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Our music, their music: identifying meaning in musical experiences

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Abstract

In contemporary cultures it is possible to experience many different musics within a single environment. At times, musics from different cultures are mixed together and released in recorded form for consumption by Western listeners. This study investigates two such recordings, Lambarena (1995) and Mozart in Egypt (1997) from the perspective of the target audience. These recordings each involve the juxtaposition of a musical tradition from the African continent with music from the Western "classical" tradition. A cultural studies approach is taken in order to understand issues of meaning and identity that these recordings raise, including theories and terms from media studies and semiotics. Results of a series of semi-structured interviews with members of the target audience are presented and analysed within the theoretical framework that is developed.

The Introduction to this study provides a background to the recordings and outlines the approach to be taken. Chapter One discusses issues of group identity as they pertain to these recordings. In Chapter Two, a model is proposed for the decoding of musical signs and the relationship between music and group identity is considered. Chapter Three investigates the Western representation of cultures of the African continent and illustrates the role that music plays in this process. Western "classical" music is considered in Chapter Four in terms of the meanings with which it is encoded in contemporary settings. Aspects of the research participants' responses that relate to these ideas are presented in Chapter Five. Chapter Six considers the interaction of musical signifiers and discusses various attitudes toward cultural and musical difference. In Chapter Seven, further material from the research interviews is presented and analysed according to the participants' responses to the interaction of musics in the case-study recordings.
The Conclusion brings together the issues of musical meaning, group identity and difference that are central to the argument, and indicates areas in which further research may be undertaken. A number of conclusions can be drawn relating to the ways music is heard and understood, the ways identifications of the cultural basis of music are made, and the ways that music reflects contemporary attitudes to cultural difference.
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Introduction

A familiar experience for people from many parts of the world today is that of entering a record store and observing the range of products on offer. It is an experience that many perhaps take for granted, and which in the case of online retail stores in particular might require little effort to access. Upon entering such stores the choices with which the consumer is presented seem almost limitless, covering many centuries worth of music and originating from almost every part of the world, all presented either on shelves or on web-pages for perusal.

This phenomenon raises two points that will be central to the following dissertation. Firstly, that the contemporary consumer has relatively equal (in terms of effort required on his or her part) access to musics of various genres, from many cultures and from a range of historical periods, not all of which will be equally familiar. Secondly, that the range of musics on offer in these contexts is organized in such a way that a consumer familiar with music retail outlets will be able to locate, without too much difficulty, the “category” of music he or she is searching for. The category in question might be narrowly defined (such as a particular recording of a particular work) or might be rather more general (such as a recording of some traditional music of a particular continent). Regardless of the specificity with which the desired product is identified, certain accepted categories of music have emerged that enable most musical recordings to be placed within categories of best fit. Thus a recording of Bach’s Violin Concerto in A minor is likely to be found (in a general-interest store) under the category of “classical”, and perhaps further categorized alphabetically according to the composer’s surname. Similarly, a recording by Gabonese singer-songwriter Pierre Akendengué might be categorized under “world music”, perhaps then further categorized as “world pop” and then under “Africa”. That categories are required in order to organize the wealth of available recordings is not surprising. However,
consideration of this seemingly obvious point may draw attention to the centrality of musical categorization in contemporary contexts.

It is not only in contexts directly related to the music industry that musical sounds are categorized. Indeed, selection of music to be played in particular contexts frequently relies on a culture's shared acceptance of given musical categories. Thus it becomes possible to identify, for many social contexts, a range of musics that might be deemed "appropriate" and many others that are "inappropriate". For example, many would agree that heavy metal music is inappropriate for the lobby of an exclusive hotel, while Baroque string music might be considered appropriate. This distinction will be based on many further shared assumptions or understandings: for example, "those who listen to heavy metal music will not be found in this hotel lobby"; "the desired demographic for this hotel includes those likely to listen to Baroque string music but not heavy metal"; "other similar hotels have Baroque string music and not heavy metal in their lobbies"; "this hotel is not like those that do play heavy metal in their lobbies". Each of these assumptions is based on a central idea: that particular categories of music may be matched up with particular cultural or sub-cultural groups, or with the contexts in which members of such groups appear. It could be said that certain musical categories "belong to" a particular group, while other musics do not. Again, such a statement might seem rather obvious, and yet it is the acknowledgment of this fundamental phenomenon that opens the way for a discussion of issues that relate music to cultural identity.

Relationships between musical categories and cultural groups are complex, particularly because neither concept is absolute; nor do examples of either have clearly defined boundaries. A person might identify with several cultural and subcultural groups to various extents, while any given example of a musical work might be categorized differently by different listeners. Indeed, decisions about how music is to be categorized are strongly influenced by the shared assumptions of the cultural groups with which the
listener identifies. Thus the two processes, musical and cultural identification, are inextricably linked.

Throughout the twentieth century, new categories of music continued to be identified by listeners and by the music industry. While many of these categories consisted of further subdivisions of broad genres (such as the "house music" category being further subdivided into "trance", "jungle", "hard house" and so on), some newly identified categories were at a broader level. The term "world music" gained prominence in the 1980s as a category in which traditional musics from many parts of the world might be placed, as well as popular music from "non-Western" cultures. The establishment of this category reflects the increased availability of music from outside of Western "classical" and popular traditions to listeners within Western cultures.

A category of music that is relevant to this dissertation is that of "crossover". While it has become a recognized category in itself, it includes, as the name suggests, musics that do not fit into other accepted categories but instead "cross over" from one category to another. While the existence of the category "crossover" indicates that a significant volume of music has been created that does cross the boundaries from one category to others, it is also testament to the importance, and illusion of stability, of musical categories in general. That crossover works are seen not as examples that expand the boundaries of a musical category but instead as those that require their own distinct category, suggests that categorical boundaries are relatively fixed, if elastic, and that crossover works will be segregated rather than assimilated into their "parent" categories.

Despite the extent to which crossover has become established as a valid musical category, subcategorization within crossover tends to rely on the identification of the parent categories that are being "crossed". Thus subcategories include "ethno-pop", "oriental-dance" or "classical-jazz". Some musical styles that began in the crossover category have themselves gone on to become established as categories in their own right, such as the crossover of
Indian traditional and British popular styles that is known as “bhangra”. This indicates that the crossover category is not stable: if any combination of parent categories is repeated frequently enough or gains sufficient recognition, then it can become a category in itself – which can then potentially be crossed with yet another category to re-enter the crossover category. Rock and roll is one example: stemming from the combination of African American blues and American country (among others), rock has gone on to become an important contributing category for many crossover works. Thus no musical category can be described as being of “pure” origins: like cultural groups, musical categories are products of countless (often unacknowledged) interactions and influences. However, it remains significant that when describing examples from the crossover category it is common to refer to the “parent” categories that contribute to the crossover work.

While the experience of listening to musical works in which elements from various musical cultures or categories is increasingly common, understanding of this phenomenon and the issues it raises for the listener is as yet in its early stages. Much of the work published thus far has focused on processes of production, creation and dissemination of crossover music, or “musical interactions”, and as such has contributed significantly to the understanding of these processes and the implications of the marketing of the “global” within the music industry (see for example Hanly and May, 1990; Stokes, 1994). Other theorists have focused primarily on the level of the music itself, offering analytical discussions of the musical processes that occur (see for example Collins and Richards, 1999; Pyper, 1998). Still others have offered possible readings or interpretations of some crossover works from the viewpoints of particular subcultural or political groups: Louise Meintjes’ (1990) discussion of Paul Simon’s Graceland is one such example. While each of these approaches is valuable, they do not allow for the consideration of the processes that listeners go through in making sense of musical recordings in which musics from two different categories appear together in a single
context. This issue forms the central focus of this dissertation, and it will be investigated in the context of two particular musical recordings: *Lambarena: Bach to Africa* (1995) and *Mozart in Egypt* (1997).

The primary argument to be presented in this dissertation is that a listener’s understanding and interpretation of the musical content of recordings in which “musical interaction” occurs must be considered in relation to prior experiences of the musics involved. Through experiences of musical categories in contexts such as recordings, live performances and audio-visual media, certain associated meanings, or connotations, become attached to the musical sounds. These connotations are often shared by the members of a particular cultural or subcultural group, allowing for the possibility that music may function in a sign relationship with non-musical or extra-musical concepts. In recordings in which two musical categories appear together, each category might have its own separate connotations. The nature of these, and the relationship between them, must therefore be considered in some depth in order to understand listeners’ responses to the interaction. A discussion of the connotations of the musics featured on the case-study albums forms a significant part of this dissertation. However, before discussing in more depth the approaches and methods to be adopted in doing so, it is necessary to consider the nature of the case-study albums, since these generate and necessitate the particular approaches used.

Both *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* are the work of French producer Hughes de Courson. As a young adult, de Courson was interested in rock music, and during the late 1960s he played in bands while studying psychology, political studies and sociology in France (Marcelli, n.d.; Roden, 2000). In 1973, with Gabriel Yacoub, de Courson formed the folk-rock group called Malicorne, which became well known in France, and this was his main performance activity for the next decade (Marcelli, n.d.). Following Malicorne’s disbanding, de Courson formed Ballon Noir, a production company that has since managed over one hundred artists. While working as a producer de Courson became interested in facilitating interactions between
the musics of different cultures, firstly in the form of music for film and dance, but later in the form of musical recordings (Marcelli, n.d.).

De Courson became known in European production circles for his experiments in this area. In the early 1990s he was approached by music promoter and educator Mariella Bertheas to create a musical tribute to Dr Albert Schweitzer, the German doctor, missionary and eminent Bach performer and scholar who intermittently lived and worked in Lambarene, Gabon, in the early twentieth century. In his capacity as founder of the first European-style hospital in the area, Schweitzer encouraged interaction between European and African styles of medicine and healing, working with Gabonese medical specialists in order to improve standards of health in Lambarene. As a musician, however, Schweitzer's attitude was rather different: there is no evidence that Schweitzer ever considered facilitating a deliberate interaction between Gabonese music and his own favourite, the music of Bach.

De Courson was aware that interaction between Schweitzer and his Gabonese colleagues was limited to the medical profession. In producing the tribute, he has stated that he intended to create a musical parallel to the cultural interaction that took place within the hospital in which Schweitzer had worked (Marcelli, n.d.). He approached the Gabonese musician, poet and philosopher Pierre Akendengué to join him in the collaboration. De Courson had already worked with Akendengué, producing his album Manda in the early 1990s (Roden, 2000). Their collaborative tribute to Schweitzer was first released in 1994 as Lambarena: Bach to Africa, and the album features ensembles from Europe and Gabon as well as percussion soloists Nana Vasconcelos from South America and Sami Ateba from West Africa, and organist Osvaldo Calo from Argentina. The conductor was Argentinian-born musician Tomás Gubitsch.

There were many options available to de Courson and Akendengué in creating an album involving the music of Bach and traditional Gabonese music: they could have alternated tracks consisting of Bach's music with
tracks of Gabonese music, or a piece by Bach could have been accompanied by Gabonese instruments playing parts composed to fit, or vice versa. While de Courson and Akendengué did adopt these possibilities on some tracks, *Lambarena* also includes several tracks that feature a composition by Bach alongside a traditional piece from Gabon, either juxtaposed or superimposed. Thus *Lambarena* differs from other musically interactive albums, such as Paul Simon's *Graceland* or David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*, in that it involves interaction between two musical works that already existed prior to the production of the album, rather than only presenting pieces that are newly composed using resources from two different cultures.

Pieces from the two traditions were selected for interaction largely on the basis of rhythmic compatibility. Typically, Akendengué would suggest a Gabonese piece, for which de Courson and Gubitsch would select a composition by Bach that was at least rhythmically compatible (Gubitsch, p.c., 7/2/01). Recording the music necessitated traveling to Gabon, as well as requiring several of the Gabonese musicians to travel to Europe (Marcelli, n.d.). It is unclear how much of the recording process involved Gabonese and European groups in a studio together, but it appears that many of the contributions were recorded independently and mixed later (Gubitsch, p.c, 7/2/01).

At first, *Lambarena* was rejected by several recording companies, including WEA, Virgin and Sony, on the grounds that it was unlikely to be commercially viable (Roden, 2000). It was finally released by a small French label, Celluloid Melodie, which, after the album began to show promising returns, sold it on to Sony (Roden, 2000). De Courson and Akendengué had chosen to accept a fee for producing the album, rather than royalties, on the basis that they too were unsure of *Lambarena*’s commercial potential (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01). However, the album went on to sell over 150,000 copies (Roden, 2000), indicating that interest in a musical interaction such as this was higher than anyone had imagined before *Lambarena*’s release. The critical response to *Lambarena* was also positive, and the music was
choreographed by Val Caniparoli for the San Francisco Ballet Company (Plett, 2001). This served to increase the interest in the music.

Lambarena’s success prompted de Courson to explore further possible interactions. Working again with Tomás Gubitsch, and also with an Algerian musician, Nasredine Dalil, de Courson released in 1997 Mozart in Egypt (or, in France, Mozart l’Égyptien). This album features interactions between works by Mozart and traditional pieces from Egypt. Mozart in Egypt was released by Virgin Classics, and was another moderate commercial success (Marcelli, n.d.). This was followed in 2001 by O Stravaganza, a similarly-conceived album in which compositions by Vivaldi interact with traditional Irish music.

Mozart in Egypt was not conceived as a reflection of a historical interaction between members of the represented cultures, as Lambarena was of the cultural interaction in Schweitzer’s hospital. Instead, the album notes suggest that these two cultures were chosen because of the interest that Mozart displayed toward Egyptian culture in setting some dramatic works there, and because aspects of Mozart’s music supposedly appeal to Egyptians owing to similarities to Egyptian musical structures. Thus the musics were selected on grounds of perceived musical connections, rather than on the basis of a historical event that contributed to a cultural interaction.

De Courson identified strong rhythmic and spiritual connections between the two traditions featured in Lambarena (Marcelli, n.d.). However, he described the making of Mozart in Egypt as “un enfer pendant trois ans” (quoted in Marcelli, n.d.), citing as a reason the lack of historical, cultural, or strong musical connections between the two musics. Despite the difficulties he experienced in producing the second album, de Courson describes both as “passionnants et magnifiques” (quoted in Marcelli, n.d.) and has suggested that he prefers Mozart in Egypt because of the extra effort required (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01).

Gubitsch, the only musician to work closely with de Courson on both Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, has a rather different view of the albums. Gubitsch distrusts the “world music industry” of the late twentieth century as
well as the musical interactions between cultures that this industry has encouraged, or that take place at the whim of a producer (Gubitsch, p.c., 7/2/01). Gubitsch considers interactions such as occur in *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* to be different from and less valuable than styles such as jazz, blues and tango, which he sees as being the products of sustained social interaction (Gubitsch, p.c., 7/2/01). His feelings in this regard became so strong that he chose not to have his full name appear in the credits for *Mozart in Egypt*, instead being credited only as “Teg” (Gubitsch, p.c., 28/2/01).

That such different opinions regarding the value of these albums could be voiced by the two people who contributed significantly to them is an indication that there are important issues to be investigated regarding *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. Furthermore, the nature of the differences of opinions suggests that while connotations of the contributing musical categories must be considered, so too must the connotations of interaction itself, both on a musical and on a cultural level. In listening to these albums, audiences are not merely responding to two musical categories, but to the appearance of these two musical categories within a single context. This dissertation seeks to explain the types of responses that listeners have to musical interactions, as well as to the musical categories themselves.

It was noted at the opening of this introduction that accessibility of music has increased and cannot be considered limited to a single cultural group. It was similarly noted that the placement of music in categories, and the interpretation of these categories, is dependent upon cultural identity. Therefore any discussion of the responses of the audience to these recordings must first identify who is that audience. While an absolute definition is not possible, the album covers of *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* give a strong indication that they were intended for a Western target audience. This is suggested particularly by the way in which each culture’s music is described in the album notes and by the amount of information that is included about each. For both *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* it is evident that the listener is expected to be more familiar with the Western “classical” music than with the
African or Middle Eastern traditional musics. For example, album notes for *Lambarena* describe “Bombé” (track six) as follows:

This hand-clapped rhythm marks the beginning of a Bouiti-Apindji ritual ceremony. In a solo dance, the precentor, called Povi, makes incantations to the dead and the living, to the accompaniment of hand-clapping and obakas (small wooden percussion beams). This rhythm fits wondrously with that of Bach’s composition. *(Lambarena album notes, author unidentified)*

The provision of a significant amount of information about the original context of the Gabonese music and the instruments used, while no explanation of the background of the Bach composition is offered, suggests that either the listener is expected to hold sufficient knowledge about the Bach composition and its original context, or that such information is readily available. The notes for “Pepa Nzac Gnon Ma”, track seven on *Lambarena*, support this suggestion by providing a translation of the words from the Gabonese song, while no translation of the Bach composition is included.

A Western target audience is even more strongly implied in the album notes for *Mozart in Egypt*. Descriptions of the Egyptian instruments and musical structures are included, yet the “classical” music resources are never discussed. Furthermore, “classical” musical resources are at times treated as a point of reference for the explanations offered of the Egyptian resources. For example, the notes for “Double Quartet in F, K. 496” (track two) state, “[t]he rababa, a two-string bowed instrument, is the ancestor of the violin, the kawal is that of the flute” *(Mozart in Egypt, album notes)*. The extent to which this is an accurate genealogy of these instruments is questionable. However, these notes indicate that the listener is expected to be more knowledgeable about instruments that appear in the Western “classical” tradition than about those of the Egyptian tradition. In accordance with this, research participants in this study were also drawn from the target audience group.
De Courson and Gubitsch were also more familiar with Western “classical” music than they were with the African and Arab musics. Both had worked primarily in the area of Western music, Gubitsch with “classical” music as a conductor, and de Courson with Western popular and folk traditions. De Courson was also familiar with Western “classical” music, naming Bach as his favourite composer, and describing the negative connotations that Mozart’s music had held for him because he associated it with his father, from whom he was estranged (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01). Neither de Courson nor Gubitsch was familiar with the traditions of Gabonese or Egyptian musics; knowledge of these musics was provided respectively by Akendengué and Dalil.

De Courson acknowledged that the response he had hoped for from the listeners was recognition of the known “classical” music but experiencing it in a new light, given the presence of the relatively unfamiliar musics from the African continent (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01). Such a response would indicate that the listener engages with the “classical” music in a different way from the African and Arab musics. This difference is central to the approach taken in this study. “Classical” music is, for a member of the target audience, likely to be identified as a part of her own culture: not merely familiar but perhaps an integral part of her heritage and identity. Thus “classical” music may be described as part of the listener’s “Self culture”. The African and Arab musics might be familiar to the same listener, but are likely to be identified as forming an integral part of some other listener’s or culture’s heritage and identity: it is “Other” to the target audience. Consequently, a crucial aspect of this dissertation is the consideration of these albums as contexts in which Self and Other meet (though the extent to which the musics featured are Self and Other will differ for particular listeners, as is discussed later in this thesis).

Given the complexity of the issues surrounding music and identity that these recordings raise, a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary. Central to the thesis overall, however, is the discipline of cultural studies and its
application within the field of music. The work of theorists such as Featherstone, Said and Robertson, among many others, contribute significantly to the discussion of cultural identity within the contemporary West, including the nature of Western interactions with and representations of its Others. Particularly important for the application of such concepts of identity within the field of music are writers such as Born and Hesmondhalgh, Stokes, Blum and Frith. Drawing on these influences, this dissertation is firmly positioned within the growing interdisciplinary field of cultural musicology.

Given this positioning, this thesis is not limited to discussion or analysis of music itself. Indeed, musicological analysis of the albums is absent from this thesis and the music is not transcribed from the recording into any form of notation. The reason for this omission is not that such analysis would not provide valid information, but rather that such information would not be relevant to this particular approach. This thesis does not consider matters of creation of the albums, or of the musical similarities and differences between the categories and works that appear. Rather, the focus is on the interrelationships between the music and listeners within the target audience. It will be argued that listeners' experiences of musical interactions such as these recordings primarily involve responses to elements of the music such as timbre that are not able to be notated in any widely accepted form of notation. Furthermore, their responses to the music appear to be based primarily on extra-musical aspects of their prior experiences of similar sounds, not on purely musical elements. It is therefore on these extra-musical elements that this thesis is focused.

"Modern" experiences of music are more than ever before linked (in "reality" or "virtual reality") to visual experiences, including television and film.¹ Because the musical experiences of contemporary listeners so often involve other forms of cultural expression, these too must be included in this

¹ For a discussion of the links between music and visuals (not limited to music video despite the title) see, for example, Frith, Goodwin and Grossberg, 1993.
dissertation if a deep understanding of these experiences is to be acquired. Particularly significant in this respect is the discipline of film and media studies, from which terms and theories are adopted. Studies of cinematic music in recent years have expanded to include not only musicological analysis of scores, but also to consider the ways in which film music may be meaningful to the audience. Authors such as Killick, Gorbman and Kassabian have contributed to an understanding of the ways in which musical sign relationships that function in film contexts may be reflective of and influential on listeners' interpretations of music in non-film contexts. This approach is adopted in this dissertation, with film contexts providing a basis on which connotations of the musical categories involved are considered.

Given the primacy of the listener over the "composer" or "performer" in this thesis, it is necessary to adopt a method of research that is found less in traditional musicology than in cultural studies: qualitative research interviews. However, given the positioning of this approach within cultural studies rather than traditional musicology, the adoption of this research method may be justified from a disciplinary standing. A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the target audience, each of whom listened for the first time to extracts from the two case-study albums. In capturing their initial responses to the albums, it was possible to assess not only their responses to the contributing musics and the nature of the musical interaction, but also to understand the very processes that these listeners went through when making sense of the music they heard. It was primarily for this reason that this research method was adopted: clearly, the most appropriate means of acquiring an understanding of these processes was to observe them occurring.

There is, therefore, both disciplinary and theoretical diversity within this work. However, permeating the thesis overall is the concept of the dialectic between Self and Other that is present in these albums in a musical form, and which is consistently approached from a cultural studies perspective. The opening chapter considers the concepts of Self and Other in
relation to cultural identity, and presents evidence to suggest that negotiation of a boundary between the two is crucial for the formation of a stable sense of Self identity. The way in which Self and Other contribute to acculturation into various cultural groups is explored within the context of Western modernity, and the nature of Self-Other difference in relation to the concept of stable identity is discussed. Because of the centrality of these identity issues to the thesis and their relevance to the cultural studies discipline, this chapter defines clearly concepts that underpin the thesis as a whole, and hence forms the theoretical basis of the ensuing argument and offers a context in which listeners' responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt can be understood.

Having defined the theoretical approach to issues of cultural identity, Chapter Two is a discussion of the relevance of Self and Other in musical identity. Musical Self and Other, it is argued, are also identified by means of acculturation. The processes through which music may be encoded with associated meanings, or connotations, are considered in relation to the concept of Self and Other, and Self and Other as musical categories are suggested as central to a listener's means of interpreting a musical event. The centrality of audio-visual experiences, such as film, to these processes of musical acculturation are discussed, particularly in relation to the ideas of Gorbman and Kassabian. This chapter establishes that film, while certainly not the only context in which musical categories reflect and perpetuate the shared connotations held by a cultural group, is of great importance in this process because of the close interrelationship between musical signifiers and non-musical signifieds.

In Chapter Three the African and Middle Eastern musical traditions that are represented on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt are considered as examples of musics that are Other and that have been encoded with particular meanings within the context of Western culture. Many of the images of and beliefs about sub-Saharan and Northern Africa that circulate within contemporary contexts have developed from images that originate in earlier historical periods; however, it is within the context of film and television that
many of these established visual and conceptual images have become closely associated with particular musical sounds. Thus Chapter Three acknowledges the importance of the historical context of Western attitudes to these Other cultures and musics while investigating the representation of these concepts within contemporary film contexts. Musical signifiers for “Africa” and “the Middle East” are identified, and are considered as part of chains of signification that include shared connotations and images of the Other. Drawing on research by authors such as Cameron and Shaheen on the nature of Western film representations of African and Middle Eastern cultures, this chapter includes reference to the categories of music featured in a selection of contemporary films that achieved wide circulation in Western culture and that, in light of this earlier research, may be considered representative of some common, recurring representations of these Other cultures. While the discussion of music in these selected films is enlightening in terms of listeners’ responses to the case-study albums, this chapter does not purport to be an exhaustive survey of all relevant films; such research is beyond the scope of this thesis and remains an area for future study.

Chapter Four investigates the Western “classical” music category, as it is featured on the case-study albums. Given that the target audience for these works includes those who already are familiar with the musical resources and composers of “classical” music (as is discussed above), the “classical” music is considered to be potentially representative of the Self culture. This status is considered further in Chapter Four, since by the late-twentieth century a number of non-“classical” categories of music similarly represent the Western Self culture and its many subcultures. Thus the particular aspects of the Self that “classical” music connotes are identified, once again including reference to contemporary film because of the importance of the interrelationship between musical signifiers and non-musical signifieds in this context. These meanings are enlightening in terms of the role of “classical” music in de Courson’s albums.
In Chapter Five, the theories outlined in the preceding four chapters illuminate a discussion of research participants' responses to the two different musics on *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. The processes that the listeners went through when first listening to extracts from these albums are considered, and are shown to relate primarily to the concepts of Self and Other as discussed in the preceding chapters. The associations that listeners made between the musical content and non-musical signifieds are identified and related back to the role of these musics in film contexts as outlined in Chapters Three and Four. Furthermore, the role that the recognition of difference plays for listeners is considered, along with the participants' initial responses to this difference.

If, as considered in Chapter One, Self-Other difference is vital to the stability of cultural identity, then how is Self identity affected by interactions with the Other? Musics interact in many ways and under various circumstances, and therefore may elicit a variety of responses. Furthermore, attitudes that prevail within the Self culture toward interaction with Other cultures will affect the responses that are offered. These variables are discussed in Chapter Six, once again from a cultural studies approach rather than with a focus on musicological analysis, and a theoretical framework is provided for the consideration of the interaction that takes place in the case-study recordings.

Finally, Chapter Seven returns to the listeners' responses as gathered from the research interviews, and considers their attitudes toward the musical interactions that occur in *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. Variations in listener responses are considered in light of the variables discussed in Chapter Six, as well as in relation to the concepts of Self and Other outlined in Chapter One. Published critical reviews and de Courson's thoughts and objectives regarding the albums are also considered alongside the theoretical framework.

In these seven chapters, it becomes evident that the relationship between music and identity is complex, and that several aspects of this
relationship have received little theoretical attention to date. While this thesis
goes some way toward addressing these issues, it also raises areas for further
study that could expand on the ideas presented here. Suggestions for further
study are included in the Conclusion, in which some specific and some
general conclusions are drawn in relation to the central theme of this study.

While this dissertation includes discussion of many relevant aspects of
these recordings in seeking to explain how the target audience processes the
experience of listening to them, there are several other aspects of the
recordings that are not considered in this approach. It has already been stated
that musicological analysis is not central to this thesis, and several other
aspects of the production process are also excluded. These include issues
such as the nature of the creative process and of the social interactions
between the many musicians involved in recording the albums. Since the
focus here is on reception, this complex process is not included. While
potentially significant in terms of the nature of consumer reception, the
marketing and economic factors involved in production and distributing,
including elements such as the album-cover designs, are also excluded from
this study. Since the focus is on the listening process, rather than on the
consumer decision-making process, it was decided that these elements, while
of interest, are beyond the scope of this thesis. Consequently, care was taken
to exclude reference to the album-covers and any marketing devices from the
research interviews, so that these elements were of minimal influence in
eliciting listener responses. These aspects of the case-study recordings are
further areas of study for the future.

A number of decisions regarding terminology must be considered. The
adjective “Western” is employed to refer to the Self culture that primarily
originates from Western Europe and America. Centres of predominantly
Western culture are found outside this region, including in New Zealand,
where the data was collected from the research participants. The use of the
term “Western” is therefore not primarily an indication of geographical
location. Rather, it refers to the adoption of the beliefs and behaviours that
are usually considered to originate in Euro-American traditions of thought, and intellectual, spiritual and economic values common to these otherwise diverse groups. The description of these many sub-cultural and national groups as "Western" is not intended to deny their diversity, but rather to take as the point of reference the outermost extreme of Self identity that they share. This is considered in greater detail when a multi-leveled model of Self identity is discussed in Chapter One.

The music in *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* that represents Western culture is here referred to as "classical" music. A lower-case "c" and quotation marks are used to indicate that this is an adoption of the lay use of the term, rather than Classical, which indicates music of the Classical period of the eighteenth century. The term "classical" has been chosen in preference to alternatives such as "art music" in order to maintain continuity throughout the thesis: several critical reviews and research interviews quoted in later chapters refer to this music as "classical", as do many sources referred to in Chapter Four.

The adjective "African" is used here to refer primarily to the cultures of sub-Saharan Africa, thus excluding several cultures in the northern part of the continent. Again, this is to allow for continuity throughout. Reasons for the Western distinction between sub-Saharan and Northern Africa, and the meanings with which these adjectives have been encoded, are considered in Chapter Three. Cultures of North Africa, and their products and behaviours, are referred to as "Arab" or "Middle Eastern": these are used interchangeably since both appear frequently in the sources quoted in Chapter Three and in the research interviews quoted in Chapters Five and Seven. Again, the use of these adjectives is not intended to reflect actual or total homogeneity within these groups. When Africa as a geographical entity that includes sub-Saharan and Northern cultures is to be evoked, the term "African continent" is used.

The musics of African and Arab cultures that appear on *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* are referred to generically as "traditional", as a parallel to Western "classical" music. This is not to suggest that other musics, including
"classical" music, are not traditional in the sense that they form part of a body of works that feature common organizational principles and performance practices. However, traditional music here refers to the music of a culture for which ownership is attributed to the community, rather than to a specific composer or composers. This also follows the conventions of crediting that are used on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt to refer to such musics.

The use of capitals for Self and Other when these terms are used to refer to issues of identity on an individual or collective level is common practice, though not universally adopted (for example, see Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a). Because there are instances in which these words are used in their more usual capacity, the adoption of capitals when referring to identity issues assists in the clarification of meaning.

The term "music" is used here in its now widely-accepted plural form, "musics", to indicate more than one musical tradition or "language". Also adopted at times is its verb form, "musicking" or "to music", as used by Christopher Small (1998) to indicate many facets of the act of playing, composing, organizing or listening to music. Although not so widely adopted as "musics", "musicking" is useful in a study such as this in which the wider social and cultural significance of music is the focus of attention.
Chapter One: Self, Other and Identity

In order to proceed with a discussion of de Courson's albums as sites of musical interaction between Self and Other, it is first necessary to consider in some depth the nature of this distinction, and what it implies about cultural (and musical) identity. This chapter centres on issues of cultural difference and the centrality of these issues in the construction and maintenance of the identity of cultural groups. Through the consideration of these issues in the broader context of contemporary Western cultural groups, the nature of the issues raised by the interaction of Self and Other in the particular context of Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt may be more clearly understood. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to construct a theoretical model of identity in contemporary Western cultures which may be used to frame a discussion of listeners' responses to de Courson's albums.

This chapter begins by discussing some of the ways in which the term "culture" has been defined, in order to identify what are the core features of contemporary understandings of cultural identity. Ways of identifying cultural groups and the boundaries between Self and Other are then considered, followed by a discussion of the kinds of responses that cultural difference might elicit. Finally, the ways in which such issues of identity have been affected by the increasing accessibility of Other cultures in contemporary Western society are considered, thus establishing a theoretical framework within which de Courson's works may be analysed, and in which the listeners' references to musical and cultural differences may be understood.

The notion of identity may be delineated into two broad concepts: individual identity and collective, or cultural, identity. In reality, the two are so intimately linked that any discussion of one demands at least an acknowledgement of the importance of the other. As Geertz states, "there is no such thing as a human nature independent of culture" (Geertz, 1973, p. 44). However, a person's identity is far more complex than simply "individual
features of identity" plus "identity with a cultural group"; nor is either
individual or cultural identity static. Furthermore, individual identity is not
simply a product of several cultural identities, nor is any cultural group
simply a sum of many individuals. But despite these seemingly
insurmountable complexities, it is possible to identify some central elements
in the formation and maintenance of a stable sense of identity, both on an
individual and a collective level. Thus, while the central focus of this thesis is
on the distinction between the collective Self and Other, reference to
individual identity in building a theoretical framework for the consideration
of musical identity is also important. Furthermore, while individuals'
responses to *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* are considered later in the thesis,
shared, collective understandings of Self and Other permeate these responses,
illustrating the inherent relationship between individual and collective
identities.

As indicated above, this chapter focuses on issues of collective identity
formation and expression in contemporary Western society. Thus, while
some or even several of the processes to be discussed might be common to
many cultural groups, and to groups from earlier periods in Western culture,
this cannot be assumed. Greenblatt (1980) notes, for example, that the way in
which an individual sense of Self was created changed in the sixteenth
century, and this change is traceable through literary analysis (Greenblatt,
1980, pp. 2-3). Thus it must be noted at this stage of the discussion that the
particular group identities under examination here are those of modern
Western societies.

Central to the concept of identity at any level is the categorization of
beliefs, values, attitudes and behavioural practices on a continuum of
acceptance as Self, and rejection as Other. The prototype for this might be a
child's first recognition of her image, and hence the difference of his or her
Self from his or her mother (Giles and Middleton, 1999, p. 98; Hall, 1997b, p.
237). This recognition must occur if further stages in identity formation are to
take place. If the distinction between "me" and "not me" is not made, then
the concepts of Self and Other cannot exist, since each can only be defined through the presence of its opposite.

As new beliefs and behaviours are encountered, they are (often subconsciously) evaluated and either accepted or rejected. This process, which has been described as making “distinctions of worth” (Inglis, 1993, p. 12), may occur to varying degrees. For example, the distinction of worth between radio stations might lead to the rejection of one popular radio station in favour of another. However, the rejection of one and acceptance of another might not be very strong, and this particular distinction of worth might be revoked later. These changes may both reflect and promote changes to Self identity, a process that has been referred to as the “migration through different social worlds and . . . the successive realization of a number of possible identities” (Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973, p. 77). Thus, identity cannot be considered static. Nor do changes in identity take place at a continuous rate: the contemporary Western notion of the “teenager” encompasses the expectation that identity will regularly be refined during adolescence.

Many factors may influence the acceptance or rejection of a particular belief or behaviour. While these include individual aspects such as personality traits and the desire for group acceptance, they also are likely to include institutional influences such as the effects of media or advertising (such as in the case of accepting a particular radio station) or broader, deeply-entrenched cultural beliefs or ideologies. Thus the processes of forming and refining identity are open to many influences, only some of which might be acknowledged by the individual in question.

While those concepts that are relatively weakly accepted or rejected might later be reassessed, some concepts are so strongly accepted or rejected that alternatives seem unpalatable or even incomprehensible. For example, in Western culture the linear notion of time is a concept in which individuals are immersed from birth, and thus acceptance of it as an organizing principle is usually absolute and unquestioning. Such ideas are rarely thought of as
having been “accepted”, but instead seem “natural”, as discussed by Adorno (1984) in “The Idea of Natural History”. In addition, schemas, consisting of “abstract general knowledge that holds across many particular instances”, also seem natural, and are reinforced by the links that they create between various ideas (Entman and Rojecki, 2000, p. 48).

On encountering alternative concepts of temporal organization, it is unlikely that a Western individual would easily overturn such a strongly established belief and accept an alternative. However, even though alternatives are rejected, they do not necessarily disappear from the individual’s consciousness. Rejected ideas cannot be ignored entirely, since the individual is now aware of them as possible choices. Thus, the act of rejection itself contributes to a sense of Self. It is only on the revelation that alternatives exist that it may be acknowledged that such firmly entrenched ideas are “cultural”, rather than “natural”. It is to the concept of “culture” that this discussion will now turn.

The term “culture” has been defined in many ways and takes on different meanings and connotations depending on the context in which it appears. Raymond Williams (1983) defines culture in three ways, but it is his third definition that has been widely used in recent academic discourse and in cultural studies in particular: “a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group” (Williams, 1983, p. 87). Other writers define “culture” in similar terms. Wittgenstein, for example, suggests that culture is at hand wherever practices in life are shared (Welsch, 1999, p. 202), while ethnomusicologist Alan Merriam describes culture as “man’s [sic] accumulative learned behaviour” (Merriam, 1980, p. 21). Merriam is presumably using the word “accumulative” to mean that learned behaviour is accrued and passed on through generations. Merriam, Wittgenstein and Williams all refer to the sharing of certain behaviours and practices.

Subsequent writers have extended these meanings to include shared beliefs and systems of meaning. Stuart Hall describes culture as “not so much a set of things . . . as a process, a set of practices” (Hall, 1997a, p. 2; emphasis in
original). Although he uses the term “practices”, Hall refers also to the processes underpinning them. Thus culture may be the patterns for, not of, behaviour (Keesing, 1973, p. 440). Similarly, Geertz considers culture primarily to be “a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions . . . – for the governing of behavior” (Geertz, 1973, p. 44). Du Gay agrees that the underlying processes behind behaviour define culture, describing culture as the production and circulation of meaning (Du Gay et al, 1997a, p. 13). Thus it is accepted as a foundation for this thesis that “culture” refers to the beliefs and attitudes that are expressed through the behaviours of groups of people.

Jonathan Friedman, in his discussion of cultural identity, distinguishes between generic culture and differential culture. The former he defines as

that quality of *Homo sapiens* that is specific to human behavior, that is, its organization into meaningful schemes, or rather schemes of attributed meaning as opposed to simple visceral reaction and instinct. (Friedman, 1994, p. 72)

Generic culture therefore refers to the innate and universal human tendency to attribute meaning to objects, events and actions. However, Friedman notes that different groups attribute different meanings to particular objects, events or actions:

differential culture . . . [is] the attribution of a set of social behavioral and representational properties to a given population. This usage consists in the identification of otherness. (Friedman, 1994, p. 72)

Thus “culture” in a generic sense may be considered to refer to the whole way of life of a group of people, including the practices and behaviours as well as the ideology that governs those behaviours. Defining what constitutes a particular culture is rather more difficult, although Friedman suggests a Self-Other awareness on a cultural level to match what happens on the individual level. Howes, in discussing the internal diversity in cultural
groups, notes, "it is impossible to settle on a single definitive account of the particular culture's essential characteristics or traits" (Howes, 1996a, p. 156). Thus, belonging to a culture means sharing with other individuals a similar way of understanding the world, and a similar way of turning such understanding into a set of behaviours and attitudes, even though some internal diversity will remain. Morley and Robins provide an example in discussing the many cultures in Europe which, regardless of the many aspects of difference between them, still collectively identify with "Europe", recognizing "difference but solidarity" (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 3). Some theorists have attempted to isolate which aspects of collective identity should be shared in order to identify a cultural group. For example, Ronen and Shenkar define the three mechanisms in the emergence of society as being religion, a common language and geographical closeness (Ronen and Shenkar, 1985, p. 444). Although these three mechanisms might be challenged as rather too narrow to account accurately for all human societies, they do outline the importance of a shared ideology. Religion might be broadened to "a shared belief system", a common language to "a means of sharing ideas about that belief system with others" and geographical closeness to "an opportunity to share those ideas with others". By the late twentieth century, such opportunities were provided by technology as well as geographical circumstances.

Members of a culture are likely to approach acceptance-rejection processes on an individual level in similar ways. Slobin states that some societies allow for a considerable range of individual choice, "but within a grid of limitations that no one can change, indeed, that no one even thinks about" (Slobin, 1993, p. 40). Thus individuals within a culture share elements of their individual identities, which in turn strengthens the collective identity of the culture. This illustrates the way in which individual and collective identities are bound together. Kuper notes that "[individual] identity is realized by participation in a culture" (Kuper, 1999, p. 236), and that "identity in oneself implies identity with others" (Kuper, 1999, p. 235).
It is clear from this discussion that the relationship between the identity of an individual and the collective identity of a group is therefore complex and interdependent. Any group consists of a number of individuals, and the identity of the group will be influenced by those individuals' identities. But at the same time, the negotiation of personal identity occurs within, and as a part of, the process of acculturation. Individual identity is enhanced and reinforced by the reward of group approval. To experience group acceptance and a sense of belonging are important human emotional needs (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 188). Therefore, if an individual's behaviour is rewarded by a sense of belonging, then she is likely to incorporate fully that behaviour into her own individual identity.

Self-Other distinctions are made within as well as between cultural groups. Individuals identify with many groups of various sizes, some of which are sub-groups within broader groups or which overlap with related groups. In discussing the interaction between group and individual identity, Slobin cites Georg Simmel's description: "[t]he modern type of group formation makes it possible for the isolated individual to become a member in whatever number of groups he chooses" (Slobin, 1993, p. 39).

A family group is an example of one of the many types of groups with which it is possible to identify. The family group to which an individual belongs becomes "us" (Self), and is distinct from the family who lives next door, which becomes "them" (Other). The two families perhaps share some ideas and beliefs owing to membership of the same neighbourhood group, but they will also have some different values from one another. These differences are reinforced by the geographical separation that results from living in different buildings (or separate parts of one building).

An individual will learn that while he or she is different from his or her sibling on an individual level they are both part of the same family group, and that they are not a part of the family group next door. The individual's cousin who lives in a different town is part of a wider family group, one with more distant boundaries than those around the immediate family group, but...
still a group that shares some common beliefs and values. At times, tension may arise between his or her identity as a part of that wider family group spread over a large geographical area and his or her identity with the family next door as a part of the same neighbourhood group. Sports matches, for example, usually focus on group identities that are defined geographically rather than according to family relationships. The individual might, even temporarily, define the family next door as a part of "us" and members of the extended family in another town as "them".

Slobin provides another example of tension arising between two different group identities with reference to the controversy that surrounded the song "Cop Killer" by American artist Ice-T. At the time of the song’s release, police around the United States boycotted products released by Ice-T’s label, Warner, as a protest against the content of the song. However, African American police voted against supporting the boycott in order to show support for the black community and oppressed societies within the United States. In this situation, identity with the group "African American" was privileged over that of "police officer" by the African American police officers who voted against the boycott (Slobin, 1993, p. 32).

This does not mean that an individual from one cultural group cannot identify with an individual from another culture under certain conditions. Gender, sexual orientation or age might all be grounds for the formation of collective identity that crosses a number of broad and otherwise divisive cultural groups. Similarly, there are sometimes calls for unification of people from various cultures in the name of "humanity", promoting the idea that all cultures do in fact form constituent parts of a larger whole.

In the post-colonial world issues of cultural identity have a sensitive political dimension. Thus an appeal to "humanity" might in fact be read as an appeal to "them" to recognize that "our" values are the best, and even the true, values of humanity: cultural difference can be a source of tension (Kuper, 1999, p. 4). It has been claimed that global culture cannot be constructed around the needs of collective cultural identity (Smith, 1990, p.
Similarly, Appiah has argued that appeals for universalism in literature are in fact examples of Eurocentric hegemony in disguise (Appiah, 1992, p. 58). European missionaries in the nineteenth century attempted to reduce cultural difference by teaching people from non-European cultures how to think and behave like Europeans; at the same time, individual Europeans (for a range of motives) sought to adopt the cultures of the ‘Other’. Simon During describes the ways in which changes to the Self are undertaken in order to become more like the Other as “self-othering” (During, 1994, p. 60). Another phrase that has been used to describe such changes to one’s Self, particularly in the colonial period, is “going native”, which implies that in accepting ideas held by the Other, previously held ideas will be rejected, involving a shift of allegiance from one group to another. In this case, the particularly negative connotations of the term “native” implies that the shift was one towards an inherently inferior alternative to the Western Self, and therefore one that was largely looked on with contempt. This particular example of Self-Other interaction and the Western response to it is considered further in Chapter Three.

An individual’s acculturation into various cultural and subcultural groups contributes to the evolution of individual identity. Such acculturation involves the acceptance of a collection of ideas, behaviours and values. In identifying with punk culture, for example, an individual is likely accept certain attitudes, manners of speech, hairstyles, clothing and musical preferences that are expressive of that subculture. Even joining a sports club involves the acceptance of a number of values and behaviours: certain tactics, ways of socializing, hierarchies within the club and uniforms might be a part of the package of ideas and behaviours that are accepted upon joining that particular group. Similarly, previously held ideas and practices might be rejected. A rugby player must wear either the new uniform or the old, and listen to either the new coach or the old, but not both. While it is usually possible for some degree of variation, or shades of opinion, to be incorporated within a group, there are likely to be certain ideas and behaviours that are
non-negotiable. Within a rock group, for example, the individual players might hold different opinions with regard to subtleties of style. However, the acceptance of “rock” as opposed to “country” as the primary musical focus of the band is likely to be a requirement for membership in that group.

There is an almost infinite number of groups with which an individual may identify or partly identify, and each group has an ideology that will in turn influence the individual’s beliefs and behaviours. These influences, along with certain inherent traits with which humans are born, contribute to the individual’s Self. Thus individual identity is strongly influenced but not entirely dictated by the ideologies of cultural groups. Kuper similarly notes, “[w]e all have multiple identities, and even if I accept that I have a primary cultural identity, I may not want to conform to it” (Kuper, 1999, p. 247). Slobin traces his own theories to Georg Simmel’s ideas published as early as the 1920s, in which Simmel stated that individuals combine to form group memberships, and “from the combination he gains his maximum of individuality. . . . Opportunities for individualization proliferate into infinity also because the same person can occupy positions of different rank in the groups to which he belongs” (Slobin, 1993, p. 37). Thus each individual’s experience of membership in a group is unique and dependent on the individual’s place in relation to the other individuals within that group. This emphasizes the interdependent relationship between individual and collective identity.

To summarize thus far, the identification of particular differences is crucial in differentiating between Self and Other, both on an individual and on a collective level. Such differentiations are central to the formation and maintenance of a sense of identity in modern Western societies. While such processes may sometimes involve conscious decision-making, subconscious acceptance of group beliefs and behaviours are also an important aspect of acculturation into Self-groups. In order to explore these processes in the context of listener responses to the interaction between musics of Self-groups and Other-groups, it is first necessary to consider in further depth how these
processes of differentiation take place, and to identify what are the criteria that can be used when expressing identity with Self-groups and identifying Other-groups.

Identification of cultural groups

Cultural and subcultural groups can be identified according to a number of criteria, one of the most immediate being visual signifiers. Individuals first understand the physical difference between themselves and others through recognition of the visual image of the Self. Physical appearance plays a similarly important role in the identification of groups by the classification of difference (Hall, 1997b, p. 236). Physical characteristics may be divided into two broad categories: first, those that are inherited or for which genetics play some role, such as skin colour, body size, and hair colour and texture; second, those that are an expression of culture, such as clothing, hair style and gesture. Physical characteristics from both categories are used in order to identify Self-groups and Other-groups. However, physical characteristics that are expressions of culture are particularly important in defining cultural identity, since these aspects of physical appearance are the results of acculturation rather than genetics. Individuals might also choose to change some aspects of their inherited physical characteristics, such as hair colour. These decisions, too, are examples of acculturation, and consequently are bound up with individual and cultural identity.

Although the aspects of appearance over which individuals have control communicate the most about cultural identities, those that are inherited are often treated as signifiers for cultural difference (Slobin, 1993, p. 53; Fiske, 2000). Group classification on the grounds of inherited physical characteristics forms the basis of the concept of "race". As John Fiske states, "[r]acism is the paradigmatic instance of abnormalization by visible and thus surveillable category" (Fiske, 2000, p. 62). Racial classification stems from the assumption that shared inherited physical characteristics such as skin colour
are indicative of shared cultural, intellectual, moral and personal characteristics. These beliefs lead to racist practices, as people with different (from the Self-defined "norm") inherited physical characteristics are assumed to exhibit specific (usually inferior) moral and intellectual characteristics and are treated according to these assumed characteristics. Shared physical characteristics among people of Africa, for example, contributed to the assumption by non-Africans of the existence of a single African form and contents of thought (Appiah, 1992, p. 24), as discussed further in Chapter Three.

The belief that physical characteristics are indicative of intellectual and moral qualities was particularly prevalent in eighteenth-century scientific discourse. However, Coombes argues that it regained potency in the early-twentieth century, largely because of the eugenic movement's "insistence on the visibility of moral, intellectual and racial degeneracy as physical traces left on the body and susceptible to mapping by the 'specialist' - be 'he' medic or anthropologist" (Coombes, 1994, p. 102). Such assumptions have been disproved and were largely expelled from academic discourse by the end of the twentieth century. However, racial stereotyping remains a central issue in cultural studies owing to the pervasiveness of racist representations. Inherited physical characteristics can play an important role in the formation and expression of group identities. The danger of racism arises, however, when these inherited characteristics in one group are treated as though they are causally and absolutely linked to particular behavioural characteristics deemed unacceptable by another.

As is the case with visual information, some aural characteristics, such as vocal timbre and pitch, are influenced by genetics. Other aural characteristics are the result of acculturation, and are important indicators of cultural groups. Language has long been considered one of the primary means of cultural identity. During the colonial period, the French allowed Africans to become naturalized only once they could demonstrate evidence of their "Frenchness" through a thorough knowledge of the French language
(Albertini, 1971, p. 279). Relationships between different languages closely resemble the relationships between cultural groups. Broad linguistic categories might incorporate several distinct languages (such as Romance languages, which incorporates French, Italian and Spanish), while within these languages are different accents, dialects and trends that might be associated with particular localities or subcultures. However, printed text allows dialect to be overcome, hence allowing language groups to become wider (Anderson, 1991, pp. 18-19). Anderson also notes that language is “fundamentally inclusive” since it may be learned by anyone (Anderson, 1991, p. 19).

However, there are different degrees of linguistic understanding, which complicates the role of language in cultural identity rather more than Anderson’s description of its inclusiveness implies. It is possible to learn to communicate about many topics of everyday life in a new language without holding a deep understanding of the possibilities for expression and communication of ideas that the language allows. Language is particularly important in cultural groups because it is usually the means by which communication between the group’s members takes place, and some group consensus about the way in which a particular language works is necessary for that communication to be meaningful. Individuals adopt the group’s language in order to express particular ideas, perhaps changing some of the “rules” to create an individual or subcultural style. Any language includes elements (such as words and grammatical rules) that allow communication to take place about ideas that are important to the particular group, and “a culture will develop words for colors to the extent it needs those terms to survive” (Lonner and Malpass, 1994a, p. 308; emphasis in original). Language use is therefore an important contributing factor in the formation and recognition of both individual and group identity, and it will probably reflect some of the subtleties of cultural groups and their hierarchies. Chapter Two will consider possible parallels between language and music as indicators of membership in a cultural or sub-cultural group.
Geographical factors also play an important role in identifying cultural groups and in forming group identity. When an individual’s cultural identity is being evaluated he or she is likely to be asked, “where are you from” or “where were you born”, rather than “what culture do you identify with”, even though it is often the latter with which those asking are concerned. The information sought is not what physical space a person usually occupies, but what group or groups she belongs to. Nationality plays an important role here, given the ease with which international travel may be undertaken. A sense of spatial ownership is based on national origins rather than on smaller units of space, such as towns or villages, since the distance that an individual may conceivably travel in a short space of time has increased. Anderson (1991) cites the importance of citizenship and the image of nation as a finite community. In the twentieth century this has been reinforced through politics and sport, for example. Groups such as the United Nations and events such as the Olympics and World Cup tournaments exemplify this.

However, geographical location and even nationality are also matters of choice to some extent. Although individuals cannot control the place of their birth or their original nationality, many people are able to choose the place in which they live (at least within the boundaries of a national group if not beyond) and can even, under controlled circumstances, change their citizenship – their “official” identity with a national group. Travel throughout the world increased in the twentieth century to the extent that in a single geographical location there are people who, according to the visual and aural signifiers discussed above, represent a number of different cultural groups.

All behaviours and practices are the tangible or observable expression of ideology: the underlying beliefs, values and ideas of an individual or group. Eyerman defines ideology as a “ready-formed system of interpretation which explains why things are as they are” (Eyerman, 1999, p. 121). It is this system of interpretation that allows individuals to make sense of the world, and the commonality of this system among members of a group.
allows them to communicate. Ideological differences may hinder or prevent communication, owing to the concurrent operation of different systems of interpretation. Thus, while the differences between observable behaviours and practices are often considered to indicate cultural difference, these behaviours are expressions of differences on an ideological level.

Many of the differences mentioned above, such as dress, hairstyle and gesture, are the result of behaviours that are expressions of ideology. Hebdige notes that the objects appropriated by some subcultural groups as symbols of their group identity enabled the members to "see their central values held and reflected" (Hebdige, 1988, p. 114). Many other behaviours are expressions of ideology. For instance, if a group holds the belief that women are equal to men, then this is likely to be expressed through the behaviour of individuals within the group, such as women pursuing careers and gaining recognition. If a group believes that men are superior to women, then different behaviour will result: women will be limited in the activities in which they are permitted, or choose, to take part. The Self-Other distinction that each of these groups makes is likely to be based initially on the behavioural differences that are observed. This may be extended to acknowledge the ideological differences between the groups.

A behaviour is an expression of a particular ideology, and therefore any attempts to interpret that behaviour according to a different ideology can easily lead to misunderstanding. Judging behaviour according to a different ideology is likely to lead to criticism. For instance, if the group whose ideology holds that women are equal to men interpret in the context of their own ideology the behaviour of the other group, the latter's attitude is likely to be considered "wrong". The clash is between one ideology and another, but the manifestation of the ideology in behaviour remains the initial level at which cultural difference is identified. Appiah provides an example of the way in which a culture-specific idea might be interpreted according to a different ideology. Proverbs in Africa, as in many cultures, were traditionally part of oral cultures. The wording of proverbs is fixed, whether transmitted
orally or in written form, but the meaning is flexible and open to interpretation. When passed orally within the culture from which it originated, those who hear a proverb share a common cultural ideology and therefore interpret it in a similar way. Once the proverb is written down, however, its distribution widens considerably and there is a greater chance that those who hear it share little of the ideology of the proverb's culture-of-origin. Consequently, there is a greater chance that the proverb will be misinterpreted (Appiah, 1992, p. 130-132).

Physical appearance, language, geographical location and the "official" identifying mechanisms of group membership are all aspects of identity that are regularly drawn upon in identifying both Self-groups and Other-groups. All provide information about cultural and subcultural identity and may be manipulated to some extent by those wishing to identify with particular cultural and subcultural groups. It is argued in Chapter Two that musical behaviours are further expressions of cultural ideologies that may provide information about group identities. However, before the discussion focuses on music, some further aspects of cultural difference must be considered in order to build a theoretical framework for the discussion of the musical expressions of cultural difference that occur in de Courson's albums.

Responses to cultural difference

Having considered how cultural differences are identified, a further question arises: what are some of the ways in which the recognition of cultural difference may be managed? This depends to a large extent on the particular circumstances under which a Self-Other distinction is made, and on other factors such as the degree and nature of the difference between the two. The very notion of "culture" as each group understands it plays a role in determining how cultural difference is managed (Welsch, 1999, p. 200). If the group that is making a Self-Other distinction holds very conformist beliefs
(such as in a strict religious order) then it is possible that even slight deviations from that culture’s beliefs and behaviours will lead to rejection. Those engaging in the deviant behaviour might therefore be viewed as an incompatible and perhaps an inferior Other. In contrast, a culture that holds inclusive beliefs as a part of its ideology may be tolerant, or even welcoming, of some degree of difference and might assume parity between “our” culture and “theirs”. In actuality, it is likely that responses to cultural difference will fall somewhere between absolute acceptance and absolute rejection of the Other’s beliefs and behaviours depending on the particular circumstances involved. This will be discussed further below, and becomes evident in Chapters Five and Seven in which listeners’ responses to cultural difference expressed musically are discussed.

Extreme responses towards the Other may occur. According to Morley and Robins (1995, p. 22), Castoriadis maintains that the distinction between Self and Other necessitates the devaluing of the Other in comparison with the Self. Greenblatt similarly refers to the fashioning of the Self in opposition to an inferior Other:

Self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile. This threatening Other – heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, Antichrist – must be discovered or invented in order to be attacked and destroyed. (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9)

Thus the Other is, in its difference, a potential threat to the Self.

As other theorists have discussed, however, the Other sometimes appears to be, or is presented as, an attractive option. Such an experience of a cultural Other might prompt a re-evaluation of the Self to investigate how the seemingly attractive aspects of the Other might be incorporated. Aspects of the Other might be temporarily or partially attractive, and might be adopted by the Self so that individuals have the option of experiencing the Other. Consumption practices have been identified as expressions of desire to be Other (Lury, 1996, pp. 72-73), and hence marketing processes can involve the
positive representation of Other groups or Other behaviour in order to stimulate such desire among consumers. In this way the Other can become a commodity to be appropriated and sold to members of the Self group. Such commodification is often glib and simplified, since the purpose is not to achieve a permanent cultural change but merely the consumption of a product, and usually the Other is packaged in a way that will appeal to the values of the Self-group.

Aspects of the Other might also be permanently attractive and lead to attempts to make changes to the Self in order to incorporate them. This occurs when there is a recognition that the ideas and behaviours of the Other are more suitable or desirable than the current ideas and behaviours that are part of the Self. For example, an individual (Self) might recognize that the lifestyle of the rich (Other) is desirable. He or she might then either attempt to incorporate the Other temporarily (by buying an expensive holiday) or might attempt to transform his or her Self into the Other (by buying a lottery ticket in an attempt to become rich).

More common than a complete acceptance or rejection of the Other is, as mentioned above, an attitude of ambivalence. According to Kubik (1991), this is the result of the complex psychological processes that take place when the Other is experienced. Kubik states that the cultural Other acts as a projection screen, “a stimulus that activates repressed tendencies in the observer’s own culture” (Kubik, 1991, p. 321) and that the Other therefore “is often assigned the role of a liberator” (Kubik, 1991, p. 322). Kubik posits that the Self’s response to the Other will be negative if the Other’s behaviour stimulates ideas that have been particularly repressed in the Self-culture. However, he adds that because of the tension that results from conflict between the id (the source of instincts and impulsive behaviour) and the super-ego (the source of unconscious morality that censors behaviour), there might be feelings of attraction to the Other (as a result of the id) that accompany the feelings of repulsion (as a result of the super-ego) (Kubik, 1991, p. 324). Kubik discusses the example of Europe’s view of Africa as the
Other, which includes both repulsion ("drum-beating sex monsters") and attraction ("noble savage") (Kubik, 1991, p. 322). Further examples of the repulsion and attraction that Europe has experienced toward Africa will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Interaction between cultures is complex and unpredictable, and the result will depend to a large extent on the ideologies of the groups in question. Some groups might be accepting of difference between cultural groups (even if not accepting of difference within the group) and yet might reject the idea of cultural interaction, preferring the segregation of different cultures. Some groups might welcome the opportunity to interact with Other groups and encourage the disintegration of cultural and subcultural barriers. A group's response to interaction may also differ according to the circumstances of the interaction. A deliberate and large-scale interaction such as occurs in colonization or war might lead to a different response from that toward temporary interactions such as occur in tourism. Hannerz notes that tourists are rarely concerned with "alien systems of meaning" (Hannerz, 1990, pp. 240-242) or in other words, with the Other's ideology. This implies that the temporary adoption of some behaviours belonging to Other groups as might occur in a tourist's experience does not imply that the deeper ideological differences are overcome, or even acknowledged. Indeed, taking a photograph of an exotic cultural practice may function as a way of keeping it at a distance. The response of the Self-culture toward interaction with the Other will be investigated in Chapter Six. However, there remain some aspects of Self-Other differentiation to be considered within the particular context of late twentieth-century Western cultures.

Self-Other boundaries in contemporary Western cultures

It has been established thus far that no individual or group identity is formed without contact with alternative identities: there can be no Self if
there is no Other, and vice versa. While the notion of a “pure” culture, unaffected by contact with any other, has been a popular image in Western culture, it has been argued that “all human identities, no matter how deeply felt, are from an historical point-of-view mixed, relational, and conjectural” (Waterman, 1990, p. 367; see also Said, 1994, p. xxviii). Similarly, it has been argued that the notion of identities encapsulated by fixed boundaries misrepresents the way in which group and individual identities overlap and are in a state of constant redefinition within new contexts (Robertson, 1995, p. 39; Welsch, 1999, p. 195; Featherstone, 1997, p. 92). Clearly, some perception of a “boundary” between “me” and “you,” and between the many “us” groups and “them” groups is necessary because of the importance of difference in forming a sense of Self. However, these boundaries are rarely absolute. More often they are permeable, and the more attractive the Other appears to be, the more permeable the boundary is likely to become.

Changes occurred during the twentieth century to the permeability of the boundaries between Western culture and its Others. In many cases, the boundaries have become more porous, allowing those within Western cultures to incorporate into their individual and various group identities elements from groups outside of Western culture. An alteration to the ideology of Western culture was necessary to allow this more inclusive behaviour to be accepted. Of particular importance was the increasingly “multicultural” nature of many Western societies. Following the colonization of most of the world’s cultures by European nations between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the twentieth century saw the gradual decolonization of many parts of the world, as well as the formation of new alliances such as the United Nations which aimed toward a more equal association between the world’s national cultures. However, colonization had a lasting impact on the relationships between the colonizing and colonized nations, and close political, financial, social and linguistic associations continued to function.
During the colonial period, most of the interaction between colonizing and colonized cultures took place in the geographical space of the colonized, to which a relatively few individuals who represented the colonizing culture traveled. After decolonization, however, individuals from Europe’s and America’s former colonies travelled to the territories of their former colonizers. Consequently, a far greater number of individuals from Western culture began to interact with those of Other cultures than had occurred during the colonial period. Furthermore, shifting the site of interaction from a location that is "theirs" to one that is "ours" may have significant effects on the way in which such interaction is interpreted. Whereas previously the West was aware of the existence of the Other but had the option of avoiding direct experience and familiarity with Other cultures, now Self and Other shared the same geographical space. Because the Other could no longer be avoided, it became more difficult to maintain an oversimplified, and therefore easily managed, image of Others (Featherstone, 1997, p. 103).

Technological advances also contributed to increased contact between Self and Other in the twentieth century. Air travel allowed an unprecedented degree of mobility for a significant proportion of the population, particularly the privileged populations of Western culture. Other technological developments during the twentieth century had an important impact on communication. Telecommunications and the internet allow instant communication to take place over large geographical distances. Mass communication was developed with the invention of audio and visual recording and broadcasting systems, allowing the fast and broad dissemination of ideas throughout the world. These developments further increased the exposure of cultural groups to their respective Others, which, added to the increased possibilities of first-hand experience of Other cultures allowed by air travel, has significantly increased the perceived familiarity of certain aspects of Other cultures. This does not mean that all aspects of all Other cultures are now freely and equally accessible or considered desirable: the processes of consumption of Other cultures are affected by many political
and economic factors that contribute to the appearance of some products as more attractive and accessible than others, which in turn impacts upon consumers’ choices. However, it remains that the overall accessibility of Other cultures and their products increased in the late-twentieth century, thus affecting the nature of the boundary between Self and Other groups.

As the level of contact with Other groups increased to an unprecedented level, the opportunities to revise group and individual identities also increased. Since more individuals within Western culture were revising identity decisions based on contact with many different cultural groups, the ideology of Western culture changed and became more accepting of individuals’ decisions and of the diversity that resulted. Similarly, individuals had to balance following the group with the possibility, and even expectation, of expressing individuality (Featherstone, 1991, p. 27).

Since individual identities shape group identity, some of the choices that individuals make in response to contact with the Other are incorporated into the group’s identity. For example, wearing hair in dreadlocks is a type of behaviour that forms part of the cultural identity of Rastafarian culture. When individuals from Western culture encountered this behaviour, some accepted it and incorporated it into their own Self identity. For this to occur, it was necessary for the ideology of Western culture to be more accepting than hitherto of the idea of individuality among its members and to value the rights of individuals to make their own decisions about hairstyle. It was not necessary for all members of Western culture to accept the actual behaviour of wearing dreadlocks and to incorporate that behaviour into the group’s identity. However, after a time a significant number of individuals within Western culture chose to accept this behaviour. Consequently, the behaviour itself became part of its cultural identity, or at least the identity of some subcultures within Western culture. This resulted in individuals choosing to wear dreadlocks not because of a direct association with Rastafarian culture, but because wearing dreadlocks had become a behaviour accepted within Western culture in its own right. Thus dreadlocks may function as a signifier
for Rastafarian culture if further signifiers (such as the Rastafarian colours, for example) appear in the same context, but dreadlocks on their own may not be sufficient to signify Rastafarian culture to Westerners who no longer associate this hairstyle exclusively with this Other culture. This issue will arise later in this thesis when the appearance of music from Other cultures within Western contexts is considered.

While Western culture became more inclusive of non-Western cultures and incorporated elements of various Others, the converse also happened. This was encouraged in the colonial period, during which representatives of Western culture endeavoured to promote a Western (or, at that stage, European) way of life for its colonial "subjects"; for example, by educating children in European-style schools, forming political structures along European models, and promoting the use of European languages and the appreciation of European arts, including music. Having been at least partially acculturated into a European way of life and ideology, and because of the continued political and cultural links with the colonizing cultures, many of Europe's former colonies continued after decolonization to incorporate aspects of Western culture into their own cultural identities. French and English are still official languages in many former colonies in Africa, and styles of dress, modes of transport, and means of communication that originated in the West continued to play an important role in many ex-colonial cultures around the world at the end of the twentieth century.

Developments in the field of audio-visual technology have also impacted on interaction between Self and Other. Film, television and musical recordings enable individuals to experience the sights and sounds of other cultures with comparably little effort, and provide opportunities to experience aspects of a great many more Other cultures than previously: as Morley and Robins state, "all kinds of Others are exposed to our gaze . . . in the form of electronic representation on the television screens in our own living rooms" (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 130).
However, the experience of the Other provided through audio-visual media is both mediated and limited. No media image is presented without (usually Western) mediation. Even documentaries and news programmes that aim to be impartial and objective present information that is mediated by those who film, interview, produce and edit:

[The Western media ... arrogate to themselves the right to represent all non-Western Others, and thus to provide 'us' with the definitions by which 'we' distinguish ourselves from 'them' ... [T]he image of 'them' is screened in the sense of being filtered, with only certain selected images getting through. (Morley and Robins, 1995, pp. 133-134)

Karen Ross shares a similar view:

What is clear is that film- and programme-makers who produce art works which purport to represent the 'other' will inevitably do little more than reflect their own assumptions and experiences. (Ross, 1996, p. xxi)

Ross goes on to discuss the impact that such media representations have on audience perception of the Other:

Knowledge about those who are different from 'us' is often gained vicariously through various media forms. The repetitive framing of particular images in certain ways eventually leads to those images being seen as the definitive statement of 'those' people and the groups to which they belong. (Ross, 1996, p. 4)

Ross's description of the nature of such exposure to Other cultures as a "repetitive framing" becomes clearer when listeners' responses to Other musics are discussed.

Ross and Morley and Robins imply with these comments that increased accessibility of images and experiences of the Other do not result in the Other becoming incorporated within the Self, and therefore losing its
Otherness. Instead, the Other remains “Other”, though it becomes more familiar because of this exposure. While this might reasonably be predicted to lead to a decrease in the apparent “threat” or “exoticness” of the Other, this does not equate with becoming Self. However, one of the results of increased access to representations of Other cultures has been the perception that the illusory boundaries between cultural groups may have been weakened, if not eroded:

Neither ‘we’ nor ‘they’ are as self-contained as we/they once appeared. All of us inhabit an interdependent late twentieth-century world, which is at once marked by borrowing and lending which goes on across porous cultural boundaries . . . (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 217)

This may be one way to describe “globalization”, a concept for which a variety of definitions have been offered. Robertson defines it as “the crystallization of the entire world as a single place” (Robertson, 1987, p. 38) which is accompanied by the emergence of “a global-human condition” (Robertson, cited in Arnason, 1990, p. 220) and an awareness of global interdependencies (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). Friedman relates his definition of globalization to that of culture: “[g]lobalization is about processes of attribution of meaning that are of a global nature” (Friedman, 1994, p. 198). Friedman’s definition implies that a breakdown of Self-Other difference takes place at the ideological level. If the attribution of meaning, through which cultural difference is usually apparent, becomes global then Self-Other difference is threatened.

Santos offers a definition that avoids the implication of shared attribution of meaning. He defines globalization as

the process by which a given local condition or entity succeeds in extending its reach over the globe and, by doing so, develops the capacity to designate a rival social condition or entity as local. (Santos, 1999, p. 216)
Santos offers the English language as an example, the globalization of which designated rivals, such as French, as local. Similarly, Hollywood acting and production styles in the 1960s had the power to render rival styles, such as those in France and Italy, local (Santos, 1999, p. 216).

One of the main concerns about the globalization of Western culture that took place in the late-twentieth century was that it threatened local cultures. Because of the flow of products, ideas and information from the West, through technological resources created largely in Western culture, it has been feared that the products and ideas that originate from local cultures might become both less viable and less desirable, even for those within the local cultures (Classen and Howes, 1996, p. 178). For example, Western popular music is accessible throughout the world through audio and audio-visual media, and has been considered a threat to the traditional musics of many cultures. Similarly, Western foods such as McDonalds and Coca-Cola have become popular internationally, perhaps at the expense of local food traditions, leading to the use of phrases such as “Coca-Colonization” and “McDonaldization” (see, for example, Ritzer, 1993). This situation has led to fears that some of the many diverse traditions throughout the world will become extinct, leading to a “cultural graying out” (Lysloff, 1997, p. 211).

Fears about the effects of globalization, or “Westernization”, on the world’s cultures are based on the assumption that this is a one-way transfer of products and ideas (often deemed of doubtful value) from an active West to a passive non-West. It has been argued that those within Western culture who market images and products throughout the world do so by identifying similarities throughout the international target market. This enables marketers to identify which products and images might be successfully marketed to the largest number of people (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 15). The result of such processes would be an increasingly homogeneous world. People from many cultures would abandon their local music, food, dress, and belief systems in favour of Western popular music, McDonalds, jeans and a market economy. This has been referred to as an “ultra-culture”: a
homogeneous culture that results from the developments that have taken place in communications and technology (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 70).

However, some writers doubt the power and the will of the West to eliminate local traditions and have questioned the validity of these fears. The idea of a powerful and active Western media industry imposing its culture onto a weak and passive non-West, as well as onto unsuspecting Western consumers, fails to acknowledge the power of choice that may be exercised regarding the products and ideas that are accepted and rejected (Giles and Middleton, 1999, p. 224). Morley and Robins describe this as a hypodermic image of the Western media: that images and products are simply injected from the West into the rest of the world that is helpless against its effects (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 126; see also Featherstone, 1997, p. 102). It cannot be assumed that globalization always occurs under such circumstances. As Appadurai notes, globalization refers to complex processes that do not necessarily equate with the introduction of uniformity: "[t]he new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 32). With regard to musical practices, for example, an individual living in Africa might choose to listen to the latest album to reach the top of the American pop charts, but might not choose to accept other American music, or any other aspects of American culture, and might choose to continue to accept music from Africa and other aspects of African culture. Hannerz notes the possibility that cultural influences "may give people access to technological and symbolic resources for dealing with their own ideas, managing their own culture in new ways" (Hannerz, 1987, p. 555; see also Friedman, 1994, p. 239; Lysloff, 1997, p. 217).

Another assumption to be questioned concerning globalization processes is that a cultural product will carry the same meaning no matter in which cultural context it is consumed. A music video sounds and looks the same in Africa as it does in Europe, and this gives an impression that the same image is being consumed. However, this assumption is based on another: that all of the aural and visual signifiers carry the same meanings in
the African culture as they do in the European culture. The validity of this assumption has been widely challenged. McCracken recognizes the possibility of personalizing objects by transferring meanings from one's individual world to the product (McCracken, 1988, pp. 85-86). Lury also notes that these personalized and customized goods are used to display individuality and sense of style (Lury, 1996, p. 80; see also Lidchi, 1997, p. 162). It has, of course, been established above that individuals interpret and give meaning to what is seen and heard according to their individual and cultural identities.

While acknowledging the autonomy of individuals in non-Western cultures to evaluate cultural products from the West, it remains significant that the media industries and multinational corporations involved in the globalized marketing of products are centred in America and Europe. Therefore, the choice of products and images that circulate internationally is largely determined within Western culture on the basis of what appears to be marketable. These decisions are influenced by the market itself. Products that are not in demand, or for which a demand cannot be created, will not continue to circulate. But whether non-Western markets play a significant role in this process or whether the product decisions are based on the often larger and more immediate markets in Western culture is unclear (see Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 15; Herman and McChesney, 1997, pp. 194-195).

Furthermore, while members of different cultural groups may attribute different meanings to products, this can only take place to a limited extent. "Preferred readings" are embedded within a text, limiting the degree of autonomy an individual has in attributing meaning to it (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 127; Lidchi, 1997, p. 170; Ross, 1996, p. xx). The Western origin of many of these globalized products means that the preferred reading is based on a Western ideology, and Featherstone questions whether this situation results in increased individual freedom of interpretation or an increased capacity for ideological manipulation (Featherstone, 1991, p. 13).
By the late twentieth century, globalization enabled certain behaviours and practices to be shared by a number of otherwise different groups throughout the world. In order to maintain a sense of Self identity, however, it is necessary for groups to retain some behaviours, beliefs and practices that are clearly identifiable as "belonging to" that group. Said refers to this as the need for "self-definition" (Said, 1994, p. 42), while Robertson describes it as the "expectation of uniqueness of identity" (Robertson, 1990, p. 50; emphasis in original). Meeting the need for self-definition became increasingly challenging by the end of the twentieth century, but also increasingly important, since "there is no longer anything absolutely foreign. Everything is within reach. Accordingly, there is no longer anything exclusively 'own' either" (Welsch, 1999, p. 198). Welsch continues:

People obviously feel compelled to defend themselves against being merged into globalized uniformity. They don't want just to be universal or global, but also specific and of their own. They want to distinguish themselves from one another and know themselves to be well accommodated in a specific identity. (Welsch, 1999, p. 204)

One way in which a group may seek to achieve an identity that is "specific and of their own" within an increasingly globalized world is by searching the past. This is in part because, since contemporary trends in communication and travel have contributed to the intensity of the latest globalization processes, it may seem that, in periods before such technology was available, intercultural communication might have been at a lower level and group coherence might have been higher (Featherstone, 1997, p. 103). Consequently, those practices and products that were a part of a culture in the past might be considered more accurate expressions of that culture.

Aside from this, however, ideas about the past and a sense of heritage play an important role in the formation of identity. On an individual level, the acquisition of a sense of heritage begins at the earliest stage of identity.
formation when a child considers the difference between herself and her mother. By noting that her mother is older, and that her mother also has a mother who is older still, a child gains a basic understanding of generations. By understanding that her brother shares both her mother and grandmother, she begins to understand that they share a family heritage. This heritage may be symbolized by the passing on of certain traditions, such as certain Christian names or ways of celebrating events, or of objects that become "family heirlooms". Her neighbour, however, has a different mother and a different grandmother, and consequently has a different family heritage, and different traditions and possessions through which that heritage is symbolized.

Similar processes take place on a collective level. Morley and Robins note that a group’s identity is largely based on its recognition of a common past (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 46). Consequently, many groups record their histories, whether in written form or orally. Differences between heritages contribute significantly to each group’s sense of identity, since no group will share an identical heritage with another. Certain aspects of a group’s heritage may assist in the expression of cultural identity. For example, New Zealand’s heritage may be evoked by references to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Edmund Hillary’s conquest of Mount Everest, or John Walker’s world record for running the mile. These events, and images of them, have become part of New Zealanders’ heritage and collective memory, and members of the group are united in having knowledge of these events. These are examples of what Featherstone refers to as “liminal moments” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 132), when a sense of shared community is evoked through the celebration or shared memory of an event. These liminal moments, when joined by other “symbols, myths, heroes, events, landscapes and traditions woven together in popular consciousness” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 146) contribute to what Smith (1986, p. 154) describes as “ethnie”. The role that music may play in expressing a group’s heritage, and therefore its Self, is discussed in Chapter Four.
The centrality of temporal linearity in Western thought impacted on Western notions of culture and identity (Clifford, 1993, p. 65) and contributed to a high value being placed on long, recorded histories in Western culture. Furthermore, Abercrombie described the “myth of primitive integrated societies” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 132) in which the past is portrayed as allowing for simpler lifestyles and more satisfactory communities. Therefore, the past plays a distinctive role in Western expressions of identity. Hall (1992, p. 25) notes the attempt in the late-twentieth century to “restore the canon of Western civilization” and to “return to the grand narratives of history, language, and literature” as possible responses to the apparent blurring of cultural boundaries that results from globalization processes. Once again, these processes are relevant to a discussion of music as an expression of heritage, and are discussed further in Chapter Four.

In discussing the formation of collective identity, Featherstone advocates that, instead of assuming that cultural integration is achievable, it is better to consider the power of the myth that it can be achieved (Featherstone, 1991, p. 133). Because in Western culture validity has usually been granted to groups that can prove links with the past, groups have at times invented traditions that have become part of their heritage. Tradition has been defined as “a set of beliefs or practices that are passed from one generation to the next and which affect the practice and interpretation of life” (Eyerman, 1999, p. 120). That traditions are sometimes invented demonstrates the importance of heritage and indicates the strength of the myth of achievable cultural integration to which Featherstone refers.

The acceptance of invented traditions by various groups in Western culture was the subject of Hobsbawm and Ranger’s book The Invention of Tradition (1997). Hobsbawm defines the term “invented tradition” as

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the
past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (Hobsbawm, 1997, p. 1)

Various invented traditions are considered in the chapters contributed to Hobsbawm and Ranger's book, including Trevor-Roper's discussion of the invention of the Highland tradition in Scotland. There are few cultures that can be evoked more readily than the Highland tradition through images of kilts and tartan. These seem to represent heritage itself, since each distinctive tartan pattern represents a clan and thus is a symbol of each family's link with a presumably ancient past. Yet the kilts, tartans and other aspects of the Highland Scots' culture were largely invented in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries (Trevor-Roper, 1997, p. 16). By re-writing Irish ballads, transferring the stories to Scottish settings and claiming that they in fact originated in Scotland, two Scottish historians managed to create a link with the past for the Highland Scots that remained unchallenged for a century (Trevor-Roper, 1997, pp. 17-18). Similarly, the tartan kilt was unknown in the Highlands until it was invented as part of a pageant devised by Sir Walter Scott (Trevor-Roper, 1997, p. 19) and the relationship between certain tartan designs and particular clans was largely the result of an entrepreneurial venture by some tartan manufacturers who hoped to stimulate tribal competition (Trevor-Roper, 1997, p. 30).

This account illustrates two points about heritage and identity. First, invented histories and traditions of Highland Scotland began to appear because there was little to distinguish the Highland Scots from the Irish, of whom the Scots were "racially and culturally" a colony (Trevor-Roper, 1997, p. 15). This indicates that one of the prime motivations for the invention of these traditions was to define a cultural difference more clearly, accentuating the boundaries between Self and Other where they appeared to be blurred or threatened. Appiah (1992, pp. 53-54) describes a similar process in the quick adoption of African nationalism during decolonization as a way of articulating resistance to world empires. Second, the traditions invented for
the Highland Scots were quickly and completely accepted, and they have continued to be accepted both by the Scots and by other groups who use the kilt, tartan and bagpipes (another relatively recent tradition in Scotland) as signifiers for “Scotland” and “Scottish culture”. Even though such claims have now been discredited the traditions continue to be accepted as part of Scottish culture and are treated as if they were ancient traditions, far older than the approximately two centuries old that they have been proven to be. Contemporary representations of pre-eighteenth-century Scotland continue to draw on the images of tartan, kilts and bagpipes. The 1995 film *Braveheart* which dramatizes the life of William Wallace includes these images to represent fourteenth-century Scotland.

As well as inventing traditions in order to create a sense of heritage, individuals and groups may also be selective with regard to the aspects of their heritage that they choose to recognize. Waters (1990) discovered the freedom with which many white Americans select aspects of their heritage with which to identify. Although some participants in her study identified in “equal parts” two or more different European ethnicities in their heritage, circumstances often led to their identification with one heritage more than the other (Waters, 1990, pp. 60-89). Not surprisingly, if the traditions of one of the cultures were favoured in the home then that culture was likely to be considered a more significant part of the participant’s heritage (Waters, 1990, p. 26).

However, Waters notes that certain “ethnicities”, such as Italian, held wider appeal than did others. This was true to such an extent that some participants who had only relatively distant Italian ancestors would identify with their Italian heritage more strongly than any other, even if the traditions of other cultures such as Scottish or English formed a greater part of their everyday lives (Waters, 1990, pp. 31-35). Furthermore, many participants commented that Italian ethnicity was more desirable than, for example, German, English or Scottish (Waters, 1990, pp. 142-152). The reason was largely centred on the role that traditions play in demarcating one group from
another. Participants considered Italian-Americans to have traditions and practices that were significantly different from those of other Americans, and it was considered more desirable to be identified as “Italian-American” than to belong to a group whose sub-cultural boundaries were less clearly defined. Some non-Italian-American participants described this by stating that Italian-Americans had “more culture” than other Americans, and compared them with Scottish and Irish cultures, which were described as “thin”, not “rich cultural societies” (Waters, 1990, p. 152). Here, the concept of “culture”, or “ethnicity”, is equated with Other cultures rather than with the Self culture. Hall alludes to a similar concept of ethnicity in Europe when he writes, “Western Europe did not have, until recently, any ethnicity at all. Or didn’t recognize it had any” (Hall, 1992, p. 22). One participant in Waters’ study stated that she “would like to be a member of a group that is living a culture” (Waters, 1990, p. 152). For a person who makes such statements, it is likely that his or her own culture and traditions have been normalized to such an extent that they are seen as natural, not as a tradition or part of culture at all.

Because of increased mobility in the twentieth century, an individual’s heritage might be very different from that of most people within the same geographical location, and those who share a heritage might be widely dispersed around the world: “Places are no longer the clear supports of our identity” (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 87). This contrasts with Luke’s image of traditions as “spatially-specific and spatially-defined” (Luke, 1996, p. 122). When celebrating the heritage of a location, and by association the heritage of those who “belong” there, some individuals who reside in that location are likely to be excluded. In Europe, for example, heritage is celebrated through the buildings, art, music and traditions that originated many centuries ago, at a time when the population was almost exclusively white (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 49). By the late-twentieth century a significant proportion of

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2 This idea was expressed during the colonial period with reference to the installation of colonizing cultures in new areas: Blaise Diagne, deputy mayor of Dakar stated in 1930 that “France is not necessarily in Europe but can be found wherever France is” (cited in Albertini, 1971, p. 288).
Europe's population was tacitly excluded from their location's heritage including many whose recent heritage was located in Europe, perhaps with parents and grandparents who were born there. However, by presenting Europe's identity as one with a predominantly white heritage, those who are not white might be considered not truly to "belong" (see Ross, 1996, p. xi).

Similarly, America and many of Europe's former colonies, including New Zealand, are geographical spaces that house people of various heritages. America's motto "e pluribus unum" suggests that its many migrant communities all belong to "American culture", which is created from the merging of many constituent identities. However, many migrant groups retain their own traditions and identities within America, and sub-cultural groups based on ethnic differences remain clearly identifiable. The issue of identifying as "an American" as well as with one or more of the various sub-cultural ethnic identities remains unresolved. Although the ratio of immigrants to population decreased throughout the century (Barone, 1999, p. 15), a greater number of different heritage groups were represented in America by the 1990s than were represented at the beginning of the century. In California, it was predicted in 1998 that early in the twenty-first century no ethnic group would constitute a majority (Heim and Gage, 1998), a prediction which has come true.

For many people of European descent who reside outside of Europe, identifying as a member of a sub-cultural ethnic group necessitates looking to Europe as a source of heritage. Although Water's study indicated that British heritages were among the least popular ethnic identities in America, Hollywood began in the 1990s to increase the popularity of Britain as a source of heritage for Americans, portraying it as

oldie worldly and/or pastoral but if it has got to be contemporary at least white and middle class, for example Mike Newall's Four Weddings and a Funeral (1994) and if not middle class in the case of Brassed Off and The Full Monty, at least, as good as, all white. (Gabriel, 2000, p. 75; see also Robertson, 1992, p. 158)
Thus the image of Europe, even contemporary Europe, as predominantly white has been perpetuated by such Hollywood representations that centre on the idea of heritage. The representation of European heritage through music will be discussed in Chapter Four.

The formation and expression of identity on both an individual and a collective level involves complex processes of conscious and unconscious recognition and decision-making. Appiah (1992, p. 178) summarizes these complexities into three “lessons” concerning identity. First, “identities are complex and multiple and grow out of a history of changing responses to economic, political, and cultural forces, almost always in opposition to other identities.” This concept has been discussed here in terms of multiple layers of individual and cultural identity, and of the significance of distinguishing between Self and Other in forming identity. Second, identities “flourish despite . . . our ‘misrecognition’ of their origins; despite, that is, their roots in myths and lies.” This has been illustrated here with reference to invented traditions, heritage issues, and the myth of “pure” cultures. Third, “there is, in consequence, no large place for reason in the construction - as opposed to the study and the management - of identities.” This principle accounts for the continually changing and unpredictable nature of any given individual or cultural identity. The formation and expression of individual and group identity will continue to be the most fundamental of human practices, and the means through which this is achieved will continue to be renegotiated.

This chapter has served to introduce those aspects of cultural identification that inform this research. The centrality of Self-Other differentiation in the formation of a stable sense of Self in modern Western societies has been demonstrated. Furthermore, the particular nature of these processes in late-twentieth century societies, with increased accessibility to images of Other cultures, has been explored. Ways in which cultural groups may express a sense of Self, and in which they may identify and represent
Others, have been considered within this framework. The following chapter focuses the discussion of these issues to the role that music may play in the identification, or signification, of Self and Other groups in contemporary Western cultures.
Chapter Two: Musical Signs and Identity

In Chapter One, the centrality of a Self-Other distinction to the formation of a stable Self identity in modern Western societies was explored. Several means of identification of cultural groups were mentioned, including language and aspects of physical appearance. The focus of this chapter is on musical behaviours and how they too might identify Self and Other groups. Musical sounds are here considered to be potential signs: units of sound that may function alone or in relationship with non-musical concepts in such a way that those who are acculturated into the appropriate system of signification can derive meaning from them. The nature of these musical sign systems in relation to cultural identity is considered here in terms of the attribution of "meaning" to musical sound through the identification of meaningful categories. The different ways in which listeners engage with musical sounds in different contexts will be discussed, and, in particular, the ways in which music can represent Self and Other will be considered. Once again, the focus here is on a Western context, since it cannot be assumed that the same processes occur universally.

Musical sign relationships

One of the premises on which the concept of "culture" is built is that the members of a culture share in the attribution of common meanings to objects or concepts. In order for this to occur, these meanings must become clearly associated with those particular objects or concepts (or signifiers as they have been referred to in many cultural studies texts, drawing on terminology from semiological theory). This process of attributing meaning, which was noted by Friedman to be one of the features of a generic culture, is referred to here as "encoding", following in the tradition of theorists such as

The process of the cultural encoding of a signifier is one that is particularly difficult to pinpoint, since it involves the collective adoption of a relationship between signifier and signified (a "sign relationship"), which is often a gradual process rather than one that can be observed at a single point in time. Thus it might be possible to identify the moment at which the distinctive sound of low strings playing oscillating minor seconds came to be encoded as signifiers for the danger posed by the shark in the movie *Jaws*, and which now can signify danger in any number of contexts to those who have learned this sign relationship. However, it is rather more difficult to pinpoint the exact origins of the sign relationship between the sound of pentatonic melodies with open fifth harmonies and "Asian" imagery, a sign relationship that appears in many Western contexts in which "Asia" is to be evoked. Despite this difference, however, these are both examples of musical sounds which have been encoded with meaning by the members of Western culture and which may be decoded by others who understand the meaning-system through which the encoding process took place. For the decoded meaning to coincide with (or even resemble) the encoded meaning, it is usually necessary for the encoding and decoding processes to take place within the same cultural group.

As individuals are acculturated into various cultural and sub-cultural groups they learn to decode the meanings that these groups have attributed to various signifiers. Cultural members become fluent in decoding messages that are received through all senses, but particularly those received visually andaurally, since they are the two most developed human senses. Individuals become adept at shifting between different meaning-systems, since although some signifiers might be similarly encoded by two different groups, this is not always the case: the same signifier may be encoded with different meanings by different groups. But despite the complexity of these decoding processes, an individual operating within groups with which he or she is familiar will successfully decode thousands of signifiers every day,
functioning within a number of complex semiotic systems in which various (and not always complementary) sign relationships circulate, and which will only exceptionally require more than a fleeting conscious effort to decode. Not surprisingly, individuals may barely be aware that they are surrounded by many thousands of signifiers, and even less aware that they are constantly involved in processes of encoding and decoding: that is, adopting signifiers for the purposes of communication, and interpreting those adopted by others. Because of the subconscious nature of many of these encoding and decoding processes, signifiers may acquire the effect of "being" the signified rather than representing it because of the efficiency with which sign relationships are decoded.

However, it becomes clear when sign relationships from different cultures are compared that a signifier's encoded meaning is far from "natural" or inherent to the signifier. If this was the case, then "culture" as it is described in the previous chapter could not exist. If there was only one system of meaning shared by all individuals, then distinctions between collective Self and Other could not be made. Individuals who share similar identities, in that they belong to several of the same groups, might decode a signifier in ways that yield similar results. This is the case whether the signifier in question is linguistic, visual, or musical (Tarasti, 2002, p. 6). However, even between two individuals who share many aspects of their cultural identities, the result of decoding a signifier will differ to some extent, since no two individuals will share an identity absolutely.

The extent to which sign relationships may be said to exist between musical signifiers and non-musical signifieds has been the focus of many studies. At one extreme is the denial of the existence of any signification outside of the musical work itself. This view does not deny the aesthetic value of music, but does deny any significance to musical sounds other than the role they play within a given work. However, others have argued that

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3 For summaries of the history of musical semiotics and outlines of the main arguments, see Tarasti, 2002, pp. 27-64; Monelle, 1992.
such strong relationships can exist between a musical signifier and a non-musical signified that they may be "translated" into linguistic signs. For example, Deryck Cooke (1959) produced a lexicon of musical signifiers such as intervals and short motives, and provided linguistic signifiers for which these musical signifiers may be considered equivalents. Thus Cooke portrays the parity between musical and linguistic signs as complete: different in nature, perhaps, but equivalent in the signifiers' ability to communicate the signifieds in question. Others, such as Nercessian, consider that the problem of music's ability to signify lies in the distance between music and meaning, rather than in the presence or absence of signification (Nercessian, 2002, p. 79).

A further aspect that has been debated is whether the meaning of a musical sign is inherent in the sound or sounds themselves or whether it is arbitrary and learned in a way similar to that in which we learn the meaning of linguistic signs. Claims that the basis of the tonal system may be found in the natural acoustic properties of sound, and examples of structural homologies between cultural groups and their musical systems, appear to support the view that musical meaning may be less than arbitrary. On the other hand, this argument is weakened by the existence of a number of musical sign systems\(^4\) that are alternatives to the tonal system each of which appears, to those who adopt it, to be as "natural" as the tonal system (Tarasti, 2002, p. 24). The idea that musical signifiers may be arbitrarily related to the signifieds that are decoded from them is not one that necessarily sits well with the Western desire for order and logic. For example, Claude Levi-Strauss wrote that between culture and language "there cannot be no relations at all" (Levi-Strauss, 1968, p. 79). However, just what those relations are and whether they, or equivalent relations, also exist between culture and music remains unresolved.

\(^4\) The term "sign system" here refers to a group of sign relationships that function, to those acculturated in the particular system, in such a way that they may be adopted in various permutations to convey meanings: thus a language is a linguistic sign system, since the individual signifiers (words) may be linked into larger units to convey complex meanings. This is, broadly, the focus of semiological theory.
Although the nature of musical signs continues to be debated, there are two points about musical sign relationships that are fundamental to this research, and that have been the subject of research by authors such as Kassabian (2001), Swain (1997) and Gorbman (2000). The first is that musical sounds can function as signifiers in sign relationships with a definite, if elastic, semantic range. The role that musical signs play in audio-visual media such as film, television and advertising offers evidence that this is the case. If music does not have the potential to communicate something (in other words, to form a sign relationship that may be decoded) then the presence of musical sounds in audio-visual media cannot be explained (Kassabian, 2001, p. 16). For example, a “signature tune” serves the purpose of signifying the particular programme for which it has been encoded to represent. If the encoding process was unable to be applied to musical sounds, then a signature tune could not fulfil this role. Similarly, if musical sounds could not be encoded as signifiers with meanings that are shared by members of a group then there could be no purpose for the background music that accompanies the action in television programmes, films and advertisements. Instead, it would merely be a distraction from the visual and linguistic signifiers. Clearly some degree of shared meaning, in the sense of limiting the semantic range of these signifiers, is taking place.

The second point that is fundamental to this research is that, like linguistic and visual signs, the meanings that are encoded and decoded in musical sign relationships are not universal. Not all individuals, or all groups of individuals, decode the same signifieds from the same musical signifiers; nor do all individuals or groups seek to encode with meaning the same patterns of sounds. Consequently, many different musical sign systems exist. Attempts to decode musical signifiers from unfamiliar sign systems are likely to result in confusion, as would the decoding of signs from unfamiliar linguistic systems. Fluency in a musical sign system, and even the definition

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5 For a discussion of the phrase “semantic range” in relation to music, see Swain, 1997.
of which sounds qualify as “music”, is learned, culturally specific behaviour (Rowell, 1988, p. 323).

To understand the process through which an individual becomes fluent in decoding the musical signifiers of the groups to which he or she is acculturated, theorists have considered a parallel with the learning of other decoding processes, such as language (Kassabian, 2001, p. 23). Semiotic theory posits language as one example of a sign system, in which linguistic signifiers represent non-linguistic signifieds which together form sign relationships. Saussure’s famous example of the signifier “dog” representing a four-legged canine animal illustrates this. The fundamental principle is that sign relationships come into existence not because of some inherent relationship between signifier and signified (though this may occur) but because the two are arbitrarily linked and the relationship is learned by individuals operating within a particular linguistic sign system. An individual unfamiliar with a particular linguistic system will rarely be able to decode its sign relationships, which must be explicitly shown and learned.

Young children learn to function within a linguistic sign system by observing sign relationships in action. The child observes the consistent juxtaposition of a particular signifier with a signified, and copies. Consistency is of utmost importance in this process. The signifier “mother” must always be juxtaposed with the signified of the female parent for a child to be confident that this sign relationship exists. Later, more complex sign relationships are learned: “dog” refers to all canines, whether large or small, black or brown, fierce or tame. However, the child learns to recognize which qualities must be held by an object in order for it to belong to the category represented by the signifier “dog”. In this way an individual becomes fluent in the decoding of those linguistic signs that are used within the groups to which he or she is becoming acculturated. A linguistic signifier from groups to which the individual is not acculturated, or a signifier that has not previously been encountered, might be recognized as functioning as a

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6 For a summary of Saussure’s approach, see Monelle, 1992, pp. 32-39.
linguistic signifier, but is unlikely to be decoded accurately since no appropriate meaning has been attributed to it in that individual's experience.

The way in which sign systems are usually learned means that each individual might learn to decode a particular sign relationship under very different circumstances. A child who first observes the “dog” sign relationship in the context of being attacked by a dog has a very different experience from one who first observes the same sign relationship by caring for a family pet. Both individuals have learned to decode the same sign, but might have a very different response to that sign when it is encountered in the future. This marks the distinction between denotative and connotative levels of signification, as proposed by Roland Barthes (1977).

Some connotations may be widely shared by members of a group if those individuals have experienced the sign relationship in similar circumstances. Barthes, by way of example, discusses a photograph on the cover of Paris Match of a young Black soldier in a French uniform saluting the tricolor. This simple description is a verbal representation of the denotative meaning held by the visual signifiers. However, the photograph may also be decoded on a connotative level as a representation of the greatness of the French Empire, with loyal subjects from many cultures (Storey, 1993, p. 79). Those connotations might change if the context of the picture changes. Storey notes that if the picture had appeared on the cover of Socialist Review then the connotations of the picture might instead have been of imperial exploitation and manipulation (Storey, 1993, p. 80). This illustrates the way in which connotations may be shared by members of a group (Paris Match readers) but be quite different from those of another group (Socialist Review readers) because of the different experiences associated with the sign relationships. Similarly, the sound of bagpipes in 1870 might signify to an expatriate Scotsman in New Zealand the nostalgic memory of home, but to an African it might signify the imminent arrival of the troops of an invading and occupying power.

Once fluency in using linguistic signs verbally is acquired, sequences of
signs may be encoded and decoded as units, such as phrases or sentences, without time being spent decoding each individual sign (Tarasti, 2002, pp. 12-13). This enables the efficient communication of complex ideas. The sentence “There is a big, black dog in the garden” may be decoded quickly to create a mental image of not only the dog (or one like it) but also the spatial and temporal context in which that dog appears, and even to prompt some kind of emotional response from the decoder, such as fear, joy or anger (and non-linguistic signifiers such as facial expression or voice tone may influence the response to the message). The same sentence in a somewhat known language may necessitate the decoding of some signs individually, while in a totally unknown language it is unlikely to be decoded at all. But in a sign system that is familiar it may be possible to decode several signs in sequence (even with grammatical or syntactical errors, which may be corrected mentally) on both denotative and connotative levels almost instantaneously and with little apparent effort.

In contemporary culture, an individual’s exposure to music often begins at the same time as exposure to language (Swain, 1997, p. 44). The ability to decode musical signs is acquired in much the same way as is the ability to decode linguistic signs, and “[m]embership in a community requires learning its musical language in some sense” (Swain, 1997, p. 162; see also Stokes, 1994b). When musical signs are observed they are often juxtaposed with specific non-musical signifieds, creating sign relationships. For example, it is learned that a musical signifier represents a particular television programme, creating the expectation that the two will appear together in the future.

Musical sounds may be denoted by the use of linguistic signifiers, and a particular combination of sounds may be denoted by the linguistic signifier that is the “title” of the piece (Small, 1998, p. 112). Once again, the expectation is that the relationship between the linguistic signifier and the musical signified will be continued. Changes to either the signifier or the signified may lead to a breakdown of the sign relationship. By way of example,
Gorbman describes the necessary consistency in the use of musical signifiers to represent Native Americans in film: "[w]here the Indian music to stray from the well-established conventions, it would not be doing its job" (Gorbman, 2000, p. 238). Consistency in sign relationships involving either musical signifiers or musical signifieds is crucial to the operation of the musical sign system, as is the case with any sign system.

When an individual hears a musical sound, he or she will attempt to place it within a sign relationship according to past experiences of similar musical sign relationships (Motycka, 1989, p. 182). If the sign has been observed before, he or she might recall and decode the musical sign by applying a linguistic signifier to it ("naming" the piece of music) or by identifying a non-musical signified (describing what the piece "means", or what it is "like"). However, it is also possible that the individual has had no prior experience of this particular musical sign. The experience of observing a new musical sign is (at least for adults) a more common occurrence than observing a new linguistic sign, but certain similarities between decoding linguistic and musical signs may be observed. It is usually possible to identify newly-encountered linguistic signs as either belonging to the overall linguistic system in which one is fluent (language of the Self culture) or as belonging to some other (possibly identified) linguistic system (the language of an Other culture). Such identification takes place on the grounds that the new signifier is similar to other signifiers that are recognized as either Self or Other. The root word or verb might be recognized, along with a prefix or suffix that has also been decoded in other contexts. Thus the new sign is an elaboration or variation on a known sign. Alternatively, the new sign might occur in a context of familiar signs that enables it to be decoded, or similarities with familiar signs from Other sign systems might be noted, indicating that the new signifier is also Other. A new sign may therefore very well be decoded on a first encounter.

The identification of a new signifier as belonging to the language of a Self group may also take place through recognition of familiar shapes or
patterns of phonemes. A written word might be pronounced or a spoken word notated according to the conventions of the system without much difficulty, because of the presence of sound shapes and patterns recognized as belonging to the Self language. But although it is identified as belonging to the individual's "own" language, it cannot be decoded until the sign is observed in context. A musical parallel might be the experience of a new musical signifier that consists of a series of tonally related chords with a regular rhythm, played on a piano and ending with a perfect cadence. The constituent parts of this signifier, and the shapes and patterns from which it is constructed, are all known and allow an individual from a background of Western music to identify it as being part of the "music of Self". Until it is observed in juxtaposition with a non-musical signified (such as a television programme) or until a linguistic signifier is applied to it (given a name) denotative meaning is unlikely to be decoded from the piece. However, while a denotative meaning may not be derived, there may be a powerful connotative meaning which renders redundant (at least temporarily) any need for denotative meaning.

When an individual encounters a new linguistic signifier, and identifies it as belonging to the Self culture, the next step is to determine its meaning. Several techniques may be used. The context (linguistic or other) may enable a quick decoding to take place. The new signifier may be identified as being closely similar to other signs whose meanings are known. The signifier may be left undecoded until further information emerges about it - on a second appearance or through the means of asking questions. Once decoding has been successfully achieved, future decoding is likely to be as effortless as the decoding of any known linguistic sign.

Similar processes occur when a new musical sign is encountered. The individual will draw on past experiences of musical signs, attempt to categorize the new sign according to these past experiences, and decode it according to the meanings decoded from other signs in these categories (Swain, 1997, p. 170; Meintjes, 1990, p. 49). The context may allow it to be
decoded, or it may remain undecoded pending further information.

It is learned from early on during the acculturation process that there are specific pieces of music, particular kinds of music, and broader categories of musical sound. This is similar to the way in which a child learns that there are specific dogs with their own names, particular breeds of dog, and a broader category 'dog' which includes all of these but which excludes all cats. Thus there may be a particular nursery rhyme, but there is also a category "nursery rhymes", which includes all examples of nursery rhymes but excludes "rock songs". These learned categories become encoded with meaning if they are consistently juxtaposed with particular ideas. It is possible to decode "nursery rhymes" (innocence, childhood, simplicity) without reference to any particular nursery rhyme. It may be assumed that any particular example of a nursery rhyme will be decoded with the meanings of the category "nursery rhymes" as well as the particular meanings (if any) with which that particular example has been encoded. Thus it may be possible to consider particular examples of nursery rhymes as interchangeable with one another if it is intended only that the meanings of the category "nursery rhymes" are to be decoded. However, the encoder cannot determine that these will be the only meanings that an individual decodes, since it is not possible to know the additional, individual meanings with which any particular nursery rhyme has been encoded in the listener's past experiences.

The process of decoding a new musical sign may be represented by a model of interlocking circles. Depending on the individual's level of experience with musical signs, and particularly with musical signs that in some respects resemble the new sign that is to be decoded, a greater or lesser number of circles may be included in the model. Each circle represents a category of music (such as "nursery rhymes"), to which particular examples of musical signs will be assigned according to the presence or absence of certain recognized features of the music. The new musical sound will be compared with the many categories that the decoder has previously
experienced. Because each individual's experiences are different, the
categories in which an individual may place the new sign will differ in some
respects. Once again, the closer two individuals' identities are, the more
similar their experiences, the more categories they will identify in common,
and the closer the eventual model for the new musical sign.

As an example, two individuals hear, for the first time, an adagio
movement in G minor from a trio sonata by Bach, scored for flute, violin and
a continuo of harpsichord and cello. Both individuals are fluent with musical
signs as they are used in contemporary Western culture; however, individual
A has relatively less formal "knowledge" of music, having only studied music
as a child, compared with individual B who has studied such music at length,
being a violinist with an interest in Baroque chamber music. Both would be
likely to categorize the piece immediately as belonging to the overall "Self"
category, rather than "Other", owing to the nature of their recognition of the
musical sign system that is used.7 Both might identify it as art music, then
add a circle for "old art music". Further "circles" that both individuals might
include when categorizing the piece include slow; minor key; instrumental;
perhaps "music with harpsichord" (which individual B might label
"Baroque"); and "few instruments" (which individual B might label "chamber
music") (see Figure 1). The linguistic signifier that is attached to describe the
sound is not important; rather, it is the recognition that the musical feature
referred to forms a meaningful category that is important.

Individual B might add many more circles to this model, such as
composed by Bach; a late work by Bach; secular; melodic motive of prominent
rising minor sixth; frequent use of subdominant harmonies; contains difficult
violin passages; and so on. Some of the categories that individual B includes
might also be recognized aurally by individual A, and might also contribute
to the meaning decoded from the work, even if a precise verbalization of that
characteristic is not made. Individual B's greater knowledge of music allows

7 The classification of Western "classical" music as part of the Self is discussed in more depth in
Chapter Four.
the definition of further meaningful categories in linguistic terms. Although individual A cannot define their meanings, these categories still carry meanings and contribute to the decoding process.

Figure 1: Decoding a musical signifier

Each of the categories into which a piece of music fits exists in the individual’s mind because signs that fit those categories have previously been
experienced. Certain connotations for that category are likely to exist because similar musical signs have been observed in particular contexts. Thus, while two individuals might identify a common meaningful category it cannot be assumed that their reactions to it will be the same. While some connotations may be shared by several individuals, or even by whole groups owing to a common contextual experience, other connotations will be purely individual and might seem at odds with the general consensus of the group.

For example, a song that is usually categorized as (among other things) fast, major, steady tempo, and with joyful lyrics might be decoded as (among other things) “a happy song” by most who decode it. However, if an individual experienced that particular song in the context of an upsetting event or period in his or her life then he or she might respond to it quite differently, while probably remaining aware of the more common decoding of the song.

Another characteristic of attributing meaning to music and placing it in categories is that it is often difficult to describe the process verbally. As is the case with linguistic signs, musical signs are usually decoded as units rather than as individual constituents. Thus while it is possible to slow down this process and spend time considering and describing the constituent musical parts (such as rhythm or texture), and while some focused, analytical listening may involve this process, music is usually decoded as whole units of signification. The speed at which the decoding takes place, and the way in which whole units may be decoded simultaneously, means that verbal representation of the process is more difficult.

Similarly, some of the meaningful categories into which a musical sign is placed may be difficult to describe verbally. The challenges of describing musical qualities in words have long been acknowledged (see Monelle, 1992, pp. 1-13). For example, certain musical sounds might evoke a particular emotion in a listener, for reasons of which he or she is unaware, and this emotional response itself might form a category that carries meaning. This category might be one recognized by other listeners, or it might be individual;
however, the inability to verbalize exactly on what grounds the categorization is made might prevent the comparison of different individuals’ experiences. Some theorists, including Turino (1999), have sought to formulate systems of classification into which various types of sign relationship might be placed according to the relationship between the signifier and the signified, and between the sign itself and the listeners. Turino adopts Peircian semiotic theories and applies categories of linguistic signs to musical experiences in order to explain how musical sounds are meaningful in different ways. However, the non-verbal nature of musical signs is a recurring problem for those who attempt to account for all possible ways in which musical sounds may be meaningful.

This elusive property of music is often the focus in discussions of musical meaning, but also of relevance are the units of signification that can (to greater or lesser accuracy) be verbalized, and which do appear to have been encoded with certain meanings in contemporary Western culture: meanings that do appear to be shared, within the limits of a definite but elastic semantic range, by individuals of many sub-groups within Western culture. Such units of signification include particular works, or timbres, or even whole genres or styles. It is this aspect of musical signification that is the focus of this research, rather than the all-encompassing theoretical approaches of writers such as Turino. This discussion therefore now turns to a consideration of some of the ways in which such sign relationships are formed in contemporary Western cultures, building a framework to draw upon when musical sign relationships identified by listeners are discussed in Chapters Five and Seven.

One of the contexts in contemporary Western culture in which musical sign relationships frequently appear is film. Films establish new relationships between musical signifiers and non-musical (for example, visual or emotional) signifieds, and perpetuate sign relationships that have been established in other contexts such as Western “classical” compositions, literature, or music discourse. But film, with its inherent juxtaposition of
visual and aural signifiers, holds particular power in encoding musical sounds with meanings. Music's precise role in film may vary (see Kassabian, 2001). However, its usual function is to support the visual images and dramatic action, while attracting as little of the audience's attention as possible. This implies that the adopted musical signs must be so well-known to the audience that little or no conscious effort is required to decode the signs. Musical signifiers that appear in film therefore provide a good model for the way in which they operate as part of sign relationships in other contexts in contemporary Western culture. As Kassabian states, films "exist for perceivers within a web of intertextuality that includes experiences of sound, music and visuals that begins long before a specific film experience and continues long thereafter" (Kassabian, 2001, p. 49). Thus the relationships between musical signifiers and non-musical signifieds that appear in film contexts are interrelated with those that appear in non-film contexts, such as musical recordings.

Although they are important sources of information regarding the attribution of meaning to music, films and television programmes are of course not the only contexts in which music is heard in contemporary Western cultures. Live performances, radio broadcasts, recordings and advertisements are other contexts in which music plays an important role. In these contexts the support of visual images or dramatic texts might not be the main purpose of the music, but there are juxtapositions between musical and non-musical signs. In advertising the uses of music vary, but include attracting attention, implicitly or explicitly carrying the advertiser's message, creating emotional states or acting as a mnemonic cue (North and Hargreaves, 1997, p. 268). Whichever role music plays in a given advertisement, there is usually a primary intention on the part of the advertiser to create a link between the musical signifier and the product, achieved by repeated juxtaposition. The choice of or creation of a piece of music to juxtapose with a given product will be influenced by the connotations of the various meaningful categories of music that already circulate within the culture. One
example is the common association of eighteenth-century Western “classical” music with products marketed as “quality” or “exclusive”.

Live performances, radio broadcasts, recorded music and other contexts in which music is the primary purpose of activity might appear to contribute little to the attribution of meaning to categories of music according to the proposed model. However, in these media various images converge to create contexts in which particular categories of music appear and with which they become associated. Christopher Small discusses at length the combination of images and behaviours which combine to create the context of a symphony orchestra concert (Small, 1998), while Nettl (1995) notes some of the many differences in imagery and behaviour at concerts of music from various categories, including “classical”, jazz, rock and traditional musics. Similarly, radio stations tend to specialize in the broadcast of music of a particular category or set of related categories, pairing these musical categories with certain linguistic signifiers, styles of advertising and presenter behaviour.

Recorded music perhaps has the most flexibility over the context in which it is decoded since the musical images, once purchased, may be placed in a variety of contexts by the purchaser. However, recorded music is a marketed product like any other. Through that marketing process many visual and other images become associated with the musical sound, and these influence the consumer's decision to purchase and may also influence the context in which it is consumed after it is purchased. The album cover is an important source of information about the musical content of the product (Meintjes, 1990, p. 41) and also provides visual images to be associated with the musical signifiers. These contexts therefore play an important role in the circulation of ideas about the meaning of various categories of music in contemporary Western culture.

Although the experience of decoding musical signs in context is perhaps one of the most powerful means of participating in a shared system of musical meaning, there are other contexts in which musical meanings may
be shared. Particular categories of music have their own forms and traditions of musical discourse which share in attributing meaning, including academic literature, reviews, programme notes and fan magazines. While musical discourse might not involve the use of audible musical signifiers, the musical categories around which the discourse revolves are juxtaposed with visual and linguistic signifiers. The way ideas about music are presented may have an important impact on how these ideas are decoded, which will consequently affect the connotations of the music itself. This may be particularly noticeable in the discourse surrounding the music of various youth subcultures. Linguistic signifiers used by members of a group, such as slang or colloquialisms, will appear in fan magazines and advertising to indicate the group for which this music is intended.

Meaning is therefore attributed to various categories of music, which may be defined by combinations of features such as the music's tempo, mode, instrumentation, vintage, genre, and culture of origin. These categories are made "meaningful" by the consistent juxtaposition of musical and non-musical signs. Musical sign systems may therefore be considered as interdependent with visual and linguistic sign systems. Because musical signs are always decoded within a context in which other signs are simultaneously decoded, the interdependence of systems means that each may complement and support the attribution of meaning to the other. This may lead to the connotations of one sign (such as a visual sign) influencing the way in which another (such as a musical sign) is decoded. Thus the connotations of a visual sign can and often will confirm and strengthen existing connotations carried by a musical sign.

Musical sign systems of Self and Other

Musical signifiers will operate successfully in support of other sign systems, such as the visual and dramatic dimensions of film, only when those
who encode and decode the signs are fluent in the system and share the same cultural background; that is, when the sign-system – whether it is musical, linguistic or visual - belongs to a Self culture.

If it is possible to identify musical sign systems belonging to a Self culture, then it must follow that musical sign systems that are Other also exist. These are sign systems in which individuals of the Self culture are not fluent. That is, as with linguistic signs from Other languages, musical sounds from Other sign systems are identified as functioning as signifiers in the Other system, but are not decoded by those of the Self culture. At times, musical sounds from Other sign systems might not be decoded by those of the Self culture as meaningful in any way. Since the meaning system from which it originates is unknown, the meaning with which it was encoded within that system is also unknown. The inability to find meaning in a musical signifier from an unknown system may result in an assumption that the sign has not been encoded with any meaning, and therefore that there is no meaning to be decoded (Nercessian, 2002, p. 80). Musical signifiers from Other sign systems may be described as meaningless, or having no logical order. A member of the Self culture, having heard the sound and having attempted to place it within categories of prior experience, is unable to locate suitable categories, and hence the sound appears to be nonsensical. If the Self culture considers that “music” should be meaningful and logically constructed, then the sounds of Other sign systems may be dismissed as “not music” or “unmusical”.

However, because the rejection of a behaviour, attitude or product as Other does not remove the experience of it from the individual’s consciousness, there may be an awareness that alternatives exist to behaviours and attitudes accepted as Self. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter One, Selfness and Otherness are relative, rather than absolute categories. It may be argued that consciousness of Other alternatives is particularly high in contemporary Western culture, which has access to Other cultures through technological advances in communications, broadcasting and transportation.

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8 This issue is the focus of Chapter Six, in which a continuum model of Self-Other identity is proposed.
Musical signifiers from Other sign systems are also adopted in contemporary Western contexts, including musical recordings, live performance, advertising television and film (Tarasti, 2002, p. 3; Taylor, 2000). In order to understand the role that musical sounds from Other sign systems may play in contemporary Western culture, it is necessary to consider in more detail the process of experiencing and decoding a musical signifier.

Experiences of musical signs are not identical. An individual will encounter many musical signifiers during his or her lifetime, and will play various listening roles in those musical encounters. As Kassabian states, "[d]ifferent musics are meant to be listened to differently, and they engage listeners differently" (Kassabian, 2001, p. 8). Different listening roles call for different approaches to the decoding process. Adorno (1978) posits that acts of listening may be categorized according to the way in which a listener interacts with a piece of music. Listening may be either "adequate" or "regressive", with the latter increasingly common in the twentieth century because of the "machinery of distribution" and music's role in advertising (Adorno, 1978, p. 287). In suggesting these categorizations, Adorno makes judgements about the relative value of the different kinds of listening he describes. Adequate listening is the ideal, while regressive listening is symptomatic of "popular" musical trends which contain formulaic structures and repetitive content that remove the need for active listening. By placing listeners into these categories, Adorno implies that they may be characterized as displaying relatively fixed listening styles, rather than alternating between particular listening styles in explicit contexts and musics. His theory also fails to account for the way in which listening to music "regressively" can nonetheless involve the decoding of meanings from the musical signifiers.

Despite its shortcomings, Adorno's understanding of different approaches to listening can lead to consideration of these processes in greater depth, hence their inclusion in this study. Rather than categorizing listeners, it may be more useful to distinguish between different types of decoding
processes. Perhaps some listeners are most likely to engage in a particular listening style; however, most listeners engage in a range of different listening acts which vary according to the music and the context in question. Musical signifiers play different roles in different contexts, calling for different types of decoding processes which may be considered without devaluing some listening acts in favour of others. The type of listening that an individual engages in is at least partially determined by the context and by the role of the musical signifier.

Listening acts may first be arranged along a continuum depending on the extent to which the listener chooses to engage with the signifier. Musical experiences that are actively sought by the listener may be categorized as one type of experience, while music that is not chosen by the listener may be placed at the other end of the continuum. Thus the listening act may usefully be considered not in terms of the "effort" an individual puts into the decoding process, but in terms of the degree to which the individual actively chooses to hear the music.

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Not chosen                  Chosen
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Figure 2: Continuum of choice in musical experiences

The degree of choice must be considered as a continuum rather than a dichotomy between "chosen" and "not chosen". An experience in which an individual chooses to listen in a focused way to a recording from his or her collection, within his or her own environment, would be placed at the "chosen" end of the continuum. Another experience, of hearing from within his or her own environment music played at high volume from a passing car,
would be placed at the "not chosen" end of the continuum. Many listening acts would fall between these two extremes. Choosing to inhabit a particular environment might bring with it experiences of particular musical signifiers that the listener engages with on the basis of his or her presence in that context. An individual might choose to attend a live performance in order to hear one of the works to be performed, but might not have chosen to hear the other works; or might choose to play a recording in his or her own environment, but then leave the room intermittently; or might choose to watch a particular film and in the process hear several pieces of music that were unexpected and which did not contribute to the decision to watch the film.

Distinctions between "chosen" and "not chosen" musical experiences do not equate with Adorno's "adequate" and "regressive" listening respectively. If adequate listening means paying attention to the musical sounds without engaging in other activities simultaneously, and regressive listening implies treating musical signifiers as accompaniment to other activities, then both "chosen" and "not chosen" musics may each involve "adequate" and "regressive" listening techniques. It is possible to choose to play a recording and then to engage simultaneously in activities other than listening, and equally it is possible to encounter unintentionally a musical performance and cease other activities in order to focus attention on it.

Furthermore, the use of the term "regressive" may imply that, if little attention is paid, then the decoding process is inhibited to the extent that the listener gains no meaning from the musical sounds. While such listening acts might not always result in the listener decoding the kind of aesthetic meaning that Adorno considered to be the only valuable meaning that music could carry, it does not result in no meaning being decoded at all. Decoding occurs whether or not attention appears to be focused on the music. The process of hearing automatically involves processing sounds and categorizing them, as discussed in the first part of this chapter, even if some sounds are then given less or no attention. Musical signifiers in film and television (contexts in
which the listener is almost inevitably engaged in activities other than focusing on the musical signifiers) are still capable of carrying meanings. Indeed, listening acts in which the listener is scarcely aware of the musical signifiers may carry very intense meanings that, because of the subconscious nature of the decoding processes, are even more important in terms of establishing connotations (Gorbman, 1987). The significance of such musical experiences will become apparent when listeners' responses to de Courson's albums and the musics they contain are discussed later in this thesis.

Also inherent in the process of decoding musical signifiers, and important in both "chosen" and "not chosen" encounters, is the listener's reaction, which may include placement of the musical sound on many continua, or within many groups and sub-groups. The listener's placement of musical sounds on "familiar-unfamiliar" and "Self-Other" continua are closely related. Music that is on the "Self" end of the continuum is likely to be very familiar in terms of many of the musical elements used, such as pitch and rhythmic organization, instrumentation and structure. Music that is Other may be relatively unfamiliar in these respects. A listener who identifies a musical sound as Other will perhaps be unable to identify instruments and structures that contribute to the musical sound.

However, this kind of familiarity with the signifier is perhaps better considered on a "knowledge-no knowledge" continuum. This is perhaps more likely to be closely aligned with the "Self-Other" continuum than the "familiar-unfamiliar" continuum, since musical sounds that are Other, and of which a listener has no technical understanding, may still be familiar to the listener in the sense that they have been previously experienced. This familiarity with the Other is one result of what has been described as the formation of "contact zones": the "spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect" (Barker, Hulme and Iverson, 1994a, p. 6). Contact zones therefore contribute to the familiarity of the Other, and of the Other's music, even though the nature of the contact that takes place may not
lead to the acquisition of technical understanding of the Other music. On the other hand, it is also possible that sounds that are recognized as expressive of the Self culture are those for which relatively little knowledge is held, whereas those that are relatively unfamiliar and Other become, through study, subjects for which a great deal of technical knowledge is acquired. “Familiarity” and “knowledge” may therefore be considered as two separate factors, operating in different ways in the process of decoding a musical experience.

![Diagram showing Familiarity and Knowledge](image)

**Figure 3: Factors influencing the decoding process**

It is therefore possible for musical sounds to be familiar even when placed on the Other end of the “Self-Other” continuum. These sounds may be experienced in a variety of contact zones, including film and television in which the signifiers may increase both familiarity and Otherness simultaneously. If a particular musical signifier, such as the timbre of a *djembe* (West African hand-drum), appears frequently in films readily accessible to a Western audience it is likely to become increasingly familiar. However, if the signifier consistently appears alongside visual, textual and other aural signifiers that represent Africa, which is in turn consistently represented as
the Other through connotations reinforcing Africa's "difference", then the musical signifiers are likely to become "familiar as Other". Increased familiarity therefore does not necessarily equate to becoming Self. Indeed, Neyrinck discusses the use of "ethnic" music in film for the purpose of creating a conceptual distance from Self (Neyrinck, 2001, p. 1), while Gorbman posits that music in film can "inflect the nature and degree of Otherness" (Gorbman, 2000, p. 234).

Similarly, it is possible for musical signifiers that are placed on the Self end of the "Self-Other" continuum to be, in some respects, unfamiliar. While it is unlikely that a musical signifier will be identified as Self if all or even most elements are unfamiliar, it is possible to hear a particular piece of music for the first time and to identify it as both Self and unfamiliar simultaneously. This would rely on the listener's recognition of meaningful categories to which the signifier belongs as familiar and typical of Self, while also recognizing that the actual example heard is unfamiliar (Nercessian, 2002, p. 121). As Nercessian states, "neither familiarity nor knowledge of the music in question is central to a meaningful perception of a piece of music" (Nercessian, 2002, p. 13). For example, a listener from Western culture may be familiar with Western "classical" music of the central repertory and might identify this largely as Self music. If this listener hears Bach's St John Passion for the first time, she is likely to identify the work as unfamiliar yet belonging to the Self culture, while the style or genre might be identified as familiar and Self. On subsequent encounters with this work, it is likely to be identified as both familiar and Self.

These are by no means the only elements in the process of understanding a musical experience: other aspects, such as the context in which the signifier appears and the listener's personal preference will also play an important role. However, a listener's reaction to a piece of music occurs largely on the basis of previous experiences of similar musics and is fundamental to the decoding process. A listener's ability to decode meaning from a signifier is dependent on meaning having been established and
confirmed in contexts experienced previously. A musical signifier that is completely unfamiliar, containing no elements that have been experienced before, is unlikely to be decoded as carrying meaning since there has been no opportunity for meaning to become associated with it in the listener's mind.

Musics that are identified as being Other cannot be assumed each to carry identical meanings. It is possible that, because of a common identification of signifiers as "Other", some aspects of their encoded meanings are shared. However, if they are at all familiar, significant differences will also exist. This will become apparent in the discussion in Chapter Three of African and Arab musical signifiers as two examples of musics that are Other to a Western audience. The musical signifiers that represent these two Other cultures are different in several respects, and, while they share some aspects of the encoded meanings such as connotations of fear, very different images have been associated with these two different musics. Similarly, those musics that are identified as belonging to the Self culture may also be encoded with meanings that are similar in some respects and different in others. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

Because of these differences, it is not possible to establish with any certainty what will be the response of any given listener to music that is simply identified as being either Self or Other. A listener's response to African music might be quite different from his or her response to Middle Eastern music, even though both are identified as Other. Therefore, particular musical sounds that are associated with particular images result in particular responses from listeners. Even though trends may be identified in responses to musics that are Other compared with musics that are Self, there is still likely to be variation within the responses to musics within these groups.

In light of the above discussion of musical signification, musical behaviours are therefore worthy of consideration alongside other expressions of ideologies when discussing group identity. Musics may be used to express identity with a Self group, and to identify Other groups. Operating in this
way, musical sounds act as signifiers that are categorized and decoded by an individual according to the conventions of the groups to which she belongs. These decoding processes are therefore inherently linked to group identity. Thus the constituent musical signifiers in Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt may be considered as potentially meaningful to listeners in the target audience. In the two chapters that follow, these musical signifiers are discussed as links in chains of signification, to be decoded by listeners according to the conventions of the Self culture.
Chapter Three: Musical signification of the Other

In Chapter One, the concepts of Self and Other in relation to cultural identity were discussed and shown to be of crucial importance in the formation and expression of Self identity in modern Western societies. In Chapter Two, Self and Other as concepts were related to systems of signification, including musical sign systems. It was established that musical sounds can and do function in sign relationships, and that these relationships enable groups to use music to signify Self and Other groups. Having established this theoretical framework, the following two chapters consider the specific instances of such musical signification that occur in *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. It was established in the Introduction that the target audience consists of Western listeners with more knowledge of “classical” music and its resources than of African and Middle Eastern musics. Furthermore, de Courson’s comments (also cited in the Introduction) regarding the differing responses that he expected this audience to have toward the “classical” music and the African and Middle Eastern musics because of the different levels of familiarity suggests that the ways in which these musics have traditionally been represented to the target audience also differs. These representations are the focus of these two chapters, with the current chapter focusing on Western representations of African and Middle Eastern musics, and Chapter Four focusing on representations of “classical” music.

The West has represented and responded to African and Middle Eastern Other cultures in various ways, and musical signifiers have played a role in these processes. In order to understand the responses that listeners offered toward the African and Middle Eastern musics on de Courson’s albums, it is necessary to consider the ways in which these musics and cultures have been
encoded with particular meanings within Western cultural contexts, many of which the listeners surveyed acknowledged as having been influential. Several sources of representation are included in the following survey, including literature, recorded music and film. Film is particularly useful because in it the juxtaposition of musical signifiers and non-musical signifieds plays a crucial role and, as established in the previous chapter, these sign relationships influence and are influenced by non-film contexts. All participants in the research interviews confirmed this and indicated that film sources particularly influenced their understanding of (or decoding of) the African and Middle Eastern musics that they heard on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt. Consequently, film sources are the primary focus of this discussion.

Western-produced films set in Africa and the Middle East are too numerous to be listed here. Keith Cameron in his 1994 study Africa On Film: Beyond Black and White includes an extensive list of those set in sub-Saharan Africa, while Jack Shaheen in Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People (2001) reviews those featuring representations of Arab cultures. In the course of this research, representative films from the genres of comedy, drama, action and children’s films were viewed. Films that feature well-known actors and directors, or which for some other reason achieved wide recognition, were given preference as examples. A comprehensive and detailed investigation of the music included in these films is an area of study that remains as yet unattempted, and it is beyond the scope of this research. Some areas for further research in the role that music plays in cultural representation through film are suggested in the Conclusion.

Like most examples of Self-Other interaction, Western culture’s interaction with Africa has displayed many ambiguities. Representations of Africa as a place of primitivism, savagery and barbarism have appeared alongside images of Africa as a place of respite from the harshness of the Western world and as a place for Westerners to experience a close relationship with nature that is unattainable elsewhere. In the following discussion Western representations of Africa, African people and African
behaviours (including musical behaviours) will be discussed in relation to the presence of musical signifiers in these representations.

It is possible to form a model of the way in which musical signifiers are used not only to represent "Africa", but also to refer to the connotations of "Africa" that predominate in Western cultures. The musical signifiers form a link in a chain of signification centred on the Western idea of "Africa".

![Diagram of chain of musical signification]

**Figure 4: Chain of musical signification**

Because of the power of musical signifiers to evoke connotations, they may evoke both the primary and the secondary levels of signification almost simultaneously. The following discussion will begin by establishing which musical sounds have come to act as signifiers for "Africa" in contemporary Western cultures. Then, the connotations of "Africa" that form the secondary level of signification in this model will be considered. The effect of these connotations on the encoding and decoding of musical signifiers for Africa will be discussed, as will the extent to which the primary level of signification has been overshadowed by the power of musical signifiers to connote
secondary signifieds. Because contemporary Western ideas about Africa as an Other were shaped within the context of imperialism and colonialism, some historical material is included in this discussion with the purpose of emphasizing this relationship.

Musical signification of "Africa"

"Tarzan, jungle. Jungle, drums. Drums is me, you know?" (Phil Collins (rock drummer) on composing the soundtrack to Disney's Tarzan, quoted in Burlingame, 1999)

The model of Self identity discussed in Chapter One established that the sense of Self is perceived as complex and fluctuating. When the Other is characterized, the benefit of the "inside knowledge" of the complexity of the culture is missing. Once an individual or a group is rejected as Other there may be little incentive to examine the internal complexities of the rejected party's behaviour or attitudes. An understanding of the Self is based on an acculturated viewpoint, in which the behaviours and practices of a group are assessed according to the ideology of which they are an expression. An understanding of the Other is characterized by the potential for misunderstanding that results from interpreting behaviours and practices according to a different ideology, and is likely to result in the rejection of the behaviours and practices as uniformly Other rather than in attempts to separate one form of Other behaviour from another. This is not to say that the Other prompts no reaction or emotional response, but simply that variations within the Other are often not considered to be important.

The Western Self's understanding of the African Other has frequently been characterized by such an undifferentiated interpretation. The African continent is large, many times the size of Europe. Its geography and climate are diverse, as are its agriculture and trade, and Africa contains many different nations as well as many different self-identifying ethnic groups. These groups
may or may not relate to national boundaries within the African continent. Because they were drawn by European colonial powers who themselves had an understanding of Africa as Other rather than as Self, national borders were and still are often unrelated to cultural groupings identifiable from the African viewpoint. Like most nations, African nations are likely both to contain cultural diversity and to maintain unity in some respects, while exhibiting differences from other nations on the continent. Africa is, therefore, anything but culturally homogeneous.

Western signifiers for "Africa" rarely distinguish between the various national and ethnic groups in existence. It is more common for one African culture, or a feature of one particular culture, to be adopted as a signifier for "Africa" as a whole. Cameron notes that, in early Western film representations, the Swahili language and aspects of Zulu culture were used to signify all Africans (Cameron, 1994, p. 12). The employment of a signifier to refer to the signified "Africa" remains common in contemporary Western culture. Giddings describes the use of a geometric woodcut style for the credits of The Lion King, which "has served as a generic signifier of Africanness in recent advertising" (Giddings, 1999, p. 84).

There is, however, one distinction within Africa that Western culture has consistently represented as important: the difference between sub-Saharan and Northern Africa. That this distinction is made will become evident in the ensuing discussion of the representations of these two groups, including the selection of different musical signifiers for their representation in the West. The two groups are so clearly demarcated in Western representations that the linguistic signifier "Africa" is often used to refer to the signified "sub-Saharan Africa" and its cultures, excluding those such as Egypt and Morocco, which are more often included in Western representations of "Arab" or "Middle-Eastern" groups.9

9 It must be noted here that the terms "Arab" and "Middle Eastern", while often used interchangeably in Western culture, are not adopted as Self-identifying labels by the same groups of people. Thus while the two are often used interchangeably in this study, this is a reflection of the Western adoption of the signifiers to describe an undifferentiated Other in
Contact with the Other is, by definition, limited in nature and extent. First-hand contact with the Other in the Other's territory may take place in the case of tourism, but a tourist's experience is unlikely to lead to acculturation of the Self into the ideology of the Other and such experiences may be insufficient to challenge established beliefs about the Other. Audio-visual representations of the Other that circulate within contemporary Western culture provide Western visitors to Africa with many mediated experiences of the behaviours, practices and products of the African Other and these are likely to have been accepted as expressions of "African culture". A visit to Africa might not provide sufficient motivation to challenge and reject or reform these existing beliefs, which have been reinforced by many years of exposure to Self-produced images of the African Other. On the contrary, the first-hand experiences of Africa might be rejected in favour of these established images.

Furthermore, tourism may lead to pressure being placed on locals to confirm the tourists' established views by wearing "native" dress or producing art for the tourist market. Eco refers to this phenomenon as a "hyperreality", with images and representations becoming more real and more potent than reality itself (Eco, 1986a). The experiences of Carlotta Hacker, a Canadian filmmaker who traveled extensively through Africa, illustrate this expectation. When describing the people of Mwadui in Tanzania, Hacker states, "[i]n this Utopian settlement, I . . . missed the idealism and zealouousness of the Africans. Those that we met didn't really behave like Tanzanians" (Hacker, 1974, p. 108). Similarly, the people of Serowe, Botswana, "weren't dressed in missionary muslin, but they weren't really dressed as Africans either" (Hacker, 1974, p. 145). Thus Hacker's preconceived image of what is "African" was so strong that the reality was rejected as inaccurate.

the contexts in question, rather than an assertion that these terms actually refer to an undifferentiated cultural group.

10 If this is not the case, then the Other becomes part of the Self: while this can and does occur, the process of broadening the Self to include the Other-as-Self is a different process from experiencing the Other-as-Other, and will not be considered here in detail.
Hacker's experiences with many cultural groups in Africa did lead her to acknowledge a degree of difference between these groups: her experience with the Other enabled her to insert some subgroups into her model of identity for the African Other. However, this model remained limited in comparison with the complex identity models that may be constructed to represent the Self. Hacker continued to expect homogeneity between individuals within the African groups that she identified. When traveling through Liberia, Hacker compares former work-mates in Ghana with strangers in Liberia:

I don't see why you expect Liberia to be so difficult. . . . After all, the people are from much the same tribes as your Ghanaian friends. In fact some of them are from the same tribes. Surely they'll be just as hospitable. (Hacker, 1974, p. 191; emphasis in original)

Similarly, Hacker compares the people of Abidjan on the Ivory Coast with other West African people:

I saw that these people were just as West African as any others in spite of their Frenchness. . . . The Frenchness here simply gave the people an additional charm, an additional chic . . . (Hacker, 1974, p. 243)

Representations of Africa as a homogeneous unit have not only appeared in Western sources. African people have, for various reasons, sometimes adopted images of African homogeneity. However, to stress the unity of a group to which one belongs is different from assuming unity within a group that is Other. When emphasizing the unity of a Self group, one remains aware of, but chooses to overlook, internal diversity, often in order to unite groups within an overall Self group to accentuate difference from an Other group. Thus the reasons for claiming unity of a Self group are often political. In the
case of Africans claiming unity within Africa, the Other group from which they are emphasizing difference has often been Western culture.

Within Africa, intellectuals have disagreed about whether to support a "unanimist" movement or whether to stress the diversity of African cultures. Central to this argument is the concept of negritude. Léopold Sédar Senghor was a supporter of the concept of negritude, which he claimed to be "nothing more or less than what some English-speaking Africans have called the African personality" (Senghor, 1993, p. 27). Senghor asked, "[w]ho would deny that Africans ... have a certain way of conceiving life and of living it? A certain way of speaking, singing and dancing. . . . Negritude is, then, the sum of cultural values of the black world" (Senghor, 1993, pp. 27-28; emphasis in original). It is interesting to note that Senghor equates African with black, thus supporting the Western view that sub-Saharan Africa can be given the continental term of African. The unification of African people, and even of black people around the world, was seen as an important step toward reclaiming control of African identity and culture after decolonization.

Amilcar Cabral, like many writers of his era, wrote of the importance of assimilating the various social groups into national cultural frameworks. He also frequently referred to "African culture", implying the presence of a homogeneous culture that spreads across the continent (Cabral, 1993, pp 60-61). However, Cabral also argues against accepting the concept of a single homogeneous African culture:

The fact of recognizing the existence of common and particular features in the cultures of African people, independent of the colour of their skin, does not necessarily imply that one and only one culture exists on the continent. (Cabral, 1993, p. 61)

Cabral encouraged the examination of the various things that each African culture can offer, not in order to make value judgements about them, but so that progress can occur (Cabral, 1993, p. 62).
Other African intellectuals have argued against the principle of unanimism. Appiah writes extensively about this issue in his 1992 book *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. He begins by discussing in depth the notion of "race" as a means of distinguishing between people, demonstrating the worthlessness of the concept of race in defining any feature of a person other than some physical features (even then of dubious value). But, as Appiah points out, such racial thinking has led to a belief in the existence of a particularly African form of thinking and content of thought, with a consequent image of African homogeneity (Appiah, 1992, p. 24). Appiah considers the use of the term "unanimism" as a description of this homogeneity to be a threat to "African" intellectual life (Appiah, 1992, p. 24). Appiah states, "Africans share too many problems and projects to be distracted by a bogus basis for solidarity" (Appiah, 1992, p. 26).

Just as it may at times be an advantage for a Self group to emphasize internal unity over recognition of diversity, so it may at times be advantageous for a Self group to emphasize the diversity of the Other. A sense of African unanimism was a useful ingredient for some Africans in regaining control of their culture after colonialism, and European colonial powers at times stressed cultural heterogeneity in Africa in order to avoid this eventuality. The Separate Development policy in South Africa that was introduced in the 1950s separated black South Africans into "tribal" groups, and confined them to the appropriate tribe's "homeland". Hamm (1989) describes the way in which the Revised Broadcasting Act of 1960 supported this tribal division by featuring radio services in several different South African languages, and the music and performers that featured on these programmes had to be from the appropriate "tribe". This was intended to prevent black South Africans from joining together as a group, since they would have by far outnumbered the white South Africans who held political control at the time (Hamm, 1989, pp. 299-300).

Although Western representations of the African Other as homogeneous are sometimes politically motivated, such representations are more often the
result of the tendency of the Self not to recognize the internal diversity of the Other. Thus in Western culture “Africa” is a unit that has taken on meaning as a signified that can be referred to by the single linguistic signifier “Africa”. In a similar way, musical signifiers have also been encoded to mean “Africa”.

Perhaps the most strongly established musical signifier for “Africa” is what could broadly be described as the timbre of drums, either unaccompanied or featured more strongly in a musical texture than is common in much Western music. African musics in fact include many more musical ingredients than this, and drumming itself is a complex and sophisticated musical activity: ethnomusicological research can and does analyse and explain the special characteristics of particular African musics. However, these significant and detailed distinctions are ignored in the popular Western signification of drumming as “African” music, and, since it is this signification which is the focus of this study, and not the ethnomusicological analysis of African music, they can be ignored here too. Given that the disciplinary focus of this work is in cultural studies rather than musicology, the intention is not to provide an in-depth musical analysis of the signifiers themselves, but instead to analyse listeners’ responses to and means of decoding these signifiers.

Many different timbres may be produced by drums, and many non-African cultures, including European ones, include drums as part of their Self cultures. Therefore, the particular drum sounds that have been encoded as signifiers for “Africa” must be considered. The timbre of these drums is often deep, with a relatively muffled attack that has been described as “throbbing” (as in the quote from Cameron below), and likened to the European kettledrum rather than the higher, sharper sound of other European drums such as the snare or side drum. Examples of such drums found in African cultures include the cylindrical dundun drums of the Mande people of West Africa, constructed from large hollowed logs covered with cow or goat skins.

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11 See for example Ann Haugen’s reference to the use of “drum stuff” in order to sound “native” and “tribal”, as described in Taylor, 2000, p. 175.
and played with sticks, which are now popular throughout the world (Charry, 2000). Other drums adopted as signifiers for "Africa" have the characteristic sharp sound produced by striking the skin with the hand rather than with sticks. The timbre of the West African *djembe* is one such sound that is frequently used as a signifier for "Africa" and is an instrument that has also gained favour throughout the world. Often, these drum sounds appear in combination, resulting in a polyrhythmic texture which is also used as a signifier for "Africa". The absence of other instruments and the repetition of short units of rhythm are other characteristics often encoded as "African".

Despite instruments of African origin spreading throughout the world and being adopted by musicians from various genres including rock and contemporary dance music, their ability to signify Africa to a Western audience remains strong, as will be evident in Chapter Five when listeners' responses to these sounds are discussed. Indeed, as a musical signifier, drums have come to represent Africa in much the same way as did the Swahili language, Zulu culture and the geometric woodcut designs described by Giddings and Cameron. Cameron notes the importance of drums in the signification of Africa in the earliest Western film representations to incorporate musical sound:

> The lights go down, the shrill voices of children still, and to the throbbing of drums, a woman takes shape on the screen of the neighborhood movie house. Her nature - magic, erotic, powerful - defies all sense, but the movies make her real. (Cameron, 1994, p. 17)

Drums as musical signifiers for Africa alongside visual signifiers such as fires, monkeys, jungle settings, skulls and black-skinned characters (at the time often whites in blackface) established them in the early-twentieth century as part of a group of signifiers holding strong connotations of Africa (Cameron, 1994, pp. 77, 91).

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12 An early example of a rock band incorporating African drums is Osibisa, formed in London in 1969 with members from Ghana, Grenada, Antigua, Trinidad and Nigeria. Their first single, "Music for Gong Gong", was released in 1970.
Phil Collins’ comment (quoted at the beginning of this section) illustrates the ease with which links are made between “drums” and “Africa”. A well-known rock drummer, singer and songwriter, Collins was approached to contribute some original songs to Mark Mancina’s score for Disney’s 1999 animated film Tarzan. Disney executive producer Chris Montan sought Collins’ contribution because of his background as “a melody maker and percussionist - the latter talent perfect for a cartoon set in the jungle” (McCafferty, 1999). Collins’ drumming experience was relevant since the filmmakers “wanted a strong jungle beat to accompany Tarzan’s adventures” (Fleeman, 1999). Despite Collins’ background in rock, jazz and swing traditions rather than in African music (Paul, 1999), the Houston Chronicle reported that “[h]is drumming accents the music’s thundering African flavors” (Houston Chronicle, 13/6/1999). Thus the relationship between Africa and drums that Collins notes is reinforced in the discourse surrounding Tarzan. His comment also implies that, through the medium of drums, he is himself linked with the “Africa” also represented through the signifiers “Tarzan” and “jungle”.

Particular behaviours had, for Carlotta Hacker, become so strongly identified with Africa that deviation from these challenged her definition of “African”. Likewise, it is possible to have certain musical sounds become so firmly associated with “Africa” that other musical sounds are challenged if they are described as “African”. Senegalese musician Youssou N’Dour is one of many contemporary African musicians who have been criticized for not being “African” enough in the music they produce (Taylor, 1997, p. 99). Similarly, Hacker describes a concert at a Tabora girls’ school in Tanzania, in which dancers “were accompanied by tribal drums and by untribal whistles” (Hacker, 1974, p. 105). Thus while drums fitted Hacker’s ideas of what is “tribal”, and therefore traditionally “African”, whistles did not, and were seen as a corruption of the African event. Hebdige alludes to degrees of “Africanness” when describing Rasta music of the West Indies as “becoming darker and more African” (Hebdige, 1988, p. 37), and speculates that “adult
West Indians no doubt prefer their rhythms lighter and less African . . . “ (Hebdige, 1988, p. 131). Hebdige uses the adjective “African” not to describe the cultural origins of Rasta (since although Rasta is largely produced by people of African descent, it is a Caribbean phenomenon) but rather to describe a musical quality that he implies can be present, in varying degrees, in music produced outside Africa.

Other musical sounds have been encoded to signify “Africa” in Western culture, particularly in the late-twentieth century. Paul Simon’s Graceland (1986) familiarized Western audiences with South African musical styles, including vocal styles such as isicathamiya, presented in the album by Ladysmith Black Mambazo. Timbres of instruments other than drums have also been encoded as signifiers for Africa, such as the penny whistle (prominent in the South African genre kwela) and the family of instruments known as lamellophones that are found throughout sub-Saharan Africa, and include the mbira of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. Films have played an important role in encoding these musical signifiers in Western culture. An early example of a lamellophone appearing in a Western film representation of Africa is a scene in the 1951 film The African Queen in which an African man is depicted playing what appears to be an mbira. Several films of the 1980s and 1990s, such as Out of Africa, The Power of One and The Lion King also included at least some “African” music other than drumming.

To summarize thus far, particular musical sounds have been encoded with meaning in Western culture, producing musical signifiers that are readily decoded to mean “Africa”. The presence or absence of these signifiers may prompt a listener to identify the music as “African” or “not African”, or to make a distinction between music that is “more African” or “less African”. While by the 1990s there were a number of musical sounds that acted as signifiers for “Africa”, the sound of drums remains a signifier with very strong and immediate connotations of Africa. This will be revisited in Chapter Five, when listeners’ responses to the African music in Lambarena are analysed. However, there are many further aspects of this chain of
signification that must be considered, and therefore the discussion must now focus on the secondary level of signification.

The fundamental attitude to "Africa" established over the centuries in the Western mind is that its culture is 'primitive.' This attitude has taken some precise forms: that Africans have not evolved to the extent of other races, and are thus biologically closer to other animals than to humans; that Africans do not exhibit the qualities mature adults are expected to display, and are childlike and therefore innocent; that Africans live "in a state of nature" untouched by the civilizing influences of urban culture; and that Africans are pagan and not ruled by Christian ethical principles, and are therefore barbaric, wild, "ferocious" and "furious" savages. These misconceptions have elicited responses within Western cultures as varied as fear, pity and admiration. The following discussion considers, first, representations of African cultures in the light of these beliefs, and, second, how African music has also been represented in ways that reflect them.

Africans as the uncivilized Other

The behaviours and practices of the Other are always evaluated according to the ideology of the Self, and so the Western definition of what it is to be "cultured" or "civilized" is taken as a standard against which the African Other is measured. To be civilized in the Western sense includes exhibiting behaviours such as living in a particular kind of house, eating particular types of food, wearing particular clothing, using technology and being literate. A group of people who do not exhibit these behaviours will be described as "uncivilized". Pieterse discusses several examples of Western representations of Africans as uncivilized, including an extract from Sunday Reading for the Young of 1877 in which Africans are described as

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13 The term "primitive" has been defined as "belonging to the beginning, or to the first times", as well as "original", "ancient", "antiquated", "crude", "of earliest origin" and "of the earliest formation" (Macdonald, 1972, p. 1066).
but one degree removed from the level of brute creation - the sole trace of civilization about them is that they cook their food, and that, it may be assumed, in the crudest manner. (Pieterse, 1992, p. 35)

Literacy is one of the most important criteria for being “civilized” in the Western sense, and relates to the focus in Western culture on knowledge of the past in the form of a written history. Written records of a culture’s development allow comparison between past and present, thus allowing for measures of “development”. Because many cultures in Africa (as in many parts of the world) have relied on the oral transmission of cultural capital such as history, genealogy and legends, earlier Western scholars often assumed that no such development had taken place within the cultures. African cultures were somehow themselves “of the past” and temporally distant from the rest of the world. Hegel, in the early-nineteenth century, was one proponent of such an idea (Pieterse, 1992, p. 34), and Terence Ranger, in his description of the European invention of traditions in Africa during the colonial period, mentions the belief among Europeans at the time that Africa was “profoundly conservative - living within age-old rules which did not change; living within an ideology based on the absence of change” (Ranger, 1997, p. 247).

The belief that the inhabitants of Africa live in a “spatiotemporal past” (Figueroa, 1995, p. 3) remained a widely represented image in the late-twentieth century. Okoye quotes Dr Henry E. Garrett, Head of Columbia University’s Department of Psychology, as stating in the 1960s that “over the past 5000 years, the history of Black Africa is blank” (Okoye, 1971, p. 3). Similarly, Carlotta Hacker describes Lucy Lameck, the parliamentary secretary to the Tanzanian Minister of Health and Social Welfare as representing “the distant past and the more recent past” (Hacker, 1974, p. 124). Hacker wrote, in explanation of Africa’s primitivism,
[in] the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese first called at the mouth of the Congo, they discovered a thriving civilization that wasn't so far removed from their own (they were only about five hundred years ahead of the Congolese). Yet a few centuries later – after the exploitation of Africa had become a factor of European prosperity and after the slave trade had done its destructive work on civilization and society – the gap had widened to thousands of years. It was not Africa's fault that it was so far behind the West. (Hacker, 1974, pp. 256-257)

While this appears to "lay the blame" for Africans' lack of civilization upon Europeans, it also betrays the assumption that "civilization" is measured in European terms. Hacker's comments also clearly portray the belief that civilization is measured in degrees, as if on a continuum. African cultures are seen to be "behind the West", and she claims that the "gap had widened" between Africa and the West over the last 500 years. Thus it appears that Africans are at a stage of development that the West reached "thousands of years" ago, and are currently engaged in behaviours and practices that the West has left behind and improved upon.

The Western belief in African primitivism was frequently challenged in the twentieth century as aspects of Western cultures were adopted in Africa and the behaviours and practices of the Self were incorporated into the culture of the Other. The appearance in Africa of technological or commercial products, which originated from what was considered to be the relatively "advanced" culture of the West, has often been portrayed as humorous. Pieterse (1992, p. 99) includes the example of a 1913 cartoon in Le Pêle Mêle depicting Africans using a steamroller to open coconuts. Here the African Other has misunderstood the purpose of the steamroller, and has put it to use for a purpose that is, to the West, relatively trivial. A more recent example of this kind of representation may be found in the popular film The Gods Must Be Crazy (1981). It includes a story-line in which the Kalahari Bushmen are perplexed by a Coca-Cola bottle, a product that symbolizes the spread of
Western culture throughout the world, but one that was unfamiliar to the Africans portrayed in the film and misunderstood by them as an item belonging to the gods.

The representation of the products of the Western Self within the cultural context of the African Other continued to appear throughout the twentieth century as a source of humour. Juxtaposing "primitive" Africans and modern Western technology was a sure way to emphasise difference and reinforce the superiority of the West. A film critic from the 1920s mentioned that one of the ingredients of a film set in Africa at that time was "[a] shot of natives listening to a phonograph" (Cameron, 1994, p. 49). This image appeared as late as 1985 in the film *Out of Africa*, which included shots of African children listening in fascination to Mozart being played on a record player. Similarly, *The Last Warriors* (2000) showed, in the final episode, Africans from the various cultures that had been featured in the series viewing for the first time recorded images of themselves.

Another aspect of Western behaviour that has been humorously represented in the context of African culture is language. Depictions of pidgin languages and misunderstandings resulting from linguistic errors have been the source of many comic situations in Western culture. Not only African cultures have been depicted in this way; for example, the Spanish waiter Manuel in *Fawlty Towers* provides several examples of linguistic misunderstandings between two European cultures, used for comic effect. In *The Last Warriors* documentary series, scenes were included in which the presenter taught a group of East African children some Australian colloquialisms, which the children recited unaware of the meanings of the phrases. Similarly, the 1995 film *Ace Ventura: When Nature Calls* includes Ace Ventura's corruption of the language spoken by the Africans, treated comically. When he arrives in the village Ace Ventura mimics the African's welcome by saying "Bumble Bee Tuna", an approximation of the "African" phrase. Later, Ace discovers that the word "chikaka", the name of a sacred animal, will prompt the Africans to bow. He experiments by saying
phonetically similar phrases ("Chicago", "Shawshank Redemption") to see if these variations of the sound will result in the same behaviour.

Scenes such as these reinforce the boundary between Self and Other since they illustrate that equitable communication cannot take place between two groups that do not share a language. To adopt the language of the Other is to threaten the boundary of difference between Self and Other. Consequently, depictions of the African Other adopting the language of the Western Self may be seen as a threat to that boundary of difference. Pieterse mentions the example of Prince Bumpo, an African in the 1920 book *The Story of Doctor Dolittle*, who wants to become white and therefore mimics the speech of a cultured Englishman (Pieterse, 1992, pp. 167-168).

The idea that by mimicking the Other it is possible to become Other has often been a source of humour in Western representations of Africa. Pieterse discusses this phenomenon as "Westernization humour", and explains that the underlying reason for its humorous nature is "that the western look is only superficial, underneath Africans remain what we originally defined them as: savages" (Pieterse, 1992, p. 98). The humour was therefore a reaction to the tension created by the challenge to the Self-Other boundary, which in most cases was seen as amusing and not truly threatening to the supremacy of the Western Self. As Homi Bhabha states, colonial mimicry is characterized by "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86) or, as he later wrote, "[a]llmost the same but not white" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 89; emphasis in original).

There is, however, a fine line between mimicry, which may be a sign of respect or even of a desire to become Other, and parody, which is an attempt to copy and exaggerate certain behaviours or practices in order to make fun. To parody is to accentuate the Self-Other boundary by drawing attention to features of the Other that are not a part of the Self, whereas mimicry is the Self minimizing the Self-Other boundary by adopting aspects of the Other. The difference may therefore be one of intention on the part of the one who is
copying, and thus it may be difficult to identify the difference from the viewpoint of the one who is copied. The tension that is created by observing the Other copying the Self’s behaviour, particularly when that Other is considered to be relatively primitive, may therefore be released in the form of either humour or anger, or a mixture of the two.

African music as “uncivilized”

The Western assumptions that “civilization” may be observed in its ideal state in Western society and that Western culture is the state toward which Other cultures aspire to develop have parallels in Western descriptions of music. The idea of progress and development dominated accounts of the music of the Other from the eighteenth century, with European music placed firmly at the peak of achievement:

When we reflect, that of all the people on the globe, none are without music and melody, yet only the Europeans have harmony and chords, when we reflect how many ages the world has endured, without any of the nations who have cultivated the polite arts knowing this harmony: that no animal, bird, or being in nature, produces any other sound than unison, or other music than mere melody . . . (Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de la Musique*, 1768, cited in Allen, 1962, pp. 78-79)

This passage indicates that the use of harmony in Western music was considered to be evidence of a level of musical evolution higher than that of cultures that used “mere melody”. In the late-nineteenth century, John Frederick Rowbotham wrote extensively about his “Law of Development” of music, which he claimed consisted of the Drum Stage, the Pipe Stage and finally the Lyre Stage (with rhythmic, melodic and harmonic capabilities respectively). Rowbotham’s theory indicates a belief in a Darwinian concept of progress; Europeans have already passed through these earlier stages
many centuries ago, whereas “living illustrations of the primitive period” have not:

If these people . . . can be content nowadays with two notes in their songs, we may see that there is nothing improbable in the assumption that there was a period . . . when the whole resources of vocal music consisted of two notes . . . . There is one song of the Fuegians in which they get beyond their one note. By this it is clear that even the Fuegians are emerging from the one-note period. (Rowbotham, *A History of Music to the Time of the Troubadours*, 1885-1887, in Allen, 1962, pp. 111-112)

There was some disagreement among writers at this time regarding whether vocal music preceded instrumental, and whether rhythmic instruments preceded pipes (Allen, 1962, p.195). Hubert Parry maintained that “[a]t the very bottom of the process of development are those savage howls which have hardly any distinct notes in them at all . . . .” (Parry, *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, 1893, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 228). With regard to the order in which musical instruments developed, most writers appeared to agree with Rowbotham that the drum came first, including MacDowell who stated, “some savage . . . completed the first musical instrument known to man, namely the drum” (MacDowell, *Critical and Historical Essays*, 1912, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 157), establishing the relationship between “drums” and “savages”. Such assumptions were questioned later in the twentieth century. As Allen stated in the 1960s,

> [t]he old custom of beginning music histories with a condescending chapter on “primitive” music is thoroughly reprehensible, in the light of modern knowledge. Oriental music and other exotic systems are anything but “primitive”. The findings in extra-European systems should be treated as contemporary, living phases of art, having a long and worthy tradition of their own, not as dead relics of an early stage of development. (Allen, 1962, p. 204)
Africans as the frightening Other

The Western belief that its “civilization” is the pinnacle of human achievement led to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western scholars questioning the very humanness of African people. However, it was not only the Otherness of the Africans’ behaviours and practices that prompted this questioning. Differences in skin colour, hair texture, body shape and facial features that the Western Self regarded as significant in the identification of the African Other supported the formation of two boundaries: between “human” and “animal” and between “Western” and “African”. Physicians and anatomists of the nineteenth century appeared to be fascinated by what some considered “undeniable” likenesses between Africans and apes (Pieterse, 1992, p. 39). These supposed similarities also justified Africans’ apparent lack of “culture”. James Houston, a physician, had written in 1725 that the customs of Africans “exactly resemble their Fellow Creatures and Natives, the Monkeys” (Pieterse, 1992, p. 40). Such beliefs led at times to the Western treatment of Africans as though they belonged to the group “animal” rather than the group “human”. Steven Feld, in his discussion of the use of pygmy music in Western culture, mentions the plight of Oto Benga, a Central African who, because of his physical appearance, was shipped to the United States for the World Fair of 1904, and was then placed in a cage in the zoo with a chimpanzee until he committed suicide (Feld, 1996, p. 12).

The belief that Africans are prone to commit acts of violence, whether “inter-tribal” or directed towards white people, may be related to the connotations of the word “savage”, such as wildness, ferocity, instinctiveness and crudeness. Africans were frequently represented during the colonial period as “warriors”, and this was recalled as late as 2000 in the title of the television series The Last Warriors. Pieterse describes the stereotypical warrior of the colonial era as “a virtually naked native, ferocious, equipped with archaic arms, shown more often as an individual than in a group . . .”
This he contrasts with representations of a “soldier”, who “wears a uniform, belongs to an army and is subject to army discipline” (Pieterse, 1992, p. 79). The implication is that African warriors were, because of their primitivity, ruthless and indiscriminate in their ferocity and therefore less predictable and more dangerous than Western soldiers.

Perhaps the most extreme and, to the West, disturbing representation of Africans as “savages” is that of Africans engaging in cannibalism. Regardless of whether cannibalism ever occurred in Africa, the frequency with which these representations have appeared ensured the endurance of the image in Western cultures for at least two centuries. These include many examples of cannibalism portrayed humorously, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. However, these humorous representations followed many “serious” accounts of cannibalism from explorers, ethnologists and missionaries.

Accounts of cannibalism, both serious and humorous, continued to appear later in the twentieth century. Films about white explorers in Africa frequently alluded to cannibalism as a threat to Europeans. The 1950 film *King Solomon’s Mines* depicted the Masai people of East Africa as cannibals (Cameron, 1994, p. 29). Humorous references were less common in the late-twentieth century, though they still sometimes appeared. A television advertisement screened in New Zealand for the fast-food chain KFC in the 1990s included an animated scene depicting the food dancing around a cauldron with “the Colonel” inside. While in this case Africa was not alluded to overtly, given the long history of the depiction of Africans in such scenes it is likely to have signified Africa for many viewers.

As well as exhibiting violent tendencies, Africans have been represented as tending toward unrestrained sexual behaviour. Representations of African men as sexual predators were numerous throughout the colonial period. As Cameron notes, the “[r]ape of white women by black men becomes the epitome of white fear, and the menace of bad black men is expressed in terms

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of sexual threat and brutality” (Cameron, 1994, p. 97). Cameron also notes that this image reinforced that of the “African as animal” in the 1930 fake documentary *Ingagi*, in which apes rape African women, “‘proof’ of the closeness to animals of black Africans” (Cameron, 1994, p. 98). African women, too, were portrayed as being inappropriately sexual, in the role of seductresses of white men (Cameron, 1994, p. 79).

Many contemporary representations of Africa appear to support the image of Africa as a place of savagery and violence. Beverly Hawk's collection of articles that investigate the news-media image of Africa shows that the vast majority of news reports about Africa centre on violence and tragedy (Hawk, 1992). Similarly,

> [t]he temperament of the [African] people is characterised as unpredictable and because of this Africa is a place that could erupt at any moment. Thus, violence happens in Africa because it is Africa. (Beattie, Miller, Miller and Philo, 1999, p. 254)

The idea that Africa and things African are frightening is also to be found in children’s literature throughout the twentieth century. Louise Fatio’s *The Happy Lion in Africa* is one example, in which a lion that has been “acculturated” into a French way of life is stolen and taken to Africa. There the lion is faced with “the beasts of the forest, that croaked, and moaned, and screeched, and wailed, and howled, and snarled. The lion was frightened . . .” (Fatio, 1955). The message appears to be that to those who are not raised in Africa it will be a place of fear, with unfriendly inhabitants and unforgiving conditions. Although this book was first published in the 1950s it appears to have retained its popularity, being reprinted several times throughout the rest of the twentieth century (*International Forfatterbibliografi*, n.d.).

Such representations as these of Africans as primitive savages prone to instinctive, unpredictable behaviour reinforced Western connotations of Africa as a place of “fearful events” and “frightening people-animals”. Such responses already existed in Classical Greek and Roman representations of
Africa, in which distinctions were made between familiar North African (Egyptian and Nubian) civilizations (represented as powerful and prestigious) and the unknown Africa to the south (depicted as wild, and containing monsters such as Cyclopes and Amazons) (Pieterse, 1992, p. 24). Similarly, the Lenox Globe, an early-sixteenth century map, includes the phrase "hic sunt dracones" ("here are dragons") on the eastern coast of Africa (Blake, 1999). Relationships between unfamiliarity and fearfulness support Kubik's theories of the "projection screen" onto which the Self's repressed ideas and fears may be projected.

Because "Africa" held connotations of fear for Westerners, there was a widespread belief that Africans themselves live in a constant state of fear. Cameron describes the treatment of Africa by Western filmmakers as "an imagined home of horrors" (Cameron, 1994, p. 78). Sally Price, in her book about the Western concept of "primitive" art, quotes Lewis Mumford, who in 1979 stated that Africans were successful in expressing "certain primal feelings evoked by fear and death" (Price, 1989, p. 40).

The description of Africa as a place of "darkness" has also contributed to the connotations of fear. Carlotta Hacker wrote of European missionaries who "removed terror and suffering in so many ways . . . they did bring light to the dark continent" (Hacker, 1974, p. 205). Similarly, Kenneth Clark claimed in 1969 that "Negroes . . . [imagine] a world of fear and darkness", in contrast with the Hellenistic "world of light and confidence" (Clark, 1969, p. 2). Imagery of darkness is integral to Western culture. In a literal sense, it results in the loss of visibility, which is a primary source of sensory information about the environment. This loss is frightening because of the loss of knowledge and the lack of familiarity with surroundings. Thus the adjective "dark" has been used to describe a time (the Dark Ages) or place (the Dark Continent) that is unknown, and thus threatening or frightening. Added to this is the imagery of Christian origin of darkness or black as "evil" because of the lack of God's illumination. Africans' dark skin and hair...
pigmentation have therefore been represented as evidence of Africa as a place of "unknown evil", thus doubly frightening to the West.

African music as "frightening"

Like African art, African music has been described as an expression of a state of darkness and fear. Immediately before asserting his belief in the primacy of the drum in "savage" music, MacDowell stated "[t]he soul of mankind had its roots in fear. . . . In groping for sound symbols which would cause and express fear far better than words, we have the beginning of what is gradually to develop into music" (MacDowell, 1912, in Allen, 1962, p. 157). Collins and Richards quote Mrs Melville of Freetown who in the 1840s described the Mandingo "kettle drum" as producing "a hollow booming sound, which, in spite of its sameness, somehow or other contrives always to convey to my mind the idea of dark deeds of savagery and treacherous warfare" (Collins and Richards, 1989, p. 20).

The ability of the musical signifier "drums" (as described earlier in this chapter) to evoke connotations of "fear", and particularly of "Africa as a place of fear" has been featured in many film soundtracks during the twentieth century. In The African Queen of 1951, Allan Gray's soundtrack, although for the most part sitting firmly in the tradition of orchestral film soundtracks, includes particularly prominent drums when an African comes to warn those in the church of the approach of soldiers. Similarly, in The Power of One (1992) drums appear at their most intense when the young Peekay is standing in front of an elephant, facing a fear that is particularly associated with Africa. Phil Collins, when discussing the process of composing the score to Tarzan, indicates an awareness of the potential of drums to elicit fear. Michael Fleeman of the Associated Press quotes Collins as saying "[t]he drumbeats had to be both scary and arresting and exciting. . . . I had some rhythms that
would have sent the kids screaming out of the theater. We decided that was not the best thing to do” (Fleeman, 1999).

Africans as the childlike Other

Children as well as animals may appear to be less “civilized” than Western adults. Children are not born knowing how to encode and decode the behaviours and practices that are exhibited by others within their culture, but must learn these processes of signification through observation. By doing so, children are acculturated to replicate behaviours that the culture has encoded as “appropriate” for specific contexts. Until this process of acculturation has reached advanced stages, however, a child may engage in behaviour that appears to an adult to be inappropriate in a particular situation, and thus appear to be less “civilized”. Talking during religious ceremonies or eating with fingers instead of utensils are common examples. Adults usually understand such behaviour as an innocent or naïve stage of development prior to the eventual “civilization” of the child.

Representations of Africans as “childlike” provide a justification for the lack of “civilized” behaviour in Africa. This results in a sympathetic and paternalistic response rather than fear. Children may be controlled and tamed, and eventually civilized, on the condition that a parent figure is in charge. Thus the childlike African Other may be controlled and tamed, but this requires the West to take control and guide Africa’s development from primitivism to civilization. As Roland Barthes wrote in 1957, “the only really reassuring image of the Negro is that of the boy, of the savage turned servant” (cited in Pieterse, 1992, p. 131; emphasis in original). There is in the “childlike African” an implication that the African aspires to be like the European, just as a child aspires to be an adult. This also contributes to the view that Africans who mimic Western behaviour are funny: children who mimic the behaviour of adults are equally amusing.
Edward Said comments on the use of paternalistic language to refer to the relationship between European colonizers and African subjects (Said, 1994, p. 328). Similarly, Fanon discussed the way in which such language emphasized the necessity for control over childlike subjects:

... colonialism therefore did not seek to be considered by the native as a gently loving mother who protects her child from a hostile environment, but rather as a mother who unceasingly restrains her fundamentally perverse offspring from managing to commit suicide and from giving free rein to its evil instincts. (Fanon, 1968, p. 210)

The belief that Africans were in need of assistance in order to reach the levels of civilization to which they aspired underpinned the activities of missionaries and humanitarians who introduced Western models of healthcare, education and religion to Africa. Dr Albert Schweitzer referred to Africans fraternally rather than paternalistically; however, the vision he had of the relative place of Africans and Europeans remains clear:

The negro is a child and with children nothing can be done without the use of authority. We must, therefore, so arrange the circumstances of daily life that my natural authority can find expression. With regard to the Negroses, then, I have coined the formula: "I am your brother, it is true, but your elder brother". (Schweitzer, cited in Okoye, 1971, p. 114)

Western control over Africans was therefore accepted as necessary on the grounds that without guidance they would never reach the level of civilization to which it was assumed they aspired. Even once an acceptable level of civilized behaviour had been achieved, it was believed that, should the colonizers and missionaries leave, Africans would "at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality" (Fanon, 1993, p. 37). Africa became the "White Man's Burden", a responsibility that would be ongoing because of
the risk that, without the West's presence, Africa would revert to its former state of primitivism. While it was acknowledged that the "civilization" of Africa came at a cost, it was believed that any costs would be outweighed by the benefits and that the use of force was justified. In 1897 Joseph Chamberlain stated,

[y]ou cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force. . . . [S]uch expeditions as those which have recently been conducted with such signal success . . . [in Africa] have . . . cost valuable lives, but as to which we may rest assured that for one life lost a hundred will be gained, and the cause of civilization and the prosperity of the people will in the long run be eminently advanced. (Chamberlain, quoted in Perry, Peden and Von Laue, 1995, pp. 229-230)

It was not only missionaries and colonizers who took on the responsibility for assisting Africans to reach a state of "civilization". Missionary societies were responsible for raising awareness at home of the need for missionary work in Africa, and the funds to support it, through media such as magazines and films. The images used often depicted African children (thus ensuring the "safe", childlike image rather than the "dangerous", animal-like image) surrounding a white-clothed missionary figure who forms the dominant part of the picture (Pieterse, 1992, pp. 71-73). Such pictures drew on established light-dark and parent-child imagery.

The contribution of funds for the advancement of mission work has, from the 1920s, been possible in the form of "buying" or, latterly, "sponsoring" a specific child. As late as the 1970s in Germany "one could still purchase a heathen child for 21 DM, to whom one could give a baptismal name and as a receipt receive a photo of, for instance, an African boy in a straw hat" (Pieterse, 1992, p. 72). This practice continues to some extent today. A child sponsored through organizations such as Christian Children's Fund (CCF) will receive food, health-care and education, while in return the
sponsor receives a profile and photograph of the child. The level of input from the sponsor is purely financial in contemporary programmes, with the sponsor having no rights over the child such as providing a name. However, programmes such as these, as well as the “official” contributions from Western cultures in the form of government financial aid, support the imagery of the West providing assistance and guidance in the development of the childlike African.

African music as “childlike”

African music-making, too, has been described as “childlike”. Allen quotes several passages from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources that provide a good indication of Western attitudes toward African music. For example, Allen cites Satis N. Coleman (1928) regarding his experiences in the area of children’s music education:

Being little savages, they [children] can understand savage music. I shall find the child’s own savage level, and lift him gradually up to higher forms; ... Everything that a primitive savage can do in music, children can do. ... Because at the drum stage, my children shall be little savages who know nothing of music, and then shall dance primitive dances and beat upon rude drums and shake rude rattles until they discover some way of making tone. (Coleman, 1928 cited in Allen, 1962, pp. 158-159)

Similarly, Robert W. Clairbornein stated in his theories about music education that his child students learn primitive drum music in Indian games, in preparation for playing “some really great drum music” such as that in orchestral scores by Beethoven and Wagner (Clairbornein, 1927, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 159).

The description of African music as the kind of music children make before they grow up may be related to the tendency to dismiss as meaningless
anything in which no meaning can be identified. This is common when attempting to decode behaviours of the Other according to the ideology of the Self, since behaviours and practices are meaningful only when they are expressions of values and attitudes that are shared by the encoder and the decoder. A perceived lack of meaning in African music may lead to it being likened to a child’s seemingly unstructured explorations of sound. As Parry claimed, “[t]he savage stage indicates a taste for design, but an incapacity for making the designs consistent and logical” (Parry, 1893, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 228). Similarly, he claimed, “[w]hat interval the primitive savage chose was very much a matter of accident” (Parry, 1893, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 113).

The belief that African music is childlike resulted in attempts to provide Africans with “civilized” music, in a similar manner to the provision of Western languages, healthcare, clothing and education. The London-based Trinity College of Music, for example, established examinations in Western “classical” music in parts of Africa in the nineteenth century. However, attempts to “civilize” Africans in a musical sense have on occasions been portrayed as futile. The African Queen includes a scene inside a Methodist Church in German East Africa in which a white man conducts the congregation in singing “God of Ages”. The African members of the congregation follow, singing wordless sounds out of tune with the rest of the congregation.

Perhaps because it has been held in such low regard, representations of Westerners assisting in the production or performance of African music are uncommon. An exception is the film The Power of One, which includes as a main part of its plot Professor Von Vollenstein’s composition of a piece of music in a traditional hymn style for African prisoners of war to perform in a concert. The young Peekay alters the rhythm of the piece in order for the Africans to like it, resulting in a sound that is remarkably like traditional South African vocal music. The implication is that Peekay contributed to the development of the sound. Similarly, Peekay teaches the Africans how to perform the piece, showing them how the rhythmic parts interact by dividing
them into two groups and directing them to clap the rhythms. Cameron describes the scene in which Peekay conducts the performance:

He prances about the stage and waves his arms, and the glorious Zulu harmony rolls out, all, the film would have us believe, because this white boy is showing black men how to make Zulu music. (It’s as if you decided to make a film about the white kid who taught Fats Waller to boogie.) (Cameron, 1994, p. 170)

Africans as the exotic Other

Kubik (1991) discusses the way in which the response of Self to Other is often characterized by ambivalence, owing to the projection onto the Other of aspects of the Self that have been repressed. The responses quoted above have been primarily negative, including fear, ridicule and attempts to change the Other. On the other hand, the observation of the Other’s expression of behaviours or ideas that have been repressed by the Self may appear to be attractive and liberating. Images of the African Other as primitive, dangerously instinctive and childishly innocent that in the West were the source of negative responses have also been represented in such a way as to evoke responses of fascination, and even emulation.

The belief that Africans were more closely linked to the natural world of animals than to the cultural world of humans has been represented as desirable. The “noble savage” has been considered virtuous and admirably close to nature because of a lack of “civilization” and government. The idealization of uncivilized life appears in Huxley’s Brave New World (1932), in which John the Savage believes in the possibilities for purification that nature offers. This contrasts markedly with the ideas of Chamberlain quoted above, which indicate that some loss of life is preferable to allowing “uncivilized” life to continue in Africa.
The ambivalence of the West toward the idea of “uncivilized” life may be at least partially explained by the Western ambivalence toward nature itself. The idea of “Mother Nature” implies a caring, nurturing image, along with images of fertility and the giving of life. Then there is the idea of “laws of nature”, where nature is an overarching context for life. However, nature can also be “nature raw in tooth and claw,” a place where the rules of natural selection are violently enforced, and it can be a threatening place where natural disasters strike or from which epidemics emerge to challenge the safety and survival of human beings. Thus the complex Western attitude toward nature, coupled with the ambivalence of the Self toward the Other, promotes contradictory representations of the relationship between Africa and nature.

Representation of Africans living in a natural state imply that they live in a world without the input of the scientific and technological developments of the “civilized” (as opposed to natural) world of the West. Not only is Africa represented as less developed, the implication is that Africans live without the costs incurred from an environment affected by science, technology and industrialization and thus retain a sense of spirituality that has been lost in the West (Taylor, 2000, p. 172). Such beliefs are evident in descriptions of the African way of life. Some indicate an assumption that Africans’ needs and wants are minimal in comparison with those in Europe:

Gifted with a carelessness which is totally unique ... the negro exists on his native soil, in the sweetest apathy, unconscious of want or pain or privation, tormented neither with the cares of ambition, nor with the devouring ardour of desire. To him the necessary and indispensable articles of life are reduced to a very small number; and those endless wants which torment Europeans are not known amongst the negroes of Africa. (S.M.X. de Golbery, 1803, cited in Pieterse, 1992, p. 90)

The belief that Africans are temporally distant from the West, living in a state in which Westerners might have lived many centuries ago, has also been represented as desirable. Again, this appears to result from the belief that
many of the problems faced by contemporary Western cultures were absent in earlier times and therefore must also be absent in contemporary Africa. African lifestyles are frequently described as being more “traditional” than Western lifestyles. African cultures are portrayed as unchanging over generations and therefore as incorporating “age-old” traditions and rituals that allow group identity to be expressed more easily than in “fragmentary” or “individualistic” Western cultures. Like closeness to nature, closeness to tradition has been portrayed as a desirable state lost to Westerners in the process of cultural “development”, particularly since the industrial revolution. Adding weight to this belief is the tendency to recognize the importance of ritual and tradition in Other groups more than in the Self, such as described by the participants in Waters’ (1990) study of ethnic identity in America, cited in Chapter One.

Admiration for the natural and traditional lifestyle that is often attributed to African cultures has led to a Western desire to preserve this way of life and to protect it against influences from Western cultures. This attitude contradicts some of the evidence cited above for a strong desire to “civilize” Africa by replacing behaviours and practices with those of the West. A belief that traditional ways of life in Africa are threatened by Westernization has become an important issue in the West. Carlotta Hacker described explorer and missionary Mary Kingsley’s desire to go “more than a little way into the bush . . . purposely trying to get off the beaten track so that she could meet communities whose culture was still untouched by the white influence” (Hacker, 1974, p. 195). Similarly, The Last Warriors series ended by stating that the series might have provided the last opportunity to see these cultures because of the spread of Westernization, while David Maybury-Lewis in Millennium: Tribal Wisdom and the Modern World states, 

... tribal societies everywhere are threatened by the rapid expansion of modern civilization. Some will vanish quietly. Others will protest and gain borrowed time. None will remain untouched. . . . Millennium tries . . . to capture the
wisdom of tribal people before it is lost. (Maybury-Lewis, 1992, cover)

The concept of traditional, natural societies under threat from modern, Western lifestyles has often been romanticized in Western representations, leading to the treatment of “traditional” Africa as an exotic spectacle. Martin and Osa Johnson, who produced a number of “documentaries” about Africa in the 1920s, opened their film Simba by describing Africa as “[t]he classic land of mystery, thrills and darksome savage drama” (Cameron, 1994, p. 49). Despite the use of similar words and concepts to other more negative accounts of “savage Africa”, the promise of “thrills” and “drama” indicates that the Johnsons’ objective was to entertain. Thus Africa was treated as an ideal location for texts that required a mysterious, typically “Other” setting. The use of established visual and aural signifiers for “Africa” had sufficient power to evoke a range of connotations of mystery, fear and Otherness to create efficiently an exotic setting.

However, these settings were frequently used only as backdrops for plots that had little to do with African people or African cultures. Cameron notes this tendency in films dating from the first few decades of the twentieth century, which he describes as being “in Africa but not of it” (Cameron, 1994, p. 17). These films were set, and sometimes filmed, in Africa, but Africa and Africans played no part in forming the plot. When African characters were featured it was in incidental roles, as “decorative” additions in the manner of exotica, such as the bare-breasted African women in the 1937 production of King Solomon’s Mines (Cameron, 1994, p. 27). Africans were rarely depicted as individuals in these early films, more often appearing in large groups, and often as a threat to the Western characters. The first Weissmuller Tarzan film, released in 1932, included a group of “black” dwarves (white actors in blackface) who continually attacked Tarzan (Cameron, 1994, p. 42).

Criticism of the use of “Africa” as a location in order to evoke a set of mood-setting images, rather than as an integral aspect of the plot, has been
directed toward more recent films. In the 1994 Disney film *The Lion King* “Africa itself appears only as a landscape . . . and as echoes in the background of the music and songs of Tim Rice and Elton John”, with the “plains, desert, jungle and the elephants’ graveyard . . . animated with vivid colours and dramatic sunsets and storms” (Giddings, 1999, p. 84). The portrayal of Africa as a place of “extremes” continues to feature prominently in Western representations of Africa. Exotic, rather than realistic representations of Africa provide “an alien froth, a titillatory otherness, a newness which throws the old into doubt, clouds the familiar or displaces it for a short time or forever” (Toop, 1990, p. 120). The exotic portrayal reinforces the Self-Other boundary between Africa and the West. Such representations could only appear once the African Other became known to the West, and was also defeated. Pieterse notes that Africans were placed on display in colonial exhibits as “trophies of victory” (Pieterse, 1992, p. 95), to demonstrate that African resistance had been overcome. In this context, representations of fearful African warriors carrying weapons and decorated for war are no longer a direct threat to the West, but can be considered decorative and entertaining. By exhibiting images of African warriors and treating them as ornamental it was possible to demonstrate that such images held only fascination, not fear:

Exoticism is a luxury of the victors and one of victory’s psychological comforts. The Other is not merely to be exploited but is also to be enjoyed, enjoyment being a finer form of exploitation. (Pieterse, 1992, p. 95)

The African Other has been particularly exoticized in Western visual arts. Belief in the primitivism of Africa was central to the incorporation of African influences in Western art in the early-twentieth century. This is an example of the West considering Africa’s lack of “civilization” positively rather than as a negative attribute. “Primitive” art has been venerated in
Western culture and even seen as an artistic ideal, a more direct expression of the inner, universal elements of human nature which, like African cultures, are considered to be timeless. These inherent aspects of human nature are considered to be shared by all humans, both Self and Other. The difference between the Western Self and the African Other is that the West has become “civilized”, which masks these human attributes and prevents artists from expressing them directly. Thus, in the case of certain kinds of artistic expression, “civilization” is considered to be more a hindrance than a help.

Since African art is considered to be a pure, unmediated (and therefore culturally unspecific) form of expression it is thought that Westerners are also able to identify with African art (Price, 1989, p. 33). Price quotes Hilton Kramer’s review of the Rockefeller Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1982, in which he argues that the trend in Western culture to emulate “primitive” cultures resulted from a desire to achieve the emotional intensity that was believed possible when “culture” was set aside. Kramer gives examples of cults and various types of therapy that were becoming popular in Western culture in the 1980s, and which aimed to restore to Western art and culture the primitive intensity that was thought inevitably to be lost on becoming “civilized” (Price, 1989, pp. 29-30).

Picasso was one of the best-known Western artists to incorporate African influences into his own work. In the early-twentieth century his work became more angular, and he became less concerned with producing a realistic representation of an external object or scene. An example of a work that embodies these new ideals is Les Demoiselles d’Avignon (1907) in which the human figures are represented as a series of geometric planes, and the faces are depicted as two-dimensional and mask-like. These features have been attributed to Picasso’s interest in both ancient Iberian sculpture and African art. It has been argued that Picasso’s incorporation of African elements into Western art did not deplete African art, but only enriched Western art (see Lipsitz, 1994, p. 58). However, others have argued that damage has been done to African art because of the tendency for prestige to be attached to the
Western artists who discovered and appropriated elements of it, with little acknowledgement going to the African artists (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 58).

Products of Africa have been identified by Westerners as "art" and have been incorporated into Western artistic circles. So-called "primitive" art has become collectible in the West, frequently selling for high prices and being exhibited in museums and art galleries throughout the world. Adding to the mystery and exoticism that surrounds artistic expressions of African cultures is the frequent anonymity of the artist, since this renders the origins of the work unclear. In the world of Western art, great lengths may be gone to in order to establish who is the artist of a particular work, and the value of a work may change considerably if it is discovered that it had been attributed to the wrong artist. African art, too, is evaluated in terms of its "authenticity" as determined by the West; however, one of the strongest indicators of authenticity of "primitive" art is the anonymity of the artist. Because of the perception that African life is centred more on the group than on the individual, most of the Western focus has been on identifying the community from which an African piece originates rather than the individual artist. Consequently, any stylistic features that are observed in one piece of art are assumed to be features that all artists from the community will exhibit in their work. Hugyhe wrote in 1973 that "in these societies art is a complete communal language in itself" (Hughye, cited in Price, 1989, p. 61).

The belief that African art is the product of a community rather than an individual has led to African artists being represented in the West as interchangeable with one another. This relates to the idea that African artists are providing a direct expression of universal human traits and issues, as opposed to Western artists who are concerned with the style and medium through which they portray these ideas. Thus the Western attitude to African art illustrates the tendency of the Self not to recognize diversity within an Other group and instead to treat it as a homogeneous unit. It also illustrates the tendency to dismiss as lacking meaning any system of communication that is misunderstood: hence stylistic variations between the signifiers chosen
by different African artists are not recognized and are frequently assumed to be absent.

**African music as "exotic"**

African music has been portrayed as both close to nature and as traditional and unchanging, and therefore the musical sounds that signify "Africa" have taken on connotations of the pure and primal ascribed to Africans' closeness to nature. Taylor notes a tendency for world music consumers to look for "some connection to the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic" (Taylor, 1997, p. 26). A connection with nature is identified in the rhythmic qualities of much African music, which have been related to naturally occurring rhythms such as the heartbeat. The heart is often considered to be the location of human emotions, as well being the source of life itself. Rhythmic music, therefore, may be considered a celebration of natural rhythms as well as implying that those who perform such music have a close relationship with nature. Furthermore, drum teachers around the world offer African drum music as a form of therapy. For example, Jim Borling, director of music therapy at Radford University, claimed, "[r]hythm is an energizer of the emotions" (Radford University publicity information, 2001). Similarly, Anton Peskan, the leader of a drum circle for children affected by war in Yugoslavia, states, "the sound of the drum is natural because it's made of nature" (Peskan, 2000).

Another way in which African music has been related to nature is in the description of African people as "naturally musical" or "naturally rhythmic". Such claims imply that the ability to engage in African musical behaviours is an inherent characteristic, rather than one that is learned during the process of acculturation, and therefore that it is something natural rather than something cultural. Samuel Coleridge Taylor wrote in the foreword to his *Twenty-four Negro Melodies, transcribed for the piano* (1904),
the Negro is really and truly a most musical personality. What culture may do for the race in this respect has yet to be determined, but the underlying musical nature cannot for a moment be questioned. (quoted in Collins and Richards, 1989, p. 21)

Ghanaian-born drummer Obo Addy describes his experiences of performing African music with white American performers and the way in which this was questioned in America:

... American audiences are a little funny about me playing African music with white people in the band. But you can get a white person who is more rhythmic than an African. ... Even the Ghanaians that I brought [to America], some of them left because the [African] music was too hard. (quoted in Taylor, 1997, pp. 58-59)

Western responses to African music have been influenced by the assumption that it is natural and traditional, including the Western desire to preserve African music as an expression of African culture and lamenting of the Westernization of Africa. David Fanshawe, in notes accompanying a recording of *African Sanctus*, mentions the Luo “warriors” of Western Kenya, who pay tribute at a ritual burial in which they dance around a slain warrior, which seems to signify the burial of traditional African culture. As they die away one is left with distant war drums sounding in the desert ... (African Sanctus album notes, pp. 9-10)

Later, Fanshawe refers to a “predominant drum beat [that] signifies the end of a vanishing culture” (African Sanctus album notes, p. 10). Early ethnomusicologists such as Hornbostel and, later, Tracey were concerned with the conservation of traditional music (Collins and Richards, 1989, p. 21). Hornbostel’s belief that Africans were abandoning their traditional music in
favour of European styles led him to emphasize the differences between African and European musics in an attempt to “save” the former (Waterman, 1991, p. 172). The attempt to preserve traditional musics amounts to an attempt to prevent the Other from making decisions about musical behaviours. As Collins and Richards state, “African art is too often viewed ahistorically and the analysis of West African music suffers, in particular, from the fact that without their history the sounds are robbed of much of their significance” (Collins and Richards, 1989, p. 12).

In attributing qualities such as “natural” and “traditional” to African music, musical signifiers have also been used to support images of Africa as a mysterious, exotic place. Musical performances were expected to be exotic in their Otherness, and these expectations were occasionally frustrated. Pratt discusses the tour around Europe of a South African choir in the nineteenth century, which was disappointing to some European audiences because of the lack of exotic elements and because they learned that the performers would not wear “native” dress at home (Pratt, 1992, pp. 100, 131). Other African performances, however, appear from Western descriptions to fulfill the role of the exotic. At Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa’s coronation in 1977 in the Central African Empire, Newsweek described the way in which “bare-breasted maidens danced and tribesmen coaxed strange sounds out of giant horns” (Newsweek, 19/12/77, p. 17), thus emphasizing the Other elements of the ceremony.

While African visual art was, in the early-twentieth century, beginning to be embraced by many in the West as a direct and desirable expression of humanity, African music continued to be dismissed as merely unintelligible in its primitivity. The incorporation of “African” elements in the form of African-American styles into Western musical traditions was greeted with moral outrage in the early-twentieth century. The cakewalk was described as “a grotesque, savage, and lustful heathen dance, quite proper in Ashanti, but shocking on the boards of a London Hall”, and was cited as a reason “why negro and white can never lie down together” (Pieterse, 1992, p. 145).
By the end of the twentieth century, African music had become more accessible and more accepted within Western cultures. The appreciation of the musical behaviours of Other cultures was an important part of the growing inclusiveness of the Western Self in the late-twentieth century, and indeed the consumption of Other musics became one way in which Westerner audiences could demonstrate the ease with which they function within the contemporary musical world. Taylor notes that such musical behaviour is now so highly valued that Other musics rival “classical” music as symbolic of cultural capital (Taylor, 2000, pp. 173-174).

From the 1980s, “world music” became an important new category in the music industry, and provided opportunities to expose the Western market to sounds that, although they became increasingly familiar, essentially remained Other. As Anthony Wall notes, the term “world music” itself was a label for “faraway music with strange sounding names” (Wall, 1990, p. 9). Consequently, African music, or music that incorporated musical signifiers for “Africa”, was at times included in music of the West in order to create an exotic effect. Rick Glanvill quotes the representative of a late-1980s top-forty British band which, while working on an “African-flavoured” record, required “an authentic African voice to sing gibberish – at least to our ears – over the top of some tracks” (Glanvill, 1990, p. 58). Clearly, the band was concerned with signifying “Africa” to a Western audience rather than communicating within the sign system of an African culture.15

It is notable that sub-Saharan Africa has rarely featured as the exotic Other in Western art music, despite the frequency with which Arab cultures featured. In the 1920s, French composer Darius Milhaud included African subject matter as the basis for his ballet La création du monde. However, Milhaud did not incorporate musical signifiers such as the kinds of drum sounds that were associated with Africa; instead he used jazz-inspired sounds, including instrumentation (saxophone, jazz drums) and syncopated...

15 For further examples of the use of invented sounds to signify Other cultures, see Taylor, 2000, p. 169.
rhythms. Jazz at this time was, in Europe, representative not only of America but also of the African American subculture. Therefore some European composers viewed jazz, with its clear rhythmic focus and intonational differences from "classical" music's norm, as a link with the unintelligible "non-music" of Africa. Instances of jazz being associated with Africa appear as late as 1999 in Disney's Tarzan, in which monkeys play jazz in the jungle during the song "Trashing the Camp".\(^\text{16}\)

The availability of recorded African music increased significantly in the late-twentieth century and, as has been noted, it became increasingly sought-after by Western music consumers. However, exposure to African music in Western culture, and to musical signifiers that represent "Africa", continues predominantly to occur informally rather than through the intentional seeking and purchasing of African music in recorded form, and the ability to decode musical signifiers as representing "Africa" is most likely to have been acquired through the observation of these sounds juxtaposed with other images of "Africa" in media such as film and television.

Musical signification of "North Africa"

North African cultures have similarly been encoded within musical sign relationships in Western representations. Said has established that Arab cultures have, like African cultures, been represented as a homogeneous unit within Western culture (Said, 1995, pp. 37-38; see also Scott, 1997). Said demonstrated in Orientalism (first published in 1978) that a number of connotations have been attached to Arab cultures, and perpetuated through Western discursive practices over many centuries. Cultures in the Northern part of the African continent, including Egypt, have been included within the West's construction of the Middle East, or what was formerly referred to as

\(^\text{16}\) This association of an African-based cultural practice with monkeys could be interpreted as recalling nineteenth-century attitudes.
"the Orient", rather than in the Western construction of Africa. Representations of North African cultures are largely omitted from the texts referred to above, in which sub-Saharan Africa is discussed. Cameron specifically excludes films set in North African from his study (Cameron, 1994, p. 14). Pieterse describes the “composite image of Africa” since the time of the ancient Greeks, “the Africa of Egypt and the Nubian kingdoms (‘Ethiopia’), and a ‘wild’, unknown Africa”, and notes that Egypt was sometimes shown on maps as separate from the African continent (Pieterse, 1992, p. 24). Instead, North Africa forms an important part of discussions of Arab cultures, including Said’s Orientalism and Jack Shaheen’s investigation into the representation of Arab cultures and peoples in Hollywood films: Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People (2001). Therefore, an investigation into the musical sign relationships that include the signified “North Africa” can most usefully be undertaken separately from the above discussion of the representations of sub-Saharan Africa.

What are the musical signifiers that function in a sign relationship with the signified “the Middle East”? Unlike Africa, the Middle East is not generally signified by drum sounds. This is not because of an absence of percussion in the music of the Middle East; nor was the encoding of drums as a signifier for Africa reflective of an absence of other timbres in African musics. However, the encoding of a musical sound as a signifier for a cultural group depends upon consistent juxtaposition of signifier and signified, rather than absolute cultural or historical accuracy (see Said, 1995, pp. 71-72).

One of the most widely employed musical signifiers for Arab cultures is a primarily stepwise melodic idea, often based on the Phrygian or Aeolian modes, but including the interval of the augmented second. This interval arises in some Arab modes, including the Hijaz mode where it appears between the second and third degrees of the scale (Scott, 1997). This melody may appear in various timbres, though it is often performed on string or wind instruments that allow for some flexibility in pitch. Some percussion, such as triangle or gong, often accompanies it (Scott, 1997). Several writers describe
such a sound as acting as a signifier for the Middle East. Martin Marks
describes the “sinuous stepwise melody, colored by triplets and by
augmented seconds” in *Casablanca* as “pseudo-Arabian” (Marks, 2000, p. 164),
while Kalinak notes that eighteenth-century signifiers for “Turkey” included
simple melodies, unusual rhythmic patterns, modal digressions and a
tendency toward chromaticism (Kalinak, 2000, p. 328).

While the melodic pattern described above is the musical signifier most
frequently associated with the Middle East, another must be considered: that
is, the sound that represents the call to prayer of the muezzin from the
minaret. Although Muslim and Arab cultures are not synonymous (as will be
discussed below) the high proportion of Muslims in the Middle East has
contributed to the two groups at times being assumed to be the same. Thus
the sound of the call to prayer has also been used as a signifier for the Middle
East generally. This sound in its Western representation usually consists of a
solo male voice, sometimes with a drone-like accompaniment, in an
unmetered rhythm, a predominantly stepwise melody within the range of
approximately a sixth, and often with some flexibility of pitch compared with
Western temperament.\(^{17}\)

Middle Eastern cultures were, like African cultures, frequently
depicted in film throughout the twentieth century. In these contexts, the
Middle East was frequently signified through music, contributing to the
important associations between aural and visual signifiers that make up the
Western image of the Middle East. As is the case with African
representations, connotations of the Middle Eastern Other may be identified
according to certain categories. Some of the connotations of the people of the
Middle East resemble or parallel the connotations of Africa. This is perhaps
not surprising if these connotations and images are considered to originate
from the Self culture, rather than being truly reflective of the Other (Said,
1995, pp. 71-72). It was noted earlier that representations of the Other are
likely to focus on those aspects that have been repressed within the Self

\(^{17}\) See Scott, 1997, p. 7 for a list of “Orientalist devices” that expands on those mentioned here.
culture, as well as emphasizing difference in order to protect the stability of the Self culture's identity. Because the representations of the African and Arab Others that are discussed here originate from the same Western Self culture, it is to be expected that some similarities would arise (see also Pieterse, 1992, pp. 232-233).

However, the responses of the Western Self to the Arab Other differ markedly from responses to the African Other. Some of the "supporting evidence" that has been used in Western culture to justify the stereotypical representations of African people includes: lack of written communication, and therefore lack of documented history; lack of clothing; poverty; lack of organized trade; lack of Christianity; and therefore, overall, a lack of "civilization". These beliefs contributed to the Western responses that are discussed above, particularly responses of pity and a belief that, although the African Other may be unpredictable and fearful, it was the duty of the Western Self to understand that Africans could not be held responsible for these behaviours, and that Westerners can assist in their processes of civilization and cultural evolution by teaching them. The African Other was considered primitive, and therefore it represents the past from which the West has culturally and biologically evolved. Thus Africa may be considered a place of hope, if it is guided appropriately to maturity. The African Other therefore poses a limited threat to the Self because the sense of temporal distance that is incorporated within the representations of difference also distances the threat to Self identity.

However, these aspects of "civilization" commonly held to be absent from African cultures could not be denied existence in Arab cultures. Arab literacy, documented history, clothed-ness, relative wealth of land and resources, and organized trade could not be denied; nor could the apparent "alternative" to Christianity in terms of a widespread religion in Islam. Therefore, the aspects identified as "lacking" in African cultures and that were treated as a way of explaining the inferior behaviours of African people could not be used so easily as a way of explaining the Other behaviours of
Arab people. Nor could the belief be upheld that assisting Arab people to gain a lacked civilization would lead to behavioural changes, as was the case with the civilizing mission in Africa, since an Arab alternative to Western civilization already existed. Therefore, the represented “incompetent”, “violent” and “lecherous” behaviour of Arab people is inexcusable, and explained as indicative of ineptitude and evil rather than ignorance or naivety. Consequently, the Arab Other is not to be pitied and helped, but to be hated and feared. The following discussion presents examples of such representations of the Arab Other in Western contexts.

Arabs as the inferior Other

The representation of Africa as “primitive” lies at the heart of other connotations, including Africans as biologically and culturally primitive. Arab cultures, too, have been described as “primitive” in these respects. As William Greider states, “Arabs are depicted as carriers of primitivism” (quoted in Shaheen, 2001, p. 6). Biological primitivism has been one accusation. Shaheen notes the reference to Arabs as “monkeys” in several Hollywood films (Shaheen, 2001, p. 15), while in the Agatha Christie novel Death on the Nile (first published 1937) Egyptians are similarly dehumanized when described as a “human cluster of flies” (Christie, 1999, pp. 34-35). Said argues that such dehumanizing processes are a way of exerting control over Arabs (Said, 1995).

Other sources represent Arabs as culturally primitive. A relative lack of civilization in contemporary Arab cultures is often identified when compared with either the ancient Middle East or contemporary Western culture. Said in Orientalism (1995) quotes several Western sources from the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that indicate the prevailing attitude toward Middle Eastern cultures in this era. For example, Arthur Balfour
described Arab cultures as being “at least four centuries behind the times” (cited in Said, 1995, p. 306), recalling Carlotta Hacker’s similar descriptions of African cultures. According to Said, Renan considered Semitic nations to be “inorganic, arrested, totally ossified, incapable of self-regeneration” (Said, 1995, p. 147). Similarly, Cromer stated, “[a]lthough the ancient Arabs acquired in a somewhat higher degree the science of dialectics, their descendants are singularly deficient in the logical faculty” (Said, 1995, p. 38). Such comments convey the view that whatever levels in science and technology, the arts and architecture may have been achieved in the early Arab world, these have been superseded in contemporary Western culture (Shaheen, 2001, pp. 2-3). The representation of the Middle East as a place that lacks civilization when compared with Western culture appeared in the 1981 film Raiders of the Lost Ark, in which a German soldier in the Middle East states, “[e]ven in this part of the world we are not entirely uncivilized”. This film also includes the famous scene in which Indiana Jones, when faced with a scimitar-wielding Arab, takes out his gun and shoots his opponent: a clear example of Western technology triumphing over Arab tradition.

References to Arabs as “childlike” have also appeared in some sources. Richard Burton described Arabs as children who could be easily placated and manipulated (Nasir, 1976, p. 73), while Karl Baedeker in 1914 advised that the traveller to Egypt should

bear in mind that many of the natives with whom he comes in contact are mere children, whose demands should excite amusement rather than anger, and who often display a touching simplicity and kindliness of disposition. (quoted in Gilsenan, 1986, p. 7)

However, the image of the “childlike” Arab appears to have become less pervasive than that of the “childlike African”. The perceived inferiority of Arabs was more often explained as ineptitude or carelessness than as naivety. Cromer, for example, stated, “the mind of the Oriental . . . like his picturesque streets, is eminently wanting in symmetry. His reasoning is of the most
slipshod description" (cited in Said, 1995, p. 38). Weber similarly claimed that Orientals have a fundamental incapacity for trade, commerce and economic rationality (Said, 1995, p. 259). Images of the inept Arab appear in contemporary depictions. In the 1999 film *The Mummy* the Western librarian Evie is claimed to be “the only one in a 1000 mile radius” who could organize the Egyptian library, while later in the film Egypt is described as “a messed-up country”, the implication being that this is a result of Egyptian incompetence.

Comparisons between Western and Arab cultures became an important aspect of Western representations of the Middle East. As Said notes, figures of speech about “the Orient” are “always symmetrical to, and yet diametrically inferior to, a European equivalent” (Said, 1995, p. 72). Thus the features of Arab cultures identified as parallels to the West are devalued in order to reduce their threat. For example, Anderson quotes Thomas Babington Macauley: “a single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia” (Anderson, 1991, p. 91). Arab wealth, too, is dismissed as “undeserved” and “an affront to real civilization” (Said, 1995, p. 108), therefore inferior to any wealth gained by those in Western culture. Arab religion in the form of Islam is seen as a factor contributing to the violent behaviours displayed by Arab people (images of which are discussed below), and therefore as an inferior ideology compared with Christianity (Said, 1995, pp. 48-49). Behaviours that appear to be different from Western behaviours are dismissed as, for example, “silly Eastern superstition” in *The Mummy* (1999). Even the clothed-ness of Arabs compared to Africans is portrayed as inferior to Western traditions; in this case, Arab clothing is represented as more extreme in the desire to cover the body, particularly the female body (Shaheen, 2001, p. 25). Thus in describing and subsequently devaluing parallels between the West and the Middle East, Western culture retains both difference and dominance where it may otherwise appear to be under threat.
Arab music as “inferior”

The evolutionary view of music that had a lasting impact on the representation of African music in the West has also affected the representation of Arab music. However, while writers particularly of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries dismissed African music as barely being musical at all, Arab music was often described as being the earliest “true” music. Further examples cited by Allen (1962) illustrate this. For example, Crowest, in the early-twentieth century, wrote a music history entitled “The Rise of Music, being a Careful Inquiry into the Development of the Art from its Primitive Puttings Forth in Egypt and Assyria to its Triumphant Consummation in Modern Effect” (Allen, 1962, p. 131), while Karl Krause (1827) described unadorned melody as the childhood of music, which could be found in Hindu, Chinese, Persian and Arab cultures (Allen, 1962, p. 92). As is the case with many other aspects of Western thought, music is considered to have originated in the Middle East but to have been perfected in the West. Rousseau wondered why “the Oriental languages, so sonorous and musical . . . never led that enthusiastic and voluptuous people to the discovery of our harmony” (Rousseau, 1768, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 79; emphasis in original), while Hullah stated that there was no need for anyone to seek to accomplish the impossible task of understanding the music of “Oriental” systems since “the European system, though the exigencies of practice prevent its being absolutely true, is nearer the truth than any other” (Hullah, 1862, cited in Allen, 1962, p. 124).

Descriptions of Arab music appear in the novels of British mystery-writer Agatha Christie who, after spending time on archaeological expeditions in the Middle East, set several of her novels in this area. For example, in Murder in Mesopotamia (first published 1936) she describes a “little boy, Abdullah, whose business it was to wash pots” and who “as usual, kept
up his queer nasal chant" (Christie, 1998, p. 63). Earlier, the narrator described the setting:

It was the workmen that made me laugh. You never saw such a lot of scarecrows - all in long petticoats and rags, and their heads tied up as though they had toothache. And every now and then, as they went to and fro carrying baskets of earth, they began to sing - at least I suppose it was meant to be singing - a queer sort of monotonous chant that went on and on over and over again. (Christie, 1998, p. 43)

Thus Arab music is described in terms of Otherness, but also in terms of inferiority in comparison with Western music.

Arabs as the dangerous Other

The image of the “evil Arab” with a propensity toward violence and lechery is one that has been discussed at length by Said, as well as by Shaheen who describes Arabs in the Western image as “Public Enemy #1 - brutal, heartless, uncivilized religious fanatics and money-mad cultural ‘others’” (Shaheen, 2001, p. 2). Just as the inferiority of Arab cultures could not be explained as evidence of a lack of culture, the assumed Arab propensity for violent or lecherous behaviour could not be excused as inevitable for a people who are without culture or civilization. Arabs demonstrated their relative civilization in the form of literacy, organized religion and trade, and therefore violent or inappropriate sexual behaviour could not easily be explained as understandably instinctive. Consequently, such actions must be evidence of “evil”: not instinctive but calculated, and therefore more frightening and less able to be changed by Western instruction.

While Africans are often represented as lacking intelligence, Arabs are represented as being cunning. When this cunning is put to violent or manipulative ends, the Arab threat to the West is increased. As Balfour
stated, Arabs are “superficially clever and quick witted” yet worship only power and success, and carry a treacherous and arrogant nature (Said, 1995, p. 306). This “quest for power” has contributed to the belief that Arabs are prepared to be untruthful to achieve their goals. Cromer in Modern Egypt states, “[w]ant of accuracy, which easily degenerates into untruthfulness, is in fact the main characteristic of the Oriental mind . . .” (cited in Said, 1995, p. 38). Agatha Christie features this as one of the main characteristics of the few Arabs mentioned in her novel Murder in Mesopotamia. One British character states “Facts? Facts? Lies told by an Indian cook and a couple of Arab house-boys. You know these fellows as well as I do. . . . Truth as truth means nothing to them” (Christie, 1998, p. 73). “These fellows” refers not to the particular Indian and Arab characters in the novel, but rather to Indian and Arab people in general, indicating that untruthfulness is a characteristic to be expected in these cultures.

Perhaps as a result of their supposed cunning and untruthfulness, some Arabs are also represented as excessively wealthy and ostentatious: as the 1962 Ray Stevens hit describes, “Ahab the Arab, the sheikh of the burning sand . . . had emeralds and rubies just dripping off ‘a him and a ring on every finger of his hands”. Ostentatious lifestyles are frequently portrayed in films. As Shaheen notes, “contemporary films present oily, militant, ostentatious sheikhs reclining in Rolls Royces, aspiring to buy up chunks of America” (Shaheen, 2001, p. 21). Said notes the effect that such representations have in the West, stating that an Arab’s “undeserved wealth is an affront to real civilization” (Said, 1995, p. 108), since it is assumed to be the result of unscrupulous business dealings. Representations of Arab business dealings often show Arabs as dishonest. In Casablanca (1942), for example, an Arab merchant tries to sell Ailsa some linen for a much higher price than it is worth, only decreasing the price when Rick tells her, “you’re being cheated”.

Another aspect of the “evil” Arab is the “lecherous” Arab. As with portrayals of Arabs as inexcusably violent, their allegedly sexualized behaviour toward women is similarly inexplicable according to ignorance,
naïvety or instincts as it is with Africans. This is often centred on the misrepresentation of the Arab “sheikh” as a perverted character who is violent toward (particularly Western) women (Shaheen, 2001, p. 19). Images of the sheikh dominating women of the harem have been included in several films, including classic depictions in the 1921 Rudolph Valentino film *The Sheikh* (Shaheen, 2001, p. 20). The lecherous Arab has also been portrayed in more recent films: in *The Mummy* (1999) Jonathan is told when purchasing a camel from an Arab, “all you have to do is give him your sister”. Lines such as this have led to *The Mummy* being described as “a racist masterpiece” (Michael Hoffman II, quoted in Shaheen, 2001, p. 334).

Arab “evil” behaviours are often represented in relation to the predominant religion of the region, Islam. Arab cultures are frequently depicted as synonymous with Muslim cultures. Although most Arab people are Muslims, only twelve percent of Muslims worldwide are Arabs (Shaheen, 2001, pp. 3-4). The frequent depiction of these two groups as the same has resulted in the popular belief that the attributes of one group are shared by the other (Shaheen, 2001, p. 4). Therefore, the predominant recent representation of Islam in terms of “male supremacy, holy war and acts of terror” (Shaheen, 2001, p. 9) relate and contribute to images of the “evil Arab” described above. American psychiatrist Harold W. Glidden argued in 1972 that Islam makes a virtue of revenge, and that “the art of subterfuge is highly developed in Arab life, as well as in Islam itself, and no Arab underestimates its possibilities” (Glidden, 1972, p. 987). Such attitudes toward Islam are apparent in contemporary films. As Shaheen notes, “when mosques are displayed onscreen, the camera inevitably cuts to Arabs praying, and then gunning down civilians” (Shaheen, 2001, p. 9). Islam is also treated as a source for attitudes toward women in the Middle East, with the Muslim clothing and veil treated as important symbols of oppression (Shaheen, 2001, p. 23).

Violence is often portrayed as an inherent part of Arab culture, as in, for example, the 1992 Disney production of *Aladdin*. The initial inclusion in
the opening lyrics of the lines “Where they cut off your ear if they don’t like
your face, It’s barbaric, but hey, it’s home” set the scene for many images that
portray violence and evil as a part of Arab culture. Shaheen criticizes the
representation of street merchants preparing to cut off Princess Jasmine’s
hand for stealing an apple, when such punishments are themselves part of the
Western myth of Arab barbarity (Shaheen, 2001, p. 51).

The “evil” that Arabs are represented as embodying is often portrayed
as a direct threat to Western culture. As Bohlman notes, “the Islamic world
[is] undeniably the most threatening historical other” of Western culture
(Bohlman, 2000, p. 645). It is also an Other with which the West has a long
history of conflict over differences in belief systems, starting with the first
Crusade in 1095. This threat is evident in more recent sources. The marketing
text Global Marketing (2000) defines pan-Arabism as “a form of nationalism
and loyalty that transcended borders and amounted to anti-Western dogma”
(Keegan and Green, 2000, p. 112). Representations of Arabs as the enemy of
the West abound in films. As Shaheen states, “[b]eginning with Imar the
Servitor (1914), up to and including The Mummy Returns (2001), a synergy of
images equates Arabs from Syria to the Sudan with quintessential evil”
(Shaheen, 2001, p. 14). Shaheen identifies the presence of the “Arab villain” in
Hollywood films of all genres, and notes that Egyptians in particular are
represented as “nuclear-crazed and pro-Nazi” (Shaheen, 2001, p. 24).

The “evil” of the Arab Other has been portrayed in another important
form within Western representations: that of the terrorist. Shaheen notes that
Palestinians in particular have been depicted as likely to engage in acts of
terrorism, often against Americans as in True Lies (1994) and Black Sunday
(1977) (Shaheen, 2001, p. 27). When considered alongside media reporting of
political events involving the Middle East that has been shown to perpetuate
stereotypical images (Said, 1995, pp. 286-287), as it has in reports involving
Africa, the image of the “evil Arab” plays a significant role in shaping
Western perceptions of the Middle East.
Arab music as "danger"

The use of drums as a musical signifier for Africa has been shown to carry strong connotations of "fear", with the music itself having been described as "frightening". The musical signifiers for the Middle East, on the other hand, do not appear to have taken on connotations of "danger" to the same extent. No references to the musical signifiers described above as being "frightening" have been found. However, because of the frequency with which the "evil Arab" image appears in film representations, musical signifiers for "the Middle East" have at times been associated with the dangerous nature of Arab characters. For example, in Raiders of the Lost Ark (1981) "Arab" music is associated with the Egyptian who spies for the Nazis. Similarly, in The Mummy (1999) the scene in which gun-wielding Arabs attack a Western army is accompanied by similarly "Arab" music, as is a close-up of a black-clothed Arab along with a voice-over stating, "the creature remains undiscovered".

Musical representations of Islam within Arab cultures have often incorporated the sound of the muezzin's call to prayer. This signifier has also been encoded with connotations of evil and violence in some contexts. The Siege (1998) has been criticized for the way in which Muslim worship is related to scenes of violence and the way Islam is portrayed as a violent religion (Shaheen, 2001, p. 430-432). Musical signifiers in this film include the "call to prayer" to refer to the Islamic faith of the terrorists, thus creating a link with connotations of violence. Similarly, Jerry Goldsmith's score for the 1991 film Not Without My Daughter includes, as stated in the album notes for the soundtrack, themes that "are colored in an exotic Middle Eastern idiom with one motif actually reminiscent of the Muslim call to prayer chant" (Cassar, 2000). In this example, the "call to prayer" signifier carries with it connotations of male supremacy associated with Islam.
Arabs as the exotic Other

Arab cultures have perhaps formed the strongest image of "the exotic" in Western culture, with the Arab world portrayed as "an essentially exotic, distant and antique place" (Said, 1994, p. 134). Exotic representations remove the threat of the Other by rendering it fascinating and bizarre rather than dangerous, and as predictable instead of unpredictable. Exoticism may also demarcate the Other as decorative, rather than as a challenge to a more substantial Self culture. Given that Arab cultures include cultural products and behaviours that have been treated as parallels to those of Western culture, it is perhaps not surprising that these should be presented as examples of decorative exotica, rather than as serious alternatives to those of the West.

One way in which Arab cultures have been annexed as exotic is through the focus on the ancient Middle East rather than on modern periods, and considering these earlier times to provide source material for contemporary Western cultures. Said describes the way in which the classical Orient is favoured over the modern (Said, 1995, pp. 300-301), and describes figures of speech about the Orient as "all declarative and self-evident; the tense they employ is the timeless eternal . . ." (Said, 1995, p. 72). Said's comments suggest that contemporary Arab cultures are depicted as remnants of a more appealing past and therefore as less of a threat to Western culture, which has "developed" and "progressed".

Of all the regions within the Middle East, Egypt has been portrayed most consistently as a representative of a past "golden age" of civilization. In the Description of Egypt, it is described as occupying the center of the ancient continent. This country presents only great memories; it is the homeland of the arts and conserves innumerable monuments; its principal temples and the palaces inhabited by its kings still exist . . . (cited in Said, 1995, p. 84)
Similarly, Nerval described Egypt as the “center, at once mysterious and accessible” from which, as Said states, “all wisdom derives” (Said, 1995, p. 182). The recurrent use of the term “centre” to describe Egypt is an indication of the emphasis that is placed on this region as a source of subsequent Western culture.

Because the Western fascination with Egypt stems at least in part from the belief that it was a significant source of Western culture, historical rather than modern images are often portrayed, even in late twentieth-century film (Shaheen, 2001, p. 25). The 1978 film of Christie’s Death on the Nile established the film’s location by including extended scenes of the British characters visiting the ancient pyramids and other historical areas, rather than with modern images. Furthermore, Shaheen notes the predominance of images of mummies and antiquity in popular films of the late-twentieth century that are set in Egypt, including The Mummy and The Mummy Returns, and the omission of images of modern or urban Egypt (Shaheen, 2001, p. 25). This is a further example of the exoticizing of Egypt and the Middle East, with the focus of these representations being the aspects of the Middle East that differ from the West rather than those that are similar.

Like African locations, Middle Eastern locations have been used in Western-produced films without the inclusion of any evidence of human occupancy or culture. This is not always purely for the area’s exotic possibilities. Ice Cold in Alex (1961) is set in Libya and Egypt because it depicts soldiers in action in World War 2; however, Shaheen notes the absence of Arabs throughout this film, with Libya “portrayed as a desert without people” (Shaheen, 2001, p. 161). Such uses of the Middle East as an empty location recall Cameron’s description of films that were “in Africa but not of it”. Similarly, in Agatha Christie’s “Middle Eastern” novels Arab characters play only cameo roles, to the extent that the action could have taken place almost anywhere. Christie’s descriptions of the locations establish the atmosphere but contribute little to the plot, and often portray the fascination typical of exoticism:
I don’t think that up till that moment I’d ever felt any of the so-called ‘glamour of the East’. Frankly, what had struck me was the mess everywhere. But suddenly... a queer sort of vision seemed to grow up before my eyes. I thought of words like Samarkand and Ispahan – and of merchants with long beards – and kneeling camels – and staggering porters carrying great bales on their backs held by a rope round the forehead – and women with henna-stained hair and tattooed faces kneeling by the Tigris and washing clothes, and I heard their queer wailing chants and the far-off groaning of the water-wheel. (Christie, 1998, p. 185)

This paragraph describes a number of visual and aural images of the exotic Arab Other that have become part of the collective consciousness of Western cultures. Scenes such as these, particularly desert scenes with camels and tents, busy bazaars, or scenes of ostentatious wealth and excess such as the harem (described by Gilsenan (1986, p. 13) as the most exotic of images) have become commonplace in Western films, outnumbering by far images of urban centres or contemporary lifestyles (Shaheen, 2001, pp. 3-4).

Arab music as “exotic”

Unlike sub-Saharan African cultures, “Arab” music has often been used in Western art music as an exotic or pictorial device. Several authors have discussed at length the use of “Arab” or “Oriental” musical signifiers in Western music (see Bellman, 1998; Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000b; Kárpáti, 1980; Scott, 1997). Such sounds have been incorporated into Western “classical” music compositions for many centuries, often functioning in much the same way as do these signifiers in film: that is, to establish the Middle East as the location for dramatic action or programmatic content. Examples include Mozart’s “Rondo alla turca”, in which textural and melodic features are incorporated that indicate Arab “Otherness”; Saint-Saëns’ Piano Concerto
no. 5, subtitled “Egyptian” which includes an “oriental character [in] some of its passages” (Studd, 1999, p. 203); and Beethoven’s evocation of a Turkish March in the finale of the Ninth Symphony.

Such sounds have also been treated as signifiers for “the exotic” outside the Middle East. Kalinak notes the “blurring of Otherness” that may take place with the use of “Arab” music to represent non-Arab exoticism (Kalinak, 2000, p. 329; see also Scott, 1997). This practice may be explained in two ways. First, Arab cultures may act as the prototypical exotic Other (just as African cultures act as the prototypical primitive Other) and therefore Arab music is prototypically exotic. Second, because exoticism is inherently bound up with images of timelessness and hence with the past, and because Arab music has often been considered the “earliest” (in the evolutionary sense) music that is qualified as music (unlike the even more “primitive” African drumming, which was noise), Arab music signifies “the timeless past” and therefore may signify non-Arab timeless pasts that are also exotic. Arab musics may also be more readily altered and inserted into the musical fabric of a Western orchestral composition. The string and woodwind timbres in which the signifiers for “the Middle East” often appear enabled these signifiers to be included into an orchestral composition more easily than could the drums that are used to signify Africa, given the often marginal role of percussion in the pre-twentieth-century orchestra. The appearance of “Arab” music within Western “classical” compositions thus fulfilled the decorative function of the exotic.

Since “Arab” music as a signifier for both the generic and the specifically Middle Eastern exotic was well established by the early twentieth century, it is not surprising that similar signifiers have appeared in films depicting the exoticism of Arab cultures. Indeed, the predominance of “Arab” music in the title tracks of several of the films mentioned here as a means of establishing the “location” suggests that such exoticism is often present in films set in the Middle East. As well as in the title tracks, “Arab” music often appears during scenes typical of the exotic Arab Other. In
Casablanca, crowd scenes at the market place are always accompanied by "Arab" music, as are the village scenes in Raiders of the Lost Ark and the desert scenes in The Mummy to name just a few examples. In such scenes, the use of musical signifiers encoded with connotations of the "exotic Other" reinforce the exotic Otherness of the scenes, as well as reinforcing the exoticism of the musical signifiers themselves.

This chapter has presented evidence of the existence of musical sign relationships linking the concepts of "Africa" and "the Middle East" to particular musical sounds. Furthermore, the connotations attached to African and Arab Others within Western cultures have been shown to circulate within contexts that include musical signifiers for these cultures, particularly film contexts in which musical and non-musical signifiers are consistently juxtaposed. Chains of signification may be established between the musical signifier, the culture, and the connotations that culture evokes. It has been demonstrated here that many of the Western connotations of the African and Arab Other have been evident throughout the twentieth century in Western contexts that include musical discourse as well as audible musical signifiers. In this way, the musical signifiers themselves have become encoded with secondary level signifieds as well as functioning at a primary level as signifiers for "Africa" and "the Middle East". Drums as a musical signifier for Africa therefore may evoke connotations of primitivism, fear, or exoticism, while the melodic and timbral features that act as musical signifiers for the Middle East may evoke connotations of danger, inferiority or exoticism. It was established in Chapter Two that musical signifiers that have been encoded with meaning in contexts such as film can continue to function as signifiers in new contexts. Therefore, the musical signifiers explored in this chapter might conceivably evoke similar connotations in new contexts in which these sounds appear, and therefore play a role in many instances of the decoding of these signifiers. The ways in which listeners decoded these signifiers when they appeared in the context of Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt
will be discussed in Chapter Five, following a consideration of the “classical” music that is also featured on these albums in Chapter Four.
Chapter Four: Musical representations of the Self

"Classical music is music without Africa..." (Brian Eno, quoted in Feld, 1996, p. 19)

In Chapter Three it was established that musical sounds may function as signifiers for specific Other cultures. Musical signifiers may also be encoded as signifiers for Self cultures. The following discussion is an investigation into the ways in which Western "classical" music functions as a signifier in contemporary Western cultures, in order to provide a framework for understanding the responses that listeners offered towards de Courson's albums. An insider's understanding of the Self inevitably includes recognition of the complexity of the Self's structure, as was discussed at length in Chapter One. The collective Self is heterogeneous since many possible combinations of identities may be included, even though any individual will adopt only a limited number of them. This model is adopted here in order to illustrate the nature of "classical" music as a potential signifier for the Self, and to demonstrate how this sign relationship may function to various degrees for individual listeners within the Western Self culture.

Given that sales of "classical" recordings make up a very small percentage of overall sales, it may appear that those who decode "classical" music as a signifier for individual Self identity make up a very small group within Western culture. However, such an assumption does not take into account the multi-layered structure of Self identity described in Chapter One, in which it was established that individual members of an overall cultural group, such as Western culture, may belong to an almost infinite number of subcultural groups, from national groups to social groups to family groups. In Chapter Two it was further established that various categories of music
may hold connotations that include either “Selfness” or “Otherness”, as well as many other connotations: the range of potential meanings carried by such categories is not limited to these two options, as was demonstrated in Chapter Three. Therefore, individuals encountering music they identify as belonging to the overall Self culture will decode it in complex ways.

In Chapter One, it was noted that an individual may at times experience some conflict between various levels of identity. The example offered was of the bond between geographically distant family members being tested by sporting competitions between regions: the individual might well identify members of his or her family as Other for the duration of the competition, while including as Self individuals from the local area who, under any other circumstances, might be clearly identified as Other. Similar negotiations of identity may be present in the categorization of Self music.

As an example, a teenager who has had little formal education in music (except that offered in the general school curriculum) but whose parents enjoy listening to recordings of orchestral works might have a varying response to “classical” music. In some social situations, such as with his or her friends, “classical” music might be placed very firmly as belonging to an Other (generational) group. At music classes in school it might be somewhat Self, as the teenager gains knowledge of the resources and structures of the music, and yet remaining relatively Other when compared with the genres of music that are chosen for purchase and consumption. However, if she traveled to, for example, an African nation, she might well identify “classical” music as very much a part of her Self culture in comparison with the African music she hears. Thus identification of any music as Self music must be qualified by the understanding that, as with any aspect of the Self culture, such an identification is likely to change depending upon the particular context in question.

This is a crucial issue with regard to the broad identification of “classical” music as music of the Self culture for the target audience of Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt. It was noted in the Introduction that the
target audience includes those who hold some degree of knowledge about the musical resources of "classical" music and who are comfortable with the kind of discourse to be found in "classical" album liner notes, since this is the tradition in which the liner notes to de Courson's albums are written. It was also stated that the research participants whose responses to these albums are considered in the following chapter were drawn from this target audience, identified because their musical behaviours had indicated an interest in or commitment to "classical" music. Thus for these listeners it may be expected that "classical" music will indeed be fairly consistently identified as Self music.

However, even for individuals within Western culture who rarely listen to "classical" music by choice and who have indicated no interest in participating in the performance of it (as with the fictional teenager described above) there are likely to be circumstances in which "classical" music is still identified as relatively Self (according to the Self-Other continuum mentioned in Chapter Two and developed in Chapter Six). Such instances include those when "classical" music is juxtaposed with other signifiers (musical or otherwise) that are identified as relatively Other. *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* are examples of such contexts. Thus it must be remembered that the responses that listeners offer to the "classical" music included on these albums are offered not to "classical' music" overall, but to "classical' music juxtaposed with African/Middle Eastern music", which is likely to affect the extent to which the "classical" music is identified as Self music. Similarly, of course, their responses to the Other musics are affected by the presence of the (relatively) Self music, accentuating the effect of the Otherness because of the close presence of the Self. The response is to a Self-Other boundary, as much as it is to Self and Other in themselves: these issues are discussed in greater depth in Chapters Six and Seven. However, it remains important to consider the meanings with which the "classical" music has been encoded in order to understand the particular responses offered, since (as noted in Chapter One)
not all Self-Other interactions are alike, but depend upon the nature of the Self, the Other, and the circumstances of the interaction.

Another aspect of the theoretical framework developed in Chapter One that is significant in a discussion of "classical" music in contemporary culture is the concept of heritage. Heritage plays an important role in the recognition of both the individual and the collective Self, and searching the past may assist in identifying differences between Self and Other. This is symbolized through the continuation of traditions, which provides a sense of connection with the past. Music from the past, such as the body of works often described in contemporary Western culture as "classical" (itself indicating longevity), may also play an important role in creating a sense of connection with the past, or of incorporation of the particular heritage that the past represents to the Self. Thus musical heritages and traditions may be a way of reinforcing Self identity by accentuating the differences between the heritages of the Self and Other groups. If the heritage is different between two groups, then this may support differences that exist between the two contemporary collective identities.

Western "classical" music has a particular heritage within contemporary Western culture, differing from other musical styles such as jazz and rock musics, which have their own distinct heritages. Firstly, "classical" music represents the European element of the heritage of Western culture. This association between Europe and "classical" music may be justified historically by the fact that much of the music that forms what Nettl (1995) refers to as the "central repertory" of "classical" music was composed by Europeans. Secondly, "classical" music represents an official, hegemonic heritage. This too may be justified historically, since the music of the central repertory was created for, and often by, those holding power. Thus "classical" music differs from other European musics, such as various folk traditions which do not carry such connotations of officialdom. Even though in contemporary Western society access to "classical" music is more democratic and usually gained in the same ways as popular and folk musics,
the works of the central repertory remain powerful signifiers for the official sectors of Western society.

"Classical" music is recognized as being internationally European. Even though composers of works in the central repertory are often acknowledged by their specific nationality within Europe, the repertory is often taken as a unit as "European". Therefore, these works may function as representations of a pan-European identity, perhaps in a similar way to drums being treated as representations of a pan-African identity. "Classical" music has become representative within contemporary Western culture of an international power group. Therefore, "classical" music may represent "officialdom" throughout contemporary Western culture, and not just in Europe. These connotations of "classical" music are considered in greater depth, with particular examples provided, later in this chapter.

"Classical" music has become an important part of what Turner (1990a) and others refer to as the "heritage industry" within Western culture: that is, those sectors of the market whose products and services provide consumers with heritage experiences in order to provide an understanding (or exciting experience) of the past as a support to contemporary identity. Along with "classical" music's ability to signify European heritage, connotations of elitism and exclusion may be evoked because of its association with the official sector of society. Connotations of the past, in the form of historical and pre-urban images, may also be evoked because of the music's past origin. "Classical" music has played an important signifying role in many products of the heritage industry, particularly the historical films, or "period dramas", that became particularly popular in the 1990s. As Taylor (2000, p. 174) states, "[i]n the context of advertising, marketing, and consumption, classical music signifiers old money, Old World, heritage, prestige". Examples of "classical" music's role in such contexts are discussed below.

It was noted above that "classical" music is by no means the only musical signifier to represent "Self" in Western culture. Other Western musical traditions carry different Self-identifying powers. Thus while
"classical" music represents official, European, elite, historical subsets of the Western Self, Irish traditional music represents Irish culture as a different subset of the Self, while popular musics represent various youth cultures as yet further subsets. These subsets continue to subdivide: hip hop music, for example, represents one subgroup within Western youth cultures while heavy metal represents another.

A range of Self musics represent various sectors of Western culture and are available for Western individuals to accept as a part of their identities. The same is likely to be true for individuals in Africa who respond in various ways to the many musics in Africa; however, this might not be recognized from an outsider's viewpoint. When decoding music that is Other, fewer decoding options are available because a more limited range of contexts is available in which Other musics are experienced. This situation does appear to be changing, as Other musics become more accessible in both live and recorded forms, but in general the music of the Other is available in a narrower range of circumstances than is the music of the Self. This contributes to the definition of difference between music that is considered to be Self and that which remains Other.

Each music included as Self in Western culture has been encoded with connotations of its own subcultural group. The association between "classical" music and official cultures with a European heritage has been mentioned, but other strong associations between musics and subcultures are also based on historical connections. Hip hop, for example, signifies male, African American, urban youth (see, for example, Kassabian, 2001, pp. 120-123), despite the fact that it is now performed and listened to by people from cultural groups around the world. Associations such as these may be so strong that when the expected sign relationship is broken, tension may arise that is released in the form of anger, confusion or laughter. An example appears in the 1998 film The Wedding Singer, in which the musical signifier "rap" is not paired with the expected signified "male, African American, urban youth", but instead with "elderly, white, middle-class female",
producing a comic effect. While the Self is heterogeneous and individuals may engage with a range of musics within the Self, certain musics carry connotations that make it acceptable for some subcultural groups but less so for others. While “classical" music is increasingly accessible both within and beyond Western culture, the connotations that it carries influence expectations regarding which subcultures will participate in performing and listening to it. This chain of signification may also be reversed: an individual may express membership of a subculture by choosing the music that usually signifies it.

The various sign relationships in which “classical" music functions in film, television and literature are discussed below. As supporting evidence, examples from film are again adopted because of the strength and immediacy of the association between the aural and the visual, as established in Chapter Two. The examples considered here are limited to those films that were commercially released in the mid-1990s, this being the period during which de Courson’s albums were produced. Preference is given to films that include pieces by Bach or Mozart, since these are the composers who are represented on de Courson’s albums; however, it will be argued that the works of the central repertory are, to a great extent, interchangeable within the sign relationships discussed here. Even with these restrictions a great number of films remain. Those used as illustration here are among many that were viewed in the process of collecting data for this research, with an attempt to represent various genres within the Western commercial film industry.

“Classical” music and “high culture”

The distinction between “high" and “low" has been made in Western culture since the Roman Empire (Strinati, 1995, p. 2). The high-popular distinction has been said to have reached its height in modernism (Lury, 1996, p. 57), during which time art was considered to be a form of expression that cannot be understood by all members of a cultural group. Music, like other
forms of expression such as visual art and literature, was thus described as either belonging to the category "high culture" and being "true art," or to the category "popular" or "low culture".

The distinction between art and commodity was central to Adorno's theories of music in culture. Music in the commodity form, Adorno argues, exhibits a false appearance of integration and evokes an uncritical and standardized response from the public. Music that is art, on the other hand, resists commodification by taking a critical position toward the artistic materials inherited and therefore demands a critical response from the audience. Thus the quality of art, according to Adorno, may be measured "according to the degree in which antagonisms are formed within the work, and in which their unity is attained through antagonisms rather than remaining external to them" (Adorno, quoted in Paddison, 1993, p. 56). Art of the modernist period was considered to distance itself from the public by presenting a discomforting experience of alienation from reality, to which the public responded by attempting to break down the difference between art and life, resulting in popular forms of musical expression (Adorno, 1997, pp. 16-17). Adorno's distinction between high and popular culture is not necessarily absolute, however, and he conceded that it is possible to produce "light" music of substance (Paddison, 1993, p. 204).

Also contributing to the blurring of the boundary between "high" and "popular" is the frequent claim that contemporary, post-modern culture features a breakdown of the distinction between "high culture" and "popular culture" (Strinati, 1995, p. 226; Storey, 1993, p. 15). Artists such as Andy Warhol exemplify this, using images and materials (such as the Mona Lisa) that would usually be described as belonging to "high culture" and applying to them techniques characteristic of "popular culture" such as replication and montage.

Evidence of a breakdown of the "high-pop" distinction may be found in the fact that access to musics from "high culture" and "popular culture" is gained in similar ways, owing to the predominance of recorded music and the
marketing of most music products through the music industry. Thus there may be little difference between gaining access to a recording of a Beethoven symphony and gaining access to a recording of the latest chart-topping popular album. Both are accessible in the same form (compact disc) from the same location (local record store), and often for the same price, and are played on the same equipment by performing the same actions.\textsuperscript{18}

In his discussion of music that affirms and accepts its commodity character, Adorno distinguishes between on the one hand light or popular music and, on the other, “serious” music of the past that is marketed in the manner of popular musics. Composers of the latter such as Bach, he argues, have in this process become “neutralized cultural monuments” (Adorno, 1981, p. 136). Simon Frith also discusses the commercialization of classical music, and notes that there is in contemporary culture a focus on the education of the public to enable them to appreciate “classical” music (Frith, 1998, p. 33). Such actions threaten the exclusivity of “art” that was characteristic of the modernist era. Robert Harris’s book \textit{What to Listen for in Mozart} (1991) exemplifies this. In the introduction, Harris states, “there is no reason why normal audiences cannot learn to appreciate this [‘classical’] music” (Harris, 1991, introduction).

By the late twentieth century “high culture” music had become a familiar sound in Western society, due to increased exposure reinforced by repeated listening, whether chosen or, in the cases of advertising or film, not chosen. It has therefore been suggested that “classical” music signifies stability and reassurance rather than presenting an aesthetic challenge to the listener. Christopher Small notes that the code of behaviour at a “classical” music concert is well established, and that the audience may be secure in the assumption that the “rules” will not be broken by other audience members (Small, 1998, pp. 41-42). Small likened the performance of “classical” music that forms the central repertory to “bedtime stories for adults” (Small, 1998, p. 187) because of the familiarity established through repetition. He states,

\textsuperscript{18} For a discussion of contemporary levels of consumption of “classical” music, see Eatock (2002).
[w]e have projected onto these works as they are performed our desires for harmony, structure, comprehensibility and changelessness in what seems to us a time of increasing dissonance, chaos, incomprehensibility of events and uncontrolled change. . . . If one could state in one word the meaning of performing them in our time, that word would be reassurance. (Small, 1998, p. 119, emphasis in original)

This reassurance is perhaps used as an antidote to the "postmodern/electronic age concept of image chaos: the progressively unshocking shocks of overloaded layers, bizarre juxtapositions and oppositions, forgeries and thefts, wrenches of time and location, and dislocations of function and meaning" that David Toop predicts would be the defining image of the end of the twentieth century (Toop, 1990, p. 126).

Inventions such as the walkman have led to the recontextualization of "masterpieces" of "classical" music as, for example, soundtracks for health routines (Mowitt, 1987, p. 190). Such recontextualizations change the purpose of listening to "classical" music from an intellectually-challenging aesthetic experience into an accompaniment to other activities, previously considered to be the function of popular music. These recontextualizations at times led to changes to the "classical" music in order that they should meet these new requirements. For example, Taruskin discusses the ways in which music is reinterpreted through performance and altered in order to suit a new context (Taruskin, 1982). Albums featuring extracts from well known "classical" tunes are examples, including Best of the Millennium: Top 40 Classical Tunes (2000) which includes only the main themes or single short, well-known movements of "classical" works by a variety of different composers instead of "classical" works in their entirety.

Adorno and Horkheimer, too, note the tendency to make changes to classics, stating that a jazz arranger "[W]hen jazzing up Mozart . . . changes him not only when he is too serious or too difficult but when he harmonizes the melody in a different way, perhaps more simply, than is customary now"
(Adorno and Horkheimer, 1993, p. 35). These contemporary uses of "classical" music render the original meanings of the works irrelevant and reduce the central repertory to singularity: a body of interchangeable works (Small, 1998; Walser, 1997, p. 461). Thus "classical" music is altered both contextually and musically in order to function in contemporary Western culture, and often these changes amount to minimizing the distinction between "high" and "popular" culture.

Further support for the claim that the "high-pop" distinction was breaking down in the late-twentieth century lies with the number of artists and musicians from this time who defy categorization in either group. Musicians such as Laurie Anderson, Philip Glass and Henryck Gorecki all attained recognition from both "high" and "popular" audiences in the 1980s and 1990s. However, despite such shifts in the balance of relations between "high culture" and "popular culture" (Lury, 1996, p. 189), the two categories remain important in contemporary Western culture. As Lury states,

while certain individuals - in the legitimating context of middle-class lifestyles - may cross the boundary between high and popular culture the distinction itself is upheld, and with it the institutionalization of an uneven distribution of knowledge. (Lury, 1996, p. 230)

The extent to which the "high-pop" distinction remains in place on an individual level may be questioned. However, the distinction does remain in place when "classical" music is encoded with meaning in many contexts in contemporary Western culture, acting as a signifier for "high culture" rather than "popular culture". For example, in the 1994 film Guarding Tess, Tess's affinity with Mozart, and particularly opera, is symbolic of her alignment with the world of "high culture". This is particularly evident in the scene in which Tess is driven to the opera house while Mozart's music plays on the car stereo and the passengers sit in sombre silence. In the car alongside her, her guards (who had already been portrayed in an earlier scene as relatively ignorant of "classical" music) listen to rock and roll and sing along, moving to
the music. This illustrates the different behaviours that are expected in response to music from “high culture” and music from “popular culture”. “Classical” music prompts silent, serious, focused listening, while “popular” music prompts coordinated physical movement and musical participation. These responses emphasize the importance of the group when listening to popular music compared with the more individual appreciation of “classical” music.

In other films, “classical” music signifies the difference between Western “high culture” and cultures that are Other. In *Out of Africa* (1985), Denys Finch Hatton (Robert Redford) is characterized as possessing a mix of “high culture” background and practical knowledge of local culture that enables him to survive in rural Africa. Once again, a love of Mozart’s music is used as a signifier for Finch Hatton’s alignment with “high culture”. Karen Blixen Finecke (Meryl Streep) comments that “[h]e even took the gramophone on safari. Three rifles, supplies for a month, and Mozart.” Here, “classical” music is used to indicate that while Finch Hatton may appear to function successfully in the African world, he has a loyalty to a different culture, and sees personal identity as much in that as in the local culture he is immersed in.

Beethoven’s music is used for similar effect in *The Power of One*, in which it is symbolic of Dr Von Vollenstein’s identification with high culture: he even names his donkey “Beethoven”. Beethoven’s music symbolizes the “high culture” that Peekay is exposed to by Dr Von Vollenstein, compared with the practical, local culture that he learns from Pete, the African prisoner who teaches him to fight. Walter Armbrust notes similar uses of “classical” music in films produced in Egypt, including *White Flag*, and *Supermarket* (Armbrust, 1996, pp. 24, 179).

Other images of Western “classical” music support the sign relationship between “classical” music and “high culture” that is apparent in many films. Robert Harris, although attempting to demystify “classical” music, states, “the music of generations of classical composers is one of the great cultural treasures of the world” (Harris, 1991, introduction). Using the
adjectives “refined” and “sublime” (Harris, 1991, p. 2) and describing “classical” music as “more complicated than popular music” and “more sophisticated and complex than virtually any other kind of music” (Harris, 1991, pp. 13, 16) clearly indicates “classical” music’s place as a part of “high culture”. Popular music, on the other hand, Harris claims “acts as a barrier to our appreciation of classical music” because of its familiarity (Harris, 1991, p. 13). The superiority of “classical” music is also reinforced with the obviously incorrect claim that “[w]e are the only musical civilization to use meter as an organizing principle in our music . . .” compared with “extremely basic music, [in which] there is only rhythm” (Harris, 1991, p. 18).

The sign relationship between “classical” music and “high culture” remains in common circulation within contemporary Western culture, and influences many other meanings with which “classical” music has been encoded, which are the focus of the following discussion.

“Classical” music and European heritage

That “classical” music originates in the European past has contributed to many of its uses in contemporary culture. “Classical” music has frequently been used as a signifier for “Europe” and “European culture”. It also signifies the historical period in which was written the “classical” music that is best known today, particularly the eighteenth through to the early-twentieth centuries: a time that coincides with the height of European colonialism, particularly in Africa.

The sign relationship between “classical” music and Europe may be considered in relation to other identities that contribute to Western culture. Most Western nations, by the late-twentieth century, were home to individuals from a variety of heritages, including European. For example, America includes in its population many individuals who identify with a European heritage and, despite America’s multicultural past and present,
Americans of European descent still appear in many contexts as the prototypical American. Americans of African, Asian, Hispanic or other descents appear in contexts in which the ethnic diversity of American culture is stressed (Entman and Rojecki, 2000, pp. 53-54). Similar trends have been identified in the production of black replicants of children’s toys for which the prototype is white, a practice that “smothers the possibility for creating black cultural alternatives” (Lury, 1996, p. 164). However, expressions of black culture have been identified as symbols of authenticity in white American popular culture (Lury, 1996, p. 175). Thus it appears that “black” may function as a symbol of authenticity in American popular music, while “white” is a symbol of authenticity in European, “classical” music. This is exemplified by the quotation at the beginning of this chapter: if “classical” music is music “without Africa”, then popular music is music “with Africa”.

An example of a sign relationship between “classical” music and “European culture” appears in the opening scene of Richard Linklater's 1995 film *Before Sunrise*. Opening with Purcell's Overture to *Dido and Aeneas*, picturesque shots of Austrian countryside and old villages are shown, clearly establishing non-urban Europe as the setting, uncorrupted by elements of contemporary urban culture. The music stops as the American, Jesse (Ethan Hawke), meets French student Celine (Julie Delphy), and comments, “I’m the crude, dumb, vulgar American that doesn’t have any culture, right?”. This links his identification as an American with his apparent lack of “culture”: that is, the “high culture” inherent in the European environment in which Jesse finds himself and in the “classical” music that accompanies this scene. Purcell’s Overture resumes when further shots of the non-urban scenery are shown. Similarly, in a later scene, Jesse and Celine overhear a musician playing Bach's *Goldberg Variations* while they are in a street in Vienna containing old buildings and stone paving, again emphasizing the place of “classical” music in European cities that have not been transformed into urban, “Americanized” centres. The sign relationship between “classical” music and “non-urban scenes” also appears in *Guarding Tess*, in which the
opening sequence includes scenes in a "nice little town" in non-urban Ohio, accompanied by Mozart. Similar uses of "classical" music have been observed in advertising. Crozier mentions the example of a bread commercial in which scenes of the English, rural past are accompanied by the "Largo" from Dvorak's Ninth Symphony (Crozier, 1997, pp. 78-79).

The sign relationship between "classical" music and "the past", and particularly "European-influenced past", also appears in several contexts. Harris describes "classical" music as possessing the ability mysteriously to conjure up images of lost worlds when performed, and states that certain pieces "almost give off an odour of a specific time and place" (Harris, 1991, pp. 13, 17). Regarding Mozart's music in particular, Harris considers that "Mozart has passed down to us . . . perhaps the most vivid and palpable portrait of late-eighteenth-century aristocratic life that has ever been drawn" (Harris, 1991, p. 8). This implies that these connotations are evoked because of inherent qualities in the music, although it is likely that this sign relationship was established by the consistent juxtaposition in contemporary contexts of Mozart's music with images of the eighteenth-century aristocracy. After all, most of Mozart's music was composed for a middle-class rather than an aristocratic audience.

The relationship between "classical" music and "European heritage" has also contributed to the association of "classical" music with "traditional events", whether or not the event is specifically European in origin or style. In the 1997 film The Devil's Advocate, Bach's "Air on the G String" appears at a traditional funeral service, the only time that "classical" music appears in the film. Similarly, in another 1997 film, Picture Perfect, the distinction between "classical" and popular musics is illustrated through their association with different parts of a wedding ceremony. Bach's "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring" appears in the traditional, ceremonial part of the wedding in a church, which contrasts with rock and roll music at the reception in the following scene. Thus "classical" music appears in the serious, traditional scene while popular music is associated with the informal celebration. This may also be compared
with an earlier wedding in the film, in which traditional Indian music is used for the ceremony and popular music for the party. Thus “classical” music functions in this film in a similar way to Other “traditional” musics.

The notated form of much “classical” music is another way in which it is linked to the past in contemporary Western culture. Because most “classical” music was, at the time of composition, notated in a more or less prescriptive form, it is often considered to be untouchable. Christopher Small supports this argument in describing scores as sacred objects from which the “new” must be excluded (Small, 1998, p. 118), while Walser describes the way in which the “classical world” polices contemporary readings of “classical” works (Walser, 1997, p. 468). An example of the policing of “classical” music was the banning in October 2000 of the debut album Born by string quartet Bond from the classical charts in Britain “for failing to meet all the rules of ‘classical’ music”19 particularly by incorporating dance beats that usually do not appear in a traditional performance of “classical” works. Song of Sanctuary (1995) by the band Adiemus is another example of an album that initially was considered not “classical” enough to be included in the classical charts, though it later reached the top after the British Phonographic Industry relented (Taylor, 2000, p. 166). This is a particularly important issue for consideration regarding Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, and evidence of some listeners’ concerns at the alteration of “classical” music is presented in the following chapter.

An extreme example of the exclusion of the new is what Small describes as “authenticity movements” (Small, 1998, pp. 116-117). The “reassuring” effect of performing unchanging works may be enhanced by a sense of adherence to a tradition that may be traced from the contemporary moment of performance back to the time of composition. This may create an imagined “connection” between the contemporary audience, and the composer and audiences of the past. Thus, a link between contemporary Western culture and European cultures of the past is maintained.

19 See http://www.bond-music.com/storyindex.html
The sign relationships between “classical” music and the signifieds “white European culture”, “rural, pastoral scenes” and “the past” are accentuated when they appear in opposition to other musical sign relationships. “European culture” may be portrayed in opposition to “American culture”, “non-urban” in opposition to “urban”, and “the past” in opposition to “contemporary culture”. A further opposition may be added to these: “classical” music is representative of cultures in which the Self-Other boundary appears to be clearly defined, in opposition to popular music which is representative of contemporary cultures in which the Self-Other boundary may appear to be more blurred. Contemporary musics that have originated in the West but that are recognized as including elements from non-European cultures, such as jazz, blues and hip hop, have been used as signifiers for the permeability of the Self-Other boundary in support of concepts such as “humanity”, “global culture” and international “youth cultures”. Events such as Band Aid in the 1980s incorporated popular musics rather than “classical” music, perhaps as a way of signifying the transgression of Self-Other boundaries proposed by the event.

If some contemporary Western musics represent the permeability of the Self-Other boundary, then “classical” music may represent a Western Self that is rather more exclusive of its Others. While interactions between Self and Other that involve “classical” music do exist, including the use of Arab music in Western “classical” compositions, as discussed in Chapter Three, this often amounts to inclusion of the Other in terms that the Self defines. In many ways, these interactions parallel the interaction between Self and Other that took place in colonial relationships, in which ultimate control over the interaction was retained by the Western Self culture. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Other in “classical” music is generally clearly identifiable as Other, hence the use of the word “exotic” to describe it, and the Self-Other boundary is strengthened rather than threatened. Again, this is an issue that holds particular significance for de Courson’s albums because of the nature of
the musical interactions that take place on the albums. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

If "classical" music is, in contemporary Western culture, a signifier for "cultures with a European heritage", then it may be that participation in "classical" music in contemporary culture acts as a means of asserting this identity. Thus the performance of "classical" music plays a role in the heritage industry that became increasingly popular in late-twentieth century Western culture (Giles and Middleton, 1999, pp. 94, 101) in forms such as "period furniture", "reconstructed villages" and "period dramas". For those who identify with a European heritage, such behaviours and products may serve as a way of reinforcing the Self-Other division in a culture in which interaction with the Other and hybrid cultural forms is increasingly the norm, not only in America, but also in Europe and throughout the world.

"Classical" music and elite society

Although "high" cultural products such as "classical" music are now widely accessible to consumers in Western (and other) cultures, the sign relationship between "classical" music and "high culture" has contributed to the use of "classical" music as a signifier for the elite within contemporary Western society. "Classical" music began, in the nineteenth century, to serve the agenda of the powerful minority in America (Walser, 1997, p. 461). Thus, "classical" music was adopted as a signifier for membership in the powerful elite outside as well as inside Europe. This relates to the involvement of the elite in the composition and patronage of "classical" music at the time it was composed, but does not mean that all "classical" music necessarily was a part of elite or official culture at the time it was composed. While the music might have originated from an earlier time, the meanings with which it is encoded are contemporary.
The sign relationship between "classical" music and "elite society" enables an individual to align with the elite by associating with the music. This was discussed at length by Bourdieu (1984), who used the term "cultural capital" to refer to the way different social groups use "culture" to confirm social position and to exclude other groups. Bourdieu also notes that the aesthetic interpretation of high art enables those involved to display their superiority over those who do not take part in such interpretations (Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 23-25; see also Frith, 1998, p. 18). Thus the act of appreciating "classical" music is a behavioural signifier for the act of identifying with an "elite" group. A literary example of such a use of "classical" music may be found in Janet Frame's 1957 novel Owls Do Cry, in which Theresa deliberately purchases a recording of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in order to play it at a dinner party to impress the local doctor and his wife, representatives of elite society (Frame, 1985, p. 94). Such an alignment with the elite may be expressed not only by listening to or performing "classical" music, but also by musicking in other ways, such as collecting recordings and sharing knowledge (Lury, 1996, p. 12). Small also notes the importance among "classical" music audiences of learning selected pieces of information about composers' lives (Small, 1998, p. 119). These pieces of information may be shared in contexts such as the interval of concerts, or more recently on the many internet discussion boards devoted to "classical" music.

However, it may be difficult if not impossible to identify the motivations behind an individual's decision to accept one type of musical signifier in preference to another. Much research has been undertaken to determine relationships between musical taste and factors such as gender, age, social class, income and education, as well as the effects that different types of music have on human behaviour in different contexts. Russell, for example, discovered that a positive attitude toward "classical" music is more likely in higher status groups in society, and that "classical" concert attendance is higher among professionals and managerial workers than among blue-collar workers (Russell, 1997, p. 144). Similarly, Zillmann and
Gan note that "classical" music is favoured more by white female students of higher social class than by other students (Zillman and Gan, 1997, p. 166). Some behavioural effects induced by "classical" music may be related to these trends. An experiment in a wine shop indicated a tendency for customers to buy higher-priced wine when "classical" music was played compared with popular music (North and Hargreaves, 1997, p. 275). However, it remains unclear whether such behavioural patterns reflect an individual's conscious effort to identify with a particular social group that is seen to be exclusive, or whether belonging to that social group in the first place leads to a greater likelihood that "classical" music will be preferred because it is familiar.

In either case, the chain of signification between "classical" music, "high culture" and "elite society" appears to be well established. This sign relationship appears frequently in films, in which "classical" music signifies "elite" or "official" events. Guarding Tess, which opened with shots of semi-rural scenes, then moved to shots of an "official" building that was revealed to be the headquarters of the Secret Service, while still accompanied by Mozart's music. Similarly, Eine kleine Nachtmusik is played to accompany scenes in the Consulate's Office in Ace Ventura: When Nature Calls. Earlier in this film Boccherini's well-known "Minuet" was played at an equestrian event that took place in Namibia; the same piece also appeared at an official, European-style function in the film A Good Man in Africa. In both of these examples "classical" music is used to emphasize the difference between "European" and "African" events. Mozart's music in Out of Africa and Beethoven's in The Power of One serve the same purpose. At the same time, they signify "elite" or "official" culture.

The chain of signification between "classical" music, "high culture" and "elite" or "official events" may be extended to include connotations of "snobbery," or "exclusion of those who are not elite". "Classical" music signifies "social exclusion" in the 1996 film Up Close and Personal, in which Sally Atwell (Michelle Pfeiffer) is a journalist who moves from her home town of Miami to Philadelphia in order to pursue her career. Philadelphia is
portrayed as a socially threatening environment, as exemplified by a scene in a traditional European-style hotel accompanied by Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, in which Atwell meets her new colleagues who display a superior attitude towards her. Similarly, in a later scene in the same hotel, two directors of the company confer about Atwell's future career accompanied by Vivaldi's "Spring" from *The Four Seasons*. These are the only two scenes in which "classical" music appears in the film, thus implying a sign relationship by the consistent juxtaposition of "classical" music and the exercise of power over others.

Entman and Rojecki discuss the concept of a "schema", a "set of related concepts that allow people to make inferences about new information based on already organized prior knowledge" (Entman and Rojecki, 2000, p. 48). They mention as an example the schema of "success", which they link with wealth, hard work, educational attainment, intelligence, status, snobbery, fancy cars, and good looks (Entman and Rojecki, 2000, p. 48). "Classical" music may be added to this list given the evidence cited above regarding the sign relationships "classical" music has formed.

Lury discusses the way in which different social groups seek to assert an identity that is distinctive from that of others (Lury, 1996, p. 95), and involvement with "classical" music appears to be one way of identifying with Entman and Rojecki's schema of success. However, alternative measures of success are available in Western culture, especially in popular culture, and there is also a strong thread of antagonism towards elitism in any form. In consequence efforts are often made to dissociate "classical" music from elites. For example, Robert Harris, in *What to Listen for in Mozart* (1991), suggests that any association between "classical" music and elitism is false to the composers' intentions. He states, "[i]t would take a sociologist to sift through the layers of elitism and snobbery that have accumulated on the clear, brilliant surface of classical music" (Harris, 1991, introduction), and continues by claiming that classical composers
would be astonished, if not furious, at the treatment their art receives today. The very people they wanted to reach consider their art inaccessible, if not incomprehensible (Harris, 1991, introduction).

Harris acknowledges that listeners who do not understand classical music may feel “uninvolved and frustrated . . . angry or guilty that the ‘sublime’ music seems not to touch them” (Harris, 1991, p. 12). In order to overcome this perception, Harris adopts an informal tone in his writing that is far removed from the academic language that presumably would add to the perceived inaccessibility of “classical” music to the “normal” audiences that he describes in the introduction. Thus the first chapter opens with the line, “He came hurtling into our world in January of 1756” (Harris, 1991, p. 1), establishing a colloquial tone and relating Mozart directly to the reader by the use of the phrase “our world”. However, it also implies that Mozart originated from a different world to “ours”, and thus may in some respects reinforce the idea of Mozart’s “other worldly” talents. Harris continues his informal tone throughout the book, indicating that “classical” music ought not be considered out of reach of anyone’s understanding. Harris claims that “classical” music of the eighteenth century in particular “created a revolution for simplicity, for direct communication, for common humanity against aristocratic exclusiveness in music” (Harris, 1991, p. 46).

Other authors counter the connotations of “elitism” and “snobbery”, including David W. Barber’s *Bach, Beethoven and the Boys* (from a series published in the 1980s and 1990s), which presents information about “classical” music and composers in such a way as to make it accessible. Furthermore, recordings of “classical” music were released from the mid-twentieth century that promoted the accessibility of the musical sounds themselves. Wendy Carlos’s *Switched on Bach*, released in 1968, was one of the first recordings to incorporate electronic technology in the representation rather than merely in the reproduction of “classical” music. Other recordings, however, went further in the alterations they made to the music, and
consequently to its connotations. The 1965 hit "Lovers' Concerto" by The Toys, for example, has been said to take "a classical finger exercise from Bach and put a Motown bassline to it" ("Lyrical Musings: 'A Lovers' Concerto'", n.d.). The song is actually a quadruple-time arrangement, with added lyrics, of the "Minuet in G" from the Anna Magdalena Notebook. Thus a "classical" piece was represented using musical and linguistic signifiers from popular culture, consequently changing the connotations of the "classical" piece.

Other examples of the inclusion of non-"classical" signifiers in representations of "classical" music may be found, though not all approach the genre of the popular song with the inclusion of lyrics. The many Hooked on Classics albums of the 1980s and 1990s and, more recently, William Orbit's Pieces in a Modern Style (2000) incorporate elements of dance styles such as disco and house beats with melodies from "classical" music. These albums add signifiers from other styles that contradict the elitist connotations of "classical" music and broaden its semantic range.

Another way in which "classical" music's connotations of elitism were challenged in the late-twentieth century was in the repackaging of "classical" tunes on compilation albums. The Best Classical Album in the World . . . Ever! (1996) includes movements from "classical" works by a number of different composers from the seventeenth to the twentieth century (including some extracts from contemporary film scores such as Michael Nyman's score for The Piano). In doing so, the album provides an opportunity for listeners to experience a number of well-known "classical" tunes on one album, an economically and temporally efficient way of accessing the recognizable extracts of "classical" pieces. To hear "classical" music in such a context does not require the time and effort that it appears to require when it is presented as an element of "elite" culture, in which it is presented as only being understandable to educated audiences.

Protests against such representations of "classical" music as these abound, however. Adorno, for example, claimed that the masses turn art into entertainment in a process of de-aestheticization (Entkunstung):
Its unmistakable symptom is the passion to touch everything, to allow no work to be what it is, to dress it up, to narrow its distance from its viewer. The humiliating difference between art and the life people lead, and in which they do not want to be bothered because they could not bear it otherwise, must be made to disappear: This is the subjective basis for classifying art among the consumer goods under the control of vested interests. (Adorno, 1997, pp. 16-17; emphasis in original)

Variations in “classical” music signs

Discussing the way in which a standard repertory of “classical” music was established after the First World War, Small suggests that new works are rarely admitted into this select group of compositions and composers (Small, 1998, p. 190). The repetition of the works of this central repertory (Nettl, 1995) has led to their familiarity. As stated earlier, Small describes them as “bedtime stories told to adults”, and he suggests that “[t]o perform them today is to send a message, not of subversion or of discomfort, but of reassurance and comfort” (Small, 1998, p. 192). Thus the original social and political meanings of the works of this central repertory, and each one’s individuality, have been eroded in contemporary culture, with the result that they now form a set of interchangeable works (Walser, 1997, p. 461). Consequently, it should matter little which piece of “classical” music is chosen to act as the signifier in the sign relationships discussed above. Eine kleine Nachtmusik, though frequently chosen as a signifier for “high culture” or “elitism” in contemporary films or television, is often replaced by Boccherini’s “Minuet” in similar scenes, and a number of other works from “classical” music now serve equally well in this sign relationship, including Bach’s “Air on a G String” and Vivaldi’s The Four Seasons.20

However, as discussed at length in Chapter Two, the process of decoding musical signifiers consists of deconstructing several levels of encoded meanings. This is particularly true for music that is identified as belonging to the Self culture because the listener’s relatively high level of familiarity allows the formation of many different meaningful categories. The category “classical” music is very broad. Most listeners for whom “classical” music is a familiar expression of the Self culture will, having identified a signifier as “classical”, also undertake further processes of decoding at other levels. For example, the modality might be identified, and perhaps named as “major”; the rhythmic organization as “regular quadruple”; the phrase structure as “regular sets of four”; the timbre as “orchestral, predominantly strings and wind”; and the texture as “thick and predominantly homophonic”. In decoding the signifier in this way, it is possible that other information will be added to the decoding process. The listener might identify the style as “Classical”, the composer as “Mozart”, the genre as “symphonic/orchestral” and the work as “Overture to Die Entführung aus dem Serail”.

Each of the categories mentioned above is potentially meaningful. The modality, rhythmic organization and phrase structure might together contribute to the decoding of the signifier as “triumphant” or “celebratory”, rather than “funereal” or “sombre”. Such meanings would derive from the shared connotations of meaningful categories. However, it is necessary for a listener to have learned these conventions of meaning in order to decode the signifiers in a similar way to other individuals. Some categories may also be meaningful in ways that are intensely personal. The category “Mozart’s music” may evoke negative connotations if the listener associates the music with dysfunctional family relationships, (as did Hughes de Courson (p.c., 11/5/01)).

Some examples of “classical” music may appear to be more appropriate in certain contexts than others. For example, both Ace Ventura: When Nature Calls and A Good Man in Africa include “classical” signifiers that
share several other meaningful categorizations. Both the first movement from *Eine kleine Nachtmusik* and Boccherini's "Minuet" may be categorized as "major", "Classical", "string chamber music", and "predominantly diatonic and consonant". Such meaningful categorizations contribute to their greater suitability as signifiers for an elite Euro-American social event than, for example, the "slow", "minor", "orchestral" signifiers within the second movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony. Particular examples within the category "classical" music may be decoded that produce different meanings, even though the meanings with which the broad category "classical" has been encoded may be shared.

The semantic range of "classical" compositions remains limited, however, by the strong connotations of high culture, elitism and European heritage. Consequently, there are some instances in which musical signifiers other than those categorized as "classical" are selected to signify certain situations or emotional states in order to avoid evoking particular connotations. Mozart's music has been shown to appear both diegetically and non-diegetically in *Guarding Tess* to signify certain situations, places and emotional states associated with connotations of "classical" music. However, one of the few moments in the film when non-"classical" music is used is during the scene in which Tess views film footage of her late husband's career. While some of Mozart's music could be said to include "grief" within its semantic range owing to elements such as slow tempo and minor modality, in this case non-"classical" music was chosen, perhaps in order to remove any connotations of "elitism". This scene was intended to show Tess exhibiting emotions that she usually avoided expressing in her "official" public life, which is signified throughout the film by Mozart's music. Thus the semantic range of "classical" music in some contemporary contexts is limited by the strong connotations of "high culture".

This chapter has demonstrated that musical signifiers may act in the capacity of representing Self groups, as well as the Other groups that were
discussed in Chapter Three. While not all (or even most) members of contemporary Western cultures indicate a high level of commitment to “classical” music, it remains one of several musical categories that are a part of the broad level of the Self culture. Like all musics, “classical” music takes on its own particular connotations, and in late twentieth-century Western culture these included connotations of heritage, elite society and officialdom. While particular examples of signifiers within this broad group may be decoded according to other musical features, these connotations are often evoked through the appearance of “classical” music in contexts such as film. Despite the pervasive connotations of “high culture”, “classical” music is increasingly accessible and is frequently portrayed in new ways, whether contextually or musically, as in the case of remixed versions of “classical” tunes. In the following chapter, listeners’ responses to the appearance of “classical” music alongside music from Africa and the Middle East are discussed, with regard to the sign relationships that have been discussed above and in Chapter Three.
Chapter Five: Responses to Self and Other Musics

The preceding chapters have established the theoretical framework that is to be applied to an interpretative reading of listeners' responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt. The distinction between Self and Other has been shown to be of primary importance in the maintenance of identity. Self and Other groups are established musically by placing musical signifiers on a continuum of Selfness and Otherness. This constitutes an important part of the process of decoding musical experiences. Furthermore, many Self and Other cultures are signified by particular musical sounds, as exemplified by the sign relationships that have been discussed involving "Africa", "the Middle East" and "classical' music". Consequently, the musical signifiers for particular Self and Other cultures may take on the connotations of those cultures as they are encoded through their appearance within particular contexts. The particular contexts that apply in this chapter are de Courson's albums.

Having already considered some of the possible connotations of the musics included on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, here the focus is on interpreting the responses offered by members of the target audience. Of particular interest are the sign relationships that the target audience identifies in Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt. Three aspects of each of these albums will be shown to function as units of signification for the target audience. The first and second are the two musics represented on each recording; the third is the interaction that occurs between the two musics. The discussion that follows focuses on the first two and the way in which members of the target audience decode the African, Middle Eastern and "classical" musics.

As indicated in the Introduction to this thesis, the purpose of this study is to investigate and explain the ways in which listeners from the target audience decode de Courson's albums, including how they assess the effectiveness of the albums. Chapter Two showed that responses to music are
affected by listeners’ prior experiences (in musical and non-musical contexts), some of which result in intensely personal connotations, while other connotations may be widely shared (such as those discussed in Chapters Three and Four). In order to allow listeners to express in their own words their responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, each listener was interviewed individually, with the listener encouraged to participate in the interview as if it were as much as possible a conversation. While flexibility in the interview situation was of utmost importance, there were several particular aspects of the listeners’ responses that were of interest, and some questions and areas of discussion were prepared to ensure that these were included. The interviews could therefore be described as “semi-structured”, with an emphasis on open-ended questions that enabled the listener to lead the discussion to a greater extent than is possible in a fully structured interview (Limerick, Burgess-Limerick and Grace, 1996, p. 458).

The primary intention of the interviews was to allow the listeners to respond to the music they heard in their own ways, so that not only could the responses themselves be interpreted, but the very processes that the listeners went through in first hearing and making sense of the music could also be considered. This approach resulted in a rich body of material to be interpreted, in which individual voices may be heard while, simultaneously, trends may be identified.

The adoption of such a qualitative method to an investigation into musical meaning is one that has, as yet, been under-utilized. Other researchers have attempted studies that rely instead on quantitative research methods such as set interview formats or the administration of questionnaires. Hevner and Nercessian are among those who have attempted to administer musical meaning tests using a set list of questions, allowing participants to respond by selecting from a pool of adjectives. In order to allow as wide a range of responses as possible, a large number of adjectives were made available in each of these studies (Nercessian, 2002, pp. 84-85). However, this approach presupposes that the adjectives selected, no matter
how many, will provide a suitable means of expression for the participants, and their choices are necessarily limited by the presuppositions of the interviewer. The approach adopted here not only allows the interviewee to select appropriate descriptive forms, but also allows for the actual process of reacting to and interpreting the music to be expressed and recorded. It therefore yields a particularly rich source of material for analysis.

It was noted in the Introduction that the recordings were aimed at those who held an interest in "classical" music, rather than simply those for whom that music would be identified broadly as part of the Self culture. The interviewees were therefore selected as members of Western culture who had already indicated through their behaviour a degree of commitment to "classical" music in some way. Some participants belonged to a performance or appreciation group, while others were learning an instrument and repertoire associated with the "classical" style.

The means of gaining participants' interest was primarily through poster advertising in locations likely to be frequented by the desired group. These locations included venues of orchestral, choral and brass band rehearsals, the studios of music teachers, as well as in music teachers' newsletters and a meeting of the local University of the Third Age committee. Wording in these initial contacts was carefully planned so that it was clear that neither technical musical knowledge nor the ability to read music was necessary. Since it is not necessary to read music or have extensive knowledge of music in order to decode musical sounds, participants were not required to hold a high level of technical knowledge of music. Some respondents to these advertisements needed reassurance that they were in fact suitable for the project, and that they were not being tested.

In deciding an appropriate number of interviews to complete, the research principle of "saturation point" was adopted. This works on the assumption that at a certain point in the collection of material, an apparent saturation point will be reached at which no significantly new ideas or material emerges from the interviews (DePaulo, 2000). While of course, given
the flexibility of the interview situation and the importance of individual responses to the music, there would never be a total point of saturation, after approximately eighteen interviews were conducted and transcribed an acceptable saturation point was reached. A further four interviews were completed as confirmation, bringing the total to twenty-two. Within these, trends regarding several aspects of the decoding process had become apparent, providing much stimulating material for interpretation.

Attempts were made to maintain a balance in terms of age group and gender of participants. Of the twenty-two participants, twelve were female and ten were male, while seven were aged below thirty, ten were aged between thirty-one and fifty-five, and five were between fifty-six and seventy-five. However, these statistics are not the subject of any quantitative analysis here. Furthermore, the results of Nercessian's study suggest that links between gender or age and musical meaning may be of minimal significance (Nercessian, 2002, pp. 98-99). However, age and gender are indicated in the following discussion in order to provide a more vivid description and interpretation of the interviews that took place. Participants are labelled according to gender (M or F) and the age-groups identified above: under thirty in group 1, thirty-one to fifty-five in group 2, and fifty-six and over in group 3. Thus a participant labelled F2.3 is the third female participant to be interviewed in the thirty-one to fifty-five age group.

Most of the interviews were conducted on the premises of the University of Otago's Music Department. Care was taken to ensure that the room did not contain any images associated with the musics on the recordings: no African or orchestral instruments or pictures of these were visible to the participants, nor were the album covers of these or other recordings visible. This was to ensure that the context of the interview had a minimum impact on the responses offered, and that it could not be seen as "leading" a participant toward a particular response by revealing the interviewer's musical preferences. This was particularly important since the interviews of three participants were conducted in the participants' homes. In
these environments, a degree of control is passed from interviewer to interviewee.

The interviews were all recorded on audiotape with the permission of the participants and were transcribed in full for the purposes of analysis and interpretation. Participants were informed of their right to terminate the interview at any time or to refuse to answer any question without providing justification, and they were assured that their anonymity would be preserved (see Appendix One).

The interview process occurred as follows. The participants were informed that they would hear "a recording of a piece of music". The recording was described in this way to all participants, since it was desirable to establish in the listener an expectation that the musical sounds they would hear formed a unit. This is because in other listening circumstances, a listener would be cued to decode the recordings as such due to their placement on a single "track" of the compact disk. However, because the participants were unaware of how many tracks were involved, this introduction cued the participants to decode the signifiers as a single unit (this becomes important in the second part of the discussion of the participants' responses in Chapter Seven).

The participants were then informed how long the track was expected to last to enable them to build up an expectation of the length of time available for listening and consideration. This information is usually available to a person who operates the stereo when playing a compact disk, and in the case of Mozart in Egypt the times of each track are displayed on the back of the album cover (for Lambarena they are inside the fold-out cover). Finally, the participants were told that after they had listened, "we will talk about it". This was a deliberately neutral comment to avoid the participants being led to focus on any particular aspects of the recording, rather, allowing an instinctive decoding process.

The tracks selected for the interviews were track one, "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya", from Mozart in Egypt and track two, "Sankanda", from Lambarena.
These tracks were selected for several reasons. First, they are in both cases the
first experience a listener has on the album of contact between "classical" and
African or Middle Eastern musics. "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" is the opening track
of Mozart in Egypt and therefore is likely to be the first piece a listener hears
when listening to the album under normal circumstances. It combines the
Overture from Mozart's Die Entführung aus dem Serail with "Ikhtitaf fi
Assaraya", a traditional Egyptian piece. "Sankanda" is preceded on
Lambarena by a thirteen-second fragment of "Jesus bleibet meine Freude"
sung "by the small child, Aurélien" (Lambarena album notes). It was decided
to omit this fragment because it consists of an independent track and
therefore, under normal circumstances, a listener would not be cued to look
for connections between it and the works that appear in track two,
"Sankanda" and "Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen". Track two is therefore a
parallel for "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" in that it is the track that introduces to the
listener the interaction between the two musics.

The decision was made to stop the recording of "Sankanda" before a
five-second reprise of "Jesus bleibet", on the basis that "Jesus bleibet" acts as a
leitmotif throughout Lambarena, appearing again in an extended and more
traditional version in the final track. The role of this fragment is to signify the
unity of the album as a whole, and it has no particular role to play within
track two. That this is the case is supported by the lack of reference to this
fragment's appearance at the end of "Sankanda" in the album notes. It is also
clearly separated on the recording: even though it is recorded on the same
track, it begins after "Sankanda" has faded significantly. Furthermore, a
listener who has heard the album from the beginning will recognize the
fragment and identify it as a reprise. Therefore in normal circumstances it is
not necessary to cue the listener to consider the fragment as separate from
track two. If the fragment was included in the interview, with the participant
not having heard the first track, it is likely to be decoded as a part of
"Sankanda", which is not what appears to have been intended.

These tracks were also chosen because of the way in which their
structures, in terms of the presence of Self and Other, are similar. Each track has a three-part structure, in which the second section consists of "classical" music with accompaniment from African/Middle Eastern sounds, and the third of African/Middle Eastern music with little or no presence of "classical" sounds. The first sections differ to some extent, in that the opening of "Sankanda" is likely to be decoded as a juxtaposition and superimposition of the two, whereas the opening of "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" is primarily Middle Eastern, with the gradual and relatively unobtrusive addition of elements of "classical" sounds. However, the tripartite structure and the fact that both tracks included an existing work from each contributing culture lead to structural resemblances. This allowed comparisons to be made between each participant's response to tracks from the two albums. Similarly, it was the intention to investigate the listeners' responses to the interaction of the various signifiers, and therefore the structure resulting from that interaction needed to be as consistent as possible between the two examples, with the number of variables controlled as far as possible.

The participants' initial responses provide important information regarding the decoding process, so the early part of the interview was crucial. In order to allow for comparisons to be made between responses to "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda", each participant listened to and discussed both of the chosen tracks in the course of the interview. The order in which the tracks were heard was alternated (see Appendix Two for which track was played first for each participant).

The general structure of the discussions otherwise remained constant between the twenty-two interviews, even though considerable flexibility in the precise discussions occurred. After hearing the first track, the participant's response was discussed, with only the minimum of questions posed that were necessary to stimulate the flow of conversation. After the participant's response appeared to have reached a conclusion, the interviewer identified the recording by the title of the album and by the two musics that were represented: either "a traditional Egyptian composition and a
composition by Mozart" or "a traditional Gabonese composition and a composition by Bach". The musics were identified in this order because it is the order in which they are introduced on each recording. A brief discussion about the participant's response to that interaction concluded the first section of the interview. This section was then repeated exactly for the other track, and when the interviewer identified the second track, participants were informed that the same person had been involved in producing both recordings.

The second section of the interviews was intended to establish in more detail the participants' responses to the two musics presented. This was justified because all the participants indicated that the inclusion of two musics in each track was important to the decoding process (as discussed below). First to be discussed was the African/Middle Eastern music from the first track heard. Areas of discussion included the images, thoughts and feelings (if any) that were evoked by the music; connotations of the culture and people to whom the music had been identified as belonging; and the participant's thoughts about the role of music in that culture. These questions frequently involved a process of encouraging the participant to expand on comments made in the first part of the interview. These initial responses had frequently included references to images and feelings evoked by the music, as well as comments about the culture represented. After discussing the African/Middle Eastern music on the first recording the "classical" music was discussed in similar terms, and then the process was repeated for the second recording.

The third section was an opportunity to elaborate on the participant's response to the interaction of the two musics. Establishing the participant's prior experiences of musical interactions opened this discussion. Once again, these experiences had often been raised earlier in the discussion. The participants voiced their opinions about the positive and negative effects of producing such albums, indicating a range of attitudes toward musical interactions. Questions regarding the imagined intentions of the producer
and the likely target market were asked in order to establish the participants' views about likely encoded meanings. Participants were also asked about the likelihood of their listening to further tracks from these albums, as well as from two similar albums: Simunye and O Stravaganza. This was in order to find out if participants offered any reasons why they might choose to listen to some kinds of interactions and not others. Responses to questions in this section of the interview are discussed in Chapter Seven.

The interview concluded with some questions about the participants' musical backgrounds, particularly to establish their involvement with musical listening and performance activities. They were also asked to describe their musical preferences and to characterize themselves as music listeners. This type of wording was chosen in order to allow the participants to express their musical preferences as specifically or as broadly as they saw fit, in keeping with the overall tone of the interview. This was preferable to requesting an indication of response to specific genres because this data was not intended for quantitative analysis, and more useful information was likely to be forthcoming from an open question. A brief musical profile of each of the twenty-two participants is included in Appendix Two.

Participants' first responses

The participants' initial responses to what they heard provided crucial information regarding the decoding process, and consequently the opening was the most structured part of the interview. After playing the first track, each participant was asked, "Have you heard that piece of music before?" This wording was chosen in order to reinforce that the recording was to be decoded as a single unit of signification, as well as to ensure that the responses that followed were based on the participant's first encounter with the recordings. No participants indicated that they had heard either of the recordings before.
In response to this opening question, some participants expressed confusion over whether or not the recording they had heard was in fact one unit of music, or more. M2.5 responded to the first question about “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” with, “[n]o, what the last one? Or the whole thing? No, I haven’t. There’s a few things going on there aren’t there, a few different styles.” Further evidence of this confusion over the status of the recording surfaced when the participants were asked, “How do you respond to that music?” This wording was chosen in order to influence as little as possible the kinds of comments that followed. Several participants voiced confusion at this point about what the recording consisted of in terms of units of signification. For example, M2.7 replied regarding “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”, “[y]eah, it was different. That last one sounded Turkish, the first one was Middle Eastern, and then there was the overture to The Magic Flute [sic].” These participants’ descriptions of the sections as “the last one” and “the first one” implies that the recording was at this stage being decoded as quite separate units of signification, rather than as part of a larger whole. This suggests that a higher degree of internal difference was noted than is usually expected within a single unit of signification.

M2.1 also described a tripartite division as the first response offered to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”: “It was almost three-part, I think, there was a middle thing that sat rather strangely in the middle”. The reference to Mozart’s Overture as a “thing” suggests that M2.1 was unsure how to classify the sounds that he had heard. F1.6 responded similarly to this track:

It was really interesting. The orchestra coming in was quite a surprise, and the percussion in that bit really changed the character. . . . I was just, yeah, I wondered if it was two different pieces sort of linked together, I mean on the one recording, or if it was actually all one piece because it was such a change.

F2.1 voiced similar surprise on hearing “Sankanda”: “It was very different to what I expected”; and F1.4 responded to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” with, “you
don’t expect it to break into that real Classical style in the middle. . . . It almost sounds like there’s two separate tracks there and they shouldn’t be together.” Fl.4 thus not only identifies the presence of difference at a surprising level, but indicates that this difference is wrong, not in a moral sense but in the sense of order with which she is familiar: the musics “shouldn’t be together”.

Some participants appeared to respond to the cue to decode the work as a whole by considering the track to consist of variations on one piece. M2.1, for example, wondered with regard to the “classical” section in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”, “was that what they were playing on the Middle Eastern instruments to start with?” Similarly, Fl.3 described “Sankanda” as sounding “as if they had taken the music and Westernized it and then sort of plonked it in the middle of an African song”. M2.2 described “Sankanda” in similar terms: “I couldn’t decide if that was trying to reflect in an African style something of a Western style or whether the two styles had actually developed side by side.” M2.4, however, responded to “Sankanda” with, “[i]t’s a delightful piece, I thought.” In referring to the piece in the singular, it appears that M2.4 considered it to be one whole rather than three independent units.

The difficulties that some listeners experienced in identifying a unit of signification in the recordings will be considered further in Chapters Six and Seven, in a consideration of the way in which a listener may be cued to decode a musical signifier. Although the participants were cued to decode the recording as the single unit that it was apparently intended to be, as described above, not all listeners found it easy to do so. Many who did decode the recordings as a single unit offered, as their first response to the recording, comments indicating confusion over whether or not they were correct in their approach to decoding the work. This indicates that for these participants it was important to understand whether or not the tripartite structure was to be interpreted as part of a whole. The extent of the difference these participants identified between the sections appeared to instill doubt in
the minds of some about whether or not the three parts really belonged together.

Most participants indicated that they did decode the recording as containing a significant aspect of difference. Two participants, however, identified difference as being present only in one of the two recordings. In both these cases “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” was decoded as containing difference while “Sankanda” was not, although for one of these participants this was the first recording heard and for the other it was the second. M3.2 heard “Sankanda” first, and having described the track as “African” was asked if the recording was African all the way through. He responded, “[o]h as far as I could tell, yes, I didn’t notice any bits that were different from the rest.”

However, in all other instances the presence of difference was noted early on in the interview, and usually this observation contributed significantly to the response offered. F1.3 stated, with regard to the section that she identified as a contrast in the middle of “Sankanda”, that it was “sort of weird, I didn’t like, well it was OK, but it was sort of incongruous I thought with the introduction. I would have preferred it if it had just stayed the same the whole way through.” Similarly, F3.2 responded to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” with, “[I] didn’t like the close connection of the two things, I didn’t like the mixture. It was unexpected and I wouldn’t choose to listen to a mixture like that.” The hesitancy with which these two participants voiced their dislike of the connection of the two musics perhaps indicates an attempt not to voice too strong an opinion before the direction of the interview (and perhaps the opinion of the interviewer) became clear. Others responded positively and enthusiastically to the observation of difference. F2.3 responded to “Sankanda” with, “[o]h I really loved it, it was like the Lion King and Messiah all wrapped up, you know!” Thus it appears that difference was decoded as being present from the earliest comments of most participants, but that the response to that difference was not identical. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven.

Clearly evident among the earliest comments made by participants in
response to the first recording heard in the interview were attempts to
categorize the musical signifiers according to their cultures-of-origin.
Descriptions of the sounds by identifying cultural origins preceded, and by
far outnumbered, descriptions on any other terms, such as tonality, tempo or
emotional content, at this early stage. For example, F1.1 responded to
"Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" with, "[w]hen it started off it sounded a bit Celtic, just
with the pipes, and then it sounded Arabic, and then medieval English, then
Classical and back to Arabic again. Quite seductive." This response begins
by identifying cultures of origin for the sounds, before offering an evaluative
response in the final comment. M3.3’s response to “Sankanda” describes well
the process of decoding this track:

I started off thinking Africa, and then shifted that to a bit of
South American, with more the voices and rhythms,
sounded a bit more tending toward South American or
Caribbean, but also the other pieces, towards the beginning
there, it was a, not operatic, but towards that, and some of
the percussion rhythms or drum rhythms were almost
medieval... 

This clearly indicates M3.3’s attempt to identify meaningful categories to
which these signifiers belong by comparing the sounds he heard in
“Sankanda” with his previous musical experiences.

At times, the identification of the cultural origins of the signifiers was
accompanied by indications of preference. F2.2 said of “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”,

[w]hen it first came on I immediately thought of India,
and I would have switched it off. I liked the orchestral bit
in the middle - if that had been the first part I would have
carried on listening - and I didn’t like the bit at the end.

Thus an emotional response was, for some participants, inherently bound up
with the identification of the cultural origins of the sounds.

Some participants, as well as identifying the cultural origins they
believed the signifiers to represent, described within their initial responses visual images of such cultures that the music evoked. F1.7 responded to “Sankanda” with the following:

Well first it made me think of the Lion King, and I don’t know, it was kind of confusing though because there was, half of it was like people outside dancing and then there was the orchestral bit and it made me think of people inside performing.

F2.1 also related her identification of elements of “Sankanda” to visual images: “I assumed it was African, and it, very definitely I could picture a village scene with it.” F3.1 similarly responded to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”:

The first part of it is soothing, and one imagines oneself in the harem, just the music side of it, that’s fine, and then there was an invasion of Western pomp came in on that which I thought took a while to adjust to that, and the third part of it was the one voice singing over it which is very foreign to me except that we’ve been doing some courses on Islam, so I was trying to get it as the calling from the minaret or the reading of the Koran . . .

Here, F3.1 attempts to fit the musical sounds into visual images that might match, describing her decoding of the “very foreign” third part as “trying to get it as . . .” the images with which she is familiar. This indicates that the sounds were being decoded by relating them to previous experiences, as was described in Chapter Two as a likely process for the decoding of musical signifiers.

There is strong evidence among the early responses of the participants to indicate that the musics were decoded as either Self or Other. Several participants described the African and Arab musics in terms which indicate that, while it was not totally unfamiliar since often meanings were decoded from it, it was Other. F2.1 described the African music in “Sankanda” as “alien”, and described the point at which the “classical” music entered as a
change from "totally alien to something recognized. And then it undid and became alien again, but by then it wasn’t alien, it was familiar." Here, familiarity and Otherness are related, but are not the same. F2.1 had identified the Other music as being African and had described visual images and an emotional response to this music in some detail, indicating that it was not entirely unfamiliar even at the beginning of the track. M3.2 gave a similar response, describing how the African music in "Sankanda" reminded him of a period of time he spent working alongside "people of other cultures", thus the music was familiar-as-Other. F3.1 described the vocal sounds in "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" as "very foreign to me", and the visual images of the harem that were evoked she described as being "not here", this last comment introducing the important relationship between Otherness and physical distance, as discussed in Chapter One.

Some participants also identified in the African musics an apparent lack of meaning or form. For example, F2.2 stated,

I wouldn’t have listened to it because I couldn’t understand what he was saying so I would have switched it off. Mind you, I listen to the opera singers and I still don’t understand what they are saying, and I listen to them.

Here, it appears that while the language barrier is initially blamed for the apparent lack of meaning in "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya", it has more to do with the musical content since, as F2.2 herself notes, she listens to "classical" music in different languages and nonetheless gains meaning from it. Likewise, it was noted in Chapter Three that even invented linguistic sounds may be meaningful to listeners as signifiers for Otherness. M2.5 also appeared to struggle with locating meaningful form in the Other music that he identified as Hindi on "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya". Recalling a band he played in alongside a Hindi musician, M2.5 described the way in which such music is "not the good old eight-bar riff sort of thing then 'change-verse-chorus' sort of thing. It's just, you had to just rote learn it basically." This indicates that M2.5 was
unable to locate any “logic” in the structure of this music, which is another response that is to be expected toward music that is Other. Such comments indicate that the African and Arab musics did appear to be decoded as Other even though they were familiar to most participants.

In contrast, many participants appeared to decode the “classical” musics as part of the Self culture. Although M2.5 related the Other music on “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” to a personal involvement with such music, other participants only responded to the “classical” music in these terms. For example, F1.4 stated with regard to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” that “the bit in the middle reminded me of trumpet playing, because I used to play the trumpet”. This is despite the fact that the trumpet timbre is not prominent in this track, suggesting that it is a similarity of context rather than a similarity of sound that prompted F1.4 to make this association. F1.5 described the same music as “more like the type of stuff that I would listen to myself”, and F1.6 indicated that she “possibly played it a long time ago in Youth Orchestra or something.” Even without reference to specific personal involvement with the music, many participants indicated that they decoded the “classical” music as part of the Self culture. F2.2 responded to the “classical” part of “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” by stating, “I thought, this is music”. This indicates that the “classical” sounds were interpreted as being musical, whereas the Other sounds were not. Thus the “classical” sounds appeared to be identified strongly as belonging to the Self culture, in contrast to the “unmusical” Otherness of the African musics.

The comments quoted above provide valuable information about the types of issues that arise from such recordings. These issues are worth summarizing at this point before considering how the listeners’ responses evolved over the course of the interview. Firstly, it is clear that the difference between the African or Arab musics and the “classical” music was the most important aspect of the recordings for most participants. The identification of the presence of difference was often among the first comments the participants made about the recordings. In many cases, these comments
indicated that the recognition of difference was problematic. Several participants voiced uncertainty over whether or not they should decode the recordings as a whole that encompasses the difference, or whether they should focus on the separate sections. Others simply voiced confusion over the extent of the difference between the musics they heard, with some indicating that this confusion was pleasurable even if unexpected and others indicating that the confusion was undesirable.

The second main aspect of the participants' early comments is the importance to them of categorizing and labelling the musics that were included on the recordings. Most participants offered, without prompting, identifications by way of the cultures or styles that they believed to provide the origins of the musics. This appeared to be a significant way in which the participants made sense of the music. The categorization of these musical signifiers according to cultural origins appears to be more important than categorizations according to other aspects of the musics. This suggests that the cultural identity of a music is its most important feature, which reinforces the idea that music is an important expression of such identity.

Thirdly, most participants indicated that the musical signifiers evoked visual images. This was a far more common response to the African and Arab musics than to the "classical" musics, which suggests that the participants decoded Self and Other musics differently. Even though both types appeared to be decoded by relating the sounds to previous similar experiences, for the African and Arab musics these experiences appeared more often to include accompanying visual images. While both musics were familiar to most participants, the African and Arab musics were described in terms that indicate they were familiar as Other, while the "classical" music appeared to be familiar as Self. However, because they were also often identified according to their cultural origins, it is clear that the musical signifiers each represented a particular, rather than a generic, Self or Other group.

These three main responses were also clearly evident in the participants' responses to the second recordings they heard. However, the
initial comments offered in response to the second recording, regardless of the order in which the tracks were played in the interview, were usually in the nature of a comparison between the two. The tendency to decode signifiers that are co-present within a single context by searching for connections between them will be discussed in Chapter Six. In this case, the two recordings were, for the participants, co-present within the context of the interview situation, and had been selected for their similarity of structure, so it is not surprising that they were compared. Furthermore, the first recording acted as a prototype for the second, providing a previous experience of such a recording with which the second could be compared. The participants learned from the first experience and approached the second in the light of that experience.

Comparisons between the two recordings produced varied responses. Some participants indicated that their responses to each of the recordings were the same, because of the similar structures of the two recordings and because of the common presence of difference. For example, F1.3's response to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” was, “pretty much the same I’d have to say. The middle bit was still good but I still felt that it shouldn’t really have been there, that it should have continued in the same style.” However, most participants indicated a preference for one or other of the two recordings. In some cases, grounds for the decision appeared to be the musical content of the particular Self or (more often) Other musics involved. For example, F1.7 responded to “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” with, “[w]ell, I like the other one better. I like the beat of the other one.” F1.1 responded to “Sankanda” with “I didn’t like it as much as the first one, but that’s because I don’t like African, some African languages, the intonation patterns.” F2.2 stated with regard to the same piece, “I much preferred that one, more of a beat to it. It’s very repetitive, but more of a dance to that one.”

However, most of the participants appeared to evaluate the relative merits of the two recordings according to the way in which the two musics were combined, rather than to either of the musics independently. For
example, F1.2 said of “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”, “I really liked it. I thought they fitted together better.” F2.1 had a different view of this piece:

That one’s had a few blendings. It’s not nearly so successful, it’s like a Christmas cracker with a nice [demonstrates shape] and then it goes off at the ends. Where the other plaited together, this one is stuck together, it doesn’t seem to relate. Maybe its content does, I don’t know.

M2.1 responded to “Sankanda” as the second recording: “It was quite clever, it was a little, it was more subtly done that the first one.” F1.4, on the other hand, stated, “I don’t think I like that one as much as the first one. I didn’t think it flowed as well, like linked together as much as the other. It was more like two different pieces than the first one.” Therefore, although most participants offered in their initial response to the second recording a comparison between the two, opinions were somewhat divided about which was the more successful track. However, of the twenty-two participants only four indicated a definite preference for “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” over “Sankanda”.

Although most participants clearly indicated that the musics included on the recordings represented Self and Other cultures, the sounds were familiar enough that all attempted to identify cultural origins or styles for the musics. This was usually by geographic location for the Other musics and by period, composer or instrumentation (such as “orchestral”) for the Self music. This again indicates that the two musics were decoded according to different criteria and categories, owing to the different nature of the participants’ past experiences of the musics.

After offering their initial responses to each track, and before they were told what the tracks or the musics were, participants were asked what it was about the sounds that enabled them to make the identifications that they did. Of the twenty-two participants, only two did not offer “Africa” as a possible identification for the musical signifiers in “Sankanda”. F1.4 stated, “I don’t know where it was from. I’ve heard that style of music but I don’t know”,
while M2.4 identified it as Polynesian:

I think part of it was initially the drums, the rhythms, and the sort of singing style I think, which I tend to associate definitely not the Western culture type thing ... for whatever reason I associate it with the Pacific Islands ... and I can't really pin this down but something in the style of the singing I associate with the Polynesian style.

All other participants indicated that Africa was a likely culture-of-origin for the Other music on “Sankanda”. Some were more specific, suggesting South Africa or Zulu culture, but most identified it simply as “African”. None suggested Gabon as the place of origin, reinforcing the ideas presented in Chapter Three regarding the assumed homogeneity of African musics and cultures. Furthermore, the frequent identification of the music as “South African” may reflect a broader familiarity of South African music within Western culture, established through well-known recordings such as Paul Simon’s Graceland, films such as Power of One, and perhaps even a greater level of awareness of South Africa among those in Western culture due to a greater level of political, cultural and sporting interaction than with many other African nations.

Participants identified three main sounds that were used as a basis for categorizing the Other music in “Sankanda” according to culture-of-origin. Firstly, most identified the presence of drums, percussion or strong rhythmic elements as forming the basis of their identification. Within this, some participants were more specific. F1.1 noted that it was the “repeated drum beats, and the different drums” that were, to her, African. This implies that the ensemble nature of the drumming aided in her identification. M2.2 was very specific in describing the nature of the sound that made it African:

I think the drumming, not so much the drumming itself but the kind of drum sounds, particularly that drum there that was, I wouldn't say tuned, it had quite a high sound but it was clearly ... I don't know if it was played with the hand or what ... I
think actually there were a couple of them, one playing sort of slightly lower, and there was a very low one. I'd say perhaps there were three and I always think of the African drumming as involving a number of drums tuned at different levels and without the traditional Western snare, no cymbals ... and also the attack they have on the drums, it feels as if they are playing them with a soft sort of stick. ... And the sound is to Western ears is, like, dead, and it's the difference when you first buy your brand new drum set and the drums have the two skins on the tuned drums, and you hit them and they really reverberate, it's like hitting a tin, but drummers typically then stick all sorts of things on the skins to deaden the sound. So African drums always sound to me quite dead, the sound isn't intended to last, it has a short life.

This description clearly resembles the nature of the sound of the drums as a signifier for Africa as described in Chapter Three.

As well as the drums, many participants identified the vocal timbre in "Sankanda" as a signifier for Africa. Although some merely stated that it was the "style of the singing" that evoked Africa, some offered more specific responses. M2.5 identified "percussive, guttural type of vocals, you know the yelling sort of thing they use, it's quite distinctive," while F1.2 described "the way the singer sort of yodelled". F3.2 commented on "how they almost thumb their noses at vocal technique". This implies an element of confrontation, since "they" (the African singers) are assumed to be aware of and deliberately resisting the adoption of the "correct" vocal style of the listener's Self culture. Each of these comments indicates that the participants attempted to identify the African vocal style within the range of their own experiences, therefore likening it to "yelling" or "yodelling", and using images of confrontation. Also decoded as a signifier for Africa was the interaction between the African vocalists. For example, F1.1 noted, "they have a lead singer and then the tribe following in with the chanting." (The use of the term "tribe" will be discussed below.) M2.2 described the vocal sound as "not exactly question and answer, but like someone saying a lead line and other people sort of, yeah like choral, almost sort of choral comment." Thus for many participants the vocal timbre and texture were
important signifiers for Africa, though this was consistently identified as well as, rather than instead of, the presence of drums.

The third aspect of "Sankanda" decoded as a signifier for Africa was the sound of the language. Although none of the participants understood the language in the sense that they could translate it, and none was able to identify the language by name, the sound of the words and the "intonation patterns" were offered by many as a means of identifying the cultural origins of the music. For example, F2.3 stated, "the language, if you could pick out their language then, well not being an expert I wouldn't know really, it was just a general feel that it was African." F2.3 appears to make an almost automatic association between the sound of the language and the culture, and yet when attempting to rationalize or intellectualize this found she was unable to do so. F2.1 offered a similar view: "I didn't recognize the language so that made it fairly likely [to be African]. I've got a smattering of many and recognize the families. It felt, to me it felt African." These participants therefore decoded not the words within the language, as is the case with a language that is understood as a means of communicating specific ideas, but instead decoded the sounds contained within the language as a signifier for the culture. This again relates to the use of "made up sounds" by some composers and producers when evoking musical images of Other cultures, as discussed in Chapter Three.

A wider range of cultures was suggested as the origins of the Other music on "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya". While most participants did mention Middle Eastern, Arabic or North African among the possibilities, many alternatives were suggested, either offered alongside or instead of the correct identification. Some participants suggested Turkey, India or Greece as possible cultural origins, while several also suggested a Celtic or medieval-English basis and others mentioned South America. However, the majority did identify the music as Middle Eastern in origin.

In identifying the origins of this music, participants mentioned several aspects. The arghul at the beginning of the track was identified by many as
“pipes”, and contributed to the identification of Celtic origins. For example, M2.1, although he identified the music as Middle Eastern, stated, “I just got back from Ireland last year, so I also then thought, is that those Irish pipes, coz they were pretty weird.” M2.1 therefore appears to relate the sounds he has just heard to those he heard in Ireland at least partly because both are “weird”. F2.1 identified the pipe sound as South American: “the Peruvian was the high hollow pipe sound . . .”, while F2.2 described it as Indian and said, “it made me think of the people with turbans sitting down in front of bottles trying to charm a snake . . .”, thus indicating that “the people” who play these instruments are not people with whom she identifies. The pipe timbre was therefore a clear indication to several participants that the music was not of the Western “classical” genre, but it was not decoded with the same degree of consistency as the drums were in “Sankanda” as a signifier for Africa.

Several participants treated the vocal quality of “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” as a signifier for the cultural origins of the music, and it was decoded more consistently as Middle Eastern than the pipe signifier. In particular, the presence of “ornamentation” and “sliding between pitches” (glissando) was important. F1.4 described as a signifier “the voice and the embellishments of the singer”, while F2.1 stated that it was “probably the range, you know what I mean, they’re all over the place, as they are, when they sing or when they chant.” Here, F2.1 clearly indicates that the voice belongs to someone who is part of an Other group, referring to “them” rather than “he” as a specific person. M2.4 described the way in which “both the voice and the wind instruments were a bit, more flexibility in the notes”, M3.2 described it as “halfway between singing and chanting”, while F2.3 described “just the tone of the voice I guess and the way they, what do you call it, you know the voice how it goes up, just the movement of their voice and just the tone.” F2.3 appears unable to articulate exactly what it is about “their” voices that allows her to identify the cultural origins of the sound. Some also treated language as a signifier, although this was less important than in “Sankanda”.
Some participants described the type of scale that was used in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” as a signifier for the Middle East. M2.4, for example, identified the scale as the strongest aspect that enabled identification. F3.1 appeared to be referring to the pitch organization which she said “I think it’s the chord, whatever it is, it’s got a different tone... I don’t really know well enough but I think I prefer in Western music the major key to the minor key.” Similarly, M3.2 suggested that it was the “tonal intervals, but I’m not quite sure of that”.

Participants were also asked what it was about the sounds they heard that enabled them to identify “classical” music in each recording. This question appeared to pose greater difficulty for many of the participants. Many were unable to verbalize precisely what it was in the sound that was “classical”, other than indicating a strong sense of familiarity, responding with comments such as “I just recognized it”, or “it was just the sound of it”. Most identified the music with the term “classical”, though some used “Western” apparently as a synonym. Some were also able to identify the composer: most who attempted this identified Mozart as the composer of the “classical” sound in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”, though others suggested Vivaldi, Beethoven or Schubert. Two participants suggested specific pieces, M3.2 correctly identifying the Overture from Abduction from Seraglio, while M2.7 confidently identified it as the Overture from The Magic Flute.

Those who named particular aspects of the sound that enabled them to identify the music as “classical” or “Western” usually identified the instrumentation as the main signifier. M2.1 “generally recognized the orchestral, there sounded as though there was an oboe or a flute or something in there, so it was the timbre of the music.” F2.1 also mentioned a timbral change: “does it sound silly to say the deeper sounds? It balanced. It sort of had a, it was a whole piece, whereas [demonstrates vocal sound of Middle Eastern] it’s all right up at the top of the soprano.” Thus F2.1 describes a change for the better, with the “balanced”, “whole” sound of the music of the Self culture.
Similar trends were evident in the participants' descriptions of how they identified the "classical" music in "Sankanda". Again, most identified it as "classical" or "Western", though some also used more specific terms, including "church choir", "oratorio", and "operatic". Some also suggested a composer: the only names offered were Mozart, Handel and Bach, and no participants suggested the name of a specific work although some likened it to Messiah. Once again, the instrumentation was used as a means of identifying the music, with some mentioning "strings", "violins" and "a double-bassy sort of thing" as signifiers. Some clearly indicated in their response that this music was being decoded as part of the Self culture. F1.2 responded that "I can't really remember that part, it just sounded like an ordinary sort of orchestra bit." The description of it as "ordinary" contrasts, presumably, with the extraordinary sounds of the Other music, but also indicates a high degree of familiarity with the "classical" music. M2.1 recognized the style of the composition, stating "if you listened to enough of them you could write your own version". Again, this level of understanding and familiarity is typical of music that belongs to the Self culture.

The musical sounds that the participants identified were, whether Self or Other, meaningful in some respects. Some degree of familiarity with all four musics was evident, since most participants were able to offer firm opinions regarding the cultural or stylistic origins of the musics. Some aspects of the musics were more important than others in enabling the identification, indicating that these elements acted as signifiers that were decoded more readily than the other parts of the music. The reasonably high degree of consensus over what was the correct identification (even if it was not actually correct) indicates a reasonably common cultural background among the participants; in order to decode the signifiers in common, their experiences of these signifiers must also be shared.
In the second section of the interviews each participant’s experiences of and responses to the two Self and two Other musics were explored in greater detail. Since quite specific meanings had already been decoded from the musics, in the nature of an identification of culture-of-origin, it was necessary to consider each of these identifications more closely with the participants in order to establish what, if any, connotations were being decoded. Many of the participants identified secondary signifieds as part of a chain of signification by associating visual images with the sounds. Indeed, during their first responses to the recordings almost all participants mentioned visual images associated with at least one of the musics. However, earlier in the interviews these responses had been interrupted by other aspects of the decoding process, particularly with attempts to manage the differences that were such a crucial part of the early response. Consequently, it was necessary for the interview to return to these connotations and images so that the participant could focus on each musical signifier in turn.

The discussion of each music was opened by asking the participant “have you heard much music that sounds like that before?” The purpose of this line of questioning was to encourage the participant to identify past experiences of the musical signifiers, and the contexts of these past experiences. In response to this question regarding the Other musics on “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” and “Sankanda”, most participants indicated that they believed they had not heard a great deal of such music, although a greater number indicated a higher level of experience with the sound of the Gabonese music than with the Egyptian. However, since all participants were able to attempt an identification of the cultural origins of the sounds, most did describe some previous experiences on which this identification was based.

The participants identified three main media as providing their experiences of the African and Middle Eastern musics. By far the most frequently mentioned was film and television. For many participants, this
was the only source recalled (though this does not preclude other sources from having been observed and forgotten or omitted). For these participants, their only recalled experiences of the Other musics in "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda" were in contexts accompanied by visual images and, often, spoken text. Several mentioned television documentaries as an important source of information. F1.5 stated,

... you see things on TV and movies and stuff where you actually see them, and quite a few documentaries where they show them doing that type of stuff [playing music]. I haven't actually listened to it on its own though.

Similarly, M3.3 noted the appearance of African music "on the background of television programmes on Africa. . . . Things like Discovery or National Geographic, they usually throw in a good bit of background music to get you in the mood." Clearly, M3.3 associated the musical signifiers with a mood or atmosphere as well as with the culture itself.

M2.4 described the way in which the Other music on "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" recalled for him films that he had seen:

On films and TV it's almost a cliché, if you want to establish your film as set in the slums of Cairo you have the da da da [demonstrates] sort of music, and assuming that they are doing it reasonably realistically . . .

Here, M2.4 describes the way in which musical sounds appear in film as signifiers for particular cultures. He also indicates an awareness that his acceptance of the association between the particular musical signifiers and the signifieds is reliant on information he has learned by observing them in contexts created by others, and that this may or may not be an accurate portrayal of the music of these particular cultures.

Several other participants described television or film soundtracks as a means of encoding musical signifiers for Other cultures. M3.3 described the
presence of music “as a background, as in giving me a picture of where I’m supposed to be”. M2.3 describes similar uses of musical signifiers in radio:

I suppose it would be radio, because I listen a lot to radio, and there may have been different BBC programmes, and there could easily have been programmes on North Africa or Egypt or something like that and they play some music for it and you just tend to pick it up and associate it. And again, there might have been documentary films or something like that and you hear the music that goes with it and you just assimilate and sort of think well that’s the music for the particular area.

In many cases, including those quoted above, participants were unable to name particular documentaries, programmes or films in which they recalled observing these musical sign relationships. Some, however, did name particular films in which they believed they had experienced similar musical sounds. For Arabic music, Arabian Nights, The Mummy and The Mummy Returns were the only specific examples named, though Fl.1 described the genre of “films from the forties and fifties, the post-war espionage films”. Films named that featured African music included The Lion King, Cry Freedom, The Power of One, Hitari, Chaka, Out of Africa and the television programmes Daktari and Survivor. Several of these examples were considered in Chapter Three as examples of the encoding of musical signifiers with the meanings of “Africa” and “the Middle East”.

As well as television and film, several participants cited musical recordings as important sources of experiences. For many, these appeared largely to fall on the “not chosen” end of the continuum of musical experiences discussed in Chapter Two, with participants indicating a low level of effort put into seeking recordings of these sounds. Fl.1 described “bits and bobs off sort of world music CDs. I tend to listen more to Japanese or Chinese instrumental music rather than Arabic: it’s not big on the sales back home.” Similarly, Fl.3 stated, “there may be a couple of Middle Eastern tracks on CDs I have, but I probably wouldn’t, I wouldn’t have noticed them
specifically before.” F2.2 stated regarding the Arabic music in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”, “I would not deliberately switch a thing like that on anyway, I would not go and seek that kind of music.” Other participants, however, indicated a greater commitment to seeking the music. F1.6 describes listening to Middle Eastern music at her job in a Trade Aid shop: “every time I go, I look at what has come in. I really like the Middle Eastern stuff.”

Several participants named specific recordings on which they had experienced similar sounds. For Arabic music, these included: Indian instruments on Beatles recordings, Peter Gabriel’s soundtrack for The Last Temptation and albums featuring Ravi Shankar. For African music, those mentioned were Graceland, Deep Forest’s albums, Voices of the World (a collection of songs from around the world), “Wim-o-weh”, and the Soweto String Quartet. Several of the recordings were therefore themselves interactions between Self and Other musics, or were representations of the Other as in “Wim-o-weh”. Not all the examples mentioned include the musics from the cultures in question. Several participants mentioned recordings that include Indian musics as a source of experiences of Arabic music, which suggests a lack of differentiation between musics identified as Other.

A third main type of past experience that the participants described was gained from visiting the context of the Other culture with which the music is associated. This did not always involve travelling long distances. Several participants mentioned specialty restaurants selling food such as Turkish kebabs as contexts in which the Arabic music had been experienced on recordings. Others, however, had experienced these musics either live or on recordings within different locations around the world. While only one participant mentioned such an experience for the African music, several mentioned other geographical locations as sources of experience of Arabic music. These contexts included Egypt, a Jordanian wedding in America, Kuala Lumpur, “Muslim countries”, the Balkans, Malaysia, and Morocco. Once again, it is evident that music other than Arabic music was treated as a
past experience with which the music on “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” was compared. Most of the participants who had travelled to such places and observed the music in these contexts also mentioned other sources of information that had shaped their expectations of the music. For example, F1.1 was not surprised by the music she heard in the local Egyptian bazaars: “no, I suppose I’d heard it from films. I’d heard Egyptian music before.” This reinforces the idea mentioned in Chapter Three that mediated experiences of Other musics tend to provide the criteria against which authentic experiences are judged. Indeed, personal experiences of music within its cultural context appeared to play a relatively small role in the images and understanding these participants had of the Other musics on the albums.

Participants were also asked with regard to the “classical” music they heard on each recording if they “have heard much music that sounds like that before”. In contrast to the responses offered for the African and Arabic musics, all participants indicated that these musics were very familiar, thus supporting the idea that this is music of the Self culture for these participants. Also in contrast with responses to the African and Arabic musics were the types of contexts that were identified as having provided these experiences. Whereas for the African and Arabic musics film and television were noted to be primary sources of experiences, these were rarely mentioned in relation to the music of Mozart or Bach. F1.1 included television programmes as one source, noting the presence of similar sounds in “period dramas, or garden programmes”. While period dramas have become increasingly popular among viewers in F1.1’s age group with the release of productions such as Shakespeare in Love and Elizabeth, garden programmes tend to be associated with older viewers. F1.1 associated “classical” music with a more mature audience; she returned to this later in the interview, describing the view of opera among her friends as being “what your mum listens to”.

F1.3 also mentioned films as a source of experiences of “classical” music:
descriptions of the Other appeared to be focused primarily on those aspects of the lifestyle that are most obviously different from those of the Self culture.

While most participants described the African music as joyful or celebratory, the North African music and culture was most often described in terms of its mystery. F2.3 described Arabic music as "a bit eerie, mysterious, it's almost, the voice slides all over the place . . . a totally different sort of sound to what we, how we use music", thus again indicating that difference from the Self culture contributed to the response experienced toward the music. Similarly, M3.1 described the music as "haunting, mysterious". Several participants described Arab culture in similar terms. F2.1 mentioned "the mystery, foreign, a very foreign part of the world". F1.6 described the people as "very mysterious [laughs]. Obviously quite different from what I'm used to." These descriptions of Arab music, culture and people in terms of mystery illustrate the decoding of these signifiers as a part of the exotic Other, fascinating in its difference from Self. M2.5 acknowledged this difference:

I guess it's what you grow up with, completely foreign to us. I don't think I could convert. Yeah I guess they don't know any better, and it's just a cultural thing they were brought up with.

M2.5's comments indicate a judgement on the relative value of the Arab cultures compared with the Self culture, suggesting with the comment "they don't know any better" that "they" are unaware of the relative benefits of the Self culture.

It was noted above that while some participants described the heterogeneity of Africa, some also implied an assumed homogeneity with Other cultures, including those of the Pacific. Fewer participants indicated an awareness of the heterogeneity of Arab cultures, with more prepared to offer descriptions of "Arab culture" than were prepared to offer similar descriptions of "African culture". However, this trend was not common to all participants. F3.2 described a clear construction of life in Africa based on
experiences gained in Pacific cultures; however, when asked about life in Arab cultures she replied,

[t]hat’s a big question. Which one? Where exactly do you mean? You mean Muslim? I associate it with Muslim, but there you see we have lived in a Muslim country and it depends very much on what sort... I mean it wasn’t an Arab country. Certainly it was as restricted as the range of their music, especially towards women, puritanical, restrictions of actions, restrictions of speech, it’s certainly very patriarchal. I find it hard to separate what I know. If I thought of Muslim, but then there can be Sunni and Shiites, and we lived with Sunni, but...

While these comments still indicate a readiness to evaluate Arab cultures according to experiences in a non-Arab Muslim country, it is clear that F3.2 did not assume homogeneity to exist among all Arab or Muslim cultures, as she did among “primitive” cultures found in Africa and the Pacific. This suggests that a belief in the heterogeneity of one Other culture is not necessarily applied to all Other cultures, and further supports the idea that responses to Other cultures are not identical, but instead depend on the particular Other culture in question.

Images of “classical” music

Although the connotations of the “classical” music in “Sankanda” and in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” were discussed separately in the interviews, the resulting comments are considered together here since most of the participants indicated that connotations of the two were the same. This again supports Small’s theory that pieces from the “classical” repertoire are interchangeable in many contexts in contemporary Western culture.

Visual images played a role in the decoding of “classical” music for fewer of the participants than they did in decoding the Other music. Several
participants described the sound of the music or their emotional responses rather than visual images. M2.4, for example, described his response to "classical" music: "Well, an air of formality, some vague feeling of sheer age and talent, but also feelings or something like that..." while F2.1 responded, "[i]t's very predictable. I've assumed that it's mathematical isn't it. You know it's going to go down and you've got a pretty good idea how far down it's going to go... You can predict it, it's like following a graph." Responses of this nature suggest that pictorial visual images were not a significant part of the decoding process for these participants, though F2.1's description of the music as like a "graph" does imply that a visual image of a diagrammatic form was evoked.

Some did, however, report pictorial visual images as part of the decoding process, and the images described again indicate a high degree of consensus among participants. Categories of images include the performance situation, including orchestral and choral performers; pastoral images; and historical or "traditional" images. By far the most common image was of the performance situation, and participants frequently related these images to personal involvement in such contexts. For example, F1.4 stated, "[i]t more reminds me of being at school and studying, and playing, and listening to it, like it reminds me of going to concerts and things like that." F1.4 also indicated that, because of this kind of prior involvement, the decoding process is different for "classical" music than for the African:

I tend to be quite critical when I listen to Mozart and stuff, I tend to listen to it more closely, and listen more to the instruments, because I can recognize and pick up instruments whereas in the other Egyptian bit I'm not so, I listen to it more as a piece, I don't recognize the instruments... I listen a little more passively, not quite so active when I listen to the Egyptian bit.

Similarly, F3.1 stated,

I'm more conscious of the instruments that are used and particularly as I've done a little bit of piano, I tried the violin, but
it does make you more aware of what the violins are doing, so I practically bow with them, and then move over into, that’s the viola now, oh that’s double stopping, hate double stopping, oh and mutes, that sort of sound, oh there’s that fabulous cello sound, and it’s that rather than thinking of the image, oh sometimes you can tell that it’s pastoral or something, but mostly I’m just distracted by the instruments that are playing…

These descriptions clearly indicate that for these participants “classical” music is decoded by relating it to past experiences or, for F3.1, imagined experiences, of involvement in such performance situations. For the Other musics these previous experiences do not usually exist, leading to different kinds of experiences being drawn upon in order to decode the signifier. This suggests that “classical” music is decoded as part of the Self culture, characterized by a higher level of involvement in the production of the music.

For some participants, their previous involvement in similar performance situations was identified as a factor contributing to the absence of visual images. F1.6 stated, “I think I’m just so used to it that probably none [no images are evoked]. Probably it’s just background.” This suggests that F1.6’s high degree of familiarity with “classical” music has eroded any images. Because of her high degree of involvement with “classical” music both as a performer and a listener, F1.6 (and several others who similarly reported a lack of images) has experienced the music in such a wide range of contexts that no single set of images has become associated with the sound. The encoding of a sign relies on the consistent juxtaposition of signifier and signified. If the “classical” music signifier has been observed in a number of diverse contexts, then this process of encoding may not take place in the same way as it appears to have taken place with the more consistent “Africa” sign relationships.

Supporting this theory is the way in which even those participants who did identify some visual images or connotations associated with
"classical" music described them much less vividly and as being less consistently present than images evoked by the African and Arab musics. F1.2 stated,

[i]t depends. Sometimes I think about England pictures, or streams or mountains or whatever, and sometimes I imagine the people playing in the orchestra, and sometimes I just switch off and don't really think of anything and just enjoy it.

F1.2's association of "classical" music with "England pictures" implies an association with the kind of European heritage that was discussed in Chapter Four.

F1.3 noted a difference between her experiences of Other musics and "classical" music when considering the images she experienced during "Sankanda":

Apart from an orchestra, no, which, yeah, because when I hear other music like African or South American music or something I suppose I have images of those countries, but if I hear Western music I don't really get that many images unless it's like a specific bit of music with a title which gives you images.

This implies that the participant has been cued to associate the sounds of Other cultures with visual images because of the highly consistent juxtaposition of the two in other contexts, whereas for her it is exceptional to be cued to make such associations with "classical" music.

The musics included on "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda" may therefore be differentiated according to the way in which the participants decoded the signifiers. While significant differences are evident in the particular images and connotations that the listeners decoded from the Other musics in the two recordings, there were broad parallels in the decoding processes that were undertaken and the general nature of the meanings decoded. That the participants described connotations of the Other musics
supports the theory that, although these musics were described in terms of Otherness, they were familiar sounds that carried particular meanings. Consequently, the connotations of the sub-Saharan and the North African musics were different. Most of the participants reported that film and television were important sources of their previous experiences of these sounds and of information about the cultures. Many acknowledged that their ideas about the musics and cultures were gained through mediated sources, describing their responses as "second-hand" or "stereotypical", and were self-deprecating in their acknowledgement that their information came largely from sources such as these.

Few participants identified film and television as sources of previous experiences of "classical" music, referring instead to experiences within formal education and personal involvement, many of which were intentionally sought rather than incidental. Connotations of "classical" music were less clearly defined, and several participants stated that, instead of gaining visual images, they were preoccupied by following the sound of the music. These differences support the broad distinction between the decoding processes of African musics as Other and "classical" musics as Self.

This chapter has provided an in-depth interpretation of the responses that the selected listeners offered to tracks played from Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt. The discussion thus far has established that the identification of difference was a particularly important part of the process of making sense of the music heard. Further aspects of this identification of difference are discussed in Chapter Seven. However, the following chapter explores in more detail the nature of responses to cultural and musical interactions in contemporary Western society, and extends the theoretical framework established thus far in order to shape the subsequent discussion of these listeners' responses to the particular musical interactions that occur in de Courson's albums.
Chapter Six: Musical interactions between Self and Other

Even quite distant cultures (if we employ just once that loathsome plural) have the capacity to understand one another musically (Adorno, cited in Blum, 1994, p. 250).

Having considered the ways in which listeners decode the constituent musics featured on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, the discussion of these albums must now turn to the interaction between these musics, and the ways in which listeners respond to their co-presence on the albums. In the discussion that follows, musical interactions are first considered in terms of the varying degrees to which they may appear to be planned and meaningful. This is crucial to the interpretation of listeners’ responses to de Courson’s albums, which, as will be shown, cue listeners to search for meanings between the constituent musics. Musical interactions are then examined as potential synonyms for cultural interaction. Contextual issues to be considered include the ways in which such interactions may differ from one another, and the extent to which listeners’ reactions to the experience of such works depends on their attitudes toward cultural interaction. The discussion extends the theoretical frameworks already established in relation to particular musical cultures to provide a conceptual frame for the consideration of listeners’ reactions to musical interactions.

In discussing the decoding process that a listener undertakes on hearing a musical signifier, it has been assumed thus far that the musical signifier in question can be placed at single points on the Self-Other and familiar-unfamiliar continua. However, in actual musical experiences this is not always the case. A number of musical works are likely to be decoded as consisting of some sounds that are Self and some that are Other, occupying different points on the familiar-unfamiliar continuum. To the dimension of
meaning decoded within the identification of a particular category of musical sounds must be added a second dimension which emerges as a second category is identified, and a third dimension which results from the realisation that two categories are involved. The reaction of listeners to works such as *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* must be considered in terms of a complex process of decoding and the finding of meaning.

The importance of the familiar-unfamiliar and Self-Other continua has been illustrated in Chapter Five. However, other means of categorizing musical events also contribute to the complexity of the decoding process. These may relate as much to the context of the musical signifiers as to their content. During the experience of hearing it a piece of music might be placed on a continuum that ranges from “chosen” to “not chosen”, and it is therefore also possible to place musical interactions within a similar range from chosen, “planned” interactions to not-chosen, “random” interactions.

Such situations occur frequently in contemporary Western cultures. The wide availability of musical recordings of various kinds has not only added to the familiarity of Other musics, but also to the portability of all musics. It is not uncommon for a listener to experience a range of musical sounds in a single context, such as an urban street, a television presentation, or compilation album. Featherstone alludes to this when he describes the “general eclectic stylistic hotchpotch which one finds in the urban fabric of the built environment” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 65). Similarly, Morley and Robins discuss the role of audio-visual media when they note that “our discoveries of Otherness are made not so often by means of long and perilous sea crossings as by use of the remote-control, as we flick between the various exotica on offer on different television channels” (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 135). Each of these statements indicates that in such contexts an individual’s observation of particular signifiers is dependent largely on chance. In a random encounter, apparently unconnected musical signifiers might not engage in a musical exchange. Each signifier might conceivably exist within the context entirely independently, coming from very different sources such as independent
performances, recordings or channels which are all heard, or overheard, in one context. Experiences of musical interactions of this kind are very common, and as such may be interpreted as independent appearances of separate musics rather than as musical interactions. Random musical interactions are more likely to occur in some contexts than in others. Urban areas, for example, are sites in which many conflicting signifiers may be expected to appear. In contexts such as urban streets, little control is maintained over the variety of musical sounds that originate from, for example, shops, cars, street performers and personal stereos. An inhabitant of an urban street will expect to experience interactions of different musics that are not under any formal control. Other areas in which many signifiers are co-present are subject to a greater degree of control, such as television, theme parks, or theatres. While different signifiers appear in these contexts, a greater degree of control over the variety of available musics limits the range of musics likely to appear. Thus even random interactions between Self and Other musics may differ from one another in terms of the exact nature of the interaction.

Humans gain the capacity to distinguish between random and planned events as part of acculturation into cultures and sub-cultures. However, the distinction between random and planned should be considered not as a dichotomy, but as a continuum. Cultural groups have conventions that lead to planned events, and that allow individuals to identify occurrences according to a planned-random continuum. In contexts in which musical interactions appear to occur randomly, listeners will decode the meanings of the interacting signifiers independently of one another, rather than searching for meaning within the interaction itself. This is in large part because an apparently unplanned interaction may be assumed to have taken place without a conscious decision to combine the musics in question. If it is assumed that no such decision was made, then it may also be assumed that no meaning was encoded in the interaction, and therefore that there is no meaning present to be decoded. If there is no cue for listeners to search for
meaning, then it may be assumed that no meaning should be searched for, and therefore the signifiers are decoded independently.

Despite the lack of a cue to search for meaning in a seemingly unplanned interaction, there are instances in which meaning can be decoded from such an event. Several theorists have discussed the capacity of urban flâneurs and "cosmopolitans" to decode a range of signifiers within a limited context without experiencing a disabling or disorienting sense of semiotic confusion. Instead, meaning can be located in such experiences, for example by decoding them as expressions of "multiculturalism". Flâneurs may observe, in walking through an urban environment, a number of signifiers that "appear divorced from their context and subject to mysterious connections in which meanings are read on the surface of things" (Featherstone, 1991, pp. 70, 74). Thus the flâneurs might decode some meanings from the random co-presence of signifiers within the urban environment, which would amount to a shift within the decoding model presented in Figure 5. Also characterized as inhabiting an urban environment.
is the “cosmopolitan”, for whom the eclecticism of this environment becomes so familiar that contrast rather than uniformity becomes the expected experience (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239). Therefore, it is accepted as a part of the urban condition that a variety of diverse signifiers should co-exist in a single context, and it may be considered desirable in contemporary Western cultures to have the ability to operate within such complex semiotic fields in the manner of a flâneur or “cosmopolitan”.

It may further be argued that no musical experience in a sequence can ever be regarded as a completely independent phenomenon. Each sound we hear inevitably creates a context in which the next sound is heard, and the process of decoding it inevitably influences at least the initial part of the next decoding process. Koestler (1975) suggests that an apparently random sequence of radically different perceived entities is one of the primary sources of creativity in the arts and in scientific research. This is not, of course, to say that every such interaction will result in something innovative, and, indeed, creativity may also require an intellectual disposition to use the interaction in a particular way.

Planned musical interactions also exist. Here the listener is cued in some way to consider the interaction of two musics as meaningful, and to attempt to decode the interaction itself rather than merely to decode the constituent musics independently. Some planned interactions might be deliberately made to appear random, perhaps in an attempt to encode the interaction with a meaning that aligns the encoder with contemporary urban or cosmopolitan culture, and therefore with listeners who might be expected to locate such meanings even in the absence of cues. Fernando mentions this phenomenon in the idealization of the connoisseur of art and the celebration of syncretism within a connoisseur’s collection:

Idiosyncratic juxtapositions . . . characterize the homes of most collectors of African art, stretching the boundaries of expectation, challenging familiarity, and conveying multiple messages about personal aesthetics, worldliness,
appreciation of other cultures, and the politics of possession. (Fernando, 1999, p. 78)

However, a range of other possible meanings may be encoded and decoded in a musical interaction. Both planned and random interactions may be understood as acting metaphorically for real or imagined social interactions of various kinds. Small suggests that music may function as a metaphor for social relations, stating that acts of musicking model

ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and perhaps even the supernatural world. (Small, 1998, p. 13)

Stokes also refers to the way in which music is often considered to relate to social relationships, noting “a Platonic strand in our thinking about music, in which music, understood as an extraterrestrial ‘essence’, controls, regulates and harmonises social relations” (Stokes, 1994a, p. 10). Therefore, an interaction between musical signifiers from different cultures may be decoded as a metaphor for real or imagined cultural interaction.

It is possible for musical interactions to act either as metaphors for cultural interactions that have taken place in real social contexts, forming contact zones wider than mere musical interaction, or as metaphors for cultural interactions that have not taken place in social contexts. Born and Hesmondhalgh note the importance of music as a means of exploring the possibilities of social relationships between cultures:

It is precisely music’s extraordinary powers of imaginary evocation of identity and of cross-cultural and intersubjective empathy that render it a primary means of both marking and transforming individual and collective identities. (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 32)
Thus music is acknowledged to be capable of expressing the imaginary, and it may therefore act as a safety valve by expressing the forbidden, including forbidden Self-Other interactions (Merriam, 1980, p. 221).

Born and Hesmondhalgh discuss the polarity between what they describe as "musically imagined communities" and "music that is driven by sociocultural identities that are ontologically and sociologically prior" (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 35, emphasis in original). Born and Hesmondhalgh subdivide these two groups, producing four categories of relationship between musical and social interaction. The first group includes music that creates "a purely imaginary identification, an imaginary figuration of sociocultural identities, with no intent to actualise those identities . . ." (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 35, emphasis in original). Such works or performances allow those involved to explore social relationships through the metaphor of musical signs that pose no threat to identity, since the relationships remain imaginary. As Small states, musical performance teaches and inculcates the concept of those ideal relationships, or values, and allows those taking part to try them on, to see how they fit, to experience them without having to commit themselves to them, at least for more than the duration of the performance. It is thus an instrument of exploration. (Small, 1998, p. 183, emphasis in original)

Lysloff, too, refers to musical interactions that appear to be imaginary, describing them as "true simulacra - perfect copies whose originals never existed" (Lysloff, 1997, p. 216). Furthermore, the Other which the Self explores is itself "imaginary", consisting of the preconceived images that are evoked by the musical signifiers, as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

In the second type of relationship identified by Born and Hesmondhalgh "the musical imaginary works to prefigure, crystallize or potentialize emergent, real forms of sociocultural identity or alliance . . ." (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 35, emphasis in original). This category
incorporates musical interactions that contribute to the formation of subsequent cultural identities, even though they might, at the time the musical interaction occurs, appear to be largely imaginary. The third category is described as including instances "[w]hen the musical imaginary works to reproduce, reinforce, actualise or memorialize extant sociocultural identities . . ." while the fourth kind occurs "[w]hen the musical representations of sociocultural identity come, after the fact, to be reinterpreted and debated discursively and, out of this process, 'reinserted' as representations into the changing socio-cultural formation . . ." (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, pp. 35-36, emphasis in original).

These four categories, while useful, have limitations. For example, it can be questioned to what extent the musical interactions in category one are "purely imaginary". While it is possible for a particular listener to experience musically an interaction that he or she has never before experienced socially, the result of the greater mobility of people and their cultural expressions in the late-twentieth century is that individuals from many cultural groups may be present in any given context. Therefore, a Self culture cannot discount as impossible an interaction with any Other group. As early as 1956, Horton and Wohl argued that the Other may be met "with an illusion of intimacy", producing a "simulacrum of conversational give and take [which] may be called para-social interaction" (Horton and Wohl, 1956, pp. 215, 217; emphasis in original). Musical interactions cannot, therefore, be dismissed as metaphors of social interactions that are, and will always remain, purely imagined, since musical interactions always have the potential to be paralleled by social interactions.

Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that musical interactions apparently based upon purely imagined social interactions will not be perceived as a threat to Self identity. The frequency with which terms such as "experiment" and "explore" are adopted when describing musical interactions lends "scientistic connotations" to such projects, with the implication of undetermined outcomes (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p.
19). In such explorations, music enables “imagined transgression linking peoples, only to increase its danger” (Radano and Bohlman, 2000a, p. 15). Alternatively, explorations through musical interactions may uncover new ways of interacting socially, and new ways of managing difference, in the manner suggested by Small, quoted above (see also Masolo, 2000, p. 372; McClary, 1987, p. 18; Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 135; Hesmondhalgh, 2000, p. 282). The connotations of exploring unknown contact zones remain important, whether with an element of threat or a sense of discovery.

As alternatives that build on Born and Hesmondhalgh’s model, three relationships between musical and social interaction are suggested here. First, a musical interaction can propose a social interaction. This is related to Born and Hesmondhalgh’s first and second categories, but removes the problematic distinction between “purely imagined” and “emergent, real” interactions. Second, a musical interaction can describe a social interaction. Third, a musical interaction can reconfigure a social interaction. To this model, a further dimension is necessary: the categorization of any musical interaction as a proposition, a description or a reconfiguration depends on that listener’s previous experiences. While to one listener a musical interaction might propose a social interaction that has never before been imagined, to another listener it might describe a known social interaction, and to another it might reconfigure a known interaction by presenting it in a new way. Thus no musical interaction may be placed in one of these three categories absolutely. The categorization depends on the meanings decoded by the listener. This will become evident when the various responses that listeners offered to the musical interactions that occur in Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt are discussed in Chapter Seven. First, however, further elements of this theoretical framework must be discussed in order to allow for analysis of these responses.
Musical interactions in cultural context

Musical interactions occur in a variety of contexts, and the particular context has an effect on the meanings decoded from the interaction. An understanding of the cultural context will assist in understanding how a musical interaction between Self and Other will be decoded. Reactions to an interaction are never neutral. Like responses to independent signifiers they will be shaped by the prevailing attitudes within the culture, as was evident in the listeners’ responses discussed in Chapter Five. Thus a listener’s response to a musical interaction between Self and Other will be determined in large part by the Self culture’s attitude toward Self-Other interactions, both musical and social.

A culture’s attitude toward Self-Other interactions may be represented using the continuum model, which also allows for the fact that attitudes toward such interactions fluctuate, and are not absolute. Two related continua may be used to represent a culture’s attitude to Self-Other interactions. A positive-negative response continuum allows the culture’s collective response to Self-Other interactions to be mapped according to the extent to which interactions are valued within the culture. A second continuum, which is likely to be closely related to the first, accommodates a range of attitudes between “open” and “restrictive” views toward Self-Other interactions. While this continuum is likely largely to parallel the positive-negative continuum, it allows for distinctions to be made between cultures that restrict interactions in nature or extent, and those that are open to interactions of many kinds. For example, some cultural groups might encourage and view positively interactions between Self and Other that occur in certain contexts such as within an urban street, while discouraging and viewing negatively interactions that occur within the context of the home. Thus the context of an urban street may be designated an area in which interaction is appropriate, yet this positive attitude is restricted and does not extend to the context of the private home.
It must be noted at this point, however, that the motivation for open and/or positive responses to cultural interaction cannot be assumed to be a liberal, tolerant attitude. Nor can it be assumed that such responses are evidence of cultural or political equality between the Self and Other groups in question. Cultural interaction might be promoted for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the financial gain that may be made by encouraging members of the Self culture to consume imagery of the Other, as was discussed in Chapter Three in the context of tourism. Thus the use of the terms "positive" and "open" here are not intended to imply that such interactions inevitably have solely positive outcomes for both Self and Other, but simply to indicate that the Self welcomes, for whatever reasons, cultural interaction with the Other.

As well as variation in attitudes toward Self-Other interactions in general, so too is there likely to be variation in attitudes toward interactions between Self and particular Other groups. A culture might value positively an interaction between its Self and a particular Other in a wide range of contexts, placing this particular interaction at the "positive" and "open" ends of these continua. However, that same Self culture might discourage interaction of any kind with a different Other, placing that interaction on the
"negative" and "restrictive" ends of these continua. While it is likely that an overall attitude toward Self-Other interactions will be apparent within any cultural group, not all interactions will be valued equally. Many Other cultures are to some extent familiar and in some ways meaningful, and therefore not all Others are decoded as identical within the Self culture. Interactions with various Others are likely to produce a range of responses from the Self culture, within the framework of the culture's overall attitude toward such interactions.

While an individual's response to Self-Other interactions will be shaped by, and fall within the limits of, the attitudes of the groups with which he or she identifies, there will be a degree of variation between the responses of different individuals within any given culture. This is consistent with the theories discussed in Chapter One that relate the individual to the group. Individual responses may coincide or not coincide with the response of the majority within the group, depending on matters such as that individual's place within the group and the extent to which his or her individual sense of Self is stable. Some individuals may feel more threatened by alternative worldviews than are others, provoking different responses to the experience of the Other in close proximity to the Self. Therefore, while an individual's response is limited to some extent by the responses that are acceptable within the group, alternative or extreme responses from particular individuals cannot be ruled out.

Individuals or groups may give a relatively negative response to an interaction between Self and Other if it is seen to pose a threat to the boundary between the two. The maintenance of a boundary between Self and Other is necessary in order to retain a sense of what is Self, which in Western modernity is largely achieved by identifying what is Other. Some cultures are more tolerant of transgressions of the Self-Other boundary, whether by individuals within the culture or by the culture as a whole. Similarly, some types of transgression may be more readily accepted. Those initiated by the Self, for example, are likely to be less threatening than those initiated by the
Other. However, every individual and cultural group will have a point at which transgression of the Self-Other boundary is considered to have reached an unacceptable level. One possible consequence for the Self culture is a sense of insecurity, when the erosion or transgression of the boundary is viewed as a threat to the stability of the Self's identity. This insecurity may in turn lead to the emphasis of difference, in an attempt either to rebuild or reinforce the Self-Other boundary or to devalue the Other through ridicule or dismissal in order to remove the potency of the Other's threat. Featherstone notes that such reactionary tendencies may come in the form of a return to traditionalism (Featherstone, 1997, p. 91). This relates to the use of heritage as a means of stabilizing identity, as was discussed in Chapter One, and it is particularly important in the context of de Courson's albums given the role of "classical" music as a signifier for heritage within the Western Self culture.

In some instances, an interaction between Self and Other taking place in the context of music may be preferable to interaction between that same Self and Other in other contexts. For example, in America in the early- to mid-twentieth century, both white and black Americans were involved in performing jazz (usually considered music of "black" origin) and "classical" music (usually considered to be music of "white" origin). The interaction that the Self group of white Americans accepted for the purposes of musical performance was at this time not accepted in all other contexts in society. This suggests that Small's description of musicking as allowing the trying out of "ideal relationships" may require refinement. Instead of "ideal" relationships, musicking may allow explorations of relationships and interactions that are only safe because they are located in the distanced and controlled context of music. While an element of threat will underlie the Self culture's response to many interactions, the threat to Self identity might appear to be limited when it occurs in a musical context where the threat can be managed and the interaction need not be feared and avoided. In this case, the exploration of the Self-Other boundary and the element of risk that it involves might be pleasurable and sought after. Once again, it must be noted
that such interactions might not be received in the same way by the Other group: positive outcomes for the Self may have negative effects for the Other, or vice versa.

Mike Featherstone has discussed the way in which it may be pleasurable and desirable to experience a context in which signifiers apparently conflict. Such “eclectic mixing of codes, bizarre juxtapositions and unchained signifiers . . . defy meaning and readability” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 20). The experience of the resulting confusion as pleasurable rather than disturbing stems from the restriction of the semiotic confusion to a limited context. As examples of such contexts, Featherstone suggests the carnivals and fairgrounds of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Featherstone, 1991, pp. 22-23). Featherstone describes eighteenth-century carnivals as spaces “in which the everyday world was turned upside down and in which the tabooed and fantastic were possible”, while fairs offered “spectacular imagery, bizarre juxtapositions, confusions of boundaries and an immersion in a mêlée of strange sounds, motions, images, people, animals and things” (Featherstone, 1991, pp. 22-23). In such contexts, an individual is likely to experience a number of signifiers of various kinds that contrast or conflict in terms of the decoded meaning, and allow “otherness and desire [to] be explored” (Featherstone, 1991, p. 120).

Carnivals and fairs are environments that are designed especially to contain extensive juxtapositions. Modern equivalents include MTV (Music Television) with its frequent juxtaposition of contrasting images and non-narrative sequences. However, juxtapositions also appear within contexts that, rather than being separate from everyday life as is the carnival or MTV, are an integral part of day-to-day experiences. These contexts include the urban environments described earlier, which are designed for purposes other than entertainment through the juxtaposition of signifiers. In these environments, juxtapositions may be described as by-products rather than the purpose for which the environments were created.

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21 See Frith, Goodwin and Grossberg (1993) for a discussion of the use of such techniques in MTV.
Since it is expected that contexts such as carnivals, MTV and urban street environments will contain a range of contrasting signifiers, this conflict does not automatically lead to confusion. Instead, it is likely that an individual who enters such a context will alter the decoding process that he or she adopts in order to accommodate the range of signifiers that are present. The decoding process that results may resemble that of the flâneur or "cosmopolitan". Featherstone argues that the flâneur will "play with and celebrate the artificiality, randomness and superficiality of the fantastic mélange of fictions and strange values that are to be found in the fashions and popular cultures of cities" (Featherstone, 1991, p. 24).

According to Gestalt theory, humans seek connections between experiences. In decoding planned musical experiences, the same is true. Internal connections may be sought, such as identifying a common performer, or common melodic or rhythmic material; or external connections may be sought, such as identifying origins in the same time period, or common function as television theme tunes. It is usual to expect, and to attempt to decode, meaning in the juxtaposition of two or more signifiers in a single context, such as two words in a sentence, two sentences in a conversation or two musical sounds in a composition. However, in contexts such as those Featherstone describes, this practice may be suspended since the listener is not cued to search for meanings in the interaction of diverse signifiers, which he or she might assume is unplanned. If the listener is familiar with the nature of such contexts he or she may even be cued to ignore any connections that are identified, such as those between successive television commercials, and to dismiss the connections as unintentional and therefore as not meaningful.

Some units of musical signification call for the listener to suspend the usual practice of attempting to locate connections between the signifiers contained within. Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* (1874) evokes through its title the decoding process of the flâneur. Here the context is not an urban street, but a gallery through which the subject (metaphorically) walks.
and observes a range of seemingly unrelated signifiers in the form of the paintings that hang there. Thus the listener, through the title given to the work, is cued to adopt such an approach to decoding the music: to search for meaning within, but not connections between, the movements within the work that represent the paintings. Of course, some connections remain. Instrumentation and stylistic elements of melodic, harmonic and rhythmic organization do bind the pieces, and a Promenade intervenes between pieces to depict the tour. However, the listener is cued to attribute less meaning to the connections between the individual pieces than may usually be the case in a collection of works because it is made clear that each movement should be decoded relatively independently.

John Cage extended this idea in his concept of the *Musicircus* (1967), as did Karlheinz Stockhausen in *Musik für ein Haus* (1968). Cage’s *Musicircus* is established “simply by inviting those who were willing to perform at once (in the same place and time)” (Cage, quoted in Kostelanetz, 1970, p. 172). This meant that a number of different musical and theatrical acts were brought together within one context, around which the audience would circulate and focus attention on or off at will. However, the “general sound was of a high volume” (Cage, quoted in Kostelanetz, 1970, p. 172), and therefore the different performances were not separated temporally or spatially from one another but instead might overlap in the audience’s observation. As with *Pictures at an Exhibition*, in the case of the *Musicircus* the title of the event cues the listener not to search for connections between the performances and to treat those that are noticed as coincidental. The use of the word “circus” alludes to the array of acts that might be observed in a traditional circus, between which connections or a narrative are not expected to be found.

Featherstone refers to contexts such as fairgrounds and carnivals as sites of “ordered disorder” (Featherstone, 1991, pp. 22-23). This description indicates that, while there appears to be disorder among the signifiers found within such contexts, and while the interactions that take place might be random rather than planned, these contexts remain ordered in that the
interactions are expected, and are limited to that context. The observation of
diverse and conflicting signifiers in a carnival or in a sequence of television
commercials is not something that will surprise an individual with any
knowledge or experience of the nature of these contexts. Thus the apparent
disorder is "ordered" in the sense that an individual enters the context with
the expectation that such disorder will occur. Indeed, it may be argued that
this acceptance of apparent disorder is in itself a form of ordering the
environment. The disorder is illusory, and this illusion is accepted because it
is expected in those particular environments.

Reference to disorder as "ordered" also indicates that the illusion of
disorder occurs within that site and not beyond it. The individual therefore
retains control over his or her presence in the disordered situation. Since the
disorder is limited to the context of the carnival or MTV programme, the
individual can remove him or herself from the disorder, and therefore the
disorder from his or her Self, by choosing to remove him or herself from that
context. Hannerz has similarly referred to the "cosmopolitan" who "may
embrace alien culture, but he does not become committed to it. All the time
he knows where the exit is" (Hannerz, 1990, p. 204). This lack of commitment
to interaction with the Other minimizes the threat posed by such disorder,
since the context of the disorder may be vacated whenever the threat appears
to be too great.

Featherstone argues that to circulate within an environment of ordered
disorder calls for a response characterized by "controlled decontrol"
(Featherstone, 1991, pp. 24-25). He states,

[i]t needs discipline and control to stroll through goods on
display, to look and not snatch, to move casually without
interrupting the flow, to gaze with controlled enthusiasm
and a blasé outlook, to observe others without being seen,
to tolerate the close proximity of bodies without feeling
threatened. (Featherstone, 1991, p. 24)

Some level of decontrol is essential in an environment in which the
predictability of a known semiotic system is suspended. If this decontrol does not take place, then an individual is likely to search for meanings in an attempt to retain control over the sign relationships he or she has learned. Sites of ordered disorder call for some decontrol in a similar way in which watching a film calls for the temporary suspension of disbelief. If a viewer does not temporarily suspend disbelief in the reality of the characters and action taking place on screen, then the experience of watching the film is likely to appear confusing, frightening or pointless. Similarly, it is necessary temporarily to suspend the search for meanings in the interaction of signifiers, if sites of ordered disorder are to be pleasurable.

However, this decontrol must not be total, and it may be argued that it in fact amounts to the adoption of an alternative system of order. If all control over meanings and signs were lost, then it may no longer be possible to distinguish between signifiers that represent Self and those that represent Other, leading to a real threat to Self identity. It is desirable in these contexts to accept the co-presence of Self and Other, but not to lose the ability to distinguish between the two. Control should only be relinquished to the extent that the individual ceases to search for meaning in the interaction between contrasting signifiers, not that those signifiers should cease to be at all meaningful. Thus it is necessary to control the extent to which decontrol occurs in order to retain the identity of the Self.

When the above points are considered, it is apparent that interaction, either musical or cultural, is complex and almost limitless in the ways in which it may convey meaning to those who observe it. Musical interaction may function as a signifier for cultural interactions of various kinds, and responses to these interactions will vary according to the position that the Self culture takes with regard to interaction. Contexts in which the interaction of contrasting signifiers occurs call for particular decoding processes to be adopted, and these too have an important effect on the responses elicited. These processes are discussed below with particular reference to the status of musical and cultural interactions within contemporary Western Self cultures.
Attitudes toward cultural interaction

Because there is a wide range of possible reactions to the many different types of interaction between Self and Other, it is not possible to predict with any degree of certainty either how a particular culture or individual will respond to all musical interactions, or how all cultures or individuals will respond to a particular musical interaction. Issues such as the nature of the interaction, the particular Self and Other musics that interact, and the attitude of the Self culture to interactions in general will all have an impact on the resulting response. In order to understand an individual’s response to a particular interaction, it is necessary to consider first the attitude of the Self culture toward interactions between Self and Other. The cultural context of Western Self cultures in the late-twentieth century should therefore be considered in order to understand the way in which individuals decode de Courson’s recordings within this cultural context.

Late twentieth-century Western culture is often perceived to be highly multicultural and inclusive of Others. Such descriptions refer not only to the mere presence of various cultural groups and ideologies within Western culture at this time, but to the attitudes of the Western Self culture toward Other cultures and Self-Other interactions. Thus late twentieth-century Western culture is characterized as responding to Self-Other interactions more often on the “open” and “positive” ends of the continua than on the “restrictive” and “negative” ends.

It may be argued, in opposition to the label “multicultural” being applied to the late-twentieth century, that the Other is always present in some form in every cultural group; therefore, to use the term “multicultural” to describe only some cultural groups or periods of time is misleading. However, terms such as “multicultural” and “inclusive” refer not only to the presence of the Other in various forms within a Self culture, but also to attitudes toward the Other and toward the difference that the Other
embodies. These attitudes have been explored above to some extent, with the identification of the positive-negative and restrictive-open continua. Attitudes toward difference within late twentieth-century Western culture will now be considered in an attempt to explain apparent shifts along these continua that have occurred in this era. More elements of the Other have been accepted as options available to the Self; the Other has become more familiar to the Self; the Self responds to interactions with the Other more positively; and Self-Other interactions are subject to fewer restrictions. These responses may be investigated with respect to further underlying attitudes toward the management of difference. These will be placed in the broad categories of separatist, universalist and pluralist attitudes.

In order to explain changes in a Self culture's response to Self-Other interactions, it is necessary to consider the importance of the familiar-unfamiliar continuum. In order for the Other to become more familiar, access to Other cultures must be readily available. In the early decades of the twentieth century access to the Other, even in such mediated forms as travel writing, news media and musical recordings, was more limited than in later decades. Consequently, the Other was relatively unfamiliar in Western cultures. Elements of the Other that did circulate in Western cultures were often treated as exotica, portrayed as fascinating, bizarre and the epitome of difference from Self. Consequently, the Other was both unfamiliar and inexplicably different, leading to the frequent perception of the Other as a threat to the Self.

When the Other is represented in ways that reinforce the sense of threat, it may seem an unattractive entity with which to interact, since the Other may be attractive only when its absolute difference from Self is represented in the safe form of exoticism. Interaction with the Other may itself be feared, and be seen to bring with it the potential for pollution of the Self by the myriad negative qualities of the Other. For example, Said notes that during the nineteenth century Europe began to ignore the hybridity of Greek civilization in order to maintain an image of "purity" in European
cultures (Said, 1994, p. 16). Similar attempts have been made to avoid the pollution of musics. Hornbostel advocated the emphasis of absolute difference between African and European musics in order to prevent African people from abandoning their traditional musics, as he believed African Americans had (Waterman, 1991, p. 172).

Potential enrichment of the Self through contact with the Other may be further discounted because of a perceived lack of commonality between the two. In a cultural climate such as this, any apparent connections between Self and Other may be minimized, with the Other described in ways that increase the distance and reinforce the boundary between the two. Waterman notes this attitude in Hornbostel’s opinions of the differences between African and “modern” European musics. These, he considers, “are constructed on entirely different principles, and therefore . . . they cannot be fused into one, but only the one or the other can be used without compromise” (Hornbostel, 1928, cited in Waterman, 1991, p. 171). These differences include, according to Hornbostel, technical differences between textural, harmonic and rhythmic conceptions, as well as broader musicking practices: “we proceed from hearing and they from motion” (Hornbostel, cited in Waterman, 1991, p. 171).

Within cultures dominated by separatist attitudes, those individuals who cross the boundary between Self and Other are exceptional, with their actions described as, for example, “going native”. During discusses those who, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were “distinguished because they haunt [the] border” between Self and Other (During, 1994, p. 50). Descriptions of “going native” refer more to a crossing of the boundary, of leaving Self and becoming Other, than to an interaction, of expanding Self through contact with the Other. Furthermore, the notion of crossing the boundary between Self and Other from either side, rather than merely permeating the boundary, has the effect of maintaining the border between the two (During, 1994, p. 58). Compromise between Self and Other is therefore likely to appear problematic because of the level of difference between them.
Changes in the perception of Self-Other difference are factors in changes of attitude toward Self-Other interaction. Hebdige (1988) claims that two strategies have evolved for managing Self-Other difference. Either difference is seen to be absolute and beyond analysis, reducing the Other to meaningless exotica, or difference is denied, naturalizing the Other and seeing it as the same as Self (Hebdige, 1988, p. 97). Although it was argued above that the Other, even when represented in the form of exotica, is not meaningless, this description of two ways of managing difference indicates the main distinction between separatist and universalist attitudes. The perception of absolute difference between Self and Other acts as a barrier to interaction, while the perception that difference is located on the surface may encourage interaction on the basis that underlying the surface differences are elements common to both. Universalist attitudes are likely to lead to the minimizing of the importance of apparent differences on the basis that they merely conceal stronger underlying similarities. Therefore difference, instead of being symptomatic of the distance that separates and protects the Self from an otherwise threatening Other, creates only an illusory boundary that need not be maintained. Consequently, change in cultural traditions might not be feared as a symptom of pollution. Waterman notes, "[t]he notion of syncretism . . . cast a more positive light on musical change, and has frequently been deployed in analyses of African popular music" (Waterman, 1990, p. 368).

One of the consequences of universalist attitudes toward difference and interaction is the production of images that support the notion of a "global community". Erlmann notes the appeal of "commercially produced images of 'world'" in the late-twentieth century (Erlmann, 1995, p. 477), while Featherstone argues that the notion of "humanity", as a group to which all individuals belong regardless of cultural difference, is "one of the few examples of the sacred which had potential for universal appeal in the modern world" (Featherstone, 1991, p. 145). The growth of universalist attitudes such as these in Western culture from the mid-twentieth century has
been attributed to other cultural trends. According to Morley and Robins, Rath maintains that television has played an important role by representing "planetary affairs which we face privately in our cosy living rooms" (Morley and Robins, 1995, p. 131). Lysloff also notes the importance of technology, which has allowed listeners to become "travelers in a rich world of musical diversity . . . the listener can 'travel' to exotic acoustical spaces" (Lysloff, 1997, p. 214).

The role of technology and the media in the promotion of images of universalism and the potential for inter-cultural interaction and understanding raises the issue of the power balance between Self and Other in a culture characterized by universal attitudes. It was demonstrated earlier that separatist attitudes often reflect a belief that the Other is inferior, and the behaviours that result from separatist attitudes may reinforce imbalances of power between the two, as in apartheid in South Africa, for example. It may appear that universalist attitudes reflect a belief in the equality of Self and Other, and that these beliefs will extend to behaviours the Self exhibits towards the Other, resulting in actual cultural equality. However, such a circumstance cannot be assumed. While images of interaction may promote the concept of underlying similarities and equalities, these images are often produced by powerful sectors of the Western Self culture such as the media and entertainment industries, who do so with the purpose of making a profit. In doing so, the actual power balance between Self and Other is further swung in favour of the Self. Thus while universalist attitudes may become more prevalent, actual equality does not necessarily eventuate, and the motivations for promoting such attitudes may not be innocent.

Regardless of their sources, the accessibility of images from a variety of cultures throughout the world may contribute to the tendency toward universalist attitudes because of the apparent reduction in distance, if not difference, between Self and Other. Friedman links the popularity of the "global" as an image to the ideology of the cosmopolitan, for whom, as mentioned earlier, environments containing eclectic images are the norm.
This reduces at least the unexpectedness of difference if not the difference itself (Friedman, 1994, p. 236). As familiarity increases, difference becomes both more expected and less surprising, and therefore less potent as an expression of exoticism. Featherstone suggests that because of the intense interplay that takes place between images of Self and Other through, for example, audio-visual media, images and signs from Other cultures cannot be regarded merely as strange or exotic in contemporary Western culture (Featherstone, 1997, p. 82). Exoticism is dependent upon the decoding of a signifier as bizarre and entirely Other which, Featherstone argues, is less likely to be the case as images of the Other, if not the actual Other, become increasingly familiar.

Universalist attitudes lead to the valuing of apparent similarity and unity over difference. However, the unity that is celebrated may or may not be real. Merriam suggests that a belief in an essential humanity expressed through art may reflect a desire for unity rather than an actual unity, and that it is unclear whether the arts are interrelated because they spring from the same source, or unity is created by human belief in that assumed common source (Merriam, 1980, p. 274). However, the issue in question here is whether or not unity is valued, rather than whether or not it is “actual”, since any recognition of unity or difference depends on the viewpoint of the Self culture.

The identification of unity is, however, an important process within a Self-culture that holds largely universalist attitudes; indeed, the identification of underlying unity between cultures may be the most important criterion considered when assessing the likelihood or value of interaction between them. For example, Trần Văn Khê states, “in order to have two cultures together, one culture can be accepted by another when all the essential elements borrowed are compatible with the essential elements from the other culture” (quoted in Tradition and its Future in Music, 1990, p. 575). Similarly, Brown claims that the development of a panhuman value system is necessary before engaging in cross-cultural exchanges because of differences between
musical and cultural systems (Brown, 1991, p. 373). These two writers both advocate the reduction of difference by locating underlying similarities in order to enhance the possibilities for cultural interaction. Merriam provides a specific example when he states with regard to African American music, "there is enough similarity between African and European music to permit musical syncretism" (Merriam, 1980, p. 314). This point also indicates that the identification of similarity and difference between cultures is very much dependent upon the viewpoint of the writer, since Merriam identifies unity between African and European music while Hornbostel, quoted earlier, identified only insurmountable differences. Neither, however, is specific in terms of identifying these similarities and differences.

The value that cultures displaying predominantly universalist attitudes place on images of unity may lead to the interpretation of musical interactions as evidence of universalism. Musical interactions may be seen as ways of metaphorically encouraging interaction between cultures on the basis of supposed underlying similarities. For example, Guilbault, in her discussion of musical interactions in the West Indies, notes that the phenomenon "is articulated in terms of collaboration and fusion and in terms of diversity within the range of unity" (Guilbault, 2000 p. 439). Jon Hassell indicates that his intention was to promote such universalist ideals in his 1980 album Fourth World Volume 1: Possible Musics, which he claims proposed a "'coffee-coloured' classical music for the future" (quoted in Toop, 1990, p. 123). A similar sentiment was expressed several decades earlier by Stockhausen, who wrote that he "wanted to come closer to an old, ever-recurrent dream: to go a step forward towards writing, not 'my' music, but a music of the whole world, of all lands and races" (quoted in Toop, 1990, p. 124). Steve Reich's Drumming (1971) has been praised for achieving an interaction based on unity that promotes such universalist attitudes: Corbett cites Tom Johnson as describing "the pleasure of seeing African and European elements so thoroughly fused - almost as though we really did live in one world" (Corbett, 2000, p. 174).
The identification of unity as an element essential to interaction with the Other was an important aspect of musical interactions throughout the twentieth century. For example, the French duo who formed Deep Forest state that their wish is, through their recordings, “to participate in bringing people closer through understanding and respect for each culture” (Feld, 1996, p. 20), and to participate in gathering all peoples and joining all continents through the universal language of music. Deep Forest is the respect [for] this tradition that humanity should cherish as a treasure which marries world harmony, a harmony often compromised today. (Lysloff, 1997, p. 213)

Similarly, Afro Celt Sound System has explored possible cultural connections as justification for musical interactions, taking as a basis possible parallels between the griot and the druid, making “lofty claims about recreating the mystically historical connections between African and Celtic folk musics” (Monson, 1999, p. 58).

The emphasis on images of unity between cultures may lead to the Other being seen as merely a variant of the Self with beliefs and practices that parallel those of the Self culture, different in form and content but similar in function. Tenzer goes so far as to hypothesize that, because he considers polarized distinctions between East and West to be untenable from the view of contemporary Western culture, it may be possible to look for similar connections in the past, leading to comparisons between the work of Mozart and his Indian contemporaries (Tenzer, 1993, p. 407). Tenzer’s comment implies that he considers such unity to be actual, rather than being unity that is perceived within the particular cultural context of the late-twentieth century.

The celebration of apparent similarities between “superficially” different cultures may also function to reduce the threat that the Other poses to Self identity. By minimizing the importance of cultural difference, the Other is presented as fundamentally the same as the Self, rather than as an
entity that embodies absolute difference that must be managed through representation as exotica. Minimizing difference, and reducing the boundary between Self and Other, may conversely bring with it an increased threat. As discussed in Chapter One, identification of difference and Otherness is a fundamental part of forming a sense of Self, and reduction of difference may lead to attempts to reinforce the boundary. However, the belief that Self and Other are different only superficially also opens up the possibility of the Other’s assimilation into the Self. Thus universalist beliefs may open the way for the Self ultimately to assimilate and gain control of the Other. Middleton states,

the aim of both assimilation and projection strategies is to manage the threat posed by potentially infinite difference to the authority of the bourgeois self, by reducing such difference to a stable hierarchy. (Middleton, 2000, p. 62)

A third possible set of attitudes toward cultural difference leads to another set of responses to Self-Other interaction. Difference, rather than being minimized, may be expected to exist within and between cultures, and may be valued in itself. Rather than considering difference to be a superficial mask for underlying similarities that are of greater importance, difference may be accepted and celebrated. Difference itself may therefore be considered to be meaningful. For example, Stuart Hall states, “[d]ifference signifies. It ‘speaks’” (Hall, 1997b, p. 230), while Nixon states with regard to world beat, “[d]ifference itself is the meaning; it is the fact that different cultural repertoires are being put into global circulation . . .” (Nixon, 1994, p. 189). Similarly, Erlmann discusses the importance of difference in the world music industry:

It is not the situation of plurality as such, of different moments of truths, that seems to preoccupy the Western world music consumer, but the circulation of these plural forms among each other. Difference itself becomes the signified. The fact that you register difference is proof
that something is going on... (Erlmann, 1995, p. 483)

Such attitudes to cultural difference could be described as pluralist, as opposed to universalist. These pluralist attitudes are likely to lead to the acceptance of many different cultures and their traditions, and to the view that difference is as worthy of attention and celebration as sameness. The term pluralist has been applied to social groups in which subgroups coexist without mixing or sharing basic institutions, thus retaining their autonomy despite their co-existence with alternative ideologies and behaviours (Manuel, 2000, p. 321).

Even when characterized by pluralist attitudes, some degree of sameness between Self and Other is perhaps necessary in order for interaction to occur at all. In the contemporary global market place, a reasonably similar understanding of the notion of “the consumer” is necessary in order to facilitate trade between cultures, even if the products that are traded are vastly different. Within cultures with predominantly pluralist attitudes, these aspects of sameness are unlikely to be the focus of attention, with the celebration of the differences that are retained being more important. It may be, however, that such similarities also betray power imbalances, reflecting the imposition of concepts belonging to one culture onto another. In the case of the contemporary global music industry, the notions of “performer” and “audience” may be one example. Despite being fundamental to the Western notion of the consumption of music, not all cultures distinguish between those producing and those consuming the musical product. In order to function within the music industry, in which recordings and live performances are structured around this division, musicians from other cultures frequently must adopt these concepts, which in turn allows for the circulation of different musics. Thus while the musics themselves might be different, and this difference celebrated, a degree of sameness in conception remains necessary.

Like the separatist attitudes that were discussed earlier, pluralist
attitudes are unlikely to lead to attempts to minimize difference. However, unlike separatist attitudes, pluralism is more likely to lead to responses toward contact between Self and Other that fall on the “positive” and “open” ends of the continua, rather than to “negative” and “restrictive” responses. Attempts to restrict Self-Other interactions as a part of the separatist attitude may be seen as a way of increasing the distance from, and reducing the threat of, the Other. Attempts to minimize the difference of the Other and to base interactions between Self and Other on commonalities between the two may also be interpreted as ways of reducing the threat of the Other. Pluralist views, however, lead neither to the reduction of contact between Self and Other, nor to the minimizing of difference between them. Difference is both expected and accepted within and between cultural groups, and cultural difference is not reduced in order for Self and Other to interact. Instead, difference is celebrated as an inevitable aspect of meetings between cultures. While pluralist attitudes toward cultural interaction may resemble universalist attitudes in that both lead to relatively positive and open responses toward interaction compared with the separatist approach, the pluralist attitude toward difference is not the same as the universalist attitude.

Pluralist attitudes toward Self-Other interaction can be differentiated from universalist attitudes by the description of difference in more positive terms than descriptions of sameness. Interactions that lead to a homogenous blend, in which difference is minimized, might be considered from a pluralist stance to be a negative phenomenon that reduces important and meaningful difference to sameness. Toop, in discussing the world music phenomenon of the late-twentieth century, questions whether it has led to “an internationalist blurring of differentiation, a descent into a global soup of no distinct flavour” (Toop, 1990, p. 123). Guilbault records similar concerns being voiced regarding “crossover” musics in the West Indies (Guilbault, 2000, p. 443). One of the apparent difficulties with the results of such “crossover” is the inability to apply to it a suitable label. Hall similarly argues that a lack of cultural difference leads to difficulties in classification (Hall, 1997b, p. 236),
one of the most important means of making sense of and ordering the world, as well as being the basis of communication according to the semiological model. Indeed, music deemed unable to be categorized according to established labels because of its tendencies to “cross over” inevitably led to the development of new categories, including “world beat”, “global pop” and of course “cross-over” itself. Thus the location of meaning within difference contributes to categorization, which in turn reinforces difference as a defining and meaningful characteristic.

In the pluralist approach, while interaction between Self and Other is encouraged and accepted, and may lead to increased familiarity with the Other, the exchange of cultural elements will be discouraged if difference appears to be threatened. Such a response to interaction may at times resemble the accentuation of difference that is symptomatic of separatist attitudes. Both separatist and pluralist attitudes may be characterized by fear of pollution of either Self or Other, or both, through the exchange of behaviours and attitudes that lead to a reduction of difference. The two attitudes differ in that, while pluralist attitudes celebrate the presence of the Other as different from Self, separatist attitudes avoid the presence of Other because it is different from Self, utilizing that difference as a reason for avoiding Self-Other interaction.

The fear of pollution that accompanies pluralist attitudes toward cultural interaction may be considered a reaction against the universalist celebration of sameness. However, many theorists argue that such fears about homogeneity are unfounded. Friedman states that the spread of Western cultural products to interact with others around the world “has supplied raw materials for new local variations” (Friedman, 1994, p. 239) rather than leading to homogeneity through the adoption of Western products and behaviours in their entirety. Born and Hesmondhalgh, too, argue that while some critiques of black popular music question the extent to which white involvement has led to a “dilution” and exploitation of black cultures, evidence has also been produced that indicates that fear of a cultural
"grey-out" may be unfounded (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, pp. 23, 25).

Composer Jon Hassell also refers to the "dangers" of dilution, but states that the "balance between the native identity and the global identity via various electronic extensions is not one that can be dictated or necessarily predicted" (Hassell, quoted in Feld, 1996, p. 18). Tenzer makes similar claims regarding the spread of musical styles, stating that "[m]any compositional models now coexist harmoniously, allowing composers to pick and choose among them, combining them in whatever ways their imaginations suggest" (Tenzer, 1993, p. 390). Tenzer claims that Western art music, in particular, "engages in cross-fertilization with other cultures, both affecting and being affected by them but in very few cases supplanting them" (Tenzer, 1993, p. 394). In the last quotation, Tenzer appears to claim that universalist practices need not be feared since the result will not mean that the parent musics, and the differences between them, cease to exist. In order to recognize this, as well as the way in which subordinate groups retain a degree of control over the extent and nature of their interaction with dominant cultures, Pratt advocates the term "transculturation" rather than the more passive "acculturation" (Pratt, 1994, p. 31). This change in terminology empowers subordinate groups by acknowledging that theirs may be an active role in the interaction process.

Pluralist attitudes toward cultural difference and interaction lead to the production of musical expressions that differ from those produced by a predominantly universalist culture. Universalist interactions have been described by the metaphor of the "melting pot", in which all the ingredients blend together to produce a new entity whose constituent parts cannot be differentiated. Pluralist interactions, in contrast, have been described as resembling a "salad bowl", in which the constituent ingredients retain their identity and affect each other minimally (Manuel, 2000, p. 324; see also Slobin, 1993).

Between these two models, a number of different types of musical interaction have been identified according to the way in which the constituent
musics interact with one another. Meyer, for example, “distinguishes paraphrase, borrowing, allusion, simulation, and modelling, ranged along a spectrum between more and less freely modelled or imitative, and more and less formal-structural or thematic uses” (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 39). To this list Born and Hesmondhalgh suggest should be added “pastiche, parody, juxtaposition and montage” (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 39). Feld also acknowledges the existence of “a broad spectrum of interactive and extractive practices [which] produce a traffic in new creations and relationships through the use, circulation, and absorption of sound recordings” (Feld, 1996, p. 13), which he includes under the umbrella of “schizophonc mimesis”.

It may be expected that a group exhibiting predominantly pluralist attitudes toward difference will produce cultural expressions that resemble the “salad bowl” interaction more than the “melting pot”. Born and Hesmondhalgh refer to such works as “[p]erhaps the most theoretically challenging mode of musical representation[,] . . . the kind of concrete quotation or ‘objectification’ of another music found in forms such as musical montage, juxtaposition, pastiche and parody” (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 40). In such works, two or more musical signifiers (or systems of signification) are co-present, yet each retains its own identifying features. Such interactions as these differ from ones in which the identifying features of each constituent music are minimized in the quest for a blend.

The emphasis on difference between two co-present musics does not, however, necessarily lead to the two musics being decoded independently with no new “meaning” resulting from the interaction. Born and Hesmondhalgh describe juxtaposition as producing “a musical collage that creates perspectival distance, fragmentation, and relativism between each musical object alluded to” (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 40). Similarly, Berger discusses montage theory in film in terms of the juxtaposition of two pieces of film combining into a new concept or quality (Berger, 1995, pp. 37-38). Even though the identifying features of a musical signifier may be
retained, its co-presence with other signifiers is likely to affect the meanings that are decoded. Interactions that consist of juxtapositions may have potentially as great an impact on the meaning of the constituent signifiers as do interactions that result from predominantly universalist cultures which may appear to have affected the constituent signifiers in more obvious ways.

Within the discourse on musical interactions a relationship is claimed between academic groups and pluralist attitudes, and between lay groups and universalist attitudes. The characterization of ethnomusicologists and musical academics as advocates of “pure” and “authentic” cultural expressions probably stems from early- to mid-twentieth-century attempts to “preserve” Other cultures. Because of this history, it is assumed that such academics will respond negatively to interactions that involve the blending of two musics into a new form. For example, one critic writes of the African-Celtic band Baka Beyond that the “marvelous combination of crystalline rhythms [is] a modern listener’s wet dream, and an ethnomusicologist’s worst nightmare” (quoted in Feld, 1996, p. 27). Similarly, Scott Taves states with regard to an album he compiled consisting of the genre known as “ethnotechno”, which is characterized by the blending of musics from various cultures with the addition of an electronic dance track, that “[n]othing too precious or academic will be allowed here” (quoted in Lysloff, 1997, p. 214). Born and Hesmondhalgh note that ethnomusicologists “are lambasted by the music press and represented as purist voyeurs, while the fusion practices of groups like Zap Mama and Deep Forest are celebrated by the press as exciting hybrids which do creative justice to the original musics” (Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000a, p. 29; see also Hesmondhalgh, 2000, p. 284). Frith, too, describes the interplay between academic and lay discourse surrounding musical interactions, stating that there are “ways in which world music has itself been constructed as a kind of tribute to and parody of the community of scholars” (Frith, 2000, p. 320).

Despite the reputation that cultural groups such as “academics” may attract, it is rarely possible to characterize any group as holding entirely
separatist, universalist or pluralist attitudes. A more accurate hypothesis might be that any cultural group will tend toward one of these attitudes more than the other two, but that such a leaning is unlikely to occur to such extent that no elements of the other two attitudes ever appear. Similarly, various individuals within a cultural group will exhibit different attitudes. However, it is likely that predominant attitudes will be evident within cultures toward issues of cultural difference and interaction. This may at times come in the form of an "official" attitude, such as policies that favour "multiculturalism" in either a pluralist or universalist sense, or that favour apartheid policies, indicating a separatist view.

The above discussion has established that attitudes toward cultural and musical interactions vary widely, but may be considered within three main categories. Some cultural groups, and some individuals, hold a prevailing view that interaction between cultural groups should be avoided, perhaps because of irreconcilable differences between them; this has been described here as a separatist attitude. Other cultural groups and individuals believe that differences between groups of people are largely superficial and may be overcome because of underlying similarities; this is the universalist view. Still other groups and individuals maintain that while differences do exist, and are not merely superficial, interaction between groups of people is valuable and differences, instead of being minimalized, should be valued; this has been described as a pluralist attitude. While no culture or individual can necessarily be categorized as exclusively separatist, universalist or pluralist, prevailing attitudes toward cultural interaction may be identified according to these categories. Before discussing listeners' responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, it remains, therefore, to consider the following question: what was the prevailing attitude toward cultural difference in the late-twentieth century, within the Self culture in which the albums were produced?

Western culture throughout the twentieth century may be characterized as undergoing a general shift through these three main
attitudes, from separatist attitudes in the early- to mid-twentieth century to a period dominated by universalist attitudes in the mid-to-late part of the century, followed by shifts toward increasingly pluralist attitudes in the late-twentieth century. Gradual increases in the level of exposure of Western Self cultures to Other cultures came as a result of increased accessibility, through travel, migration, and exposure to images of the Other through film, television and recorded music. The Other became increasingly familiar, in many cases moving from distant lands to next door, or into the living room via television, and it became necessary to develop new strategies for managing cultural difference and issues of interaction. Interaction could no longer be avoided, and while on one hand a greater familiarity with the Other helped to diminish the fear of difference, on the other the proximity of the Other increased a sense of threat. Interaction at this time could be both justified and managed by taking universalist approaches. Immigrants could be officially encouraged and enabled to assimilate, since difference is considered to be superficial, and interactions in the media of art and music were possible and valuable as ways of expressing and reinforcing the perceived underlying similarities of Self and Other. At the same time, the Self-identifying processes of immigrant groups through housing locale and cultural signs such food, language and dress tended to keep them separate; this could be reinforced by the presence in the environment of immigrants of their own musical sounds.

Self-Other interactions became increasingly common both in social and artistic contexts in the later decades of the twentieth century, as a result of generations from different cultural groups growing up together, and therefore attitudes toward difference and interaction would change again. Such interactions appear less threatening as they become more familiar, and therefore the need to reduce or highlight the difference of the Other becomes less urgent. The co-presence of Self and Other, with all the differences between them, becomes more manageable. Indeed, possessing the ability to manage such difference and to interact with thoroughly different Others
became a desirable quality within the Self culture, and "cosmopolitan" attitudes toward cultural difference and interaction became sufficiently widespread to count as normal, although some subcultural groups would continue to support separatist attitudes.

In reference to the specific example of the Western Self and the African Other, the Self culture's attitudes toward musical difference and interaction appear largely to have followed a transformation from separatist to universalist in the twentieth century. Throughout the early- to mid-twentieth century musical representations of the Other that appeared in close proximity to Western "classical" music largely fulfilled the roles allowed by a predominantly separatist view. The African Other appeared musically alongside the Self in order to function largely as exotica, as "absolute difference" employed by the Self in order to entertain, and appearing only on terms dictated by the Self. In such a role, the music does not pose a threat to the identity of the Self, which retains control over its appearance. The representation of the exotic Other within Western "classical" music of this period appears largely to evoke images in order to support the programmatic or dramatic content of the works; in other words, to function as signifiers for the culture in the same way in which the musical presence of the Other functions on film soundtracks. Thus, the purpose of placing the Other in close proximity to the Self was not to stimulate musical interaction as a metaphor for social interaction, but merely to evoke images of the Other through music.

It could be argued that the near absence of representations of the sub-Saharan exotic Other through musical signifiers other than jazz indicates a separatist attitude towards the musics of sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the comments reported in Chapter Three clearly indicate belief in the absolute difference of, and undesirability of interaction with, the African Other within the context of the Western "classical" music repertory. By the mid- to late-twentieth century, however, prevailing attitudes toward musical interactions between the Western Self and the African Other had changed significantly,
stimulated at least in part by the marketing of images of the Other by the Western media, entertainment and tourism industries. The demand for musics from Africa contributed to the development of the “world music” category and its off-shoots in the music industry, and to the production of musical interactions between Western and African musics including works such as David Fanshawe’s *African Sanctus* (1972), Paul Simon’s *Graceland* (1986), and the Soweto String Quartet’s *Zebra Crossing* (1998). This change in behaviour from apparent avoidance of interaction to, in many cases, the apparent seeking of interaction is one manifestation of such a change in attitude. The separatist views of the earlier part of the century thus gave way in many instances to views that appear to fit the universalist model described above.

Perhaps contributing to the adoption of increasingly universalist attitudes toward musical interactions was the growing evidence that jazz, and other popular musics that originated as expressions of African American cultures, were to have a widespread and permanent impact on the music of Western cultures, at least throughout the twentieth century. The extent to which such musics may legitimately be considered as interactions between African and European rather than between African American and European musics is debatable. However, accurately or otherwise, these musics have often been considered to be the result of interactions between African and European musics. For example, jazz musician Herbie Hancock has, according to Feld, described his heritage as being linked to Africa, stating that the use of samples of African music in jazz is “a brothers kind of thing” (Feld, 1996, p. 5). Given the popularity of jazz and other popular musics among a variety of Western sub-cultures, it is hardly surprising that this (real or imagined) interaction between Western and African musics became an increasingly attractive and less fearful proposition as the century proceeded. The existence and popularity of jazz is has contributed to the development of other interactions between European and African musics later in the twentieth century.
Musical expressions of a shift from universalist to pluralist attitudes in the late-twentieth century can also be identified, particularly the increased incidence of musical interactions characterized by juxtaposition and montage, the "salad bowl" rather than the "melting pot". These include the genres that utilize sampling techniques, in which extracts from various musical works or cultures are juxtaposed. Pluralist ideals are also reflected in the release of recordings such as *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*, in which musical texts are co-present but retain their original content.

While there is strong evidence to support this model it cannot account for the attitudes of all individuals toward such interactions. Changes in the prevailing behaviours and attitudes of a culture do not mean that all individuals change their own ideas at the same time. The shift may be partial and gradual, and therefore difficult to pinpoint. This is particularly true for the hypothesis that there was an increasing incidence of pluralist attitudes toward the end of the century. Because shifts in predominant cultural attitudes are likely to be gradual and to contain fluctuations, pluralist attitudes cannot be said yet to have entirely supplanted universalist sentiments. For example, Walker discusses musical interactions between Western and Other cultures in first separatist and then strongly universalist terms in 1990:

The African traditions from which American blues music sprang rely on an entirely different role for music: it is more a social, collective expression, with an immediacy of semantic purpose that the more theoretically motivated and introspective traditions of Western art music do not recognize. The two are not easily fused into an artistically convincing whole. On the other hand, a fusion of Western and Native American or Australian aboriginal musical traditions, based on an artistic use of acoustic elements of both traditions, is a more legitimate cross-cultural activity. (Walker, 1990, pp. 217-218)

Walker does not establish why the latter "fusions" would be more satisfactory than one between Western and African musics. However, it is
clear that his decision is based on a belief that Western music shares common elements with Native American and Australian aboriginal musics but does not share any with African musics, thus making an interaction with African music unsatisfactory or even impossible. This clearly indicates a universalist attitude toward cultural interaction, as well as advocating a separatist attitude toward musics that appear to be too "different" to blend.

Despite the continuing appearance of separatist and universalist attitudes toward musical (and social) interactions between Self and Other, the release of recordings such as *Mozart in Egypt* and *Lambarena*, as well as other albums in which Self and Other retain their identity such as *Simunye* (1997), provides evidence that pluralist attitudes have to some extent made their mark. In this sense, these albums can be said to be "of their time", appearing as they do within the same three-year period as the comments quoted above from Hall, Nixon and Erlmann regarding the location of meaning within difference. That these albums were purchased widely is evidence to support the hypothesis that pluralist attitudes were appearing at this time not only in academic circles, but also within the music-purchasing public. It is difficult to imagine albums being accepted by audiences of the early- or even mid-twentieth century in which Self and Other appear together, and in which the difference between them is emphasized by the frequent avoidance of homogenizing effects.

However, the production and purchase of such albums is not sufficient evidence to prove that the late-twentieth century was a time in which pluralist attitudes exclusively reigned. On the contrary, it is evident from Walker's comments quoted above that universalist and even separatist views toward interactions were voiced and published at the beginning of the decade in which de Courson's recordings were released. It is therefore necessary to consider the meanings decoded from these albums, and the attitudes that are voiced in response from the viewpoint of listeners from within the target audience.
This chapter has demonstrated that attitudes toward cultural interaction may be characterized as predominantly separatist, universalist or pluralist, depending on responses to cultural sameness and difference. The same attitudes have also been shown to exist regarding musical interactions. The period in which de Courson’s albums were produced has been discussed in relation to this theoretical framework, and it has been concluded that these works emerged during a period in which pluralist attitudes were increasingly apparent in academic discourse. However, it was also notable that universalist attitudes remained in existence, emphasizing the fact that no cultural group can be categorized absolutely in these terms. The following chapter returns to the analysis of listeners’ responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, now with a focus on the listeners’ response to the interaction of signifiers that these albums contain.
Chapter Seven: Responses to musical interactions

In Chapter Six, theoretical approaches were proposed that enable the understanding of musical interactions, and an analysis of responses to such interactions. While it was acknowledged that no cultural group may be characterized absolutely in this regard, trends were identified in attitudes toward cultural difference in the late twentieth century. It is now possible to consider the research participants’ responses toward the interactive elements of Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt in light of that theoretical framework. The final section of the interviews focused on the participants’ responses to the interaction between the musical signifiers for Self and Other that they had described, and which were discussed in Chapter Five. Because participants expressed their attitudes toward the interaction throughout the interview, the following discussion draws upon comments from the first two sections of the interview, as well as from the last section, in which attitudes to interaction were the focus.

As the discussion in the previous chapter suggests, the occurrence of musical interactions in certain contexts within contemporary culture is relatively common. It is therefore not surprising that when asked whether hearing two types of music together was a new experience, most participants identified some other musical interactions that they had heard before. However, these experiences were, without exception, musical albums or performances. No participant mentioned contexts such as urban areas, television or radio broadcasts as sources of previous experiences of musics appearing in juxtaposition. This supports the theory proposed in the first part of Chapter Six in which it was stated that interactions categorized as “unplanned” might not be decoded as if they were interactions, because no cues exist to prompt a listener to search for connections between the musics.

Included among the examples of performances and recordings with
which participants compared "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda" were dance remixes of opera; Metallica's music mixed with an orchestra; Steeleye Span; ENZSO (the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra performing material originally written for the rock group Split Enz); Vanessa Mae; a popular version of Mozart's Fortieth Symphony; Jacques Loussier; Deep Forest; Paul Simon's Graceland; Hooked on Classics; and arrangements of popular songs in the style of Gregorian chant. Each of these examples consists of an interaction between Western popular music and either "classical" or Other musics, making them different from "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda" in terms of the constituent musics that were featured. However, this response does indicate that musical interactions were not unknown to these participants and that other musical recordings acted as prototypes against which they compared "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda".

Several of the listeners indicated that "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda" differed from those examples listed above as possible comparisons, and they were doubtful about whether the comparisons they made were legitimate. For example, F3.2 stated, "I have heard people that have a go at jazzing up the masters, I have heard that, but not perhaps sequentially." F2.3 stated, "the Paul Simon, that was probably the first time I heard the two cultures, so I can't say this was the first time. I guess using the choral music and the orchestral was probably the first time", while M2.5 replied "I've heard it before, but not quite with that context, not with a cultural sort of slant to it." Therefore, while participants did identify some previous experiences that resembled these recordings and which therefore prevented the concept of them from seeming completely unfamiliar, they also noted differences, primarily regarding the type of music involved and the way in which the musics were combined "sequentially".

It was noted in Chapter Five that participants held different opinions regarding the relative merits of "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda". These opinions may now be analysed according to the model described in Chapter Six, in which attitudes towards the interaction of musical signifiers
may be deemed relatively separatist, universalist or pluralist. While individual comments may be described according to these three categories, it will become evident that it is not possible to characterize any participant as exhibiting any one of these attitudes exclusively. This is consistent with the theory that no cultural group may be described as entirely separatist, universalist or pluralist, but merely as tending toward one of these attitudes. This, apparently, is also true for the attitudes of individuals.

Separatist attitudes were evident in these interviews in some participants' preferences for hearing one of the musics in isolation from the other. It could be argued that even these comments are not strictly separatist, since it was rare for a participant to indicate a preference for having no contact at all with the music of the Other. However, M2.6 described the recordings as useful only if “there is no other way to bring it [African music] to Western ears, if it’s considered highly desirable to bring it to Western ears.” Most participants who demonstrated a separatist attitude did so by indicating a preference for experiencing the two musics separately, rather than only experiencing the music of the Self culture. For example, M2.1 described “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”:

It certainly sat a little uncomfortably with that thing in the middle. You’d gladly sit down in a Turkish restaurant and listen to the front part or the back part. . . . I probably prefer sitting down, like I say, listening to the first chunk in one circumstance and then the middle chunk in another circumstance.

Similarly, M2.5 stated,

the idea of listening to ‘classical’, Mozart or whatever, we’ve got a mindset of what it’s all about, and it’s one of those things, you go there for a purpose rather than putting on that recording [‘Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya’]. It seemed rather out of place.

These comments clearly indicate a degree of familiarity with both the musics
I think they’re two completely different spheres, ‘classical’ and pop, and I don’t think that you should put them together coz, it’s not quite sacrilege but it denigrates, is that the word I’m looking for, the ‘classical’ music, which I think is better and more important than modern music.

These comments indicate a relatively separatist attitude toward musical interactions. This is evident in the desire to avoid pollution of either of the musics, and in the listeners’ preference for “purity”. There was a strong desire among these participants for each music to remain separate, and for difference to be avoided. As F1.3 stated, she would prefer it to stay “the same the whole way through”. The preference for consistency of style differentiates these comments from the more pluralist comments discussed below. Although pluralist comments also tend to centre on a preference for “purity” of styles, the juxtaposition of two different styles is not discounted.

Several participants indicated separatist attitudes toward some interactions but not others. M2.5, and several others, indicated a dislike of interactions between “classical” and popular dance styles that they have featured on the albums, and an understanding that these sounds have been encoded with meanings in other contexts. For these participants, associations between each of the musical signifiers and particular contexts meant that the co-presence of two musics within the single context of the albums was uncomfortable to experience. F1.3 indicated a clear preference for hearing the musics separately rather than in interaction in her response to “Sankanda”: “Well it was OK, but it was sort of incongruous I thought with the introduction. I would have preferred it if it had stayed the same the whole way through.” Similarly, F3.2 stated, “I’d rather have each unadulterated, a bit like oil and water.” M2.6’s response to “Sankanda” was also clear: “The track itself demonstrates why you can’t combine Zulu with oratorio”; and later regarding “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”: “I’m a purist. Mozart is Mozart. Keep things pure, unadulterated.” F1.3 indicated a similar response in her comments about interactions between “classical” and popular musics:
heard previously, but was enthusiastic about the interaction between “classical” and jazz musics facilitated by Jacques Loussier. This supports the theory that listeners will respond to interactions of particular musics, rather than to interactions in general, and that their responses will differ accordingly.

Some participants indicated an awareness that separatist attitudes do exist within their Self culture, even if they did not hold these attitudes themselves, by describing hypothetical responses of others toward interactions. M2.2 noted “there will always be people who will want to stick with their own culture rather than looking elsewhere”, while F1.1 described attitudes of her friends toward the interaction of opera and dance musics that she favoured: “to them it was a clash that didn’t fit, and they [the producers] were sabotaging dance music by putting opera on top of it.” Thus separatist attitudes were, to these participants, possibilities within the accepted range of attitudes in the Self culture, but possibilities that these particular individuals had rejected. The overwhelming response to such separatist attitudes from those who did not themselves reveal separatist views was, in the words of F1.4:

I mean, if you want to listen to just ‘classical’ music, go and buy it. Why should it be limited? Why can’t people experiment with it and change it around? We’ve always got to try to experiment with new things, and different cultures as well hearing different styles of music. I think if you don’t like it, don’t listen to it.

Thus F1.4 indicates that, while separatist attitudes toward music are acceptable, these attitudes should not, in her opinion, be the dominant view, since this might prevent other behaviours that lead to musical interactions.

Pluralist attitudes were evident in some participants’ comments. These included statements that indicated a fear of a “cultural grey-out” and a preference for the celebration of difference rather than sameness. These comments were at times difficult to distinguish from separatist attitudes,
supporting the theory that each attitude may merge into the other two. However, some participants clearly indicated a pluralist view. For example, M2.2 speculated on the perceived dangers of a lack of difference:

What one worries about is that the whole world ends up with one style, so-called globalization, you know McDonald’s is everywhere and it’s all the same. So the worry would be that you would get a kind of McDonald’s music everywhere, that doesn’t have any roots because it’s determined to be everything to everyone.

Here, M2.2’s comments clearly indicate a pluralist aversion toward globalization and homogeneity, which he considers to be a possible result of a lack of clear and distinct heritage or “roots”. “Heritage” and “roots” are aspects of cultural difference used in differentiating Self from Other, and therefore in creating and maintaining a stable sense of Self identity, as discussed in Chapter One. M2.2 indicates a belief that a particular instance of music will not be meaningful to all individuals or groups because of cultural differences. Thus music that is created in an apparent attempt to be meaningful to all individuals, “everything to everyone”, must work against the culturally-specific traditions of different groups.

Other participants revealed a pluralist attitude by valuing more highly those interactions that they considered did not lead to a “dilution” of one or other of the works, but instead allowed each to retain its identity and avoided minimizing differences. F1.1 indicated that this was a positive aspect of the interaction between operatic and dance musics: “the opera was still there; they’d just cut it and then had a separate dance track underneath, so the opera was still, it was just edited in its true form with something else backing it up.” Similarly, M3.3 favoured “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” and “Sankanda” over other interactions because “it’s still preserving the basics of it... some of the more popular ones fall down when they try to change the rhythm totally, or you know, turn it into something else.” These two participants indicated a clear preference for musical interactions in which the
constituent musics are readily identifiable in the end result, rather than mixed into “something else” that is new.

F1.2 indicated a similar attitude, yet voiced a different opinion about these particular recordings: “what I actually think it’s about, music with an orchestra and another culture, is that it sort of ruins the culture’s music because it sounds as though it’s trying to be Westernized. So I prefer it on its own.” F1.2’s predominantly pluralist views result in her dislike of interactions that appear to change one music through the addition of elements of another tradition; this, she considered, had occurred in the two recordings she heard in the interview. However, F1.2 indicated a preference for “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” over “Sankanda”, “because they didn't overlap really. A complete leap in your mind from one music to the other, instead of having a big jumble in the middle.” F1.2’s description of the moment in “Sankanda” at which one music merges into the other as a “big jumble” suggests that the two musics were different to such an extent that attempts to combine them led only to a nonsensical mixture. Instead, “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” allowed F1.2 to decode each of the two musics independently and to shift from one signifier to the other without requiring her to decode a mixture of the two to the same extent.

M2.2 observed differences between the two tracks in terms of the nature of the interaction, but did not voice a strong preference for one over the other:

If that one ['Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya'] worked then it would have worked by contrast, whereas the other one ['Sankanda'] worked in terms of the two things having a lot in common. But contrast is fine, just perhaps less easy to hear.

Thus M2.2 appears to be comfortable with the different decoding processes necessary to make sense of the two different types of interaction represented by “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” and “Sankanda”.

M2.6 indicated some pluralist attitudes along with his separatist views
quoted above. When describing a previous experience with musical interactions, between Western and Native American styles, he stated, "at first I thought never the twain shall meet, and then as I started to actually listen to it, yeah, it's quite a good thing to do the arrangement, so long as you don't try to subsume one of them." Thus the common theme of M2.6's response to musical interactions is that difference is important: either it is present between the two constituent musics to such an extent that interaction is undesirable, or if interaction does occur then differences should be protected. This, he indicated, had not been successfully achieved in these recordings. Regarding "Sankanda" he stated, "when the oratorio clicked in it immediately drowned out the Zulu [sic] rhythm" and later, "the Bach totally overwhelmed the African music". However, opinions among participants differed regarding whether or not this was the case in "Sankanda", even among those who revealed pluralist attitudes. F2.1 argued that "Sankanda" was successful, stating "it wasn't desperately overridden with Bach". M3.1 indicated a general preference for musical interactions that appear to be reflections of a pluralist approach: "people are hopefully coming together more, and exchanging without being absorbed completely by other streams of culture and music."

Universalist attitudes were by far the most prevalent among the twenty-two participants, evident in the widespread preference for interactions in which participants identified a blend that appeared to be based on similarities between the musics. M2.1, for example, criticized "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" because "it [the Mozart] didn't blend in. They could have cunningly or subtly blended it, that could have been done." F2.1's first response to "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" was similar: "It's not nearly so successful [as 'Sankanda']. Where the other plaited together, this one is stuck together. It doesn't seem to relate." Thus for both these participants the nature of the interaction in "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" prevented it from being a success, mainly because it did not fulfill the universalist ideals of emphasizing relationships and similarities between the two musics.
Several participants indicated that facilitating an interaction by locating and emphasizing similarity was more valid and worthwhile than creating a juxtaposition. M2.1 described the “fitting together” of “Sankanda” as having been “done in a professional way, it was mixed in”, while M2.4 stated regarding the same piece, “that was a very good way of doing it on the part of the person doing the arrangement, because that means that it wasn’t a sudden shock... it seemed to merge out of what came before.” F2.3 also preferred “Sankanda” on these grounds:

I didn’t suddenly think ‘oh’, you know, it seemed to come in slowly, it blended in, and then I guess in the middle I thought, ‘oh that’s quite clever’, because I could tell that the beat hadn’t changed. But it wasn’t something that I took notice of straight away, it seemed to just come in very cleverly.

M2.7 criticized the entrance of the “classical” music in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya” because it appeared as if it were an unplanned interaction: “it didn’t quite gel... I don’t think it quite blended, it was almost like you’d tuned into a concert performance of The Magic Flute overture [laughs].” M2.7 indicated by laughing that to produce deliberately a musical interaction in which the point of interaction appears to resemble the type of random interaction that occurs as part of everyday life in contemporary cultures was unlikely. These participants all indicated that minimizing the moment of difference is desirable and is an intelligent, “professional” way of producing a musical interaction. However, not all participants indicated that this was achieved better in “Sankanda” than in “Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya”. F1.4 stated regarding “Sankanda”:

I don’t think I like that one as much as the first one. I didn’t think it flowed as well, like linked together as much as the other ['Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya']. It was more like two different pieces than the first one.
Except for M2.6, even those participants who were quoted above as exhibiting strongly separatist views indicated a preference for the minimizing of difference if an interaction does take place. F1.3 stated, "I don’t really mind it [an interaction] if it’s not that obvious, I probably don’t notice it that much. . . . But if it’s quite obvious that it’s a different influence, then I think it makes it harder to listen to." Thus F1.3 suggests that it is the presence of difference in an interaction that prevents her from enjoying it, and that if an interaction does take place then it is preferable that the difference be minimized.

Universalist attitudes were displayed to a greater or lesser extent by all participants at some stage in the interview. A range of terms were used in praise of those musical interactions that the participants considered fulfilled universalist ideals: "seamless", "melded", "fitted together", "blended", "plaited", "married up", "woven", "combined", "integrated", "smooth", "linked", "subtle", "flowing", "joined", "natural transition", "mixed", "continuous", and "complementary". In contrast, terms used in criticism of musical interactions included "stuck together", "doesn’t relate", "bitsy", "sudden", "brisk", "different", "invasive", "jarring", "abrupt", "clash", "striking", "chop-off", "conflict", "shock", "lumped together", and "came from out of left-field". That praise or criticism of musical interactions, including "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda", was most often described in these terms indicates the prevalence among these listeners of universalist attitudes in decoding musical interactions.

The identification of points of similarity between the two musics on each recording was therefore necessary in order for most participants to consider "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" or "Sankanda" to be successful. At times, participants identified similarities within the musical content of these pieces. For example, F1.4 stated that in "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya", "having the continuous drum pattern in it, going on underneath, sort of tied it together", while M2.4 identified "sort of bass links" between the two pieces in "Sankanda". Others identified a continuity of mood or atmosphere within
the recordings. F2.3 stated regarding “Sankanda”, “the atmosphere didn’t really change that much, it’s quite funny, you sort of expect it to suddenly change when you get into that classical mode but it didn’t really, not to me, it just sort of carried right through.” F1.1 agreed: “they both sounded celebratory, positive song, people singing in celebration. Like two different cultures celebrating one thing.” These comments regarding identified similarities between the two constituent musics were all offered as reasons for the success of these tracks, indicating that these participants valued similarities between the signifiers (such as continuous drum patterns) or decoded meanings (such as the celebratory mood).

At times, the similarities the participants identified were located beyond the recordings themselves in the musical systems of the different cultures in a broader sense. M2.2 described the two musics on “Sankanda” as giving the impression that the styles “have a lot in common”. F3.1 suggested, “Bach goes with Africa, doesn’t it”, while F2.3 stated, “it makes you wonder if African music could fit into anything [laughs], perhaps it’s the underlying nature of everything, that rawness.” M3.2 also stated, “I think African music does seem to fit into Western music much more than Arabic music . . . African you connect with immediately.” These comments indicate that the identified similarities between the musics extend beyond those identified within the recordings to broader commonalities between the musical systems. Some participants took this idea a stage further, suggesting pan-musical commonalities that allow musics to be mixed. F1.2 stated, “music is something that every culture has, something that everyone enjoys doing together, so music should go with music”, while M2.3 similarly argued, “music isn’t defined by countries”. M3.3 stated, “any good music fits, although of course my definition of good might be quite different from other people’s definition of good.”

These participants indicated that underlying musical similarities are more important than surface differences, thus strongly suggesting a universalist attitude toward difference. Contributing to this might be that
they were cued to think of and comment on connections between the sounds rather than the differences, since the recordings were each described as "a piece of music" at the beginning of the interview. Listeners would, in playing the recording themselves, be similarly cued to decode each as a single unit of signification. It is possible that, in being cued to decode the recordings in this way, listeners are also cued to adopt universalist attitudes, influencing the responses they offer.

While some participants explicitly drew parallels between musical interactions and social interactions, the interpretation of the recordings as metaphors for cultural interaction was not often reported. Invariably, those who did refer to musical interaction as a metaphor for social interaction did so in positive terms. F2.1 indicated that her preference for "Sankanda" was in part because the nature of the musical interaction resembled a social interaction:

['Sankanda'] felt more like what races do when they live in the same area. They merge. They came up with something that wasn’t quite either . . . as you rub off against each other, bits rub off . . . You end up with something that’s a little bit of both.

F2.3 described musical interactions as a way of encouraging social interaction: "music’s music, and I think it’s just one way of combining lots of different cultures and ideas, bringing music together as one", while M2.2 suggested that "maybe art can lead the way to sort of harmonization between cultures." Thus the participants who referred to these recordings as metaphors for social interactions did so in terms that suggest a relatively positive attitude toward cultural interaction. In terms of the three types of relationship between musical and cultural interaction that were proposed in Chapter Six, these participants indicated a belief that musical interactions may propose future cultural interactions as well as describe or reconfigure those that already exist.
Evaluating musical interactions

The final, more structured part of the interviews focused on the way in which the participants place and evaluate recordings that consist of musical interactions. First, participants were asked what it was that they believed the producer was trying to achieve in making the albums. Many indicated a belief that the main intention was pedagogical: to expose listeners to different musics, and to encourage people to broaden their tastes. Several participants also suggested that the main aim was to experiment by bringing together two musics that do not usually appear in juxtaposition in an attempt to create something new. F1.5 suggested the producer “was experimenting: by combining two styles he was trying to make a new style, like create a new type of sound.” This supports the theory that words with scientific connotations such as “experiment” are adopted when describing cultural interactions, indicating an investigation of the unknown.

Some who voiced this interpretation of the producer’s intentions indicated that the probable reason for experimenting was to “have some fun”. M3.1 believed that the producer intended the albums “to introduce people to music as a very important expression of people’s culture, and to have some fun in the experimentation. Life can get very serious, and we need a bit of a boost of morale.” F3.2 considered that the interactions might have been produced in order to be a source of fun for the listeners, rather than the producer, stating that the producer’s aim might be “to do something adventurous, mix the drinks, make us musically drunk quicker. . . . The second one ['Sankanda'] you get musically drunk. It takes you out of yourself and it’s stimulating.” Some participants indicated that the purpose of the experiment was to challenge people’s expectations, while others believed the intention was to demonstrate underlying similarities between the musics. F1.7 stated, “I mean, the music is obviously different, but also . . . there are similarities in the way people make music.”
Still others suggested that the main reason was perhaps financial gain, indicating an awareness that the industry may be influential in creative decisions taken. M3.3 suggested, "it might have been just a purely commercial venture." Several theorists have discussed the perception that "world music" is more exploitative than other branches of the music industry. Monson, for example, notes that "appeals to cross-cultural communion must be situated within the stratified economics and history of race in the international recording industry" with the consequence that they are frequently assumed to be exploitative (Monson, 1999, p. 59). Hesmondhalgh expresses a similar view with regard to musical interactions in general:

> When 'world music' superstars make their well-intentioned forays into non-Western sounds and release the resulting albums through the subsidiaries of multinational entertainment corporations, a sense of exploitation is tangible to many people, however generously the musicians are paid and however sincerely Paul Simon or David Byrne seek to raise awareness of their traditions (Hesmondhalgh, 2000, p. 287).

These perceptions of the music industry were evident in comments from several of the participants regarding de Courson's albums.

Most participants, along with comments in these broad areas regarding the producer's intentions, indicated a belief that the producer was trying to "blend" the musics. For example, F2.2 considered that the producer was aiming to

> [e]xperiment. Yeah, wanting to try different mixes, to see how well they work together, and I think they failed in ['Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya'] and succeeded in ['Sankanda'], and they should do more of the second one ['Sankanda'].

Similarly, M3.3 indicated that an attempt to blend the two musics was a desirable intention to have when embarking on a musical interaction:
I would like to think that the producer was trying to, sort of that he was trying to show that music is universal, and that he was trying to prove that you can slip from one to the other without too much effort, and that maybe there's a lot more commonality than people would give credit to, I would hope...

Thus most participants assumed that the producer was motivated by universalist ideals of creating a blend, rather than by pluralist ideals to retain the musics' independence within a single context.

Participants were then asked, “would you choose to listen to more tracks from either of these albums?” Although M2.6 gave a clearly negative response to listening to more of either of the two albums, the other participants either indicated that they would listen to one of the two, or to both. If only one album was chosen, then there were two reasons given for refusing the other. Firstly, some stated an aversion to one of the musics that were mixed. F3.2 would not listen to more tracks from *Mozart in Egypt* “mainly because of the Arabic music, which I don’t particularly like.” Secondly, and more common, was an aversion to the way in which the interaction took place. F2.2 would listen to more of *Lambarena*, but not *Mozart in Egypt* because the latter “had three different bits to it, and I wasn’t too sure if we had finished with one song and gone to another or whether it was all the same one.” That participants offered as reasons for rejecting the albums both their responses to the constituent musics and to the nature of the interaction supports the theory that listeners respond to particular interactions between particular musics, rather than to all interactions generically.

However, even many of those who indicated that they would choose to listen to both albums qualified this response by stressing that they would do so simply out of curiosity, to “try them out” and to “see what they’re like”. M2.4 stressed that he would be “interested in the process rather than just listening to it” and that he “would be intrigued to hear how they treat
some other pieces”, indicating that for him the albums’ interest lay in the interaction of the two musics rather than within either of the musics separately. Overall, participants indicated a low level of commitment to the albums, with many qualifying any expressions of interest in hearing more of the albums with an indication that they would be unlikely to buy them.

Participants were then asked what kind of listener they believed these albums would most appeal to. This appeared to pose the most difficulty of all the questions for the participants, with many struggling to identify an ideal listening-context and listener for this music. Most participants approached this question by dividing the listening public in one of two ways: by age-group, or by musical preference. For example, M2.5 described the likely audience as “people in their thirties and above . . . most people have done their OEs in the late twenties and thirties. Into the forties, I don’t know if it would grab the older age.” Similarly, Fl.7 stated, “I guess probably younger people might not like it because of the ‘classical’, but it might not appeal to older people because it’s been mixed up.”

Those who attempted to identify an audience around an age group generally came to a conclusion similar to Fl.7’s: that younger people are more likely to respond positively to the interaction of two different musics, but that the appeal to this audience of Mozart in Egypt and Lambarena might be limited by the inclusion of “classical” music. F3.2 suggested that “a lot of kids would be put off because of the Bach in [‘Sankanda’]”, while F2.1 suggested that people of her age group (early fifties) would be more likely to understand the recordings than her parents’ generation because they have “been exposed to more documentaries on television. . . . It wouldn’t make any sense to my mother.” F1.4 suggested that “younger people . . . hear a lot more music from different places, we are more multicultural I think”, while M3.1 stated that it “presupposes an openness to some of the music that for some is closed off, therefore I think it’s more a younger person’s thing.”

These comments support the perception that there has been a shift away from separatist attitudes toward the more “multicultural” universalist or
pluralist attitudes, and that this will be reflected by the attitudes of the younger generation.

Other participants attempted to characterize the audience according to existing musical preferences. F1.2 surmised, "I don't know if it would appeal to people who like modern music only, but I also don't know if it would appeal to people who only like 'classical' music." Similarly, F2.2 stated, "I don't think that the jazz people would like it. I think there was enough of a beat there that the rock and roll people would like it, and the 'classical' people would like it. Just the jazz people wouldn't." Still others tried to identify an audience according to level of musical experience, rather than preference for a particular style or genre of music. This approach invariably led to the conclusion that those with an experience of a wide range of different musics, and preferably a technical understanding of music, would appreciate the interaction. F3.1 suggested as the target audience "somebody who is well familiar with the different kinds of music and could say 'that's clever' by listening to the mix of them", while F2.1 suggested someone with a musical background who was "knowledgeable enough about what they are listening to, to hear what's being attempted. Joe or Josephine Public, I doubt it." M2.4 agreed, considering the target market to be "a sophisticated Western audience". Thus it was apparent that many participants considered it necessary to recognize and understand the two musics involved in order to decode meaning from the interaction that took place.

Overall, it appeared that the participants had difficulty in identifying an audience that might feel a connection to these recordings and who would claim them as an expression of their Self culture. M2.2 summarized this:

I suspect it's always going to be of interest to people, rather than being something that they can really line up behind and say 'this is my music'... maybe it will lead on to something else that will have a genuine kind of heart to it, but the worry is that this hasn't got a genuine heart to it, that it's not expressing someone's vision of anything, from the point of view of any person.
This suggests that identifying an "owner" for this music may be difficult because it is metaphorical for social interactions that are imaginary, rather than representing any Self culture or anyone's experience of social interaction.

Finally, participants were asked whether or not they would choose to listen to other albums that resemble Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt. Participants were told that the producer of these two recordings has recently completed an album called O Stravaganza, combining Irish folk music and Vivaldi. Then they were told of "a similar album, but produced by someone else" called Simunye, containing South African vocal music and Renaissance European vocal music. This was a slight simplification of the content and design of Simunye, but it was more important at this stage to retain as much similarity between the descriptions of the albums as was possible. Providing more information about one album than the other, or making one appear more complicated than the other, might influence the responses offered.

The purpose of this line of questioning was to establish the process that the listeners go through in deciding whether or not a musical interaction appeals and on what grounds their decisions are based, as much as it was to establish which of the two albums was more appealing. The decision-making process as considered here cannot be said to replicate that in a real-life situation. A potential listener is likely to be influenced in his or her decision whether or not to listen to an album by other information such as visual signifiers on the album cover, or the opinions of others communicated in the form of reviews or recommendations. However, the interview situation did allow control to be retained over the factors that influenced the responses, and participants were aware only of which cultures' musics were involved in the interactions in question.

Analysis of the participants' responses to these questions indicates a high degree of similarity in the way in which the notion of these albums was evaluated. Most participants first responded to each of the two musics
individually, indicating familiarity with and opinions of the music. For example, M2.3 responded to the idea of *O Stravaganza* with, "I would [listen to it]. I have a certain affinity with Irish music and Scottish music and so on, and Vivaldi, yes some of his music, particularly some of the guitar pieces I'm familiar with, so yeah I'd probably give that a go." M2.5, similarly, stated, "[y]eah, I think so. I like Irish folk, that whole kilt thing, really strong rhythms, which is great. And Vivaldi, yeah I've got some of that." Here, M2.5 clearly relates the music in question to his visual image of a kilt, indicating once again the importance of visual images in attributing meaning to musical sounds - in this case, sounds that have not been heard but only imagined.

F2.3 stated that she would listen to *Simunye*, but "not as quickly as I would *[O Stravaganza]*. Um, possibly because I can't for the life of me think of what South African music is ... and Renaissance music, um, I have to be in the mood," while F2.2 responded to the same album, "no, I'm not aware of either of those." Similarly, M2.2 rejected *O Stravaganza*, stating "there are certain types of music I don't like, and it's not a comment on the music ... and folk music is one of them." Familiarity and affinity with the two musics involved in the interaction were therefore important factors in the participants' responses to the notion of the interactions on *Simunye* and *O Stravaganza*.

As well as evaluating the two musics independently, most participants attempted to predict how well the two musics would "blend" as a part of the process of deciding whether or not they would choose to listen to the interaction. The identification of similarities between the two musics was important in making this prediction. For example, F3.2 responded to the idea of *Simunye* with "[y]es, yes it might work. At least you've got the common element of the vocal." M3.3 identified the presence of "similar rhythms" between Irish music and Vivaldi, while others mentioned the use of violins and guitars in both musics as providing a common basis for the interaction. On the other hand, F1.3 rejected *Simunye* because
It seems too different to me. It seems, I'm not sure, crass, because they're so different, completely. That puzzles me, I'd have to say, that mix puzzles me.

Once again, therefore, universalist attitudes appeared to have the greatest influence over the participants' responses to musical interaction. Participants indicated interest in listening to albums for which they could identify similarities or points of connection between the two musics, but rejected those for which the difference appeared to be great.

Most participants indicated a similar degree of curiosity and a similar lack of absolute commitment and enthusiasm toward *O Stravaganza* and *Simunye* as they did toward *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. Most indicated that they would "have a listen" to *O Stravaganza*, though fewer indicated that they would try *Simunye*. Only one participant, F3.2, indicated a belief that *O Stravaganza* might blend better because both the musics are European in origin. However, it is possible that this perceived connection might have influenced others' responses but remained unspoken.

The twenty-two research interviews that formed the basis of the research provided an opportunity to explore with members of the target audience the issues that were raised in this thesis. It is clear that, under the listening conditions in place in the interview situation, these issues had a significant impact on the decoding process. Distinctions were made between musics that represent Self and Other, and these distinctions formed a basis for the decoding of these recordings. Familiarity with Self and Other musics was evident, with participants able to offer by way of identification cultures-of-origin for the musical signifiers. Because of this familiarity, which implies prior experiences of the musical sounds, chains of signification were evident, leading to strong connotations and the association of visual images with the musical sounds. The nature of these connotations further supports the importance of the Self-Other distinction. These issues were explored in the first four chapters of this thesis.
The interaction between the musics was a further aspect of the recordings that the listeners decoded, relating to the issues discussed in Chapter Six. Varied attitudes toward difference and interaction were evident, ranging between separatist, universalist and pluralist views. However, universalist attitudes predominated in the participants' responses to "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" and "Sankanda", as well as in their interpretations of the producer's intentions and their responses to the idea of O Stravaganza and Simunye. The two recordings used in the interviews were therefore primarily evaluated according to how successful they were in meeting universalist ideals of interaction between Self and Other.

**Reviewers' responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt**

As well as the responses gathered from the twenty-two participants in this research, responses to *Mozart in Egypt* and *Lambarena* are also available in the form of published critical reviews. These differ from the responses gathered in the research interviews in important respects. Most significantly, perhaps, in the research interviews participants gave immediate responses to new musical works about which they knew little, and expressed them in a personal and private setting. Those who review recordings, on the other hand, are often supplied with a great deal of information about the work and those involved in its production, and are likely to listen closely to the work several times before committing themselves to a considered response. Published reviews do, however, provide some insight into the way in which musical interactions are decoded, and are significant in that they may influence listeners in the target market in terms of the way they approach albums such as *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*.

As was the case with those interviewed, most reviewers approached the decoding of *Mozart in Egypt* and *Lambarena* from a universalist viewpoint, and assumed that the producers aspired to fulfil universalist ideals.
Reviewers praised the albums if they considered that the producers had achieved a "blend" between the two musics by locating and emphasizing some common elements, and used similar terms to describe the relationship between the two musics that the participants in the research interviews adopted. Regarding "Bombé" from Lambarena, one reviewer states, "[i]t's truly amazing how well such disparate music blends."22 Here, the reviewer indicates surprise that it was possible to achieve a blend because, in this reviewer's opinion, the two musics involved share so few common elements. Tarte also indicates surprise at the concept of Lambarena's interaction, describing it as "an unlikely mingling of the classical music of two continents . . . [which] should have sunk under the burden of this conception" (Tarte, 1994). Similarly, Keefner describes the way in which one music weaves in and out of the other "as if by magic" in "Concerto for oud and piano no. 23" (Mozart in Egypt track five) (Keefner, n.d.). Some participants, too, indicated surprise at the achievement of a blend on this album. F1.6 stated regarding "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya", "it wasn't as bad as I would have thought it would be, in terms of discrepancy. So yeah, it was quite a surprise." Similarly, M2.6 stated regarding the same track,

[y]ou heard me say incongruous on the tape [while listening to the track], but it was actually more congruent. I was surprised almost how congruent it was hearing the sitar [sic] blending into the Mozart passage. Then at the end I started thinking how similar Arabic is to Yiddish.

In reviewing both Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, Opiya Oloya indicated similarly universalist preferences. Regarding Mozart in Egypt, he states that it

works so beautifully because Courson [sic] carefully kneads the different polyphony of classical sounds into the Egyptian landscape. He is so successful as a match-maker that you literally move from one mode to the other without

recognising that a change has taken place. (Oloya, 1997)

In *Lambarena*, however, Oloya considers that

> [t]he resulting melody is as united as water is to oil. In other words, the album juxtaposes two excellent musical traditions, but fails to unite them. For instance, there are many glorious patches of music from Gabon, only to have the whole thing trampled upon by a Cello in E-flat Major. And for what, really? (Oloya, 1995)

In these comments, Oloya indicates predominantly universalist views in his preference for interactions in which underlying similarities between the musics are exploited in order to achieve a smooth transition from one to another, rejecting those in which the musics are juxtaposed but not "united". However, Oloya also indicates traces of a pluralist approach in his rejection of *Lambarena* partly on the grounds that the Bach "trampled upon" the Gabonese music, suggesting that one music overpowers the other. This resembles M2.6's rejection of "Sankanda" in his statement, "when the oratorio clicked in it immediately drowned out the Zulu [sic] rhythm." M2.6 thus indicates a similar dislike for interactions in which one music overpowers the other.

Other comments in reviews indicate that pluralist ideals were the standard against which *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* were measured. Tarte suggests that difference may be more important than locating similarities between the musics, claiming that on *Lambarena* "differences in styles are so strongly etched, compatibility problems melt away as moot" (Tarte, 1994). Keefner states regarding *Mozart in Egypt* that "[i]t helps that Egyptian music has the complexity and emotional depth necessary to stand up to Mozart" (Keefner, n.d.). Here, Keefner appears to value the interaction that takes place on *Mozart in Egypt* in part because he considers that the Egyptian music is not overpowered by the Mozart, this being another important aspect of the pluralist ideals of celebrating difference. Roden, like Oloya, indicates both
universalist and pluralist views, describing *Lambarena* in favourable terms as an exploration of “common ground” between the two, but also of “telling contrasts” (Roden, 1996), thus suggesting that both universalist and pluralist ideals were fulfilled in the album.

While none of the reviewers suggested a specific target audience for these recordings, some did propose groups to whom they might appeal. Oloya considers *Mozart in Egypt* to provide an avenue for exploration in “classical” music, stating “[i]f you ever hated classical music (for whatever reason), this is your chance to be broken in gently” (Oloya, 1997). This implies that the presence of the Egyptian music may increase the palatability, or perhaps accessibility, of Mozart’s music to uninitiated listeners. Thus it appears that Oloya considers *Mozart in Egypt* to have the potential to play an almost pedagogical role by introducing listeners to a music that, while not unfamiliar, is perhaps not understood. This role is similar to that played by books such as Harris’ *What to Listen for in Mozart*.

Others consider that these albums may serve to introduce listeners to the African and Arab musical traditions, rather than to the “classical” traditions. A message posted on the discussion board of a website dedicated to Mozart’s music indicates that this may be the case with *Mozart in Egypt*: “To really enjoy it [*Mozart in Egypt*] you need to have an ear for Middle Eastern music (once you hear it a few times you get to like the half tones and raspy music).”23 This suggests that *Mozart in Egypt* may attract listeners to whom Egyptian music is relatively unfamiliar and Other, and that these listeners might be encouraged to increase their familiarity with Egyptian music because of the presence on the album of the Self-culture’s music, Mozart. Thus these albums may increase the degree to which listeners are prepared to seek experiences of the Other. Such ideas are reflective of a pluralist attitude, with listeners encouraged to seek the musics of the two cultures independently of one another, rather than only experiencing them in the interactive context of the album.

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23 Benny Lehman, posted on www.wamozartfan.com/boards/General/messages/42.html.
While some writers describe potential pedagogical value in Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, others appear to consider the albums to be sources of fun and entertainment. Roden emphasizes the elements of fantasy in Lambarena, claiming “the gospel according to [Schweitzer’s] beloved Johann Sebastian Bach is aligned into manifold encounters with ecstasy, mystery and passion”, and that “the juxtaposition of a traditional chorus led by a female soloist of nearly frightening power with ‘Lasset Uns Den Nicht Zerteilen’ from Bach’s ‘St John Passion’ exerts an inexorable fascination as it rushes by” (Roden, 1996). Roden’s adoption of terms such as “mystery”, “frightening power” and “fascination” resembles the descriptions of Africa that were discussed in Chapter Three, and suggests that the African music on the album functions as an exotic addition to Bach’s music.

Tarte similarly describes Lambarena as “rousing, heady fun that would have kept Schweitzer’s trusty Victrola cranking for hours”, and states, “[b]alancing the academic tinge is the sense of humour and adventure that immediately won me over” (Tarte, 1994). This final comment recalls the distinction noted in Chapter Six between a “serious” academic approach to musical interactions and a “fun” lay approach that is likely to appeal to most listeners.

Roden and Tarte both appear to categorize Lambarena as a “fun”, “fascinating” diversion, rather than as a musical work of art that is to be considered a serious expression of aesthetic ideas. Their attitudes recall those of the research participants, most of whom indicated that while they were curious to hear more of the albums, they were not committed to them as potential musical expressions of the Self-culture. Many listeners appear to decode the interaction that takes place on the albums as “not serious”, and therefore it is not interpreted as posing a significant threat to the identity of either Self or Other. Indeed, some interpret the interaction as a metaphor for what Born and Hesmondhalgh describe as “musically imagined communities”. Keefner states regarding the final track on Mozart in Egypt, “[i]t is possible to listen to this piece and hear a sort of music that has never
existed in any country but that of the imagination" (Keefner, n.d.).

In evaluating the interactions that occur on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, the reviewers and research participants whose comments were considered above indicate that universalist and pluralist ideals were significant. Most suggest that the achievement of a smooth transition from one music to the other, indicating underlying shared elements, is crucial in creating a successful musical interaction. Some suggest that allowing the two musics to retain their independent identities and preserving difference may also lead to a successful interaction, though several qualified this by indicating that such a pluralist approach results in a recording that is more difficult to listen to. Several, however, rejected interactions that emphasized difference between the two musics and considered any such interactions to be unsuccessful in achieving what were assumed to be the producer's intentions: to emphasize similarity.

Many of the listeners interviewed in this study appeared to evaluate Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt according to these criteria. However, they were often divided in their opinions of how well each of the recordings fulfilled these ideals. While many who valued highly universalist ideals, including F2.1, M2.1 and M2.5, considered Lambarena to be a success, others who shared these values, including F1.4 and reviewer Opiya Oloya, considered Mozart in Egypt to be more successful. Similarly, several participants indicated that an emphasis on each music's identity may lead to a successful interaction, but while F2.1 believed that according to this criterion "Sankanda" was a success, M2.6 considered the same track to have failed. Thus different listeners, in evaluating the same musical interaction according to very similar criteria, may hold very different opinions regarding the relative success of the music.
De Courson's attitudes to musical interaction

Listeners' comments frequently indicated, directly or indirectly, their ideas about what de Courson's intentions were in creating *Lamibarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. De Courson's own comments about facilitating these interactions often reveal universalist and pluralist attitudes similar to those suggested by the listeners themselves. However, it appears that, in de Courson's view, pluralist ideals outweigh in importance universalist ideals. The protection of the identities of the two musics was of great importance to de Courson, who writes,

> [w]hen classical composers quote folk tunes, these tunes played with a symphonic orchestra lose completely their traditional character and become just another line in the orchestration. (de Courson, p.c., 8/9/00)

De Courson recognizes that musicians involved in creating such musical interactions might themselves have concerns regarding the security of their own music's identity. He noted in the musicians recording his latest album, *O Stravaganza*, "a slight wariness at the beginning [of the project] because of their different styles of music. They all wanted to protect their musical identity" (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002). However, in the case of *O Stravaganza*'s interaction of Irish music and Vivaldi, de Courson states that this was not a lasting concern "because when it comes down to it, it's all European music" (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002). Thus it appears that, if the two musics involved in the interaction could on some level be considered to belong to the same broad Self group, the protection of the identity of each music may appear to be less important.

De Courson also indicates that identifying a common basis on which to form an interaction between two musics was a significant factor. Aside from the historical link between Bach and Gabon in the form of Albert Schweitzer, de Courson considers the two musical traditions to share rhythmic and
spiritual elements that made them suitable for combination (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01). Tomás Gubitsch also sought rhythmic compatibility when selecting Bach's compositions for combination with the Gabonese works that Pierre Akenengué proposed (Gubitsch, p.c., 7/2/01). De Courson states that between Mozart and Egyptian music a common element is the Oriental tendency of Mozart's music, but that the two share less in terms of spirituality and rhythmic organization, making Mozart in Egypt a more challenging project overall (Marcelli, n.d.). On the other hand, de Courson considers O Stravaganza to be centred on common rhythms between the two musics, and on a perception that both are “quite festive”, resulting in an interaction that “all happened very naturally” (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002). Thus it appears that de Courson was aware of, and at times strived to fulfil, universalist expectations that musical interactions should be based upon common musical elements: “you've got to search for passageways from one culture to another...” (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002).

Despite evidence of universalist attitudes in these comments, de Courson's intentions also appear to embody pluralist desires to emphasize difference. De Courson refers frequently and in favourable terms to the "shock" or "clash" that is created, both on social and musical levels. This is particularly the case in Mozart in Egypt, in which he describes the clash of cultures as being "stronger [than in Lambarena] with the shepherds from the Near East, highly regarded musicians, confronting a Western symphonic orchestra" (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002). Similarly, he states,

[using traditional musicians and instruments playing together with the classical orchestra creates in my opinion a real shock. Oral tradition with composed music. It was also fascinating as a human shock between traditional musicians ... and well-educated classical musicians. (de Courson, p.c., 8/9/00)]

Regarding Mozart in Egypt in particular, de Courson has suggested that his intention was not necessarily to create a smooth blend between the two
musics. Regarding the first track, "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya", he describes his aim as being to "make a shock" (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01). His objective, he states, was not to create a "new music" or a "monster music", which implies an end result in which the element of control is absent. Instead, he intended to reflect the way in which different musics are juxtaposed in, for example, radio broadcasts. Different musics in such contexts are, according to de Courson, already almost mixed. *Mozart in Egypt* takes this level of interaction one stage further, placing two musics together on a single track (de Courson, p.c., 11/5/01). It also introduces the element of intention to the interaction. While a radio broadcast is likely to juxtapose different musics, such juxtapositions rarely cue the listener to decode meaning from the interaction; in *Mozart in Egypt* the interaction is planned, and therefore listeners are cued to decode meaning from it.

De Courson appears to be aware of the cynical response that albums such as *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* might receive from critics, some of whom have considered the albums to be examples of commercial exploitation of musics that are characteristic of the "world music industry". De Courson states,

> I've been accused by some people of having created a marketing product, but it's not really that simple. It just so happens that when I present this kind of project to labels, they accept it straight away. The idea obviously works well in terms of sales, so it's only natural that they're interested. (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002)

Thus de Courson justifies his continued production of musical interactions in part because of the continued demand for the albums. De Courson also offers justification for his work by stating "mon âme est fondamentalement métissée" ("I am, myself, fundamentally the product of mixed cultures") (de Courson, quoted in Wagner, 1998). Thus de Courson's creation of the albums may be interpreted as expressions of the meeting of cultures that de Courson considers himself to embody.
De Courson has also indicated that in producing *Lambarena* and, in particular, *Mozart in Egypt*, he was making a comment about the prevalent attitude toward “classical” music in contemporary Western culture. De Courson states, “I’ve always been intimidated by classical music, and these experiments are a way for me to get over that intimidation” (de Courson, quoted in Lieuze, 2002). He attributes his feelings to the attitudes toward “classical” music with which he was raised: “We are educated in the idea that European Classical music is superior to all others. It was good to try to prove that any type of good music, if played by good musicians, can exist together” (de Courson, quoted in Roden, 1996). In facilitating these interactions, de Courson intended to challenge the perceived sanctity of “classical” music, and challenge the hierarchical nature of the orchestra, which he likens to an army with an order that should not be disturbed (Marcelli, n.d.). These comments reflect the responses of many of the research participants quoted above, some of whom commented that “good” music should “go together”. De Courson also indicates an awareness of the way in which “classical” music has been encoded with meanings such as exclusivity and officialdom in contemporary Western culture, meanings that were also decoded by several of the research participants and that were discussed in Chapter Four.

In considering the responses of reviewers and the research participants toward the interactions that occur in *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*, as well as de Courson’s comments regarding his intentions in creating these interactions, several points become clear. First, the nature of the interaction as well as the musics that interact may have a significant impact on a listener’s response to a musical interaction. Second, both universalist and pluralist attitudes toward musical interactions were common in comments offered by participants and in reviewers’ responses, while separatist attitudes were rarely evident. Third, individuals may indicate aspects of universalist, pluralist and separatist attitudes within their responses to musical interactions, rather than consistently respond to an interaction from a single point-of-view. Fourth, although individuals might assess a musical
interaction from similar points of view, their opinions of the success or failure of that interaction may vary widely. These findings support the theory that, although trends may be identified in attitudes which a particular culture displays toward interaction between Self and Other, individuals' responses to particular interactions will vary widely.

This chapter has applied the theoretical framework developed in earlier chapters, particularly Chapter Six, to an investigation of listeners' responses to *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. In doing so, many of the themes of this thesis have been drawn together as the listeners' comments were discussed. The concluding chapter that follows will unite these themes and relate the findings of this research to the questions posed in the Introduction.
Conclusion

At the outset, this dissertation posed the question of how listeners make sense of *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt*. In addressing this question from a cultural studies approach, theoretical concepts have been explored relating to musical identity, the decoding of musical signs, and the images associated with African music, Middle Eastern music and Western "classical" music. This investigation has led to a number of conclusions.

The model proposed here has focused on the processes of categorization and decoding that listeners adopt when experiencing a musical sign. It has been demonstrated that a newly-experienced musical signifier is assessed according to previous experiences, already categorized, and each of these categories contributes something to the way the new signifier is understood. Evidence of this has been presented in Chapters Five and Seven in particular, in which listeners describe their processes of relating the sounds they heard on *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* to categories of sounds they had heard before in different contexts. The communication of ideas through music relies on these meanings being shared by those who decode them. While some of the meaningful categories are intensely personal, others convey the same broad meanings to many individuals. Decoding musical signifiers is therefore inherently linked to group identity.

The decoding of familiar musical signifiers is based on a wide range of past experiences and involves the identification of many meaningful categories, each of which contributes to the overall meaning of the sign. It has been shown here that in the case of de Courson's albums, not all of the musical sounds were drawn from music of the target audience's Self-culture. In the identification of cultures or musics as Other it is often assumed that they are also unfamiliar. However, the participants in this research indicated that this was not the case since they identified the Other musics according to their cultures of origin, and made very clear distinctions between African and
Arab musics and the meanings they carried. Thus while the listeners' comments indicated that Other musics were less familiar to them than musics that were Self, and while the familiarity listeners had took a different form, African and Arab musics were at the same time Other and familiar, and therefore meaningful, to the listeners in this study.

The differing natures of familiarity with Self and familiarity with Other have also been considered here. Decoding a musical signifier that is Other, and therefore less familiar, is likely to involve identifying fewer meaningful categories, or perhaps only partially identifying categories to which the signifier belongs. For example, listeners in this research were familiar enough with the vocal timbre in “Sankanda” to categorize it as “African”, but beyond that point most had difficulty in establishing further meanings. This resulted in some listeners attempting to place the signifier into other previously experienced categories to which it did not belong. When compared with categories that fit musics of the Self culture, the African vocal style was described as texturally and tonally uncomfortable, and listeners interpreted this as a deliberate cultural perversity on the part of the Africans. The less familiar Other was compared with the very familiar Self and, since it could not be fitted into known, meaningful categories, was found to be inferior and lacking in meaning. This demonstrates that the difference between Self and Other is reinforced by the process of decoding itself.

The description of musical signifiers as more or less familiar rather than as either familiar or unfamiliar leads to another significant conclusion. Self and Other, and familiar and unfamiliar are concepts that are often perceived as polar opposites that are fixed in terms of an individual’s identity. Rather than forming absolute dichotomies, it is clear that many aspects of identity and of the decoding process can be better described as belonging to continua. Furthermore, treating these concepts as interacting continua allows a more flexible and sophisticated approach to understanding how listeners react to musical signs.
Because familiarity and Otherness are treated here as continua, movement along these continua, either by an individual or by a group, may be included in the model. Decoding musical sounds is not dependent upon fixed criteria, but rather, changes according to experiences gained. Every piece of music that a listener decodes affects the way in which he or she decodes subsequent musical experiences. Some musical experiences alter previous categorizations of identity, familiarity and acceptance, while other experiences confirm them. It may be concluded, overall, that notions of identity and familiarity must be regarded in a more flexible way than many have hitherto supposed.

As a result of the theoretical discussion summarized above, it has been possible to analyse participants' responses to the African, Middle Eastern and Western "classical" musics in Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, and to derive further conclusions. In decoding the Western "classical" musics on these recordings listeners drew on their past experiences of these sounds. These were primarily based on personal involvement with the music, including experiences in which the participants referred to performing the music themselves. Other past experiences included the intentional selection of "classical" music recordings or attendance as an audience member at live performances. Audio-visual experiences were rarely recalled, despite the frequent appearance of "classical" music in film and television. Consequently, visual-image connotations were rarely reported, and listeners did not consider these to be as important as connotations of the performance situation. Several listeners reported "following" the music in their minds, and being familiar with the sounds to the extent that the music was almost predictable, even if the particular examples of "classical" music had not been heard before. The participants' level of familiarity with the "classical" music was therefore at a very high level.

Certain connotations were reported in association with the "classical" music. Many participants associated it with a sense of history and tradition, and some described this in relation to audio-visual presentations such as
"period dramas". Others referred to a sense of historical importance and grandeur that the music evoked. Some related this to the role that "classical" music had played in their musical education, reporting experiences of such music in the classroom situation. This was also evident in some participants' sense of having a responsibility to learn about "classical" music and composers, and their sense of guilt at not knowing one composer from another. However, this also confirms Small's theory that "classical" music forms a largely interchangeable body of works in contemporary concert and recording contexts.

When decoding the African and Arab musics featured on Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt, listeners referred to quite different previous experiences with the musics. Instead of personal involvement and experiences in which the musics had been actively sought, most referred to incidental audio-visual experiences as their main source of prior involvement. Consequently, strong associations between the musics and visual images had been formed during these experiences, and these images were evoked when participants heard similar musics in the context of the research interviews. Because the listeners' sources of information were produced largely in the West, their reported beliefs about Africa and the Middle East in many cases resembled the predominant representations of these cultures in Western film, television, news media and literature.

These differences in approach to decoding music from Africa and the Middle East compared with decoding "classical" music are indicative of the different functions that these musics play for listeners who identify themselves as members of Western culture. As discussed in Chapter Four, "classical" music is part of the overall Self culture for members of contemporary Western culture, characterized by a high degree of familiarity, frequent personal involvement, and inclusion in the education curriculum. African and Arab musics are Other, and are frequently adopted as signifiers for these cultures as a whole. Listeners were familiar with these sounds, but less so than with the "classical" music, and the African and Arab sounds
appeared to be familiar as Other. Thus their role in the listeners’ musical identities was to signify what is not part of the Self culture, and in this sense they tend to reinforce difference and Otherness in contexts such as Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt.

Since the participants all included Western “classical” music to some degree as part of their Self-identity, and considered African and Arab musics to be Other, their particular reactions to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt can be seen to have more general implications. It is apparent that the media and entertainment industries play a significant role in forming Western attitudes toward the Other. Research undertaken by Cameron, Pieterse, Shaheen, Hawke and Okoye has demonstrated that Western audio-visual media portrayals of African and Arab cultures are rarely positive, but music has largely been omitted from these studies. That many of the stereotypes reported in these other studies were inherent in the listeners’ responses to Lambarena and Mozart in Egypt suggests that music could usefully be included in discussions of cultural representations. Indeed, as Gorbman has suggested, the subliminal nature of musical signification may enhance its potency as a means of representing cultural groups and perpetuating stereotypes.

The results of this study indicate that negative connotations not only influence Western attitudes toward the Other (as Entman and Rojecki, and Beattie, Miller, Miller and Philo have demonstrated) but that musical signifiers act as vehicles by which these connotations may be communicated. This may occur even when the Other music is experienced in isolation from visual images, as was the case in the research interviews. If the music does not appear in a context alongside visual images, many listeners will supply their own, and will do so according to the kinds of images they have experienced in the past. In doing so, connotations of, and attitudes toward, these cultures are often evoked; thus music acts as a link in a chain of signification that extends beyond the association of musical and visual images. The role of music in reinforcing Otherness by perpetuating negative
or inaccurate images of Other cultures is therefore one that should not be underestimated.

It is often argued that Western culture is becoming increasingly inclusive of Other cultures, whether according to universalist or pluralist ideals or a mixture of both. De Courson contributes to this image of Western inclusiveness in his intention that *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* should demonstrate the potential for musics of Self and Other cultures to be appreciated by Western listeners on equal terms in a single context. However, the evidence presented here in the form of listeners' responses, in partnership with theoretical investigations, suggests that this is not necessarily the way in which these recordings will be interpreted. The media reinforces the difference between Self and Other by representing the Other predominantly as an exotic decoration or symbol of danger that must be ultimately subordinated to Self. Such representations make inclusiveness and acceptance of diversity more difficult, even in contexts such as de Courson's albums, because of the way in which these media representations pre-determine the meanings decoded and affect the positions that listeners take on the various continua that are involved in the decoding process.

Among the listeners there was a belief in the growing inclusiveness of Western cultures, evident in the common perception that the interaction between different musical cultures that appears in *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* should be more acceptable to young people, since this group is believed to be more accepting of cultural difference and interaction in general. However, there was no evidence in the actual responses to suggest that this is at all the case. Listeners from across the age-range included in the research described Other musics and cultures in similar terms and revealed similar attitudes. This is perhaps reflective of the continued Othering of these cultures in contemporary audio-visual presentations. The appearance of such stereotypes in films targeted toward young viewers, such as Disney's *Tarzan*, *Lion King* and *Aladdin*, suggests that this trend may continue. It may be concluded that, because of its use in media representations, music may well
be acting as a reinforcement of Self-Other distinctions rather than, as de Courson might optimistically wish, a means to bring Self and Other together in an appreciated equality.

In undertaking this study, areas in which future research would be beneficial have become evident. *Lambarena* and *Mozart in Egypt* are only two examples of an ever-increasing group of albums that feature interaction between musics that their target audience is likely to identify as Self and Other. Some, such as Paul Simon's *Graceland* and David Fanshawe's *African Sanctus*, have received considerable critical attention. However, these works might be revisited, and others considered for the first time, in light of the models suggested here regarding the decoding of interaction and the various stances that listeners take towards cultural and musical difference. It would also be valuable to undertake similar interview-based research with members of the target audiences for similar albums, most of which present the interaction between Self and Other in a less exposed form than do the juxtapositions that appear on de Courson's albums.

Another aspect of this research that might be investigated further is the nature and role of musical signifiers in Western-produced films set in Africa and the Middle East. While Cameron and Shaheen have presented comprehensive discussions about the way in which African and Arab cultures are portrayed in Western films, they have not included music to any significant degree. While the evidence presented here suggests that music plays an important role in supporting and perpetuating these representations, a comprehensive study of these films from the point of view of the musical score would enable firmer conclusions to be drawn. Some research has recently been published regarding the use of music as an “ethnic marker” in film, as Andrew Killick describes it in his discussion of the musical sounds associated with Jewishness (Killick, 2001), but scope remains for detailed research that includes a larger sample of films.

Further research into the representation of cultural groups through music might also consider the use of “classical” compositions in
contemporary films as a signifier for particular groups within Western culture. While much research has been undertaken on film soundtracks and the adoption of elements of the “classical” Western tradition, analysis of the use of existing “classical” compositions in film has not yet been comprehensively surveyed. Such studies would allow firmer conclusions to be drawn regarding the influence of film and television on the meanings decoded from “classical” music as an expression of the Self-culture or subcultures thereof. This is a matter of some importance as “classical” music seeks to find its place in contemporary culture.

While this research has been centred on musical case-studies, issues pertaining to other aspects of culture and identity have been raised also, and might be investigated further in other disciplines. The complex relationship between the perceived inclusivity of contemporary Western culture and the ongoing negative portrayal of Other cultures in the Western media might be explored in greater detail. In which respects and in which contexts is Western culture more inclusive? How does the open-restrictive continuum, which is proposed here to illustrate attitudes toward cultural interaction, find expression in the Western media? And how are these seemingly conflicting attitudes reflected in cultural expressions such as music, literature and film?

The recurring model of the continuum might also be explored further. Several continua have been proposed here, and have been shown to be interdependent and yet somewhat flexible in their relationships to one another. These relationships might be further explored and a model devised that would incorporate the many aspects of identity that they encompass, and other factors might also be illustrated through continua that would explain listeners’ attitudes to music. Consideration of these models allows a greater depth of understanding of the relationships between musical response and cultural identity, which are shown here to be much more complex than the seemingly simple dichotomy of “our music” and “their music”.
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Appendix 1: Information Sheet and Consent Form

"ATTITUDES TO MUSIC" STUDY

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and thank you for considering this request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This project is being undertaken as a part of PhD research in the Music Department of the University of Otago. The main aim of the project is to study listeners' attitudes towards particular types of music.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to participate in this project, you will be asked to listen to some recordings and share your thoughts and feelings about them. You will not be asked technical musical questions, and there are no right and wrong answers: we are interested in your opinions about the music that you will hear.

This process will take up to one hour, and may take place at a location convenient to both parties.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

The information that will be collected will be your thoughts and feelings about two musical recordings. You may decline to answer any question, or decide to terminate the conversation at any stage without needing to justify your actions. The conversation about the musical recordings will be recorded on tape, and part of it may be transcribed.
The data will be used in the completion of a PhD thesis in the Music Department, University of Otago, and results of the project may be published, but any data included in any form will not be attributed to any participant identified, except as, for example, "respondent one".

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of this project should you wish.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will have access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, and raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Chris Haig  
Music Department  
University Phone: 479 8881

Or

Professor John Drummond (supervisor)  
Music Department  
University Phone: 479 8880

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Music, University of Otago.
"ATTITUDES TO MUSIC" STUDY

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. the data, audio-tapes and transcripts, will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed;

4. the results of the project may be published but my anonymity will be preserved.

I agree to take part in this project.

................................................................. .............

(Signature of participant) (Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Department of Music, University of Otago.
Appendix 2: Musical profile of research participants

Includes musical background and preferences, as described by the participants during the research interviews.

**Group one: "Ikhtitaf fi Assaraya" heard and discussed first**

**F1.1**: Little formal music training; percussion lessons for two years as a teenager; just begun singing lessons; prefers dance music, opera, songs from the 1960s.

**M2.1**: Learned baritone horn in high school; plays in brass band; has sung in choirs in the past; listens to classical music radio station.

**F1.4**: University music student; studied singing and brass instruments; plays in brass band; prefers alternative rock, dance music, some classical.

**F1.5**: Studied music through secondary school; learned brass instruments; plays in brass band; has played in orchestras; prefers pop music, but listens to classical for background music.

**F1.6**: Studied music through secondary school; plays viola and brass instruments; prefers world music, classical, some pop.

**F2.2**: Studied music at school; learned piano for eight years; just begun to learn singing; prefers pop, instrumental, Vanessa Mae.

**M2.5**: Trumpet player; plays in brass band; has played in rock bands and orchestras; prefers jazz, big band, swing, REM, Pink Floyd.

**M2.6**: Learned piano and theory to grade six level; has sung in choirs; prefers classical, especially Mozart, Bach, Haydn, Schumann, Mendelssohn and Schubert.

**M2.7**: Plays guitar and piano; just begun to learn singing and to read music; sings in choirs; prefers classical, especially Mozart and Beethoven, and particularly string quartets.

**F3.1**: Studied piano and singing; attends many concerts; prefers classical, folk, some world music.

**F3.2**: Learned piano and violin; sings in choirs; plays in community orchestra; listens to anything, particularly likes children's music.
Group 2: “Sankanda” heard and discussed first

F1.2: Learns piano and theory; has learned singing; prefers Enya, Clannad, Steeleye Span, Simon and Garfunkel.

F1.3: Learned piano at primary school; sings in a choir; prefers Beatles, some classical, Riverdance, Deep Forest.

F2.1: No formal music study; self-taught in theory; involved in church music group; prefers orchestral, folk, easy listening.

M2.2: No formal music study; drummer; plays in brass band and wind band; prefers jazz, big band, swing, pop, some classical, especially Mahler and Schubert.

M2.3: No formal music study; just begun singing and theory lessons; prefers anything with good melody, harmony and rhythms.

M2.4: Pianist and accompanist; sings in chamber choir; prefers classical, but has broad tastes in other areas.

F1.7: Learned piano, violin, guitar; sings in a choir; prefers Irish traditional, U2, Garbage, Enya, Deep Forest, dance music, Salmonella Dub.

F2.3: Piano teacher; some university music papers; prefers pop, jazz, classical, anything but heavy metal or rap.

M3.1: Played violin from a young age; sang in choirs; prefers jazz, folk, classical, pacific music, broad tastes.

M3.2: Learned some piano; some school music study; not from a musical family; prefers classical, especially Bach, Mozart, Beethoven; some folk, jazz, Beatles.

M3.3: Learned some piano; sang in choirs at school; prefers classical, some pop, broad tastes.
Appendix 3: Papers presented during term of study


