thinking about the idea of brightness, colorfulness, the children, bringing that about in the music. Wes had told me that he

wanted something upbeat, sort of, but he was kind of a little bit ambiguous, because I guess he didn't want to lock down into anything (Srinivasan 2005).

Asha decided to write something to portray a mood, something for listening rather than dancing. She played with chords, especially those she prefers such as major sevenths and tritones, which she feels add flavor and shine.

She thought about ways to make the song Bollywood style rather than classical. Asha has written Hindi songs "just for fun" and watches Hindi movies, so she is familiar with the style. She had never connected Indian and [Western] classical music, and she wanted to make sure that the song still sounded Indian. She decided to restrict herself to one scale, a technique she also uses in her Western compositions to incorporate Indian music.

I know that this is an Indian scale because I've heard it in songs, but I wouldn't know what it is or what the name is, so it was more aural in that sense... and something about it reminded me about the innocence, almost like the music box sound (Srinivasan 2005).

She wanted to avoid the major scale because it sounded too Western. She built the piece around the C Lydian scale, only slightly modifying the C major scale by raising the fourth degree a half-step, from F to F#. In spite of her intention to avoid the major scale, she has found that people accustomed to Western music scales may hear the tonal center as being G—the F# makes it sound like it is in G major. In addition, the last note of some of the lines is G, which was initially intended as a dangling/hanging resolution. She found that the interplay of hearing a pull at times towards C as the tonal center and at other times towards G mixes the Indian and Western scale elements, although she did not plan it that way (Srinivasan 2005).

The introduction to "Ye Bachche Pyare Pyare" introduces the mode and the

melody for the piece (see figure 3.2). This is very similar to a number of Indian raga, among them the North Indian Rag Yaman. The introduction also follows the pattern in classical Indian music of introducing the mode, then the rhythm, and then the melody, although it is much abbreviated here

Figure 3.3: Introduction to "Ye Bachche Pyare Pyare" by Asha Srinivasan

The degree and type of Indian-Western fusion was a point of conflict in Sangeet's recording. Asha felt that this might have come from misunderstandings of the degree of fusion already present in Indian film music.

I think that Indian film music is a really good example of a compilation of both [classical and popular music]. This project was interesting because you could see some people had a little bit of trouble with it... Arch really... wanted the tabla to come out as the strong drum... But what's interesting is I think the reason he felt that way because drum-set is so Western and he's trying to separate them a little bit. But if you talk to, you know, my mom, an arranger of bands and singers, she would not go to a concert without a

drum-set. Drums are part of an Indian film band (Srinivasan 2005).

Wes remarked on the percussion sounds in Sangeet's recording as well; he recalled that he and Arch wanted the tabla to be dominant in the mix. At first Wes tried to add simple drum-set, he and Arch felt that the effect was too "drummy" or busy and detracted from the "Indian flavor." Wes ultimately played only cymbals, adding "that high end, shimmery end" that he found to be lacking in the tabla sound. Wes recognized that the end result was different from the style to which Lalitha was accustomed, but he "didn't feel that drums were adding anything to it, and made it less Indian in a sense" (Crawford 2005).

Even though Asha and Lalitha were chosen for their comfort with Western and Western influenced styles, art music and Indian film music respectively, Wes and Arch were concerned with creating a more "authentically Indian" sound than Asha and her mother had in mind. In this case, Asha and her mother represented a "homogenizing" force, and Wes and Arch pushed for a differentiating authenticity based on origins. Both Asha's chord structure and her mother's adherence to Bollywood music norms that included a strong drum set sound were too Western, and were counterbalanced by the emphasis of the tabla. Tension over the drums and percussion carried over from the recording and was felt as frustration in the rehearsals for the concert. Despite differences, Asha was happy with the recording and felt that the other musicians liked it as well.

The power of producers' decisions apparent in both of these examples brings up questions of hegemony and individual autonomy. The definition of world music constructed by Arch and Wes for SEH+S drew on recording industry concepts and on the desired image for the SEH+S. While individual choices led to the selection of various

musical ideas and the ultimate amalgamated musical concept, it would be difficult to say whether the choice to adopt certain recording industry ideas was influenced by the hegemony of that industry, or was autonomous. The subsequent application of that definition of world music through aesthetic decisions made on individual songs might be understood as an alternative hegemony (Williams 1977, 111), and in the case of Armand and Asha's songs, this was manifested in aesthetic changes encouraged by producers.

Is it reasonable to claim that an (admittedly flexible and ambiguous) unifying aesthetic concept for one album is a form of hegemony? Building on Slobin's idea that hegemony is not only located in the superculture (Slobin 1993, 57), and Williams's concept that hegemony is a "constitutive and constituting" lived reality (Williams 1977, 110), I would say that it is a reasonable claim. What is important to recognize is that hegemonies, like supercultures and like theories of globalization, are present in many layers of social interaction and are often manipulated by individuals in those systems. Examples in the following chapter further illustrate how individual musicians establish their own power within these social structures.

Aesthetics for the SEH+S album were based on multiple interpretations of authenticity. Authenticities of positionality and of emotion played into globalized tensions of differentiation and homogenization. Armand Ntep demonstrated more authenticity of positionality than Arch felt was ideal for the album's cross-cutting appeal. Asha and Lalitha Srinivasan embraced the infusion inherent both in their collaboration and in Indian film music, an artistic authenticity that Wes and Arch felt needed to be balanced by invoking the Indian origins of the music, through the sounds of the tabla. Both situations show aesthetic tensions and resolutions in the global binary, and both

illustrate a flexible usage of concepts available in generalized global theory and in the strategies of the music industry.

Chapter 4: Power Distributions

The process of globalization is closely tied to power distribution. Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems theory describes centers of power that exercised control over both semi-periphery and periphery areas. While still a geographic construction, Wallerstein de-emphasizes the role of the nation-state (Wallerstein 1974). A number of re-thinkings of globalization have challenged center-periphery power relationships (Kearney 1995), proposing instead de-centered and de-territorialized approaches (Gottdiener 1985, Appadurai 1996), and peripheralization within power centers (Sassen-Koob 1982, Ross and Trachte 1983).

In studies of the recording industry, the concentration of ownership in several large firms has given the idea of "centers" some durability, but the possibility of center shifts and ensuing power shifts has been considered. Relocation of multinational recording companies outside of the United States, and the location of major companies such as Sony in Asia exemplify this shift (Burnett 1996, 5; Taylor 1997, 200). An opposite extreme is the suggestion that internet distribution (Burnett in Gemesmair and Smudits 2001, 11-12) and the rising quality of some home recording have the potential to severely disrupt, if not completely destroy, center-periphery power structures.

To understand how power distributions inherent in globalization effect SEH+S's project, however, it is necessary to examine what concentration really means for the recording industry, and to look at the multiple layers of decision making taking place in all organizations effected by globalization. Discussions of power distributions include both supercultural structure and its hegemony, and individual working relationships.

The idea of industry concentration is proven by ownership: several multinational

corporations, both horizontally and vertically integrated, own the majority of the smaller businesses and units that produce recordings; and through sales: these same large recording companies are in some way responsible for the vast majority of recordings sold around the world.¹² These music conglomerates are organized into elaborate structures of task-specific units, semi-autonomous labels and so on that all wield different degrees of decision making power. Thus, concentration of ownership does not necessarily imply concentration of musical content (Peterson in Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, 123). The variety of content is due to power negotiations between individual players at different levels of production.

The influence of individual musicians, of producers, studio engineers, and marketing professionals then plays out differently in every situation and depends largely on the individual goals and personalities of those actors. Gebesmair has remarked that the degree of hegemony of recording companies' central administrations could only really be measured through research on the degree of independence of subsidiary labels and at which decisions are made at which organization levels (Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, 139). From an outside view the recording industry is highly concentrated, but from an inside perspective, it may be quite de-centralized.

Despite the complexity of internal power relationships in recording companies, they are still viewed as exercising a large degree of power over the industry as a whole, due unequal distributions of wealth and technical knowledge. Keith Negus locates the source of skewed power relationships in unequal financial footing of large recording companies and small labels.

¹² This assumption has been contested, particularly for countries with relatively closed markets like China and India. Ultimately, the statistics to prove the world-wide market share of the major multinationals are not available (Gebesmair in Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, 139).

Of course, multinationals do not simply impose their will, and can be challenged in various ways. But, in general, the fates and fortunes of entrepreneurs and small and medium-sized enterprises ('independents') have to be realized in relation to the operations of the big conglomerates (Negus in Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, 22).

Multinationals do not dominate all markets outright, but even though local production and circulation may exceed multinationals', the revenue generated by smaller labels does not compare to the amount of money passing through multinational coffers (Negus in Gebesmair and Smudits 2001, 22).

This disequilibrium in profit not only defines the relationship between small and large firms, but also is often cited as the primary reason for non-Western musicians disadvantage in "world music" collaborations. Western musicians have often not given due credit to non-Western collaborators, and regardless of the styles they perform or who they perform with have permanent residence in profitable genre designations like rock or adult contemporary while non-Western musicians are confined to the less lucrative world music categorization (Taylor 1997, 3). Unlike even unknown Western musicians pursuing fame through the recording industry, non-Western musicians are presumed to be less able to navigate both the recording bureaucracy and to understand modern recording technologies, and are therefore at the mercy of their producers. Thus, collaboration appears to be a euphemism for appropriation.

Though the above picture decries the ways that the recording industry patronizes non-Western musicians, the stance is in itself patronizing. However, it remains important to study the way that individuals operate within this changing system of power distributions established both by global trends and the music industry itself.

SEH+S Power Distributions

SEH+S is an independent organization, and not protected or controlled by any larger entity such as a multinational music company. The power relationships between SEH+S and their "world musicians" can be studied in the ways that SEH+S and the musicians viewed their own control, in the way that the contracts were drawn up with musicians, in the degree of control musicians have over their own musical contributions, the involvement of musicians in the administrative and development sides of the project, and the balance of benefits, both monetary and otherwise.

When Wes and Arch came up with the idea to do a world music album to promote SEH+S's development projects and to raise funds, Wes in particular felt that they could come up with an arrangement that would be mutually beneficial to the musicians and to SEH+S. Wes, from the perspective of a working musician as well as a potential administrator of the project found that, "a package like that... was win-win for everybody, because being involved with this charity organization would also help them promotionally..." (Crawford 2005).

Musicians who agreed to participate in the project did find that the project was beneficial to them, and this mutual understanding affected the power dynamics in each of the recordings. Each musician understood the benefits of the project differently, and for many, "free" publicity was a secondary benefit to helping with a worthwhile cause.

Artistic Authority

As discussed in the previous chapter, musicians were given a large degree of latitude musically, SEH+S's only specifications were that the lyrics of the songs should

have to do with disadvantaged kids and that the music should mix "traditional" and "modern" or Western and non-Western elements. Aesthetic decisions can also be interpreted as a measure of power in the relationships between musicians and producers.

The degree to which Arch and Wes made aesthetic decisions during recording often depended on the firmness of the composers, arrangers, and / or musicians' plans for their songs. Wes and Arch, and also the recording engineer and pianist for many of the tunes, Derek Wille, made comments gave guidance if musicians did not seem to know what they needed. Arch made certain suggestions when groups strayed from what he felt to be the over-riding concept of the album, namely that it should have a broad appeal by mixing modern (Western) and traditional (non-Western) elements. Arch and Wes offered the most musical assistance when musicians demonstrated uncertainty in the arrangement or recording of their songs.

Consequently musicians who had the strongest ideas about what they wanted to do, as long as their concept was within the confines of SEH+S's concept, had the most influence over their recordings. Individual knowledge, preparation, and motivation was in this case empowering for some musicians. Wes recalled that some musicians, like Leonardo, came in with a clear idea of what they wanted everybody to do, and others came in with less set ideas, or a "spectrum" of ideas, about what they wanted to do. Others re-recorded already released songs that "fit the motif" (Crawford 2005). Particularly due to the flexible approach of the producers, all of the musicians had the opportunity to exert a large degree of control on their recordings, but those who had more knowledge of the recording procedure and more interest in producing a specific musical outcome had more control and power.

"Heróis de Rua" (Street Heroes) - Kiko and Leonardo Lucini

In his role as arranger for the song "Heróis de Rua," Leonardo Lucini exercised a high degree of artistic control. When Wes contacted Leonardo to participate in the SEH+S album, he suggested that Leonardo could either compose or arrange an original song. Leonardo frequently composes instrumental music, but, because he did not feel comfortable composing lyrics, contacted a friend and musician Kiko to compose the song. Leonardo asked Kiko to compose the song both because he was confident in his ability to create something appropriate to SEH+S's theme, but also because he likes Kiko's style of composing in the MPB (Brazilian popular music) tradition. They both like the same composers and songs, including Djavan, Gilberto Gil, and Caetano Veloso, and the chord changes, harmonies and melodic lines of Kiko's composition reflect these influences. Leonardo finds that:

It's a style that's modern, the chord changes are hip, are like jazz chord changes, they are not too traditional, and he likes mixing with funk and another American styles, and all those elements give to me a lot of material to work with, as an arranger, especially because it's in a style that I like (Lucini 2006).

When Leonardo talked to Kiko about writing the song Leonardo suggested that children living on the streets in Brazil would be a good subject for the lyrics. Leonardo remembered street kids as being the most visible group of needy kids in Brazil — kids abandoned on the street with nobody to care for them. They die young and are forced to live on the street. They either have no parents around, or the parents don't have the money to sustain them. Although Kiko had already composed some songs about children that they could have used, Leonardo requested that he write something new to reflect this

issue.

Kiko wrote a song initially called "Brasil con 'S'" , which makes the distinction between the American, outsider spelling of Brazil with a 'z,' and the Brazilian insider spelling with an 's', indicating "Brazil for people who know." The song was eventually called "Heróis de Rua" ("Street Heroes") on the CD.

The lyrics were nice, it was catchy, it had a nice refrain to it, it had a nice chorus to it, the verses were cool... he was composing in the samba style [reflected in the guitar rhythm] which I liked, but the chords allowed me to make something more funky, so I like what he did (Lucini 2006).

Leonardo went to Kiko's house a couple times to listen to it, and made a recording of what Kiko had come up with so he could work on the arrangement. At Kiko's house, when he heard the song for the first time, Leonardo came up with a funk bass line that would go on the verses, so that the refrain / chorus would be straight samba and the verse would be an urban rhythm—like a modern funk samba beat—that would reflect the urban setting that street kids live in. The increased complexity of the funk beat would also reflect the complexity of the kids' lives. The samba rhythm in the chorus would bring in a more traditional element (Lucini 2006).

Going into the studio, Leonardo began to conceptualize the song in three parts, the samba-rhythm chorus, the funk-samba verses, and a reggae-samba tag/ending, from rhythms from Bahia in the Northeast of Brazil. Leonardo explained the tune to the studio musicians that way in three parts. He wrote the grooves for each section on score paper, both the bass lines, the guitar grooves / tags, the keyboard parts, and percussion ideas. The first thing he did at the studio was to show Wes the grooves, and record the bass and



Figure 4.1: Leonardo (left) and Wes (right) discussing "Heróis de Rua" during a studio session in August 2005.

drums on a metronome track. "Wes did a great job, he picked up the grooves really fast" (Lucini 2006). Wes had prior experience with Brazilian music, from coming to Leonardo's gigs, but also demonstrated in his ability in the studio.

Derek recorded the keyboard parts in addition to working as the engineer on the project. Although Leonardo did not know Derek's reputation as an engineer, he knew his reputation as a keyboard player and knew that he would be able to play his parts. For the introduction, Leonardo knew that he was looking "for a little patch in the background," but because he is not a keyboard player he was not sure exactly what he wanted. Derek made some suggestions, and they agreed on some synthesizer and string-sound chords,

predominant in the beginning, that fit what Leonardo was looking for. Next, they added Fender Rhodes eclectic piano sound for the more rhythmic parts for the verses. Leonardo wrote down the basic rhythmic ideas for him. The percussive sounds from the electric piano fit into a machine-like rhythmic pattern with percussive parts coming in and out in the verse section (Lucini 2006).

The chorus draws on samba batucada, emphasizing percussion sounds, even though in the recording many of these percussion sounds were played on the drum-set. Leonardo asked Wes to record just hi-hat and bass drum for the samba chorus section. In Leonardo's experience recording this style in Brazil he found this strategy of recording simple drum set and adding extra percussion on top worked really well. For the street samba sound in the chorus, Leonardo used shaker, pandiero, cuica, agogo, tamborim, and surdo. He decided to use a samba reggae style for the tag at the end of the song, and used snare, bass drum and some agogo. It took him more time to decide what to use for the funk section. He decided to use agogo for the metallic sound, tamborim, a little bit of shaker, pandiero, and some cuica. He invited his brother Bruno, who specializes in Brazilian hand percussion instruments, to record several tracks, which he later worked with Derek to edit in as needed (Lucini 2006).

Meritxell, who sang back-up vocals, came onto the song through Kiko's suggestion. Kiko had the idea of having a lot of voices in the introduction to the song, to sound like a lot of people singing on the street at the same time like in a batucada. That was the only arranging suggestion that Kiko made, so Leonardo tried to honor it in the studio. Leonardo mentioned it to Wes, who suggested that they use Meritxell, a singer who recorded her own track on the CD. Leonardo did not know Meritxell but followed



Figure 4.2: Kiko performing at the CD release concert, October 2005.

Wes's suggestion. Leonardo could not come to the session that Kiko and Meritxell recorded vocals, but he said it came out very well, and they were able to use most of what Meritxell recorded (Lucini 2006).

Wes and Derek came up with a basic mix for the CD, then asked Leonardo to make suggestions for changes. Wes and Derek tweaked it a little more, and before he knew it, the song was mixed and mastered. Leonardo wanted the bass to come a little more to the front, and said he would still do some mixing differently to suit his personal tastes, but overall he was very happy with the way the CD turned out. Modern studio equipment has vested studio recording engineers with significant power over the final sound of recordings. Although there were things Leonardo might have done differently, he has found that this is the case with any recording, and it has been rare in his

experience that a recording has been mixed exactly to his taste (Lucini 2006).

Arch and Wes gave positive feedback on the song, saying that Leonardo and Kiko's song was one of the best on the album. Kiko also liked the song in the end, but Leonardo felt that Kiko was a little skeptical during the recording process because he was not entirely clear about Leonardo's ideas for the arrangement. Afterwards, though, Kiko asked for extra copies of the CD to distribute to his own contacts (Lucini 2006).

Leonardo's position as arranger was unique, most of the other songs on the album were arranged and written by the same individual or group. Since Kiko was solely responsible for the composition, Leonardo had more time to devote to arranging. Leonardo is an experienced arranger, and has arranged music for his own group's CD and for other musicians. Leonardo enjoys arranging a great deal, and viewed an opportunity like this one as a creative challenge.

Because Leonardo had the time, the experience and the motivation to focus on the details of the recording of Kiko's song, he retained the majority of the decision-making power over the sound of the song. Of course, Leonardo's capacity as the main decision-maker for his and Kiko's track does not imply that he held complete control over the recording. Wes's initial requests, as open-ended as they seemed, certainly placed some constraints on what Leonardo could plan. Because of the arrangements for recording made by SEH+S, Leonardo also had little control over the musicians who would be on the recording. Leonardo chose Kiko to sing and his brother Bruno to add percussion tracks, but Wes and Derek, as well as the later addition of Meritxell were all at the recommendation of the producers. Fortunately, Leonardo was happy with these musicians and felt that they contributed the sounds he was looking for. Leonardo had no control

over the choice of the studio or the studio technician, but as Leonardo stated, even in cases where he has chosen the studio, it is rare that the final recording is perfectly mixed to his taste. Finally Leonardo drew on the expertise of other instrumentalists for certain decisions in his song. He asked Derek to supply keyboard sounds for the introduction to the song. Leonardo was able to choose from options presented by Derek, but ultimately Derek controlled the options that he made available. Leonardo said that every keyboard player has his or her favorite synthesizer sounds, and suspected that Derek probably played his favorite sounds first. Leonardo liked what Derek played, though, and felt that it fit his concept.

In sum, in any studio situation, there are constraints on the control that individual musicians can have over the outcome of their recording. Also, in any musical situation there is an element of collaboration which is not, as one could strictly interpret, a concession in power, but is in fact integral to the idea of playing in musical groups. These balances of power would take place in any studio recording session, be it of world music or some other genre, for profit or not. It is in his individual experience and motivation, however, that Leonardo was able to navigate this system and fulfill his role as arranger, producing a recording that was accurate to his concept for the song. The balance of power in musical decision-making for Leonardo, and one might assume for all of the musicians on the CD, was highly based on individual qualities.

Benefit Distribution

Contracts dictated the musicians' financial relationship with SEH+S. Wes recalled that while the musicians had many questions about the contracts, in the end, all of the

musicians concerns were addressed, and all of the contracts were signed. SEH+S's non-profit status, as well as their somewhat unique plans for the music recorded, influenced the way that contracts were drawn up.

From Arch's point of view, of course, the organization cannot function, especially being a not-for-profit and all the rules that have to be followed legally with that, and you could not leave yourself vulnerable or even function without proper legal standing, and so you have to have contracts and all that sort of thing (Crawford 2005).

Arch distributed the contracts to the musicians toward the end of the recording process, and many musicians reviewed and signed their contracts at a party SEH+S had for all of the musicians at SEH+S cofounder Peggy Ferris's home. While Arch was principally responsible for the contracts, both Wes and Arch assured the musicians that they were welcome to ask questions and voice concerns before signing the contracts. The contracts stipulated that SEH+S would own all rights to the songs and performances contributed by the musicians for one year, and that SEH+S also had the right to take photos and videos of the musicians and to use those materials for promotional purposes.

Arch felt that requesting exclusive rights to the songs was important for SEH+S to make an impact with their CD, they needed to be promoting something unique, something that listeners and supporters could not find elsewhere. After one year, rights for original contributions reverted to the composer. This was particularly important to musicians who liked the new material they had composed for SEH+S, and were interested in using it on albums of their own. During an interview a several months after the CD release concert, Leonardo did not remember the specifics of the contract, but recalled that he found the arrangement reasonable. A contract with a commercial label would generally require rights to the music for five years or longer, although a contract

with a commercial label would guarantee remuneration for the musician (Lucini 2006).

Contracts stipulated financial remuneration for concert performance, but by and large, the benefits that musicians derived from participating in SEH+S's project were not financial. Understandings of power relations in the music industry have been based on ideas of profit, so to transfer those understandings to SEH+S requires a non-monetary exploration of the idea of profit. Everyone involved profited in a number of different ways, at a number of different organizational and ideological levels.

As I have noted, neither the musicians nor the producers received significant monetary benefit from the CD or the CD release concert. SEH+S administrators view the project as work in progress, whose results have yet to be seen. Even if SEH+S does eventually make a large profit from the CD, in a non-profit organization, this profit is most valued for its application to development projects.

For most of the musicians, their largest contribution was musical, and they consequently experienced mostly musical benefits. The majority of the musicians also felt involved in other levels of the project and experienced extra-musical benefits accordingly. Thus, if we were to attempt to determine who benefited the most from the SEH+S arrangement, we would have to consider many types of benefits on many levels of understanding. However, when we step away from measurable monetary benefits, it is much more difficult to determine "winners" and "losers" in the power relationships. Was this a win-win situation, as Wes said? And even if the situation was win-win, did one party win more than the other?

For some musicians, gaining a recording credit was attractive. Asha Srinivasan, for instance, as a composition student would not have the frequent opportunities to record

that many working popular-style musicians have. As she builds her career, especially once she finishes her doctorate in music, recording credits could be very beneficial (Srinivasan 2005). Of course, depending on the type of career she chooses, a popular music recording may not be as valuable as a recording in a different genre. For professional performers recording is more common. They might look to the SEH+S project as an opportunity to record something they have not been able to record elsewhere, or that they have not raised the funds to record themselves, but recording in itself would not be a unique opportunity.

All of the musicians stand to gain increased recognition because of their participation. The significance of this "free" publicity, though, depends on the circulation of the CD and the attendance of SEH+S concerts. Since SEH+S has yet to establish a distribution or long-term marketing strategy, it would be difficult to tell how much this publicity would be worth to these musicians.

Some of the musicians on the CD are already the most well-known artists in their styles in the local market, so increased local publicity may have a negligible impact. Al Williams is one of the top jazz saxophone players in the area, and Leonardo Lucini is arguably the only bass player who is a true specialist in Brazilian music in the area, and is also well known in Latin and Latin jazz genres. These musicians may gain access to audiences who generally listen to other genres by appearing in a stylistically mixed or wide-ranging compilation, and there is always benefit to revisiting already developed audiences, but this kind of local publicity would not likely be career-changing for these musicians.

Other musicians on the album who are less well-known locally or who perform

exclusively in niche markets may benefit substantially from participation in the album, and gain new local opportunities. National and even international distribution is certainly crucial to SEH+S's goal, but the scope and the benefits of that circulation are not yet evident. However, SEH+S's desire to increase the visibility of musicians on their albums is clear, and Arch recognized that the more publicity they generate for individual artists, the more publicity they generate for themselves. He said, "We'd like nothing better than to help everyone that's involved become more known than they are now" (Cromer 2005). If nothing else, the artists on the album do have a commitment from SEH+S to increase their visibility.

The musicians that I spoke with unanimously felt that working with the group of musicians recruited for the album was rewarding. Many of the musicians knew each other from previous experiences, and were excited by the opportunity to work with these musicians again, and many new connections were made as well. Musicians described these connections as being professionally, musically, and personally rewarding. Guitarist Dan Leonard appreciated the opportunity to work with musicians he respected, and also appreciated the opportunity to learn new styles from those musicians. For example, the experience playing on Armand's song in the concert gave Dan the opportunity to learn more about playing in an African popular style (Leonard 2005).

Leonardo recalled that, professionally, the project was initially a gamble because, not being entirely aware of the conditions under which the recording would be made, if he did not produce something up to par with his existing reputation, or if he did not handle himself in a professional manner, he could risk hurting his reputation. Since things went well, he ended up enhancing his reputation with Wes and with other musicians who

performed at the concert, and developing a new reputation with Arch, Derek, and other people who might not have ever seen him before. His performance in this project reflected not only his playing ability but his skill as an arranger. Since he has fewer opportunities to arrange music than to perform, this last aspect was particularly appealing (Lucini 2006). While Leonardo had played with most of the musicians who performed in the CD release concert before, this was an opportunity to renew old contacts, and to demonstrate his skills both as an arranger and as a performer within his musical specialty, Brazilian music.

In his musical activities outside of the SEH+S project, Al Williams emphasizes the importance of having well-matched performing groups, in which musicians compliment each other musically and personally. He found that the connections he made on the SEH+S album, in particular with Armand, were both personal and musical. He also found the group he assembled for recording his song to work well. "The band was just killer, absolutely killer. We laid down some basic tracks that were the ideas, and they added some personalities that I liked, that I thought would be fit the parts" (Williams 2005). In addition to having the group dynamic he was looking for the recorded performance, ideas that Arch, Wes, and the bassist Gary Grainer contributed to Al's arrangement were musically rewarding.

There was one idea at the end where the melody kind of repeats and I was thinking I'd play the saxophone an octave down or play tenor sax under the alto, and I thought, you know, that's about as close to the idea that I want because, you know, ideas, I can't really pinpoint it. Then he had Gary come in and play the bass part and he had him play that line on the bass underneath, I think he came up with the idea, and it was just perfect. So the next time I heard it, after he put is parts on it was like yeah, that's it, that's perfect, that's great (Williams 2005).

This satisfaction with the result of the musical collaboration was also reflected in Armand's song, as described in Chapter 3, and with several other musicians, all of whom appreciated the artistic contributions of their fellow musicians and/or the producers.

The sound engineer and keyboard player Derek recalled that he was drawn to the project because of the musicians he would be working with.

Wes Crawford, who I was on the road with for many years, called me and asked me if I would do the project. It would require a lot of donated time for the cause, I hesitated at first, but then he told me everybody that would be involved and I flipped out, Wow... What a great line up of musicians and styles... count me in! (Wille 2005)

Communication through music and participation in what the musicians identified unanimously as an important cause, led to satisfaction at emotional and spiritual levels as well. Armand observed this in the contributions of all of the musicians: "So many people, from Brazil, from Spain, from Ethiopia, from India, we give the best of our hearts for that project, and I think, I hope, people might understand that that has something to do about children" (Ntep 2005). The musical skill and the personal commitment to the project of the entire group was an important element, not only to Armand, but also to Al, who found the spiritual rewards of being involved with the project to be the most resonant (Williams 2005). He reflected,

Some of the work that we do [as musicians] is totally for the money, grab the money and run, and sometimes the only pleasure you can possibly get out of it is just communicating musically with your fellow musicians on stage, perhaps having a few minutes of joy out of the few hours that you're doing this for unappreciative ears. But this kind of thing is great. It's like, wow, okay, here's an opportunity, I can do something good, great, I'm there, let me know where you want me to be and when, and I'll be there. And that's the way I felt about this (Williams 2005).

Musicians' involvement in the SEH+S project outside of their capacity as

performers, or even outside of the studio altogether represents a unique power distribution in the organization as a whole. In addition to enlisting musicians for performance, SEH+S involved musicians in the administration of musical and development projects. Wes Crawford's dual roles as associate producer and performer on much of the recording put him into a position of power. Al Williams was asked to become a musical consultant for future SEH+S projects as well. On the development side, Arch recruited Armand Ntep to help form a relationship with an orphanage in Cameroon. Arch's appreciation of Armand's talent seems to be the driving factor in his goal to work in Cameroon. Arch finds that Armand is particularly gifted with his musical expression of his own passion for kids and would like to use that talent to connect to organizations in Cameroon (Cromer 2005). Musicians were recognized for qualities beyond their skills as performers, or were asked to use their musical and performance expertise in non-performance contexts. Collaboration in the SEH+S project was not only musical, but also extended into many layers of the organization's structure.

The benefits most strongly communicated by the musicians were, therefore, non-monetary. Monetary benefits could follow from the increased publicity and the contacts with other musicians, but they would be difficult to measure, particularly since the CD has only begun to be circulated at the time of writing of this thesis. If these musicians were working for a major recording label, this might be an inequitable distribution.

In the case of a major recording label, money would also be the currency of power, since all decisions are made based on issues of finance. In the case of SEH+S, however, even though the musicians' benefits are largely intangible, so are the benefits to SEH+S. SEH+S is in a position to report sales figures, and hopefully their sales figures

and donations will increase as the CD gains wider circulation.

But the end goal of SEH+S is to help children, which is an extremely intangible benefit; it is difficult to measure the real effects on the outcome of a child's life. In a comparison of intangibles, it becomes even more difficult to weigh the balance of benefits and the balance of power the distribution of benefits creates. It does seem, however, in contrast to the huge disparities seen in the rewards reaped by recording companies or by Western pop stars in their work with so-called world musicians, SEH+S does propose a more equitable exchange.

Ch 5: Conclusions

A predominant idea throughout this paper is that, drawing on Mark Slobin, "supercultures" are not necessarily hegemonic. Hegemonic influence is not monolithic and can come from a variety of sources at different levels of organization. It is, in fact, is rather elusive. This complexity is due to the importance of individuals in hegemonic power; following Williams's ideas, individuals create hegemony as they submit to it. The degree of influence that supercultures will have over individual projects like SEH+S's work is often a matter of calculated choice. For SEH+S, individual and organizational choices were an important factor in deciding how to make use of ideas propagated by overarching structures such as the music and international development "industries," and, more generally, globalization theory.

Individuals making decisions for the organization were presented with a wide array of possible interpretations of globalization, and within that heading world music and international development. Some of these possibilities stemmed from traditional overarching entities like the music industry and the international development superstructure, and others came from individual interpretations and preferences. From these options, key players in the organization etched out a unique position for themselves, their projects and their organization in the realm of globalization.

SEH+S adopted music industry categorization by choosing to label their compilation CD as "world music." Advertising jargon used to market the CD and audience identification and targeting showed strong similarities to industry practice. Although SEH+S's primary goal was fundraising for development projects, rather than

selling large numbers of CDs, drawing on perhaps morally dubious marketing wisdom from the recording industry was a means to an end. Musicians on the CD distanced themselves from this labeling and seemed to understand it as a necessary evil. While they had little say in marketing tactics for the CD, their influence in the musical production of the CD and, in some cases, on development projects was important to SEH+S.

SEH+S invoked ideas of authenticity through the musical aesthetics, but the particular ways that they defined authenticity made use of supercultural ideas without wholly adopting them. The emphasis on fusion had the effect of downplaying the importance of authenticity of origin, which has often been understood as a defining feature of world music. Authenticities of experience and emotionality overshadowed the still-present authenticity of origin. The resulting over-all aesthetic of fusion represented to SEH+S a universality of the human condition, or the idea of "one world." The diversity of experience, and to a lesser degree the diversities of places of origin of the musicians, drew awareness to the wide range of challenges facing disadvantaged children around the globe.

The intersecting ideas of unity and diversity are part of globalization theory, and are also central to SEH+S's understanding of its development mission. The way that SEH+S used ideas of authenticity present in the music industry was flexible. Their use of one of globalization's tenets, the idea of intersecting and interdependent poles of sameness and difference, shows how this element of globalization is for them, a lived reality.

Power distributions in SEH+S varied widely and depended on the individual actor's abilities and interests in navigating the systematic procedures for producing each

song. In the production of this particular album, musicians were given parameters to which SEH+S required them to adhere, but musicians who were perceived to need more guidance in the studio were given more assistance from the producers. In the case of musicians who knew exactly what sound they wanted and how they planned to create it, input from producers was minimized. Some musicians did come into conflict with the parameters set by SEH+S; in these instances musicians lost some control over their recordings. In any case, power distributions were not uniform, and mirror the idea that power can be manifested at multiple layers of globalization.

There are a number of ways this study could be extended. What I have presented here is what SEH+S and some musicians on the SEH+S's first album think about what they are doing. This is a valuable perspective, which paints a picture of the way these individuals use and respond to influence from supercultures. For reasons of practicality and personal necessity, however, there are important groups of people who fit into SEH+S's project that have been excluded from my research. Identifying and understanding the audience for the CD is only represented here by conjecture based on information from the recording industry, but would be a valuable area for further inquiry. The perspectives of recipient partner organizations of SEH+S are also essential. For both of these groups, it would be interesting to compare international and domestic impressions of the album. My findings have focused on human agency, which seems to be important in various levels of production of the CD. For audience members, however, agency is limited to the changing and varied uses of the product. It would be interesting to investigate how members of these groups negotiate identity within globalized supercultures in comparison with how SEH+S has identified itself.

My goal in this paper has been to understand imposing and important structures—globalization, the music industry, international development—from the perspective of a microcosm placed within those systems. I have suggested that the "reality" of these overarching structures lies in the ways that individuals understand and position themselves in the world. Just as SEH+S began to identify the same problems they were addressing internationally inside of the United States after Hurricane Katrina, an eye-level perspective erodes the distinction between "us" and "them," and is beginning to understand globalization, world music, and international development by looking inward.

Globalization is a theoretical world-view that is entertained not only by academia but in popular discourse. What academia has to offer are methodologies for examining and understanding that world view. Approaching globalization from the bottom up is a strategy that I hope will be useful in future research.

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