The Sonorous Spectacle
World Music Performance Practice as Discourse

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For

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&
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Abstract

The Sonorous Spectacle World Music Performance Practices as Discourse aims to situate contemporary world music performance practice as a sonorous spectacle. It does so in order to shed light on the power relations involved in and the discursive nature of musical performance within world music and to explore the various idiosyncrasies of the category. It will thereby attempt to understand musical performance within the world music festival space. Herein questions are posed about the framing practices of the world music festival space and the different music-making practices such as steelpan, calypso, rumba, and soukous that were staged at the various festivals attended for this research.

The issue of Othering, which has been a point of contention from the inception of world music's development, remains the springboard of this research project. The overarching question that is considered here is that of the relation between and interaction of the self and other. The research intends to think about this in broad post-colonial terms and in the way the notion of self/other is embedded in academic discourse on world music, constituted by its literary history and methodological approach.

I conceive of world music performance practice as the techniques, methods and framing practices, which are used in the construction of world music festival stages. In being critical of the above processes, the concept of the spectacle[1] provides an ideal platform from which to explore the mechanisms involved in relations of power. To construct a model for understanding the interconnected nature of power relations, Othering, practices of framing, the production and acquisition of knowledge and musical performance, this work draws strongly from Guy Debord and his concept of the spectacle – the idea that society is mediated by representations and images, thereby separating individuals from each other. I will also draw from Michel Foucault and his concept of discourse[2] – the idea that discourse is always connected to power relations and knowledge. Equipped with these conceptual tools for the analysis of framing practices, attention will be granted to how some discourses and representations have embodied, shaped and created meaning systems within contemporary world music performance practice, how they have gained the status and dominate how both world music and its performance practice are defined and organized. In this, it remains that alternative discourses are unheeded and circumvented, yet potentially they present sites where hegemonic practices may be discerned, questioned, disputed, denounced and withstood. Turning to the festival space the project asks

[1] Debord 1983; 1998.
[2] Foucault 1980a; 1995; 2002.

how notions discussed academically take form sonically within the world music festival space and how we might be able to think through these notions with music.

Keywords: contemporary world music performance practices, framing, sonorous spectacles, Steelpan, music as discourse, Calypso, knowledge, musical performance, power relations

Introduction

Music is an unfathomable apparition:
melodic, harmonic and rhythmic speech, spoken to the body,
it constructs identities in diverse contours
to give texture and growth to emotions and thoughts.

~Charissa Granger

The Sonorous Spectacle: World Music Performance Practice as Discourse examines the world music category, which plays a role in shaping the way musics comprised under this category are thought of, spoken about, staged and how music scholars understand their histories within the broadly conceived field of musicology. It is an inquiry into the ways musical performances[1] and music-making practices divulge unacknowledged histories of those often positioned as Other.

I will draw on the concept of the spectacle[2] in order to make two arguments: First, the spectacularization of world music performance practice[3] constructs various musical and cultural stories. This spectacular framing has a point of reference such as the textual description of certain musics and musicians, which is uncritical of the constructed Other and inattentive to musical performance. Such points of reference ascribe meaning to music and people. I will critically examine the concept of the spectacle and argue that, in lieu of critiquing Otherness and exoticism in world music, a concentration on the mechanisms of their formations and propellers are suitable. My second argument goes beyond the first, suggesting that conceiving of world music festival performances as discourse may be more befitting at ascertaining how otherness is negotiated in music-making and performance. I employ the sonorous spectacle for its potential to lay bare present relations of power that emerge from the festival's framing. I will do so to illustrate how music moves to disrupt the spectacle; even though music is part of the spectacle. What remains most interesting and provocative about the musics that comprise the category is the ways in which hints of Otherness and attitudes of Othering emerge from the practices involved in staging them at summer festivals and expositions such as WOMAD and WOMEX.

[1] Cook 2003.
[2] Debord 1983.
[3] I use practice in its singular form for it refers to the process involved in how participants and organizers establish a particular world music performance practice.

Race and geographic location determine otherness, given the long histories of colonization, decolonization and in certain instances slavery and segregation throughout the world.[4] During the last two decades[5] scholars produced an impressive body of literature establishing historical antecedent for contemporary understandings about world music, however there remains a paucity of research on the performance practice of world music in relation to otherness. What can we learn from contemporary world music performance practice and direct music-making that we may not be able to learn from theoretical discussions of the category itself? It seems we were beginning to appreciate the issues that arise within the naming and processes of Othering inherent to the category; especially the politics of authenticity and the unrest in discussions about the appropriation of sound through collaboration between so-called world music musicians and North Atlantic musicians. Following the above, I argue that perhaps we, in world music scholarship, could benefit from an analysis of the knowledge that emerge from the performance practice that accompanies the category.

My initial research into world music literature illustrated that, with some significant exceptions, the vast majority comprised either a critique of the naming, or its historical development within the discipline of musicology. I am not suggesting that an investigation of these aspects of world music is not interesting; that it has no academic merit or relevance. However, what I am interested in knowing more about is the way these musics addressed social issues and helped to shape collective identities for those involved in their making, outside of the category within which they are situated, namely, world music. Because most studies of world music tended to discuss the category as a whole, those studies that have engaged with the socio-cultural implications of the category have overlooked or marginalized the individual musics that are positioned to constitute the category. This is not to say that scholars have not granted attention to individual music-making practices that might come to fall under the category, but that when scholars consider the category as a whole, individual musics and performance are not considered as part of its critique.[6]

When I decided to concentrate on the production of world music festivals, what I expected to find was a strong homogenization of music against a backdrop of celebrating diversity. This is certainly the impression one gets from the discourse about world music. However, the more

[4] Morrison 2017.

[5] See Bohlman 2002, 2013; Bor 2008; Guibault 1993, 1996, 1997; Meintjes 1990; Barrett 1996; Taylor 1997; White 2012; Garofalo1993; Feld 1988, 1994, 1996, 2000; Aubert 2007; Erlmann 1993, 1996ab; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Byrne 1999; Connell and Gibson 2003, 2012, 2004; Frith 1989; Goodwin and Gore 1990; Haynes 2005, 2010, 2013; Kassabian 2004; Rice 2014; Klump 1999; Ling 2003; Ventsel 2014.

[6] I consider Feld 2000 and Meintjes 1990 as taking steps towards this critique. In both, world music is discussed while attention is given to distinct music-making instances.

I attended festivals and listened to the musics that were staged and performed, together with other recorded performances,[7] the more I realized that these musics also performed in their own way. I realized that the individual musics could serve as rich terrain for examining the historical development of not only self-awareness but a socio-cultural consciousness of the lives of those colonized or otherwise marginalized. Whether we listen to the musics that comprise the world music category primarily for pleasure or for research purposes[8] there is a great deal to learn from the knowledge they potentially enable about everyday expressions of self- and collective consciousness; this is what I attempt to accentuate in this work. In a sense, my study is far less ambitious than other works on the topic.[9] Whereas these investigations comprehensively take up the entire category including processes of recording, sharing of royalties and insight on collaboration, marketing strategies, audience expectation and how music is presented in order to cater to the above, this research is confined to four cases that emerge from the festival stage and circuit. I hope this study will compliment those works referenced in this introduction and in the following literature review.

The present research attempts to accomplish its aim of, in part, exploring knowledge by accentuating the historical contributions of the musics discussed, the stories of which are persistently overshadowed in world music discussions. This work aims to situate contemporary world music performance practice as a sonorous spectacle that contributes to and is constituted by discourse. In order to disentangle the various idiosyncrasies and shed light on the discursive properties of world music performance practice, I employ analytical techniques derived from discourse analysis.[10] This will serve the purpose of presenting a consideration of music as discourse and will give rise to discussions involving such aspects as power relations, representation and musical performance that remain present within contemporary world music performance practice. It also contributes to asking the following questions: How is sound used in music-making practices within the festival space? And who prescribes what that sound is supposed to sound like and through what means? This line of questioning is exactly what allows me to explore the areas I do, not attending to participant experience or marketing strategies as will become clear from the following literature review.

[7] Such as those compiled on world music records (Putumayo, Songlines, Realworld), or the promotional albums recorded especially for WOMEX as part of the artist press kit.
[8] Here I am not proposing that pleasure is bereft of critical engagement or that research is without its pleasure.
[9] White 2012; Taylor 1997.
[10] Foucault 2002; 1981.

World music continues to challenge attempts of definition and brings unending questions to the surface by participants[11] who grapple with conceiving the category and the musical genres it embodies. This work is not an attempt to further define or critique the name of the category or the musics it includes and excludes;[12] I comprehend the term world music to be contrived from an act of imagination, where the insurmountable musics of the world required a label. This comprehensive term has withstood the test of time[13] and thrives in today's urbanized, globalized, and commercialized world. World music is not a genre, but a category. Though not a genre, but constructed as such, there is no clear definition of the phenomenon. That it is often constructed as a genre is visible from the fact that it has a location in department stores, libraries and record shops, it is a part of distinct media outlets, and is performed at seasonal festivals. To be clear, the task at hand lies not with criticizing the conflation or even theorizing the designation that surrounds the musics practiced by the world, instead the aim of this work is to analyse the practice of musics being repeatedly assembled for performances on international stages, for diverse musical festivals. In doing so, this work questions how musical and cultural identities are negotiated, constructed and asserted within the staging of world music. The overarching goal is to bring forth the perspective that, what the term 'world music' summoned into existence is a particular performance practice and contribution to music discourse; herein, generating new ways of negotiating musical meaning. This research is concerned with embracing a character of critical questioning while being attentive to transformations. Specifically, it is attentive to the processes by virtue of which attributed musical meanings come into being through framing practices.

Crucial to this work is that I do not take the notion of performance practice in a traditional or strict musicological sense, that is, the particular ways in which music is interpreted during a performance, especially in respect to historical conventions. Instead, I comprehend performance practice, within the confines of this work, as the nature of how music is put in particular socio-cultural domains, through its various framings and stagings. My interest in contemporary world music performance practice emerges from critiques of similar practices that took place at human zoos or ethnographic exhibitions and the world fair exhibitions of the late 19th century, where cultural objects and peoples colonized by the "host" countries were put

[11] Musicians, event promoters, festival producers, music scholars, writers and critics as well as those who attend various summer festivals.
[12] Klump 1999; Byrne 1999.
[13] This longevity involves shifts in marketing strategies and in broader public and academic perception since the development of the term. This might be conceived from the discourse that will be presented in the literature review and from the analysis of participant interviews and conversations.

on exhibition in order to display ecumenical bounties.[14] Bohlman notes that with these exhibitions, understanding of music was yet again at a new historical juncture, within which a novel incentive for developing world music arrived. Bohlman contends that "world music emerged in yet another form at such moments of encounter between the exoticism of "people without history" and the historical narratives of those commanding technology."[15] It is from this notion that I depart and consider the contemporary world music festival as an extension of the practices that took place at the world expositions.

Contemporary musicological modes of discourse regarding world music remain to a certain extent removed from conceptually considering aspects of geographic movement in relation to transformation of both music and the musical meanings that are negotiated herein. Such discussions focus on methodological approaches in world music research, historical narratives of world music, globalization, homogenization, exoticism, fusion, drawing together the conditions these incite within world music at large as well as how they impact the socio-cultural environment. Yet more directly, they concentrate on representation. The accounts seldom focus on how the naming and potential aspects of homogenization have an impact upon and inform the performance of the musics included in the label. Undeniably, the relationship between world music performance practice, movement, representation, transition, transformation and meaning yields far more effective considerations within music-making and musical performance than the above-mentioned approaches imply. In approaching world music critically, Guilbault discusses the ethnocentric and colonial implication and how the notion of world music relates to ethnomusicological endeavours.

> My point of departure in this examination of meanings in world music is to posit that world music allows us to see more clearly than do many other more subtle phenomena the epistemological limits of the ethnocentric and colonial ideas that underpin several of the theoretical assumptions and models that have informed the work of ethnomusicologists. At the same time, I wish to argue that the specificity and processes engaged in the construction of world music have the benefit of inviting us to move beyond the quest for narratives of originary and initial subjectivities, and to address new questions that acknowledge the complexity and fluidity of meanings involved in the act of constructing and rearticulating identities through music.[16]

I will explore world music principally but not simply by way of its performance practice. Additionally, I will examine musical performance, that is, music *as* that which performs, highlighting the way in which music possibly enables experiences in its performance and capacity to situate and relate to us as its others. In order to achieve this, I depart from Nicholas Cook, who draws our attention to a consideration of music *as* performance. He proposes a

[14] Bohlman, 2002, 16.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Guilbault, 1997, 32.

conception of music not simply as the performance *of* music, where we are to envisage music *itself* as that which performs.[17] In discussing this, Cook proposes that "instead of seeing musical works as texts within which social structures are encoded,"[18] we conceive of them as scripts in response to which social relationships are enacted.[19] Following this, "the object of analysis is now present and self-evident in the interactions between performers, and in the acoustic trace that they leave."[20] He goes on to state that "analysing music as performance does not necessarily mean analysing specific performances or recordings at all,"[21] instead he offers a focus "on the intimate *negotiations* and conjunctions between the performers, and the manner in which these inflect the performance."[22] He argues, "the interaction between performers prompts a final thought on the potential of performance analysis for a culturally oriented musicology."[23] Cook concludes: "to call music a performing art, then, is not to say that we perform it; it is to say that through it we perform social meaning."[24]

To consider musical performance in world music performance practice, I bring approaches from other fields of study. An example of this is the concept of framing and its efficiency to arouse questions of responsibility and agency, which enables a relation between world music performance practice and the concept used to interpret it. Mieke Bal says

> the act of framing, however, produces an event. This verb form, as important as the noun that indicates its product, is primarily an activity. Hence, it is performed by an agent who is responsible, accountable for his or her acts. Furthermore, in a regress that might, in principle at least, be infinite, the agent of framing is framed in turn.[25]

Some accounts of agency in world music discourse, however, disengages the role of music in comprehensions of agency. This is particularly visible in the processes involved in framing festivals, where seemingly the subject is considered as the primary agent in framing the cultural 'object.' Since music is *not* an object but an experience in which the world is related to and made sense of, its agency, what I interpret as musical performance, is crucial to how we comprehend framing.

Concepts are helpful in comprehending music; they solicit it, asking music questions. Herein music is exposed as a cultural experience. Bal suggests that

> a concept moreover, bears on an object, a cultural 'thing': a text, an image, a sculpture, a piece of music, a film; or, [...] a collection of things framed to form an exhibition […] This

[17] Cook, 2003, 2013.
[18] Cook, 2003, 213.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 212.
[22] Ibid., 212-213.
[23] Ibid., 213.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Bal, 2002, 135.

> questioning results in a repositioning of the object as alive, in ways that have to do with the 'social life of things' rather than with a metaphysical hypostasizing of objects or a rhetorical strategy of personification.[26]

Before drawing an outline of the journey this work will take, a sketch of notions that are usually bound up with world music is warranted for it would be misleading to presume that this work addresses these same assumptions directly or indirectly. These discussions include, but are not limited to; aspects of localization, geographical and ethnic references expressed musically in narrow terms, expressing Otherness, aesthetic generalizations in both musical and cultural terms, inclusion and exclusion of musics and identities in world music, rigidly constructed notions of "western"[27] and non-western musics, division of music between third-world and first-world, and finally, but certainly not the least, conceptions of the traditional and modern. The above, in addition to recurrent notions such as representation, localization, discourse, and commodification will not be approached in the same way as they have been.

In considering the above issues that inundate the label world music, one is able to deduce that the category and the 'order' it provides is presumptuous. A particular aspect and concern are that world music brazenly purports a number of things: Firstly, it obscures the fluidity of place and space. The label and its mode of organization positions and expresses geographical places and spaces as steadfast; as clearly located and unchangeable states. Secondly, together with the capacity to obscure fixity the world music label proposes culture as self-evident or a (pre)given. In that same light, music and culture are strictly part of specific places. Both these aspects enclose music in terms of race and ethnicity and do not take the fluidity and movement of music into consideration, thereby posing fixity as inherent in the structure of the category. The construction of this category was an attempt to place an order and compartmentalize the musics of the world. In doing so; the pursuit was to make that which was unintelligible intelligible. However, these efforts brought their own baggage and obstacles with them.

By touching on some of these issues and departing from some of the problems that they pose, this work will explore different aspects of power relations as they are voiced within contemporary world music performance practice. An important aspect for exploring representation, power relations and the nature of discursivity within world music is to concentrate on its performance practice as it arises within the summer festival circuit. To emphasize: that is, the techniques, methods, and framing practices which are utilized to form these stages. Thus, performance (both music as it is performed and music as it performs) is the

[26] Ibid., 137.

[27] The term *Western* has been substantially critiqued in the past decades as a fictitious political construct that seemingly resonates a colonial ideology and engenders Othering. I therefore use this term with reservation, and for want of a better word I use it in quotation.

production of meaning and therein lies a multi-layeredness that defines both the negotiation of meaning and eventually the performance practice. While I attend to these outlined aspects in the discussion inherent to the label of world music, I will take it a step further and ask what implications this discussion has on concrete music-making and as a result, the effects on how musical meanings are negotiated. This work departs from the name and construction of the category and the implicated concepts that are involved in world music discussion, to an examination of how these theoretical concepts are negotiated in music-making. I will focus on specific music case studies that will surround each chapter, doing so through considering specific musics such as steelband, and calypso. Thus far, this introduction has focused on some of the issues, complexities and definitions of world music as well as the preliminary implications that these have for contemporary world music performance practice. It has attempted to proceed towards partly some of the questions of the mechanisms involved in contemporary world music performance practice. In the following chapters, I trace how framing, the sonorous spectacle, discourse, musical performance, representation and knowledge work through music.

This will become more exact as the first chapter, "World music framing practices: roots and mapping music to place," explores framing practices[28] at the Amsterdam Roots Festival, exploring different ways in which organizers and participants frame music and the festival as a whole before, at and after the event. Framing denotes the process whereby an event is produced. This conceptual approach aids in the analysis of data collected in the form of festival fliers and booklets that describe music-making practices, instruments and outline artist biographies. This data is analysed as a paratextual[29] framing of the musical performances. From this analysis I will critically discuss concepts such as roots, diversity and difference in relation to the context of the festival space from which they emerge and as they are situated in world music academic discourse. In this way, I preliminarily outline framing practices so that I can analyse them for how they contribute to the production of a sonorous spectacle. This chapter illustrates the merit of contemporary scholarly critiques, doing so in order to move to the following chapter, which will outline the weaknesses of extant scholarly critique. In sum, this first chapter considers the festival space as giving rise to several contrasting theoretical questions, arguments, and perspectives within world music.

To complicate the concepts presented in the previous chapter and to point to particular weaknesses in world music criticism, chapter two, "Musical performance and the negotiation

[28] Bal 2002.
[29] This provides a discussion of the exoticizing language of the festival fliers and booklets, however it does not consider musical performances as textual.

of difference," examines the first case study on the steelband movement, departing from a performance at the Amsterdam Roots Festival.[30] I give a brief overview of the steelband music-making to complicate the critique of difference by outlining how it is negotiated in steelpan music-making practices. This chapter illustrates how extant world music critique might benefit from approaching concepts such as otherness and difference by thinking through music. Considering music analysis in relation to the foregoing analysis of framing practices enables critical discussion of how processes of framing within the festival space make musical meanings possible.

Building on the arguments made in the first chapter, in effort to detail how a sonorous spectacle emerges from certain framing practices, the third chapter, "Notes on a sonorous spectacle: How the Other is created through framing," analyses data collected at WOMAD 2014. This brings the positioning of world music festivals as sonorous spectacles to a more central focus and thereby gives a fruitful critical discussion of Debord's idea of the spectacle and its location in world music research. It argues, through analysis of framing practices, that within the world music festival space, the sonorous spectacle comes about through framing processes. To do so, it grants a critique of the paratext framing's use and emphasis on the contextual background of music-making, and problematizes the backstory that tends to dominate music-making in flier descriptions of performances and artists. It argues that this emphasis creates a colonizing and all-consuming narrative which contributes to establishing a musical Other. To illustrate this, I analyse this narrative through the cases of the ensembles *Staff Benda Bilili* and *The Good Ones*. The chapter suggests that this narrative exacerbates the divisions between performers and festivalgoers, thereby making difference incommensurable, and thus a coming together and negotiation of differences difficult. This approach grounds the preliminary arguments made in the first chapter. Herein, I use the notion of the sonorous spectacle as a searchlight to consider how power relations emerge in framing. In sum, this chapter seeks to open up, and question, the process through which fixed representations of music and music-making are brought about.

The fourth chapter, "Disrupting the sonorous spectacle: Musically moving the self and Other together," explores a counter narrative to that discussed in the third chapter. The foundation laid by the third chapter enables this chapter to speak of music-making practices and musical performance of both the ensembles that were critically engaged in the previous chapter. Thus, this chapter presents a second case study through an analysis of music-making within the festival space, showing how musical performance might provide another story in contrast to the

[30] Introduced in the first chapter.

previously analysed colonizing narrative. It argues that the paratextual framing and the critical ventures of world music research should acknowledgment musical performance. This argument emerges from a performance analysis of *The Good Ones* at WOMAD 2014. The music-making of *Staff Benda Bilili* will also be considered as part of the chapter's argument that music opens a space within which differences are encountered, placed in relation to each other and negotiated. This analysis will illustrate how the sonorous spectacle is disrupted in music-making and how performances at world music festivals potentially challenge critical arguments presented in world music research. Herein, I take a step towards setting the stage for exploring what it might entail to consider music and world music performance practice as discourse.

In this way, integral to chapter five, "Power relations and world music: Understanding the discursive dimensions of music," is the notion of discourse, understood in the Foucauldian sense. The chapter illustrates how the notion of discourse emerges from the previous chapters' analysis of both music and framing practices. It returns to a discussion of framing practices as it attends to how acts of framing, by those who hold agency, contribute to discourse. I take this step to underscore how the negotiation of meaning at the festival emerges from, contributes to and maintains discourse. Herein, I ask to what extent world music performance practice can be considered as discourse by engaging with the concept of music discourse: That which is articulated *about* music both textually and linguistically within the festival space and world music research, as well as the discourse *of* music; that articulation which emerges from musical performance. The purpose of the above is to move towards de-emphasizing the textual and linguistic way post-colonial studies and scholarly world music research articulates history.

The sixth chapter, "Comprehending discourse musically: A challenge to the textual emphasis," takes an in depth approach to exploring music as discourse through an analysis of the ensemble Kobo Town's performance at WOMAD 2014, which will be the third case study. It illustrates how the WOMAD performance stands in relation to the arguments discussed in chapter five. I do this to make a case for considering music(-making) as discourse, taking steps towards a discussion of how musical performance might be discursive.

The epilogue, "On a world of music: Another way of knowing (in) world music," does not present a conclusion, instead it discusses how power relations are negotiated in music within the festival space. It illustrates how the sonorous is involved in framing practices and how these practices are further constitutive of the sonorous spectacle. Taking Foucault's notions of resistance and power relation, it aims to examine music's agency and the various ways in which music enables knowledge. This argument connects to the analysis of the literature review presented in this introduction. This chapter synthesizes the contribution of this research to the

field, focusing on the production of knowledge in world music, and how a methodology that includes ethnography and music analysis provides another perspective to world music research.

The overarching argument of these chapters is that people, cultures, identities and most importantly musics are not anchored in some place or space but more readily, emerge from movement, interaction and discursive synergy. A research project like *The Sonorous Spectacle: World Music Performance Practices as Discourse* will demonstrate that there are multiple musical expressions and practices. This research will inspire readers to listen to the musics dealt with in this study both for amusement and further research ventures, and that it will incite further transdisciplinary and intersectional studies of the artistic and socio-cultural contributions of the world's musics.

Literature review

This literature review sets out to give a detailed examination of the extant research literature relevant to world music and its performance practice. It intends to give a composite picture of the state of knowledge within the field of world music through an analysis and synthesis of scholarly literature. This literature review also establishes how a particular discourse about world music is created. World music is commonly conceived as an organizing principle, it surrounds discourses of race, ethnicity and racialization,[31] cultural imperialism, appropriation, commodification, exoticism, hybridity, multiculturalism, diversity, authenticity, representation, fusion and tradition.[32] World music also engages with debates about inclusion and exclusion[33] of musics (comparable to Foucault's discussion of the madman's speech),[34] thereby establishing how power relations emerge in the scholarly analysis of world music.

The little research directed towards world music festivals is often explored in sociological[35] and economic terms as well as in terms of health and safety.[36] In general, the literature conceives

[31] Bohlman and Radano 2002; Haynes 2010, 2013.

[32] Meintjes 1990; Frith 1989, 2000; Stokes 2012; Guilbault 1993ab, 1997; Aubert 2007; Kassabian 2004; Taylor 1997; White 2012; Keil and Feld 2005; Goodwin and Gore 1990; Park 1998; Hutnyk 2000; Erlmann 1993, 1996ab; Locke 2009; Fauser 2005.

[33] Cf. Foucault 1996, 2003, 2006. For a discussion of exclusionary procedures see Foucault, 1981, 53. Here he gives a discussion about prohibitions of certain topics such as sexuality and madness in society. He considers how these prohibitions reveal discourse's connection to desire and power, (ibid. 52, 53-54) pointing towards the fact that "discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized" (ibid. 52-53). Herein he discusses exclusionary procedures embodied in the reason/madness binary where terms are arbitrarily delineated. He addresses the third system of exclusion in terms of true and false discourse (ibid., 56) and their historical variability, touching on the "will to truth […] that prodigious machinery designed to exclude" (ibid.). Foucault furthermore attends to "internal procedures […] which function rather as principles of classification, of ordering, of distribution, as if this time another dimension of discourse had to be mastered: that of events and chance" (ibid.) in relation to his outlined concepts of discipline, commentary and the author.

[34] Foucault, 2002, 44.

[35] Haynes 2013.

[36] Osier 1975

music festivals in terms of sponsorship,[37] marketing strategies and participant experience.[38] The critiques and questions that emerge from festival research are predominantly sociological in their nature. Therefore, I argue that scholarly research[39] on these issues are not lacking and is another reason for which this work does not principally engage with the marketing strategies and branding of popular world music festivals such as WOMAD. This research does however concentrate on how festivals use certain framing practices to present music; in a sense, this study attends to the step taken before marketing might be considered. There is a lack in examining the world music festival through an analysis of music-making and performance and having with this a musicological effort, this lack makes it possible for this research to critically attend to framing practices that are engaged in order to market festivals. Extant research is theoretical in nature, thereby theorizing the naming and the mechanisms of movement (geographical) and transformation herein. World music is related to through particular case studies.[40]

It is impossible to give an exhaustive review of that which is scholarly written on world music; this would be an excessive undertaking. For this reason, I take an approach that concentrates on literature that approached world music research conceptually and theoretically. This review is not organized historically, thematically or methodologically. Instead, I organized literature conceptually, that is, around notions that continuously run through scholarly discussions of world music. The reason for this is that within world music there are continuous concepts or notions that arise from discussions of the category and its history. Therefore, I will run a line through notions that are conceptually connected. From this approach somewhat of a chronology will emerge but will not be the primary organizational property of this literature review. The criteria for inclusion and exclusion lie solely on whether past literature has engaged with notions that this work at large seeks to examine. These are: encounter, interaction and Otherness, representation, commodification and objectification, and musical transformation, synthesis and hybridity. Before the review of this literature, I will give a formulation of the problem, move to the literature collected, and give an evaluation of this literature.

Formulation of the problem within world music research

[37] Anderton 2011a.
[38] Anderton, 2007, 2009, 2011b; Ballantyne et al. 2014; Robinson 2015; Bennett 2004; Bennett et al. 2014; Clarke 1982; Corner 2012; Getz 1991, 2002; McKay 2004, 2015; Zubeck 2014; Connell and Gibson 2011; Gibson 2007, 2013; Giorgi et. al. 2011; Kerr and May 2011; Macleod 2006; Nurse 2002, 2004; Picard and Robinson 2006; Havas 2012; Haynes 2013; Duffy and Waitt 2011; Bowen and Daniels 2005; Burr 2006.
[39] See for example Taylor 1997; White 2012; Stokes, 2012, 108; Frith, 2000, 309 and Morey et al., 2014, 252.
[40] Taylor 1997; Feld 2000; Meintjes 1990 for example.

The extant research literature relevant to world music mainly focuses on aspects relating to Otherness, difference, nationalism, identity, musical expression and its separateness from its creative context, the interpretation of world music in relation to senses of self, appropriation, power relations, exploitation, identification, race, class, economic and political positions, aspects of the local versus global distribution of music, musical synthesis, musical internationalization, globalization and indigenization, commodification and the negotiation of socio-cultural meaning.[41] However, it does not take these notions into account in discussing world music performance practice. How does the Othering that is inherent to the theoretical understanding of world music relate to direct music-making? Here I question the theory in relation to the practice in everyday experiences within the world music festival space. World music scholarship has been avid in creating theory in its writings than it has been about thinking of how these notions are negotiated in the performance or in questioning how these theories and conceptual approaches are experienced in the ongoing of the world music festival space. I argue that world music research has not done enough of this mode of questioning. It has not posed sufficient questions about how we, involved in world music research, deal with a confrontation of these notions within the performance practice.

The questions that guide this literature review in order to explore the above presented issues are: How has past literature contributed to comprehending music as knowledge*able*, as that through which knowledge is acquired, but also as that which embodies knowledge? What would a consideration of the above theoretical notions, as they emerge in world music performance practice entail? How do they influence negotiations of meaning within the festival space? How do they relate to the various experiences that emerge in music-making? (such as how the self experiences the other). And finally, how do they contribute towards establishing a particular performance practice?

Collected relevant literature

Ling asks whether world music is the classical music "of our time,"[42] Bor asks whether the term world music is self-explanatory. He explains: "In 1987 there was suddenly world music. At least, this is the impression created by Philip Sweeney and Ian Anderson. Both gentlemen were present when world music was launched as a marketing concept from a London Pub."[43] Byrne suggests that "the term is a catchall that commonly refers to non-Western music of any and all sorts, popular music, traditional music and even classical music. It's a marketing as well as a

[41]See Feld 1984, 1988, 2000; Stokes 2012; Keil and Feld 2005; Kassabian 2004; Meintje 1990; Bohlman 2002, 2013; Guilbault 1993a; Erlmann 1996ab, 1993; Taylor 2007; Aubert 2007; Brown et al. 2000; Biddle and Knight 2013 and White 2012.
[42] Ling 2003.
[43] Bor, 2008, 54.

pseudomusical term and a name for a bin in the record store signifying stuff that doesn't belong anywhere else in the store."[44] According to Bohlman

> world music is that music we encounter, well, everywhere in the world. World music can be folk music, art music, or popular music […] World music may be sacred, secular, or commercial; its performers may emphasize authenticity, while at the same time relying heavily on mediation to disseminate it to as many markets as possible. World music's consumers may use it as they please; they may celebrate it as their own or revel in its strangeness.[45]

Importantly, Bohlman states that "the old definitions and distinctions don't hold anymore; world music can be Western or non-Western, acoustic or electronically mixed. The world of world music has no boundaries, therefore access to world music is open to all. There is ample justification to call just about anything world music."[46]

As mentioned, this research speculates beyond critiques on whether the naming of the genre is right or wrong. My goal is to bring forth the perspective that, what the term summoned into existence is a particular contribution to music discourse. Feld does not "transparently use" the term world music "as a benign generic gloss for human musical diversity."[47] His interest, he says

> is specifically in "world music" as a label of industrial origin that refers to an amalgamated global marketplace of sounds as ethnic commodities. Once more idiosyncratically and unevenly collected and circulated under labels like "primitive," "folk," "ethnic," "race," "traditional," "exotic," or "international" music, today's world music tells a new story, one about intersections of transnational capital, global economic niche expansion, technological ubiquity, and the contradictions of aesthetic pluralism and product homogenization.[48]

Feld's comprehension takes world music further than its label, and recognizes a multitude of factors that continuously frame world music, herein, music has new implications and stories to tell. Stokes notes that "a critique of globalization eventually developed, [...] and, along with it, a critique of world music."[49] He explores three defining aspects in world music: "cultural imperialism, hybridity, and authenticity."[50] In doing so, he problematizes world music and draws our attention to the fact that within world music "[M]ulticulturalism may often have reduced rich musical traditions to mute tokens of otherness, to be noticed administratively or

[44] Byrne 1999. http://www.davidbyrne.com/archive/news/press/articles/I_hate_world_music_1999.php (access 01-02-2016).
[45] Bohlman, 2002, xi.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Feld, 2000, 40.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Stokes, 2012, 108.
[50] Ibid.

exploited commercially, but not engaged in meaningful, or lasting, dialogue."[51] Consequently, he notes that

> world music discourse in the late 1980s and early 1990s has, then, been characterized as the everyday popular music of people obscured (because colonized) by the Anglo-American mainstream, as a music of migrancy and hybridity, and as the bearer of a kind of authenticity, an antidote to Western modernity.[52]

Frith considers the above in terms of distribution as he notes

> world music labels are highly informative about the musical source of their releases, about local traditions, genres, and practices, but they are highly uninformative about their own activities – the process through which music from Mali reaches a record store in Middlesborough is not explained […] world music sleeve notes systematically play down the role of record producers in shaping non-Western sounds for Western ears.[53]

He, however, provides an "optimistic view of world music,"[54] one that emphasises creativity and how cultural borrowing takes place herein.

> Changes in musical tradition don't mean the loss of cultural identity but articulate the way it changes with circumstance. The fact that such hybrid forms become popular internationally, are traded in the marketplace, is analytically irrelevant; the meaning of local musics must be referred to local conditions of production.[55]

He positions the above in relation to the academic discussions involving authenticity, defining "hybridity as authenticity,"[56] implying that "musical creativity depends on a free trade in sounds; 'uncorrupted' music can now be seen as stagnant music, music constrained by reactionary political and cultural forces."[57] The foregoing discussion provides insight into the notions and issues that emerge from world music and how these ideas relate to each other. The first notions that relate to the current research complement each other, they are: encounter, interaction and Otherness.

Encounter, Interaction and Otherness

Bohlman suggests that it all started with encounter[58] as he takes a historiographical approach to conceptualizing world music and by relation the Society for Ethnomusicology and ethnomusicology as a discipline.[59] He presents a critique of those who deny the history of world music. His overarching goal in this volume is to concentrate on how history emerges as action and historiography. The collected contributions "seeks to recue world music from alterity, we

[51] Ibid., 114.
[52] Ibid., 113.
[53] Frith, 2000, 309.
[54] Ibid., 312.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Bohlman 2002, 2013; Bohlman and Radano 2002.
[59] Bohlman, 2013, 9.

shift our efforts from history to historiography […] As a whole this volume represents the common ground, liberated from the schism between the West and the rest, yet contested by the histories lived by the many rather than the few.[60] Bohlman focuses, here and elsewhere[61] on moments of encounter and the disruptions these caused, but also the new relations they formed, thereby positioning history as that which flows multi-directionally. He says that the

> globalization of world music has not effected the end of history, but rather it has made it possible to muster new historical discourses and turn them toward different historiographic ends. The conflict at postcolonial contact zones, the unequal distribution of power, the atavism of racism, and the worldwide exchange of musical materials, all these remain conditions in a world history of the present. If the history of world music that follows succeeds in focusing criticism on the contact zones that converge as the global moment of our own era, and if its authors point toward the ways in which action can be meaningful, we shall have made considerable progress toward a historiography that takes all the musics of the world as its subject matter.[62]

In relation to world music and otherness Bohlman expresses

> [T]he ciphers of otherness are too often reduced to sameness in music, for they inhabit the music history of the West, sounding the sonic Orientalism of Occidental selfness. It is in this projection of self and other in historical encounter that African bodies must make music by always dancing, thereby failing to enter history […] The history of encounter has so brutally violated otherness that it is hardly surprising that the music of otherness enters world-music history in such troubling ways. The paradox, nonetheless, remains that, because the violence of encounter refuses to subside, it becomes ever more pressing to turn ethnomusicology toward a music historiography of alterity.[63]

Erlmann makes clear that any theory of world music should analyse the ways in which world music constructs the experience of global communications and authenticity through symbolic means whose very difference depends so vitally on their sameness as transnational commodities.[64] Similarly to Bohlman, Bob White's volume[65] also engages with encounter by focusing on music and globalization, situating music as a vehicle for globalization and not only a result of it. The collected contributions underscore music's capacity to enable global interaction, herein it attends to the importance of the encounter and how music directs said encounter. Meinjes focuses on encounter through examining musical collaborations. Taking Paul Simon's *Graceland* album as a case study, she argues that "the album operates as a sign which is principally interpreted by means of the notion of collaboration,"[66] which she suggests "is established in the music itself. The musical collaboration then comes to stand for social collaboration through a series of 'interpretive moves' on the part of the listener."[67] Herein, she

[60] Ibid., 3.
[61] See Bohlman 2002.
[62] Bohlman, 2013, 5.
[63] Ibid., 16.
[64] Erlmann, 1996a, 481.
[65] White 2012.
[66] Meintjes, 1990, 37.
[67] Ibid.

asks what the process is in how politics becomes significant in musical meaning,[68] examining how "the political is not merely an adjunct to the sound but embedded in it through strings of connected signs."[69] Kirkegaard attends to encounter and the negotiation of Otherness by examining *Images of Africa*, a series of festivals dedicated to African music and culture in Denmark. She questions issues that arose in

> the merger of music and political agency, the meeting of activism and artistic expression and not least the dilemma of handling culture as art as well as education […] the debate invoked several core questions concerning our exchange with fascinating and powerful cultures outside our own, and it has questioned the role of music in this cultural encounter.[70]

Born and Hesmondhalgh[71] discuss encounter, interaction and Otherness by attending to the different ways in which musical borrowing or appropriation occurs in music; herein touching on aspects of musical exoticism. They question "the way music has been used to construct, evoke, or mark alterity of a musical or social cultural kind […] it examines the ways in which art musics have drawn upon, or repudiated, popular, non-western, and ethnic musics and what these relations mean in cultural and political terms."[72] Representation is also discussed in the musical encounter, attending to "how other cultures are represented in music through the appropriation or imaginative figuration of their own music, and, conversely, how social and cultural identities and differences come to be constructed and articulated in music."[73] Taylor[74] approaches this discussion differently as he attends to interaction and appropriation by concentrating on musical ownership and cultural imperialism.

Interaction might also be conceived in early travel reports where music comes into the discussion. This relates to the discourse about music, which matters in understanding 'world' musicology, as it emerged out of 17th, 18th and 19th century travel reports that considered music-making,[75] these reports are often discussed[76] in terms of orientalism, categorization, and the projection of western ideology in considering music and culture. These early writings are significant to this review of literature because they set a precedent for the study of music, doing so in the way they were written, the mode of analysis herein and attempts made to understand music-making at the time. According to Bloechl and Lowe

[68] Ibid., 38.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Kirkegaard, 2005, 141.
[71] Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000.
[72] Ibid., 2.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Taylor 1997.
[75] Burney 1975; Burney 1776; Forster 1982; Forster 1777.
[76] See for example Agnew 2008ab; Abels 2016; Bloechl et al. 2015; Bor 2007; Rosenberg 2014; Moorefield 1975.

> [w]ith travel reports flowing back to Europe in ever greater numbers, continental writers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were increasingly aware that global musical practices varied widely. Nevertheless, they initially found much in common between their own and other people's musical practices. Comparative rhetoric was the norm, as writers sought correspondences among the musics of geographically dispersed groups […] Thus, in nearly every society they encountered, early modern writers tended to value the literate, institutionally organized musical traditions of priviledged groups more highly, while devaluing the music of nomadic people, the non-literate, women, laborers, slaves, non-christian religious professionals, and trans adepts.[77]

These early interactions with music, through written accounts, give insight into how a differentiation was made that informs contemporary categorization of not only music but the academic disciplines that study and fields of studies that question music. In a sense the above literature is the foundation upon which the formation of world music's academic discourse is based, showing the inception of inventions and stories that accompany the musics comprised under the category and the disciplines that study them.

> This conception of the uniqueness and superiority of Europe's cultivated music became hegemonic in nineteenth-century musical thought as an aesthetic universalism, and it authorized the emerging distinction between historical and comparative or systematic treatment of the world's musics, with history reserved for written, occidental music.[78]

Globalization

Feld[79] speaks to issues of authenticity, commodification and representation in world music. He explores marketing and globalization, especially in relation to capitalism, through the song *sweet lullaby*, using it as a metaphor for the multicultural discourse that connects to world music. The predicament of squeezing thoroughly different musical practices into the orderly and austere category of world music has the inescapable implication of moulding the practices of different musical expressions and logics upon a solitary, marketable, commodified and thus merchantable flush surface. Feld engages with these disquieting and critical questions, as he attempts to unwrap and underscore the cultural and capital implications involved in the use of Pygmy music recordings by Deep Forest. Globalization is discussed here through a complex foray into aspects of music ownership and recording ethics in sampling of the Baegu lullaby. Feld attempted to highlight misunderstandings and power relations that exist within the case of borrowing as he questioned the credit that may or may not have been due to the singer of the lullaby. As it relates to Globalization and capitalism, a crucial question emerged concerning ethics and acknowledgement of the originating context and the voice that was recorded. Thus, the question of attributing due credit and artistic license to performers remains in world music

[77] Bloechle et al., 2015, 10-11.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Feld 2000.

as musicians encounter and collaborate with each other. In a similar way, Meintjes[80] discusses the encounter between Paul Simon and the various musicians that made collaborative efforts towards the *Graceland* album. Globalization, especially as it relates to capitalism and its impact on music-making is continuously questioned in the above literature. Taylor argues that collaborations "reveal new ways of conceiving music making in the global ethnoscape. Collaboration […] is a crucial way of suspending identities, and identity politics, focusing less on the resulting "work" than on the process of working together."[81] Further notions that arise from the above discussions surround the matters of globalization and the implicated international exchange, cultural imperialism, capitalism and homogenization.[82] Aubert seeks to widen the discussion on the "impact of globalization on music"[83] as he attends to the legitimacy that is afforded musicians in the opportunity to present abroad.[84]

Representation and Authenticity

Representation often finds itself involved in world music through the cartographic representation of music or the mapping of musical styles to place;[85] Haynes offers a critique of this as it pertains to race.[86] Connell and Gibson examine the idea of spatial fixity, where continuity is valued over change, stability preferred to cycles of fashion, and which links music to particular places and establishes those links as traditions and genuine aspects of local cultures. They examine the ways "popular music is spatial – linked to particular geographical sites, bound up in our everyday perceptions of place, and a particular movement of people, products and cultures across space."[87] They aim to establish a "perspective on the relationship between music and mobility, the way music is linked to cultural, ethnic and geographical elements of identity, and how all this, in turn, is bound up with new, increasingly global, technological, cultural and economic shifts."[88] This relates further to the globalization discussion and its impact on world music. They discuss how authenticity is constructed for particular styles, genres, artists and releases. This particular mode of authenticity is in part constructed by attempts to embed music in place. This occurs in a number of ways: through

[80] Meintjes 1990.
[81] Taylor, 1997, xxi.
[82] For a detailed discussion of these notions see Robinson et al. 1991; Tomlinson 1991. Significant contribution to the discussion of globalization was made by Garofalo 1993; Goodwin and Gore 1990; Guilbault 1993a; Laing 1986; Slobin 1993.
[83] Aubert, 2007, 5.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Lomax and Erickson, 1971; Nash 1968. Also see: Lipsitz 1994; Keil and Feld 2005; Ventsel 2014 and Haynes 2013.
[86] Haynes, 2013, 32.
[87] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 1.
[88] Ibid.

ethnomusicological practice, in various mobilisations of tradition, in discursive constructions of place by songwriters and in the way audiences receive music.[89] Middleton suggests that authenticity is a slippery[90] notion, making clear that "essentialist perspectives construct authenticity in relation to concepts such as 'spontaneity' ('live'), 'grassroots' and 'of the people', in opposition to their antithesis: 'manipulation', 'standardisation', 'mass' and 'commercial', yet no genre of music could 'walk on to the historical stage in uncontaminated form.'"[91] Connell and Gibson argue that authenticity speaks in terms of facts that are verified as originating in a specific geographic location but that music as a fluid cultural phenomenon, it is a disservice to authenticity. There is no scientific criteria with which to measure it.[92] They make clear that "discussions of musical authenticity imply a different use of the term, constituting interpretations of the validity of music from particular contexts and in certain modes of consumption. What is 'authentic' is socially constructed in various ways."[93] Herein, the representation of culture is the focus, since representation, rather than the musical characteristics of world music, are thought to negotiate, convey and establish meaning within world music. In addition to authenticity involving cultural, geographical and ethnographic exactness, Taylor discusses authenticity in terms of "a person's positionality as racialized, ethnicized, subaltern and premodern."[94] This authenticity involves a "fidelity to a true self."[95] His critique of the above is that "all these authenticities have at bottom an assumption about an essential(ized), real, actual, essence."[96] In a similar vein Frith decribes being on world-music mailing lists as a rock critic in the 1980s where he "was always more aware of the authenticity claims of the music sent to me than of its exoticism. The difference at stake wasn't between Western and non-Western music but, […] between real and artificial sounds, between the musically true and the musically false, between authentic and inauthentic musical experiences."[97]

Commodification and Objectification

Linked to the foregoing themes of representation and authenticity is the notion of commodification, which is discussed in terms of the Other and power relations.[98] A step towards comprehending how authenticity is structured is to acknowledge sentiments of

[89] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 19.
[90] Taylor also discusses this "slipperiness" in Taylor, 1997, 13.
[91] Middleton, 1990, 6.
[92] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 27-8.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Taylor, 1997, 21.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid. Also see pp., 22-8.
[97] Frith, 2000, 307.
[98] Durham and Kellner, 2001, 22.

commodification, as so-called traditional or folk musics encountered other music-making practices. Many have critically engaged with the notion of commodification in world music, especially in terms of accessibility to 'Western' ears.[99] Haynes makes clear that notions of authenticity arise from the value placed upon music by those who listen and participate in world music festivals. It is not only this located value but its transformation as participants conceive music to be commodified and not true to its socio-cultural context. The relationship between music's use and exchange values as sounds are conceived as commodified is discussed here. Music is thus perceived as a sellable item, produced exactly for these purposes, mediated through markets and commodity exchange. This also connects to Haynes discussion of objectification where she argues that the "critical consensus about the analytically complex nature of world music is undermined by tensions within and between both commercial demands and aesthetic objectification of (world) music cultures."[100] According to Connell and Gibson

> the moment of commodification – as music is transformed from cultural expression to product, as traditions are usurped by change – is crucial. Binary relations established in considering such commodification constantly appear – between 'tradition' and 'contemporary' in folk revivals, in 'regional' traditions and in various expressions of 'roots' in music. Unpacking fixity implies that we begin by examining more closely notions of 'traditional' music and commodification, as they establish the character of a particular form of authenticity.[101]

Musical Transformation, Synthesis and Hybridity

Commodification is often accompanied by transformations. Taylor speaks of unfamiliar music in relation to western consumption and commodification; "to "understand" or "appreciate" world music, it has not only to be presented by an intermediary but commodified as well, as if commodification somehow refines world music into a familiar and intelligible consumable item."[102] Aubert discusses this transformation in terms of traditional music where he discusses conservativism, "[T]raditional music is not in any case the picture of any original purity, or that of an intact musical past; alive, and therefore subject to change like any organism, it always expresses the present, showing the confluences and stages that have marked its course production."[103] Diversity in musical production is both celebrated and critiqued within world music discourse. Frith attends to the notion of transformation by turning to the discourse of hybridity that surrounds world music.[104] He makes clear that

> musical creativity always involves cultural borrowing; changes in musical tradition don't mean the loss of cultural identity but articulate the way it changes with circumstances. The

[99] Elrmann 1993, 1996a; Meintjes 1990; Feld 2000; Mitchell, 1993, 314.
[100] Haynes, 2013, 54.
[101] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 19.
[102] Taylor, 1997, 31.
[103] Aubert, 2007, 22.
[104] Frith, 2000, 309-10.

> fact that such hybrid forms become popular internationally, are traded in the global marketplace, is analytically irrelevant; the meaning of local musics must be refereed to local conditions of production.[105]

The 'traditional' and 'modern' often come into discussion of transformation, in this way, concentrating on migrant music, attending to cultural contact between the center and the periphery or the local and the global as well as colonialism and capitalism.[106]

The discussion of authenticity is often followed by that of hybridity,[107] which Frith argues has become, for scholars, "a way of condensing a number of arguments about globalization and identity, drawing on potential readers' understandings of postmodern theory."[108] He makes clear that scholars have adopted two different analytic approaches, namely, "detailed studies of local practice,"[109] which departs from "established accounts of musical syncretism, of the ways in which musical styles develop through a constant process of borrowing and quotation,"[110] and "grand theories of the global condition,"[111] that discuss commercial global conditions. According to Taylor "[f]ew terms are bandied about more in discussions of contemporary musics than 'hybridity,' a term believed to capture the kinds of mixtures of musics prevalent in this era of globalization or transnationalism."[112]

The methodological steps taken in the above presented literature features a mainly theoretical understanding of the world music phenomenon. Case studies, such as that of the *Graceland* album, are often provided in order to explore theoretical arguments. The research methodologies often also employ some qualitative methods, mostly using ethnography.

Justifying and formulating the empirical research question

Departing from the above exposé of the literature, the present section leads to the formulation of this project's larger research question: How can meaning ascription be comprehended in the experiences that world music-making enable? This makes a significant contribution to knowledge in the field of world music in the following way: Evidence of the literature review and its selected texts that discuss world music through the theoretical concepts presented, suggest that the performance practice of world music has not been considered as part of the phenomenon. This research argues that a consideration of the performance practice also

[105] Ibid., 312.
[106] Connell and Gibson 2003; Turino 2000.
[107] Weiss 2014; Frith 2007; Hutnyk 2000; Taylor 1997, 2007; Aubert 2007; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Connell and Gibson 2004; Haynes 2005; Bohlman 2002.
[108] Frith, 2007, 154.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Taylor, 2007, 140.

contributes to knowledge in the field of world music. This work illustrates through its methods how the theoretical discussion extends into the performance practice, in doing so it elaborates and enriches world music studies as it departs from where the extant work left off and thereby extends upon it. In this way, music is positioned as a mode through which knowledge is transported.

Outline of the state of scientific research and knowledge in respect to academic practice – world music performance practice and festival research

World music festival literature include sociological approaches such as Haynes and Hutnyk,[113] a geographic approach is considered by Connell and Gibson,[114] and Aldskogius.[115] A musicological approach was attempted by Kirkegaard.[116] Others have concentrated on the music festival, but did not have world music as a central subject.[117]

The festival has been discussed in terms of technological development as the subject of the internet underscores modes of marketing and consuming. On the promotion of music festivals online, Morey et al. concentrate on the internet and its performance in constructing the festival experience.[118] They highlight how festival forums enables the festivalgoer to be a year-round participant in the co-creation of the festival. Thus they explore how music festivals are "extended online,"[119] focussing specifically on "the different ways of engaging with the festival online can be seen as a reflection of wider socio-economic factors that have shaped the relation between festivals, festivalgoers and the internet."[120] They attend to the ways in which participation online is "a manifestation of the wider practices of consumption and identity-construction that characterize neoliberal and post-industrial society."[121] The authors underline how platforms such as YouTube aid in the sharing of festival-videos, identifying "the ways in which online platforms extend and multiply the meanings and identities of festivals and festivalgoers,"[122] doing so by "mapping the ways in which contemporary music festivals exhort festivalgoers to engage with music festivals such that they both consume and produce – or co-create – the festival experience."[123] What is important for this current work is not the use of the

[113] See: Bennett et al. 2014; Delanty et al. 2011; Hutnyk, 2000; Jowers 1993.
[114] Connell and Gibson 2003.
[115] Aldskogius 1993.
[116] Kirkegaard 2005.
[117] Anderton 2011ab; 2007.
MacLeod 2006 discusses the "post-modern festival" as a reflection of late capitalism (see: Macleod, 2006, 222-37.)
[118] Morey et al. 2014.
[119] Ibid., 254.
[120] Ibid., 251.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid.

internet but how through it a paratextual frame is generated which contributes to world music discourse and questions involving how it continues to inform music-making. This approach is important for this work seeks to advance the transdisciplinary nature of a cultural musicological approach within the studies of world music. It highlights how the discussed concepts and critiques emerge from particular case studies within, and the historical context of, the category – they mainly emerge from theoretical endeavours. The issue within world music studies is that the above critique manifests itself primarily within theoretical frames, which leaves the aspect of world music performance practice unengaged in discussions of world music.

Methodology

In cultural musicology, music is approached through the concepts that emerge from within music-making, and, herein theories are formed conceptually, thus the research has in part a concept-based methodology. Because of this, insight is gained into both world music and it's theoretical/conceptual frame. With a conceptual approach that grows out of music at festivals, I will interpret the socio-cultural processes that are enacted in both musical performance and music-making practices.

The primary goal of this study is to conceptualize how music is presented and performed at world music festivals. My goal here is to further the analysis of world music performance practice, bringing forth the argument that staged bodies and musics have their own biographies, strategies, and journeys that refute their inscription as mere cultural objects. The research examines the discursive formation of world music, that is, those structures and associations that underpin expression, referring not only to that which is communicated, but to the modes in which communication, information, knowledge, thoughts and sounds are circulated, and regarded as meaningful through framing practices. Additionally, this study searches to illuminate what music *does* within this formulation; how music disrupts those expressed views of the paratextual framing and musical performance. It will demonstrate the ways music acts as an agent of meaning through its capacity to situate festivalgoers in relation to each other.

To explore the above order for the above to be explored, this research embraced, in part, a qualitative approach, using in-depth interviews and conversations in order to examine world music performance practice, the interaction between self and other at the world music festival and the role of musical performance herein. A cultural analytical approach to contemporary world music performance practice, allowed for the following questions: What are the socio-cultural, economic and political situations that influence music-making practices within the festival space? How are musical meanings ascribed in processes of framing world music within

the festival space? And what are the motivations of those involved in these framing practices? In examining questions such as these a qualitative approach enabled me to understand the underlying motives of those who engage in music-making. Here, attitude and opinion research draw attention to the myriad of perspectives that exists within world music, this was done through having one case study per chapter.

I interviewed six musicians; I had conversations with festivalgoers, and observed musical production, and artist-participant interaction. I supplied questions for the different musical case studies within the field, and recorded performances and interviews (where possible). The interviews provided insight and an entrance into the various ways people make music, their likes and dislikes, and allowed me to position world music performance practice as a sonorous spectacle. Qualitative research is particularly well suited for the exploration of world music performance practice because it allowed me to analyse and discuss music's agency and to understand how and why people conduct themselves, think, and attribute meaning as they do within the festival space. This approach aided in acquiring in-depth and intimate information about how world music is practiced. I took this approach to inspire conversation about the perception of the festival. Interviews varied from one festival to the next. The number of participants selected was negotiated in terms of the festival length. At WOMAD twenty-eight participants were interviewed at random while at the Amsterdam Roots, fifteen were randomly selected.

This work attempts to underscore how the notions discussed in the literature review, which are usually discussed in historical, disciplinary, or theoretical terms, emerge within the performance practice of world music. This methodology serves as a comprehensive account of how I gathered data and analysed it in pursuit of exploring the question: How can the ascriptions of meanings be comprehended as they emerge in the experiences that (world) music-making potentially enables? A question that pertains to musical performance[124] and what music *does* in its performance.

Moreover, it questions how thinking of music as discourse might aid in a shift from conceptualizing world music as an object of empirical knowledge, known merely for what it *is*, to music as a cultural practice through which processes of interaction enable knowledge or as a practice in which participants maintain a relationship to being in the world. This will lead to different perspectives for how I explore the question – what *does* music *do*? – if anything at all.

The research strategy involves selecting the festivals to be attended. The questions that this research project puts forward arose during the summers of 2010 and 2011 in the Netherlands

[124] Cook 2003; 2013.

where I visited Keti Koti, Amsterdam Roots Festival, The Hague African Festival and Afrique-Carib in Almere. Throughout this work, I will reference these festivals, in addition to those attended for this research project. Thus data collection occurred at the attendance of world music festivals such as the Amsterdam Roots Festival, The World Music and Dance Festival (WOMAD), the Antiliaanse Feesten Hoogstraaten, the World Music Expo (WOMEX), as well as cultural events such as Berlin's Karneval der Kulturen, The Hague's African Festival and Keti Koti. In addition to attending the 2010 edition of The Amsterdam Roots festival, where I mainly engaged in participant observation and conversation with both participants and musicians, I participated in the 2013, 2014 and 2015 editions as well. The 2010 edition will be drawn from and referenced in examining framing processes involved in a steelpan performance at the festival. I chose the Amsterdam Roots Festival because it is a six-day festival consisting of in- and outdoor performances, the festival is comprised of diverse podia across Amsterdam, such as Carré, Sugar Factory, Bimhuis, Tropentheater, Paradiso and Melkweg and a number of open air stages at Oosterpark: The "bass stage", "world stage", "club stage", "dance court", "urban groove", a "kids @ roots" area and a "world market". In 2014 the open-air part of the festival was held at Java Eiland and in 2015 at Park Frankendael in Amsterdam. The Amsterdam Roots Festival has taken place every summer for the past 32 years. A brief foray onto the festival website or a general reading of the festival flier, as well as a walk around the festival grounds shows it to be a distinctly appropriate field for inquiry on the practices involved in framing world music.

I attended WOMAD (UK) in 2014 because it is the largest world music festival. It is a four-day festival where I attended performances including drumming, singing and dance workshops daily. I had seven open ended interviews with festivalgoers daily as well as conversations with musicians and festivalgoers. I chose the Antiliaanse Feesten Hoogstraaten because it is a themed two-day event in Belgium, making it the largest Caribbean festival in Europe. Here I interviewed musicians and recorded various performances. WOMEX was selected because it is the only one of its kind having an exposition, day- and night-cases as well as a DJ summit. All those (producers, booking agents, performers, programmers, record label representatives, distributors, festival organizers and promoters) involved in world music gather yearly at WOMEX. At this fair-like exposition I engaged in extended conversation with record label representatives, programmers, distributors, musicians and festival producers. After selecting and attending the above events, I reviewed the notes made and the recorded material. As part of the analysis preparation for the collected material at the above festivals, I concentrated on their length, the music hosted, entrance fees, accessibility and participant demographic. Based

on this collected data, I sought and concentrated on the conceptual approach that emerged from the collected data and used the concepts of framing, spectacle and musical performance as tools in the data analysis. The second step I took was to ascertain what kinds of musical practices were presented at the attended festivals. Attending festival performances, close readings of festival booklets as well as listening to both performances and albums of the programmed musicians also provided research material. This data contributed to obtaining a holistic outlook of the programmed music and the role of it within the festival space and other performance spaces. Thus, this helped me to establish the various functions of music at the festival. At these events, all held during the summer months, I collected data through empirical methods such as participant observation, conversation, participant and artist interviews which were both prepared having closed- and open-ended questions. This approach promoted narrative accounts; thereby allowing festivalgoers to recount, in an uninhibited fashion, details of their festival experience, musical biography, and the impact of their festival experience on their lives, both personally and within their socio-cultural environment. It also helped me to understand how festivalgoers speak about world music; how in conversation or in interviews responses are constructed, how language use and terminology allude to how festivalgoers conceive of world music when they share their preference, views, experience and knowledge of music. For this reason, I used motivational research, which enabled me to construct the interconnection of agency, the ascription of diverse meanings, pleasure, knowledge and entertainment within the festival space. This approach entails discovering the motives and desires of participants using in-depth interviews as its function. I employ this specific method to explore the different meanings ascribed to particular musics and the underlying motivations and desires that such meanings produces within the festival space. This was done by additional interviews specifically directed towards programmers, radio DJs and producers of world music stages. As a method, motivational research identifies the meanings that are given to world music by its participants and how this category and its performance practice comes to hold particular approve.

Questions to festivalgoers circled around their appreciation for world music and the particular events and performances that they had experienced before the interview or conversation and any that they wanted to attend after. Most of the interview questions concentrated on the participant's personal festival experience and the role of world music herein, on musical biography, that is, what the participants listen to or what concerts are attended on a regular basis (music taste), and their perception of the music-making, staging, programming and sound at the festival. Participants were chosen randomly while musicians

were chosen because of their particular music-making. I asked musicians questions pertaining to their performance expectation as well as their process in carving a performance set list. These questions contributed to my research question for they gave insight into participant's approach to music-making and impressions or reactions to programming. This allowed me to explore the research question as it gave insight into the way festivalgoers participated in the scheduled events and how they were also productive in the festival experience. Analysis of this data enabled me to understand how music facilitates relationships between festivalgoers. The conceptual approach through the notion of framing enabled a reflection and analysis of the gathered data. Analysis of the field material occurred along the terms of sonorous spectacle and musical performance. This analysis was thus situated in relation to that which was produced in framing practices and musical performance, that is, how agency in the framing practices of the festivalgoers related to musical agency. The overarching question that arose from the research data, and the one that will be discussed in the first and second chapter, concerns the notion of framing, that is, the structuring matter that surround musical performance and the processes involved herein. The festival space yields a multitude of aspects that stand out in attempts to analyse musical performance. Examples of these aspects are: the on-stage interaction between musicians and that between musician and audience, the name of the festival and stages it presents, introductions of musicians that serve the purpose of welcoming them on stage, festival programming, festival fliers and other forms of literature that circulate through the festival space. The discussion of framing will attend to the name of the festival, questioning what implications it might have for those particular musics – world music – that are a part of it; it will also focus on the festival flier that described the performance context of music-making and the instruments used to do so. The concept-based approach allows for particular concepts such as framing, the spectacle, musical performance and notions as roots to routs to be used as tools in the analysis of data. So for example the amassed literature – in the form of fliers, booklets and adverts – that circulates the festival is here positioned and analysed as paratextual framing in efforts to move towards conceiving how a particular performance practice is established. Genette explains that paratexts surround a text and prolong it, in order to present it.[125] What remains noteworthy here is that paratexts can exist on their own without the dominant text, or in this case the performance, since, before and long after the end of the musical performance or festival, fliers, websites and YouTube videos remain. The analysis of paratexts may not be ignored, for it aids in defining the status of discourse and contributes to the acquisition of knowledge within the festival and thus connects to relations of power. It included an

[125] Genette and Maclean 1991, 261.

examination of the language used, musical references that were made and the musical styles discussed. The logic behind the use of this method lies in the examination of non-musical elements that surround the musical performance but do not stand outside the staged performance. Festival titles, trailers of partial performances at various other festivals, artist and participant promotional interviews and spots, press releases, magazines articles, fliers, blogs, cover art, pictures, billboards, websites, and videos all aid to present music and are an integral part of world music discourse. I will analyse the above by assessment of the particular narrative that emerges as dominant, how it is told and the use of language herein. This will give insight into the role of framing and how through it a distinct performance practice emerges which envelops and has impact on how musical meaning is negotiated. Thus the perspectives that the study seeks to promote as its findings emerge from a conceptual analysis of the data. Cultural analysis is used here with an objective to employ, develop, and analyse theories and concepts that emerge from within the festival space as well as music-making. According to Frith

> world music could be seen as a site on which new sorts of cultural theory could be developed, new futures glimpsed. The academic concern is no longer to apply some general theory of development (the cultural imperialism thesis, say) to music as an example, but rather to read the meaning of globalization through world music.[126]

The objectives here are to employ and develop theories pertaining to the musical performance at world music festivals. In an ever changing world of music, where (post-)colonialism, globalization and notions about multiculturalism are apparent, there remains ideas of hybridity that increasingly inflect on the way music is conceived. Grounding this research theoretically by using a concept based method in the analysis of data, will supply insight into the relationship between cultural theory and music-making as well as what cultural musicology has to offer the study of music. The spectacle, a concept located within the field of visual sciences and media studies will be developed further within this musicological work. This enables me to examine the concept of the spectacle, which is conceived as occupying itself with the optic, can be relevant in theorizing the sonic/otic. The objective here is to understand power relations within world music discourse. The findings and perspectives that arise herein are reliable because the conceptual approach in tandem with music analysis lays them bare and in doing so they are able to be examined and continuously tested using the same or different case studies and throughout different disciplines.

Departing from here an analysis situating the musical case studies within a broader historical frame took place. This allowed me to establish how geographical movement, passage of time and different framing practices are related to the contemporary situatedness of world music and

[126] Frith, 2000, 310.

its performance practice. In sum, the use of the outlined methods proved best in changing the approach from that of isolating music from the other events and, herein, situating musical performance in a binary juxtaposition to the sonorous spectacle, to considering music as part of the sonorous spectacle and towards an understanding of music as in relation to the various events offered at the festival. The above methods also enabled a particular open aspect needed for navigating the festival space. In this way, there was a balance in attending performances that often times would overlap, interviews with participants and scheduled artist interviews.

Music-making and performance provide another layer of action within the festival space and contribute towards world music performance practice. Therefore, music analysis provides a step towards understanding how music is positioned and positions itself within the festival space. My music analysis concentrates on the instrumentation involved in the different music-making practices that are presented throughout this work as case studies. It examines the instruments used in the musical performance, concentrating on the material or objects used in instrument building. These objects, often previous to being used as instruments for music-making, occupied other functions; for example the turtle shells played by the Garifuna Collective, the satonge made out of a milk can, wood and a guitar string, the steelpan made out of oilbarrels or. Additionally, an analysis of how these are played and the use to which they are put in staged performances will be discussed. Herein I consider the way in which they are voiced, how they contribute to or change the timbre and texture of the ensemble as a whole, especially through the different ways these instruments are voiced and the interaction that takes place in their arrangements. In addition to instrumentation, I concentrated on melodic and motivic developments within musical arrangements and compositions, paying close attention to melodic and rhythmic themes that arise. Antiphony is discussed because the negotiation of voices herein often includes that of festival participants. An analysis of call and response brings forth a discussion of how a relationship is enabled between the self and other. I will attend to rhythmic patterns and development in music-making (focusing specifically on cross- and polyrhythms, rhythmic cadenzas and -breaks, ostinato and claves). I do this because the above musical dynamics were usually rewarded with a reaction from those who attend the performance. Repetition and the use of musical dynamics are also taken into consideration as these are seemingly used to build momentum and also contribute to changes in audience response. This facilitates an understanding of the grounds on which meaning is conceptualized by festivalgoers within the festival space. The musical characteristics described above have all aided in particular musics being termed and established as world music, this makes analysis of these musical characteristics important in my analysis of musical meaning in contemporary world

music performance practice.

Finally, analytical techniques, derived from discourse analysis is connected to the above for the way in which it brings that which emerges from the circulated literature, interviews, conversations and acts involved in music-making into relation with each other. Discourse in this research is a precise structure of behaviours that convey something about those who engage in music-making, and the socio-cultural and musical inference that said agents hold. In consonance with Foucault, I will explore the space that discourse creates, the knowledge that is generated as 'truth', the diverse agencies involved in (world) music discourse and the network of power relations that are established through various modes of discursive action. According to Lois Tyson, "discourse is a social language created by particular cultural conditions at a particular time and place, and it expresses a particular way of understanding human experiences."[127] Discourses, following Weedon's reading of Foucault, are ways of constructing and establishing knowledge in tandem with social practices, subjectivity and power relations.[128] Foucault considers discourse as that which can be spoken and thought in addition to who is included in acts of speech and when. He is also concerned with the authority held in this articulation for they hold meaning and are a part of a power relation. Those who hold this authority are involved in "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. In addition, discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention."[129] The main reason for using this mode of analysis to study world music performance practice is the way it aids in identifying the manners in which power structures help to maintain a dominant idea of music and how world music should be presented within the festival space. Concentrating on methods used in discourse analysis, allows a foray into the negotiation and relation that takes place in the festival space, it meliorates the prospect of how representation, power, and agency are defined and how these attributes inform particular musical, cultural, social and political practices. Foucault insists that we should consider the "chief enemy"[130] and that instead of criticizing the instances of power that are closest and blatant, we should look to agency. To sum up, the main objective of these negotiations is not to assail "such or such" an institution of power, group, or elite or class but rather a technique, a form of power."[131] I will take this a step further and suggest that in addition to criticizing the technique and the form of power, we also analyse the process involved in constructing and maintaining these techniques. In this way, instead of concentrating

[127] Tyson, 1999, 281.
[128] Weedon, 1997, 105.
[129] Foucault, 2002, 54.
[130] Foucault, 1982, 780.
[131] Ibid., 781.

on pre-existing structures within world music performance practice, attention to the processes behind the construction of these structures and the way in which they are reinforced is warranted.

I argue that discourse highlights modes of utterance and conveys something not only of the emoted expression but the medium through which it is channelled, its cultural framing, and social establishment. Analytical tools of discourse analysis will be used, granting close attention to discursive practices within world music, while concentrating on music discourse, that is, the discourse *about* and *of* music. The first concentrates on that which is textually and linguistically articulated about music. The second entails the performance of music and the acts of music-making that contribute in bringing festivalgoers into a relation with one another. Music discourse is also involved in how power relations emerge from framing practices and how knowledge is produced. These methods compliment each other simply by bringing different aspects of the festivals into conversation. For example the literature spins a particular narrative of music-making, however musical performance potentially presents another; one which is contrasting, which partly becomes evident in music analysis and the interpretation thereof. Another example might be considered in how music analysis serves the purpose of questioning how music *does* or *does* not perform, while asking: what, if any, agency music might have within the festival space. I used this composite of methods (participant observation, interviews and conversations, music-, paratext-, and discourse analysis, motivational research, and cultural analysis) because of the way it highlights the different events that make up the world music festival and contribute to establishing a particular performance practice. The methods relate in the following way: participant observation, interviews, conversation and motivational research within the festival was part of the data collection process, however it also gave insight into the ways festivalgoers did or did not engage in music-making. The way they positioned themselves in relation to music, to the events hosted by the festival, to the world market and restaurants for instance can be analysed by using a conceptual approach such as the sonorous spectacle for the discussions it enables of consumerism and commodification. Literature, in the form of booklets obtained at different stands at the global market or in the form of the festival programme booklet, is readily available within the festival. This literature is another layer within the festival space that contributes to the performance practice in addition to the music-making and the movement of participants. The two methods (music analysis and a conceptual approach), compositely used, gives birth to different interpretations of the various events available at the world music festival. I use the outlined methods for they enable a clear conceptualization of my research question.

I recognize that these particular methods impose certain perspectives on the diverse experiences afforded by music. I also recognize that experience is affected by the actions of all participants, including myself, so that each method mentioned above reveals and explores different perspectives aimed towards the same point, observing music as a socio-cultural experience and as a way to relate to the world. By combining disparate perspectives, I obtain a more firm basis in reality; an important, meaningful and complete experience of music-making, as well as means for approaching certain notions within world music. It is imperative to question the extent to which the answers and reactions provided in this research are the offspring of the used methods. It is important here to consider and reflect on the influence I, as a world music researcher, asking questions about (world) music-making, had on the description of research interlocutors as more or less critical about the term and the category as they might actually be. Moreover, the expression of their ideas may be defensive because of the vast amount of (academic) critiques surrounding consumerism and appropriation, and the repudiation of world music. The responses might be discursively adjusted to particular imagined expectations on the interlocutors' behalf of the researcher and in relation to the extensive academic attention to the subject. I have not relied solely on the conceptual or theoretical tools mentioned above; I have merged multiple ways of knowing, comprehending, interpreting culture and practice within contemporary world music performance.

The work that will emerge then is a complex fusion of the cultural theories that I believe can help to interpret the complex terrain that world music navigates and give new insights and perspectives of the voices that sustain the musics of the world and the people involved in their making. The specific composition of my identities and my relationship to world music means that this is in many ways as multi-vocal as its subject matter. As an Aruban born steelpan performer holding a Dutch nationality, I have often found myself on multiple sides of the world music debate and the contentious socio-cultural divide of 'us' and 'them'. I make no claims to offer a complete history of world music, nor have I attempted to explain every facet of world music's effects on contemporary music-making practice. Instead, I provide case studies of music-making and performances, such as Kobo Town and The Good Ones' performance at WOMAD 2014 or the music-making practices of Staff Benda Bilili. I chose steelpan music-making as a case study for I argue that unofficial histories are expressed within this practice, yet through the framing process of the festival this aspect remains hidden in the flier description and as a multiple of different music-making practices are collected under the pennant of roots. I do so in order to exemplify musical agency within the festival space and the interaction that takes place at the individual stages. These case studies attempt, in their presence in this work,

to make clear that various individual performances are composite of the world music category and its performance practice, though they are lumped under said category.

Ethically, measures were taken to insure privacy and confidentiality, to do so names of research informants were changed and recordings were not uploaded on any online platform. Recorded interviews were done so with permission and with the understanding between researcher and informant that this data will only be used towards academic ends.

1 World music framing practices: Roots and mapping music to place

> [F]raming is what happens before the spectacle is presented.
>
> *~Mieke Bal*[1]

I am often mindful of those panmen[2] who, at the inception of the steelband movement, were involved in the development of the steelpan in Trinidad and Tobago. How many of those that went before the panmen bled, were arrested and fought to express themselves through music-making.[3] I think of their survival strategies and how making music, instrument building and experimentation were an integral part of their ventures to struggle against inequality.[4] Their achievements are heard today with astonishing clarity. And yet the work still to be done remains equally daunting. I am mindful of both them and us – pan players, archivists, researchers, teachers, arrangers, composers, builders, adjudicators, tuners and listeners.

In the beginning there was deprivation and vehemence. Colonialism's quartet of oppression, subjugation, restriction and discrimination were performing a perpetual tune. Still, music-making remained prodigious. Through experimentation and imagination, the steelpan emerged and took form as a reclamation of personhood.[5] Restrictions and ordinances provided a space within which those marginalized had no self because it was denied by the ruling class.[6] Thus, steelpan music-making aided in the reclamation of selves. There was a relish for music, for manipulating materials, often discarded objects, so that they would produce a particular sound for making music. The possibilities of these materials were explored and the inventiveness expressed in music moved those cast to the periphery and affected the way their personhood

[1] Bal, 2002, 137.
[2] I use the term panmen because the inception of the instrument's development only involved men. Women were excluded from steelpan music-making practices because of the atmosphere of violence and the social stigma involved. Additionally, there is little attention granted to the role of women in the historical discussion of the early phase of the movement. Today, women are involved in every facet of the instrument as arrangers, composers, performers, educators, researchers, builders, and tuners.
[3] Hill, 1972, 45.
[4] Ibid., 49.
[5] Personhood refers to those who were considered non-human or sub-human in order to justify their unjust treatment as their humanity continuously came into question under the slavery system, and later under colonial rule. Before the question of identity can be addressed, the reclamation of personhood and the processes involved herein beg attention. According to Davis "the most extreme form of human alienation is the reduction to the status of property" (2010, 53). The reclamation of personhood describes the process involved in a movement from considering the human as an object and treated as a thing, to being recognized as a person. Additionally, it includes a movement from a state where the humanity of those enslaved and under colonial rule was denied, to one of having that humanity recognized.
[6] Hill, 1972, 50.

was realized. Panmen worked and played in secret, knowing fully well that whatever progress made through their ingenuity could be confiscated and destroyed by their rivals or the authorities. It was not solely the sounds that mattered, but what was being articulated in the use of sound: aspects of daily lived experiences that remained indescribable and left unarticulated – anger, vengeance, disdain. They had this shrewd knack to structure an unsound reality – play it, abridge it until it complied – which yielded a profound knowledge. An eloquent discourse resides in their music-making. Their musical endeavour was discredited and scorned, yet in spite of this their obstinacy is audible today. In their performance, they remain the gauge by which humanity is calculated and marked. Those who, intentionally or unintentionally, ignore your history, or seek to exoticize in order to commodify, are liable and must therefore answer. Panmen have always performed exquisitely. Steelpan music-making defended people who couldn't defend the practice or themselves. There is movement now away from the periphery and onto world stages. That which moved and disturbed behind the bridge[7] is remembered. Coming from the edge, from the periphery, a disturbance so distressing now completely gathers those involved in music-making – as it did then and will continue to do.

Posing questions: Steelpan and the concept of framing within the world music festival

The above was an attempt to start at the beginning. It sought to provide the house into which we are welcomed. This mode of framing serves the purpose of letting the reader learn what went before and how that informs what is currently taking place, as well as to anticipate the actions that will follow. Widely dispersed genres of music are increasingly caught in a web of framing processes as they make their pilgrimage through the world music festival circuit. This chapter crafts its remarks in relation to the notions of roots, diversity, multiculturalism and difference. I engage with these four terms because they emerged from the festival space, from conversations with participants and musicians, stage presentations and introductions of artists, festival website descriptions, and the literature that was distributed throughout the festival space in the form of programme notes, fliers and magazines. The major part of this chapter is a schematic framing of ways, often taken for granted, of thinking about music and identity that are echoed in everyday language.

In analysing certain framing processes at world music festivals and expos such as WOMAD and WOMEX, this chapter challenges the apparently self-evident significances of the above

[7] Dudley 2007.

four terms. Both as they are casually used in conversation and deployed in relation to music-making, they inhibit us from questioning what it means to celebrate and inhabit a multicultural[8] society. The questions I will explore in this chapter, then, are these: How can we complicate the notion of roots as it emerges in world music? What is the musical implication of 'roots', and how does it inform musical performance at the Amsterdam Roots Festival? How do particular processes involved in framing music, within the festival space and world music discourse at large, prevent us from acknowledging the intricate ways it clandestinely structures practices and ideologies? Framing will be the spindle around which I will attempt to develop other concepts. I will explore such notions as Otherness, difference and acts of Othering, movement, and transformation. As we proceed through the emergence of framing processes in world music stagings, we should recover an entire throng of kindred topics and questions. The festival flier at the 2010 Amsterdam Roots Festival is the first example of framing that I will present. The flier described Pamberi Steel Orchestra as having the main goal of "warming up the public with *bomp* tunes."[9] It describes the ensemble and music-making further: "the sunny and rustling pansounds makes the Pamberi-team the perfect opening act for a wonderful day filled with *amazing* and *surprising* music from all cardinal points of the world."[10] This description prompted me, as a steelpan player, to reflect on the history of the steelband movement and the goal within it to move away from such tenets and conceptions as held by the festival flier.

If music is considered a cultural practice which enables an expression, how do processes of framing music affect or inform it? If this expression is elicited through interaction, what role does framing play in informing the latter? As acts of interaction and expression give rise to experience, how does framing contribute to it? This chapter is interested in the process by which the performance unfolds, by which music emerges as an experience. To tentatively explore this, I turn to the building process by which the steelpan emerges as an instrument for music-making. Here I concentrate on the interaction between the builder and the used material as well as the way sound was worked with. I attempt to implicitly exemplify the value that was placed on instrument development and the knowledge acquired during that process. This knowledge emerged from the processes of interaction and expression. Framing is implicated herein for it involves how these processes are thought of and described in the festival's discourse on the instrument and the music-making in which it is involved.

[8] This term is used pervasively within world music discourse and casually throughout the festival space by participants and research informants. There are numerous scholars that critically engage with the term such as Spivak 1986, 1993; Hall 2001; Bhabha 1994; Bennett 1998; Back 1996 and Modood 2013.

[9] "Het publiek opwarmen met bomp tunes." (Italics and translation by the author).

[10] "De zonnige en ruisende panklanken maken het Pamberi-elftal tot de perfecte openingsact voor een heerlijke dag vol met verrassende muziek uit alle windstreken."(Italics and translation by the author).

I will raise the question of framing practices, exploring what a comprehension of framing both as a mode of presentation and as a concept might enable. How can knowledge of the mechanisms involved in framing practices be used to better comprehend world music performance practice? I will explore the idea of being able to think through the advantages of framing as it emerges within contemporary world music performance practice. I aim to stretch the boundaries of both world music and the concept of framing so that the way we, as music scholars, relate to Otherness can be accommodated on grounds of greater critical equity.

At the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2010, Trinidad and Tobago-based Pamberi Steel Orchestra performed on a stage that also accommodated performances of Les Espoires de Coronthie from Guinea, Haggai from Mongolia, Staff Benda Bilili from Congo, Kassav from Guadeloupe, Lura from Portugal, and Izaline Calister from Curaçao. The above performances were implicitly collected under the category of *roots*. Pamberi performed on Sunday the 20th of June 2010 on the Alliantie stage at Amsterdam's Oosterpark from 1:00pm to 2:40pm. The way that the festival flier described Pamberi Steel Orchestra was in exoticizing terms. This language, as well as the naming of the festival and musics that are comprised under it, will be discussed at length in this and the following chapter. The introduction to this chapter relates to framing since it locates me as part of the steelpan movement as a player and as a researcher within the festival space. It also presents my engagement in acts of framing steelpan music-making. In addition to the previous questions posed about framing, I ask: In what way does framing inform musical performance within world music festivals and how is this to be conceptualized in terms of how difference is negotiated? Following this, another question presents itself: how has world music in general, and one performance practice in particular, been constructed, maintained, and presented as a musical Other through acts of framing. Before directing my attention towards framing, I will now briefly discuss the importance of musical performance as a notion.

The concept of musical performance remains foundational for approaching the above questions. In addition to Nicholas Cook's[11] understanding of musical performance, discussed in the introduction, I argue that music situates participants in a particular relation to each other. According to this argument, musical performance allows participants to rethink their personal socio-cultural experiences, in this case, within the world music festival space. Moreover, it enables them to make sense of their relationship to their surroundings and community. It furthermore affords a consideration of how they relate to others, themselves, and the spaces and places within which they dwell because it brings them into these relations. Finally, through music-making, participants are able to contribute and thus co-produce the world that is

[11] Cook 2003.

presented to them and to reflect on this presentation. These points will be elaborated in the case study discussed in this chapter.

Steelpan building: Interaction and expression

To preliminarily underscore the acts of interaction and expression, I turn to John Dewey,[12] who explains that expression and art demand material employed as media. He suggests that an innate relation endures between medium and the act of expression. He states that "only where material is employed as media is there expression and art […] Everything depends upon the way in which material is used when it operates as medium."[13] Etymologically, he says, "an act of expression is a squeezing out, a pressing forth,"[14] but Dewey explicitly recognizes that "the mere issuing forth or discharge of raw material is not expression."[15] Therefore, expression involves interaction, for it is only

> through interaction with something external to it, the wine press, or the treading foot of man, juice results […] Even in the most mechanical modes of expression there is interaction and a consequent transformation of the primitive material which stands as raw material for a product of art, in relation to what is actually pressed out. It takes the wine press as well as grapes to ex-press juice, and it takes environing and resisting objects as well as internal emotion and impulsion to constitute an expression of emotion.[16]

One may ask what this expression brings to the notion of framing. It simply raises another question: how do particular modes of framing (such as the festival's description of the instrument) interact with, and relate to, musical expression (instrument building, music-making and the expression of self herein).

For Dewey, the work of art involves the construction of experience through the interaction of diverse circumstances and forces, within which the thing expressed is wrung from the producer.[17] He considers the act of expression to be a "construction in time, not an instantaneous emission"[18] and explains that the "expression of the self in and through a medium […] is itself a prolonged interaction of something issuing from the self with objective conditions, a process in which both of them acquire a form and order they did not at first possess."[19] Drawing on Dewey's argument, I turn to my case study to show how both the oil barrel and those involved in transforming it into a musical instrument acquired "a form and order [it] [they] did not at

[12] Dewey 2005.
[13] Ibid., 66.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 67.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 68.

first possess."[20] This step also serves to historically situate the steelpan and outline a preliminary contrast to the festival flier.

In the 1940s and 1950s, discarded oil barrels[21] were used to manufacture and produce the steelpan.[22] Baraka succinctly sums up the impetus for this music-making when he writes: "the use of the African drum was strictly forbidden, other percussive devices had to be found, like the empty oil barrel that led to the development of the West Indian steel bands."[23] The instrument created when an empty 55-gallon oil barrel, with a thickness of 17-18 gauges, is stretched to accommodate space for the placement of pitches. The top surface of the barrel is sunken into a concave shape through manually hammering with a six-pound sledgehammer;[24] the depth depends on the particular voice of the instrument. When the required depth is achieved, the pitches are strategically drawn out with a piece of chalk or permanent marker and then shaped to be slightly convex.[25] The outline of the pitches is then indented using a flathead nail and a hammer – a process known as grooving which prevents interference between the pitches. Depending on the voice of the instrument, the skirt of the barrel, which has numerous acoustic functions, is measured and cut off with a cutlass; the lower voices have longer skirts than the higher voices. The steel is then subjected to heat. In this process, called tempering, the metal is heated and rapidly cooled, enabling the instruments to retain their tuning. When the metal turns blue because of the heat, water is poured over it so that it cools rapidly. Hereafter, tuning hammers are used to achieve the correct pitch. Overtones and fundamentals are strategically placed in such a way that a particular timbral quality is attained. Strobe tuners are commonly used to ensure the precision of this process. After tuning, a protective coat of some sort is added for practical and aesthetic reasons – usually a layer of chrome, paint, or a powder finish is used to prevent rusting and, for some, to make the instrument look more attractive. The instrument is now fine-tuned and blended with the other instruments in the steelorchestra. This means that the tonal quality and the pitches of the pan are matched with those of the other instruments of the orchestra. Kim Johnson notes that "a tuner does not tune a steel pan the way one does a piano tuner [*sic*] or a guitar – by turning a key that tightens a string. Rather, tuning a

[20] Ibid.
[21] In addition to oil barrels, other barrels are specifically produced for the purpose of making instruments.
[22] The steelpan is the only acoustic musical instrument to be invented in the 20th century. This chapter does not seek to give a comprehensive delineation of the historical development of the instrument; instead it will outline particular socio-cultural aspects that surround the instrument and the ways in which these were negotiated in framing processes at the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2010. For a comprehensive historical outline of the instrument's development, see Nurse 2007; Stuempfle 1995; Johnson 2011, 2006, 2002, 1998; Dudley 2007; Smith 2013 and Hill 1972.
[23] Baraka, 1963, 27.
[24] See example 1.1 and 1.2. Pneumatic tools are also used to get to the required depth.
[25] This process is referred to as 'marking the notes'.

steelpan means actually manufacturing the instrument, which begins with selecting a drum and ends with making the notes vibrate at precisely determined rates."[26]

I have outlined this process to practically explore how expression took shape in these music-making practices and to delineate how Dewey's conception of experience construction, as it relates to interaction and expression, might be related to steelpan music-making. Moreover, outlining this process allows a foundation to explore the construction of experience through an interaction with steelpan music-making within the festival space. The notion of interaction in world music should not be glossed over, especially when aspects of hybridity, diversity, difference, multiculturalism and collaborations come into consideration.

The above discussion of instrument building as it relates to interaction and expression can be now brought into conversation with the description of the steel-orchestra in the Amsterdam Roots Festival flier. I conceive of this description, including that on the festival website, as a paratextual entity that forms a constitutive part of the framing process of world music – it surrounds the musical performance and contributes to music discourse. According to Genette and Maclean, the paratext is a "reinforcement and accompaniment of a certain number of productions"[27] like the preface of a book […] they surround the text and prolong it, precisely in order to *present* it, […] to *make it present*, to assure its presence in the world, its "reception" and its consumption."[28]

Pamberi's music-making was described in the festival flier as "traditional oil-barrel sounds."[29] However, the instrument building processes outlined above suggests that the steelpan can no longer be simply considered as an oil barrel. This leads us to the enigma of conceptualizing framing practices in relation to musical performance.

Bal and the Concept of Framing

Bal's principal concern is inherent in her title, *Travelling Concepts*. She is opposed to providing precise definitions, historical delineations,[30] in depth discussions, or concrete overviews of canonical concepts, such as framing, used in her rough guide, since doing so would focus on correctness but would not fully take into account what concepts actually do.[31] She states:

> To make the point about concepts travelling more forcefully, I refrain from *defining* the concepts, at least in any traditional, methodologically 'responsible' way. Through this deliberate omission, I aim to foreground their vulnerability as well as their strength, to

[26] Johnson, 2011, 268.
[27] Genette and Maclean, 1991, 261.
[28] Ibid.
[29] "Traditionele olievatensound" (translated by the author).
[30] Bateson 1955; Goffman 1974, 1981; Entman 1993, 2003.
[31] Bal, 2002, 16-7.

> better underscore the power of their flexibility: their travelling as a heuristically productive endeavor. Instead of definitions, a trajectory is proposed.[32]

Bal argues instead for a flexible concentration on what concepts do, and what they help the researcher to do. Bal states: "the counterpart of any given concept is the cultural text or work or 'thing' that constitutes the object of analysis. No concept is meaningful for cultural analysis unless it helps us to understand the object better on its – the object's – own terms."[33] Further,

> concepts, […] are sites of debate, awareness of difference, and tentative exchange. Agreeing doesn't mean agreeing on content, but agreeing on the basic rules of the game: if you use a concept at all, you use it in a particular way so that you can meaningfully disagree on content."[34]

From my perspective, a concept acts as a companion, in asking questions; it renders an entity, sustaining its weight and producing it as a cultural experience.

In the present study, framing is used both as a theoretical concept for understanding musical performance, and as a way of describing cultural practices such as world music festivals. Bal writes: "while groping to define, provisionally and partly, what a particular concept may mean, we gain insight into what it can do."[35] In this way, we may gain insight into what framing both means and does by analysing its function in music and in the context of the world music festival. Bal suggests that "a concept moreover, bears on an object, a cultural 'thing': a text, an image, a sculpture, a piece of music, a film; or, [...] a collection of things framed to form an exhibition."[36] According to Bal,

> the verb form 'framing' –provisionally distinguished from the noun 'frame'– solicits the question of its object. But, as a verb, it also predicates that object, not in the abstract void of theoretical reflection, but in time, space, aspect; it frames it. Thus, all by itself, even on the level of the word alone, 'framing' questions the object-status of the objects studied in the cultural disciplines. This questioning results in a repositioning of the object as alive, in ways that have to do with the 'social life of things' rather than with a metaphysical hypostasizing of objects or a rhetorical strategy of personification.[37]

Framing also involves active participation in bringing cultural objects into focus. "Framing adds baggage to the staged image because it is *performed.* Framing, in fact, is a form of performing."[38]

Since music is not an object but a cultural practice, its performance is crucial to how we comprehend the concept of framing as it emerges in the festival space. Thus, I use the concept and practice of framing within the festival space to contend that experiences arise through acts

[32] Ibid., 60.
[33] Ibid., 8.
[34] Ibid., 13.
[35] Ibid., 11.
[36] Ibid., 137.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 173.

of showing, presenting, displaying and exhibiting in which music gains multiple meanings. Framing is – in the performative sense – the act of trying to bring a cultural object or phenomena into focus, making it more apparent, and thereby both problematizing and interpreting that which is framed, and is what this chapter seeks to examine. This discussion will provide the basis for comprehending discursive production and the ascription of meanings.

Framing is a concept that embraces both practice and theory. Bal writes: "it seemed crucial to make framing work as both an act and a concept, to 'speak' only by means of retrospective connotation, not through actualized, explicit, denotative speech."[39] Bal introduces the concept "to resolve the dilemma […] that binds theory and practice in a potentially deadly embrace."[40] This embrace is that between "(academic) concept" and "(cultural) practice."[41] Bal notes, "the concept [framing] travels back and forth several times between (artistic) practice and (academic) theory, and between (academic) practice and (artistic) theory."[42]

Until now, musicology has been slow in critically considering the concept of framing and this study seeks to take the first steps in filling this gap. Because it is located in musicology, this study conceives of framing as a mode of representation and, as such, a representational practice. In acts of framing, particular events are brought to the fore. Here meaning is negotiated and, given to the framed performance, and in doing so, those involved in framing contribute to a particular discourse.[43] Robert Entman says:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.[44]

The notion of salience is essential with regard to the framing of world music festival stages because framing not only produces the event and cultural object[45] but also highlights particular aspects of them. The previously discussed flier description is an example of this.

There are different ways of framing events, experiences and actions, and of weighing them. Indeed, Bal is precise that framing has potential meaning; it *is* something and *does* something. I will now turn to the steelband movement, which will serve as a foundation for my critique of framing practices at the Amsterdam Roots Festival.

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[39] Bal, 2002, 170.
[40] Bal, 2002, 16.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Framing and its contribution to discourse will be discussed in chapter 5.
[44] Entman, 1993, 52.
[45] I use the word object here because at most festivals there is a world market where objects from different cultures and countries are sold.

"Steeldrum, steeldrum … who is goin' to stop this bacchanaling?"[46]

The steelband movement presented a new perspective on the human condition within hegemonic socio-cultural circumstances; it provoked critical attitudes and encouraged a vision of a collective production of a better everyday experience for those involved in music-making. The development of the steelpan is often described in terms of a movement,[47] referring not only to the development of the instrument itself but also to performance practices and related socio-cultural and political movements. In this section, I articulate the intricate relationship between musical performance, movement and transformation, showing that the instrument surpasses its festival description. Highlighting the steelband movement subverts some of the stereotypical, routine, conventional insights about the instrument and music-making practices evident in the above preliminary description of the festival flier.

The steelband movement was made possible by a life of musical syncretism that also fed into socio-cultural developments in Trinidad and Tobago. This movement took place a mere two decades before decolonization and independence from British colonial rule. Thus, the steelband movement coincided with the transition to a post-colonial state – a crucial moment in this country's political histories. This study is not about the pan pioneers.[48] Rather, it is about the fabric of the lived lives, the space that these, at the time, oppressed peoples inhabited as they grappled with colonial rule and what they did musically within particular socio-cultural circumstances. It is also about those music-making discourses and epistemologies that were developed in relation to (post-)colonialism.

To gain a firm grasp on what music does, I consider how a socio-cultural being was and continues to be articulated through steelpan building and playing, highlighting music's capacity to enable experiences. This musical movement, the only movement of its kind at the time, created a space for examining Afro-Trinidadian personhood; it expressed and embodied a critical posture – both aesthetically and politically – towards socio-cultural relations that at the time generally considered to be immutable. Johnson says of those involved in the instrument's development that

> the desire to build, the strength to persevere, and the vision to design sprang from different sources, such as the general psyche of the people as formed by their history and environment […] So if the instrument objectified the cultural heterogeneity of the society then steelbands in general reflected its psychological character, and each specific band was an expression of its members and its immediate environment. Here individual and

[46] Brathwaite, 1973, 49.
[47] Cf. Stuempfle 1995.
[48] Pan pioneers usually refer to those first men who were heavily involved in steelband building and tuning. They are considered to be the stalwarts of the steelpan movement.

> collective achievements were closely intertwined, the brilliant insight of an individual being a distillation of the collective intelligence.[49]

During this developmental period, the instruments were quite limited in range, and as a result only nursery rhymes and simple calypso melodies could be played on them.[50] Unsatisfied with these limitations, pan developers were eager to expand the range of the instrument. After WWII and the departure of Americans from the army base, Anthony Williams built a full-size instrument from a 55-gallon oil barrel, which was left behind on the American base.[51] Though pans are not standardized, this barrel size remains the most conventional. However, experimentation on lager barrels continues to take place.[52]

Instrument development came out of an atmosphere of prohibition. The Peace Preservation Ordinance was invoked in 1884 and the government was successful in prohibiting canboulay.[53] This ordinance prohibited torch processions, drumming, dances, or assemblies of ten or more persons with sticks. The restriction on African drumming gave rise to the development and implementation of different forms of percussion to accompany the carnival procession: musical expression took place through the playing of bamboo pipes cut at different lengths that were stomped on the ground and tapped with a stick to produce a range of pitches and rhythms. This was called tamboo bamboo.[54] Stuempfle explains that:

> The use of bamboo percussion occurs both in Africa and in other parts of the Caribbean. Among the Ga people of Ghana, for example, bamboo tubes are tuned to three different pitches and are stamped on slabs of stone. Three different rhythms are produced to accompany female choruses. In Venezuela bamboo stamping tubes known as *quitiplas* are made in four different sizes and accompany Afro-Venezuelan songs. Such instruments, in varying sizes, are known as *ganbos* in Haiti and became particularly popular during the United States military occupation (1915-1935), when drums were often seized and destroyed […] Tamboo bamboo was never outlawed, but attempts were made to suppress it.[55]

As well as not being loud enough, the constant stomping of bamboo during the procession, caused it to split. Thus, bamboo could not survive the entire procession or carnival season, leading to the implementation of discarded metal objects, which proved to be more durable and were used to accompany the bamboo ensemble. These included spoons struck against glass bottles, chac-chacs,[56] and discarded objects such as old sweet oil cans, biscuit tins, trash cans, paint tins, car brake- linings and drums, tin cans, and other scraps of metal. In sum, "the pan

[49] Johnson, 2011, 267.
[50] Example 1.3 (0'00"-1'34").
[51] Cf. Stuempfle 1995.
[52] There are various differing accounts of who was responsible for what part of the instrument's development. For further reading on the development of the instrument, see Stuempfle 1995; Nurse 2007; Dudley 2007; Smith 2013 and Johnson 2011.
[53] Canboulay is a festival that celebrated freedom in the years leading up to emancipation.
[54] Example 1.3 (1'35"-2'21"). Also, see example 1.4 and 1.4a.
[55] Stuempfle, 1995, 23.
[56] Maracas or gourd shakers.

was made from discarded material."[57] Some of these discarded objects are still used in the contemporary steelband, appearing in what is known as the engine room.[58]

It is crucial to recognize that steelband was a forbidden music form. It was negatively viewed by the ruling upper class as well as by educated middle-class Afro-Trinidadians.[59] Its negative reception was spurred by the fact that it came out of African music-making practices and expression; it came from the backyards, from behind the bridge, from places and people that were conceived of as tainted, and from those places associated with vagrancy, sin and violence. The disdainful view of the steelband's origin was not the only reason for it being stigmatized; it was also the perception of what the music evoked, that is, what it made participants *do* physically. The profound physical reaction to the music that makes you 'jump up and wine', 'free-up', 'break away' or 'lose yourself' was looked down upon. An example of this musical provocation is described in the song *The Steelband Music* where Lord Kitchener tells of how

> the steel, the grater and the oil drum will make
> you jump up and make you hum.[60]

Or in *Pan Night and Day* where he sings

> The pan compel you to move
> I doh care what anybody say
> The pan put you in the groove
> Make you feel to jump up and prance for jouvé.[61]

In sum, arising from an environment of revelry, steelpan had an inextricable connection to carnival and the practices that preceded it such as kalinda[62] and canboulay. Additionally, being the creative expression of marginalized socio-cultural outcasts, mostly of African descent, its development was under social and cultural stigma. Johnson explains that

> steelband was rejected for both its stigma and its initial musical primitiveness […] *They suffered for it*. Everyone had stories about the chastisement they received from their parents for being seen in a steelband. […] as Sparrow later recalled in song 'if yuh sister talk to a steelband man / the family want to break she hand / put she out, lick out every teeth in she mouth'.[63]

Neville Jules describes the risk that used to be attached to walking openly with the instrument. He speaks of the police raids and how those involved in music-making were imprisoned, the instruments thrown away – and how more instruments were made available for playing shortly

[57] Johnson, 2011, 263.
[58] Example 1.5.
[59] See Hill 1972.
[60] Aldwyn Roberts "Lord Kitchener", *The Steelband Music*. Album: Lord Kitchener, 1964, track no. B2.
[61] Aldwyn Roberts "Lord Kitchener", *Pan Night and Day*. Album: The Master at Work, 1984, track no. B1.
[62] Kalinda is a stick-fighting dance.
[63] Slinger Fransisco "Mighy Sparrow", *The Outcast*, 1964. Cited in Johnson, 2011, 261, 268.

after the raids.[64] Prince Batson writes: "The policemen overstepped their authority. They used to waltz over your wall and come quite in your yard, although you're fenced around, and come and take your pans. And take it to the police station."[65] The police efforts were in vain: development of the instrument and movement does not simply halt at this point but continues into the present. Johnson makes clear that the steelband movement was "larger and stronger than any other social force in the society at the time, except that of the trade unions."[66] He states, "the steelband movement evoked in its members passions deeper and more noble than any they had felt before. Lacking the pragmatism of the trade unions, the steelband movement was built on love."[67] Furthermore, he writes that

> the steelband movement was moving in the direction of Western music. That is, towards Europe and away from Africa […] the pan drifted towards a melodic and harmonic sensibility that grafted European conventions on to the African base because of the cultural environment within which the steelband movement was invented and elaborated […] The European chromatic scale became one of many ingredients which made the pan and its music an African-European hybrid […] the young steelband men knew, in however inchoate a fashion, that they were a part of something larger than their otherwise narrow lives.[68]

The steelband movement is often referred to as a revolution.[69] This leads me to discuss music-making as a political act. Stating that this music and music-making are revolutionary does not necessarily imply that those involved had a distinct political agenda. It simply suggests that the questions being posed and put forward through music-making probed, examined, and experimented with modes of anarchy and transformation; this movement was an attempt to recognize and correct particular errors, judgments, and vulnerabilities within the social and political system.

The steelband movement was a response to the previous generation. It challenged power in a way that led to serious consequences for musicians at that time. The movement was practical and utilitarian, which might create the impression that music alone has the capacity to make revolution, whereas in fact the revolution is the product of a broader socio-cultural movement of which music-making and artists are just one part. Therefore, while recognition of the political

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[64] Stuempfle, 1995, 51. In 1935 Neville Jules founded Hell Yard, currently Neal and Massy Trinidad All Stars Steel-orchestra in Port of Spain. He was the captain, builder, tuner and arranger of the orchestra. He introduced new instrument voices to the steel-orchestra and is credited as the first to build both the Grundig which is the forerunner of the guitar pan and the bass pan. He is also considered together with Mannette as the one who put rubber on the sticks and to play the instrument with two sticks instead of one, making harmony possible. Jules was the first to arrange European art music set within a calypso tempo, known as bomb-tunes.
[65] Stuempfle, 1995, 51. Prince Batson, as Neville Jules, was a captain and long-time member of Hell Yard.
[66] Johnson, 2011, 267.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid., 263, 267.
[69] Ibid., 267.

dimension of the movement is crucial, steelpan building and music-making were not in themselves revolutionary. Rather, the steelband movement was aligned with a socio-cultural movement whose goal was the basic transformation of society. Johnson explains:

> young men born in the 1920s came of age in Port of Spain in the late 1930s and early 1940s to form a generation defined by their alienation. They were cut off from patois and, by extension, from the traditional repository of creole folk culture, the privacies and psychic refuge of the older generation. Exiled from this culture, those teenagers reached back into their African sensibility and defiantly reinvented their culture afresh. They launched a movement which fabricated from the physical and cultural debris of their modern industrial society an ensemble of new instruments. Their instrument, their ensembles and their movement befitted the era and society in which these men found themselves and as such they were loud, brash and fundamentally democratic.[70]

This is exactly what made this particular musical development a socio-cultural and political movement. Music-making was at the heart of the movement, and was also the practice that inspired it.

Roots: The second example of the festival's framing

The festival naming is an important aspect involved in framing music; the naming provides insight into how the staged musics are conceived. Thus, the name "roots" presents the second example of framing. My critique of this example discusses how this framing fixes music to a geographic location. Connell and Gibson comment on fixing music to a geographic location:

> Both 'fixity' and 'fluidity' operate as umbrella terms that reflect a range of spatial practices, tendencies, decisions and physical objects. 'Fluidity' or 'spatial mobility' indicates flows of music, people, capital, commodities and money across space. This emerges in a number of ways in music.[71]

To explore this topic, I first focus on the naming of the festival to problematize the relation between the notion of roots and musical performance in the festival framing. Following this, I will bring together the discussion of roots with the history of the steelband movement.

Besides the festival name, the overt emphasis on roots can be gleaned from my conversations and interviews with festival participants as well as stage presentations and artist introductions by MCs. The attempt to take the listener on a journey through roots was exemplified as I stood at a stage at the Amsterdam open-air while the MC continuously stressed the collective journey we, as listeners, were taking through the different places (where she placed great significance on countries). "We took you to [insert country], then to [insert country], now we will continue with this musical journey to [insert country] as we discover the music of [insert next musical

[70] Ibid., 278.
[71] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 9.

performance].”[72] The notion of roots is also exemplified in the world market and the objects for sale there, which are mostly specialties framed as distinct to particular geographic locations, as well as the food stalls that offer the chance to try new dishes and cocktails from all over the planet. Roots is thus a central tool for making sense of the travel that will be undertaken in this festival experience. The notion of roots offers itself as a space for exploration, entertainment and enjoyment; it offers the promise of exploration and discovery.

But ‘roots’ is not simply a tool that offers the prospect for travel and exploration. Historically, the concept of roots retains a principal role in discussions of authenticity and fixity; it is embedded in discussions of (post-) colonialism, in processes of establishing ownership and in practices of Othering. Aubert suggest that

> [i]t [world music] was a quickly made thing, and the press contributed by generating such expressions as roots, world beat or world mix which, independently of the ethnic and geocultural origins of the music concerned, have imposed themselves vigorously within Anglo-Saxon jargon as designations for three world music sub-categories.[73]

He outlines world beat, world mix and roots as part of world music sub-categories, of the last he says, following Leduc:[74]

> according to the dictionary of music, ‘the expression designates rural traditional music, rooted music, of the land of origin, and by extention nowadays, the original forms hitherto non-modernised or non-digitalised of a musical genre’. This field of application corresponds roughly to that of the terms ‘ethnic music(s)’ and/or ‘traditional music(s)’; it refers to […] ‘folk music forms which have not undergone any kind of transformation’. […] any music of oral tradition is by definition ‘changeable’.[75]

This propensity to transform is the reason that the above “depiction of roots is thus misleading.”[76] The presence of roots at cultural and world music festivals such as Amsterdam Roots Festival invokes the ‘roots to routes’ conception.[77]

‘Roots’ speaks pre-eminently in a language of Othering and, in terms of music, of establishing authenticity and the origin of music-making practices. The very fluid nature of music and the way in which it generates interaction and movement is undermined by a concentration on roots. This potentially reveals the capacity of such an emphasis to operate as an ideological tool that presents a fixed Other. Within the festival space, a process of selection, presentation and conceptualization of music takes place as information is communicated about the music and music-making practices, as well as about notions of culture and multiculturalism. This process is evident throughout the

[72] An MC at the Amsterdam Roots Festival who continuously introduced every act with a version of this formulation. Often relating it back to the frame of the roots festival.
[73] Aubert, 2007, 59.
[74] Leduc, 1996, 551. (Cited in Aubert, 2007, 59).
[75] Aubert, 2007, 59.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Gilroy 1993 and Hall 1999 are among others such as Bhabha 1994; Appiah 1992, 2005; Clifford 1997; DeLoughrey 2007 and Gustafson 2001 who seek to question the movement involved in the relationship between roots and routes.

world market, the food stalls, and other events and experiences that can be consumed within the festival space, such as the diverse stalls offering alternative healing practices. In this way, the production and promotion of celebrating roots introduces the conceptions, insights, perception and misconceptions of those involved in establishing a world music festival under the rubric of roots. The way festivalgoers approach the events that comprise the festival and the framing of roots can have an effect on how they experience them and the lengths to which they will go to both co-produce and consume the festival. As a researcher in conversation with numerous participants, I found that festivalgoers are commited to having a positive experience of the festival. This speaks towards the collective responsibility participants feel to co-produce the festival. Thus, I suggest that the notion of roots is collectively created from the effort that goes into the festival production. The festival is founded on the particular knowledge generated from the name and the conceptions that are brought to bear on it in the efforts of creation.

As I have outlined above, the process of framing roots, which includes both the conversations that circulate the festival space as well as the naming of the festival, enables festivalgoers to embark on a journey that stands in contrast to their everyday experience. This remains one of the main reasons why people attend (world) music festivals. I now turn to the naming of the Amsterdam Roots Festival in order to explore the implication that this particular mode of framing has on world music and the festival itself.

An Image of World Music: Framing and the Festivalgoer (interview data analysis)

New conjectures in musicology, cultural theory and post-colonial studies are providing a space for, and making it necessary to, rethink the notion of roots in relation to cultural identity, movement, and music-making practices. Connell and Gibson make clear that:

> The notion of roots and origins has remained important to many styles and releases, and mobilisations of tradition at various times have constituted imaginative affronts to disempowering economic and cultural change. Yet while there have always been searches for genuinely local music, correspondingly there have always been problems in 'freezing' the music and cultures deemed to be authentic. Searches for roots and celebrations of tradition became more complicated and contradictory. Authenticity could provide the raw materials for depictions of exotica and otherness, which only trapped, rather than liberated, subaltern identities.[78]

I seek to further explore the problem of 'freezing' the music and cultures deemed to be authentic in relation to processes of framing at the Amsterdam Roots Festival. I will explore how this discussion informs the musics subsumed under the world music category. The festival website offers an historical description of how it came into existence:

[78] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 43-4.

> In 1983 the first Africa Roots Festival took place in Melkweg, Amsterdam. The term world music did not exist yet […] It became increasingly clear that elsewhere in the world there flourished popular music that presented new music to Western ears. This resulted in the first World Roots Festival: a musical world tour along the most diverse cultures and styles. World Roots lasted ten years until it was decided in 1998 to integrate the program with other festivals in Amsterdam, creating the Amsterdam Roots Festival.[79]

As will be discussed, the use of botanical references to characterise the multi-dimensional relationships that music has to places leads to a peculiar sedentary conceptualization of music; this is reflected in world music discourse as well as in its performance practice. To ground these arguments, I will now analyse points of view held by festivalgoers about world music, and particularly the musics staged at the Amsterdam Roots Festival. I selected these views from all the editions of the festival I attended. They stood out in their frankness and were not in the same tone as those that spoke of "entertainment" and "having fun". For this reason, these points of views are not held across the board and are not representative of every festival participant. Thus, what is presented here is not exhaustive of this particular discourse either.

In the summer of 2014 I was walking around part of Java Eiland, which held that year's edition of the Amsterdam Roots Festival. I was not walking to any place in particular, but observing the festival space. It was a rainy afternoon that encouraged shelter under the available tents that hosted numerous musical performances. Some festivalgoers, attempting to escape the rain, were hurrying in all directions, while many just embraced the weather at the open-air stage. As the drizzle picked up, I ducked under a tent which invited a comment from a passing festival participant. A younger man turned and commented on the weather and how it was not conducive to the festival 'atmosphere' in general and particularly to the 'upbeat sunny' music it hosted. I simply nodded in slight agreement. He asked whether I was an artist performing. I said no, I was a researcher. What exactly did I research? World music performance practice. That was unusual, 'comical', yet interesting – 'te gek' he said, because he never heard of anyone doing that. He found it comical, he went on, because he never thought this music could be studied, that this kind of thing would yield much. Wanting to take flight, however, I engaged with this one festivalgoer and tried to quiet the silent bells and whistles I was hearing. "Well", he said,

[79] Translated by the author from the festival web page: "Als een 'festival van bevlogen liefhebbers' ging in 1983 het eerste Africa Roots Festival in de Melkweg van start. De term wereldmuziek bestond nog niet. In het kader van Amsterdam Culturele Hoofdstad in 1987 vond de Amsterdam Roots Meeting '87 plaats: een grootschalig festijn met muziek uit alle windstreken op vele locaties. Daarmee werd ook een nieuwe publieksgroep bereikt: de allochtone inwoners van Nederland. Het werd steeds duidelijker dat elders in de wereld populaire muziekstijlen opbloeiden met voor westerse oren nieuwe muziek. Hieruit ontstond het eerste World Roots Festival: een muzikale wereldreis langs de meest uiteenlopende culturen en stijlen." http://amsterdamroots.nl/info/over-roots/ (accessed on 11-05-2014).

"I suppose everything can be studied." Seeing this little opening, I probed further, for the sake of research.

His name was David and I came to understand that he conceived of the musics performed at this festival as "ethnic music that is different to what we Westerners are used to. It is fun on such a summer day [regardless of the interspersed downpours] to not have to think too much and simply enjoy the music."[80] He was especially interested in and happy to learn 'how these people dance' and their music-making customs. From this seemingly trivial and simple encounter, not the only one of its kind, I will draw firm conclusions. David's thought about world music could be chalked up to a lack of critical edge, however there seems to be more at play here, something closer to obstinate ignorance. The negligence in acknowledging the history of the Other has been addressed in critical and cultural theory. If there is more to the above articulation than an absence of critical engagement, what is it? Of course this is not a novel phenomenon and for this reason we are perhaps able to unexcitedly analyse it for new perspectives it might yield. In attending to interview data, the broad view uttered by David was typical of festival participants' descriptions and interpretations of music-making. This might suggest that the naming and framing involved reinforces the dominant perception of world music by festivalgoers. Fundamentally, world music is conceptualized as what informants described as "music that is outside mainstream Western musics."[81] This is of course not a novel conceptualization within world music discourse and is not necessarily what this work seeks to discuss. I bring this view into discussion to exemplify how processes of framing might come from such a position and how this position informs and further reinforces the above comprehension of world music. The above understandings of festival participants were often expressed in an uncritical or reflective way.[82]

Another common position is articulated in this statement: "Most of the performances come from minority communities; they are not a part of this consumer or modern world, which gives the music a natural characteristic that we don't have."[83] This statement is most revealing in what it says about the festivalgoers themselves. Thomas, for instance, whom I spoke to during the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2015, proposed that "this kind of music is not the norm," that it is "all the *other* music that *we* [westerners] don't know that exists." He stated further that the goal of world music is indeed "to bring all those musics in a contained fashion to our mp3 players

[80] David, Festivalgoer, interviewed at Amsterdam Roots.
[81] Lisa, Festivalgoer, interviewed at Amsterdam Roots.
[82] I found critical positions being asserted at WOMEX, where most delegates were emphatically weary of the category and chose to conceive of the category as one that is all-embracing, of all musics from all over the planet.
[83] Tim, Festivalgoer, interviewed at Amsterdam Roots.

and our local parks where we can enjoy it on such a gorgeous summer day."[84] Concluding, he said, "it is like you take a journey for a day or perhaps an hour to another place." The above expressions conceive of world music as an Other world – as an antithesis to the 'West'.

In analysing the above notion of journeying elsewhere, I asked myself where exactly this journey takes the participant. This question is connected to the view stated by the above informant that world music brings together all musics from outside the 'western norm' in a contained, controlled way. This position also implies a certain homogeneity; within the same roots framing, many musics and music-making practices with diverse histories are presented as essentially the same. The music is perceived to express another culture, but in relation to the notion of roots presented within the festival space, questions remain regarding what, which, and whose culture?

Research informants discussed world music in different ways. Some thought the term world music as a succinct way to refer to everything outside of western art music and jazz, while others such as Barbara[85] saw it as exactly "the opposite", saying that she prefers to "speak of the music in specific terms doing so referring to their genre or their sub-genre." Homogeneity, as it is positioned at the heart of world music discourse, is involved in the framing of music at the Amsterdam Roots Festival.

I thought to conclude this part of my analysis on a positive note in which I would argue from a critical position some advantages that thinking through music and how that would enable a good riddance of dated prejudices about world music. This would take a step towards conceiving the musics that the category comprises not through its historical baggage but as people making music, relating to their everyday experience. But as I analysed the interview data and thought more about the historical conception of world music they reveal – the pervasive framing practices and its grip on the views of some participants – I realized that hopefulness is impracticable. Music and geographical movement are inherently intertwined, as will be illustrated in the case study in chapter two. Thus, we can deduce that sedentariness is not inherent to music, people, or culture.

In the foregoing, I have examined the implication of framing music in terms of the notion of roots. This was done to expand on the following points: First, the diverse musics embodied within the category tend to be conceived as distinctly partitioned in terms of geography. Second, the relation of music to place tends to be positioned and specifically conceived in terms of a metaphor relating to botany (roots), that is, as organic, fixed in both discursive and performance

[84] Thomas, festivalgoer, interviewed at Amsterdam Roots.
[85] Telephone interview with Barbara, a producer and world music festival programmer.

practice. Third, music has a tangible connection to place, but to think of music as being rooted in a concrete locality is to idealize and objectify it. This conception reflects an incarceration of music within the frame of 'roots'. Lastly, focusing on how music moves is more fruitful for an apprehension of what music *does*, that is, how it performs. This approach does not conceive music as bound to or rooted in a distinct location, but instead highlights how, through its performance, music allows socio-cultural experiences.

Roots and the geographical incarceration of music

The notion of "roots" is inherently bound up with connecting people, objects, music and other cultural practices to a distinct place. "Roots" has been an important metaphor in studies of place attachment and the linking of people to place, soil, land, specific cultures, territories and distinct ethnicities. Roots often signifies emotional and physical ties and origins with a specific physical and geographic place, it suggests an anchorage of people and culture.[86] According to Connell and Gibson, "tying music to cultural histories and a sense of 'roots' in place becomes an important part of strategies to locate sounds in a cultural plane to buttress authenticity and maximise sales."[87] To claim different musical performances as "roots", sets in place a frame of reference to which a negotiation of meaning is brought. The encounter that is generated here is infused with responsibility.[88] Additionally, the naming of the festival in relation to the particular musics that are staged – world music – makes the name 'roots' important. The aspect of responsibility emerges especially as framing and the resultant reference that emerge involve both festival organizers and participants. Thus, both are responsible for producing the prism through which music is encountered as well as the response to that encounter. Put differently, the two groups, broadly conceived as organizers and participants, are responsible for the various meanings that are attributed to the staged musics. In this context, roots is a focalizer as part of the festival name, and as such is partly responsible for how the musics in its programme are considered, interacted and engaged with. The notion of roots helps me to understand the framing process and how this process structures meanings ascribed to music and performances. Framing, as mobilized in relation to understanding the naming of the festival in relation to musical performance, is a "concept that is methodologically reasonable and responsible precisely because it opens up rather than shuts down possibilities of analysis across divisions of disciplines."[89] Herein the focalizer – roots – comes into relation with that which it focalizes

[86] Cf. Malkki 1992; Cohen 2008; Gilroy 1993; Connell and Gibson 2003.
[87] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 113.
[88] This responsibility is discussed in relation to the paratext by Genette and MacLean, 1991, 267.
[89] Bal, 2002, 140.

– the world music festival and the music performed. As a researcher, I am responsible for exploring this relationship. Bal expresses the nature of this responsibility as she explains

> [T]he act of framing, however, produces an event. This verb form, as important as the noun that indicates its product, is primarily an activity. Hence, it is performed by an agent who *is responsible*, *accountable*, for his or her acts.[90]

Implied in the naming the Amsterdam Roots Festival is a connection of music to a particular place. This relation is increasingly acknowledged in musicology as a sphere to be critically engaged in afresh. Connell and Gibson explain that:

> [A]uthenticity was constantly sought by embedding music in place, yet such efforts never guaranteed commercial or critical longevity. In contrast to attempts to concretise music in place and in social practice, popular culture reflected the fluxes and fluidity of contemporary life, unsettling binary oppositions established in earlier phases of modernity (tradition/contemporary; authentic/inauthentic; local/global) by refusing to be pinned down. Music had been, and would continue to be, mobile.[91]

Common apprehensions of terra (soil, earth), home, territory, boundaries and roots are embodied in ordinary[92] and scholarly language. According to Gilroy

> modern black political culture has always been more interested in the relationship of identity to roots and rootedness than in seeing identity as a process of movement and mediation that is more appropriately approached via the homonym routes.[93]

The notion of roots remains steadfast in nationalist discourses and in studies of globalization, nationalism and migration.[94] My intent here is to critically analyse such inherently territorialized concepts of identity in respect to musical movement. I will juxtapose my critique of this framing with the previously discussed steelpan movement, as well as with the bomb-tune case study that follows in chapter two.

To begin to grasp how movement informs transformation in music and music-making practices, it is necessary to construct a general scaffold which further illuminates the problematic relationship between the notion of roots and music. This means examining certain ideas inherent in notions of roots, origins, geographical place, and national identity.[95] It also means asking what a musical approach to roots is, as well as what forms such an approach takes.

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[90] Ibid., 135. (Italics mine).
[91] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 44.
[92] The everyday use of the term can be gleaned from the emergence of the roots reggae genre where the lyrical theme calls the listener to acknowledge their roots as it generates a message of repatriation back to Africa.
[93] Gilroy, 1993, 19.
[94] Cf. Connell and Gibson 2003; Appadurai 1996; Hall and Gieben 1992, 2002. Also See Malkki 1992; Cohen 2008; Gilroy 1993.
[95] Having and or upholding a national identity is not the issue at hand. However, the nationalistic associations that accompany national identity remain problematic. "The problem of nationalism is not the desire for self-determination itself, but the particular epistemological illusion that you can be at home, you can be understood, only among people like yourself. What is wrong with nationalism is not the desire to be master in your own house but the conviction that only people like yourself deserve to be in the house" (Ignatieff, 1997, 59).

Haynes discusses the "mapping of music to place"[96] as she analyses observations of her research respondents on the relationship between music and tourism. She states that this relationship

> perpetuates the idea that music continues to unproblematically reflect specific places, mostly filtered through the idea of national or cultural difference. The mapping of music to place in this way simplifies the transnational character of the production and consumption processes that constitute world music […] the problem here is not that an association, historical or otherwise, is made between music and place, after all for many groups music does remain a site to reinforce and culturally engage national and racial or ethnic identities for political effect. The problem is when such relationships are exclusive and assumed as a priori […] an essentialist approach to musical identities, when a fixed relationship is assumed between musical expression and social groups based on an immutable set of characteristics or origins, whether understood through nation class, culture or race.[97]

Places and nations are thus fixed in space; they are represented and locatable on a terrestrial globe or on a cartographer's map. The representation of the planet as a collection of countries, renders the globe as an inherently disintegrated field, partitioned by different colours, each located in their rightful place with borders that are outlined with thick squiggly lines. It is often supposed that each mapped country naturally possesses its own specific culture, including a distinctive musical tradition. These words are casually attached to the names of countries, as when one refers to "Trinidadian music" and "Trinidadian cuisine" or to "Cuban culture".

The roots of a tree can, by their very nature, only be found in one place. In discussing roots in relation to music, I argue that music as a cultural practice can never be rooted because *music moves*. Haynes,[98] citing Bohlman and Radano,[99] argues that "the privileging of music performed by those with, on balance, the appropriate […] cultural signifiers and/or located within a particular place reflects an assumption that the music will therefore be […] '*ipso facto* more natural, more authentic, because it is nourished by sources to which no other nation has access.'"[100] She argues that "this type of perspective […], rationalised through a commercial pragmatism, accentuates how music and musical identities are constructed through a racially essentialist lens."[101]

At the Roots Festival, world music became an emblem of roots and, by association, that of the cultural and musical *Other*. The consequences of this particular mode of framing are connected to the notions that music is a type of property that can be owned. The notion of roots implies that there is only one particular place of rootedness, suggesting that music is a genealogical *thing* rooted in the place that gave it life. Seen this way, it is impossible to

[96] Haynes, 2013, 67.
[97] Ibid., 67-8.
[98] Ibid., 69.
[99] Bohlman and Radano 2000.
[100] Haynes, 2013, 69.
[101] Ibid.

conceptualize music as that which moves and facilitates interaction. Thus, music is objectified and evokes a particular continuity not of interaction, negotiation and relation but of essence and origin. I argue that framing the festival in the terms described above produces cultural fragmentation and estrangement; even as diversity and multiculturalism are championed. When over thirty musical performances with different music-making practices are reduced to a conception of roots, music is made to appear as a neatly planted forest separated by and compartmentalized through geographical boundaries and positions of essences. This conceptual practice of geographic isolation that gives rise to notions of cultural diversity is reflected in discourses of multiculturalism and affords a celebration of cultural integration. There is an uplifting rhetoric and performance that goes along with this celebration of cultural diversity and integration[102] This rhetoric is characterised by slogans such as "we are one," "we are together," "let's dance," "be happy and celebrate diversity,"[103] especially in the way in which participants and musicians come together. According to Nathan Glazer,

> 'multiculturalism' is a term which many of us who have studied immigration and ethnic groups might have found perfectly satisfactory to cover our sense […] that American history and social studies should incorporate a larger recognition of American diversity […] Multiculturalism has now become a contested term, an epithet to some, a banner to others. Multiculturalism of some kind there is, and there will be. The fight is over how much, what kind, for whom, at what ages, under what standards.[104]

The questions posed above cause me to discuss this particular expression of celebration articulated by festivalgoers, doing so in order to complicate this expression in relation to world music. In response to this celebration of diversity, I thought yes, indeed, this is a place for celebrating cultural and musical oneness – and that, yes, it is certainly the case that music potentially enables this sense of oneness. However, we should not disregard the question of why this excitable statement became so pervasive and was so often repeated. As I negotiated the festival space in the four years that I attended it, I observed that one aspect was consistently overlooked or neglected: the memory or historical recognition that there was not always a celebration of integration and oneness within world music. Overlooked also was the fact that colonial rule was characterised by oppression and marginalization of certain forms of musical expressions that now fall under the heading of world music, such as the steelpan and calypso. Furthermore, the field of musicology remains divided with regard to the study of these musical

[102] This celebratory narrative will be discussed in the conclusion of the research.
[103] These phrases were popular at the diverse festivals attended for this research. They were repeatedly exclaimed by musicians, stage MCs, and participants. Research participants also conveyed some form or phrasing of these sentiments.
[104] Glazer, 1998, 19.

practices.[105] I argue therefore that before a reconciliation to celebrate roots, integration, multiculturalism, cultural diversity occurs together with championing the idea that there has always been a celebration of those musics that fall under the banner, that there might be a turn towards particular musical expressions subsumed under the world music category. Such examples speak of a different mode of being; where the celebratory nature did not happen and was not understood or experienced at the inception of music-making. This will be explored in the following chapter's discussion of bomb-tunes, in which I further complicate roots as a notion in music and identify the historical struggle to express musically that should also stand at the centre of this celebratory narrative. Bhabha notes that multiculturalism is a

> portmanteau term for anything from minority discourse to post-colonial critique […] has become the most charged sign for describing the scattered social contingencies that characterize contemporary *Kulturkritik*. The multicultural has itself become a 'floating signifier' whose enigma lies less in itself than in the discursive uses of it to mark social processes where differentiation and condensation seem to happen almost synchronically.[106]

Terms like roots, indigenous, third world, tribal, ethno and traditional have all served, at one point or another, to fix music, in one way or another, to *terra*. A compelling illustration of how music is territorialized can be found in the thematic framing of festivals.[107] Bal writes that "[t]hematics so often seem to be the sole alternative to monographic shows and so easily become totally ahistorical."[108] In the case of the Amsterdam Roots Festival it was a thematic framing of roots. That is, it ties music to geographical locations through ascriptions of origin and genealogy. Music is not only conceived as developing in a distinct place, but it *belongs* solely to that conceived place, in this sense, it is confined or imprisoned in those places through the ascriptions of immobility. That which is conceived to be world music is exhibited as naked, raw, and untouched;[109] it is presented as uncompromised and, most importantly for my argument, undifferentiated. The objectification to which I refer is evident in how contemporary world music performance practice is actively framed, whether through scholarly discourse or within staged performances. Now, as I turn to further analysis of research interviews, I argue that meaning is ascribed to music primarily as conceived through systems of order and structures as well as an object framed in the name of inclusion, pluralism and multiculturalism.

My intent has been to describe a phenomena that still plagues world music studies, for the notion of roots is a part of everyday language in critical discussions of world music. This chapter

[105] See Feld 2000.
[106] Bhabha, 1996, 55.
[107] An example of this is the Festival Afrique-Carib in Almere, the Amsterdam Roots Festival and the Antiliaanse Feesten in Hoogstraaten, are all thematically framed in respect to the geographic location where the musical performances are perceived to have developed.
[108] Bal, 2002, 144.
[109] Ventsel 2014.

has sought to analyse processes of framing through examining music, both as an object fixed in a particular place of origin, as well as a vehicle for notions of diversity. This example of framing roots underscores a persistent problem with the concept of identity. Scholars generally conceive of identity as not fixed, Stuart Hall is popularly quoted in saying that identity is "a matter of becoming […] always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation."[110] Within scholarly discussions of music and identity, Frith's notion that music is the 'experience' that "constructs our sense of identity" is influential.[111] Expaning on Hall's argument, he writes that music "is both performance and story, [describing] the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind […] identity is not a thing but a process – an experiential process which is most vividly grasped as music."[112] In spite of these arguments, identity remains, even when the obvious essentialism about fixity is discussed, a troubled concept. Time and again, in scholarly discourse as well as in the festival circuit, identity, as it relates to music, reappears as an essence that is rooted as a natural uncontaminated product of a distinct culture, from the *terra* from which it is conceived to take its natural character as can be seen from the forgoing ethnographic analysis.

Observing that music dwells in movement and situates us herein and that there is a scholarly need for a new cultural analysis and musicology, as well as a new critical approach to music as it relates to movement, is not to ignore the importance of place in the construction of multiple identities. On the contrary, as I have attempted to show, geographical movement, music and identity are intimately linked. To frame musics, only in terms of one general place of birth and one mode of rootedness is to close oneself off to conceiving the multiplicity of entities involved in the performance of music and in conceptualizing music's capacity to locate us, that is, it creates a place in which to dwell, remember, and imagine.

To avoid potential generalizations about music, I agree with Hall's reconceptualization of "roots" to "routes". I will take the space to quote him at length, because it illustrates, by its very concreteness, the notions of movement and transformation.

> Instead of asking what are people's roots, we ought to think about what are their routes, the different points by which they have come to be now; they are, in a sense, the sum of those differences. That, I think, is a different way of speaking than talking about multiple personalities or multiple identities as if they don't have any relation to one another or that they are purely intentional. These routes hold us in places, but what they don't do is hold us in the same place. We need to try to make sense of the connections with where we think we were then as compared to where we are now. That is what biography or the unfolding sense of the self or the stories we tell ourselves or the autobiographies we write are meant

[110] Hall, 1990, 222.
[111] Frith, 1996, 124.
[112] Ibid., 109-10.

> to do, to convince ourselves that these are not a series of leaps in the dark that we took, but they did have some logic, though it's not the logic of time or cause or sequence.[113]

The characteristic that serves to distinguish one society, culture, and nation from another is founded on an apparently decided compartmentalization of places, on the fact that music, societies and nations *naturally* dwell in discontinuous states. The premise of discontinuity provides a platform from which to depart and theorize contact, movement, and difference, between cultures and the musics of the world. The practical assumption of the festival is the connection of culturally unified groups, tribes, ethnic peoples with *their* geographic locations and music: thus, the Africans, who live in Africa practice African music.[114] This implies a narrow conception of music and place. This is witnessed in the language that described the "tropical sound" of the "oil barrels," as will be discussed further in the following chapter.

An example of this mode of approach and thinking is visible in the composition of ethnographic maps or ethnographic exhibitions that purported to display the geographical spread of peoples and cultures. Herein, geographic place becomes a blank page on which cultural difference, memory, and socio-cultural organization and practice are drawn. It is in this way that place functions as an essential principle of ordering in the performance practice of world music, at the same time it seemingly escapes from critical view. This convergence of music and place results in consequential issues that deserve attention. Firstly, those musical practices and cultures that inhabit in-between spaces come into question. The story of cultures as detached, positioned as an objective phenomena that dwell in isolated places becomes flimsy for those people who dwell in-between[115] – that is, those who live in-between nation state and are in a constant state of movement, such as nomads or migrant workers. What would be *the* music or *the* culture of the migrants and sugarcane workers who spend their lives negotiating the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic on the island of Hispaniola? What about those who dwell in the neutral zone in-between borderlands, those who cross more or less continuously to work at the free market at the border crossing – immigrants and refugees for example. In these instances the disconnection of place and rooted music and cultural practices is notably clear. Another problem that arises in fixing music to place pertains to the discussion of cultural diversity. Multiculturalism is then used as a feeble attempt to explain and acknowledge the fact that cultures have no anchors in definite geographical places and includes the multiplicity of cultures within the contextualization and comprehension of cultural identity. It is within this frame that a conceptualization of subculture is brought into effect. This chapter

[113] Hall 1999b.
[114] Kirkegaard 2005.
[115] Bhabha 1994.

has continuously asked the question of how to engage with cultural difference while ceasing to support notions and representations of music practices as being restricted to a distinct place. In sum, there is nothing essentially "roots" about the individual musical performances; rather, it is the practice of framing music at a "roots" festival that gives this ascribed character. This brings me to the steelband movement, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, which was to illustrate a difference between the chapter's framing of steelband music-making and the examination and interpretation of its framing within the Amsterdam Roots Festival. The endeavour was simply to bring the two into relation or conversation, showing the complexity involved in framing practices at world music festivals.

Making a move towards movement

It is necessary to critically reflect on essentialist conceptions of identity. Identity always involves movement and procession; it partly entails self-construction, and partially the structuring efforts of others, memories, status, and at times a label. For this reason, it would not be sufficient to frame, represent or study music as solely bound to place and to conceive music-making practices through distorted approximations of roots.

Framing music as a thing instead of a cultural practice within which interaction takes place, bringing about an experience, are the focus of the following chapter on the framing of steelpan. The broader intention is to argue that focusing on movement brings into view the fixed metaphysical idea embedded in the conception of 'roots' music. I will further explore how geographical place is insufficient for conceiving of what music *does*, as well as how these particular processes of framing inform ascriptions of meaning.

Bhabha makes clear that

> no culture is full unto itself, no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but also because its own symbol-forming activity, its own interpellation in the process of representation, language, signification and meaning-making, always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity.[116]

He states that "what is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences."[117] Here I observe that when consideration and discussion of the subject of individual culture takes place, there must be a movement past the speculations of authenticity and genesis. In this way, diligence is paid to concepts such cultural syncretism and contrariness. I will further examine how this particular

[116] Bhabha, 1990, 210.
[117] Bhabha, 1994, 2.

framing of music as roots informs musical performance. This will bring the festival flier into question, preliminarily discussed at the beginning of this chapter, and how its description of the music contributes to the framing of the festival. Chapter two examines steelpan music-making and its presentation within the festival space. Here I will further discuss the festival flier's description of the Pamberi. I turn to how these particular modes of framing inform musical performance and discuss how they contribute to the formation of the sonorous spectacle. The following chapter will further illustrate that fixing music in the terms outlined in this present chapter, directly enables a vision and questioning of how world music is spectacularized. That is, music is 'set up'[118] as an object separated from performance. Herein, music is not positioned as enabling socio-cultural interaction, or as a performance in which differences might be negotiated, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

[118] Bal, 2002, 141.

2 Musical performance and the negotiation of difference

Difference does not have to be threatening […] we have been taught either to ignore our differences, or to view them as causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change.

~Audre Lorde[1]

Framing the connections

To explore the argument presented in the previous chapter, I will reflect on the practice of bomb-tunes, the music-making practice described in the festival flier that was discussed in the previous chapter. Here, I seek to explore musical agency as a method of intervention. Though sound and diverse aspects involved in staging and programming music play a crucial role in framing the festival, aspects such as stage and festival naming, literature, in the form of adverts, festival booklets and fliers as well as press releases also play an integral role in its constitution. I argue, through the analysis of interview data, through a discussion of bomb-tunes as a music practice, and through a conceptual approach, that the framing processes, outlined in this and the former chapter, do not recognise difference. The bomb-tunes aided in encouraging a critical attitude and challenged its audience to question social conditions. It is partly because of the bomb-tunes that the steelpan pursued European conventions of concert pitch, which makes steelpan ensembles compatible with symphony orchestras. The steelpan can play all the semitones of the equal temperament chromatic scale and thus the steelpan is able to play full chords and harmonies while maintaining its percussive nature, making it a harmonizing drum. Thus, the bomb-tune was not solely a political act of resistance; it also enabled the execution of ideas in instrument development. Although challenging social circumstances was not its exclusive function, bomb-tunes did set a precedent for later contestations that took place in the steelband movement. This chapter asks what sort of agency music, within the steelband movement, had in its intervention in colonial relations. It begins with a discussion of antiphony in bomb-tunes in order to further problematise the previously analysed flier and to present a counter framing of the instrument.

In antiphony, a voice can object or interject in various ways to what was previously stated by another voice. This dynamic is sometimes also found in bomb-tunes and steelband arrangements of calypso when, for example, the basses and mid-range pans engage in a call and response with the tenors and double tenors, which repeatedly interpose in disagreement or contradiction, thus adding to the story. In this way, along with the central rhythmic theme,

[1] Lorde, 2007, 78, 112, 115-16.

melody, verse and chorus, other voices,[2] such as the percussion, which makes up what is called the engine room, which also contributes to the story through their comments. This occurs through rhythm breaks for example, during which the engine room plays while the rest of the orchestra is silent. In the work of the response to such a rhythmic break, a space is opened up in which the individual voices can be made and remade as different realities collide in the continuous interaction between calls and responses.[3]

Interestingly, a similar collision of different realities occurred between socio-cultural conditions and practices in the developments of instrument design and music-making. Steelband music does not move without cultural baggage; it carries traces of its history and development.[4] The ideology of freedom that music-making afforded at the inception of instrument development confronted the mechanisms of oppression and marginalization embodied in the hegemonic and colonial rule. Thus, within this musical negotiation, which included building instruments and arranging panorama[5] pieces as described in chapter one, a sense of personhood was formed and a sense of self and belonging enabled.[6] This sense of belonging was and continues to be embodied through participants' acts of listening, performing, dancing, and interpreting.[7] The following reconsideration of bomb-tunes seeks to underscore the matter of musical agency and addresses the instrumentality[8] of music for participants.[9]

This chapter seeks to explore the importance of framing as a theoretical foundation and critical approach in the analysis of our interaction, as participants and researchers, with world music as performed at festivals and more generally our engagement with cultural difference. The previous chapter discussed the language of the flier and the naming of the festival before turning to an examination of framing practices within the festival space. It suggested that as different musical practices find themselves situated within the festival programming, the terms cultural diversity and multiculturalism are often evoked to describe the musics and peoples gathered at the festival. This chapter seeks to extend this discussion by thinking through music.

[2] An example of this is the engine room, which consists of percussion instruments such as congas, bongos, cow bells, scratchers, irons (brake drums), tock-tocks (plastic jam blocks) and drum set. The engine room is conceived as the heartbeat of the entire steel-orchestra
[3] Example 4.1.
[4] Fashioned out of oil barrels that were left behind in Trinidad and Tobago after WWII, played with rubber wrapped tip sticks; the composition of the instrument itself attests to this cultural and historical baggage.
[5] Steelpan competition in Trinidad and Tobago.
[6] Johnson 2011.
[7] Kim Johnson, steelpan historian, speaks of this at TEDxPortofSpain 2014.
[8] The ambiguity is intentional. I am referring to both the instruments and to the question of what music *does.*
[9] This will be elaborated upon in chapter 4.

To explore world music performance practice, I will expand on Bal's use of framing by introducing the notion of difference as explored by Lorde[10] and Bhabha.[11]

Difference[12] and diversity should not be conflated; not equating the two allows a discussion of difference to problematize framing. Deleuze states: "difference is not diversity. Diversity is given, but difference is that by which the given is given, that by which the given is given as diverse."[13] If framing is to highlight and make salient music within the festival space, then in framing diversity, a multiplicity of musical and cultural differences are accumulated. I seek to concentrate on how these differences interact within the festival space. Following Bhabha, I will argue that within diversity there is no interstitial space[14] in which processes that contribute to the emergence of meaning might be negotiated. It is my contention, which I draw from both the introduction of this work and my analysis of the framing practices at the Amsterdam Roots Festival, that both world music and the festival share a difficulty in genuinely engaging with the differences between cultures and staged musics. This stance alludes specifically to the homogenization and Othering of music within certain processes of framing, which I found relevant at the Amsterdam Roots Festival. It is for this reason that I want to challenge the assumption that sameness is a precondition for unity and its celebration.

This discussion of difference serves as a critical response to the diversity narrative as well as a step towards a new critical perspective on the homogenizing mechanisms discussed in music studies. Here, I offer a way of critically engaging with particular modes of staging world music as well as complicating processes of framing by considering musical movement[15] and transformation. The notion of difference is useful here because it undermines notions of static culture and tendencies to map music to distinct places. Questions of by whom, why, and how music is framed will also be addressed. In this discussion, I explore several contrasting theoretical questions, arguments, and perspectives that pertain to musical movement (geographic and socio-cultural movements), musical performance, and the production of a sonorous spectacle. In this chapter's conclusion I will position the framing practices discussed in this and the previous chapter as that which contributes to establishing a sonorous spectacle.

The Festival Flier

[10] Lorde 2007.
[11] Bhabha 1994.
[12] For a discussion that seeks to theorize difference as a concept in music and its relation to diversity see Grenier 1989 and Grenier and Guilbault 1990.
[13] Deleuze, 2001, 222.
[14] Bhabha 1994.
[15] Geographically.

The festival flier describes oil barrel sounds and Bomp tunes. The steelband movement has strived to move away from such descriptions. The stress on treating the steelpan as an instrument for music-making is expressed in songs such as *More than an Oil Drum,*[16] which describes certain aspects of the instrument's making and features.

> "They feel that pan is just oil drums/ No more ah discarded oil can, no man/ Classics right back to jazz/ Oil drum has achieved pride of place.[17]

In chapter one I italicized the word *bomp* in my discussion of the festival flier because it is incorrect. These tunes are commonly referred to as bomb-tunes, which are interpretations of Euro-American composed music, performed rhythmically and percussively in calypso style.[18] Similar to incorrectly describing the musical style, the flier incorrectly terms the instrument an oil barrel. Thus, the language use in the paratextual framing of this musical performance is most interesting, for as discussed in the previous chapter, the steelpan is not an oil barrel, and does not produce sounds akin to those of oil barrels. As outlined in the preceding chapter, it is an acoustic instrument originally developed from discarded oil barrels in Trinidad and Tobago in the 20th century using intricate instrument-making techniques.

In the following, I analyse steelpan performance in order to further critique the overarching paratextual framing.[19] I will also explore Bhabha's discussion of Third Space as it lends itself to the concept of framing. Bhabha acknowledges that this Third Space is where binary juxtapositions and dichotomies dissolve. Exploring steelband bomb-tunes, I elicit and frame my own notions of the effects of steelband music-making. Following this, I relate these notions to the story explored in the first chapter. Both accounts of steelband music-making move between and link diverse conditioning practices of framing: that of the festival, that of carnival, and that of the music scholar and steelpan researcher. To counter both the notion of music being fixed to a particular place of origin, as presented in the discussion of roots, and the arguable over-promotion of diversity, I turn to the practice of bomb-tunes and explore in depth what the festival flier described as *bomp* tunes.

On Bomb-tunes: Refusing to be a victim

[16] A 2013 panorama composition arranged by Clifford Alexis for the NIU steelband. Composed by Don Clarke, lyrics by Gregory "BG" Ballantyne and sung by Joanne Foster. Example 2.1.
[17] Example 2.1.
[18] Example 2.3.
[19] Thus far discussed through an example of the festival flier and the festival name.

According to Audre Lorde, "difference must not merely be tolerated but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic."[20] This thought is explicitly put in practice in the performance of bomb-tunes. In 1964, Highlanders steel-orchestra, founded by Bertram Marshall, recorded the album *Calypsoes and Classics*. This album includes interpretations of *Gypsy Rondo* by Haydn,[21] Handel's *Messiah – Every Valley Shall be Exalted* and Meredith Wilson's 1950 *May the Good Lord Bless and Keep You*. In 1966, Desperadoes arranged and interpreted the *Flight of the Bumblebee* by Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov and *Czardas* by Vittorio Monti composed in 1904. Exodus steel-orchestra arranged and performed *The Poet and the Peasant* composed by Franz von Suppe. In 1951 Ronald Bing composed *Elizabethan Serenade*, which was adapted and performed by Silver Stars steel-orchestra. Interestingly, these foreign tunes, made familiar to the Trinidadian community through radio programming, were not simply copied but also engaged with creatively. That is, they were arranged, orchestrated and performed rhythmically and percussively in calypso style and tempo. Dudley notes that the bomb-tune was both an accommodation of colonial hegemony, functioning as a symbol of sophistication, and resistance through the aspect of resignification.[22] The bomb-tune brought with it intense competition between bands and the challenging of upper-class prejudice against the instrument and the music played. The ability to play famous classical tunes conveyed a musical credibility that positioned the steelband to become something entirely different from its carnivalesque associations. Bomb-tunes were considered to be subversive because in the 40s and 50s there were noise ordinances in place that restricted drumming.[23] Music, among other socio-cultural practices, was judged according to colonial standards, which "elevated European culture above all else."[24] Therefore, carnival music was perceived as mere noise (and still is by some) while the Euro-American repertoire was conceived as music. In spite of the ordinances, music-making still took place in the form of pieces recognized as music by the ruling class. In this way, music took an active, principal role in slowly eradicating some of the prejudices. Through the bomb-tunes we see that steelband music has developed through a tension between accommodation and resistance to both colonial and nationalist hegemony.[25] Bomb-tunes are enactments of the aspirations of musicians and instrument developers to be taken seriously and to "prove themselves musically."[26]

[20] Lorde, 2007, 111.
[21] Example 2.7.
[22] Dudley 2002.
[23] Cf. Stuempfle 1995.
[24] Johnson, 2011, 263.
[25] Dudley, 2002, 144.
[26] Ibid., 143.

The practice got its name because the tunes were rehearsed in secret and revealed for the first time during the early hours of J'ouvert.[27] Those involved in the steelband movement from the 1930s to the 50s and 60s would clandestinely meet in their respective yards in order to experiment with instrument building, to arrange music, and practice tunes. This was done with a serious spirit of competition. Therefore, these practices secretly took place away from authorities and other bands. As mentioned, these tunes would be publicly released at the bomb competition during the J'ouvert morning processions. Only at this time would judges,[28] onlookers and other bands collectively get to hear the tune of choice and arrangement of it for the first time; so it was said that "a bomb was going to explode."[29]

The most extensive work done on bomb-tunes is "Dropping the Bomb" by Shannon Dudley, which analyses the performance and reception of the bomb. He focuses on musical meaning, which "has to do with the way Trinidadians attached significance to the performance of a particular repertoire, European art music in the context of carnival."[30] Dudley's approach to meaning involves an examination of a "range of interpretive stance"[31] by which Trinidadians ascribe ideological and affective meanings to the practice of the bomb.[32] However, as much as ascriptions of meanings are important, I suggest that the processes through which these meanings are enabled are also of importance. I therefore deploy the notion of difference because it captures the intricate intertwining of the processes involved in the music-making experience. I will show that relationships manifest in music-making, a process that enabled those involved to collectively experience the creation and emergence of newness in a period that was ridden with social, economic, political, and cultural turmoil. In this examination of difference I also illustrate the importance of acknowledging the *self* that emerges from the interaction and relation that takes place between differences. It is the act of relating that remains crucial to this discussion.

[27] J'ouvert, Jouvé or Jouvert is a contraction of the French *Jour ouvert* or break of day, it is a carnival procession that takes place early Monday morning (before Ash Wednesday) at 4 am and goes into day break. It serves as the opening event of carnival Monday for each carnival season. Though it is popular in the eastern Caribbean region, it is an integral part of every carnival that is fashioned to the Trinidad and Tobago carnival. J'ouvert is celebrated on many islands, including Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Lucia, Anguilla, Antigua & Barbuda, Aruba, Grenada, Haiti, Jamaica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Kitts and Nevis, Sint Maarten, Dominica, the U.S. Virgin Islands and the British Virgin Islands. It is also included in the New York City West Indian Day Parade held on Labor Day and Notting Hill Carnival in London. Both of these places have a large West Indian community and a thriving steelband community. J'ouvert is an inseparable event from Carnival.
[28] These competitions were judged by official adjudicators as well as spectators.
[29] See Example 1.3 (2'48"-4'45").
[30] Dudley, 2002, 135.
[31] Ibid., 144.
[32] Ibid.

First, I highlight some of the differences negotiated within this music-making practice, such as those between calypso, carnival and European performance practice, and the different framings of the road-march and street procession on the one hand, and the concert hall on the other. Second, the limitations of the steelpan had to be recognized and interacted with, as the instrument could not, for practical and physical reasons, play European composed music in the same way as those orchestras for which the music was composed. Thus, it was necessary to negotiate the differences between instruments. Differences in socio-cultural status were also negotiated in music-making. Power relations had to be engaged with, along with dominant colonial ideologies about low and high art. My outline of bomb-tunes engages with the collective nature of music-making. Here, I do not analyse musical notation as[33] this would not address the focus of this study: namely, how social change was made through the practice of bomb-tunes.

Bomb-tunes enable us to think about colonialism and music-making in a different way. An exploration of the practice can help change the portrayal of difference within world music studies and within the festival space as well as within post-colonial theory.[34] For in the recognition of difference as it relates to music it became possible to humanize those who were oppressed and relegated to the periphery of society and the city. Bomb-tunes make us remember that hegemonic system did not destroy the humanity of those whom it sought to oppress. My examination of bomb-tunes seeks to illustrate how those involved in music-making maintained and articulated their humanity in music. Bomb-tunes have often been part of the description of steelpan's background, that is, as a decorative historical reference.[35] In this work, I want to position bomb-tunes as a part of the steelband movement's intellect. Herein the practice of bomb-tunes is not merely as a passing reference, but, as we shall see, a practice that embodies anarchy, history and the emergence of newness. I am interested in where and how meaning lies within its music-making practices, rather than mere historical descriptions. I acknowledge the importance of recognizing that two traditions – classics and calypso groove, 'west' and 'Africa' – came together in these practices, but I want to complicate this simplistic understanding. In what follows, I examine a movement that is reflected in as well as defined and influenced by music at a particular political juncture. This might lead to a discussion of the burgeoning

[33] My analysis stands in line with Small 1998, who suggests a concentration on music-making practices.
[34] At its foundation post-colonial theory examines agency, articulation and acts of representation under circumstances of oppression and subjugation. It often takes the voice into consideration see: Spivak 1988.
[35] Stuempfle 1995 mentions bomb-tunes in passing and does not give an in depth analysis of the practice, Johnson 2011 does not mention it at all and neither does Guilbault in her consideration of "the cultural politics of Trinidad's Carnival Music" in *Governing Sound* 2007. The only work to date that critically engages with the practice has been Dudley 2002, 2007.

commingling of the past and present, the onset of both a political and artistic power that continues into the present as well as the conflict and confrontation between "high art" and the "noise" of discarded objects. Most importantly, at the centre of all this stands the invention of selves, music practices, improvisation, transition, transformation, translation and newness.

The group nature of bomb-tune music-making

The practice of bomb-tunes is a rich source of information about the effects of music and music-making on those persons marginalized by colonial rule. Bomb-tunes also point towards colonialism's impact on music and performance. It gives insight into the interior lives of people in the struggle but also into their relationship to music. An important aspect that bomb-tunes yield is the group nature of the music-making. Raymond Mark explains how groups of pan players would memorize lines from big band-stand tunes that they heard at parties and start a "mouth band,"[36] singing their parts as they made their way back to their panyard in order to arrange the tune. This practice contributed to the composition of bomb-tunes. The collective arrangement of music challenged the restrictions against music-making, initiating a revolutionary transformation within the oppressive social structure. Interestingly, there was no explicit calling of people to action. Socio-cultural afflictions were expressed in music and the way it was made, arguably playing a role in informing and bringing socio-political acts to fruition. The group nature of this practice allowed individuals to overcome personal differences and for individual issues to become collective ones. Thus the panmen were able, through the practice of bomb-tunes, to constitute themselves as a community of suffering. The articulation of the collective, through music, acquired a distinct political character through its arrangement and organization of people in acts of music-making. The practice of bomb-tunes is an example of what Bhabha describes as "performance of identity as iteration,"[37] involving "the re-creation of the self."[38] Thus, Bomb-tunes did not only play a role in the reclamation of personhood but also in the assertion of identity. This aspect will be discussed as I explore the creative engagement with, and recognition of, difference which were vital for the emergence of bomb-tunes.

Audience participation was crucial to the bomb-tunes, playing the role of unofficial judges of the bands. Bomb-tunes allowed individuals to move beyond restrictions and confining sanctions placed on music-making and other cultural practice. Through musical performance, the practice bears witness to the post-colonial and colonial experience of the Afro-Trinidadian. The question that all these issues try to answer is one of how musical performance might

[36] For example see Johnson, 1998, 62.
[37] Bhabha, 1994, 12.
[38] Ibid.

compose those involved in music-making. More direct: How is the action of regrouping or re-collecting accomplished in music-making? This regrouping presented itself by means of disarranging and rearranging music.

The above facets of this music practices stands in contrast to the festival framing. For this reason, the framing of steelpan at the Amsterdam Roots Festival remains unsettling, and why it is inequitable to simply describe the instrument as an oil barrel. Johnson says:

> all of this took place within and was shaped by the social, cultural, political and economic milieu of Trinidad during and after the Second World War. Indeed, the post-war burgeoning of youth sub-cultures through Europe and the Americas, all of which crystallized around one or other form of African-derived popular music, suggests that the steelband movement was a Trinidadian manifestation of an international phenomenon related to deep structural shifts in Western civilization.[39]

In this context, what did musical performance enable? The melody was important, the tunes selected for arrangements needed to be recognizable and popular in order for the bomb to be dropped with force and thus to win the competition. However, the scaffolding of the percussion that supported it was equally significant for the street possession. Both melody and rhythm produced by the percussion make up the essence of the whole bomb-tune. This created a space in which, I argue, the music-making could make a social commentary and "spark like a dialectic;"[40] creating a dialogue or a relationship as "forces for change."[41] The metallic sound of the steelpan formed a texture and timbre that was percussively layered, creating a matrix of metal as other percussion instruments such as scratchers, brake drums and cowbells joined in, giving birth to a distinctive sound. The melody was not always prominent[42] thus, rhythm became an important base which in turn formed rhythm as a base for bomb-tunes. There is immediacy in the use of sound[43] in this particular mode of music-making, which is particularly

[39] Johnson, 2011, 270.
[40] Audre Lorde, 2007, 111.
[41] Ibid., 115-16.
[42] Example 2.4 (early recording of Casablanca Steel Orchestra (1947-1953), the first steelband recording. According to Glenroy Joseph, steelband and calypso archivist and uploader of this recording, "this early recording from Casablanca Steel band demonstrates the arc in musical development of the steel pan from the late 1940s into the 1950s. The recording features one of the earliest steelband recordings available. They are from the collection 'Casablanca Steel Orchestra - Trinidad Steelband (1947-1953)' which features two ten inch DISC recordings by the 'Casablanca Steel Band' from 1947, and the SaGomes album 'Casablanca Steel Orchestra' recorded in 1953". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lySPREIPHsI (access 08-08-2016).
[43] Example 2.5 (Lion Oh) "The earliest known steelpan recording is that of Hell Yard Steel Band who accompanied 'The Roaring Lion' in 1940, recorded by Decca Records on February 11th of the same year, the name of which was 'Lion Oh'. The Decca recording card listed the performers as "the Lion with his West Indian Rhythm Band." The Decca record sheet also asserts that this performance "is the earliest known recording of a steel-band" and lists the instruments used as "boom (metal drum), tenor (two large cans or biscuit tins), du-dup, and the ubiquitous bottle and spoon". The sound sample and its information is made available by 'The Roaring Lion Calypso Foundation.' http://roaringlioncalypso.org.

important for audience participation as it served the purpose of accompanying the carnival procession.

To conclude this outline: bomb-tunes confront the listener with history, it does not allow an escape from the past. It does not present an idyllic portrayal of the past, but enables a space of newness and transformation to be opened up. The practice shows how people dealt with marginalization, how they came to terms with oppression, how they confronted restrictions and solved problems both socially and musically (in instrument building and development), and so a third aspect emerged. Panmen did not avoid cultural or musical difference or deny it, which allowed new possibilities to emerge in their lives. In this way, panmen could both carry on in their personal lives while also participating in other practices such as the panorama competition and other contemporary steelpan festivals. In negotiating difference and power relations, panmen, at the time, made a difference in their own lives and collectively took responsibility for themselves while relating to difference.

'Your silence will not protect you:'[44] Difference and the in-between space

How is musical and cultural difference negotiated in the festival space and in bomb-tunes? I have outlined two diametrically opposed frames of reference, afforded through processes of framing, through which meaning might be brought to and derived from steelband music-making. The first materializes through framing at the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2010 which is an antithesis to the second; my discussions of bomb-tunes, and affords a radically different way of interpreting steelband performance. This is not to suggest that one mode of framing is better than the other. It is however to suggest that different modes of framing provide different prisms through which music is conceived and meaning negotiated and ascribed.

What I am interested in are the framing processes involved in staging Pamberi Steel-orchestra, for I argue that this was in accordance with what Stuart Hall describes "a representational strategy designed to fix difference, and thus secure it forever. It is an attempt to halt the inevitable 'slide' of meaning, to secure discursive and ideological 'closure'."[45] If we consider the difference between steelband bomb-tunes, and other musical performances staged at the festival, such as *Les Espoirs de Coronthie* and *Staff Benda Bilili*, we can recognize different musical and cultural characteristics, ways of performance, and instruments, as well as different histories and approaches to the use of sound in music-making. It is fundamentally the framing of the festival rather than musical performance that produces bomb-tunes at the Roots

[44] Lorde, 2007, 4.
[45] Hall, 1997, 245.

Festival. I argue this firstly because website description and fliers are encountered before the actual performance. Describing the orchestra as a "traditional oilbarrel sound" and by framing co-performances suitably and collectively to a roots relation constitutes a perspective through which those in attendance interpret the steelband and bomb-tunes and become knowledgeable of the performance. In order to elaborate on this I turn to my analysis of data collected at the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2013. The interview data suggest that the processes of framing, outlined in the previous chapter, provide a particular perspective from which interpretation takes place.

One interviewee described a performance by a Samba ensemble that he had just attended – seemingly a staple of the Amsterdam Roots Festival.[46] He said the ensemble, like most other performances, provided what he described as "sunny tropical sounds." He added that he had never visited the countries from which these musics came, but that he could envision this performance as "poolside/cocktail music."[47] This description and envisioning accord with the flier description of the steelband. The above assumptions and judgements, of the samba ensemble's performance for example, partially reflect notions of authenticity and roots. Taylor makes clear that there are three ways of conceiving authenticity within world music, namely the "authenticity of positionality, authenticity of primality and authenticity of emotionality"[48] and that each may be understood as signifying cultural roots or an assumed connection to the 'pure', 'ancient' and/or 'primal', a notion also connected to spirituality. The music discourse within the confines of the festival, of authenticity and roots music, limits our understanding of the relationship between music-making practices and those involved in its performance.

At the 2015 festival, Gina noted that "we no longer speak of Third World music or sound. "But look," she said as she pointed to the festival programme, "they still call it roots music, which we can probably take as being the lesser of two evils […] what is roots music?"[49] Peter remarked "Argentinian music? Is that roots music? When I think of roots in any cultural setting, Africa comes to mind. That is what I think of, but not the different musics that are staged here today."[50] The above points to the limits of the festival's framing as both informants question it in different ways. Bob White makes clear that world music "stands out from other categories of music"[51] because of "its capacity to render explicit the link between music and cultural

[46] The ensemble performed at each annual edition of the festival that I attended during both my previous and my current research. However, they were not present at the 2015 festival.
[47] Fred, Journalist, interviewed at Amsterdam Roots after a Samba performance by Sambaband Bumba Amsterdam at the 2013 edition of the festival.
[48] Taylor, 1997, 21-28.
[49] Gina, interviewed at Amsterdam Roots Festival 2015.
[50] Peter, conversation at Amsterdam Roots Festival 2015.
[51] White, 2012, 198.

identity."[52] He explains further that world music sends "consumers the message that this music is not merely music but a manifestation of deeply held cultural values and traditions."[53] If this is indeed the case, then the flier description of "sunny oil drum sounds" surely evokes a relationship between "music and cultural identity."[54] Here, in the flier description, the instrumentality of and need for this particular mode of music-making, and its relationship to practitioners are overlooked.

Based on the accounts of many research participants, I conceive of the roots framing as a defining parameter for musical performance. Music was described on numerous occasions as 'real' and/or 'original'. The critical edge that might accompany such statements by some festivalgoers was simply not present. From this, it is my contention that the frame of reference discussed above has little to do with the musical performance. The framing finds content to support the musical performance outside of the musical performance that is most times wholly irrelevant to it. I argue this especially since these descriptions and fliers are circulated way in advance of the actual performance as part of the festival marketing ventures, which is important for its wide spread. This mode of framing may seem as appropriate within the festival space, where the main goal is entertainment, but most often it is not about the musical performance at hand; not about the way music moves people closed together, but about the geographic and socio-economic context.[55] I argue that at Amsterdam Roots, framing processes undertaken by festival producers and programmers, were merely trying to place music into an already established frame. This might be because those involved in programming and flier descriptions were reluctant to step out of conventional modes of framing, or fearful of charting new ground. The commercial aspect of the festival might potentially be a reason for this. The festival is branded in a particular way, along which decision makers produce and market the brand.

> [F]estival attendance is part of a prevailing trend towards affordable escapism, whereby consumers are more willing to spend money on experiences than goods […] festivals also provide unprecedented opportunities for consumption; the sidestall [sic.] aspect of festivals has grown exponentially in the last 20 years, and it is now possible to spend large sums of money on clothing, jewellery, art, books and alternative healing.[56]

This reflects the fact that

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 198-9.
[54] Ibid., 198.
[55] This is not the case with all festivals or for all performers. I speak here solely of my analysis of the Amsterdam Roots Festival. At the Antiliaanse Feesten in Hoogstraaten, Belgium there is an entirely different mode of framing that is thematic. At WOMAD there was yet another way of framing that seemed to centre music in terms of its performance where participants could make connections. For example at WOMAD after the salsa workshop there was a salsa performance where workshop participants came together at the performance of Septeto Santiaguero.
[56] Morey et al., 2014, 252.

> we live in a consumer culture in which people increasingly constitute themselves through the consumption and display of goods and experiences. Choice and individuality are central to consumer culture, whereby consumption promises unlimited 'free choice' as a means of expressing individuality and identity. With regard to festivals, it is therefore possible to identify a process whereby the freedom to choose, via careful segmentation, from a range of distinct festival brands with correspondingly distinct, tailored and preferred (niche) experiences is simultaneously accompanied and enabled by drawing on an over-arching mythology of festivals that promises its own set of freedoms and opportunities, including – among other things – freedom from 'everyday structures and systems;' the possibilities of hedonism and excessive consumption; authentic connections with others; and alternative expressions of identity and identity-formation. The experience economy requires consumers to be co-creators of their experiences, engaging in the production as well as the consumption of experiences, and as experience products encompassing multiple sites of consumption, festivals constitute locations in which to both 'consume and display [identity and] difference'.[57]

Because musical performance is not central[58] to the interpretation of the music, any potential cultural dynamics and negotiations are circumvented and as a result the subversive characteristics of music or the potential emergence of novel meanings are lost. To exemplify how newness emerges in relation to negotiating cultural difference, I relate Bhabha's notion of cultural difference to the practice of bomb-tunes. Broadly, I argue that the notion of cultural difference as proposed by Bhabha, whose theory provides a vocabulary of *hybridity* and *Third Space* with which to conceptualize culture and identity,[59] is relevant to understanding the framing of contemporary world music performances and its academic study. The intent of this work is not to explicitly focus on hybridity. The term is often used with hesitation, for its offensive connotation within colonial discourse, as a derogatory term for those of 'mixed-race', which imbues it with racist thought.[60] Papastergiadis posits that we should not only use words which are clear of historically offensiveness, instead we should challenge essentialist models of identity by employing and subverting their own vocabulary.[61] Hybridity takes on a central role in post-colonial discourse. It is revered and favoured as a super-concept due to the aspect of in-betweeness, sitting on both sides of different cultures, and as a result being able to negotiate this difference. This is particularly visible in Bhabha's thoughts on cultural hybridity, developed from literary and cultural theory to interpret the structure of culture and identity within colonial opposition. Bhabha conceives of hybridity as the process by which the colonial authority engages in rendering the identity of the colonized within a static and fixed frame. In failing to do so, the governing authority gives rise to that which is both recognizable and novel.

[57] Ibid., 253-4.
[58] This is not to say that music is not an agent but that music is not primary in creating the frame or prism through which its performance is interpreted.
[59] Cf. Bhabha 1990; 1994; 1996.
[60] Young 1995.
[61] Papastergiadis, 1997, 258.

Bhabha argues that a novel hybrid identity or new subject-position materializes from the interlacing of components of the colonizer and the colonized, these challenge the authenticity of any cultural identity described in essentialist terms. He positions hybridity as a countermeasure to essentialist acts, or notions leading to invariable and stagnant properties which explain – instead of interpret – the question of what of a given cultural identity. Bhabha makes clear that "all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity."[62] Alberto Moreiras is critical of hybridity and attempts to present a specific conceptualization of it along the lines of a "double articulation" for according to him "hybridity has come to be the 'empty signifier' of contemporary cultural politics as cultural hybridity."[63] Bhabha conceives hybridity to be part of a liminal or in-between space, a Third space, in which "translation and negotiation"[64] take place. This space is inherently critical of essentialist positions of identity. It is also critical of notions of originary culture.[65] Bhabha argues for a rethinking of our conceptions of the relation between culture and identity formation, drawing a distinction between "cultural diversity" and "cultural difference."[66] It is the uncertain space *in-between* subject positions that for Bhabha is valorised as the site of disturbance and agitation against hegemonic colonial discourses.

Discussions regarding the creative power of difference remain prominent throughout post-colonial, cultural, and feminist theories.[67] By contrast, the work of difference has faced great resistance within world music studies. In this field, it seems that difference has to be incorporated, integrated, compared, homogenized, compartmentalized and categorized. According to Lorde, there are three ways of engaging with difference:

> Institutionalized rejection of difference is an absolute necessity in a profit economy which needs outsiders as surplus people. As members of such an economy, we have all been programmed to respond to the human differences between us with fear and loathing and to handle that difference in one of three ways: ignore it, and if that is not possible, copy it if we think it is dominant, or destroy it if we think it is subordinate. *But we have no patterns for relating across our human differences as equals.* As a result, those differences have been misnamed and misused in the service of separation and confusion. […] But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions which result from our misnaming them and their effects upon human behavior and expectation.[68]

[62] Bhabha, 1990, 211.
[63] Moreiras, 1999, 396.
[64] Bhabha 1996.
[65] Bhabha is not interested in underscoring original moments from which other hybrid instances emerge, he is rather interested in the Third Space, which gives rise to multiple possibilities. (Bhabha, 1990, 211).
[66] For his notion of difference, Bhabha relies heavily on a specific reading of Derrida 1978. Derrida speaks of the neographism différance, which is neither a word nor a concept. Derrida in turn relies on the groundwork constructed by Saussure.
[67] Cf. Bhabha 1994; Fanon 2008; Lorde 2007 and Césaire 2000.
[68] Lorde, 2007, 115. (Italics mine).

The above discussion, which also surrounds world music critical debates, has helped to bolster segregation, isolation and Othering.[69] Consequently, I call for an acknowledgement of the creative potential of difference. In the following discussion of difference as it relates to music I argue that there is a generative, productive and creative force within difference that has the power to challenge the normative assumptions within world music studies and performance practice.[70] I propose a politics of articulation that enables differences to inhabit the same space. In this way, I contend that difference might be engaged in processes of framing differently.

This is not to say that diversity is not important, but it is important to acknowledge that the discussion is not solely about diversity. Herein, I suggest that within the practice of bomb-tunes difference was "not merely tolerated"[71] but was engaged in imaginatively and as such creative interaction was able to "spark like a dialectic."[72]

Bhabha's Third Space: Framing and the notion of difference

According to Bhabha the 'in-between' spaces "provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood […] that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself."[73] The process of elaborating strategies of selfhood is evident in the discussion of bomb-tunes. Thus, I seek to extend the notion of framing contemporary world music performance practice by using Bhabha's thoughts on cultural difference. The 'in-between' provides a mode of inclusion rather than exclusion. In this way, it "initiates new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation."[74] The in-between's potential lies in its ability to travel across cultures and to interpret, and negotiate differences in a way that prioritizes exchange and inclusion. The in-between inherently embodies a counter hegemonic agency. It is this aspect that strongly resonates with steelband music and music-making. In acts of framing world music, the in-between opens up as a Third Space for reinterpretation, iteration, negotiation, and relation and is a space for the emergence of meaning.[75] According to Bhabha, "these borderline negotiations

[69] Cf. Haynes 2013. Separation and isolation will be discussed in the following chapter.
[70] This ideological normativity can be witnessed in the discussion of bomb-tunes, where I have attempted to complicate the often simplified discussions of "hybridity" in relation to the practice within the steelband movement. In world music studies, aspects of interaction, fusion and collaboration are often conceptualized along the same lines. (cf. Meintjes 1990).
[71] Lorde, 2007, 111.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Bhabha, 1994, 2.
[74] Ibid.
[75] In presenting Bhabha's conceptual idea, I am aware of criticisms that speak to inconsistencies in his theorizing hybridity and Third Space. He has been strongly criticized for failing to explicitly conceptualize the material conditions that might arise from within a discourse analysis of colonial ground work (Cf. Parry 1987, 1994; Harvey 1993; Lazarus 1993; Loomba 1991; Kaul 1992; Diawara 1991; Thomas 1994; Dirlik 1994). My study does not posit this conceptual approach and perspective within cultural isolation. Instead, I argue for is the need for a

of cultural difference often violate liberalism's deep commitment to representing cultural diversity as plural choice."[76]

I will now outline how this in-between space materializes within contemporary world music performance practice, more specifically at festivals that stage world music. Bhabha makes clear that "our theoretical understanding […] of 'culture-as-difference' will enable us to grasp the articulation of culture's borderline, unhomely space and time."[77]

To explore Third Space, Bhabha provides a penetrating analysis of difference. Bhabha constructs numerous divergent aspects between the notions of difference and diversity. First, he notes that "cultural diversity is an epistemological object,"[78] and thinking in these terms is to position "culture as an object of empirical knowledge."[79] Second, he is critical of cultural diversity because it is a "category of comparative ethics, aesthetics, or ethnology."[80] Finally, he characterises cultural diversity as:

> The recognition of pre-given cultural contents and customs, held in a time-frame of relativism; it gives rise to anodyne liberal notions of multiculturalism, cultural exchange, or the culture of humanity. Cultural diversity is also the representation of a radical rhetoric of the separation of totalized cultures that live unsullied by the intertextuality of their historical locations, safe in the Utopianism of a mythic memory of a unique collective identity […] [it] may even emerge as a system of the articulation and exchange of cultural signs in certain early structuralist accounts of anthropology.[81]

It is the third critique of diversity that relates to my own critique of framing within the festival space. For as described, the language of diversity and multiculturalism was widespread within the Amsterdam Roots Festival. Instead of diversity, Bhabha prefers the notion of cultural difference. He notes that difference affords a comprehension of cultures as being discursively situated. Thus for Bhabha, cultural difference is the

> process of the *enunciation* of culture as knowledge*able*, authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification […] a process of signification through which statements *of* or *on* culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity.[82]

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strategy of negotiating difference that acknowledges the post-colonial reality of the world music categorization and how this materializes in performance practice. This, especially since Bhabha's theoretical position also calls for an approach to the reconfiguration and restructuring of standard, principled rules of behaviour and institutions that progresses *beyond* categorical binary structures, which relates to examining contemporary world music discourse and performance practice. Any restructuring in framing processes should acknowledge and enable the in-between space of the outlined relationships. This reformulation should be performed in an alternative location, the Third Space, where there is continuous vision and revision, arbitration and relation. This space also gives rise to a renewal of cultural practices and identities inscribed with, and articulated through, the production of meaning and representation. (Cf. Bhabha 1994).

[76] Bhabha, 1996, 54.
[77] Ibid., 55.
[78] Bhabha, 1994, 49.
[79] Ibid., 49-50.
[80] Ibid., 50.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Bhabha, 1994, 50 (Italics in original).

Lastly, Bhabha posits cultural difference as:

> A function in cultural translation, where the problem of cultural interaction emerges only at the significatory boundaries of cultures, where meanings and values are (mis)read or signs are misappropriated. Culture only emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life.[83]

Here, the question of why difference matters in the framing of world music performances remains pertinent. In short, why do we need this notion of difference? This is the question that I next address.

Framing difference

Difference is crucial within the discussion of framing world music festival because it is fundamental to how meaning is attributed and negotiated musically: without it, meaning could not exist, for meaning is relational. It is embodied in the differences between peoples, cultures, and musics. Therefore, musical meanings depend on framing as a mode of representation in which difference between cultural and musical counterparts are fundamental.

I will briefly explore how the steelpan, framed at the Roots Festival becomes of interest to a discussion of cultural difference. In addition to attending to processes involved in the negotiation of cultural difference, Bhabha says that this process in Third Space enables novel areas of interaction and collaboration, where identity is continuously in the process of invention.[84] The notion of roots expressed in the festival space frames (world) music in terms of origins and contributes to "narratives of originary,"[85] which, I argue from my analysis of bomb-tunes, music rejects. Thus conflating difference with diversity in tandem with the overstated emphasis on roots leaves no (third) space for the emergence of newness within the festival space. Bhabha's argument for the distinctness between these two terms is to emphasize the necessity to rethink the common conceptualizations of cultural identity, which have influenced processes of knowledge.[86] The notion that cultures are not unitary as presented by Bhabha is uproariously present in bomb-tune music-making. I argue that this practice allows us not to ascribe unity or totality to cultures and music-making practices and therefore to take a step towards conceiving of the festival and the framing practices involved in its production and consumption in these non-binary terms.

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., 2.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

Bhabha finds truth in his argument not because he believes "in some humanistic nostrum that beyond individual cultures we all belong to the human culture of mankind."[87] Rather, the "reason a cultural text or system of meaning cannot be sufficient unto itself is that the act of cultural enunciation – the place of an utterance – is crossed by the différance of writing."[88] Put differently, Bhabha maintains that identity, individually or collectively, is never pre-given: it must be articulated. Additionally, subjectivity is more about the production of self-articulation than it is the origin of any utterance. Bhabha calls our attention to the fact that we ought to be mindful of "the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the *in-between* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture."[89] It is in this space that we will find those words with which we can speak of ourselves and others.[90] Thus, by exploring this hybrid Third Space, "we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves."[91] In bomb-tunes the move away from polarities occurs through the engagement with difference. For this reason, when examining bomb-tunes we can no longer speak of the Western musical characteristics or the African sensibility in strict polarized and disunited terms. Both Bhabha's arguments as well as bomb-tune music-making allows us to move away from binary juxtapositions into new articulations of selfhood and collaborations. The same should occur in scholarly considerations of world music and the framing of performances herein.

Bomb-tunes – when interpreted for a theory of movement, interaction and as a practice that generated the emergence of newness – enables us to see the necessity of conceiving the fluidity of music and the restrictive nature of the notion of roots, as presented within the festival space, to encapsulate the performances of the festival. According to Bhabha, the "intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process,"[92] rightly "challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People."[93] All "cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation"[94] and consequently, "hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures are untenable."[95] The Third Space "constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation,"[96] herein, the discursive properties of articulation assure "that the

[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid., 56 (Italics in original).
[90] Cf. Bhabha 1994.
[91] Ibid., 56.
[92] Ibid., 54.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 55.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised, and read anew."[97] This is precisely why I am using this conceptualization in my discussion of framing roots. The bomb-tunes are an example of how music is "caught in the discontinuous time of translation and negotiation."[98] Thus in bomb-tunes we encounter the transformation involved herein as the practice bears a hybridized identity.

In the above, I have attempted to (re)mold and question the notion of roots within the festival space doing so through a discussion of bomb-tunes. I also problematised the importance of recognizing difference, arguing that a recognition of difference within the festival space would enable a space of interaction, translation and transformation from which newness arises and in which meaning generated. Because of such a conception within the festival space, (world) music is "free to negotiate and translate cultural identities in a discontinuous intertextual temporality of cultural difference."[99] In sum, the "recognition of the "split-space of enunciation"[100] will enable a "way to conceptualizing an *inter*national culture, based not on the exoticism or multiculturalism of the *diversity* of culture, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity.*"[101]

One might ask what the creative use of difference has afforded, what has the negotiation produced? A space was opened within and from which newness was able to emerge, as my outlining of bomb-tunes practice suggests. Interaction with difference took place between the following: First, the instrument voices of orchestras for which Euro-American music was composed necessitated experimentation with the steel-orchestra's different instrument voices. Because of this, new instruments and instrument names were invented. For example, what used to be called the ping pong became the tenor, and the bass was formally known as the boom. And newer instruments that were added to the steel-orchestra such as the bélé and grumbler were respectively renamed guitar and cello.[102] Second, and most crucial to this negotiation of difference, there was a shift in the general perception of panmen who were interpreting the classics which led to an elevation of their social and cultural status. Dudley extends this and says "if the popularity of the Bomb did derive to any significant extent from redefining the authority of elite cultural icons, it probably had more to do […] with the chance to identify with

[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 55. The emphasis on the textual on Bhabha's part is enormously conceivable here.
[100] Ibid., 56.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Neither the steelpan nor the steel-orchestra is standardized. Each orchestra has its own preference as to its voicing and the amount of each voice it will incorporate.

symbols of power than a desire to mock them."[103] I would go further to say that it is not simply a matter of identification but of creatively recognizing and engaging with difference, of actively creating a space from which to be heard.

Dudley touches on this when he states:

> Just as the Bomb gave steelband supporters a chance to relate to the Classics in a way that was more comfortable for them, the musicians also enjoyed the chance to adapt these works to a style of playing with which they could more fully identify: […] when you hear a tune, you used to try to take that tune and turn it from a waltz to a mambo, from a waltz to a samba, or from a waltz to a kaiso (i.e., calypso). And it takes a lot of doing to do that […] You're disarranging the whole of the fellow's composition. You are disarranging it and rearranging it to suit your mentality […] you break down the foundation of the tune all over and you start re-building it with some sort of magical growth of yours. (All Stars member Big Mack Sandiford)[104]

Third, there was a negotiation between the different performance spaces, the concert hall and the street procession, which made it possible for the classics to be "less alienating"[105] because bomb-tunes were compatible with dancing and parading. Additionally, the act and process of "disarranging a classic and rearranging it to suit your mentality speaks about the need to generate a musical structure and feeling ("kaiso") that was more familiar and energizing to carnival dancers than the structure and feeling of the original/unarranged ("Waltz")."[106] Conceiving bomb-tunes solely in terms of the transformation of ascribed meanings to music, as the move from one mode of framing –the concert hall– to another –the carnival street procession–, overlooks conceiving of musical movement and performance and how they interact. We cannot speak of meaning unless we explore how differences are negotiated to enable articulation. The practice of bomb-tunes not only opened this space but the music is itself a space of enunciation; according to Dudley the "bomb's meaning was greater than the simple sum of these interpretive stances."[107] Thus, in his opinion, the bomb exceeded the sum of the experiences – "class distinction and political resistance"[108] – that conditioned it. To attest to the productive nature of this space we turn to the contemporary performance of Panorama. Dudley explains that the

> competing and complexly interrelated meanings of the Bomb continue to play themselves out in contemporary steelband performance. For example, if we think of the Bomb as Classics performed in calypso style, then Panorama has in a sense become its mirror image, featuring calypsoes performed in a classical style: ten minute theme and variation

[103] Dudley, 2002, 152.
[104] Dudley, 2002, 154.
[105] Ibid., 157.
[106] Ibid., 157-8.
[107] Ibid., 159.
[108] Ibid.

> arrangements, elaborate modulations and re-harmonizations, introductions and codas, strictly memorized and performed by an orchestra of one hundred players.[109]

In highlighting the case of bomb-tunes, my intention has been to bring awareness to the multiplicity of connections at work between the performance of framing and that of music. It is not simply that "western forms are given new meanings, or made to serve local aesthetics and values."[110] Before this could take place, a space needed to be opened so that these meanings could emerge and be explored. This space did indeed open in and through music-making and musical performance. Recognizing and creatively interacting with difference enabled newness to emerge. Bomb-tunes continue to bear witness to the experiences of the panmen and tell of how difference was perceived and acted upon. Thus within difference, the fruits of who 'we' are, were harvested. "In addition to Panorama, steel-orchestras were also performing orthodox interpretations of classical music."[111] Here, the emergence of new music-making practices could be observed. An example of this 'orthodox' interpretation is the City Syncopaters' performance of *Poet and Peasant* by Franz von Suppe.[112]

In exploring the practice of bomb-tunes, I am interested in how those involved responded, musically, to restrictions and stereotypes directed at them. The steelband movement exemplifies how making music was a political act as well as an act of self expression; the tone, timbre and attitude of the panmen towards their environment and world at large is expressed in this music-making practice. Within the steelband movement, and in the practice of disarranging and rearranging classical pieces, there was a sense of joy and accomplishment that resisted oppression. Bomb-tunes embody a particular pleasure of musically surviving and triumphing over the ordinances and restrictions. The tunes that they chose to arrange expresses something of how they valued and conceived of beauty at the time. Johnson says:

> Such considerations indicate the process through which Caribbean creole culture, at least in this particular instance, was brought into being. A sensibility, a predisposition, partly inherited from Africa; and partly conditioned by the particular New World cultural environment, shaped the panmen's likes and ambitions. It determined which serendipitous discoveries were adopted, and which deliberate innovations they aimed for. Following the trail of innovation, those panmen met obstacles of all kinds: technical, cultural, organizational and political. To engage each one they drew on a repertoire of possible responses provided by their own experience, ingenuity and cultural traditions, or those of their social allies.[113]

Bhabha says:

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[109] Ibid., 160.
[110] Ibid., 147.
[111] Example 1.3 (4'47"-5'53").
[112] A competition was also created to provide a platform for the practice of orthodox interpretations of European composed music – 'the classics' on steelpan. Example 2.6, recorded in 1966.
[113] Johnson, 2011, 270.

> Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.[114]

Prelude to the Sonorous Spectacle

(World) music is packaged, reformulated and restructured as it moves from stage to stage. This reformulation and packaging is not solely for the purposes of entertainment and celebration but also has commercial ends; the framing of both world music and the festival is designed both to make music and to make money. Processes of framing were present right from the beginning of this 'world music' category development, particularly in its naming and the all-encompassing way it encapsulated different musics. To make the unintelligible (different musics of the world) intelligible, and commercially viable, they needed to be categorized. This aspect of framing and the responsibility that goes along with it has been inherent in the structure of world music performance practice.

It remains unclear what characteristics such performances as Pamberi Steel-Orchestra, Les Espoirs de Coronthie, Staff Benda Bilili, and Indian Harmony Experience have in common aside from sharing the 'world music' label and the fleeting summer experience of coincidentally performing on the same festival stage at, for example, the Amsterdam Roots Festival in 2010. To say that these performances are all examples of 'roots' or 'world music' hides more than it reveals of their different musical characters and performance practices.

The bomb-tune served as a way for steel-orchestras to show originality and cutting edge techniques for developing and playing the instrument. Bomb-tunes have contributed to the current character of steelband music-making, where musical complexity and virtuosity were, and still are, used as scare tactics. Bomb-tunes heavily influenced aspects of musicianship and assisted in clarifying the technical possibilities of the instrument. I argue that this mode of framing contributes to the sonorous spectacle. According to Bal "[…] framing is what happens before the spectacle is presented."[115] Thus, building on my previous argument concerning fixity, I argue that this mode of framing, in failing to acknowledge difference, is constitutive of a sonorous spectacle which separates self and other. Debord considers the spectacle for the way in which it enables an exposition of power relations, departing from the spectacle he thus attempt to understand and analyse power relationships.

[114] Ibid., 3.
[115] Bal, 2002, 137.

That which is presented by framing, such as Pamberi's description, comes from outside of the musical performance, yet it is present as a structuring agent, paratextually, of the musical performance. Such preconceived notions lead towards fixity because music is not central in providing the space for the interpretation of its own performance. As a result, a spectacle is created. This idea is intrinsic to this study, which deals with the interactions between framing and spectacle, illustrating that one is constitutive of the other. To introduce my discussion of the sonorous spectacle, which will be examined at length in the following chapter, I want to reflect on my analysis of the framing practices at the Amsterdam Roots Festival.

To assign these musics the role of celebrating "roots" has the potential to construct a romanticized Other, which views music as important only insofar as it represents a particular place of origin. To suggest that all these musics stand in the same relation to experiences of place and that they should respond to the call of celebrating "roots" in the same way leads to an essentialist conceptualization of (world) music. It implies that there are a set of attributes that are necessary to the identity and function of music that fall under this category, which enables it to be positioned within a "roots" frame. There is also the connotation that musics share some essential, unchanging "nature" that secures membership in this category. Herein lies a generalization about music that inevitably excludes some musics, which speaks towards the spectacle's exclusionary nature. To consider difference is to disaggregate the category and highlight the heterogeity and difference embodied in the category which lends itself to diversity and a critical reflection of how the category subsumes all these different performances and how that translates into the performance practice. It is here that the aspect of responsibility, as discussed, plays a role in processes of framing the world music festival.

The issues of geographical space and movement is critical in musicology. This work represents a modest endeavour to deal with the issue of place and movement, along with some critically related concerns such as fixity, rootedness, location, displacement, continuity, and identity. Representations of geographical place in contemporary world music performance practice are exceptionally reliant on a portrayal of roots, locatedness, and authenticity. These are manifest especially in language use and discourse,[116] while the representation of movement depends on fissure, breach and disjunction. Music, identity and people have always been less fixed and more mobile than the typologizing and static approaches in framing at the Amsterdam Roots Festival would suggest. In music, lines between here and there, local and global, metropole and colonial homeland, then and now are muddied, as I have shown in the discussion

[116] This will be explored in detail in the following chapter as I turn to a discussion of WOMEX and WOMAD booklets and magazines as well as world music documentaries.

of the bomb-tunes and will continue to explore through this work. In this way, the us/them and western/non-western language that prevailed the research interview data analysed in this chapter is critically disturbed.

Bomb-tunes show that transition and transformation occurs in multiple senses, not simply between the African and the European. Hence within the festival, there exists a disjunction between the fixing of roots and the performance of bomb-tunes on stage, in which music, people and cultures can no longer be easily ascribed to points on a map. The key point here is that although places and localities become obscured and indeterminate in practice, *framings* that posit ethnically, culturally and musically definite places become ever more salient. It is within this that the constructed Other emerges.[117]

Locating the contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation,[118] and negotiating how to take action in and from that space, is the starting point, for framing difference in world music. This chapter has insisted that it is action in presentation that matters. Presentation ultimately structures our process of ascribing meaning, but we ought not simply drift along uncritically in its basin. Instead, we should comprehend both theoretically and practically what is taking place, and explore the space in which there is something happening and in which we can take action. In highlighting the case of the bomb-tune in the festival framing, my intention has been to bring awareness to the multiplicity of connections at work between music and the way it is framed. I have stressed that we must recognise that framing takes place in the simple act of staging these musical performances. It is therefore crucial to pay critical attention to the consequences of these acts of framing.

De Certeau acknowledges that "ideas, themes, classifications float from one mental universe to another, but at each passage they are affected by structures which reorganize them and endow them with a new meaning. The same mental objects 'function' differently."[119] In this respect, bomb-tunes give rise to questions of colonialism, assertions of cultural identities, the reclamation of selves, nationalism, and political subversion through music. They also serve as examples of how musical movement through time and space, and between frames and places, transforms a politically charged performance practice. Particular socio-cultural forces conditioned bomb-tunes,[120] and through movement these aspects became less predominant.

[117] The construction of the Other will be discussed in the following chapter.
[118] Bhabha, 1994, 55.
[119] de Certeau, 1986, 180.
[120] Class distinctions, musical prejudice, bans and ordinances to name a few.

I have suggested that in framing world music at the Amsterdam Roots Festival, the "in-between space"[121] or "interstitial space"[122] that Bhabha refers to can only be opened through a framing of difference. Herein, a multiplicity of articulations, different stances and resistances are able to be negotiated. This in-between space allows novel musical experiences to take form. Anything can happen within this space of ambivalence, the vision and creative imagination of those involved in disarranging, arranging and rearranging European composed music in order to perform them for street processions, constituted a foundation which enabled political action through a musical movement. The failure of world music scholars and festival producers to recognize and attend to difference as a crucial strength is a failure to reach beyond the first colonial lesson. In world music, as we have seen in the practice of bomb-tunes, supposedly separate and isolated people must instead be understood as creatively engaged. World music festivals, and the acts of framing and staging that drive their organization not only have the effect of bringing meaning to music, but as it were, aspects of music to mean.

[121] Bhabha 1994.
[122] Ibid.

3 Notes on a sonorous spectacle: How the Other is created through framing

People create stories create people; or rather stories create people create stories.

~Chinua Achebe[1]

Definitions belong to the definers, not the defined.

~Toni Morrison[2]

The word spectacle is a noun and finds itself etymologically in the Latin *spectaculum*.[3] It stems from *spectare* which means to view, watch or behold. It is the frequentative form of *specere* – "to look at." The word is a noun and appears in the mid. 14th century to describe a specially prepared or arranged display. Its definition is:

i. : a very impressive show
ii. : something that attracts attention because it is very unusual or very shocking
iii. : something exhibited to view as unusual, notable, or entertaining; *especially*: an eye-catching or dramatic public display
iv. : an object of curiosity or contempt[4]

Spectacle carries both positive and negative connotations. Its positive sense describes a magnificent production or an excellent performance. Its negative connotation describes a lamentable public display with deplorable or shameful public conduct. In general, the spectacle refers to an event that is memorable for the appearance it creates. It implies an organization of appearances that are simultaneously enticing, deceptive, distracting and superficial. In response to this negative connotation, I turn to Guy Debord, who describes the spectacle as that which prompts hypnotic behaviour.[5]

Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* is a critique of media spectacles in the context of capitalism and consumerism. He argues that the consumerist society is mediated by images which have supplanted human interaction.[6] Analysing the diffusion of the commodity form into

[1] Achebe, 1990, 162.
[2] Morrison, 2005a, 225.
[3] http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=spectacle&allowed_in_frame=0 (04-10-2016).
[4] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/spectacle
[5] Debord, 1983, 18.
[6] Ibid., 4.

mass media and communication, he argues that this is constitutive of the spectacle, which gives rise to the alienation of difference, cultural homogenization, and power.

Debord was a French Marxist theorist who sought to formulate a critique of art as a step towards political critique of capitalist society. He developed the notion of the spectacle out of the concerns of situationism in the 1960s and regarded it as useful for the analysis of power relations. Debord was concerned with the changing relationship between direct experience and mediated representation. The increasing prevalence of the latter, he argued, was responsible for ever greater individualization and separation of beings. Therefore, his first thesis posits:

> In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a *representation*.[7]

This chapter illustrates how framing practices produce the sonorous spectacle. Within the festival space, the sonorous spectacle, as a concept emerges from musical events that are specially prepared, arranged, represented or framed as inherently remarkable. The analysis of the paratextual material presented before, during and after the festival will exemplify how, as a part of the sonorous spectacle, these textual materials contribute to world music discourse and are involved in a network of power relations.

Focusing on the narrative that emerges from framing practices and its pervasiveness throughout the festival space allows me to explore the dynamics of power in the production of the sonorous spectacle and to interpret acts of Othering. To support my argument, I concentrate on advertisements, programme notes, magazine articles, and press reviews that both precede and follow the event. I critically examine the propositions on which the sonorous spectacle is based and argue that, instead of analysing establishments of exoticism and authenticity,[8] emphasis should be placed on the mechanisms of their formations. I show that because music is a part of the sonorous spectacle, the audience experience of music is mediated by objectification and commodification of musical performance. In so doing, I will outline the ways in which the all-consuming narrative is formulated, presented, and acquires its staying power.

Both this and the next chapter focus on the manner in which the paratextual matter and the musical performance come together to form the experience of the festival as a whole, as well as how the two stand in relation to one another. In this discussion, I will refer to the cases of *The Good Ones* and *Staff Benda Bilili*. My argument underscores the resistance that occurs in

[7] Ibid., 1.
[8] (See for example, Bruner 2001; Desmond 1999; Titon 1999; Rees 1998; Duffy 2009ab). These authors focus primarily on cultural commoditization and the connection to authenticity herein.

the act of music-making and musical performance to the sonorous spectacle and thus raises the question of musical agency, something that has yet to be done in discussions of Othering and world music.

Situating the Sonorous Spectacle: Staff Benda Bilili & The Good Ones

My attention to the sonorous spectacle arises in part from the journey taken by Staff Benda Bilili through the world music festival circuit in 2009 and 2010. I first heard of Staff Benda Bilili in 2010 when they were a headliner at the Amsterdam Roots Festival. At that time the research for this thesis was smaller than a poppy seed, thus I did not attend their performance. I did however remain attuned to their musical journey by reading press releases and fliers that were circulated at other festivals I attended, as well as magazine articles. Their rapid rise to fame followed by their just as rapid fall, their short-lived sojourn, and the intense interest in them, motivated me to focus on the notion of spectacle. Debord explains:

> The flow of images carries everything before it, and it is similarly someone else who controls at will this simplified summary of the sensible world; who decides where the flow will lead as well as the rhythm of what should be shown, like some perpetual, arbitrary surprise, leaving no time for reflection, and entirely independent of what the spectator might understand or think of it.[9]

I conceive of this ephemerality in the terms outlined by Debord, who makes clear that "when the spectacle stops talking about something for three days, it is as if it did not exist. For it has then gone on to talk about something else, and it is that which henceforth, in short, exists."[10]

The festival program vignettes that describe the musical acts contribute, in part, to the formation of a sonorous spectacle for, as Debord explains,

> at the technological level, when images chosen and constructed by someone else have everywhere become the individual's principal connection to the world he formerly observed for himself, it has certainly not been forgotten that these images can tolerate anything and everything; because within the same image all things can be juxtaposed without contradiction.[11]

I conceive of the sonorous spectacle as emerging from a particular mode of framing world music within the festival space that characterises the objects, music and music-making practices on display as possessing amazing or surprising qualities.[12] The discussed acts of framing in the previous two chapters – the festival naming and flier description – contribute to producing the

[9] Debord, 1998, 27-28.
[10] Ibid., 20.
[11] Ibid., 27.
[12] This is evident in the description of the Amsterdam Roots Festival's aim as described on the festival webpage "[…] It became increasingly clear that elsewhere in the world there flourished popular music that presented new music to Western ears" http://www.amsterdamroots.nl/info/over-roots/ (accessed 17-09-2016 and translated by author).

festival as spectacle by separating self from other. In addition, paratextual elements such as documentaries, festival literature, press releases, magazine features – both the stories they craft and the language they use – help to constitute the sonorous spectacle.

I now focus on the story produced by the paratextual framing that accompanied the performance of two different ensembles and their music-making practices. Both ensembles performed at WOMAD – The Good Ones in 2014, and Staff Benda Bilili in 2010. I will discuss Staff Benda Bilili only in terms of press releases, magazine and newspaper articles, the documentary film, *Benda Bilili!*, as well as their two albums. I did not attend any of their live performances since they were not touring during the period of my field research.[13] I did however attend the live performance of The Good Ones at WOMAD 2014 and will refer to both my observations there and interviews with participants conducted after the performance.

Staff Benda Bilili and The Good Ones

To a non Lingala speaker, the song 'Marguerite' written by Coco Ngambali and performed by Staff Benda Bilili, would not be understood as telling the story of sibling separation. However, if we read press releases and magazine articles or saw the documentary where the lyrics are translated, we come to understand that it bemoans the separation between Ngambali and his siblings who live across the Congo River, in Brazzaville. The song highlights the fact that the siblings are not simply in different countries but that even the telecommunication providers are different. The documentary *Benda Bilili!*"[14] focuses on the recording process of the song *Tonkara*, which translates as 'cardboard' in Lingala and describes the way in which cardboard is used as a mattress. It also tells of how the singer looks forward to buying a mattress because of the financial gain afforded through music-making. This song cautions the listener not to judge another person because anyone can find themselves sleeping on a cardboard: "Don't judge a man's life, for one does not choose his life."[15]

Tres Tres Fort[16] is the motto and spirited cry heard throughout the songs of Staff Benda Bilili, their main goal is rendered in French as *Bouger Le Monde*.[17] Accordingly, their two albums were respectively named after these expressions. The ensemble came to the attention of world music scene through the documentary *Benda Bilili!* which, translated from their mother tongue

[13] This hiatus led to their dis-bandment. (see Morgan, 2013 *Staff Benda Bilili: Where did it all go so wrong?* http://www.theguardian.com/music/2013/feb/15/staff-benda-bilili-where-did-it-go-wrong (accessed on 05-09-2015).
[14] *Benda Bilili!*, a 2010 documentary produced by Renaud Barret and Florent de La Tullaye.
[15] *Benda Bilili!* Documentary DVD 2010, 4'00"-5'30".
[16] Name of the first album.
[17] Name of the second album. See example 3.1.

Lingala, means to "see or look beyond appearances."[18] The ensemble comes from Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and consists of Ricky Likabu (band leader, vocals), Coco Ngambali, Theo Nsituvuidi (vocals, guitar), Djunana Tanga-Suele, Zadis Mbulu Nzungu, Kabamba Kabose Kasungo (vocals), Paulin 'Cavalier' Kiara-Maigi (Bass), Roger Landu (Satonge, vocals), Cubain Kabeya (Drums, vocals), and Randy Buda (percussion). Together, they won the WOMEX artist of the year award in 2009 and were voted as 'Best Group' in the Songlines Music Awards 2010. Their music pays homage to numerous other genres, but is largely centred on a rumba feel.

The Good Ones sing 'Eudia,' in Kinyarwanda, the official language of Rwanda. It is a song named after the deceased wife of its composer and singer Adrien Kazigira. Discussing the song, he wrote, "after she passed away, as an artist, I felt the need to sing her name"[19] and explained that the lyrics detailed the love expressed towards him by his departed wife and her people, as well as their general character and good nature.[20] The above stories of music-making are often overshadowed by the backstory of despair and poverty that circulates through world music festivals as a means for commercializing these musics.[21] The narrative of the context becomes normalized within the festival space because the sonorous spectacle ignores the value of the musicians as people; "the erasure of the personality is the fatal accompaniment to an existence which is concretely submissive to the spectacle's rules, ever more removed from the possibility of authentic experience and thus from the discovery of individual preferences."[22] I argue, for this reason, that the backstory as provided in the festival pamphlets or context of music-making colonizes the entire story.

The Backstory: a focus on context

The dominant backstory goes as follows: The WOMAD 2014 official souvenir programme festival booklet and website's description of The Good Ones held the title "delightful acoustic trio born out of horror."[23] It proceeds from there and details:

> In an industry that, even on its best days, is hard-bitten and unrelentingly cynical, heart-warming tales of hope and sunny optimism don't come along too often. The evolution of The Good Ones is one such tale, telling how three survivors of the 1994 Rwandan genocide emerged from the unspeakable horror to rebuild their lives through music. This music – presented to the world via the album Kigali Y' Izahabu – might be acoustic and *far from complicated*, but its directness packs no end of emotional punches, winning over many of

[18] Example 3.1 (6'54").
[19] 'Africa Beats' BBC http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-29660443 (accessed 04-01-2015).
[20] The musical performance of The Good Ones will be analysed in the following chapter.
[21] My argument here departs from Chinua Achebe's notion of a 'balance of stories'. See: Achebe and Bacon 2000.
[22] Debord, 1998, 32.
[23] Festival booklet page 33.

> those hard-bitten and unrelentingly cynical music critics along the way. This debut record is in the best tradition of back-porch field recordings – no overdubs, no remixes, no extras. Just the *purity* of acoustic guitars and gorgeous harmonising voices creating a bell-clear sound, simple love songs *that cut through the noise and nonsense of everyday life*.[24]

The following description comes from Thom Jurek:

> [...] are a trio from Kigali, the impoverished capital city of Rwanda. Adrien Kazigira, Stany Hitimana, and Jeanvier Havugimana are all survivors of the Rwandan genocide. Their debut album, Kigali Y' Izahabu, was recorded in one night and released in the late fall of 2010 by Dead Oceans (who donated a portion of the proceeds to various Rwandan humanitarian organizations). Kazigira wrote eight of the album's 12 songs. The trio plays two acoustic guitars -- one functions as a bass (because it was missing its two top strings on the night the record was cut) -- and employs harmony vocals and *organic percussion*. Essentially a field recording, Kigali Y' Izahabu was recorded and produced by Ian Brennan, who has worked with Richard Thompson and Ramblin' Jack Elliott, among others.[25]

For Staff Benda Bilili the story is told as follows:

> […] Comprised chiefly of *polio victims* who *prowl* the *zoological gardens* of Kinshasa on their customized tricycles, they possess an extra *layer of outsider status*."[26]

Andy Morgan who spend time in Kinshasa with the artists, and wrote the laudation for the WOMEX Award presentation, opens his piece stating:

> So often, by the time many groups play their first note on a European stage, they have already lived, struggled and suffered a tale of epic proportions […] and no group could illustrate this truism more effectively than Staff Benda Bilili […] *Their story is about polio-ravaged limbs and survival in the toxic atmosphere of Kinshasa*, one of the largest and most *dysfunctional cities in Africa*. It's about *homelessness, ostracism, community, courage* and music.[27]

Interestingly, music is placed as last on the list at a music award presentation. Finishing, he writes: "it's taken decades of faith, courage and facing down insurmountable odds for the band to crank their *remarkable wheelchairs* up the *final* ramp and onto a European stage."[28]

The emphasized backstory is of interest because of what it reveals, and for Staff Benda Bilili it highlights a story of polio-ridden paraplegics who are homeless, living in a Kinshasa zoo, sleeping on cardboards and play self-made instruments. The "ambient" background sounds on the recording together with the fact that electricity was stolen in order to record some of the songs of the first album is the all-consuming narrative that dominates. I do not argue that it is problematic that this particular story is told. Rather, the way in which it is told, as well as the

[24] WOMAD at Charlton Park 2014 Official Souvenir Programme 24-27 July, Written by Nige Tassel p. 33. (Italics mine).
[25] Thom Jurek, http://www.mtv.com/artists/the-good-ones/ (accessed 04-01-2015, italics mine).
[26] Andy Gill, The Independent, 20th March 2009 http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/reviews/album-staff-benda-bilili-tregraves-tregraves-fort-crammed-discs-1649269.html (accessed 17-02-2016, italics mine).
[27] http://www.womex.com/realwomex/award1.html (accessed 21-04-2015, italics mine).
[28] Ibid. The Eurocentric stance of this artist's description is blatant.

fact that it is the only narrative that is circulated, has a colonising impact. It completely colonizes the story music might attempt to tell, an aspect that the following chapter will discuss. This mode of framing music is not reserved to the two cases that I have presented above, but is consistent for certain music-making practices that comprise world music as a category.[29]

Problematizing the backstory: A critique of context

I contend that the emphasis on the context, as presented within the above cases, exemplifies why both Bal and Kramer are critical of context as a concept. Bal makes a distinction between the concept of context and that of framing,[30] arguing that

> in effect, though, its [the context] deployment serves to confuse explaining with interpreting […] the ambition to explain, not merely interpret, was inherent in that emulation. With this confusion, and in any endeavor of an interpretive, analytical nature, a whole range of presuppositions becomes important, whereby the term 'context' loses both specificity and grounding. The perspective becomes unacknowledgedly deterministic. The unavowed motivation for the interpretation –indeed the analytical passion– becomes entangled in a conflation of origin, cause, and intention.[31]

In juxtaposing context and framing, Bal remains vigorously critical of the concept of context and suggests, "context is primarily a noun that refers to something static. It is a 'thing' a collection of data whose factuality is no longer in doubt once its sources are deemed reliable."[32] That is to say, when one is engaged with a particular context there is no continuous questioning of both self and object of study. She states further, "'data' means 'given', as if context brings its own meanings. The need to interpret these data/givens is too easily overlooked."[33]

According to Kramer, seeking to understand music in its cultural context dismisses the fluidity of musical meaning. He says that "a more powerful operator than context is needed to support an understanding of music as a cultural agency rather than as example of a preconceived idea or prior condition."[34] For this reason I sought to engage with the concept of framing instead of context. Kramer says:

> Placing music – or anything else – in what is supposed to be "its" context is no simple matter. How do we know what context is pertinent? And why do we suppose that any context is bounded, stable, clear, or authoritative? The actual frame of reference in which we encounter musical works and practices, and, for that matter, anything else, is none of these things. Furthermore, the effort as thus defined is circular. If music is actually a cultural agency, then it is already part of the "culture" employed to explain it. The idea that one can

[29] A similar analysis could be carried out in relation to other ensembles such as Jupiter Bokondji, Acholi Machon and the Malawi Mouse Boys all of which come from countries within the African continent.
[30] Bal, 2002, 134.
[31] Ibid., 135.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Kramer, 2016, 57.

> understand music by positioning it in "its" context – however we learn what that context might be – ignores the effects that music must already have had on the context involved.[35]

The colonizing narrative focuses heavily, if not solely, on the context in which music-making takes place. The portrayal of the struggling marginalized and failure that preface music-making and performance in world music has become so precious that it is supported and empowered over or instead of the musical performance and the musician's imagination. It is not the artistic expression or musical triumph that is praised and acclaimed through awards, but the deprivation that encircles it. Kramer states further:

> The question for music is how we can understand its participation in the activity of culture without reducing the music to the reproduction of a presupposition, however refined the presupposition might be. How, in other words, can we address the musical phenomenon, whatever form it takes, not as a sign or instance, not as the reflection of a cultural context, but as an event?[36]

The risk of the narrative, spun by the paratextual framing, is that it reduces music and music-making practices to the "reproduction of a presupposition."[37] After listening to a performance by The Good Ones, an audience member, Hnery, commented to me that he found it peculiar that "this *African music* had *no drums*."[38] He was "convinced that all *African music* had *drums*"[39] and was "amazed by this *African music* because it consisted of *no drums*."[40] Thus, the 'reproduction of a presupposition' relates to Henry's difficulty recognising music "as an event"[41] – in terms of its performance and not as an African music that was, in his opinion, lacking drums as part of its instrumentation. The narrative prevents us, as festival participants, from addressing the musical performance and is constantly positioned as resonant of music's perceived cultural context. Based on this, I suggest that participants are limited, and limiting themselves, to a view of the world that comes from somewhere else, from the sonorous spectacle.

World music, marginality and the colonizing narrative

According to Feld, the concept of world music produced a binary and aided in reinscribing the

> separation of musicology, constructed as the historical and analytical study of Western European art music, from ethnomusicology, constructed by default as the cultural and contextual study of music of non-Europeans, European peasants, and marginalized ethnic or racial minorities. The relationship of the colonizing and colonized thus remained generally intact in distinguishing *music* from *world music*.[42]

[35] Ibid., 54-5.
[36] Ibid., 57.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Henry, festivalgoer.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Feld, 2000, 147.

Marginality in world music, as discussed by Feld, is based on fundamental kinds of stereotypes about music.[43] World music and marginality are constitutive of the festival. This can be gleaned from the presentation of images on pamphlets (circulated by the world market) and the flier descriptions that associate world music with marginality. Thus marginality is already asserted in the material, in this way, the story is already being manufactured. The insistence on the relationship between marginality and world music has seeped into the entire language of world music literature and world music discourse. This particular narrative is totalizing and pathologizes the Other.

From the paratextual framing that produces and is constitutive of the spectacle, I argue that the narrative is anachronistic; the process of Othering – constituting an Other – is based on an outmoded conception.

Staff Benda Bilili is surrounded by key words such as "polio victims", who are "severely disabled" and "have no legs", "only withered stumps." Their "resilience and determination is the most amazing" *because* they are "desperately poor." Finally the "Congo war", "decaying infrastructure", "street children", "famine", "pitiably cramped living quarters" and their "handicap" are continuously highlighted. Articles about the music and the musicians usually end up attending to the 'common' sight in Kinshasa "of people with withered limbs propelling themselves around the streets by their hands, perhaps strapping them with flip-flops". An exemplary quote reads: "life in Africa is very hard. When we wake up in the morning, we don't know what we're going to eat."[44] This is one story that purports to speak unproblematically for an entire continent. Ignoring, or apparently indifferent to actual music-making practices, it exemplifies the colonizing narrative that continues to pervade articulations of Africa within the world music festival space.[45] Similar descriptions can also be found in shorter press quotes:

> Musicians of extremely humble means who create startlingly warm and vital music from the barest resources. Making their story even more poignant is that these artists are paraplegics and polio victims. It's a compelling story for sure, but the music is superb enough to speak for itself. – *Pop matters*, USA

[43] For a discussion of the notion of stereotype cf. Bhabha 1994. A discussion of stereotypes in world music is outline by Haynes 2013.

[44] http://www.theguardian.com/music/2009/nov/01/staff-benda-bilili-congo-interview accessed 29-11-2014. The phrases and sentences that accompany this footnote were taken from one article. However, most literature is imbued with this language use and mode of description.

[45] This differs for those artists who headline the festivals. This selected group is discussed and described in terms of their musical accolades such as awards won as well as in terms of their musical trajectory and collaborations. It seems that this narrative that focuses on the context does not follow or colonize the music-making of artists such as Manu Dibango, Cheikh Lo, Baaba Maal, Fatoumata Diawara, Salif Keita or Youssou N'Dour. This line of comment leads to a discussion of canon formation within world music.

> Several generations of paraplegic street children who live around the Kinshasa Zoo, formed an octet together and play their version of Rumba, Afro-Son and Afro-Salsa. – *Blue Rhythm*, Germany[46]

> Staff Benda Bilili - The masters of survival, the sound of the ghetto […] The musicianship is subtle and precise, forged by the group's extraordinary work ethic, and their sound has a *raw simplicity* and uniqueness. – *The Independent*, UK

> An extraordinary release with an equally extraordinary backstory. – *The Wire*, UK.[47]

The front cover of the *Songlines* magazine described the band in bold lettering: "They live in the Kinshasa zoo, travel on motorised wheelchairs and play music like no one else. They are … Staff Benda Bilili."[48] The point of presenting the above is to explore how a backdrop is set up in processes of the paratextual framing which presents stereotypical narratives and familiar tropes through which an entire continent is understood. Such framing does not present the story of music-making and how humanity is performed in music.

Musicians, however, do speak for themselves and this differs from the narrative outlined above. Ricky Likabu, the band leader of Staff Benda Bilili explains

> our main influence lay in the street […] We sleep there, eat there, rehearse there, the people around us – street kids, war refugees, prostitutes, orphans – are the true heroes of this country. They always tell us their stories, their hopes, their tricks to survive. We feel we must speak in their name, and in that sense we are the true journalists of Kinshasa.[49]

Likabu's articulation holds and shares a different tone. Interestingly, this story is not emphasised and almost never leads the narrative. Likabu acknowledges the horror, but does so in relation to music-making, providing insight into the functional role of musical expression for his community. It is functional because it is a mode through which their everyday collective experience is voiced; the music and lyrics bear witness to and recognize the importance of music-making. Their expression makes it possible to organize the present and the future, doing so not by avoiding predicaments, difficulties and conflicts but by examining them. They do not attempt to solve their socio-cultural problems through music-making,[50] but their music seeks to clarify particular problems and contradictions. For example, the song *Polio* pleads for parents

[46] "Mehrere Generationen von querschnittsgelähmten Straßenkindern, die am Zoo von Kinshasa leben, schlossen sich zu einem Oktett zusammen und spielen ihre Version von Rumba, Afro-Son und Afro-Salsa." (translated by author)

[47] Short press quotes were all listed on the WOMEX page. see: http://www.womex.com/realwomex/award1.html

[48] The April/May 2009 front cover of the *Songlines* magazine issue #59 featured Staff Benda Bilili in a full-length cover of the ensemble.

[49] Interview with WOMEX delegate, writer and journalist Andy Morgan. http://www.womex.com/realwomex/award1.html

[50] They are known for looking after the street kids, therefore they contribute to solving social problems in other ways.

to get their children vaccinated and to treat children suffering from the virus as equal to the able-bodied children.

The problem with the dominant narrative has always been that those marginalized were not able to speak for themselves – they were always spoken about and for, as Spivak points out and as noted by Achebe.[51] The world music festival space presents a change in this dynamic as artists are no longer victims of that old habit. However, though no longer being victims of other people's accounts, the account that they might give through music and music-making is colonized by the very backstory that aims at presenting their music. This connects to the spectacle for the way the paratext frames difference within the world music festival space.

Debord's Spectacle: On separation, isolation and the exacerbation of divisions

The spectacle creates a division, which relates to discussions in (world) music studies. Frith notes a split or separation that occurs between "*us and our creation*"[52] as he expresses:

> Pop is a classic case of what Marx called *alienation*: Something *human* is taken from us and returned in the form of a *commodity*. Songs and singers are *fetishized, made magical,* and we can only reclaim them through possession, via a cash transaction in the marketplace. In the language of rock criticism, what's at issue here is the *truth* of music – truth to the people who created it, truth to our experience. What's bad about the music industry is the layer of deceit and *hype and exploitation it places between us and our creation*.[53]

While the previous chapter explored the creative recognition and engagement with difference, here I am concerned with a framing of difference that inhibits its productive workings. In this process, difference is used to separate, a notion that Debord touches upon. The language used to describe world music, musicians and music-making conditions, forms of consciousness, and class relationships is ingrained in the establishing of difference that is ultimately estranging. To describe Staff Benda Bilili as "living in a zoo" for example, establishes a difference between performer and festival participant. Furthermore, this exemplifies Frith's argument that "something human is taken from us and returned in the form of a commodity"[54] as "singers are fetishized"[55] and "made magical"[56] by the spun narrative. This mode of framing is constructed to defamiliarize, reinforce Otherness and assert power, exactly what the spectacle seeks to accomplish. Debord says

[51] Spivak 1988; Achebe and Bacon 2000.
[52] Frith, 2007, 94. (Italics mine). Different forms of a split or separation between humans and artistic production has been discussed by Benjamin 2009; Attali, 1985, 32; Schafer, 1977, 90; and Baudrillard 1981.
[53] Ibid. (Italics mine and author's).
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

> [T]he spectacle presents itself simultaneously as all of society, as part of society, and as *instrument of unification* […] The spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images.[57]

Here, the spectacle focuses less on the image itself, and concentrates more on the role of the image in negotiating social relationships. In the case of framing the festival, social relationships are mediated by the paratext and its colonizing narrative. Music itself is not a spectacle, rather the modes through which world music is staged transform world music performance practice into a sonorous spectacle. Debord contends that the infinite flux of media images was a mode of ideological authority, wherein the spectator or consumer is kept pacified and isolated. Within the world music festival space, the composition of the sonorous spectacle is implicitly set in place through framing processes, as presented in the case study of this chapter and as discussed in the first chapter. The spectacle's power, its self-containment and self-reinforcing character reflect that "its means are simultaneously its ends,"[58] it aims at nothing beyond itself. Thus, Debord contends that the spectacle is an exploitative instrument that affords both separation and the development of a lonely crowd, "one part of the world *represents itself* to the world and is superior to it […] The spectacle reunites the separate, but reunites it as separate."[59]

Within the world music festival space, the textual media that surround music-making and performances paint the people involved in music-making[60] as fraught with desperation which, I argue, causes an estrangement. Kramer's position is clear as he explains that

> like works of art, acts of interpretation cannot be verified or validated. They succeed insofar as they create a community of discourse, a grammar of understanding that becomes a qualitative part of the music – or anything else – that is being interpreted. *Mehr Kunst als Wissenschaft*: although knowledge of culture, history, customs, imaginaries, and so on are necessary for cultural understanding, understanding becomes cultural only when it goes beyond that knowledge.[61]

The misery does not validate the performance but the sonorous spectacle wishes one to believe that it does, doing so in order to keep participants captivated and mesmerized. The spectacle waves a *muleta* as the torero does in order to distract the bull from its situation. The presented horror violates the work of musical performance, part of which is to emphasizes the creative use of difference, bringing the self and other into closer proximity. This colonizing narrative however, suggests that struggle and poverty are inevitable for those involved in world music-making. Adichie, for example, notes that the emphasis on poverty undermines the possibility of

[57] Ibid., 3-4.
[58] Ibid., 13.
[59] See Debord, 1983, 29-30.
[60] This argument is only in relation to the cases presented within this chapter. It does not intend to suggest that this is a general unequivocal disposition of every world music festival.
[61] Kramer, 2016, 58.

experiencing the other – in this case the musicians – as more than their poverty and marginality.[62] Those who attend the festival, read booklets and magazines, and listen to the introductions of performers are confronted with an all-consuming narrative – a narrative of catastrophe – which leaves little possibility of conceiving the musicians as being similar to the listener in any way. Thus, it remains difficult for the audience to have feelings more intricate than charity, or to connect with the musicians as equals or, to put it in Bhabha's terms, to move towards the goal of emerging as the others of our selves.[63]

To give an example of the estranging nature of the narrative: The distance between the human and the zoo animal, as presented by the all-consuming narrative is close. This is explicit in the case of Staff Benda Bilili, who are constantly described as living in the Kinshasa Zoo. Though it is not my ambition to rectify false stories, I must clarify here. Contrary to *Songlines'* magazine front cover, previously discussed, Staff Benda Bilili did not reside in the zoo. They explained on various occasions that they practiced on the grounds of the national zoo because it was the quietest place in the city. In a 2015 article written by David Honigmann on Mbongwana Star, which is a band made up of some of the former members of Staff Benda Bilili, there is a subtle, but much needed, correction of the story that the band is "based" or lives at the zoo. Here, Theo (Nsituvuidi Nzonza) corrects Honigmann, in the author's opinion – "sharply", stating: "we rehearsed in the zoo."[64] The question remains: why is this misspoken story so integral to the description of the ensemble and their music-making? Additionally, world music and the zoo are often linked as WOMAD has taken place at the Bristol Zoo in 2012. Chris Smith, WOMAD Festival Director remarks

> we always thought that bringing artists and animals from all over the world together would work, and the zoo is such a fantastic location we had to come back this year … Bristol Zoo and WOMAD have much in common, we both celebrate what the world has to offer whether it be through "wild" music or wildlife and we both work tirelessly to share our passion with a wider audience.[65]

Genocide, AIDS, military governments, Ebola, Poliomyelitis, struggle, people dying of starvation and poverty as people continue to fight endless wars, is continuously reproduced with a clamorous effect.[66] This narrative comes from the sonorous spectacle, constituted through particular framing processes, and the way the paratext reinforces this as it surrounds music in an effort to aid in music's presentation and ensure its consumption. We, as festivalgoers, are so

[62] Adichie 2009.
[63] Bhabha, 1994, 56. This is also discussed by Adichie 2009.
[64] http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/a764543a-1e65-11e5-ab0f-6bb9974f25d0.html (Honigmann, 2015, accessed 29-08-2015).
[65] www.womad.org (accessed 06-04-2013).
[66] This narrative is also presented in the literature available at booths and stalls at the world market.

immersed in the sonorous spectacle, in the media that produce it and in its images, that performers and music-making practices become one thing. Finally, Kramer explains that the

> project of cultural musicology rests on situating musical phenomena – let's call them performance works and their support networks – within the dynamics of culture and its strangely positive form of entropy. To do that, moreover, requires doing a great deal more than putting these performance works in their "cultural context." Context, too, is a weak concept, far weaker than it is usually thought to be. Its usefulness, like that of fixed meaning, which is only another version of context itself, is real but limited […] We have to decide such things for ourselves. And when we decide, we do not abstract from the cultural field or stand outside it as an observer, even a participant observer. Instead we enter the field, act on it, change it, and continue its migration beyond the context and facticity that support it.[67]

Because the sonorous spectacle alienates and separates, it does not allow us to "enter the field, act upon it, [and] change it"[68] in attempts to progress towards a "migration beyond the context and facticity that support it."[69] I contend that this colonizing narrative – which is both *about* the context and *constitutes* it – contributes to the sonorous spectacle and is exactly what it would have us, as participants, attend to. The spectacle is "that which escapes activity of men, that which escapes reconsideration and correction […] it is the opposite of dialogue. Wherever there is independent representation, the spectacle reconstitutes itself."[70] The alienation caused by the colonizing narrative allows an acknowledgement of difference but not a space of enunciation[71] or negotiation. Here there can be no spark toward interaction,[72] for the sonorous spectacle refuses to stimulate a relationship between differences and is the exact opposite of such a stimulation. Debord makes clear that "the spectacle within society corresponds to a concrete manufacture of alienation."[73]

According to Achebe, a "balance of stories is acquired when there is a reaction to a reaction or a response to a response until there is a balance of stories where all are able to furnish the definition of themselves and no longer be victims of other's accounts."[74] Within these examples of performances, subsumed under the world music category, there is arguably no 'balance of stories.'[75] I attribute this, in part, to the homogenization inherent to the category. The narrative contributes to an existent and already standing spectacular narrative. Thus, the different narrative that might be presented in musical performance is responded to as if it were the

[67] Kramer, 2016, 63.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Debord, 1983, 18.
[71] Bhabha 1994.
[72] Lorde, 2007, 111.
[73] Debord, 1983, 32.
[74] Achebe 2000; Achebe and Bacon 2000. This is addressed in literature by Adichie 2009.
[75] Achebe and Bacon 2000.

antiquated one. What has been written in respect to music and Africa within the festival space supports a particular perspective and perception of Africa and music-making practices.[76] Musicians speak for themselves but the response is what remains interesting, as the reaction is extremely loud. The interest lays in the reaction to their offered narrative, which occurs in and through music-making and performance. The response to the music-making comes not from the participants but from the sonorous spectacle that interprets the present music-making story through the antiquated ideas and language that the previous stories have told.

Through exploring the cases of Staff Benda Bilili and The Good Ones, I contend that a balance of stories can only emerge when an analysis of how the multiplicity of accounts, including those of music-making, are negotiated and related to each other. Achebe states, "this is not to talk about a shift in power or the structure of power […] the shift in power will create stories, but also stories will create a shift in power. So one feeds the other."[77] To elaborate on this, I contend that recognition of musical performance will not only allow a shift in power but a liberation of power.[78] The mechanisms of the sonorous spectacle are illustrative here because the spectacle does not allow for a multiplicity of stories and will never enable a balance of stories. According to Debord,

> the spectacle presents itself as something enormously positive, indisputable and inaccessible. It says nothing more than "that which appears is good, that which is good appears." The attitude which it demands in principle is passive acceptance which in fact is already obtained by its manner of appearing without reply, by its monopoly of appearance.[79]

The infinite absorption of ideas, different cultures, and behaviour that the sonorous spectacle makes available are not going to aid in the creation of this 'balance of stories.'[80] The dominant narratives I have discussed emphasise[81] that these musicians are poverty stricken and focus on their instruments and music-making practices. For instance, it is stated that recording processes

[76] See Kirkegaard 2005. This is not to make a general blanket argument about music and Africa. The arguments made here are confined to my particular presented case studies.
[77] Ibid.
[78] The liberation from power might seem like a utopian or idealistic idea if considered in terms of Foucault. However, this suggested liberation from power is confined to the production of the story and the balance that Achebe calls for. The liberation from power that I propose to be attained in the balance of stories is limited to the case of musical performance within the world music festival space. Aspects of power relation that speak to the general subject of this research project will be discussed at length in chapter 7.
[79] Debord, 1983, 12.
[80] Achebe and Bacon 2000.
[81] As mentioned, this way of paratextually framing and producing the critiqued all-consuming narrative is not simply reserved to the case studies employed here. Political, economic, religious and a host of other issues that plague those musics categorized under world music are constantly highlighted and are the leading subject matter within the presentation and description of music and musicians. Another example comes from Mahsa and Marjan Vahdat, who performed on Sunday the 27th 2014 at 4pm on the Charlie Gillett Stage. The first sentence of their description in the festival programme reads "Female singers in Iran are denied the right to perform in public, unless it's to an all-woman audience." Thus, the restriction is what we are firstly confronted with.

did not follow conventional norms because of lack of equipment or studio and the uncertain accessibility to electricity. Thus, the album of The Good Ones is described as a "back porch field recording,"[82] and "as […] essentially an intimate field recording that even captures the howling and barking of dogs in the background […] The primary obstacle to recording the group was that the musicians showed up with only one guitar for two players, and that guitar was missing two strings."[83] It is true that various animal sounds are audible in the background of the album recordings of both Staff Benda Bilili and The Good Ones. There is, therefore, no denying the situation that these musicians face, but we also need to be aware of another story, one that involves making – music-making. According to Dewey, in order for art to be alive it has to live in the here and now. The "conditions of origin" that art should eternally embrace do not mean *that art solely mirrors its conditioning sources or that our perception of its meaningfulness is determined by the significance of prior characterizing processes*. He emphasizes that art is a human creation, which is *expressed from a need*. He says of the Parthenon

> it has esthetic standing only as the work becomes an experience for a human being […] The turning to them is as human beings who had needs that were a demand for the building and that were carried to fulfillment in it.[84]

Dewey's thoughts speak to the *need* for music-making of both The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili. They also clarify the importance of integrating the story of music-making within the paratextual framing. I contend that the experience of the human being in music-making is what the paratextual matter also must embody. Finally, Dewey, like Kramer, is also critical of giving sole emphasis to the context.

To draw a preliminary conclusion from my analysis, I argue that in the festival space there is a default position of complacency and commiseration. To exemplify and ground this argument I will return to the festival space. One interviewee was astounded at how "brilliant" the music performed by The Good Ones was. Coincidentally, he had also seen the documentary *Benda Bilili!* and commented on the "complexity of the rhythms and lyrics," attributing it to "the insurmountable and inconceivable circumstances that they [the musicians] faced."[85] Similarly, another person reflected that it was "*because* of their struggle that they could compose such *brilliant* music."[86] I have suggested throughout this chapter that the establishing

[82] 2014 WOMAD festival souvenir programme.
[83] http://www.deadoceans.com/artist.php?name=goodones (accessed on 04-01-2015)
[84] Dewey, 2005, 3.
[85] Patrick, journalist, interviewed at WOMAD 2014 (after The Good Ones performance).
[86] Chris, Barista, WOMAD 2014. The word "because" is important in Chris' interpretation of the performance, which I argue is a result of or is at least partially influenced by the paratextual framing. This leads to a discussion

of the Other occurs through the routine portrayal and articulation of the colonizing narrative. The Other is produced through the recursive characterization of, in this case, Africa and its music-making practices as a fixed entity, which creates a sonorous spectacle by alienating all other possibilities. This might also be the reason why Henry could not fathom 'African music-making that consisted of no drums'.

Within this colonizing narrative, The Good Ones became the genocide survivors instead of, for instance, the musicians whose music-making enables them to express their love for their families. Their *need* for music-making, a *need* for creating touched on by Dewey,[87] remains mute in the press releases and other descriptions presented in this chapter. Also silent is the question of how music performs in response to this *need* for creating.

As noted by Adichie,[88] it is by becoming a commodified *thing* that the Other is created. This is precisely what the spectacle seeks to achieve. As Debord explains, "the spectacle is affirmation of appearance and of all human life, namely social life, as mere appearance."[89] The paratextual framing plays a constitutive role in the portrayal of who these people are and how they make music. Thus, I argue similarly to Adichie,[90] that the dominant narrative ignores music's role in the constituting meaning for the musicians and neglects the various other events and experiences that shape them, such as music-making, and specifically making music together. This narrative is characterised by clichés and pigeonholing. Again, the issue is not that it is fallacious per se but that it is presented in a truncated fashion. I consider this abridged presentation of musicians and their music to be a risk to musical performance and the work that music *does* within world music; allowing for a negotiation of differences.[91] Here, the presentation of the musicians and various music-making practices is abbreviated and incomplete, but although lacking, it is positioned as the sole narrative.[92] This process of framing produces a particular knowledge about Otherness within world music which in turn contributes to further framing practices at other world music festivals, and within world music research.

It is crucial to acknowledge *both* the contextual backstory of suffering, strife and struggle, as well as the story of music-making. Only by doing so can we acknowledge the vastness of the different experiences[93] in how musicians and participants negotiate being in the world. Hence,

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of how framing practices are involved in the production and acquisition of knowledge. This "because" in relation to the contextual circumstances and the creativity of the Other is examined by Adichie 2009.

[87] Dewey 2005.

[88] Adichie 2009.

[89] Debord, 1983, 10.

[90] Adichie 2009.

[91] Taken here both as the performance of music and music as that which performs. The latter of which follows arguments made by Cook 2003.

[92] This is what Adichie 2009 terms "the single story".

[93] Lorde 2007.

I call for the recognition of music-making and performance to be incorporated into the paratextual framing in order to provide a more holistic frame of reference through which to understand the experiences of others. The consequence of the critiqued mode of framing is that it makes the recognition of and relation to another's humanity and other experiences difficult if not impossible.[94] It emphasizes how 'they' are different to 'us', but these differences are not drawn together into a relation, instead they are used to separate and exacerbate the distance between the self and the other[95] within the world music festival space, establishing its performance practices as a sonorous spectacle.

What would be the benefit of having both the framing of musical performance, as Likabu describes it, as well as that of the current paratextual framing of the context – of struggle and poverty?[96] The answer would yield a prism through which to conceive of artists as thriving creatively *in spite* of their socio-political, cultural and economic situation rather than *because* of the strife.[97] The relation between the colonizing narrative and the sonorous spectacle can be interpreted through Debord's comment on

> the individual who has been more deeply marked by this impoverished spectacular thought than by any other aspect of his experience puts himself at the service of the established order right from the start, even though subjectively he may have had quite the opposite intention. He will essentially follow the language of the spectacle, for it is the only one he is familiar with; the one in which he learned to speak. No doubt he would like to be regarded as an enemy of its rhetoric; but he will use its syntax. This is one of the most important aspects of spectacular domination's success.[98]

Flier descriptions, press releases, booklets and magazine articles are important because they help participants orient themselves within the festival and thereby produce and acquire knowledge. The platform upon which this media stands can be used to detract, disparage and dehumanize but it can also be employed towards an effort to humanize and close the gap between the self and other, thus possibly avoiding opposition or "eluding the politics of polarity"[99] and, in music-making, allowing the recognition of the self in the other, thus,

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[94] This argument has been made by numerous scholars in various fields of study (Said 2003; Lorde 2007; Césaire 2000; Fanon 2001, 2008; Bhabha 1983, 1990,1994, 1996). However, it remains almost muted in discussions of world music and completely silent in the little discussion that is taking place about the world music festival specifically.

[95] Lorde 2007.

[96] This can only be obtained in the festival space if the story of music-making is incorporated and given equal voice in the presented all-consuming narrative of the paratext. Thus further takes a step towards acknowledging how the different experiences of being in the world come to be known and comprehended in music-making and performance and how this might be negotiated within the world music festival space.

[97] Said 2003; Adichie 2009.

[98] Debord, 1998, 31.

[99] Bhabha, 1994, 56.

emerging as the others of ourselves.[100] I envisage the possibility of an alternative process of framing as a counterpoint to the outlined all-consuming narrative that makes musical performance salient, and takes a step towards establishing knowledges of music-making within the festival space through musical performance.

Representation, Commodification and the Sonorous Spectacle

I have discussed at some length the narrative that dominates the paratextual framing and the language used in its construction because I want to connect it to the processes of commodification that I have alluded to above. However, before doing this, I will reflect on representation. The notion of representation is never far from discussions within world music studies and it is crucial to my discussion of the sonorous spectacle. The importance of representation can be preliminarily garnered from the fact that it appears in Debord's first thesis.[101] I explore this thesis by bringing the above analysis of the colonizing narrative into the discussion.

This notion matters and is worth struggling with; it influences and has something to tell us about world music performance practice. To take the idea of representation to the world music festival stage is an important one for in doing so a consideration of its purpose within the festival space is afforded. The festival represents subjects and objects from different countries (at the world market for instance), it represents different kinds of people, healing practices, cuisines and above all, musics. In this practice of representation within the festival space, meaning is given to things, people and cultural practices.

Representation brings two notions together: first, it refers to something which stands for something else, which takes the place of another. The common view of representation positions it as a reflection, mirror or even a distortion of reality. In this sense, representation carries with it the connotation that a pre-existing reality is represented through diverse media, such as staging. Thinking of world music through the notion of the sonorous spectacle seeks to subvert the idea that representation simply signifies something that was always already there. Second, representation implies something that images and depicts.

The workings of representation in the festival space are more complex than they appear, and the emergence of the sonorous spectacle within world music is central to thinking about these complexities. Here I am citing general practices of representation not confined solely to visual or sonic representations. The concept of the sonorous spectacle recognizes that representation

[100] Lorde 2007; 2009; Bhabha, 1994, 56. See as well Bhabha 1983.
[101] Debord, 1983, 1.

is always connected to power relations. How, then, do we question representation within contemporary world music performance practice? Rather than accepting it at face value, as that which is inherent in constructing a performance space, I seek to probe behind representation. In the staging of musical performances, the sonorous spectacle does not refer to the representation itself, but to the relationship between music and people that is mediated by representation. The central tenet of this work is that particular modes of framing can potentially produce sonorous spectacles. Music is turned into a sonorous spectacle when it is conceived as being isolated from experience – that is, when it is regarded as an object, a commodity.

Often when we, as participants, are immersed in the festival spaces such as Amsterdam Roots and WOMAD, we come to accept representation as normal. We unthinkingly walk through the sonorous space and sit on the park grounds surrounded by five stages, and we consume a multitude of musics that were specially prepared with consumption in mind. By employing the concept of the sonorous spectacle and the recognition of power it entails, I seek to critically examine that taken-for-granted space and explore how it shapes our experiences. Thus, I argue that the concept of spectacle has intellectual value and should not be dismissed.[102]

My aim here is not to measure the gap between the allegedly 'true' meaning of music and how it is represented within the festival space. Instead, I argue that representation is not a consequence of the sonorous spectacle but rather a condition for its existence. To be unreflective about the practices of representation naturalizes the sonorous spectacle that they constitute. Opening up the processes through which these fixed representations come into being requires critical inquiry into the framing of music and the power relations that shape the festival space. Such an approach exposes and potentially subverts the dispositions of those involved in the processes of framing, and brings the dynamics of representation within world music performance to the fore.

A note on commodification

Discussions of world music's commodification tend to focus on economic issues, such as royalties, artistic credit, acknowledgement of sampled sounds and music in liner notes and CD booklets, and forms of appropriation.[103] However, in my discussion of sonorous spectacles, I do not concentrate on economic aspects of commodification but rather on the processes of

[102] I take this position in critique of Foucault, who disregards the spectacle in preference to the notion of surveillance and panopticon see: Foucault, 1995, 217.

[103] Frith discusses this in relation to pop music (1981, 2007, 1988a, 1988b, 1989). See also: Taylor 1997 and White 2012. In world music, this is often considered in reference to Paul Simon's *Graceland* (1986) production. See: Meinjes 1990; Hamm 1989, Erlmann 1994, 1996a, 1996b; Kroier 2000; Keil and Feld 2005.

alienation that I have alluded to throughout this chapter. Feld provides an example of what I mean in his discussion of Los Lobos and their collaboration and recording experience with Paul Simon. The band complained that "we felt a little detached from the finished piece; we didn't have any real involvement in it."[104] My approach differs slightly in that the detachment I explore is that between musical performance and the festivalgoers.

My interest in consumption, and thus commodification, becomes heightened when I consider how the literature that circulates through the festival space or given in the WOMEX participant bag establishes a difference which enables alienation. Here, the paratextual framing designs musical performance as a form of consumption rather than an opportunity for interaction and relation.

This mode of creating and establishing an Other has further implications as it relates to commodification. The narrative that is presented and repeated in the sonorous spectacle, including the heavy focus on context, enables commodification. Crucial to this argument is Debord's thesis that presents the spectacle not as a "collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images."[105] The spectacular system is a system of isolation, and the story it perpetuates aids in the production of "lonely crowds."[106] Accepting the premises of the story enables a depreciation of human capabilities and creativity. On the relationship between the spectacle and the commodity, Debord explains:

> [I]n the essential movement of the spectacle, which consists of taking up all that existed in human activity *in a fluid state* so as to possess it in a congealed state as things which have become the exclusive value by their *formulation in negative* of lived value, we recognize our old enemy, *the commodity*, who knows so well how to seem at first glance something trivial and obvious, while on the contrary it is so complex and so full of metaphysical subtleties.[107]

Numerous informants stated in one way or another that the musicians' everyday experiences of suffering, as presented by the story, gave them their talent.[108] They also commonly expressed the opinion that their lyrics were "simple and complex"[109] or "simple but profound."[110] These descriptions assume that because musicians suffer, their ability to create should somehow be diminished. The surprise participants expressed about the musicians' creativity in instrument

[104] Ibid., 244.
[105] Debord, 1983, 4.
[106] Ibid., 28.
[107] Ibid., 35.
[108] This was usually conveyed in informal conversation with festivalgoers.
[109] Carl, frequent world music festival participant, interviewed at WOMAD 2014.
[110] George, journalist, WOMAD 2014. Interviewees understood the lyrics because most WOMAD participants do a great deal of research and extensively use the webpage of the festival where artist clips, linked to YouTube videos, are posted. This usually takes place months prior to the festival because the organizers provide artist and programming updates to keep participants informed about the musical acts on offer at the festival.

building and music-making was itself surprising to me. Their astonishment about the meaningful and articulate lyrics seemed to suggest that "their talent and ability to express so profoundly is given to them by their suffering,"[111] as one participant shared. However, the musicians' suffering did not give them their talent, though it undeniably informed their expression and instrument use. The performers' self-realization, facilitated through meaningful work such as music-making, is entirely unacknowledged in this narrative, and if it is mentioned it is treated as irrelevant. The result is an impoverished understanding of, and relationship to, difference. Affected by the throng of media images, sounds and stories that suffuse the space, attendees, like the informants mentioned above, are likely to be left in a state of passive fascination conducive to Othering. An abundance of such a colonizing narrative does away with the musician's and participant's agency as it substitutes participation by not only alienating difference but in not allowing difference to work differently.[112] This is exactly how the spectacle commodifies musical expression; the commodity becomes the sole medium through which relationships are negotiated, mediated and the sole vehicle through which exchange and communication occur. The sonorous spectacle inserts the colonizing narrative into every aspect of world music, thus obscuring the distinction between context and musical performance. This is precisely why the spectacle needs to constantly renew itself to engage attention and to replenish itself as it only considers itself.

Under the sonorous spectacle, alienation has become so pervasive that it is difficult to recognize and acknowledge it. Instead, the spectacle's "domination has succeeded in raising a whole generation moulded to its law."[113] As such, it is the epitome of the ideology of dominating individualism and marks the dissolution of intersubjective dialogue. The spectacle does not invent; it is not a creative and original production; it merely offers a synopsis of that which already exists. The spectacle can mitigate and clarify as well as distort and obscure, but it never initiates. It does not even create a relationship among those who consume, for, as Debord makes clear, their only communal relationship is that they are separate – the spectacle only creates itself. According to Henri Lefebvre "consuming creates nothing, not even a relation between consumers, it only consumes; the act of consuming, although significant enough in this so-called society of consumption, is a solitary act, transmitted by a mirror effect, a play with mirrors on and by the consumer."[114] Foucault notes that "the crowd, a compact mass, a locus of

[111] Ron, accountant, spoken to after the performance of The Good Ones at WOMAD 2014.
[112] Hall, 1996, 470.
[113] Debord, 1998, 7.
[114] Lefebvre, 1971, 115.

multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities."[115]

The main point that emerges from this discussion of the colonizing narrative as it relates to commodification, is that with the consolidation of this consumer society, no active participation[116] or relating between people is possible within the commodified forms of music-making. Rather, sounds, images and material objects are passively consumed, as the sonorous spectacle indeed would have it. Debord makes clear

> The spectacle originates in the loss of the unity of the world, and the gigantic expansion of the modern spectacle expresses the totality of this loss: the abstraction of all specific labor and the general abstraction of the entirety of production are perfectly rendered in the spectacle, whose *mode of being concrete* is precisely abstraction.[117]

Debord is explicit that under the spectacle, repose and recreation do not involve person-to-person interaction and relation. Instead, the spectacle presents a generalized display. Throughout my research I was asked why, in my opinion, people go to world music festivals? The first answer to this question is simple: to be entertained. Interlocutors generally expressed their desire to "have fun", "dance" and "enjoy the music" as well as to enjoy the other experiences provided by the festival, such as eating international food and shopping at the global market. The second most popular response to this question was to "escape the everyday mundanity."[118] Musicians, in particular, were excited to perform as well as to interact with and attend the performance of other musicians whose careers they had been following.

WOMAD's philosophy is mirrored in its name: it is a festival that is eager to present a world without musical boundaries. Its ethos promotes music's ability to communicate universally, surpassing limitations of cultural, geographical and ideological difference. Peter Gabriel, musician and co-founder of WOMAD says, "equally important, the festivals have also allowed many different audiences to gain an insight into cultures other than their own through the enjoyment of music."[119] He reproduces the widespread truism that "music is a universal language – it draws people together and proves, as well as anything, the stupidity of racism."[120] I recognize and appreciate the festival's business end and its aim to entertain. However, it is my contention that the festival should not serve merely to entertain and support musicians through

[115] Foucault, 1995, 201.
[116] A different way of being will be examined in the following chapter.
[117] Debord, 1983, 29.
[118] Franchesca, an office clerk, sought a "deeper spiritual experience" than that provided by the mundane everyday experience of working in an office. She shared that besides attending WOMAD she would be dancing in the Notting Hill parade at London's Carnival. She also said that she occupies herself with daily dance classes, such as Salsa and Sabar.
[119] https://www.womad.co.nz/info/the-womad-story/ (accessed on February 1, 2015).
[120] Ibid.

the platform it provides. The festival has both a civic and an aesthetic obligation. These obligations are immense, and should be treated as a responsibility by the festival organizers. Its goal ought not merely be to make a profit and spread the word by bringing new musicians onto the 'big European stage'. There is another level of expression that the festival ought to be serious about; the larger goal should also involve public responsibility.[121] Thus the festival might "assume responsibility for our response to the event."[122] My reason for this suggestion is inspired by the festival's capacity to enable cultural practices that can transform individual lives. The festival space can potentially provide a culture that can produce a thinking population and world music public that is sensitive to the kinds of data, information, and imagination that musicians provide. This goal should be in addition to commercial success.

Through the sonorous spectacle, the festival is specifically fashioned to generate a pseudo interaction with difference. In this chapter, I have recommended that changing the literature that circulates in the festival space and which deals with world music as a whole, should incorporate musical performance into its framing practices. The story of music-making is untold in the sonorous spectacle. However, I argue that musical performance counters the narrative of the spectacularized discourse. In contrast to the isolation discussed in this chapter, the following chapter will analyse a musical performance by The Good Ones at WOMAD 2014 and the music-making practices of Staff Benda Bilili, emphasizing their capacity to generate interaction and to present an alternative story – one that remains otherwise buried in the paratextual framing.

[121] Bal, 2002, 135.
[122] Ibid., 163.

4 Disrupting the sonorous spectacle: Musically moving the self and Other together

> But what was meant came from the drums […] the beautiful faces were cold and quiet; moving slowly into the space the drums were building for them […] speechless and unblinking because what they meant to say but did not trust themselves to say the drums said for them, and what they had seen with their own eyes and through the eyes of others the drums described to a T.
>
> *~Toni Morrison*[1]

Ricky Likabu made clear that in their music-making Staff Benda Bilili speak on behalf of their community, that they "speak in their name," and that they perceive themselves as the "true journalists of Kinshasa."[2] The documentary film *Benda Bilili!* makes clear that the songs are not fiction; that they are about everyday life.[3] The documentary *Benda Bilili!* explores the everyday life experience of these musicians through concentrating on their music-making practices. What piqued my interest in this ensemble, although I have not experienced their live performance, was the fact that for the length of the documentary, Likabu never stopped singing.[4] No matter the scene or activity that is depicted, Likabu is seen or heard constantly singing. If this act of Likabu is put beside, and in relation to, the socio-cultural, political and economic environment in which the ensemble dwells, then the instrumentality of music-making and musical performance is able to come into question. Sentiments such as these suggest that musical performance has radically impacted the lives of music makers. As they move through their everyday lived experience, their bodies, minds and spirits are modified in music-making. The previous chapter discussed the paratextual framing of world music through an analysis of the literature that circulates throughout the festival space as well as that of press releases and advertisements. It considered the colonizing narrative that infuses the descriptions of music-making and musicians in these texts and argued that an emphasis on the backstory or contextual matter takes no account of musical performance. The cases of The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili were explored in this regard and presented the grounds upon which this argument is built. In this chapter, by contrast, I emphasize musical agency, underscoring the argument that music *does* something – that it also participates in framing the festival. In making this argument, I concentrate on the music-making of Staff Benda Bilili and the performance of The Good Ones

[1] Morrison, 2005b, 53-54.
[2] In an interview with WOMEX delegate, writer and journalist Andy Morgan. http://www.womex.com/realwomex/award1.html (access 21-02-2016).
[3] *Benda Bilili!* (2010) Directors: Renaud Barret and Florent de La Tullaye.
[4] *Benda Bilili!* 29'20"-30'11".

at WOMAD 2014. It will thereby explore how an alternative story might be conceived, one that deserves recognition in the paratextual framing.

In the previous chapter, I considered the paratextual framing of staged performances in greater detail, attending to the distribution of festival literature through the festival space, illustrating how a colonizing narrative is formed herein and circulated.[5] I outlined how musical performances are repeatedly framed as one confining and othered entity. I suggested that the paratext does not attend to music-making and for this reason presents one aspect of the narrative that is all-consuming or colonizing. This colonizing narrative together with the previously discussed framing practices contribute to the sonorous spectacle. The dynamics of Othering in the paratextual framing of the performances indicate the isolating character of the spectacle. It also points towards the power relations involved in how an all-consuming and colonizing narrative is presented.

Within the world music festival space, (textual) narrative is one of the ways in which knowledge is acquired. Frith notes that the category world music depended on a "displayed expertise,"[6] which is "obvious in record sleeve notes (and WOMAD Festival program notes), in the explanations and descriptions of particular musical forms and their roots in local traditions and practices, their well-researched biographies of the artists involved."[7] He argues further that world music discourse drew "on the collecting ideology that had given most of these labels their original market niche."[8]

Upon entering the world music festival space, one is often inundated with fliers, programme booklets and numerous other pieces of literature that let participants know about the performances and the festival lay-out and timetable. This literature contributes to a narrative of world music because it describes artists and presents the festivalgoer with an outline of the different music-making practices that will be staged there as well as providing information about musicians and ensembles participating in that particular summer's festival circuit.

Staff Benda Bilili and The Satonge: Instrumentation and music's instrumentality

[5] The nature of this mode of representation has been frequently discussed in literary criticism. See for example Morrison 1988, 1992; Achebe 1990, 2000; Achebe and Bacon 2000; Byrd 2009; Adichie, who in 2009 gave a TED-talk on "the danger of the single story". It has also been addressed in cultural theory and criticism; see Fanon 2008; Said 2003; Hall 1997 and Bhabha 1983. As this relates to Othering, it is appropriate to acknowledge that Tagg 1996 takes a critical approach to the notion 'the Other' as a concept in popular music studies. However, this discussion has not generally been taken up in (world) music performance practice research.
[6] Frith, 2000, 307.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

Documentaries such as *Pan! An Odyssey*,[9] *Benda Bilili!, Africa Express*[10] and *Jupiter's Dance*[11] as well as the performances of bands such as The Good Ones demonstrate that musical performance transformed collective sensibilities and the place of music in the lives of music makers. I will attempt to exemplify this in the following analysis of Staff Benda Bilili.

Staff Benda Bilili's use of sound and rhythm is a homage of sorts to soukous, reggae, funk, Congolese and Cuban rumba. These come together in songs such as *Marguerite* or *Je T'aime*, which samples James Brown's 1970 *Get Up (I Feel Like Being a) Sex Machine.* This chapter will concentrate on aspects previously touched on, namely, the instruments used to create this sound. One instrument in particular that is entirely distinct to this ensemble, the satonge, was conceptualized, built and played by Roger Landu. Here an analysis of the satonge and its use in music-making can inform the way in which world music performance practice is presented within the paratextual framing because it gives insight into the instrumentality of musical performance in the lives of those involved in music-making.

The instrumentation, that is, the employment of instruments in music-making, of Staff Benda Bilili consists of vocals, guitars, percussion (in the form of a self-made drum kit and shakers) and the satonge. Musical instruments are integral to questions about how music is produced, practiced, distributed, performed, and consumed. I therefore seek to conceive of the uses to which music-making is put within said circumstances. I also take this particular direction in music analysis because most of the case studies that this project engages with consist of instruments made of objects previously used for other purposes such as the steelpan, discussed in the first chapter, or the soles of shoes played by The Good Ones. Here I seek to attend to the use of the satonge in the music of Staff Benda Bilili.

Philip Alperson outlines the "common sense view" of musical instruments. He says, "musical instruments are devices that performers use to make music […] we think of instruments as discrete, self-subsisting material objects, intentionally crafted for the purpose of making music."[12] However, Alperson makes clear that not all instruments are intentionally designed for making music. "Some instruments that find themselves in musical practices are simply found in nature."[13] This was exemplified at the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2014 where the Garifuna Collective used hollowed turtle shells for rhythmic and melodic texture in their music-making.[14] Alperson makes clear that instruments can only be

[9] *PAN! Our Music Odyssey*. Directors: Jerome Guiot and Thierry Teston, Writer: Kim Johnson. 2014.
[10] *The Africa Express.* Directors and writers: Renaud Barret, Florent de La Tullaye. 2013.
[11] *Jupiter's Dance*. Directors and writers: Renaud Barret, Florent de La Tullaye. 2006.
[12] Alperson, 2008, 38.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Example 4.2.

> understood with respect to their intentional, ideational, and historical components […] as heuristic devices whose conceptual apparatuses play a role in the creation of music […] we must understand musical instruments as culturally freighted objects, that is as objects that arise in the context of the history of musical practice.[15]

The invention of the satonge and the process of establishing its sound as part of Staff Benda Bilili was a response to a *need*, as part of particular socio-cultural forces and the economic environment where the instrument making took place. The music extends from the living experience; it is the total sum of parts of their environment such as their practice space or the expression of their daily social interactions.

The string of the satonge is stretched over a milk tin which is used as a sound box. The string is fixed to a piece of wood that serves as a moveable bridge and is manipulated to produce the pitches. In an interview with Michael Winter and Motana Kinuni conducted at WOMAD New Zealand by Nick Bollinger the satonge was described as:

> Milk pots and flexible piece of wood that gives the notes. Just one guitar string coming from the milk pots attached to the wood and its tension and pressure on the wood. The wood gives the notes and then the amplification is just like a pick up electric guitar and then you can play with the effect[16]

Alperson argues, "discovering an instrument that opens up new musical possibilities is one of the great joys of a musical performer."[17] The satonge in Staff Benda Bilili does more than produce sound. The instrument's timbral distinctiveness establishes the uniqueness of the ensemble's sound and it accentuates particular lines rhythmically and melodically, thus adding a textural layer to the music. In measures where no singing occurs, the satonge fills the lines of the voices, making it an integral part in supporting the melody. It also, embellishes upon the melody with short interjected phrases. In this way, it also plays during the space between two verses or between verse and chorus. The sound is one of an individual voice attempting to negotiate with the group or the rest of the voices, trying to find a collective balance as a whole. Doing this, the satonge accentuates the unexpected in rhythm (through syncopation), and in melody (through embellishments).[18]

The satonge carries a high pitched piercing sound and is mainly used to play improvised solos. A pick up or transducer is used to ensnare the vibrations of the mono stringed instrument, which are then converted into an amplified electrical signal. The pitches, which are the highest of the entire ensemble, are produced by using one hand to bend the stick, thereby flexing the string as it is plucked with the other hand. The pitches slip and slide into each other and the

[15] Alperson, 46.
[16] Copeland, 2013, 278.
[17] Alperson, 2008, 40. See example 4.3 and 4.3a.
[18] Example 4.4.

intonation is confident as the satonge interjects into the ongoing melody. The texture of the music is thick but the satonge adds a width to the texture due to its high pitch. The satonge can be conceived as having the sound of startle, it surprises as it is intermittently played; which affects the texture when it is played together with all the other instruments, including voices. As it enters, its attack is evident and makes its presence unmistakably clear. Landu often also plays the satonge with a vibrato, which further changes the timbre and the texture. At other points he uses a legato or slur as he creeps into an already thick texture.[19] The instrumental voices express an individual thought and feeling, but collectively each part forms a coherence and are mutually supportive. In the song *Moziki*,[20] the satonge is bright in timbre and has a stunningly piercing sound. It makes a complementary addition by improvising both together with, and independently of, the singing voice. It is sometimes layered, sounding behind the melodic line, but it just as quickly stands alone. In some sections it thrums under the radar. In the song *Moto Moindo*,[21] it is featured in an introductory solo cadenza and improvisation, engages in short calls and responses, takes solos in between the verse, and finally marks a rhythm and tempo change. All the above demonstrate the importance of the satonge because the melodic line is both an invented sound as well as a sound of invention. The above analysis is outlined in order to underscore how one instrument for making music, made out of found objects, brings about a particular negotiation in music-making. Not only do the voices negotiate and relate in the construction of harmony and rhythm, but the interspersed interjections of the satonge is also related to as the density and range of the music changes when it is played.

Underscoring the role played by the satonge in music-making fruitfully illustrates my conception of performance. I argue that grasping the performance and what music *does* allows us to recognise and value the human endeavour it embodies. In this way, concentrating on the role played by the musical instrument enables a conceptualization of "an in-depth conception of performances in the musical performance outside of the standard presentation situation."[22] This is precisely my reason for criticising the paratext narrative for solely focusing on the context – in this case poverty – and arguing that is should also encapsulate the story of musical performance. The human achievement of, for example, playing the soles of shoes in order to maintain rhythm is overshadowed by the spectacularly produced colonizing narrative. But taking into account the human endeavour of articulation of the self through music-making is a much more interesting approach than solely concentrating on the context, which leaves no room

[19] Example 4.5.
[20] Example 4.6.
[21] Example 4.7.
[22] Ibid., 48.

for the participant's interpretive act.[23] The music and acts of music-making, for example in the inventing of new musical instruments and sounds such as the satonge, aided in the way musicians deal with their everyday experiences through creative acts and ingenuity.[24]

A performance analysis of The Good Ones at WOMAD 2014

My aim is to outline how the performative nature of the Good Ones' music-making at WOMAD 2014 produces a notably different narrative to the paratextual framing and its colonizing narrative, which are in part constitutive of the sonorous spectacle. This has a simple reason of strengthening the call for a consideration and theorization of music as performance. The Good Ones used their voices. It is through the use of the voice, as we shall see in what follows, that we, as festivalgoers, were introduced to this particular musical performance. As they sang, the texture and tone of the voice remained integral to the performance, the lyrics taking a back seat. They sang in 4-part harmony, often with one or more of the voices straying from the tonal centre as they danced away from the microphone.[25] In their singing, which throughout the performance was never loud, they wandered in and out of the key as each voice went off into another direction from the other voices, but eventually found its way back before it strayed again. The musical texture of the overall performance was thin, as the different voices would get lost or drop out altogether. In addition to voice, they used a homemade guitar and, for rhythm, the soles of a pair of shoes and a metal rattle or shaker seemingly fashioned out of flattened bottle caps held together with a metal wire. Melody, harmony and rhythm were used sparingly in this performance; these musical parameters were not embellished upon with modulations or any rhythmic or melodic inflections such as ostinatos or rhythmic breaks. A bass and acoustic guitar accompanied the voices as the shakers and a pair of shoes kept a wavering rhythm. The bass weaved in and out of the established rhythm as well as the key. They stomped their feet as they danced, which added another rhythmic dimension to the music and inspired the listeners to clap along. Their use of dynamics remained consistent throughout the performance. During the entire performance, the tonal centre and established rhythm, tempo and timing were not strictly adhered to. As a consequence, the maintained timbre of the performance remained scattered and hollow.

The vacillation away from and towards the tonal centre as well as that of the rhythm and the presence of the voices conveyed qualities of flexibility and fragility as they are articulated in the instrumentation and the use of sound. What shines through in this situation is the artists'

[23] Cf. Bal 2002.
[24] Cf. Foley 2014.
[25] Example 4.8.

imagination and creativity in producing melody and rhythm by using discarded objects that had previously fulfilled other functions. The Good Ones' music communicates, in the sense of Schütz,[26] through the instruments they used and the way in which they used them to produce melody and rhythm. The movement of the body involved in playing the soles of shoes and stomping are cohesive as a means to a clear end – communication through a collective coming together. Communication occurs even though we, as participants, may not understand the lyrics in the performers' native language. The use of the voice and the bodily movement invites participation of the audience, drawing them into relation with the music, the performers, and the fellow listeners. The Good Ones' performance was simultaneously an action and a process in which everyone could participate. Music and music-making are thus entailed in the performance and do not depend on anything external to them. Thus, I draw the preliminary conclusion that music and music-making are indispensable not only for constituting human identity and relationships, but for establishing a common humanity in the coming together of self and other. I moreover suggest that this fact be acknowledged in those post-colonial enterprises that attempt to understand subjugation and articulations from marginal positions solely in textual terms.

Cook's focus on music as performance[27] entails the notion of performativity which creates a space within which the negotiation of identity can take place. As used here, performativity alludes to the expression of flexibility and fragility, enacted musically. Butler, from whom I draw, examines performativity in relation to identity. According to Butler, "performativity was, to be sure, an account of agency."[28] To say that something is performative, in Butler's case gender, "is to say that it is a certain kind of enactment."[29] So how did The Good Ones enact flexibility and fragility? Since there was no strict adherence to rhythm and tonal centre, there was flexibility in the use of these musical parameters. Timing and timbre were flexible because the texture had the tensile strength of a cobweb. This is evident in the percussion instruments used, such as the rattle and the soles of shoes, both of which carry a tenuous sound. The facial expression, physical gesture and interaction with the instruments as well as the dancing and movement that collectively shape the musical performance of The Good Ones also suggest fragility.

Concentrating on the performance further, I will bring the notion of precarity into focus as it relates to the performative fragility and flexibility. Butler considers precarity to "describe

[26] Schütz 1951.
[27] Cook 2003.
[28] Butler, 2009, i.
[29] Ibid.

conditions that pertain to living beings."[30] Here, "anything living can be expunged at will or by accident; and its persistence is in no sense guaranteed."[31] Butler writes further:

> "Precarity" designates that politically induced conditions in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death. Such populations are at a heightened risk of disease, poverty, starvation, displacement, and of exposure to violence without protection. Precarity also characterizes that politically induced condition of maximized vulnerability and exposure for populations exposed to arbitrary state violence and to other forms of aggression that are not enacted by states and against which states do not offer adequate protection.[32]

Butler makes an important distinction between precariousness – the corporeal vulnerability shared by all humans – and precarity – the distinct vulnerability imposed on the poor, disenfranchised, those endangered by war and natural disasters. Here corporeal fragility both equalizes and differentiates as all bodies are menaced by suffering, injury and death (precariousness), but some bodies are more protected and others more exposed (precarity).

With regard to the music-making of The Good Ones and the performance of flexibility and fragility it entails, I suggest that these qualities emerge from an enactment of precarity. In the sense of Butler, I argue that such precarity is not simply brought forth in the wavering of the sound and the movement away from the tonal centre and established timing but that, through the performance of music, precarity is also negotiated and struggled against.[33] Thus music is performative because it enacts a struggle against precarity. In my analysis I have suggested that resistance is expressed especially in the material used to make musical instruments. Even those aspects, such as flexibility and fragility, which perhaps have no communicative intent on behalf of the performer, are rendered through the use of instruments. These have the capacity to modify the reaction and behaviour of the listener, especially as we consider the insistence of Henry to this "African music that had no drums."

Music does not simply portray or reflect social and cultural relationships; rather, it simultaneously enacts them.[34] Musical performance possesses agency and so is able to interrupt dominant narratives, such as the idea that all African music ought to have drums or the account provided by the festival's paratext. Questions pertaining to how we, as festival participants and world music researchers, spin that narrative and how it can be and is being taught are significant herein. The framework of the paratext has put *making,* in this case music-making in a marginalised position. Thus, I argue that there needs to be a shift of frame: What are the

[30] Ibid., ii.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Cook 2003.

alternative media or frames that bring music-making into focus? Where are those framing practices that produce, to some extent, a resistance to hegemony? Where is the dominant paratextual representation, non-representation, or reductive representation disrupted? From the above analysis of the satonge and the performance of The Good Ones, I situate music-making and performance as such a location, and argue that musical performance should be brought into the frame of analysis. The music-making on the BBC Radio 3 Charlie Gillet stage at WOMAD on a July afternoon in Charlton Park, UK are both liberated and rootless from the genocide and poverty of its conceived context.

Departing from the foregoing discussion we might come to acknowledge that music-making, within the festival, opens a space and constitutes performance as a location of knowledge and, dare I say, reclamation, recollection, and reconstitution of selves. In the building and use of instruments, and the sounds they produce, the musicians construct an alternative narrative or account of a distinct experience in the act of making music. As a result, the reconstruction of selves is possible even at the centre of the strife so explicitly detailed in the paratextual framing.

From the above analysis and interpretation of their performance, I argue that musical performance in the cases explored in this chapter provides a different way of interpreting that which is presented by the paratext. The use of voice in four-part singing, and the fragility and flexibility it entails, provides insight into the social, economic and emotional precarities through which performers navigate. Cook's understanding of music as performance is useful here because it illustrates that music has agency. That is, it calls attention to "modes of agency that are possible in precarity,"[35] which I locate within the festival performances. Herein, music plays a role in reinvention and reinterpretation, as its performance acknowledges the strife of enslavement, genocide, and colonization, and brings the self and other within a space of translation and transformation.[36]

From my analysis of The Good Ones' performance, I argue that it is the person and the relation between the self and other, at the edge of the performance stage, which are important in musical performance and in undermining the estranging nature of the paratextual framing – not the signs, images, or language that the sonorous spectacle presents. Because of the human[37] involvement within the discussed music-making, I locate musical performance as an event that tells a tale otherwise untold within the festival space, one that arguably subverts the colonizing narrative. Collin, a regular WOMAD participant tells of this experience at WOMAD. He explained his affinity to world music festivals as follows:

[35] Butler 2011.
[36] Bhabha 1994.
[37] Example 4.9.

> in music, we meet ourselves, we get to know who we are […] you know […] there is a sort of self-encounter, not the selves of prices, hierarchy and ranking but the self […] you know […] the one that is flawed, fragile, and human and impossibly precious, that is what I am looking for at world music festivals.[38]

I argue that the aspect of the flawed and fragile human, as noted by Collin, is exactly that which is enacted in the performance of The Good Ones, in the fragility of the voice and in their flexible approach to interacting with the tonal centre, tempo and established rhythm.

Another festivalgoer, Aaron, describes his experience of The Good Ones' performance, saying: "I feel like I am allowed to experience a small part of that [their] creative power."[39] Both Collin and Aaron's statements indicate how musical performance, within the festival space, brings participants into relationship with each other.[40] The context-charged dominant narrative and conceptions being introduced and stuck to the music and performance at the festivals, through press, artist descriptions on websites, articles, as described in the previous chapter, was a revelation – it was intellectually transforming to me both as a researcher and festivalgoer. The music, however, seemingly accomplished something brand new. The articulation of their everyday experience through musical performance summoned a completely different vocabulary from that of the festival literature, thereby enabling a negotiation of difference and a relation between those in attendance. In an interview with Marco Canepari, The Good Ones state:

> We like to show people that everybody can play music and everybody can also make music from anything. On stage we play soles of the shoes; our first guitar was put together with a trash can and a stick while its strings were banana leaves and wire hanger. In this way we would show people that even if you have nothing, you can make big things.[41]

Referring to the context within which they make music, they further stated that

> we never think back to the genocide. We don't even want to think about it. We just want to look forward, to transmit peace to people, love and a sense of togetherness […] when we sing, when we play our instruments, we are finally free. Thanks to the music we play, we have finally come to terms with our past and we have the chance to spread our renewed zest for life to our audience.[42]

Performances such as The Good Ones' and music-making practices such as that of Staff Benda Bilili rework the fettered vocabulary and language of imperialism, colonialism, genocide, and

[38] Collin, interviewed on the 25th of July 2014 at WOMAD.
[39] Aaron, office clerk, interviewed after The Good Ones performance at WOMAD 2014.
[40] The undermining of the estranging nature of the paratextual framing can also be seen from the drum and salsa dancing workshops where participants played, learned, danced and made mistakes together in this learning experience. Towards the end of each workshop a collective goal was achieved as a drum pattern would be performed together or as a three-minute salsa piece, with newly learnt steps, was collectively assembled.
[41] 24-07-2014 - The Good Ones – Interview @ Womad 2014 with Marco Canepari, http://www.rhythmpassport.com/articles-and-reviews/interview/the-good-ones-womad-july-2014/ (accessed on 11-05-2015).
[42] Ibid.

Otherness. I suggest that music offers an answer back, a response as it challenges the clichéd colonizing narrative invoked by the paratextual framing. The Good Ones' performance questioned cultural perceptions and the manner in which knowledge is transmitted and acquired. During their performance, the sonorous spectacle is seemingly marginalized because the music nurtures the capacity to know a story that is different to the colonizing narrative. In such performances, we experience music being its own subject, initiating its own commentary.

As I have emphasized, it is not that the narrative presents an incorrect or less flattering story, but that this narrative ignores music-making even though it is constructed and maintained within world music discourse. Indeed, poverty *should* be discussed and dispossessions ought to be addressed in framing practices. However, in performance aspects of poverty and dispossession are made concrete in such a way that invites, rather than merely telling, the listener to re-evaluate the preconceived and stored knowledge. As I argued in the previous chapter, this questioning of assumptions is precisely what the sonorous spectacle attempts to supress. Framing occurs "before the spectacle is presented."[43] Bal makes clear that if context is valued over framing then explaining instead of interpreting will dominate the analysis effort:

> *context*, or rather, the self-evident, non-conceptual kind of data referred to as context, is often invoked as for the interpretation of cultural artefacts such as art works, in order to uncover their meaning. In effect, though, its deployment serves to confuse *explaining* with *interpreting.*[44]

Explaining produces knowledge or data that is complete, where there is no space for asking new questions. The performative quality of playing the soles of shoes or the satonge, the intimacy of the performance, and the humanity of the songs are stunning and the proof, if any is needed, is in music.

Based on my case studies, interviews and conversations with musicians and festivalgoers, I argue that in musical performance it is completely and wholly possible to see the self in the other,[45] even if on the surface the other is far removed from whatever the personal situation might be. There are different forms of dispossession, but we, as participants and as those that produce festival literature and world music literature in general, must look beyond the dispossession and difference in order to relate to one another on a human level.[46] In music and music-making, we, as participants, are able to identify with the performer and fellow listeners. The performance shows epidemics and genocide as involving real people whose lives are important – lives that we, as fellow humans, can collectively take part in and explore through

[43] Bal, 2002, 137.
[44] Ibid., 134.
[45] Bhabha 1994.
[46] Lorde 2007; Byrd 2009.

music. Musical performance can transform the way in which we think and imagine our own lives, pasts and futures. This, I argue, is possible through recognition of the performance, the instruments used and the manner of their use.

Performance challenges the assumptions of a sonorous spectacle even while participating in it. The music performed by The Good Ones is an exceptional example of this. The instruments they use, the animal sounds in the background of their recordings, the music that they compose, and the lyrics of the composition enact a specific experience. These features are often regarded with awe, but they combine to show that music-making bears witness to a particular experience. In their native language Kinyarwanda, they sang in four-part harmony. They danced, clapped, stomped their feet and above all they smiled. Their performance allowed empathetic listening that accompanied and facilitated the negotiation of voices.

The performance by The Good Ones allowed the performers to be seen as multidimensional humans who had a *need* to present who they were and what was meaningful to them. When speaking to artists, I gathered the impression that their aim was to encounter themselves and the other in musical performance.[47] Every artist I spoke to had a most simple objective in joining the festival, which they all articulated in much the same way: "I want to do my best and make people feel good."[48] I have argued that the producers of press releases and programme notes and we, as festival participants, should focus not only on the context but also the role of the musical performance and music-making. Additionally, I suggested that musical performance could potentially enable a new story – one that challenges, and potentially calls for a response from, the sonorous spectacle. This affords a step towards doing away with the all-consuming and colonizing narrative within the festival space and world music.

The Other matters or "L'enfer c'est les autres"[49]

It was thus the endeavour of this and the forgoing chapter to examine how certain performances were formed by particular framing practices both textually and musically, and how, in some acts of framing, a sonorous spectacle emerges. Framing practices structure the festival space and can be conceived of as that which generates meanings. Efforts made to organize are practices through which the world is structured in order to make it intelligible. This practice of ordering enables a distinct arrangement of music-making practices to be generated and replicated. This chapter sought to conceptualize how practices of framing, as endeavours to order and stage world music as well as to describe musical practices and musicians, contribute

[47] Clinton Fearon made clear that he wanted to feel the vibration between himself and the audience.
[48] This was expressed in an interview with both Batch Gueye and Clinton Fearon.
[49] Sartre 1989.

to producing the sonorous spectacle. The chapter also shows how music as performance can potentially subvert the colonizing narrative.

Bauman describes, in ontological terms, that structuring and giving shape is innate in the human potential to organize and arrange the world: "being structured and being capable of structuring seem to be the twin-kernels of the human way of life, known as culture."[50] Thus far, I have conceived of a sonorous spectacle as emerging from a particular practice of framing that is employed specifically to organize, display, and exhibit an amazing or surprising affair. To iterate: music alone does not constitute the sonorous spectacle, but rather the modes of presenting music. I therefore argue that meaning is generated through the production and organization of images, stories, sounds, experiences, and objects within the festival space. I contend that this organization provides a prism through which music-making is experienced, perceived, and conceptualized as meaningful.

The chapter makes reference to how Otherness and the practice of Othering is maintained in framing practices. As discussed in the introduction, instead of focusing on pre-existing structures within world music, an account of the processes that established and continue to reinforce these very structures is needed. This and the previous chapter sought to question the way Otherness is framed at world music festivals, and to approach this through thinking with and about musical performance. World music research that attends to Othering should examine the diverse ways in which the Other's presence and being are constructed within the world music festival space, and of the uses this fabricated Other serves.[51] Both inside and outside music studies, the creation of the Other has been discussed at length.[52] My project in this chapter has been to shift the critical gaze from those described, explained and imagined to those involved in the description, explanation and imagining. I have argued that, once removed from the colonizing narrative, musicians such as The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili emerge as three-dimensional people. In music-making, they can be conceived as having breadth and depth; they have emotions and experiences that go well beyond their situation of marginality and poverty. Music-making practices and performance as well as human agency are denied by the paratextual framing because it presents only part of the story. Through framing music-making as a peripheral representation of collapse, struggle, war, genocide, all of the precarious circumstances in which music-making takes place are projected onto their presence and performance within the festival space. Here we encounter chasms, destabilizations and

[50] Bauman, 1999, 39.
[51] This might be related to the matter of the zoo discussed above.
[52] Cf. Said 2003; Locke 2009; Fanon 2001, 2008; Bhabha 1983,1994; Spivak 1988; Born and Hesmonhalgh 2000; Fauser 2005.

disjunctions between the paratextual framing and musical performance, because it is difficult to conceptualize genuinely complex humans from the descriptions of musicians and music-making practices in the festival literature. The music and performance analysis underscore that we can indeed "emerge as the others of our selves"[53] in music-making, here, I consider music as a "Third Space."[54]

In this way, the foreignness, the estrangement, and the separation that the sonorous spectacle creates, is negotiated musically. Through this negotiation, the estranging nature of difference disappears in musical performance; as do preconceived notions of both the self and Other. This is exactly what the sonorous spectacle fears: the performance that proves that there is more similarity than difference between participants within the world music festival space, as well as between *music* and *world music*.[55] Music, in the presented cases, proves that the self is like the other, that *they* are like or similar to *us.* This is also the reason why it is so difficult to negotiate difference within world music studies as well as within the world music festival space. Sociologists, cultural theorists and philosophers have interpreted the stranger[56] and difference.[57] They have cautioned and warned on both matters. They have admonished against both ignoring difference or laying claim to it. The case of music-making allows us to discuss how difference is negotiated.

Hinging on pre-given generalizations, the spectacle's promotion and marketing, narrow our range of possibilities for relating to others and confine our desire to overcome our differences. Petitions in world music studies and the festival space for celebration in the musics of the world are beautiful, though in practice remain uncommon as I have illustrated through the case of the colonizing narrative.

It is not unreasonable to claim that in music-making and performance there is a yearning to find the self, that strangers do not exist and that difference is not incommensurable. In musical performance, as I underscored in the case of The Good Ones, we encounter (sometimes uninvited or unwelcome) versions of ourselves. In music-making, the foreignness of the stranger is elided, making them no longer strange. Because we share time together in performance, the presence of the stranger is fortuitous. The Other is not alien but re-membered. Musical performance rejects us unmerited comfort and each aspect of the music-making (voice, instrument, production) unmasks *us*, affirming a beauty, some form of excitement, ecstasy and

[53] Bhabha, 1994, 56.
[54] Bhabha, 1994.
[55] See: Feld 2000.
[56] Simmel 1908, 1950, 1971; Bauman 1988, 1995, 1996, 1998.
[57] Bhabha 1994; Baudrillard 1993; Derrida 1982, 1978; Deleuze 2001; Lorde 2007; Hall 1997.

delight that is as near as possible to the uniqueness, the particularity, community, and the unquenchable sanctity and preciousness of humanity.

5 Power relations and world music: Understanding the discursive dimensions of music

For: Slinger Fransisco – "Mighty Sparrow"

Calypsonians, are the mouthpiece of the nation
Calypsonians, are reporters, they might not report
with a pen and a paper, but they report it in the song.

~Calypso Rose[1]

Stormy Weather was the perfect expression of my mood […] I was telling the things I couldn't frame in words. I was singing the story of my misery and confusion.

~Ethel Waters[2]

Those musicians and performances, who inhabited a space and place of marginality in their paratextual framing, affirmed their position within their socio-cultural circumstances by bearing witness to their experience in music and music-making. Musical performance in the cases of The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili, was in this sense an emancipatory process as it also was in contributing a different story to that presented by the colonizing narrative. It is for this reason that I attend to music as that which has the capacity to offer something different, a different way of negotiating Otherness and framing practices. Music's ability to negotiate Otherness differently is exemplified in the second chapter where I argue that a space is opened through an acknowledgement of difference and that in this space meanings are negotiated. In doing so, I illustrated through music analysis, how music allows for another avenue for thinking about difference, one that stands differently to the discussed framing practices at the festival. This different way of acknowledging and negotiating Otherness as presented in musical performance, is also exemplified in the previous chapter where I underscore agency on music's behalf, illustrating how musical performance engages listeners differently than the colonizing narrative. In this I suggested

[1] "Rhum and Coca-Cola", album: *Calypso Rose,* 2008, track no. 11. Written by Lord Invader and Lionel Belasco.
[2] Waters and Samuels, 1952, 220.

that another story is fostered in music, one that attends to the instrumentality of music. Agency here shows that music is also involved in framing the festival and therefore should be considered in the paratextual framing which would perhaps disavow the produced colonizing narrative. In sum, where the third chapter's discussion exemplifies the estranging nature of Othering, chapter four shows that in the performance of music, the mechanism to estrange is done away with as the self and other are brought into closer proximity at the edge of the stage. The foregoing chapter resonates with the present in that they both take small steps towards a discussion that considers music as discourse. Both are stitches that make up the quilt that is discourse. In the first chapter I conceived of the festival and its framing practices as socio-cultural practices. Here discourse becomes important for attending to power/knowledge relations as those emerge, and are constructed in the process of framing practices, which I suggest has an implication in how a particular world music performance practice is established and maintained. Thus, the previous chapter attempted to examine how musical performance is also involved in its own framing within the festival space, doing so implicitly through an interpretation of The Good Ones' performance at WOMAD 2014 and the music-making of Staff Benda Bilili while underscoring musical performance and its agency herein. In that chapter there is an epistemological shifting or a decentring of truth and knowledge established by the paratextual framing and its resultant colonizing narrative. This decentering occurs in musical performance and is the reason for which it is beneficial to consider not only the paratextual framing as discourse, but also music as discourse and involved in framing the world music festival. I will also attempt to grasp how music can conceivably *do* something – can perform – by its sounding and by how it is experienced. Concentrating on musical performance can productively complicate, as it did in the previous chapters, those notions grappled with such as negotiating difference, meaning, Othering and responsibility in framing practices. To concentrate on musical performance and the question of its *doing* as well as how music offers a different mode of engagement, Calypso music-making,[3] in

[3] As with all case studies this chapter will not give a comprehensive historical delineation of music-making for such an endeavour would cause a journey too far away from the subject of world music performance practice. Instead, calypso will be concentrated upon in order to think through my argument for a consideration of music as discourse and further as a step in conceiving contemporary world music performance practice as discourse.

addition to the previously discussed performances, will be the case study used to support the arguments and critiques attended to here. I chose calypso simply because of Kobo Town's participation at WOMAD 2014, where I attended both a performance of Kobo Town at the BBC Radio 3 Charlie Gillett Stage as well as a workshop held on July 26th 2014 at the All Singing All Dancing stage. In addition to this reason, calypso goes hand in hand with steelpan music-making which served as the case study of the first two chapters. In conversation with Gonsalves at WOMAD, I was guided toward essential texts[4] on calypso. The in-depth exploration of calypso in this chapter is the fruits of that conversation and will be used to make an argument for the relationship between calypso music-making situated historically, and the performance of it at WOMAD. Upon first glance, calypso as a case study might prove suitable because of its heavy lyrical character which would seemingly carry my argument for considering music as discourse and strengthen both Bhabha's argument for and emphasis on the textual and the analysis thereof; however, I will not concentrate primarily on the lyrics but more so the musical performance of calypso.

I seek to gather the prior chapters, which resonate with each other, and take steps towards considering music as discourse. Though this work centres on world music performance practice and the way in which this is generated within the festival space, this and the following chapter briefly, but not entirely, step out of the festival space. It does so in order to critically engage with tenets of post-colonial theory concerning cultural difference, and a critique of Bhabha's use thereof. This step also serves the purpose of engaging with performance practice as discourse and further to exploring what a conception of music as discourse might look like.

How the notion of discourse emerges within world music studies and the festival space

A May 2013 newspaper article, which reviewed Kobo Town in its world music themed section, reported that:

> We haven't heard real calypso-sounds in a long time. Since the Great times of Harry Belafonte in the fifties, the traditional music of Trinidad and Tobago has also become quite unfashionable. However, with the Canadian Drew Gonzales [sic] now comes innovation around the corner, who has set out, together with his band Kobo Town to

[4] Rohlehr 2004; Hill 1972; Cowley 1998; Green and Scher 2007.

declutter the Caribbean style from scratch.[5]

The article speaks to one perspective. Though calypso does not enjoy the so-called craze[6] it had in the 50s, 60s and 70s, it remains nevertheless present.[7] This is visible from the many calypso monarch competitions that take place throughout the Caribbean. It is also present within the music-making of such groups as Kobo Town who performed at WOMAD 2014. This article is an example of discourse *about* music.

In this chapter, I will discuss the discourse *of* music as "ways of creating meaning,"[8] asking how musical performance (as considered in the analysis of the previous chapter), music-making, and music's agency in framing practices might be considered as discursive. Previously, I considered the meanings derived from and brought to the festival through framing practices. Presently, I will extend on framing practices as they come into relation with the concept of discourse.

Discourse is a concept broadly used, but often times inadequately defined. There are different conceptions of discourse that are used simultaneously and interchangeably, and so, often without recognition of where a particular understanding comes from and the implication these conceptions might have in particular academic contexts. I will therefore clarify the conceptual basis of discourse in world music research. Outlining the relationship between music and discourse would be bereft without engaging with the most notoriously referenced work of Foucault. I use Foucault's thoughts for the way it connects to power/knowledge relations. My way to employ Foucault's principles in the study of world music is not the only one and certainly not an absolute one. Instead, I present my way as a method to undertake critical analysis of discourse for both the textual and non-textual layers of world music.

Before proceeding, I need a working definition of discourse, understood not only in terms of Foucault's work, but also in terms of Hall's reading of Foucault. Foucault's notion

[5] Richtige Calypso-Klänge hat man schon lange nicht mehr gehört. Seit den Großen Zeiten von Harry Belafonte in den fünfziger Jahren ist das Traditionsgenre aus Trinidad und Tobago aber auch ziemlich aus der Mode gekommen. Doch mit dem Kanadier Drew Gonzales [sic] kommt nun ein Erneuerer um die Ecke gebogen, der sich aufgemacht hat, mit seiner Band Kobo Town den Karibischen Stil von Grund auf zu entrümpeln. *Taz*. Die Tageszeitung (Sonntag 25, May, 2013). Thema Weltmusik p. 6. (translated by author)
[6] Green and Sher 2007.
[7] This is explained by Drew Gonsalves in an interview with Rhythm Passport at WOMAD 2014. (See example 5.5).
[8] Cook, 1998, 125-6.

of discourse has multiple definitions. In *The Order of Discourse*[9] Foucault states the thesis from which he argues throughout the text.

> In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.[10]

To give a succinct working definition of discourse, I turn to Weedon who suggests that discourses, in Foucauldian terms, are

> ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subject they seek to govern.[11]

Hall also approaches Foucault's notion of discourse in an encompassing manner, he says

> For Foucault discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment […] Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But […] since *all social practices entail meaning*, and *meanings shape and influence what we do* – our conduct – *all practices have a discursive aspect*[12]

Here Hall presents the idea that discourse can be perceived as everything and is everywhere in the everyday experiences of humans. Discourse is thus not solely textual (as most of the secondary literature assumes), but involves practice and performance. In this way, meaning emerges through discourse and therefore humans come to understand the world through discourse. Social practices come about through discourse[13] because it facilitates a discussion on relations of power and knowledge.[14]

Blacking[15] understands music as it relates to discourse as "the discourse *about* music"[16] and "the discourse *of* music."[17] The first implies that which is spoken or written about music, thereby taking the textual and linguistic into account. The second involves the result

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[9] Foucault, 1981.
[10] Ibid., 52.
[11] Weedon, 1997, 105. Weedon's understanding of discourse also encompasses social practices, thus attending not only to the textual (Weedon, 1997, 108).
[12] Hall, 1992, 291. (Italics mine).
[13] Foucault, 2002.
[14] I discuss will be discussed in the final two chapters which return more centrally to how power and knowledge manifest themselves within the music-making of the world music festival space.
[15] Blacking, 1982, 15-17.
[16] Ibid. (Italics mine).
[17] Ibid. (Italics mine).

of how creator, performer, and listener make sense of sound and how musical content is formulated herein.[18] I will depart from and expand on this understanding to enter a discussion considering music as discourse, concentrating on "the discourse *of* music."[19] That is, as I interpret it, the ways in which music performs.

My notion of discourse refers to my literature review, my conversations and interviews with research participants, and the discussed paratextual framing of musical performance.[20] Thus, the newspaper article together with the discussed paratextual framing and the literature review might all be conceived as the discourse *about* music. The above are textually and linguistically represented, however, discourse also emerges in the non-textual/-linguistic; for example in the argued counter-narrative provided in musical performance.[21] This is where the concept emerges from the previously discussed material. Discourse *about* music structures meaning. According to Cook "both music and musicology are ways of creating meaning rather than just of representing it."[22] Clayton considers this more elaborately, "musicological discourse does not only comment on practice and experience […] It also influences that very practice and experience […] The work of musicology is not to describe musical facts but to be implicated in a wider discursive field."[23]

Thus far the act of framing has been discussed as a concept and as a practice of representing music. Here emphasis was made on the paratextual framing, illustrating how a particular narrative is produced, which contributes to (world) music discourse. Because this mode of framing is textual/linguistic in nature it is inherently discursive, questioning its discursive nature is foregone. In framing musical performance within the festival space, the issue at hand is the ability of visual and aural signs to designate in diverse ways their capacity to concurrently establish and structure a vast ground of relationships between festival participants through a discourse that communicates, as I have argued, musical performance and music-making also *do*, and are thereby productive in framing. For this reason, I suggest that framing practices could best be conceived as functioning as discourse

[18] Ibid., 17.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Where power/knowledge relations materialize.
[21] where in music-making the negotiation of power/knowledge relations comes into play as well.
[22] Cook, 1998, 125-6.
[23] Clayton, 2003, 59.

upon which participants draw on and contribute to. This is visible from my interviews and conversations with interlocutors where the emphasis on authenticity, originality and the way in which aesthetic judgements are made in deeming one music good and another bad or attempting to assume the position to assert ethnic reasons for why particular music-making practices are more or less organic and original than others. According to Haynes, the relationship between hybridization and authenticity remains problematic in world music.[24] As in conversation with one festivalgoer who shared that "because musicians who play this music [world music] live closer with and in nature, they are more naturally [predisposed] inclined to play the drums and dance as they do."[25] According to Ventsel "having roots in a village gives the artist the authenticity and credibility required when one performs ethnic music: in world music, the authenticity of a music of the 'simple' people is guaranteed when the artist and the music is rooted in a concrete place and a historical context."[26] The above expression by my interlocutor and others similar to it, I have found, are best conceived as discourse and since participants are co-creative and co-producers of the festival as they are involved in the practice of framing, the interaction between framing, the production of a sonorous spectacle and discourse becomes clear. This brings certain historical ideologies into operation, which condition discourse and thus remain intact in framing processes. It is for this reason that I consider world music performance practice as discourse.

What remains somewhat complicated is music-making and performance and how both might also be considered as holding a discursive function within the festival space. This is where I call on the analysis of the previous chapter to reinforce the present one. At this point I want to explore what this argument allows us, that is, how might we consider music differently for the different way in which it situates the narrative and the listener within it. Herein lies the need for a chapter that discusses what a consideration of music as discourse might entail. Part of the chapter is concerned with revealing the intricate interrelations of framing processes and how they contribute to discourse by those who situate themselves as academics, music journalists, festival producers and programmers, musicians, music

[24] Haynes, 2005, 369.
[25] Research interlocutor, Amsterdam Roots Festival 2015. This might be understood in terms of the roots rhetoric of the festival, critically discussed in the first chapter.
[26] Ventsel, 2014, 200.

critics and festival participants. The above-mentioned are all part of and contribute to (world) music discourse as agents.

Calypso music-making: A case study

Before leaving my office and going to WOMAD 2014, I understood from WOMAD's website that a calypso ensemble, Kobo Town, who I had never heard of, was performing. I was excited for I envisioned their performance as a strong case study and contribution to this research before even experiencing it. Calypso was the first music "I knew as my own."[27] This claim to knowledge was thwarted as I stood at the Charlie Gillet stage and listened to the performance of Kobo Town. In my attempt to analyse and re-present the performance and aspects of the historical environment from which it emerged, I got into the lives of individuals, of persons such as Gros Jean[28] and Congo Barra.[29] I realized that it was just as much a revelation to me as it was for my fellow listeners in the audience, and as it will be for the reader of this chapter. Steelband and calypso became the music-making of the poor, underprivileged, unemployed Afro-Trinidadians and both music-making practices are considered by Hill to be theatrical performances[30] as they formed and continue to form an integral part of parading in the street as part of the carnival experience.

Sans humanité calypso moved them. Like the steelband, discussed in the first and second chapter, calypso emerged from the songs, chants and singing that accompanied the outlawed practices of stickfighting.[31] Calypso was rendered through a collective consciousness and maintains a palpable link to carnival practices.[32] The sound of calypso is made up of all the constituents that exemplified everyday life in Trinidad and Tobago; its outlandish ironic trademark, lunacy, despotism, beauty in versatility, strength, power, disgrace and grace, prevail, achievement and joy. It also embodied those characteristics that identified it to all of humanity such as compassion, visceral anger, absurdity, mettle, deception and visionary progress forward. It concentrates wholly on life as it is lived and experienced on a daily basis by the people – not as conjured up or imagined by any political

[27] Du Bois, 2007, 167.
[28] Hill, 1972, 56-57; Warner, 1982, 9.
[29] Example 5.1.
[30] Hill 1972.
[31] Cf. Hill 1972, 1989; Guilbault 2007; Rohlehr 2004.
[32] Warner, 1982, 9-10.

or governmental agency, institution or media mouthpiece. Calypso heavily depends on its lyrics.[33] Its textual nature is exquisitely pronounced, which might seem to sustain and reinforce Bhabha's notion of enunciation, which this chapter seeks to critique.

Extempore or the practice of sans humanité[34] is an improvised lyrical battle between two or more singers expressing sentiments not limited to any subject as every experience is drawn from,[35] this is done in calypso tempo and style. Those people who were cast as marginal, conceived of as a statistic or percentage, who were anonymous by colonial standards and were, and in some instances continue to be, voiceless because they were discredited and dismissed as their voice came to fruition through their political leaders, came alive in calypso music-making.

Calypso is unquestionably political. The calypsonian is veraciously representative of the community while being in it.[36] This can be gleaned from the categories of the calypso, namely, humorous, social and political commentary and finally hot and spicy.[37] The tent[38] and calypso stage were spaces and places where the singer would enter and perform as an individual within the context of the community; for example, a personal articulation of grief or joy could be sung to, for and amidst a trusted collective.[39] In doing so, the calypsonian's expression of self is done on behalf and within the frame of the community. While the calypsonian sings and performs on a particular topic that might be extremely subjective, those to whom he sings, as a community, perform in protecting the calypsonian. Herein both a public and private expression is simultaneously performed. This personal or autobiographical performance facilitated a space in which the calypsonian could be

[33] Literature on calypso is predominantly led by the analysis of lyrics (See Quevedo 1983; Hill 1972, 1989; Warner 1982; Rohlehr 2004; Green and Sher 2007).

[34] Sans Humanité is improvised sung poetry. It is always sung to the same one melody which is called sans humanité. Extempo or extempore means to sing without any preparation. The difference between calypso and extempo is that calypso is composed. Those who sing extempo are not afforded that luxury. Extempo might thus be considered as an improvised calypso, making it not completely disconnected from calypso. See example 5.2 and example 5.3 and 5.3a.

[35] Warren describes these 'wars' as a "battle of words", making clear that "spontaneous improvisation was thus of capital importance" (1982, 14). Hill also speaks towards this "ability to improvise spontaneously" (1972, 65).

[36] Hill says "[c]alypsonians sang from the floor of the tent, almost totally surrounded by the audience, which was seated on rough bamboo benches or which lounged around the sides of the enclosure" (1972, 65).

[37] See Warner 1982 and Smith 1985.

[38] The tent is the space where calypsonians practiced and performed. In the early 1920s and 1930s they were constructed out of coconut branches in a tent like manner. See: Warner, 1982, 11-3. Example 5.4 (0'00"-1'48").

[39] See Warner 1982 for an extended discussion.

representative, could sing Caribbean Unity,[40] Mr. African[41] or We could make it if we try,[42] and in doing so, could seemingly express that – my solitary life and personal story is similar to that of the community, that, perhaps it possibly diverges in respect to distinct circumstances, but it remains comparable because it is individual yet representative of the whole.[43] Calypso might also be considered for its curative nature, telling stories through music as was done in Columbus Lied,[44] a calypso that is critical of Columbus' voyages and discovery of the new world. Calypso has the capacity to enlighten; it pulls a curtain so that light might be cast on a particular event and in so doing clears a path so that a journey might be taken; an example of this is the confrontation with history.[45] Something in the music, alongside the lyrics suggests what the conflicts and problems are. A solution to those problems is not its aim, for that is one of a sociological nature, instead calypso music-making is an articulation and voicing[46] of the issues through the use of sound, doing so by bringing those involved into a relation. Calypso deliberately makes the listener stand up and profoundly take part in a collective feeling. In the same way that the calypsonian encourages the listener to speak, that is, to join him or her in the recount, herein the listener behaves in a certain way – to shout, laugh, cry and cringe. In this way, the listener might acquiesce or transform and modify – to elaborate on the music and the story that is being delivered. The audience response enhances the musical performance. This occurs in the use of sound, articulation, punctuation, gesture, rhythmic breaks and in those spaces provided where the listener is called to participate. The affective and participatory relationship between the calypsonian and the audience is of primary significance. The story told in calypso is already oral through the lyrics, it speaks and tells a story, but the musical articulation in calypso is just as oral or communicative as the lyrics.[47] The music addresses the listener, to have the listener feel the sentiments of the calypsonian without necessarily

[40] Sung by Leroy Calliste whose calypso sobriquet is Black Stalin. He won the calypso Monarch in 1979 with this composition which was recorded on the album "To the Caribbean Man". Black Stalin has won the Calypso Monarch five times and the Calypso King of the World title in 1999. He is a great advocator of steelband and has composed calypsos for and about the steeband.
[41] Sung by Winston Henry with the calypso sobriquet Explainer. It was composed and sung in 1976.
[42] Black Stalin sung this for the 1988 calypso Monarch.
[43] Quevedo, 1983, 102-103.
[44] Winston Bailey (The Mighty Shadow). Album: *Pressure Point*, 1989, track no. A3.
[45] Example 5.4 (1'48"-3'27").
[46] Weidman 2014.
[47] Warner, 1982, 20-2.

identifying these as personal to the calypsonian and thus the listener participates together with the singer in the story's construction and in that of musical performance.

The chorus is everlastingly present in calypso. This can be conceived in terms of back-up singers or the response of supporting instruments that form an integral part of calypso's antiphonal character. The chorus can also be witnessed in the presence of the community, that is, in the audience commenting on the performance, through collective singing and in repetition, by reinforcing what the lead singer is expressing. Superstition, fantasy and referencing folk tales are often subject matters[48] that serve the purpose of presenting alternative knowledge and other ways of knowing. These particular forms of knowledge were discredited, because the people involved in their creation were denigrated and as a result that which they knew and the way in which it came to be known was disregarded. Calypso rests heavily on engaging with this particular form of knowledge, which was often subjugated. Departing from Bhabha, I have discussed how a Third Space of negotiation is opened in the relation of difference in musical performance. I did so by situating the practice of bomb-tunes as a Third Space, however this notion might need some complicating after the foregoing analysis of The Good Ones' performance and the music-making of Staff Benda Bilili.

The above discussion of calypso music-making will aid in the following critique of Bhabha's conception of Third Space of enunciation, as previously explored for how it enables the negotiation of meanings as differences interact. Bhabha's endeavour is to concentrate on the textual and spoken articulation in grasping how history is recorded. However, he disregards different or other voicings,[49] in a similar way to how the paratextual framing does.

Musical critique of Third Space

I have previously discussed the negotiation of difference in relation to music-making and the festival space, outlining how the productive use of difference might make itself available for discussion in world music studies and the festival space. I have attempted through an examination of bomb-tunes and the music analysis of the forgoing chapter to

[48] Ibid., 111.
[49] Weidman 2014.

make a case for conceiving of how music actively provides a space for, and locates those involved in music-making in that space where, the negotiation and relation between the self and other is afforded. I will take a critical route in approaching Bhabha's thoughts on space, doing so by thinking through music.[50] Moreover, I will attempt to qualify my use of his notions in this research. According to Bhabha the differences that constitute Third Space are not static. He says,

> no culture is full unto itself, no culture is plainly plenitudinous, not only because there are other cultures which contradict its authority, but also because its own symbol-forming activity, its own interpellation in the process of representation, language, signification and meaning-making, always underscores the claim to an originary, holistic, organic identity […] Now the notion of hybridity comes from the two prior descriptions I've given of the genealogy of difference and the idea of translation, because if, as I was saying, the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity […] This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom.[51]

I quote Bhabha at length in order to make both my critique and use of the notion of Third Space clear. Through Third Space we are afforded the opportunity to explore how the plurality of differences interact with each other and are negotiated in the festival space. The concept is used to comprehend how this negotiation of difference yields insight into how meaning is negotiated and newness is created. My critique, which I will return to, is that Bhabha does not grant an account of what is concretely yielded within this space; an aspect I believe that a possible thinking through with music might contribute to.

Bhabha argues for a language of critique which overcomes the given grounds of oppression and opens up a space of translation, creating a discursive space that is entirely textual in its nature, which is not surprising since his thoughts depart from Derrida. My first critique then, is towards Bhabha's focus on text, theory and literature. Departing from Foucault, who possibly conceived music as non-discursive[52] and defines discourse as a 'way of speaking', Bhabha thus reads social processes according to the rules of writing. Herein, he seemingly excludes the non-discursive expressions as other potential forms of

[50] Many have preceded me in this critical venture, especially as it relates to Bhabha's concept of hybridity. See: Ahmad, 2001, 81.
[51] Bhabha, 1990, 211.
[52] Foucault 2002.

enunciation are dismissed. Thus, his method studies only the set of 'things said' in their emergences and transformations, without any speculation about the overall, collective meaning of those statements, and carries his insistence on discourse-in-itself down to the most basic unit of things said: the statement –(*énoncé*).

Departing from this, then, it is obvious that the difference Bhabha proposes is conceptualized purely in textual terms. In this context, interstitial and in-between are seemingly simple chasms and discontinuities in the text. I will formulate my critique in the form of a question: As we are able to negotiate difference within the interstitial space, how then does one 'assess' or interpret the interaction that is afforded when the material space and the socio-cultural circumstances, within which it is inscribed in and on, is conceived in abstract textual terms. This question relates to whether his notion remains limited by the fact that the mode of resistance of the colonized subject is informed, and therefore limited by the language of the dominant. Additionally, the issue of this textual emphasis is that those oppressed almost often have no access to and, more importantly, are not allowed to contribute to this particular form of discourse.[53] My critique relates to the question: What about non-textual forms of art and expression? – such as music for instance. Numerous performances attended for this research were of musicians who did not speak[54] the language of the countries upon whose stage they were hosted. Thus they could not communicate, or could do so in a modest way, outside of music-making which often included dance. For this reason, I argue that they do contribute to music discourse through a different 'way of speaking'.[55] Thus, here I call for a more capacious definition or understanding or voicing and speaking that includes non-linguistic articulation. On the 3rd of July 2015 I sat in the intimate concert hall at the Amsterdam Bimhuis, awaiting the performance of BKO which was to start at 8:30pm. The performance was part of the Amsterdam Roots Festival 2015 program. At this performance the musicians attempted to give the audience some background information of the ensemble, insight into how music is practiced and the instruments that were brought together as well as how their use of

[53] A consideration of music as discourse in order to explore what this might mean in respect to my critique of Bhabha will be explored in chapter 6.
[54] This observation is keeping in mind Foucault's basic tenet on the notion of discourse as a 'way of speaking' (see: Foucault, 2002, 135, 213).
[55] Foucault, 2002, 135, 213.

sound herein was a new endeavour which differed from the 'traditional way of performing this music.' As might be interpreted from the above, the explanation came across in a rather disjoint fashion, until they completely gave up efforts towards explaining, so that only the gist of the intended explanation was clear as the intricacies of the inner historical workings of this particular music-making practice and the elements that came together in the performance remained unclear. The reason for this was language barrier, though speaking little English they were however able to express their gratitude for the Amsterdam Roots Festival as they poignantly made clear in a somewhat content yet exasperated voice that they had indeed 'come from very far, we come from very very far' and that they had only received their visas for their European tour 'two days before leaving' Bamako, Mali. I had a similar experience, which was somewhat unsettling, at the Amsterdam Roots 2013 where Jupiter Bokondji attempted to address the audience and promote the ensemble's CD and newly released documentary. Septeto Santiaguero's performance at WOMAD 2014 presented a similar experience as the above, which was made difficult because they spoke very little English. The above examples are outlined not as a phenomenon that is distinct to world music or a novel experience. However, I present this in order to underscore the fact that musicians attempted to participate in the act of framing the performance linguistically; through speech acts, but ultimately their only way of doing this in the most intelligible way was in and through music-making. Herein the performers and the audience interacted and related to music and the collective making of it, through clapping and singing passages along with, and at the insistence of, the ensemble. This example is to bring forth the fact that articulation and utterance within the festival goes beyond the acts of speech (in purely textual/linguistic terms). In sum, the more complete or comprehensive way for the above musicians to articulate was through their performance, which provided another 'way of speaking'[56] within the festival. Here the failure of language is exemplified; moreover, the above underscores my suggestion that musical performance exceeds and is more than that which might be spoken about it. Framing world music and the festival is in itself discursive since in its practice it seeks to delineate what is included and excluded from the notion of world music as well as a particular performance that goes along with the category. The steelpan and its description, as previously discussed, is involved in a

[56] Ibid.

particular framing in which the flier promotes a particular notion of it, which in turn is open to interpretation and evaluation. This can also be said for the cases of The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili's paratextual framing. Within the scheme of making sense of music and the world, through world music performance practice research, it is my contention that framing is a practice of negotiating meaning. I consider framing as able to give rise to several contrasting theoretical questions, arguments, and perspectives concerning music and the way meaning is ascribed to and negotiated for particular music-making practices.

My second critique attends to Bhabha's notion of space and his use thereof, especially as I seek to think of these terms in and through music. Bhabha does not define his notion of space in concrete terms. He seemingly slips in and out of conceiving of space as both actual (material) and abstract space. My critique stands in line with a materialist critique issued against Bhabha's thoughts by Lawrence Phillips[57] and Benita Parry.[58] Philips questions Bhabha's use of space and underscores the dialectic through exploring Henri Lefebvre, which I have attempted to underscore through Audre Lorde. Philips refers to Parry as he says the "disjunctive, ambivalent relation between 'culture' and the socio-economic base has produced a rich seam of work broadly termed cultural materialist, which Bhabha wilfully ignores by supplanting materialism entirely with the discursive abstraction that Parry terms 'the linguistic turn in cultural studies.'"[59] As mentioned, Phillips' critique of Bhabha relies heavily on Lefebvre who makes clear that "to recognise space, to recognise what 'takes place' there and what it is used for, is to resume the dialectic; analysis will reveal the contradictions of space."[60] He makes clear through a reading of Lefebvre that there is no dialectical relationship with the material and the abstract space in Bhabha's conceptualizations. He says:

> 'Space' writes Lefebvre 'and the political organisation of space express social relationships but also react back on them'. Such a spatial analysis extends Marx's original observation of what might be called the dialectical relationship between culture and the material base, to encompass the entire realm of the social. Lefebvre's subtle reformulation is of the utmost relevance to contemporary cultural criticism: here he is positing that the production and reproduction of social space exists in dialectical relationship with the material base. Not only is the 'social' responsive to changes in economic relations, but the material base is responsive to changes in social praxis

[57] Phillips 1998 http://english.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v2i2/PHILLIP.HTM (accessed 11-12-2015).
[58] Parry 1994.
[59] Phillips, 1998, 1.
[60] Lefebvre, 1976, 17. (cited in Phillips 1998).

> which must shape the material and imaginary social landscape […] *Yet it is this link to material effects in lived space that is invariably lost in Bhabha's disturbing slippage between actual and abstract spaces, especially in relation to colonialism: very much a lived social landscape in terms of violence and repression, Bhabha's own ostensible subject*.[61]

Phillips highlights the "method of analysis itself; one that recognises that historical change takes place in both material and abstract space, indissolubly tied together in social space and the praxis that gives it form,"[62] as he explains that Lefebvre makes a distinction between "lived representational spaces" and "abstracted cultural representations of space."[63] Finally, Phillips asks whether "the deployment of this spatial metaphor work[s] discursively and coherently as an abstract analytical tool?"[64] My question, for the purposes of this research, is whether this works musically, thus, in critiquing Bhabha's notion of space, as it relates to music, I want to emphasize the mutual responsiveness between space, musical performance and music-making and to acknowledge that socio-cultural transition and change occurs in both the material and the abstract space, these are permanently tied together within the socio-cultural circumstances and, in this case, the performance of music that informs it. As my critique stands in line with Philips, I seek not to add or expand upon it, instead I seek to explore this critique musically, through the notion of musical performance in the practice of bomb-tunes, the performance of The Good Ones and further in this chapter's discussion of calypso.

Bhabha posits Third Space as that which allows other positions to materialize. But here the mutual responsiveness between space and the socio-cultural circumstance is ignored. Despite it being a mode of articulation, the Third Space is not simply a space of reflection, it is a way for interpreting a space of *production*, one that gives rise to new *possibilities*, in a practical sense it remains as an abstract notion and approach. Bhabha expresses further that it is an "interruptive, interrogative,"[65] and "enunciative space"[66] of novel forms of meaning and production in culture which obfuscates the restrictions of cultural meaning and production as it obscures the limitations of extant boundaries while classifications of

[61] Phillips, 1998, 4. (Italics mine).
[62] Ibid., 5.
[63] Lefebvre, 1991, 41. Cited in Phillips 1998.
[64] Phillips, 1998, 10.
[65] Bhabha, 1994, 341.
[66] Ibid., 259.

culture and identity are questioned. This space is an ambivalent locale where cultural meaning and representation "have no primordial unity of fixity."[67] Though I can appreciate this space as a site where the negotiation of difference takes place, the link to a material space is lacking in Bhabha's apprehensions of space as argued by Parry and Philips. The acknowledgement of the material space informs the lived experience of space. This is crucial for conceptualizing how music might allow for a space within which we are able to relate to one another and where differences can be used creatively. Bhabha makes clear that space expresses social relationships but I argue that space also reacts back to these social relationships and this aspect remains concealed in Bhabha's conceptualization. "Differences must be not merely tolerated but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic,"[68] this relationship, alluded to by Lorde, between the in-between and culture is absent from Bhabha's conception. Bhabha slides into abstract and actual space and it is difficult to distinguish what the material effects are in lived space, especially as it informs the interior lives of those who dwell in situations of suppression, oppression, repression and the violence of colonialism and Othering.

Finally, Bhabha's application of difference and space are inherently descriptive and do not provide a framework for productive analysis. Conceived of as a challenge within cultural and post-colonial theory to pre-existing categorical descriptions of people and culture, it has itself become a fixed, stable, simplified reduction of culture. Music presents a practical approach to this, thus the question is: How might we engage this practically in the performance of framing music? Which will lead us back to the question of how difference is implicated in processes of framing.[69]

The following section will attend to how "unspeakable things unspoken"[70] were sung and performed in calypso music-making. The notion of parrhesia, as conceived by Foucault in Fearless Speech[71] will enable a step into his conception of discourse. This will entail an analysis of calypso music-making as I position it as a parrhesiastic utterance. This analysis

[67] Ibid., 55.
[68] Lorde, 2007, 111.
[69] These aspects will be discussed in the final two chapters through further discussion of the paratext and the movement that takes place within the festival space.
[70] Morrison 2005a.
[71] Foucault and Pearson 2001.

is in support of my argument and to confront and question Bhabha's discursive and textual focus in considering the énoncé and its contribution to Third Space.

In listening, certain connections got made through coming to more abstract notions such as parrhesia and discourse and thus this approach enabled a journey back within the music as further questions emerged, such as, what, in calypso music-making, prompted this mode of organization and thinking of personhood and freedom? What is the history of defining this particular mode of performance? A question perhaps connected to Foucault's archaeology. Listening enabled a way to go into the music and to question what music might be saying about the broader implications of the notions of colonisation, post-colonialism and decolonization. Performance analysis allowed a conceptualization of the use of sound in calypso music-making as that which also contributes to the discourse.

Calypso: singing unspeakable things and thoughts unspoken[72]

Society in Trinidad for a steelband man,
was just as hard or even harder than that for any calypsonian.
Doh care how yuh talented yuh got to go outside
No appreciation here society have too much false pride

Calypsonians really catch hell for a long time,
to associate yourself with them, was a big crime.
If yuh sistah talk to a steelband man,
de family want to break she hand, put she out,
lick up every teeth in she mouth. Pass yuh outcast.

The reason why I say "false pride" it is simply this:
They enjoy the kaiso, enjoy the music but still
they so damned prejudice, exhort themselves and relegate
you so low and mean, like if they mix up with you
the culture would make them unclean.[73]

Self-described as having verve, vigour and vim, singing satirical songs such as Congo man (a controversial one man opera), Simson the funeral man, Ruby where de Baby, Drunk and disorderly, Ah fraid pussy bite me, Obeah wedding, Salt fish, Penwood Dick, Jean and Dinah, as well as those of a more political nature such as: Document pan, Education, Federation, High cost of living and The Slave, Slinger Francisco better known as Might

[72] The title of this subchapter is an assemblage of Toni Morrison's essay "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature." Presented at the Tanner Lecture on Human Values in 1988 and from Toni Morrison's "Beloved" (2005a, 235) [First published 1987].
[73]Slinger Francisco, "Mighty Sparrow", *The Outcast*, 1963. Example 5.6.

Sparrow sang Outcast, the lyrics to which are quoted in the epigraph of this section and tells of the status of the calypsonian in the early 60s, establishing the music-making as practiced by those who were marginalised by colonial rule. Rohlehr says of the song: "he accused 'society' in Trinidad of blatant hypocrisy. A class of people who had created nothing, […] appropriating Pan and Kaiso as representative national forms, enjoyed the songs and music but were still full of prejudice against the singers and musicians […] This was as direct and aggressive an attack of defence as one would find in Sparrow."[74] Calypso emerged and became the most prominent genre in the 40s, 50s and 60s in Trinidad and Tobago and internationally; experiencing what was known at the time as a 'calypso craze'.[75] As in the case of steelpan music-making, the calypsonian and calypso music-making was cast to the periphery of the socio-cultural environment of Trinidad and Tobago as the music and its lyrics were perceived by the upper ruling class as lewd and vulgar.[76]

My attempts to think in and through calypso is inspired, in addition to the performance of Kobo Town, by the work of the calypsonian – Mighty Sparrow; which I adopt as a main point of reference. Sparrow's work possesses both a striking simplicity, in its economy of means used in music-making. That Sparrow is a seminal figure in calypso performance is beyond quarrel. This might be gleaned from the fact that he won the calypso monarch as well as the roadmarch competition eight times and was crowned the *Calypso King of the World* twice. I attend specifically to Sparrow for the transformation he seemingly represents in calypso performance practice. According to Rohlehr "[t]he more he was attacked for his 'phallic' songs, the more outrageously he'd assume the mask of sexual rebel; violator of cherished taboos; or mocker of the respectable, the decent, the moral ethics squad and Thought Police of the socially conformist."[77] During 1956 and 1966

> calypso freedom was practically rewritten, the boundaries redefined by Sparrow, whose risqué calypsos were more risqué than any had ever been before. His political calypsos, blending raw vitality with pointed commentary […] also set new boundaries for incisive criticism […] The gyrations on the stage, the truly grotesque, macabre laughter of something like the *Congo Man* would certainly not have been possible, and if possible, would not have been permitted in the 1930's […] Sparrow was consistently condemned for having 'changed' the Calypso. It was he, they said with a

[74] Rohlehr, 2004, 176-7.
[75] Green and Scher, 2007, 179-197.
[76] Ordinances were also set in place here in order to govern music-making (see Rohlehr, 2004, 166, 170-74).
[77] Rohlehr, 2004, 177.

> bitterness that has lasted to this day, who had unmasked its erotic drive. It was he, too, who had transformed its melodic structure, the pace of delivery, the style of performance. He had broken with sacred conventions of structure.[78]

The point in theorising about Sparrow's calypso is to concentrate on something about musical performance, its discursive nature, and to explore how agency is negotiated herein. Since lyrics are integral to the musical performance, I am interested in how the lyrics are sonically formed and articulated. The composite way in which calypsonians construct words, using groans and growls or blurring, proposes a clear distinction between them articulating through the use of sound in music-making and text.[79] The musical character is frank in its articulation and this is underscored in calypso singing. Insight into the workings of dominant rule and power relation can be gleaned from the efforts, on behalf of the affluent upper-class, to ban carnival and music-making such as calypso and steelband on the grounds that it was "disloyal for Trinidadians to be enjoying themselves […] while the mother country was fighting a major war (World War I) to save democracy."[80] Carnival and the music-making practices that accompany it were regarded as "indecent" and "disgraceful"[81] as attempts were made to transform the practice into a 'polite' middle- and upper-class pageant which would exclude drum-beating, singing of profane songs and the blowing of horns.[82] It is important to underscore the close relationship between calypso and the musical expressions that informed it.

The new music at the time, calypso, was informed by the old, and the old chantwells[83] reflected a novel ideological grounding of political, socio-cultural and economic circumstances. Chantwells and later, calypsos were embedded in and gave expression to a palpable yearning for freedom. Music articulated the hopes and plights of enslaved blacks and later those who were cast to the margins of the socio-cultural environment.[84] The pervasive disappointment and discontent that followed emancipation and eventually post-colonialism, that period when social, political and economic circumstances seemed less unrealizable than before, calypso was and contributed to a discourse that presented

[78] Ibid., 175-76.
[79] This will be further unearthed in the analysis of the following chapter.
[80] Hill, 1989, 69.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 70.
[83] Warner 1982.
[84] Dudley 2007; Hill 1972; Stuempfle 1995.

injustice, repression, suppression, oppression as well as freedom in the immediate tangible and approachable conditions. Although the socio-cultural and economic conditions for the equality and just treatment about which those enslaves had sung in their chantwells seemed no more feasible after emancipation than conceived before, there were specific adjustments made between the status of personhood under slavery and colonization during the post- era. In two major ways decolonization and emancipation transformed music-making practices: firstly, although ordinances were in place, there was no longer the need to make music in secret. Secondly, personhood could be explored freely by individuals who now could interact and negotiate social relationships. Before discussing discourse and my argument for conceiving music as discourse, I will attend to how the above socio-cultural relations, were negotiated in music and processes of making music. As a step towards conceiving music as discourse, I will discuss how a parrhesiastic articulation took place in calypso music-making.

Calypso was fearless attacking all
And most respected by big and small[85]

In a 1983 seminar given at UC Berkeley, Foucault examined truth-telling through the notion of parrhesia. Herein Foucault considers the ability to speak in frank terms. Thus parrhesia might be understood as plain-, frank-, free- or fearless speech.[86] The lecture was posthumously published in 2001 as *Fearless Speech* and is a somewhat neglected text of Foucault's oeuvre. He says:

> Parrhesia is a kind of verbal activity where the speaker has a specific relation to truth through frankness, a certain relation to his own life through danger, a certain type of relation to himself or other people through criticism […] and a specific relation to moral law through freedom and duty […] Parrhesia is a verbal activity in which a speaker expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognizes truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people."[87]

I use this notion for it allows a space to be opened up where questions such as: who is allowed to speak frankly? Who is addressed in this frank speech? How is frank speech exercised not only in verbal activity but also in music-making and performance? And what previous powers, circumstances and rights are indispensable in order for frank speech to

[85] *Don't destroy calypso music*, sung by Mighty Duke at the Trinidad and Tobago Dimanche Gras in 1995.
[86] Foucault, 2001, 11. This speech act is discussed during a conversation between calypsonians Sparrow, Lion and Kitchener. See example 5.7.
[87] Foucault, 2001, 19.

come to pass? Foucault makes exceptionally clear that he is interested in "the problem of the truth-teller, or of truth-telling as an activity: […] who is able to tell the truth, about what, with what consequences, and with what relations to power."[88] Rohlehr says

> As the state set limits on freedom of speech and conscience, so did the calypsonians […] and proclaimed their responsibility to speak for the underdog. In the process of becoming people's voice the calypsonians grew to recognize the necessity for expanding the space within which their voices might be given free play. Freedom of speech could easily become a meaningless empty notion – particularly in the post-plantation society with a history of censorship and repression – if such freedom were not vigorously and consistently exercised.[89]

From the above it is conceivable to consider how truth-telling and having a voice was and still is negotiated in calypso music-making, a reason for which I locate it as discourse. According to Foucault there are five parameters that allow for the occurrence of a parresiastic utterance. They are: frankness, truth, danger, criticism and duty. Frankness alludes to what is said in the speech activity; nothing is hidden.

> in parrhesia the speaker is supposed to give a complete and exact account of what he has in mind so that the audience is able to comprehend exactly what the speaker thinks. The word […] refers to a type of relationship between the speaker and what he says […] for the speaker makes it manifestly clear and obvious that what he says is his own opinion.[90]

As previously described, the calypsonian is not solely expressing his "own opinion"[91] but that of the collective as it is spoken by and to the collective. In calypso the speech activity is made on behalf of the calypsonian's community though it is "he himself"[92] who "is the subject of the opinion to which he refers."[93] This speech activity is connected to a particular social situation where there is a disjunction between the speaker and the audience and because of this a *risk* is involved.[94] Hill remarks that "the calypsonian has always identified himself with the warrior, defending the helpless, attacking the powerful, exposing the scoundrel, or merely upholding his own reputation and integrity."[95]

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[88] Foucault 2001. With this we might reflect on the music-making of The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili and how power was negotiated between the paratextual framing and musical performance.
[89] Rohlehr, 2004, 183-4.
[90] Foucault, 2001, 12.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 13.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Hill, 1989, 63. Warner also speaks of a representation of this identification in relation to the assumed sobriquets of calypsonians (1982, 15-6).

The second aspect integral to parrhesia is that of truth. The one involved in this speech activity "says what is true because he knows that it is true; and he knows that it is true because it is really true."[96] The calypsonians know the truth of which they frankly speak because it is their truth and that of the collective socio-cultural experience and environment out of which they speaks as will be illustrated in the discussion of Kobo Town's performance and music-making. Danger is the third mechanism involved in the parrhesiastic speech activity. It is only if there is a risk and danger in telling the truth that this act comes into being. Herein the act is "linked to courage […] it demands the courage to speak [the truth] in the face of danger."[97] There was a real danger in both calypso and steelband music-making at the time as noise ordinances and peace preservation acts were in place to curtail music-making, there was also censoring of calypso lyrics. Hill describes one night "as the ever-watchful policeman was sedulously monitoring" a calypso performed by Raymond Quevedo known by his sobriquet Atilla the Hun, which had the lyrics:

There are police spies sitting around
taking shorthand notes of my song
But I can tell them independently
That they can tell their masters for me
Never mind whatever measures are employed
Kaiso is art and cannot be destroyed
And centuries to come I'd have them know
People will be still singing kaiso.[98]

This example also supports Foucault's claim that the threat comes from the Other thus, a relationship between the two is generated. Together with the above three (frankness, truth, danger), criticism remains crucial. "In parrhesia the danger always comes from the fact that the said truth is capable of hurting or angering the interlocutor."[99] Thus its function is not solely to evince the truth to another, "but has the function of criticism,"[100] of himself or his interlocutor. "Parrhesia is a criticism, either towards another or towards oneself, but always in a situation where the speaker or confessor is in a position of inferiority with

[96] Foucault, 2001, 14.
[97] Ibid., 16.
[98] Quevedo, 1983, xi. (see: Hill 1989 for more on the censorship of calypso lyrics).
[99] Foucault, 2001, 17.
[100] Ibid.

respect to the interlocutor."[101] Calypso is often described as the poor man's newspaper and the voice of the people[102] and is extremely critical of all socio-cultural, economic and political events. Hill explains that "a major part of his [the calypsonian's] repertoire will consist of songs that are directed against an opponent, whether this antagonist be a rival singer, a sexual partner, a notorious badjohn,[103] an unpopular public official, an aggressor country, or an oppressive system of government."[104]

Lastly, duty remains as a factor of completion in the shaping of parrhesia. Therefore, the telling of truth should be perceived of as a duty and moral responsibility of those who face danger and are free[105] to maintain their silence.[106] Black Stalin, who considers his role within calypso as one of purpose explains:

> a certain set of people gave me this opportunity to get on a stage and do something […] their welfare should be my number one concern. Anytime I see a Caribbean unity, ah going an finish the whole calypso monarchy […] The welfare of the people outside there is most important. In the early days they called a calypsonian a chantewell, where, as a chantwell what you got to do is dig into the soul of the man out there. This is how it always been, calypso is storytelling, when I get on top there, the first thing I got to do is something that is relevant to a better life in this world for the people outside there.[107]

If we reflect on Stalin's claims that being a calypsonian is about purpose, then we see that, the stories and the way in which they are told have a particular intent and a purpose that drives them.[108] The very nature of this form of social commentary, in which the calypsonian as the people's spokesman is consciously sought by the public, is brought to light in performance. To examine the voice of the calypsonian is to emphasize the crucial nature of performance in how the story is told and how it is made sense of. In performance, gesture, intonation, the position of the body on stage, and facial expression are all intimations that infer on the formulation of the topic as well as to the calypsonians claim to authority. Foucault's work attempts to propose the significance of discourse in the structuring of docile citizens within the state and socio-cultural as well as economic practices that are

[101] Ibid., 17-18.
[102] Quevedo, 1983, xi.
[103] A philanderer.
[104] Hill, 1989, 63.
[105] Foucault, 2001, 19.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Example 5.7.
[108] The same argument could be made for the music-making practices analysed in the previous chapter

engaged in sciences that establish structure and sustain the regulation of persons. To incorporate his approach and conception of discourse to world music studies and research in particular is to broaden the limits and qualities of historical and epistemological research and to explore those power relations that the spectacle lays bare. Foucault considers the way in which research is confined by systems of knowledge. His questions of the relationship between knowledge, truth and power makes inquiry into the ground work that lends a hand in the formation of mechanisms that legitimize their effects and how exactly these mechanisms and truths transform over time. Foucault employed two modes of understanding power. The first was in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, which rested on textual excavation and analysis in order to recognize how discourses produced individual bodies for regulation. The second is found in the genealogy that he conceived in order to analyse how power is exercised within society. Attending to discourse in text, as it appears in the paratextual analysis, and in musical performance as it prefaced in the foregoing chapter and will attempt to do more explicitly in the following chapter, offer a way for conceiving how a particular truth is shaped and established through knowledge and power relations. The following chapter will attempt to underscore that this parrhesiastic utterance occurred musically, through the use of sound, as well. In the section that follows, I will outline Foucault's precepts on discourse. This is connected to my critique of Bhabha for he departs from Foucault who in a seemingly contradictory way makes a distinction between the discursive and non-discursive. The following two sections will explore Foucault's theory of discourse by giving an outline of his thoughts.[109]

Foucault, the non-discursive and music

The distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices remains undecided in Foucault's work. Foucault's grapple with both notions is visible from an interview in which the interviewer presses for a clear distinction.[110] Secondary literature puts emphasis on the separation of the discursive and non-discursive and often also stresses an interpretation that purports an argument, credited to Foucault, that discourse does not imply all cultural forms and expressions. Following this, music would then not be considered discursive. This

[109] Foucault 2002; 1981.
[110] Foucault, 1980a, 197-8.

brings into question the importance of making a distinction between the discursive and non-discursive. Foucault seemingly hesitates to make a definitely clear distinction. He says

> [T]his style of research has for me the following interests: it allows me to avoid every problem concerning the anteriority of theory in relation to practice, and the reverse. In fact, I deal with practices, institutions and theories on the same plane and according to the same isomorphisms, and I look for the underlying knowledge [savoir] that makes them possible, the stratum of knowledge that constitutes them historically.[111]

He describes an apparatus as

> a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions architectural form regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measure, scientific statement, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions in short, *the said as much as the unsaid.*[112]

This seems to be contradictory to what is explained in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, which comments on the relationship between discursive and non-discursive.[113] According to Dreyfus and Rabinow:

> Foucault does not deny that during the mid-sixties his work was *deflected from an interest in the social practices that formed both institutions and discourse to an almost exclusive emphasis on linguistic practices.* At its limit this approach led, by its own logic and against Foucault's better judgment, to an objective account of the rule like way discourse organizes not only itself but social practices and institutions, and to a neglect of the way discursive practices are themselves affected by the social practices in which they and the investigator are imbedded.[114]

I suspect that this secondary literature is in reference to Foucault's later work, where he makes clear that.

> archaeology also reveals relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes). These *rapprochements* are not intended to uncover great cultural continuities, nor to isolate mechanisms of causality. Before a set of enunciative facts, archaeology does not ask what could have motivated them (the search for contexts of formulation); nor does it seek to rediscover what is expressed in them (the task of hermeneutics); it tries to determine how the rules of formation that govern it — and which characterize the positivity to which it belongs — may be linked to non-discursive systems: it seeks to define specific forms of articulation.[115]

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[111] Foucault, 1998a, 262.
[112] Foucault, 1980a, 194. (Italics mine).
[113] Foucault, 2002, 179.
[114] Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, xii. (Italics mine).
[115] Foucault, 2002, 179-80.

I think the entire discussion is ladened with inconsistencies and contradictions.[116] I also think that the absurdity is in some way acknowledged by Foucault, and is the reason for which he shied away from making a definite distinction. If he granted a clear cut definition of the two and how they differ from one another, he would have outlined that in the discourse; the discursive is confined and restricted. Or, judging from the interview, he would have located the non-discursive as indeed discursive. This last probable issue is interesting when one seeks to consider music as discourse, for the green light to do so is given from the way the discussion is left radically open.

Foucault directs our attention to problems of ideology, representation and social construction that are formed and organized by hegemonic discourses. But within the secondary literature, the above is executed solely by taking the textual into consideration, even as Foucault claims to not be interested in linguistics. Finally to conclude the point of where ambiguities lie, he says

> it doesn't much matter for my notion of the apparatus to be able to say that this is discursive and this isn't […] I don't think it's very important to be able to make the distinction, given that *my problem isn't a linguistic one*.[117]

Since these ambiguities exist I take Hall's all-encompassing interpretation of Foucault's concept of discourse and through the above preliminary discussion of music-making position music as discourse and seek to critique, through reference of musical performance, the textual emphasis in Bhabha's notion of the enunciative or the hybrid space.

Discourse: an introduction to the textual

Before exploring the notion of discourse, I will situate Foucault's thoughts by giving an overview of his work as it relates to the discussion of this and the following chapters; namely, on his conceptions of discourse, power, knowledge and truth. Truth-telling is inherently bound to power and knowledge as truth is formed by the power/knowledge relation. As certain things are held as true, truth is concurrently shaped. Thus in Foucauldian terms, truth might be understood as a standard provided by society to individuals and is a determining factor in the way we perceive the world and make sense of it.

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[116] This is conceivable from the conversation of that mentioned interview (Foucault, 1980a, 197-8).
[117] Foucault, 1980a, 198.

Throughout his ouvre we see a steady engagement with the four notions mentioned. Though the above phenomena remained part of his work, there are remarkable changes in the way he approached the subjects methodologically. In concentrating on these phenomena Foucault lends a hand in furthering our conceptions of the mechanisms involved in the construction of social reality. I am interested in how this occurs within the festival space as the sonorous spectacle is constructed. It is within the relationship between power, knowledge and truth and the way these are articulated in discourse that he outlines his thoughts on the construction of social reality. This delineation is not done in ontological terms, but through underscoring and engaging with the significant aspects of its construction. Important to his thesis is the extended focus on the structures of society and the role of discourse and language in its structuring. To question the linguistic/textual foundation of discourse as that which is an organization of utterances and articulations of difference, I draw on Foucault for he approaches texts, subject-formation and power as interrelated and as an integral part of a coherent social production and reality. It is with discourse as a socio-cultural process of comprehending and self-definition that Foucault is concerned.

My understanding of music as discourse is to exemplify that a sole focus on the discursive analysis of texts does not offer the full story; similar to how the colonizing and all-consuming textual narrative, discussed in chapter three, does not. It only gives the perspective of that which is documented in text, however I argue that masquerading and parading in the street as part of Carnival, dancing within the festival as well as drumming or producing and attending a world music festival are also practices that involve truth-telling and give another perspective of the story which also factors within and contributes to the discourse.

As mentioned, Foucault positions discourse as a "way of speaking,"[118] as he attends to the speaking subject. It is for this reason that his methodology concentrates solely on the set of things said as they emerge and transform devoid of any suppositions about the statements' collective meaning. Foucault transports his notion of discourse to an elemental unit of things said, which he terms the statement or énoncé, from which Bhabha departs in his discussion of Third Space. Foucault never comprehensively reconciles the inherent

[118] Foucault, 2002, 135.

features of a statement. However he illustrates that a statement is the rule which renders an expression discursively meaningful. The concept of meaning here is different to that of signification, for though an expression is signifying, it may nevertheless be discursively meaningless and thus have no existence within a certain discourse.[119]

However, discourse, cannot be neatly summarized or remanded to one single meaning. The concept is complex and its use and understanding differ not only between various theorists but Foucault himself also has different conceptions and ways of using it throughout his work. Foucault outlines and describes five analogous interpretations of discourse[120] as: groups of statements belonging to a discursive formation; rule-bound practices; practices specified in archives; practices constituting objects; and, totalities determining subject positions. He says:

> Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.[121]

It is within these considerations that I posit the paratextual framing as discourse, formed by actions and the results that infer on music and the spectacularized world music festival space. Herein, the question of how framing can convey knowledge and in doing so provides a modality in and through which we can understand how knowledge is acquired within the festival space might come to be addressed. I will engage with the above quote at length for it exemplifies the differing definitions that Foucault attributes to the term within his work. The first and broadest definition – 'the general domain of all statements'[122] – explains that all texts and linguistic utterances that embody meaning and are productive in creating some effect in society are discourse. This definition finds itself particularly situated in his earlier work, as he discusses the notion in theoretical terms. His consideration herein is directed towards discourse and not readily about one discourse in particular. In keeping with this, I conceive of discourse as referring to all articulations made which are meaningful and have some form of consequence. It is an articulation which seemingly comprises a classification. It organizes procedures that chronicle various statements, customs, traditions and

[119] Ibid., 101-2, 126.
[120] Foucault, 2002.
[121] Ibid., 90.
[122] Ibid.

constructions which bring certain assertions to fruition. It is within these considerations that I concede to world music performance practice as discourse formed by the agency present in the event of framing. The second definition provided, – 'sometimes as an individualizable group of statements'[123] is one which is pervasive as he engages with distinct structures within discourses in attempts to identify them. Here he considers groups of utterances or statements which he considers as ruled or regulated in a distinct way. These statements are collectively identifiable as they have a force and are fit together. Being that this second understanding is about a specific discourse, it is possible here to speak of world music discourse for example. Lastly he offers, 'a regulated practice which accounts for a number of statements.'[124] I conceive of this third definition as Foucault being apathetic to the factual production of utterances or texts, concerned primarily with the rules and constructions which are productive in the emergence of individual utterances and texts. The nature of discourse to be ruled and promoted is of main significance within this last definition. What makes this concept an intricate one is that the above definitions are run together, used analogously within cultural theory. Before attending to relations of power, in attempts to interpret and explain truth in the relationship between power and knowledge, Foucault focused on "statements"[125] and their textual study. Herein the analysis became linked to intricate networks of discourse within which he underscored the importance of examining truth and the formation of knowledge. Herein the purpose for concentrating on discourses is to uncover the textual rationales and presuppositions in the exertion of power and discipline over bodies.

It is the participatory contribution or inclusion in discourse as well as exclusion that excites my interest in discourse as it relates to contemporary world music performance practices. To consider the question of inclusion and exclusion of musical performance in the paratextual framing, the matter of power relations in discourse remains significant. Foucault's questioning of the above remains interested in the standards according to which distinct perceptions and ideas are deemed legitimate contributions within which persons are permitted participation or not. Who has access to discourse, who hasn't and how do

[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 127-30.

these mechanisms influence particular modes of comprehending world music. Questions of inclusion and exclusion from discourse are centripetal themes throughout Foucault's thinking. He acknowledges in *The Order of Discourse* that in discourse we do not have the right to everything and delineates what he terms "procedures of exclusion."[126] The above is useful for thinking of world music for according to Aubert "[t]he nomenclature [world music] appears to have been settled via exclusion rather than by deliberate choice since, under the cover of musical diversity, it embraced everything that does not appear on the categories previously available in the music market."[127] Foucault suggests that restrictions of speaking about certain topics such as sexuality disclose the connection of discourse to power.[128] In general terms this is perceptible from the literature review of this research, where it is illustrated how a world music discourse is established. More specifically, the paratextual framing allows a consideration of who contributes to discourse and how power is involved in the production of the colonizing narrative and the position of musical performance within this relation of power. Those who establish and maintain this knowledge stand in a relation of power to those who do not. Thus, "discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized."[129]

Academics who engage with Foucault's conception of discourse tend to identify that he is not interested in a precise definition of the term; rather he is concerned with the procedures and social interactions that shape communication. Thus it is not always clear what is meant with discourse. It is often associated with speech, expression and communication, that is, discourse engages in the exchange of ideas and views. However, can we consider every act of communication a discourse? What criteria are called upon to define discourses and distinguish them from other forms of expressing and communicating? Finally I seek to explore the questions; what is the purpose of discourse within contemporary world music performance practice? Why is this exploration necessary?

[126] Foucault, 1981, 52.
[127] Aubert, 2007, 58.
[128] Foucault, 1990.
[129] Foucault, 1981, 52-3.

Within the confines of this chapter, I thought it most pertinent and clarifying to discuss the main aspects of Foucault's view on discourse, showing how his thoughts on the matter changed throughout. By doing so, a firm grasp on how Foucault generally comprehended and approached the notion is allowed and how I take and think of it as it is situated within world music studies and more specifically in relation to framing practices within the festival space. I have approached discourse by attending firstly to truth for I needed to establish that truth-telling is not simply remanded to speech acts (linguistic) and writing (textual) but is also possible in music and music-making (non-linguistic/-textual) as exemplified in the discussion of calypso or in the way instruments for music-making are conceived, build and used. What is perceptible from this chapter is that Foucault's use of discourse is not singular in its definition, but essentially represents how power/knowledge and truth influence each other and how these are held together [through discourse] in their relation within social reality.

Drawing together framing practices, the spectacle and discourse

Calypso music, like all genres and the world music category, is not unique in its formulation. That is, people establish, nurture and reformulate genres and categories as, I will suggest, Kobo Town has done musically. The notion of discourse as an analytical tool makes possible the pursuit of a concentrated investigation of the socio-cultural constitution of world music. It also enables an analysis of the held conceptualizations that are shared among festivalgoers as it concerns how they contribute to and interpret the framing practices at the festival. Here I see discourse as being constituted by conventions of socio-cultural practices and their interpretation. Following this, I suggest that processes of framing also contribute to discourse.

Through concentrating on the discursive nature of framing practices, a consideration of the way (world) music is positioned and the processes by which this comes into being is granted. From the foregoing, I argue that framing contributes to music discourse. As mentioned, music discourse involves that which is articulated *about* music (textually and linguistically in the case of the paratextual framing), part of which contributes to the negotiation of meaning. The festival's framing of steelpan (the practice) positions music in such a way that allows for the concentration (conceptually) on the process of how meaning

is negotiated as the instrument and music-making is established at the world music festival. However framing also occurs in music-making and performance, this highlights music discourse as well, here understood as comprising meanings and social practices and the relations they foster. Foucault suggests that discourse forms subjectivity and relations of power. More directly he says that discourses are practices that construct, through a distinct order, the objects they speak of. Herein lies the necessity for conceiving of framing practices as discursive, for, in framing, the negotiation of musical meaning is decidedly called upon and motivated as it contributes to music discourse, making the practice of framing music within the world music festival space function discursively.

To conceive of discourse not as a collection of signs or texts, but rather as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak"[130] proves productive for considering contemporary world music performance practice and music as discourse. In this way, a particular discourse, such as world music or its performance practice within the framing practices of the summer festival space, is that which is productive; it has agency inscribed in it as it creates and disperses a particular concept, an utterance, a mode of articulating said utterance and a general effect. The above would be instead of approaching discourse as something that endures self-sufficiently or intrinsically and analysed, along these lines, in isolation. The framing of the festival, as explored in the previous chapters, can be considered as embodying discursive structure by the way ideas are systematically organized herein, the opinions of festivalgoers, concepts such as 'roots', the ways of behaving within the festival space (in dress, and shopping/consuming patterns) which are all composed within the distinct frame of the world music festival. It can also be conceived this way for the resultant outcomes that the above ways of thinking, behaving, forming ideas and opinions facilitate. The practice of framing is discursive because discourses, as they are understood by Foucault, are particular methods of forming knowledge in conjunction with social practices and types of subjectivity and relations of power which are congenital to determined kinds of knowledges and eventually the relationships among them. Thus, within the festival space, framing and the performance practice of world music that it enables, is a tightly knit location of knowledge. Said otherwise, knowledge is produced by framing practices, as they present themselves as an arrangement of acts within

[130] Ibid.

which the world of music is constructed, is made sense of and is known. It is an area where those engaged in the utterance (the speakers and writers in Foucault's understanding) are able to understand themselves, the relationships they hold with others and the place within which all the above is located in the world. In a nutshell this is where the construction and formulation of subjectivity, in terms of Foucault, takes place. For this reason, Foucault argues that discourse brings power and knowledge into relation. Though Foucault makes clear that power does not reside on either side of those involved in its struggle, but dwells in relation, making resistance part of the relations, those who possess power hold in their hand control over that which is known and the ways in which this knowledge comes about. This can be understood in relation to the colonizing narrative that circulates throughout the festival space and contribute to the discourse about world music. And as we shall see it might be conceived in the music-making that is staged and also the actual musical performance. In situating framing practices as discursive I am concerned with the knowledge, the formation of personhood and relation of power as these emerge from the festival space and music-making. Discourse, contributed to by systems of signification and signifying practices such as framing and its resultant narrative, the staging, programming, YouTube videos posted on festival websites, to forum posts and discussions and press interviews and articles. These produce effects and have consequences as they actively construct and organize particular types of awarenesses and unconsciousnesses, which are intrinsically bound up with the establishing, upkeep and transformation of extant power relations. Attuned to the above, I propose that the framing practices and thus world music performance practice functions as discourse because they are established by interrelation and intersubjectivity, networks of utterances resulting in forms of knowledge as well as social practices. Thus I argue that world music performance practice, music and music-making are factors within the discursive formation and thus function as discourse.

If one were to simply look at Foucault's early work through to his last, which this chapter departs from, it would be exceptionally clear that his primary concern was with how human beings are the effects or products of the society which they themselves constructed. In this same way our acts of framing, and through this the way in which the performance practice is constituted herein, produces world music. It would be obvious from Foucault's argument that truth is a product of what is considered as true within a distinct social context. He

explicitly uses the notion of power to carry the weight of his argument as he explains the way society effects and enforces truth upon bodies, this is underscored in the discussion of calypso music-making.

I previously discussed the colonizing narrative where I argued that musicians spoke for themselves in music-making, as also illustrated in the discussion of calypso music-making, independent of the paratextual framing of the performances. I suggested that musical performance's story is told outside or alongside that of the colonizing narrative which contributes to, but is also sustained by, the sonorous spectacle. As the sonorous spectacle emerges in part from the framing practices of the paratextual, I argue that, within the sonorous spectacle, the way the story is told and continuously highlighted as well as the way it is sustained places framing practices as having a discursive dimension. In the production of the sonorous spectacle within the festival, the musics of the world are situated as part of a particular information network, here, musics are tailored into classification systems and compartmentalized; these range from regional order, country of origin to musical function. Using Debord's notion of the spectacle as a tool to comprehend world music performance practice as a sonorous spectacle, I contend that the sonorous spectacle produces and contributes to discourse; especially since it emerges from particular framing processes. Spectacular discourse isolates all it shows from its context, its past, its intentions and its consequences.[131] In semblance of the argument of chapter four, I suggest here that the production and the continuous endurance of discourse may be more befitting at ascertaining how some discourses are weighed more heavily than others and how world musical canons are ascribed. Sonorous spectacles do more than reformulate musical practices and the experience of participants thereof, they also append an immense degree of matter that we, as festivalgoers do not perceive. Here, the produced sonorous spectacle that stands in place redefines the staged music that produces it. As a result, the music framed, as it becomes part of the sonorous spectacle, becomes a particular thing available for presentation and knowledge.

This chapter illustrated how the notion of discourse, understood in terms of Foucault's work, emerged from the analysis of the discussed framing practices. Departing from a discussion of calypso, it attempted to take a step towards comprehending music-making

[131] Debord, 1998, 28.

and performance as well as world music performance practice as discourse. The subsequent chapter will attend more centrally to music as discourse as it relates to the festival space. It seeks to call attention to and dismantle the oppressive nature of post-colonial studies' emphasis on the textual as it ignores agency, for the purposes of this research, in musical performance which is cast as non-discursive owing to the relentless attention granted to the textual. In sum, it seeks to present an alternative to the textual emphasis in articulating history, doing so through an analysis of the performance and music-making of marginalized and dispossessed communities who are most often the subjects of the musics this project engages in, as they come to rest and are subsumed under the world music category. I attend to the ways, in music-making, that those communities are structured by and respond to being cast as marginal without placing those involved in the act of marginalizing at the centre while not concentrating solely on an existent textual or linguistic articulation. In doing so, I turn to the performance of Kobo Town in order to explore how the above may be comprehended as it unfolds within the festival space. Departing from this I will grant a critique of the textual and linguistic emphasis inherent to the discussion of discourse, while further making a case for considering performance and music-making as functioning within music discourse.

6 Comprehending discourse musically: A challenge to the textual emphasis

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God.

~John 1:1[1]

In the beginning there were no words. In the beginning was the sound, and they all knew what that sound sounded like.

~Toni Morrison[2]

Kaiso Newscast, the first song on the titled album *Jumbie in the Jukebox* by Kobo Town, describes calypso as follows:

> In Trinidad, calypso is nicknamed the 'people's newspaper'. In its early years, its influence on the public mood was so potent that policemen would be dispatched to calypso tents to ensure that only government-approved songs were sung. Indeed, over the past century no event of local or international significance has escaped being both recounted and commented upon by a calypsonian. With an eye for controversy, an appetite for scandal, and a biting wit that lays bare the uncomfortable truth of a matter, the calypsonian plays both the role of court fool – speaking truth in the face of power – and megaphone, airing the concerns and protests of the common man.[3]

In a relatively equal breath Drew Gonsalves, the lead singer of the ensemble, describes the music-making of Kobo Town as a 'bastardized form of calypso.'[4] To 'bastardize' is defined as follows: to "produce a poor copy or version of something, to debase or to modify something especially by introducing discordant or disparate elements"[5] I will argue that the definition of calypso provided by the album notes was embodied in Kobo Town's performance at WOMAD 2014. This argument stands in line with Rohlehr's, where he makes clear that "calypso music today still performs most of the functions of its ancestor-musics: celebration, censure, praise, blame, social control, worship, moralizing, affirmation, confrontation, exhortation, warning,

[1] The Bible, The New King James Version, 1982.
[2] Morrison, 2005a, 305.
[3] Kobo Town CD-liner notes of the album *Jumbie in the Jukebox* 2013.
[4] Example 6.1.
[5] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bastardize

scandal-mongering, ridicule, the generation of laughter, verbal warfare, satire."[6] He makes clear that the call-and-response structure and the nature of group participation have been maintained over time.[7] Though I appreciate the musical transformation involved in their performance, I do not conceive Kobo Town's music-making to be in a 'bastardized form'. I, however, consider the WOMAD performance to be in conversation with forgoing calypso performances. Kobo Town's music-making and WOMAD performance stand therefore in a relation to that which went before and I suggest that this relation might be conceived as a creative function in constructing and negotiating the WOMAD performance, especially since their performance explicitly embodied call and response and an intensely blatant exercise in audience participation. I will use the example of Sparrow's *The Slave* to illustrate my argument, highlighting that Kobo Town's performance did not exist in and of itself but came into being in its relation to calypso music-making as a whole. This will be my argument, in part, for considering music-making as discursive as this relation is part of the dynamics of discourse.

The previous chapters' discussion of music-making, in the cases of the steelpan, Staff Benda Bilili, The Good Ones and in calypso, outlined the "formative role [of music] in the construction, negotiation and transformation of sociocultural identities."[8] This makes a post-colonial analysis of personhood in and out of the world music festival space feasible. The foregoing is also tied to discourse and is in part the reason for my consideration of music as discourse, as it involves agency in the construction of social reality. As suggested, discourse underscores the ways in which not only language but music and performance practice produce knowledge, which constructs and represents both its objects and subjects.

I will attempt to highlight that the recording of history takes place in musical performance and the ways in which music is made and practiced. In this way, I exemplify that the non-textual/-linguistic has equal merit in exploring the post-colonial venture. I will focus on two calypsos: The first in relation to the historically locatedness of music-making, and the second in relation to its situatedness within the world music festival space. In doing so I underscore how in this relation the two comment on each other and as such constitute performance practice as discursive.

[6] Rohlehr, 2004, 164.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000, 31.

During colonial rule,[9] Afro-Trinidadians and communities throughout the Caribbean and Americas were confronted with the question of how to evaluate their world and lived experience within this world in which they found themselves, where, to articulate it in rather simple terms, they were not entirely happy, but had the ability to conceive of transformation. They were presented with how to evaluate their learning, knowledge and experience as they constructed a system for interpreting the meaning of these questions. Steelpan and calypso music-making was a product of these questions. I therefore position music-making in these cases in relation to history. I stood in 2010 at the front of the Amsterdam Roots Festival "Alliantie" stage as the steel-orchestra confronted me with history in and through musical performance. A similar experience was had at WOMAD 2014 at Kobo Town's performance. The above performances were history – a personal history as well as that of a colonized Caribbean people. How this history is embodied in the musical performance will be discussed in the following. I consider history here firstly for its implication in post-colonial analysis. Bhabha promotes the recording of unofficial histories which he positions as those stories that are not told by history. I suggest that this unofficial history is articulated in steelband and calypso music-making. Thus history is (re)interpreted in music as the history is able to explain the music and music-making practices.[10] I additionally attend to history here because Debord critiques the spectacle for undermining history.[11] Finally, the celebratory narrative of world music within the festival space overshadows history. The previous chapters set the stage for considering musical performance as discourse. I attempted to highlight that articulation and utterance within the world music festival goes beyond speech acts because of language barriers.

The previous chapter discussed Bhabha's thoughts on cultural difference[12] through a critique of his textual emphasis as discourse is inscribed in semiotic processes. This sole attention to the semiotic and textual process disregards socio-cultural practice and its rigidity in the push and pull and the counteraction that takes place in music-making such

[9] These questions continue to plague some islands, particularly in the Dutch Caribbean, who still find themselves under some form of colonial rule.
[10] This is to simply point out that both music and history, recorded textually, were the articulations of the human experience.
[11] Debord, 1998, 13-16, 18.
[12] He says "the reason a cultural text or system of meaning cannot be sufficient unto itself is that the act of cultural enunciation – the place of utterance – is crossed by the différance of writing." Bhabha, 1994, 36.

as calypso and steelband. It argues that the discussed music-making practices did indeed render and continue to render a voicing[13] or an utterance and are a definite mode through which articulation takes place.[14] In the festival space this determinate enunciation takes place in the relation between the musical performance, the framing practices thereof and those in attendance. Bhabha says further

> my growing conviction has been that the encounters and negotiations of differential meanings and values within 'colonial' textuality, its governmental discourses and cultural practices, have anticipated *avant la lettre*, many of the problematics of signification and judgement that have become current in the contemporary theory – aporia, ambivalence, indeterminacy, the question of discursive closure, the threat to agency, the status of intentionality, the challenge to 'totalising' concepts.[15]

In her critique of Bhabha, Benita Parry makes clear that

> by subsuming social realities to textual representation, Bhabha represents colonialism as transactional rather than conflictual – a version which should be distinguished from the study of how the colonized negotiated colonialism, and which has been investigated by Bhabha in essays on 'mimicry' and 'sly civility', where the 'native's refusal to satisfy colonial command' is revealed in the interstices of the colonial texts. It is also distinct from the recognition that the exercise of power is heterogeneous and never total, that subjugated groups cannot be wholly subordinated, that equivocal exchanges between ruler and ruled do occur, that collaborators always emerge to play a mediatory (often treacherous) role, and that domination and resistance are hostile interlocutors. […] For Bhabha's concern is with establishing that the hierarchical division set in place by colonial discourse was unsustainable because the loci of inscription, or the dynamics of writing, always display a 'difference' within the signification – a contention distinct from the proposition that colonial discourse inscribed the continual transgression of boundaries between colonizer and colonized, the assumption here being that the text signifies such traffic.[16]

Where Bhabha locates the political struggle in the textual, I will attend to this political struggle through musical performance, positioned here as discursive through its performance. The analysis (in both perspective and techniques) that follows and that this chapter seeks to develop are for the purpose of enabling further discussions in considering music as discourse and the ascriptions of meaning to music within world music performance practice. The analysis and interpretations drawn from it do not have essential or definitive intent. My argument and interpretation of music-making is founded in ethnographic interviewing, music history and the socio-cultural circumstances that

[13] Weidman 2014.
[14] Example 5.4.
[15] Bhabha, 1994, 248.
[16] Parry, 2004, 62.

contributed to music-making as well as my observation of performances. In what follows I simply seek to highlight the different ways in which music-making and performance, at world music festivals, are meaningful. Doing so through approaching music as discourse is never attended to within world music studies, a task which I think remains important for it seems as another way to importantly consider an account of power relations and the generation and emergence of knowledge.

Throughout the development of steelpan and calypso, the music-making and those involved in its development had not only to survive but triumph, expand, reorganize and express themselves as the fragile voice and articulation of an oppressed and dominated people. This speaks towards agency and the reclamation of personhood in music-making, which remains a reason for considering music as discourse and for critiquing the textual emphasis in this process as another mode of silencing history. The questions still remains: How did music perform in reclaiming personhood, the creation of selves, both then and now, within its most recent move to the festival stage, where similar mechanisms play out because of the sonorous spectacle and its attempts to silence and Other. What was it about music-making and performance in colonial Trinidad and within the festival space that secured its triumph? As I asked these questions, I suggest that the history of the steelpan together with its performance is part of and relates the history of a people; that unrecorded history, that is seemingly not so unrecorded after all, occurs in music-making. I also maintain that the material that is used to manufacture the instrument – steel – from discarded oil barrels played with sticks covered by rubber illustrates that the steelband movement and calypso performance is a story of a colonial people, it presented itself as a narrative or fable. The steelpan and calypso music recorded and held the account of the people. The orchestration and development of different instrument voices and the names given to these – cello, tenor, double tenor, guitar and bass – creatively performs the human experience and is an articulation of an acquired knowledge[17] that was obtained in and through musical performance. From the beginning of experimentation until now, the characters in this narrative are transformed and have acquired knowledge. Music-making and performance is a score to those lived experiences, making the orchestra a voiced

[17] The aspect of knowledge as it relates to musical performance and the sonorous spectacle will be discussed in the final chapter.

accretion of history.

Calypso performance analysis: Lyrics & voice

Among Sparrow's compositions is *The Slave*, which is also the title of the 1963 album where the song is recorded. In this song Sparrow creates what he imagines to be a slave experience; 130 years after the abolition of slavery. He creates and performs a role in this composition as he establishes an 'I' that is not a victim but a person engaged in the process of calypso development and in the reclamation of personhood. Calypso is storytelling.[18] However, it is not solely about the story told but how it is told. What I will venture to exemplify in the analysis of this song is the connections and the relations that are enabled in music between musicians; singer and back-up singers. There are significant connections that materialize and attest to music *doing* something in its performance, in addition to telling a story.

The colonized never expressed or articulated their history, their 'voice'[19] was always 'heard' or has always materialized through the locution of the colonizer. Fanon described this colonial articulation in clarifying the fact that

> the settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves.[20]

Not to have freedom to express musically during both slavery and colonialism, though the meaning of freedom in both instances shifts, involved, among other things, the ignorance of personhood because those enslaved were seen as property, legally defined as commodities. I conceive of voice both in a physical and metaphoric sense. This includes instrument developments, the transformation involved in the restructuring of musicality, and the lyrics. Weidman says

> [T]he voice is central to cultural, social, and political life. As a phenomenon that links material practices with subjectivity, and embodied sound with collectively recognized meanings, voice is a crucial site where the realms of the cultural and sociopolitical link to the level of the individual, a site where shared discourses and values, affect, and aesthetics are made manifest in and contested through embodied practice. The

[18] Examples 5.4.
[19] Weidman 2014.
[20] Fanon, 2001, 40.

> productivity of voice as an analytical category stems from the fact that voice is both a set of sonic, material, and literary practices shaped by culturally and historically specific moments and a category invoked in discourse about personal agency, cultural authenticity, and political power.[21]

The voice of the calypsonians was a free expression of individuality and could not be silenced by the dominant upper ruling class. Guilbault explains that

> throughout the colonial period, members of the black lower class fought for their rights *not only through the words in their calypsos, but also through the musical instruments they used to accompany their songs.* From the time of slavery, they met the banning of drums with defiance and *resourceful* alternatives.[22]

To conceive of the voice casts light on the fact that those who were enslaved and their descendants were always persons even though their personhood was brought into question as they were dehumanized through slavery and colonialism.[23] However, similar to their personhood, which they always possessed, the colonized and enslaved had voices and voicings[24] that were unheard and conceived, at least in post-colonial terms, as non-existent. In critiquing the post-colonial approach to understanding voice and representation I stand in line with Weidman who makes clear that

> [A]nthropology's particular strength lies in its capacity to "provincialize" Euro-American discourses of voice, to show the difference between assumed connections between voice and self, interiority, or agency and what careful ethnography and *listening* can show to be *other ways of conceiving the value and efficacy of vocal practice.* Rather than assume the universal significance of the voice, anthropology should ask where and when "voice" becomes a salient metaphor and what is at stake in it. It should inquire into how practices involving the voice—including performance, singing, oratory, pedagogy, entextualization, writing, technological mediation—support these metaphorical elaborations. *What forms of subjectivity, identity, and public and political life are enabled, and silenced, by particular regimes of aurality and the voice?*[25]

As mentioned, the calypsonian is often regarded as the 'voice of the people'[26] and calypso as, the 'poor man's newspaper.'[27] Weidman's call to anthropology to pose different questions of 'voice' is exactly what music *does*. She suggests that "attending to voice in its multiple registers gives particular insight into the intimate, affective, and

[21] Weidman, 2014, 38.
[22] Guilbault, 2007, 58. (Italics mine).
[23] For a discussion of colonization and dehumanization see Césaire, 2000, 41.
[24] Weidman 2014.
[25] Ibid., 38. (Italics mine).
[26] Conversation with Kobo Town's drew Gonsalves.
[27] Example 6.2 (0'44"-1'00"). See also Warner 1982.

material/embodied dimensions of cultural life and socio-political identity."[28] Departing from this I position voice as referring to the voice of the calypsonian who tells the story as well as the collective voice of a people, in this way, it is what Weidman argues is voicing. She describes this as follows:

> The assumed linking of a voice with an identity or a single person overlooks the fact that speakers may have many different kinds of relationships to their own voices or words or that a single *"voice" may in fact be collectively produced*. The concept of voicing highlights that 'speakers are not unified entities, and their words are no transparent expressions of subjective experience' […] Voicing emphasizes the strategic and politically charged nature of the way voices are constructed in both formal and everyday performances. [29]

Understood this way, voice does not simply concern that of the calypsonian who sings, or the lyrics that are sung. Guilbault remarks that "central in the articulation of Trinidad cultural politics for more than a century, calypso constituted the terrain on which to address issues of identity and senses of (be)longing."[30] As will be discussed, to speak of the voice, in the performance of calypso, does not refer solely to the lyrics that aid in telling the story through singing, but also how the sounds of the words are performed.

In this analysis I will concentrate on the texture, the use of vibrato and falsetto, repetition, antiphony, timbre, dynamics, diction, vocal range, rhythm and syncopation. I chose this particular song for in it Mighty Sparrow tells the story of *The Slave*,[31] the calypso narrates how Africans were captured, enslaved and put to work. In this way, it seeks to historically situate the treatment underwent by people under the institution of slavery as well as how calypso was developed within these circumstances, underscoring in a sense what music *does*, doing so in and through music. The tone, texture and timbre of the voice orders the musical performance of this song.

I'm a slave from a land so far,
I was caught and I was brought here from Africa. (eh heh) (2x)
Well it was licks like fire from the white slave master
Every day ah down on meh knees
Weeks and weeks before we cross the seas to reach in the West Indies[32]

[28] Weidman, 2014, 38.
[29] Ibid., 42.
[30] Guilbault, 2007, 61.
[31] Example 6.3.
[32] Example 6.3a.

The lyrics tell the story from an 'I' perspective which gives the song a personal characteristic but also allows for an identification to those who were enslaved in the there and then, to take form as the song is performed in the here and now. This 'I' also creates a persona with which to interact. The first and second lines are repeated and the 'I' is sung with an emphasis as it is slightly held and as a short pause is placed right after it is sung. The physical voice that tells the story remains critical as this calypso enacts[33] the experience of the enslaved and slavery. In the repetition, the stress on the words 'I' and 'slave' is stronger and louder than the first time. The stress of the two words gives a call to attention of what the song is about and conveys a particular emotion in relation to this subject. The repetition and the long, drawn out pitches serve the purpose of getting the main point of the song across, it emphasizes the importance of those opening lines as, in only a few words using subtle musical dynamics, they sum up the entire situation of the experience. Rhythm and rhyme are used in such a way that the percussive nature of the melody is highlighted as the story is told. This is achieved through the use of language and the sound of this particular English accent. The West Indian accent is an integral part of his performance, for the rhythm, syncopation and rhyming depend on it. Clear enunciation of the lyrics gives power to their rhythmic sounding, full-toned vowels playing off of the melody and rhythmic beats.

Then he make me work (yes I work)
Ah said ah work (yes I work)
Good Lord no pay
Ah toil, ah toil, ah toil
ah say ah toil so hard each day[34]

In this chorus antiphony and repetition play a role after the first part of the story is told in the first verse. There is a tightly knit rapport between the calypsonian, back-up singer, the orchestra and the audience. Antiphony takes place between the lead singer and back-up singers, whose voices can be heard as a direct response, in affirmation, to the main voice that is telling the story as certain words such as 'work' and 'toil' are repeated. Call and

[33] Mighty Sparrow's performances can be conceived as a one man opera where he plays all the characters, that is, he performs all the voices of the characters that he creates in his compositions. Sparrow often constructs fictional subjects of which he assumes all the roles of their characters and puts them into dialogue with each other. Examples of this can be found in songs such as "Congo Man" (1965), "Mae Mae" (1960), "Harry and Mama" (1965) and "Salt Fish" (1976).
[34] Example 6.3b.

response plays a most important role in calypso and steelband music-making. The instruments used for supporting the melody and contributing to the harmony also respond in a similar way as the back-up vocals. In its performance, calypso creates space for spontaneous audience response. The performance falters without the expected interjections and affirmations of the back-up singer and audience's response. It is in the space provided as an invitation to respond that calypso and the calypsonian are rendered as a potent site for the organization of the community's (mainly lower class) consciousness. In this way, it opened a space and stood as one of the only avenues in which people could become knowledgeable and attentive to the socio-cultural and historical character of their collective personal experience. The use of antiphony in calypso could be seen as a discursive mode as it illustrates the importance placed on dialogue in the performance of music. The listener is called to respond to the calypsonian as a connection is made between music, listener, characters, calypsonian (narrator and author) as these are put into relation by and in musical performance. Composed of verbal and non-verbal interaction between performer and listener in which all of the calypsonian's statements, or calls are responded to by the listener, might lead us to conceive of calypso music as discursive. An essential obligation of this interaction is active participation of all individuals. Antiphony is an essential dimension of the epistemology of personhood and thus in its strong use of call and response, I argue that calypso is situated as a performance involved in the reclamation of personhood. To render my argument more compelling I want to engage more critically with this analysis in my elaboration of discourse.

I'm dying, I'm crying
Oh Lord, ah want to be free[35]

Phrasing, diction and the dynamics also accommodate the lyrics. Sparrow changes his inflection on certain words, he also modifies his voice at will throughout the song. Thus the timbre; the sound of the pitches on particular words is of significance in the performance of this calypso. Depending on the word he wishes to emphasize, he goes from a high pitch wail in falsetto as he sings the word 'crying' to a bass register which sounds like a pedal tone of a trombone as he slyly approaches the 'oh Lord'. Sparrow stresses,

[35] Example 6.3c.

drags and sings some words like ‘crying’ and ‘dying’ in falsetto. These two words change in musical dynamics throughout the song, sometimes they are loud and other times soft. The word ‘Lord’ is extended and loud while ‘free’ is short as it releases a cry, this creates a tension between the two and a release at the end.

The timbre and texture of his voice change as he dwells on words such as ‘toil’. The timbre of Sparrow’s voice is distinct in its tonal quality, in the way he makes those groans and howls, the falsetto and bass drone sound. In his singing one can hear the evident paradox of a refined coarseness in its range including the falsetto he uses as well as the low bass guttural growls (like the pedal tones of a trombone). This speaks towards the working of the voice, refined in some instances and uncontrolled in others, and thus there is an appropriation of infinite timbres in one song, which can potentially be interpreted as giving voice to different perspectives in his one man opera. The song embodies a smutty sound, interlaced with hoarseness and growls in an exceedingly low register, shouts and a thin pliant sound in the high falsetto register and an unmistakable power as it is percussively lyrical in the telling of the story in between the above- mentioned registers. Sparrow’s voice could rumble with a bubbly giggle that speaks of humour[36] or it could be brawny and dark as he sings of pain and strife, bringing across a voice that is troubled. Herein the voicing in the use of sound serves and structures meaning. Double entendre, sexual innuendo, humorous attacks, satire and vulgarity are expressed not only in the lyrics[37] but also through sound. The above are sonically and textually described in such a way that they are not explicit. For this reason, the listeners are called upon to bring their own imagination to the performance; this also enables a continuous self-discovery, thus making the participation on a most personal level. Herein, the listener integrally belongs to the performance. Through the timbral changes, which not only vary from one song to the next but from phrase to phrase in a single song, his voice is charged. All these aspects are interconnected and change as he makes emphasis on certain words, making how the story is told as important as what the story tells. Herein, as mentioned before, voice refers to much more than the calypsonians vocal abilities. Voice embodies different modes of articulation, such as, the negotiation of making music in a restrictive socio-cultural environment. Instrument

[36] See for instance “Congo Man” Example 6.4 and 6.4a.
[37] Warner, 1982, 106-10.

building and experimentation with metal as well as the constant transformation of calypso's sound[38] extends the notion of voice beyond that of the calypsonian's physicality. It is thus that calypso performs in the recovery of self as the unspeakable is sung and becomes a mode for constituting a voice. These different articulations render calypso inherently performative in voicing identity negotiation and thus, is the reason for which I argue for a conception of music as discourse. In calypso, the lyrics are meaningful not because of what they indicate to, but because of the act of indicating itself and the sound produced in this act. Thus sound is an integral part of how the lyrics are performed. Moreover, the voice reveals the self as it encounters and interacts with otherness. It serves as a platform upon which identity is negotiated, and personhood is (re)constructed and reclaimed. It is through this exact action that calypso comes to perform and herein be a parrhesiastic articulation. There is a network of forces and actions that give rise to sound. The sounds of the lyrics refer to particular states of being, to relations between particular tensions. To take this further, the action that is taken in calypso, in the tone of the word, manifests in and through bodies. Thus lyrics do not only convey an action but are in themselves action. In this way, calypso enables interpretation and experience on behalf of the listener as it penetrates participants and produces a sense of being.

In my heart there was much to say
And ah hope that the boss would ah listen to meh some day
Although he knew my request was small
It was the sting of the whip there to answer me when I call
We had to chant and sing to express our feelings to that wicked and cruel man
That was the only medicine to make him listen
And is so calypso began.[39]

The song takes an unflinching stare at slavery in its performance. The 'I' of the story describes mistreatment and violence but never reverts to a position of victim, self-pity, or sentimentality that the song might easily be able to resort to. The range of the voice, the dancing, gyration, hip movement, rhythm and the play on the beat disrupts the opportunity to revert to claiming clemency, a querulous voice or wallowing in self-pity. Sparrow's treatment of the subject matter in music and through his performance bestows piquancy to the song. He strikes beneath the surface of sentimentality and taps into creation and

[38] Accompanied first with drums, followed by string bands, Tamboo bamboo, steelbands and wind instruments.
[39] Example 6.3d.

negotiation as once again a movement towards discussing transformation and transition occurs as he describes how newness emerges in the form of calypso. Sparrow reconstitutes the past, creating a tangible rendition that reveals a particular knowledge of how calypso itself was developed as well as how he imagines the enslaved negotiated and made sense of their environment. Human values and feelings – especially as he speaks from the 'I' perspective and, in so doing, taking on the voice of the enslaved, trying to negotiate and simultaneously express what that experience might have felt like – are engaged in and through music-making. In addition to this being attributed to the lyrics, the musical structure and form are pregnant with Sparrow's approach to music and the use of sound in its making. From this, I argue that the song transcends its lyrical (textual) meaning. And still Sparrow has it both ways making the song available as music and thus an enactment of the story in sound. The song is a sad song as the poignant lyrics describes horrific scenes, nevertheless there is a counter statement to this sorrowfulness in the beat and syncopation that inspires physical movement in dance. Sparrow plays with the rhythm, the pulse is never steady.

And then times change in so many many ways
Till one day somebody said free the bloody slaves
I was then put out on the street
Ah had no food
Ah had no clothes
Ah had no place to sleep
I had no education
No particular ambition
This I cannot conceal.
Forgot my native culture
Live like a vulture
From the white man I had to steal[40]

The control seems to waver at the end as he sings the word 'free' which is the last word of the song and it is not hit dead on point. From this, I argue that there is a deliberate effort, on the part of the calypsonian, to get a visceral, emotional as well as an intellectual response as he communicates with the audience. The intonation is also unstable, often approached with vibrato, which is untypical for calypso performance as melody and lyrics are meant to cut through obscurity, thus vibrato is used sparingly. The use of vibrato, in this particular song is to underscore and grant a single word or a syllable of a phrase significance. Sparrow

[40] Example 6.5.

not only performed and rendered the subject matter herein, but created this song. He facilitated a vigorously interactive relationship with the accompanying musicians and listener as well as a relationship between the other songs of his repertoire. Sparrow has a particular approach to his songs, lines, movements in dance and gestures. His performance in this song is theatrical in its musical articulation as he offers a criticism of the institution of slavery. Musical performance here has the ability to emplace the listener in such a way that an experience of the state of affairs of a time far removed from when the song was composed and performed is enabled. Sparrow got inside the history and the calypso, simultaneously describing how calypso emerged from the outlined plights. He concentrates on life and a particular experience of slavery, as the music theatricalizes the events and acts or *does* something. I suggest here that the performance captures the audience and can be interpreted as attempting to move the listener in such a way as to confront history, in this case music puts the listener in relation to history, where questions of what was previously known emerge. Through this, I maintain that music is suitable for exploring discourse and also lucrative for examining ventures and arguments made in post-colonial thought.

Mighty Sparrow's *The Slave* is an example of a historical narration in calypso. One may observe the recreation of the circumstances surrounding slavery and the conditions around which calypso was developed. In sum, the telling of this story goes beyond dates and events. The performance of this calypso situates participants in a particular way as sound remains foundational in how the self and other come into relation. With this I acknowledge that calypso gives utterance, or rather a voice from which the, at the time, colonized could speak. The voice, emanated through singing and the figurative voice through musical developments, attest to the laying claim of personhood. As a calypsonian, Stalin is concerned with the people for whom calypso has always been their main voice, and with the rights and dignity of oppressed people everywhere.[41] Because music was the primary form of articulation in the daily progressions of the colonized, musical performance was responsible for the way in which they 'wrote' and expressed their own accounts and sentiments. This articulation was in dissension to the prevalent standards of conceiving personhood. In music-making, calypsonians challenged these standards as they affirmed their personal/individual and collective right to be noted as humans and part of the socio-

[41] Example 5.7.

cultural environment, not as peripheral victims or accessories of colonial rule but as individual or autonomous human beings; something that, I argue, musical performance continues to do in the festival space in relation to its confining paratextual framing. Calypsonians facilitated emphatic instances of personhood and individuality, but never outside the community.

From the above music analysis, I draw the conclusion that calypso was shaped by and gave expression to transformation: decolonization and the movement towards a recognition of personhood. Calypso allowed for a consciousness of personhood and its calls for the recognition of this personhood remain ubiquitous themes. What is exceptional is the way calypso chronicled and performed personhood as a material articulation of freedom; it was this capacity that acutely outlines the performance of calypso. I argue that calypso was experienced or perceived by the upper class and authorities as threatening or menacing not primarily because of its secular nature, for other forms of secular music, such as the band stands received less strenuous critique and often not any,[42] they were also practiced without constraining frames such as ordinances. Calypso and later steelband were conceived as menacing because the persons who were enabled a voice through them as a mouth piece of a people and the music-making practices enjoyed too often enabled expressive collective outlets of resistance and because of this –relief, the province of which had never been before. As the example of *The Slave* provides, when histories are presented in calypso it clamorously contradicts and brings a magnifying glass to the ideological conceptions, regarding colonization as well as the political and socio-economic relation between the upper and lower class citizens. Thus from the analysis and its interpretation I will now return to the parrhesiastic articulation, suggesting that we could consider calypsonians and the community out of which they speak as engaged in truth-telling. I argue that parrhesia also occurs by way of the use of sound in voicing. In doing so we might be able to underscore and pose the question of how this truth-telling is taking place in music. This connects to discourse for Foucault maintains that truth and meaning arise in and through discourse. He makes clear that language hold agency in transforming power relations as I maintain the same is done in musical performance within the festival space. He suggests

[42] Hill 1972.

that each society has a "general politics of truth,"[43] this involves those discourses that are accepted and are made to function as truth within a particular society.[44]

Distress, suffering and strife are articulated in musical performance in part through the forms of tensions and releases or breaks in the music as well as the production and structuring of sounds that are seemingly and satisfactorily analogous to those experiences (groaning, yelling, wailing); I argue that in calypso these can potentially be seen as persuasively functioning as allusions to strife and distress. Other parameters that take place in musical performance is the crudeness of the voice and the harshness of both the voice's as well as the instruments' timbre and the driving or dragging rhythm, in which the push and pull tension in the music comments upon, in this case, a particular struggle. The recording makes audible the tension and drive/drag of the rhythm in the music. Though the musical texture of the song is layered as a multiple of voices are interacting and responding to each other Sparrow's voice is still alone and bared.

The physical body comes into the musical performance in numerous ways. Firstly through singing, this brings the body's vibration into the conversation as it is physically produced. The physical human voice differs from the instruments' voice in the nearness and in relation to the technical abilities of the voice to shout, holler and groan; in this way, there is not a great interval between the proximity of the musical voice to the natural human voice. Here the natural human voice stands in relation to the voices of the instruments. The internal vibration that singing renders produces a particular timbre which is negotiated as it interacts with that of the brass section and back-up singers. The above form of thick musical texture as the body sounds and renders externally the subject matter, as lyrics are articulated herein. Calypso is neither wholly suffering nor completely action. It is not a designed method for delivering potentially subversive means to accomplish extraneous ends. The means and ends are present within the music and the music-making, the means is the music and so are the ends. What the music conceivably *does* is hold the calypsonian and the community in a particular relation in which that oppression that threatens, comes to be inscribed in the performance. The social facts of first slavery and later colonial rule are certainly visible and made conscious of outside of music-making, but these are also

[43] Foucault, 1991, 73.
[44] Ibid.

confronted in music, in the structure and use of sound and the questions implicitly posed by and that emerge from it. Thus here, the calypsonian as an individual in the community and speaking on behalf of the community is exemplified in the blending of the public and the private, the political and the personal experience. Calypso spoke to the consciousness of the individual and the community, this occurred through music's capacity to turn the personal and individual into a collective and thus herein the political.

Calypsonians did not accept submission nor did they accept their assignment as peripheral and to the peripheral spaces. Instead they certified their position within society through making music. Such acknowledgements of social criticism on history, government, politics and sexual relationships and the humorous open expression of cultural experiences, such as sexuality, give historical utterance to a probability of equality. The calypsonian's lyrics, music and cultural politics are lived out in the careers of the Kings and Queens of the calypso monarch, who put these novel possibilities on the historical radar. The realism of calypso does not imprison us, as listeners, to literal interpretations. On the contrary, calypsos contain many layers for interpreting the song and are often astounding in their complexity and astuteness. *The Slave* is also remarkable for the way in which Sparrow interprets, in music, the temperament of cultural notions and observations on histories; the articulation can be considered as a confrontation, bringing the opposition into an encounter. As a result, in calypso music-making the individual/personal and the political dovetail. A significant number of songs in Sparrow's recorded career suggest ways in which the structures of socio-cultural and economic circumstances in the Afro-Trinidadian community deviated from those of the dominant culture.[45]

The performance of this song can be seen as a celebration of progress and transformation and as a lament. Sparrow, in this particular mode of music-making, is philosophizing as he questions history, he cajoles the listener to question what is known. The performance seduces as he whispers, it satirizes and protests certain behaviours that inflicted pain. There is laughter and shouts that might represent a cry, there is a lurking vulnerability that threatens to crack the composure of the song, as the singer is flipped into a posture of stoic

[45] See Rohlehr, 2004, 177-8. "It was not only in the areas of class relationships and the representation of sexuality that notions of freedom and responsibility needed to be constantly defined and redefined. Many calypsonians also functioned as monitors of political discourse and behaviour." (Rohlehr, 2004, 183).

gracefulness in truth-telling. This leads us back to Foucault's outline of parrhesiastic utterances. From the above analysis of musical performance I have argued that the textual/linguistic emphasis of Foucault in truth-telling, how knowledge acts herein is also available for analysis in musical performance and music-making which the secondary literature considers as non-discursive. For this reason, I will turn to the festival space as I attend to discourse in relation to musical performance at the festival. Here I call on an analysis of Kobo Town's performance in order to illustrate how interaction with music within the festival space aids towards further conceiving music as discourse. Kobo Town performed songs such as *Kaiso Newscast*, *Mr. Monday*, *Joe the Paranoiac* and *Postcard Poverty*. The performance of these songs made the interval between the word 'bastardized' and 'calypso' rather small. According to Sparrow "[p]eople nowadays keep saying that we have changed calypso over the years. I say why not? We had to change, for Calypso is a live and living thing […] The calypsonian, more than anybody else in the society, has to keep his finger on the pulse of the country.[46] One could conceive of how Gonsalves draws from everyday social experiences to form the social and political commentary upon which calypso depends. Important to my analysis of Kobo Town is the tonal and vocal narration. Herein the construction of a persona and the exchange that takes place between the singer, the constructed persona and the listener is crucial in conceiving how questions of making music and relating to the world herein emerge. A persona emerges, as in the example of *The Slave*, in the song *Mr. Monday* by Kobo Town and its character challenges the prescriptive presumptions on vagrancy as was done in reference to slavery in Sparrow's *The Slave*. I will suggest that this challenge arises in the dissent or counterargument presented by melody and rhythm. Herein I will highlight the conversational nature of calypso performance.

Taking the music-making of Kobo Town allows me to connect musical characteristics and the organization of social experience doing so by drawing on the foregoing calypso analysis. To consider music, in this instance calypso, as discourse then is to question how the relation is articulated in the WOMAD 2014 performance. I will concentrate on some factors that might function discursively that emerge from music-making in calypso. I discuss these in relation to the song *Kaiso Newscast*, released in 2013 the *Jumbie in the*

[46] Preface to Warner 1982.

Jukebox album. I chose this particular song to serve as illustrative material for it rather boldly exemplifies aspects of calypso music-making.

Kobo Town

In much the same way as I have discussed the spectacle in relation to world music festivals, Picard and Robinson make clear that

> festivals provide moments of spectacle. Rapidly shifting collages of color, the beautiful juxtaposed against the ugly, three-dimensional performances of the wild, the strange and the taboo are presented to the eye.[47] The festival is constructed around both the production and consumption of spectacle, not simply as a collection of images but essential social relationships mediated by images. Debord clearly recognizes the role of spectacle as commodity and thus the power of commodity in its colonization of social life to a point where 'the world we see is the world of the commodity'. But why the observation that we exist within a 'society of spectacle' may hold some truth, to see spectacle simply as some form of false consciousness, or a sham and banal is to overlook both the act of creating the spectacular and the role it can play as a form of human resistance to attempts to reduce culture and its consumption to a subordinate of economic aesthetic production. The creation of the spectacular within a festival is an important process of social expression, instrumental in marking and celebrating identity and collective consciousness. The gaudy, the bright and the bizarre are deliberate and concentrated displays of social renewal and/or the maintenance of social and political order.[48]

Through music and performance analysis I attempt to highlight that social relationships are mediated not only by that which the above quote delineates (the gaudy and the bizarre) which is often framed in a negative light. Though these mechanisms remain prominent within the world music festival space, I argue that social relationships are also mediated by music-making practices, and are a reason for which I consider music as discourse. The analysis of Kobo Town seeks to ground the discussion in the history of the music-making and the performance at WOMAD.

Kobo Town has a similar instrumentation to the previously discussed calypso music-making. This consisted of bottle and spoon, cuantro, brass (saxophone and trombone), drums, cowbells, electric guitar and bass guitar. Bottle and spoon is a music-making practice that accompanies much calypso and steelband performances. A bottle is half-way filled with water or any other liquid and struck with a metal spoon to produce a rhythmic

[47] The collages and performances are not solely presented to the eyes but to all the senses as they participate in the way festivalgoers make sense of the world.
[48] Picard and Robinson, 2006, 17-18.

pattern that is most often syncopated. This practice was incorporated in Kobo Town's performance of *Mr. Monday* where the sound of bottle and spoon is pronounced as the following lyrics are sung:

Every Monday he comes around
Picking up bottles from off the ground(2x)
Beating them with a spoon and he
prancing to the sound[49]

Here, that which is articulated textually is enacted sonically. The story this calypso tells is one on the matter of vagrancy as it describes Mr. Monday, a man who has a story to tell and has something to say but is not given the time of day to do so. Thus every Monday he collects bottles off the street and plays bottle and spoon. Additionally, in 1981 Lorde Relator composed *Bottle and Spoon*, a calypso that exemplifies both in its lyrics and instrumentation what the practice is. The WOMAD performance thus brings the above aspects into conversation in its performance of bottle and spoon.

Besides the instrumentation other musical dynamics stood in relation to foregoing performances, such as repetition, the practice of nommo and an identical bass progression. Repetition was used in Kobo Town's performance, serving the purpose of giving "irrepressible criticism,"[50] on the chosen subject matter. Repetition makes it impossible for the subject matter and the position taken on it to be unclear. The repeated melody continuously presents the first idea, established at the inception of the song, in such a way there is a visitation of ideas. Repetition of the first two lines was discussed in the previous analysis of *The Slave*. *Mr. Monday* tells a complicated story of judgement and exclusion through its lyrics and the restrained frustration is presented in repetition.

Mr. Monday has something to say
Cannot get the time of day
Mr. Monday has a story to tell
So he talking to himself[51]

Repetition here takes on a slightly different character than previously discussed in *The Slave*. It is the first four lines that are involved in repetition, which is not strict; there is a swing to the syncopated rhythm of the first and second line while the repeated third and

[49] Example 6.5.
[50] Hill, 1972, 58.
[51] Example 6.5 (1'57"-1'06").

fourth are more staccato which gives nuance to the first two lines and creates some tension in the repetition. Though this repetition differs from the example of *The Slave*, it serves in a similar way, clarifying the main point, it emphasizes the importance of those opening lines, however it differs by using subtle musical dynamics, such as change in rhythm and a slight modification in melodic interval, in this way, it accentuates the entire situation of the character's experience. Thus the last two lines differ rhythmically and melodically from the first two. The same takes place in the repetition of the first four lines of *Kaiso Newscast*. The first verse of the song has a thin or transparent texture consisting of guitar, bass and voice as the first two lines are repeated without the heavier percussive accompaniment that would follow.

If I had the choice I would choose
To live back when calypso brought the news
If I had the choice I would choose
To live right back when calypso brought the news[52]

The fourth line differs once again rhythmically and melodically as the word 'right' is added for unflinchingly clear emphasis on what went before. There is a subdivision of the previous beat because of the insertion of 'right' which prolongs the arrival to the rest of the repetition. The words are in essence the same but the melody and rhythm change, here there is a commenting and challenging taking place, illustrating how repetition serves as emphasis.

In both songs there is a constructed persona in the form of 'Mr. Monday' or the 'I' and 'we' in *Kaiso Newscast*. In *The Slave* these personae are played with lyrically, changing throughout the song in tone and timbre. Here I argue that the above calypso music-making stands in relation to that analysed previously. The relationship that takes place in sung narration between the textual (lyrics), rhythm, melody and tone, connects the two calypsos as voiced resistances, speaking of endurance and elasticity in its capacity to transform. Kobo Town's lyricism becomes clear in rhythmic and instrumental breaks where the voice, often with bottle and spoon, lead in creating a different texture as diction, way and style or enunciation, becomes important. Colloquial phrasing of words are used to emphasize rhythm. In this break, the tonality, rhythm and diction becomes precise herein the sung story cannot be confused.

[52] Example 6.6.

Antiphony, timbre, rhyme, story-telling in a satirical voice, rhythmic breaks, walking bass-lines, the sound and rhythm of the language and accent was used in a similar fashion as discussed in the analysis of *The Slave*. The above musical dynamics were manifest in the WOMAD performance; and are the reason for conceiving of the performance to be in relation to historical performance practice and thus for positioning music-making and performance as discourse within the festival space. Music at the festival – exemplified in the performance and music-making of Kobo Town, The Good Ones, Batch Gueye, Clinton Fearon and others – was in essence about interaction and this interaction is the crux of what my argument for music as discourse is about.

Obviously performances, within the festival space, are held to a particular time constraint provided by the formal programming. However, after the allotted time for their performance, realizing that the audience 'wanted more', the ensemble decided to extend the performance. They did so by taking whatever acoustic instruments they could and proceeded off the stage to construct a mini parade or procession at the front of the Charlie Gillet stage. They hereafter duplicated this act during the workshop given later that day.[53] In doing so, they brought part of the street procession character of carnival, of which calypso is part, to the festival. In this act the audience and the performers were one. This oneness is understood here literally, as it speaks solely towards the proximity in space between the audience and the musicians as the stage is left and they become part of the audience. The boundary between performer and listener was blurred as the audience became integral in maintaining the performance through singing. This is the case especially since there was no amplification so the collective voice of the audience kept the performance going. This was also the case through dance and clapping. The integration of the audience or community in such a way has always been a characteristic of calypso music-making as discussed in the previous chapter, where in various ways, but predominantly through collective singing and interjected commentary, the community is actively involved in the performance as they are important to the production of sound. In this way, we are taken back to the individual who in his voicings articulates on behalf of

[53] Example 6.7. Towards the end of this performance the group played "Jean and Dinah" by Sparrow, for which he won his first roadmarch in 1956, this illustrates how the performance at the festival stands in relation to past calypso performances.

and within the community.

Throughout this and the foregoing chapter I have spoken of articulation, taking it interchangeably to mean an expression or utterance made. But I want here to give a more nuanced understanding, as this is important to the arguments made in the performance analysis of Kobo Town. Departing from Laclau, Stuart Hall says of articulation:

> [t]he term [articulation] has a nice double meaning because 'articulate' means to utter, to speak forth, to be articulate. It carries that sense of language-ing, of expressing, etc. But we also speak of an 'articulated' lorry (truck): a lorry where the front (cab) and back (trailer) can, but need not necessarily, be connected to one another. The two parts are connected to each other, but through a specific linkage, that can be broken. An articulation is thus the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time.[54]

Hall says further: "You have to ask, under what circumstances *can* a connection be forged or made? So the so-called 'unity' of a discourse is really the articulation of different, distinct elements which can be rearticulated in different ways because they have no necessary 'belongingness'."[55] Like the use of repetition, bottle and spoon together with the social commentary and the bass progression bring Sparrow's recording in relation to Kobo Town's. This 'unity of a discourse' is what I argue occurs in the relationship within which Kobo Town's performance is placed. Thus the so termed 'bastardized calypso' exists as a response to that which is past and stands in anticipation to further articulation in response to it. In this way, we might conceive of how musical meaning materializes in discourse, that is, music-making understood as discourse. Here calypso may be thought of as discourse for it does not dwell isolated, its articulation does not take place in a vacuum. It is discourse and is also a part of discourse and thus all articulation and the ideas contained herein stand in a relational process in the ways in which the world is infinitely (re)formulated and made sense of within the festival music-making.

Hall makes clear that "[T]he 'unity' which matters is a linkage between that articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, but

[54] Hall, 1996, 141.
[55] Ibid.

need not necessarily, be connected."[56] From the above argument then we can consider the calypso performance as an articulation which contributes to discourse.

> Thus, a theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects. Let me put that the other way: the theory of articulation asks how an ideology discovers its subject rather than how the subject thinks the necessary and inevitable thoughts which belong to it; it enables us to think how an ideology empowers people, enabling them to begin to make some sense or intelligibility of their historical situation, without reducing those forms of intelligibility to their socio-economic or class location or social position.[57]

This understanding of articulation might afford a step towards conceiving music as discourse, as attempted through the analysis of Kobo Town's music and performance at WOMAD. According to Hill:

> in parts of West Africa, the djeli is known by another name, the griot. These oral historians and commentators occupy high office, next to the king himself, for they are *protectors of the past*. Without knowledge of the past the tribe ceases to exist, since its identity depends on the past accomplishments […] the calypsonian is an inheritor of this bardic tradition […] in this regard it should be emphasized that the calypsonian seeks to give utterance to the hidden wellsprings of thoughts and feelings of the populace, though often he will affirm rhetorically that he is merely expressing his own opinion.[58]

The question, following Hall, therefore, is how to have a conversation about and consider music in ways that allow for the detailed physicality of its effects while asserting that such effects are always mediated socially, culturally and most certainly discursively. I see as a potential solution to this, a consideration of music and music-making as discourse in order to exemplify that the story brought forth by Bhabha's conception of meaning making and that of music-making might be complementary to one another. I conceive of music as having a physical effect in its performance, which is experienced by both the festivalgoer and the performing musician. The corporeal effects of music, the way in which it moves us as festivalgoers, are not entirely crude, meaning that it does not stand outside of discourse and is not external to cultural environment. This is to say that the unofficial histories that Bhabha seeks to record are also available in musical performance and music-making. Thus in acknowledgement to Hall, I position music as discourse to encompass the sound of music

[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., 141-2.
[58] Hill, 1989, 61-2.

together with the rhythm, texture, timbre and the linguistic, that is the lyrics and their performance and locatedness within the above.

In order to connect the parrhesiastic utterance in the articulation of calypso music-making to considering music as discourse, I return to Foucault as he acknowledges the driving principle of discourse, which is the

> production of discourse (that) is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.[59]

This leads to a discussion of the practice of nommo,[60] where once again I will depart from the lyrics for my suggestion is not to entirely ignore them, especially as they are an integral part of calypso.

If I had the choice I would choose
To live back when calypso brought the news
If I had the choice I would choose
To live back when calypso brought the news
No more reporters, no anchormen
No recorder, no pad and pen
No nosy cameras to point and shoot
No red ink to cross out the truth[61]

One aspect that remains covert in this example and more so in the example of Sparrow's *The Slave* is the practice of nommo, that is, *singing about calypso in calypso*. Herein, the performance enacts the lyrical definition. More explicit examples of this practice can be experienced in songs such as *Calypso Music* by David Rudder, *What is Calypso* by Mighty Duke and Roaring Lion's *Trinidad, the land of Calypso*.

Kaiso don't use jargon or doublespeak
To put the truth beyond your reach
No more big words to bus' your brain
Even the weatherman would be talking plain
No nonsense terms like gale and squall
Instead you hear how wind pelting big tree and all
And we don't need no picture from outer space
To tell we what is going on in front we face[62]

[59] Foucault, 1981, 52.
[60] Jahn 1990.
[61] Example 6.6 (0'00"-0'20").
[62] Example 6.6 (0'58"-1'19").

In the analysis of Sparrow's *The Slave* I conceived of calypso aesthetic as one of self-consciousness. In *Kaiso Newscast*, musical markers of calypso, pronounced by their naming, both in the lyrics and the instruments used to produce sound, aid in resounding the notion of nommo. Janheinz Jahn describes nommo as "the driving power […] that gives life and efficacy to all things […] the 'word' […] Nommo is the physical spiritual life force which […] gives spiritual life."[63] In this articulation, where one sings a calypso about calypso, the importance lies in the self-reflexivity that is performed in the constant pronouncing. In this, the premises of calypso and those involved in its performance are constantly called into question; this is also where its dismissal by the upper ruling class is problematized. Singing about calypso in calypso reflects the socio-cultural function of music-making. The defence of calypso and an outline of what it is and how it came to be further informs personhood. Calypsonians did not simply perform calypso, but in their performance they defined it as a space within which those marginalized were able to articulate their protests against inequality. In doing so they furthermore established it as a musical genre. To conclude, I discuss the lyrics in order to exemplify the nature of the social commentary, the satire, sarcasm and blatant humour in the critique and engagement with a sensitive historical event.

Flood, flood, flood in Port-of-Spain
Investment dollars falling down like rain
Rush, rush, everything has a price
In Trinidad, petroleum paradise
Trinidad, petroleum paradise (3x)
Kaiso better than Fox News or CNN
'cause calypso don't pretend
To inform without comment
Or separate fact from argument
It don't hide behind stats and figures
And admits its sources are gossip and rumour
But you will never hear how Bin Laden was seen
Liming with Chavez down by the Muslimeen[64]

In music-making there is an attempt to acquire a sense of self within the festival space, illustrated through the collective music-making after the performance. In *Mr. Monday*, the use of lyricism is responsible as the listener recognizes that the song is about vagrancy and

[63] Jahn, 1990, 101-5.
[64] Example 6.6 (1'19"-2'14").

mental health. It is sung in such a way that those involved in music-making can stand the subject matter, in this sense the musical performance makes it palatable. In the same way as Sparrow's rendition of *The Slave* makes the experience of slavery bearable. The subject matter is shaped and reshaped in music and continuously situates the listener in relation to it. In the offered examples, calypso music-making unmoors the notion of vagrancy or slavery as the listener is called to reflect and rethink them and the performance of music in these experiences. I argue from this music analysis that a rethinking takes place as those involved in music-making are piloted by sound and rhythm of voice and instruments. According to Gonsalves, *Mr. Monday*

> describes a fictitious character, presumably homeless, known only by the day in which he makes his rounds as a bottle collector in a West Indian town. He is the victim of a mental illness […] In a way, this song explores the ability of the "calypso voice", often taunting and humorous, to recount a tragic narrative – in this case, the tale of one brought to ruin by an unraveled mind.[65]

This analysis serves to exemplify one approach for considering music as discourse, doing so by underscoring historicity in the relationship between what Gonsalves terms 'bastardized calypso' and the music-making practices from which it emerges. In sum, this performance stands in relation to other performances such as that of Sparrow's *The Slave*. It is neither merely influenced by nor simply an answer to or extension of previous calypso performances. It informs and continues to be informed by its present and past performance practices. Thus this resonates with T.S. Eliot who remarks that "the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past."[66] The CD liner notes of *Jumbie in the Jukebox* describes this relationship as follows:

> from the cowbell accompanied chants of the late nineteenth century to the brooding minor key melodies of the 1930s; from the bright monophonic horns of the Post-War years to the rolling bass grooves of the early 1970s. And over this collision of sound comes a cacophony of voices – stories, images, ideas, remembrances – all seeking a way out through the circuitry of the haunted machine […] So while these songs offer a record of my own reflection and observation, I hope they may also serve as a small but heartfelt tribute to those spirits – both remembered and forgotten – who have gone before us and whose songs and sounds have never lost their power to enchant and engage.[67]

[65] Kobo Town Jumbie in the Jukebox album liner notes, p.5. (See example 6.8 for pdf).
[66] Eliot, 1982, 37.
[67] Kobo Town Jumbie in the Jukebox album liner notes, p.3. (See example 6.8 for pdf).

Musical performance

> We know of course there's really no such thing as the 'voiceless'. There are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard.
>
> ~Arundhati Roy[68]

While introducing the term discourse to non-linguistic/-textual phenomena such as music has been accepted,[69] the practice of framing music at world music festivals and world music performance practice has not been attended to in these terms. Agawu[70] and Nattiez[71] speak of music in relation to discourse, doing so through a semiological approach. Agawu considers an analogy between music in itself as a language and seeks to explore the question of whether music is a language as a step towards conceiving of musical meaning. He attempts to present a semiological approach to the loaded language of music, herein seeking to examine an analogy between music and language. Nattiez makes clear that music signifies nothing.[72] He offers a tripartitional model in his move toward a semiology of music, illustrating that the semiological elements are beneficial in music analysis and symbolism. I critique both for this semiological approach because it seemingly attempts to make music measure up to the textual and linguistic when considering music through performance, that is, not in any relation to language, yields a fruitful discussion. This semiological approach can be critiqued in its focus on notation which some music scholars fear might, in the transcription, be decontextualizing.[73] According to Warner

> written transcriptions of many of Sparrow's calypsos would tend to have the reader believe that the metre is non-existent. The ear, however, hears otherwise, perceives the poet – master of the word – in action […] The calypsonian as entertainer has over the years developed a personal style of presentation that is as much looked forward to as the actual calypso being sung. This, of course, restricts appreciation of this aspect to the atmosphere of the calypso tent or wherever the calypsonian is performing since its impact is visual and as such is lost on record. It is, however, appreciated as being an integral part of the oral tradition where a close rapport between performer and listener is essential."[74]

[68] Roy, 2004. http://sydney.edu.au/news/84.html?newsstoryid=279 (accessed 31-08-2016).
[69] Nattiez 1990; Agawu 2008; Blacking 1982 and Frith 2000.
[70] Agawu 2008.
[71] Nattiez 1990.
[72] Ibid.
[73] See Clayton et al., 2003, especially Cook, 2003, 205-208.
[74] Warner, 1982, 37.

Awoonor[75] suggests that "the most significant fact is that the ultimate realization of this material lies in the *occasion* and *atmosphere* of its performance."[76] Once again laughter, growls, moans and interjections and extra utterances[77] such as "ah lie?" or "ah want to fall" together with "other devices – facial and body gesture – help to maintain the atmosphere of story-telling and calypsonian/audience interchange. They fit neatly into the overall presentation and help to make of the calypso a living genre that is appreciated on the spot by the audience for which it is created."[78] The above performance dynamics clearly show the insufficiency of transcription and recording, as well as that of the goal to purely seek to explore the analogy of music and language. The semiological approach might also be critiqued for maintaining the paradigm that positions the textual above everything else. This is a hesitance that doesn't seem to follow Bhabha, Foucault or even Spivak[79] for that matter, as they grapple with issues concerning representation, the documentation of history and the articulation (having a voice and speaking) about and of the Other. Weidman argues that

> Anthropologists who draw attention to voicing, the voice, or voices as part of their subject matter can productively complicate notions of what makes good or authoritative ethnography, while speaking more broadly to the relationship between voice, agency, and representation, an issue that explicitly grounds postcolonial theory's explorations of voice under conditions of domination. […] Voice is a central but relatively unexplored aspect of other concepts that are at the heart of how we theorize power, subjectification, and the efficacy of vocal utterances as social action.[80]

The above can't be stressed enough as it relates to post-colonial theory, and is another reason for which I consider music as discourse, as that which *does* something. For this reason, I suggest that music contributes to the field of post-colonial studies for the way in which it contributes another perspective in theorizing power relations, agency, subjectivity and Othering. My intention has been and continues to be one that explores how thinking of the discussed terms with music *does* something, it affords a different understanding of resistance for instance. It also provides different terms in which to understand music. In

[75] Awoonor, 1976, 90. (cited in Warner, 1982, 37).
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 37-8.
[78] Ibid., 38.
[79] Spivak, 1988.
[80] Weidman, 2014, 46.

this way, its subversive nature might be considered differently through a discussion of how it negotiates power relations.[81] Though Blacking offers recognition of the dual understanding of music discourse, he does not attend to how this understanding shapes the particular knowledge that is produced in the discourse *of* and *about* music. This is probably because his notion of discourse is not understood in a Foucauldian sense, as this work takes it. Frith[82] focuses on the discourse about world music, concentrating on what has been said about world music and how knowledge is produced in the discursive formation which shapes world music as an object of study.

The relationship between Kobo Town and Sparrow might be seen as a voice of reanimation. Weidman argues that

> [c]oncern with the relationship between voices and the formation of publics broadens the ways we can approach the significance of individual voices and the phenomenon of vocal celebrity. Appreciating the meaning and effects of individual voices need not be limited to the model of the creative individual "expressing" him- or herself. Voices are constructed not only by those who produce them but also by those who interpret, circulate, and reanimate them: by the communities of listeners, publics, and public spaces in which they can resonate and by the technologies of reproduction, amplification, and broadcasting that make them audible. Individual voices are created, in this sense, by audiences, fans, critics, and cultural commentators as well as by the larger spirit of their times.[83]

In addressing the notion of representation, Spivak critiques those attempts made to document an indigenous voice, her critiques are founded on Derrida's stress on writing, calling it "textualistic,"[84] and seeks to acknowledge this by emphasizing speech. She argues that the issue arises in what she terms 'phonocentrism' as she explains, it is "the conviction that speech is a direct and immediate representation of voice-consciousness and writing an indirect transcript of speech […] the presupposition that speech is the immediate expression of the self."[85] Spivak thinks it more appropriate to think in terms of "illegitimate writing."[86] Though I appreciate the efforts here to complicate notions of writing and the textual, I see the call for "illegitimate writing" as setting up a hierarchy. For this reason, my thoughts stand in line with Weidman, who makes clear that

[81] This will be discussed in the final two chapters.
[82] Frith 2000.
[83] Weidman, 2014, 45.
[84] Spivak, 1988, 291.
[85] Spivak, 1996, 222-3.
[86] Ibid.

> [i]deologies of voice set the boundary for what constitutes communication, what separates language from music, and what constitutes the difference between the intelligible and the unintelligible. Ideologies of voice determine how and where we locate subjectivity and agency; they are the conditions that give sung or spoken utterances their power or constrain their potential effects.[87]

I have suggested that speech, voicing, and articulation occur in the physical and material voice of the calypsonian, in instrument building or in the instruments used in the music-making as in the case of using the soles of shoes, the satonge or the bottle and spoon. Here the "self is dispersed over multiple voices invoked and is emergent in the relations and gaps between voices. It is through this process of artful orchestration that consciousness is formed, as the author/narrator 'chooses an orientation among the moral and ideological implications of the voices of the heteroglossic world.'"[88]

These voices can be listened out for as they materialize in musical performance and music-making. Here I approach the above music-making practices as "[I]ndividual voices [… that] may be explored for the way they are felt to embody, and sonically manifest, particular values and for their capacity to channel public affect and structure feeling."[89] This 'capacity to channel public affect and structure feeling'[90] occurs on two levels: in historical music-making of every individual case study and in their situatedness within the festival space. This becomes a figure for a move, within world music and the festival framing, towards recognizing the individual music-making practices. It is also a call for acknowledging the act of Othering marginalized people as these are collectively involved in a process of framing diversity and how this is negotiated musically. Music and the broadest understanding of voice herein is beneficial for the ways in which it informs and allows those involved in musicking[91] to think and feel differently. Not only does it inform but it also brings pleasure and amusement, and that is one of its greatest feats – it produces a response both emotionally and physically. In *doing* that something it leaves something, an impression that is carried with the listener. This 'something' is the reason why I attempt to consider music as discourse.

[87] Weidman, 2014, 45.
[88] Hill, 1995, 133. (cited in Weidman 2014, 43.).
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Small 1998.

Foucault selected discourse and discursive formations as approaches towards an historical inquiry. He was critical of a concept of history that engaged with texts and their authors as transparent, obvious and taken-for-granted.[92] Foucault focused more centrally on the larger historical question of how specific statements of discourses were possible, instead of concentrating on the rules that guided the inner workings and mechanisms of a distinct work.[93] I have attempted to outline this discursive formation in the literature review, underscoring how the discourse about world music structures the category. I have also positioned framing practices as constitutive of world music performance practice, lastly I positioned music and music-making as holding agency in the formation of selves both within and outside the festival space. This notion of how objects are constituted, of how discourses 'form' personhood is employed with the aim to shift the focus from the individual towards the network of social, economic and power relationships in which a distinct person with a particular idea of humanity, or in this case (world) music, is constructed. The argument that follows is hopefully clarified by both the music analysis and forgoing extended overview and discussion of Foucault's notion of discourse and writing. The critique of the emphasized textual nature in considering cultural difference and the construction of subjectivity is not a novel endeavour. Critiques often attend to the cultural power and its treatment "entirely in terms of textuality and epistemology."[94] Thus the "material conditions" in bomb-tunes and the steelband movement as possibilities of "political practices oriented towards changing material conditions are sidelined."[95] In the same way musical performance within the festival space is sidelined by the paratextual framing. According to Born and Hesmondhalgh "a major debate concerns the degree to which the post-colonial project is compatible with epistemologies and accounts of agency characteristic of Marxism. Sociological, political and economic issues tend to be unintegrated or neglected."[96] I argue that the analysis of discourse and the negotiation of cultural different has entirely avoided agency, especially as it takes form in music-making and musical performance. Born and Hesbomdhalgh refer to Nicholas Thomas and his call

[92] Foucault, 2002, 5, 26-9.
[93] Ibid., 29.
[94] Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000, 6.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

"for an analysis of agency and of the complexities of the '*practical expression of discourse*'."[97]

Born and Hesmondhalgh ask similar questions to those of this research: "How is it possible to represent other cultures? What techniques are available for representation, and what implicit meanings do they bear? What is the relationship between political domination and cultural- and knowledge- production? What forms of subversion of dominant representational practices are possible? What role do Western and non-Western cultural producers and intellectuals play, wittingly and unwittingly, in various processes of representation?"[98] However, this work seeks to transgress. It attempts to go beyond the critique and interrogate the critical commonplace involved in the textual emphasis. Thus, exploring music as discourse while maintaining post-colonial analysis attempts to challenge the critical paradigm presented above, thereby granting a discussion of what such a consideration might mean after the critique is expressed.

I argue that the abstraction of writing and discourse in the above mode of thought is limited and confined as it engages with only linguistic discourses or systems of signification. The use of discourse has, I argue, been inclined to guide questioning away from music's discursive and relational character. As I have attempted to outline the interaction between calypsonian and community, that between The Good Ones and the audience at the festival, which might be considered as a communication that takes place,[99] as well as that of Kobo Town's performance; I argue that to represent the music and performance thereof at the festival in notation or to electronically produce a visual representation of the music would not yield much towards considering the performance as affording a relationship between those involved in music-making. Transcribing and then playing back the call and response section of Sparrow's rendering of *The Slave* on any instrument would fail the recording and his performance as it would in the case of the performances discussed thus far, for it is the particular sound in Sparrow's antiphonal interaction and relation between the back-up singers, brass section and calypsonian that is significant. This is conceived in the timbral intonation, the dynamics used and the play and

[97] Ibid., 7. (Italics mine).
[98] Ibid., 6.
[99] Schütz 1951.

inflection of particular words articulated. The growls, howls and groans produced by the singer and the primary mode through which conversation[100] in musical interaction is generated, cannot be represented in notation. The slide between falsetto and the following lower pedal tones, all of which contribute to the conversation and the vocal utterance, would not be wholly presented in any notation or written form. I argue that the timbral character, the use of the voice's inflection and instruments used (such as the soles of shoes to establish and maintain rhythm) are discursive formations, which contribute to the construction of discourse. Sound as a phenomenon and the use of it in the music-making practices delineated throughout this work so far is crucial to the way music, in my argument, is discursive in its performance and not only *does* something, but *does* it differently, in this case that 'something' that music *does* is constitute personhood, as I have attempted to illustrate with the foregoing music and performance analysis. In my analysis I have questioned the way in which music negotiates Otherness, arguing from that analysis that music plays into that issue as it allows a space for negotiation. In the cases presented music is interested in and has seemingly taken it as an obligation to play into the dynamics of socio-cultural phenomena such as agency, representation and acts of Othering. I thus wonder why more within post-colonial studies are not turning to music when confronted with these issues; or why at least a window is not left open so that its sound might penetrate and a listening out to how agency, power relations, social construction are negotiated might occur. There can't be contentment with simply counting on the textual when presented with questions pertain to the above notions, those that post-colonial theory seeks to address.

That music is discursive in its performance, might be understood in terms of the way in which the calypsonian tells his story, the way the steelpan 'speaks' towards creativity within an environment of restriction or how discarded objects were used as means towards the ends of music-making. This is the reason for my arguing that a purely textual emphasis and the parenthetical approach to the use of sound and performance in music-making is impertinent in the analysis and interpretation of processes of cultural formation, the production of knowledge, the documentation of its transformation over time and space as well as in the construction of society. Thus, while performance, music and the use of sound herein remains non-linguistic, they are bound up in a discursive process that depends on

[100] Ibid.

interaction and relationality, such as in antiphony or by the ensemble physically joining the audience, at once turning the listener into the performer. I have discussed how a space is opened up in the call and response, suggesting that here the self can be (re)made as different realities, in antiphony, collide. Furthermore music can be commented upon by the listener in words through textual and linguistic terms such as in the flier descriptions, conversations that take place throughout the festival space, interviews with the press, written articles and the basis for academic writings such as that presented here, making the textual relevant as well. In both the music and performance analysis I attempted to underscore the constant interplay between different sonic entities and that of the interaction between the audience and, as will be discussed, other musicians, the use of accent, dialect and language in both Kobo Town and Sparrow's performance. I also suggested that the framing of the performance and the discursivity herein that takes place in music-making must be taken into account with its own distinctive character in focus. I am considering discursivity here in the sense of the interaction as described in the first chapter; for example that between the instrument and builder and, in the fourth chapter, the interaction between the voices in four-part singing, in the way they stray away from the tonal centre and as Kobo Town engages the audience by taking the performance into the audience as the physical distance between the listener and performer is closed, this speaks towards the relational character inherent in this performance. In the performance of The Good Ones, I argued that a different story is told in music-making from that of the flier and press releases; however a different story is also told in relation to post-colonial critiques. The above outlined music-making examples illustrate how a relationship is generated between listener and performer, established in both linguistic and non-linguistic/textual and non-textual modes of communication in music-making between humans.[101]

Having the above as a foundation, I remain unsettled by the post-colonial emphasis on the textual and the linguistic which positions itself, especially in Bhabha's work, as the primary paradigm for interaction between difference and relationality in the exploration of history. That this is inherently connected to discourse is seemingly a permanent fixture in literary and post-colonial theory. What also remains steadfast in this endeavour is that in their processes of theorizing, Bhabha and Foucault had as their main point of departure

[101] Notably in speech for instance MC introductions, visual images, bodily movement in the performance.

North-Atlantic texts in view. Here it is language, and the use of it in the production of knowledge that remains as principal in conceptualizing discourse and because of this, the concept of discourse may not be fully able to be realized in non-textual/-linguistic articulations such as music. For this reason, I consider music as discourse to be that which partially contributes to the general discourse of a subject matter, in this way, it is not solely the textual that aids in social construction but aspects of musical performance that stand alongside it as well. Though Bhabha and Foucault's account, which places much values on the textual[102] modes of articulation over speech and thus all the while decentring subjectivity herein, might be lucrative within conversations taking place in North-Atlantic philosophy, I argue that, especially in post-colonial thought, it has done a considerable disservice in conceptualizing the ways in which music and sound as human phenomena contribute to giving a voice (material and metaphoric) to those oppressed and marginalized such as the early panmen, the calypsonians, those touched by genocide like The Good Ones and those that battle political power struggles and threatening socio-economic circumstances like Staff Benda Bilili. Thus the strong perspectives presented, so as not to say conclusions that are drawn, in post-colonial theory such as that of Bhabha's remain partial. The music-making discussed above is often found, as previously mentioned, under the banner of world music and those involved in this music-making are generally the subject of post-colonial studies. Thus human agency in the form of music-making and performing and its participation in the formation of knowledge, in the resistance of power within that relationship and in the construction of socio-cultural meaningfulness remains unacknowledged when the purely textual and linguistic is taken into account in complete ignorance of musical and possibly other performances and how these might also be considered as discourses that make a contribution.

Departing from the critique of the semiological approach when considering music and/as discourse, I consider music as that which performs, for in this conception, following from Cook, the aspect of decontextualizing remains a moot point. In this way, as a researcher I am able to take the festival experience and the performance of music herein into consideration because music and sound are not decentred. Through the case studies

[102] Although Foucault is also concerned with speech acts as he outlines phases of the parrhesiastic utterance in truth-telling.

presented, I argued that music allows an act of thinking through cultural hegemony and hierarchy by refiguring the way in which the world and those notions are encountered in music, thereby differently adjusting the perspective that might be already available. This might be considered in how the notions of Othering and Otherness are positioned in theoretical terms within world music studies, never taking performance practice into consideration and thereby acknowledging that practically, within the festival space, this theoretical notion is negotiated differently in musical performance. Music presents a different glimpse so that it manipulates, and the language, articulation and voicing are not of hegemony. With this I adopt a critical stance in the way those involved in world music studies and performance practice, those who hold agency, perceive their relationships to world music. Social and cultural realities that might have appeared impenetrable and unchangeable, as presented in the literature review, must come to be viewed as malleable and transformable, when considering musical performance within world music. Those involved in music-making learnt how to imagine what it could mean to live in a world that was not exclusively so governable by the principle of dominance as in the case of bomb-tunes and calypso. At this moment cultural musicology is best located because of its plenitude and restlessness as well as for having a past and history in the doings of other disciplines from which to draw and learn.

There exist disturbances that occur within the festival space, where everyday social structures and ongoings are disrupted. A suspension of the everyday also occurs in music-making and performance. This disruption is visible at the parting exchange between performer and audience at the stages at the end of performances and most notably at the end of the festival itself, where there is a parting exchange between the space and those who inhabited it for four days (in the case of WOMAD) and between festivalgoers who have taken part in the festival experience. The example of Kobo Town's performance and the way the audience was involved remains suitable. It is the abundance of sentiment and sentimentality within this performance, within this exchange and before the movement to another stage, event or performance that is important.

Before the parting of the performance, at the very border where the self and other relate, which is both the stage and festival space, a neutral space is inhabited that is uncolonized by hierarchy and acts of Othering. This space is enabled in music-making, however it is

also presented by the festival as a whole. That which moves at the border is important towards understanding what music *does*. The festival is an outside space, literally and figuratively, it lies outside the home, it is outside the everyday norm, beyond the veil or pretence of the everyday. The self and other come into a relation and are able to perform with an agency that is improbable within everyday ongoings or anywhere else, as might be suggested from the discussion of the paratextual framing or in the socio-economic, cultural and political world outside of the festival space. In coming into this relation, the self and other are enabled a security in the possibility of relating to difference and coming together in the making of music, furthermore an assurance exists in their paired abilities to accomplish it and create a collective 'we' experience, one that I argue the spectacle seeks to undermine. Music-making and dancing are only a few characteristics that contribute to the relation, what makes this relation and the meeting that occurs in the interaction one that is reciprocally advantageous for both is the outside space that is occupied in the festival and in music-making; a space that, for some, is far away from home comforts, knowns and concerns. In musical performance, the agency to re-establish the home hierarchies is subverted as these are both actually or emblematically abolished in the performance within which the shared home they reside in stands outside the sonorous spectacle. From this example I argue that the established Other in world music is able to relate without the violence of Othering. Put otherwise, in musical performance we encounter difference without the violence of Othering, a move that revises the acknowledgement of difference throughout world music framing – the magazines, fliers, introductions, documentaries, academic research, press releases – that potentially contribute to the sonorous spectacle. The space between differences evaporates in the interaction and relation of voices as the audience dance together or as they sing and clap along. In the relation between performer and audience, which is able to narrow the space of difference so that difference is not dichotomous but juxtaposed and thus can be put to creative use. Difference is then recognized, where the articulation and experience of the self is conceived by the other in such a way to move towards a recognition of the self as part of the other as both depart the festival space to a home even though one was already created by both, a home in the world of music, in the making sense of the world and in the festival space. In the musical performance at the cusp between creation and alienation there lays a project of the time

spend in music-making, in the festival, in musicology and the way music is thought about. To acknowledge and articulate where contingency is a performance and that in fact there lies agency herein, where the marginalized make use of the life at the edge as do participants at the edge of the stage; making sense of that life while making it their own such as done in the music-making presented in the case studies, where diverse humane acts take place such as dancing and singing together. This recognition is to comprehend the way in which this occurs in world music performance practice, where the theoretically conceived Other is completely undermined and thought of differently in relation to musical performance. In the performance of music, which remains a critical moment, those involved are able to concentrate on something outside of their individual (Othered) selves, something that the theoretical understanding of Otherness as it relates to world music does not consider.

The language of Othering, produced in the description of the paratextual framing, did not change coming from the one who is privileged and has access to discourse through framing and the one on stage who is vulnerable and precariously situated. The sanctioning quality is that participants, musicians and cultural difference are unaccommodated or homeless in a sense, they are unfettered in a space opened in music-making where the sphere of Othering has no authority as its importance remains trifle. Hence within the festival we, as participants, are unencumbered and allowed to make a home in which to dwell, both literally and metaphorically. This Othering only has rule within the sonorous spectacle as a routine practice of speech that points towards it. Here I turn to the performance of Catrin Finch and Seckou Keita at WOMAD 2014. They brought together two different music-making practices and play two different instruments Finch on a 47-string harp, which is fully chromatic as it has seven pedals to control the sharp, natural and flat of each string, making the playing in different keys possible. Keita's kora has 22 strings and has to be tuned to a particular key or mode as it is not chromatic. In their compositions they bring together Mandé and Welsh melodies, and found that in theirs collaboration the musical practices were quite similar despite one coming from a written tradition and the other from an oral one.[103] They found that the musics fit together both melodically and

[103] http://www.rhythmpassport.com/articles-and-reviews/interview/catrin-finch-seckou-keita-womad-july-2014/

harmonically. Their WOMAD artist blurb explains that "the success of both the record and the subsequent live performances is down to the pair's innate understanding and the fact that they've found a huge amount of common ground and shared history."[104] Communication was at the forefront of their performance, the act of listening remained prominent herein; and blatantly perceivable from the performance, in the form of nods and smiles and other physical gestures that took place between the musicians.[105] It was also sonically perceptible by the duelling between the instruments. Here the harp glides from one pitch to another an act that the kora cannot perform. In acknowledgement of the glissandi, the kora performs quick rhythmic runs as an answer in the duelling, before they both meet at the home melody. There was an attempt at mimicry as Finch knocked rhythms on the wood of her instrument and Keita answered with an emulation of the pattern on the gourd of his instrument.[106] Repetition and improvisation and a play with dynamics and tempo increase herein builds tension in each piece something which draws the audience into the performance as they become a part of the conversation whilst communicating and commenting on the flourish of the performance. I mention this performance in order to illustrate how cultural difference matters for nothing in music-making. In this performance free from the spectacle and unguarded from the everyday interaction, an experience was had where the mechanisms involved in the framing practices are suspended. The above is to illustrate that though a sonorous spectacle might emerge in the framing practices of world music, thereby making its performance practice a spectacle and considered to be and positioned here as negative, there remains another perspective which involves music-making, showing that the festival space also has positive aspects. Notwithstanding the staggering similarities, the communication in framing continues to be along the lines and in the language of difference, when, as attempted to illustrate above, this language of difference is redundant, nevertheless framing practices continue to retreat in using the conventional or conforming language. In framing practices, the images and representations of difference together with its accompanied power relations, after it is established and confirmed, remain of no consequence and unprofitable when negotiated musically.

[104] WOMAD 2014 official souvenir programme p.31.
[105] See their WOMAD 2014 performance. Example 6.9.
[106] Example 6.9.

The lived experience of the performance is not understated in relation and preference to its mass representation and heavy emphasis on the 'originating' context (as discussed in the sonorous spectacle through flier and press descriptions). This is an argument simply to recognize the phenomenon of music and the world of musical performance in the construction of society, in the production of knowledge and the individual human agency attached to this especially in the theorizing within post-colonial studies, such as Bhabha's endeavour engages. It is a call not to ignore the sonic and the various ways in which musicians make use of performance in their music-making practices, often taking place in oppressive environments. Derrida and Spivak's discussion and disagreement lie in the topic of speech and voice. I argue that the effort made to reciprocally structure the subject in musical performance emerges and is functional in the interaction between those involved in music-making; between musicians, musicians and audience as well as in textual articulation. Departing from this argument I suggest that engaging with what is played by a steelband, sung by a calypsonian, or performed within the festival space is no less important than speaking of social construction and knowledge production solely in theoretical and textual terms as Foucault and Bhabha seem to do. Put differently, thinking of these issues with and from within music and the music-making practices outlined thus far, problematizes the relationship between the lived experiences that are enabled by musical performance and social construction. Thinking about the various ways in which calypsonians contribute to their social construction or how The Good Ones constructed their own cultural environments in making music, brings the aspect of human agency to the fore, it also brings framing processes within the festival space that organizes a myriad of socio-cultural worlds into consideration. This brings human agency into resonance with discourse especially as the organization of musical performance is underscored. It draws us further towards questions concerning the phenomenology of sound and its use in conceiving how humans interact, negotiate, construct and make sense of their world. I am suggesting that to broaden the deconstructionist and especially the post-colonial position on speech, voice, the use of sound and further musical performance would be beneficial in avoiding a hegemonic ideology, assumption and over-determination of the subject especially as it relates to those marginalized who are often composite of the world music category. To reject musical performance and articulation in voice, instrument building and

performance practice is to once again perpetuate a colonial disposition even when being critical of it. Those marginalised and often cast to the periphery have agency which is not recognized if only the textual and linguistic is taken into account as this –textual/linguistic nature– is an area in discourse that is often not accessible because of hegemonic influences that exclude them from it, rendering them indeed mute and unable to speak. But when looking at musical performance we see that they do take some form of action on their own behalf and to disregard this is to once again not take heed to this form of articulation and ultimately is to render them speechless. Thinking through music in these terms also enables a placation between performance- or practice theory and Foucault's theory of discourse.

From the festival research, I have found that the notion of discourse is inherently bound to action on behalf of musicians, festivalgoers, scholars and researchers, the fliers and emergent descriptions of music that are formulated and how they influence socio-cultural practice, historical implication of the music-making and the festival as an organizer as well as musical performance. All the above provide particularly different modes of action as this work has attempted to illustrate thus far. Thinking about framing and the action herein that lends itself to the creation of a sonorous spectacle as well as the actors involved (those who possess agency), we might conceive of various levels of discursivity taking place, often overlapping while negotiating their positions within the festival space. It is for this reason that I juxtaposed the flier and an analysis of the musical performance in order to illustrate what they both afford. In world music performance practice some of these things such as the flier description and the stage programming are historically contextualized and are conditioned by the confines of hegemony. For this reason, my call is not to completely abandon post-colonial critique. Here I seek to take what has been most useful and thought provoking to explore the issues that arise in framing world music at festivals, while concentrating on various socio-cultural issues through its theoretical lens. In this way, I bring the two in conversation as they comment upon each other. This is also a call for transdisciplinary work on world music and its performance practice to take into consideration the different uses to which sound is put in world music-making, for it is an active part in considering how difference is lumped together and for exploring how cultural meaningfulness and human subjectivity are shaped regardless of how many genres fall under one all-encompassing category and ultimately framed as such within the festival

space. This work is a call for and takes a step towards contriving ways to get at the importance of sound and the ways in which it shapes musical performance and human expression; this has been attempted through the analysis of the satonge, the steelpan and the performance of The Good Ones. Here also lies the importance of cultural musicology for it brings these aspects into a meaningful conversation as particular intersections are explore through a consideration of what music *does* and how this doing can be understood through a cultural theoretical approach. As I engage with music as discourse, I suggest, that it is related and much involved in the construction and making sense of the world through music. Celebrated aspects of steelband include the tonal colour of all the voices as they relate to each other but most importantly how they collectively contribute to the sound quality and timbre of the orchestra as a whole. For panorama the orchestras are judged on phrasing, togetherness, cleanliness in the execution of arrangements, use of dynamics, rhythm and the use of syncopation herein, the intensity of the performance and stage presentation. In calypso, the lyrics, rhythm and rhyme are judged. Important to the performance is the connection to the listener and what the listener hears in these musical dynamics and the calypso performance, it is on this basis that the roadmarch of the year is selected.[107] The above are composite of the voiced parameters that lend a hand in the production of an experience, the exchange of knowledge, social construction and further to the way in which the world is made sense of by those involved in the music-making experience. The physical reaction to this in the festival space, through dance, clapping, singing along in some cases or even a movement to tears, become, from my analysis and observation, critically involved in processes and negotiation of discourse as well as bound to cultural interpretation and exchange that has as a result the emergence of newness. I would go so far as to suggest that in addition to newness there is also knowledge and wisdom that are emergent and these might be further historicized. At this point I fully realize that I have exaggerated my argument for an incorporation and acknowledgement of music and the use of sound herein in the forthright relation to the centrality of instrumental sound of the steel-orchestra and the vocal sound in calypso, the four-part singing of The Good Ones and Kobo Town's performance.

[107] Warner, 1982, 19-20.

Calypso, as hinted to, complicates the relationship between the textual and non-textual because of the verbal text and the relationship of the words sung to the sound made to produce them. The talking drum offers a way to think of this complication. The talking drum unsettles the equilibrium between words, voice, and instrument. The clear definition between music and word is muddied since that which is spoken is literally articulated through an instrument (the drum). Thus in this form of communication tonal and sonic characteristics of speaking or articulating should be taken into consideration also to other non-textual discourses such as theatre, street parades and performances and dance. Thus my argument for considering music as discourse and my call for an acknowledgement of the use of sound in music-making within post-colonial theory is certainly not directly meant to exalt music-making[108] and the use of sound herein to the most immanent position it may not possess across cultures, this is especially crucial to avoid since I am engaged and argue for a non-generalized approach to understanding those musics that comprise the category. Instead, I intend to suggest that so far as music and music-making is part of the socio-cultural practice cadre, its action, what it *does* herein, its importance to those involved, its interactional nature with other modes of communication and its ability to record larger cultural discourses should be taken into consideration and related to those discourses that are historically established, in such a way as to question them. Post-colonial, -structuralist and -modernist thought's stress on subjectivity's discursive construction seems intent on directing academic discourse towards abstract jargon filled isolation while attempting to undertake and question aspects of socio-cultural production and organization. While there is a great deal to revel in post-modern and -colonial thought, the attitude and position on the subject of human agency come into question when only textual articulations are considered, as I argue that only a fraction of the story of human agency is portrayed. Recognizing the heterogeneity of socio-cultural action and its reciprocally constituting of discourse goes a ways farther in both modes of thought in not piddling the experience of humanity or its documentation of those unofficial histories that post-colonialism is so admirably fixed on excavating. Rather a critical rethinking of the framing and the interpretive work herein is needed, having as a result that claims made on human agency,

[108] See Cook (1998) where he discusses the intricacies of how music is understood across different cultures, giving the example of Quranic singing.

within the theoretical confines, are made on as complete of a foundation as possible. Lastly discourse is always inhabited in a space of multiplicity, cultural and more specifically musical structures are influenced by several contending discourses. There are dominant discourses that permeate the mainstream and inflect on popular culture, in keeping with this we must concentrate on the competing discourses. As musics move geographically and continuously transform, so does their discourses, this attests to the multiplicity of discourse. Musical movement and its adjoining discourse are influenced by time, as this discursive movement takes place, new knowledge, experience and ideas are disseminated and repatriated. The notion of voicing[109] in music-making practices implies the discourse of music and hearing into our comprehension of verbal articulation: it entices us to give terms like representation, agency and power a strong auditory sense and to envisage music as discourse in a wide array of ways.

Further remarks: relating responsibility to discourse, agency and framing

Calypso made an impression below the belt. It was conceived as the most secular music and was disparaged for its 'lewd' lyrics. Calypsonians along with those involved in the steelband movement articulated a particular subversive aesthetic most often in divergent ways. As described in the analysis of Kobo Town's performance, calypso makes complex statements that transcend the particularities of their origins, there is a core meaning in the lyrics (textual) and the way in which attempts are made in expressing this in and through melody, rhythm, repetition and harmony. This reveals that performers were and continue to acknowledge and address issues central to contemporary Trinidadian and Caribbean discourse as well as world (political and cultural) discourse at large.

In this and the previous chapter I have attempted to situate both world music performance practice as well as music, as discourse. Throughout this work I have attended to the discourse *about* music. In this chapter I explicitly attended to the discourse *of* music, involving music performance, broadly comprehended as that which enables a socio-cultural relation, it also involves the doing; what Small termed musicking.[110] In the analysis of Kobo Town and surreptitiously in the foregoing performance and music-making

[109] Weidman 2014.
[110] Small 1998.

analysis, I also consider the capability of music in giving rise to distinct subject positions, as discourse – *music as discourse*. Both the discursive properties of framing and the framing acts of musical performance attest to the multiplicity of discourses that form world music and the negotiation of musical meaning herein. Within the scheme of world music, I comprehend discourse as an action which promotes modes of articulation and enables the negotiation of meanings not only of the performed music, but also through the media in which it is channelled, its specific cultural representation, and its social establishment such as the outdoor world music festival space. Festival producers, journalists, promoters, musicians, vendors, researchers/academics, participants and audiences are all agents who contribute to music discourse and therefore to musical transition and transformation; lest we forget that discourse conveys a distinct manner for comprehending and situating realities. Within the practice of framing the festival space, (world) music discourse remains a socio-cultural construction created in specific conditions in a particular structure, place and period. The construction of these discursive formations collaborates in the processes of transition and transformation and reflects shifting musical practices, expressions and representations, especially as musics move. Thus the colonizing narrative contributes to a particular discourse and constitutes a 'truth' about world music and its performance practice.

I have argued that calypso assisted in the construction of an aesthetic community that affirmed personhood and that the performance of Kobo Town did the same in its performance at WOMAD 2014 as it brought people into a close relation and interaction as part of the musical procession, I argue this especially as the ensemble became part of the audience and the audience became a part of the performance in a most physical and holistic sense.

How can world music research benefit from this discussion? There are two possible answers to this question. Firstly, the notion of discourse is fundamentally incommensurable. This can best help world music researchers to present different positions. The goal is not to stop at this conceptualization of music as discourse in contentment but to see what it affords further. This understanding of music opens a window in world music studies and points a way towards human agency in the construction of its performance practice, social construction within the festival space, assertion of personhood

in music-making and humanity within the experience of world music performance practice as a whole. In using Foucault's discourse theory, I am interested in the way discourses are structured, in the processes that allow or disallow access, and in the genealogy of the discourse, here emphasizing the historical implication. A Foucauldian approach shows how the traditional ideas of rationality were created and what implication that might have for current music discourses. Agency, though implicit in this chapter, remains of great significance.

How does agency function within the act of framing? I consider agency to be that which contributes to the structuring and maintenance of music discourse. Bal's concept of framing highlights the aspect of responsibility, which alludes to the researcher's initial engagement with world music, the moral and cultural meanings attributed to it, and the way in which those of us who hold agency situate ourselves within world music discourses. Agency carries with it a responsibility to that which is negotiated within the interstitial space. Conceiving of cultural difference within the act of framing world music stages further propels the aspect of responsibility in musical presentation. In view of this, the case study of world music performance practice illustrates how the act of framing produces a response in thinking of particular cultural phenomena through music and in furthering music's and music analysis' potential for making sense of the world. Bal nicely formulates this in stating "framing, in fact is a form of performance"[111] and that the event that emerges from this involves a responsible agent.[112] Framing has the capacity of carrying out reactions that contribute to music discourse, instead of proposing or explaining them. As musicologists, journalists, performers, fans, and listeners, producers, distributors, managers, publishers, those in advertising and marketing, it is both world music and the way in which we speak about, write, stage and research it that remains part of the performative act of framing. The agent frames music, that is, the agent provides the basis for clarifying not only the existence of different events in a musical work or performance, but also their transitions and changes, in short, their different modes of modification. The agent does this through personal experience, the perseverance of distinctive perspectives, and through reflection and analysis of individual social positions. Agency is a distinguished determinant in musical

[111] Bal, 2002, 173.
[112] Ibid., 135.

articulation that, in various forms, is mobilized, in musicological writing, research, speaking, and certainly thought. The plurality of agency in framing and within music discourse remains exciting, for all discourses graced with responsibility carry the multiplicity of the performing agent. I have tried to shed light on the fact that agency involves a multiplicity of deciding constituents when trying to explore it within the event of framing. This has been a call to explore agency that contributes to, and frames world music stages in attempts to continuously generate novel perspectives, knowledges and discourses on music. As alluded to throughout this work, agents structure the space in which music is made sense of, and where power to make statements of and on music is distributed. This act of structuring is in part responsible for not only the way we relate to music, but the value bestowed upon it as well as the resultant musical meanings ascribed to the expression, thus in this case constituting world music.

In manner as well as in music, the everyday experience of Trinidadians and the Caribbean broadly speaking is much obliged to calypso and the performance thereof. If we conceive of calypso solely as a genre we will move towards mentioning the cut time signature, syncopation, rhythm and rhyme as well as repetition and antiphony. But if we move further to thinking what it actually is to perform the kind of truth-telling, which is involved in calypso, in or outside of music-making, then we will knit the interval between lived experience and the formation of music and articulation herein, the same might be said for the music-making of The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili. To acknowledge a particular condition of poverty or injustice is to become susceptible or sensitized to what may be expressed in music, and to take heed to what is occurring in music within the festival space is in a sense to understand or achieve a disclosure of our –humanity's – general condition. I posit that calypso performance is affective and this is important for it offers a way of comprehending both musical processes and the construction of social reality as sense is made of the world. It is a way of navigating through musical performance and composition and while the picture painted is one of strife remains an inadequate assimilation, calypso performance and what it does involves celebration, ingenuity and artifice.

I have argued for a conception of music-making that locates its performance as discursive. I sought to comprehend the various ways in which the use of sound in calypso

becomes meaningful to musical performance and how meaning is generated and negotiated within its situatedness and performance in the public sphere of world music and its festival discourse. I departed from Foucault who makes the case that discourse should be understood not as "groups of signs"[113] that "designate things,"[114] but as a practice that shapes the object they speak of.[115] In the same vein, the discursive approach I take to world music and its performance practice sees the framing of musical performances within the festival space as a mode of socio-cultural action, taking careful attention to how the sonorous spectacle is structured and contributes to the formation of discourse in this act. Drawing on Foucault, I am interested in the way in which the sonorous spectacle is constituted and created in and through cultural practices such as framing and parts of it that makes use of language to 'set up' the musical performance; such as the festival booklet, programme and flier does. Framing, it seems to me, is an integral constructor of the musical performance as well as the sonorous spectacle. Thus, when I position music and contemporary world music performance practice as discourse, I am extending on the notion of interaction, expression and experience, in such a way as to suggest that music *does* something – it performs, as in the performance of Kobo Town where self and other are brought into a most physical relation through dancing, clapping and singing outside of the formal scheduled performance. Foucault contributes to disclosing and problematizing practices that should remain in our questioning. The major contribution Foucault has made is exemplifying exactly how discourse explicitly has as its foundation the use of power. That said, the following chapter will turn to power and knowledge as it returns to the festival space attending to the situatedness of the stages and programming in the framing of the Amsterdam Roots Festival and WOMEX 2014. I have outlined how practices of framing contribute to the shaping of the sonorous spectacle, the following will explicitly illustrate how this manifests itself sonically.

[113] Foucault, 2002, 54.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.

Epilogue: On a world of music: Another way of knowing (in) world music

"we listen to see what the music sees"[1]

The time will come when, with elation you will greet yourself arriving at your own door, in your own mirror and each will smile at the other's welcome.

~Derek Walcott[2]

Men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made.

~Giovanni Battista (Giambattista) Vico[3]

This epilogue establishes how the new research advances the previous. This work concentrated on framing practices of world music festivals. Its overarching question is: How can meaning be comprehended in the experiences that world music-making enable? This question circulated around the relationship between the self and other. It explored whether that relationship is one of separation and isolation, as outlined in the discussion of the sonorous spectacle, or a relationship where the self and other are brought into a closer proximity in and through music-making; where the estranging boundaries between the self and other remains porous. The study illustrated how certain framing practices establish a particular world music performance practice, outlined how music disrupts such framing. I conceived of performance practice as those techniques, methods and framing practices, which participants use to construct world music festival stages. I have argued that various framing practices are collectively responsible for the constitution of the sonorous spectacle. The first and second chapter examined framing processes, implicitly setting the foundation for the argument. The third chapter took this a step further as it sought to illustrate how the paratextual framing constructs an all-consuming narrative, exploring the sonorous spectacle by concentrating on world music literature that circulates within the festival space. In doing so, I attempted to complicate the heavy emphasis on the context within which music-making occurs. The fourth chapter outlined how music disrupts this narrative; I used the analysis of this chapter to highlight the discursive formation

[1] Kramer, 2016, 67.
[2] Walcott, 1986, 328.
[3] Said, 2003, 5.

of world music discourse in chapter five. Chapter six elaborates on that by comprehending music as discourse, making a distinction between the discourse *about* music (the textual and linguistic aspects that contribute to world music discourse, as presented in this literature review), and the discourse *of* music (an understanding of music as discourse, emerging from performance and music-making practices). This study also explored, overtly and covertly, the intrinsic and often taken for granted Othering involved in, and thus always associated with, world music.

World music can be discussed and analysed as an institution of engaging with the Other. This occurs through the statements made about it, 'authorizing views' of it, describing it, teaching it: in short, world music as a category for dominating, reconstructing, and having authority over the Other. Particular aspects[4] involved in the notion of discourse are used to identify how a world music performance practice is established and to a more important extent it points towards those who hold agency and thus ascribed musical meaning(s) herein. Thus without exploring and analysing how world music performance practice is spectacularly produced through particular framing practices as a discourse, one cannot comprehend the musical hegemony by which world music was produced and how that hegemony is negotiated scholarly. The concern with framing and representation lies in the production of a sonorous spectacle where a particular discourse is maintained while others are overshadowed. My quibble with the produced narrative and the musical performances it embraces thus lies within the act of framing.

This study of world music performance practice has less to do with the world music discussion of the West/rest dichotomy; instead, it serves as a tacit acknowledgement of the multiple negotiations that participate in its production. Its main research goal is the examination of the internal mechanisms and consistency of world music performance practice in consonance with narratives and ideologies about world music as a constructed category. My second tenet is that images, ideas, cultures, and musical meanings cannot seriously be comprehended and explored without a precise attention to power relations, hegemony, and dominant discourse being analysed. To simply accept that world music, as a category under which different genres are subsumed, was made up, and to accept it as a necessity for a lack of better words, is to be disingenuous to the study and phenomena of its performance. The existent relationship between the musics of the world is one of power relations and complex socio-cultural implications.

Presented here is a form of history in the critique of the sonorous spectacle, which chooses to disregard history. The attitude surrounding the individual performances at festivals is one of

[4] Such as truth-telling, the inclusion and exclusion of who is allowed to speak and contribute, and the aspect of the power/knowledge relationship are acknowledged herein.

a particular sonorous daze. This brings me to the participatory nature of the sonorous spectacle: how do participants contribute to world music performance practice and position it as a spectacle? I argue that one solitary mode of framing does not persuade the sonorous spectacle as a whole, I argue however that the recurrence and reinforcement of a composite of framing processes, as variously presented through the chapters, and the absence of all others does. It is not one particular act that positions world music performance practice as a sonorous spectacle but the collective phenomena that emerge from framing. In this case a particular knowledge manifests itself as a frame of reference to both world music and its performance practice. So that, all other possibilities for references and knowledges remain narrowed to one, this engages stereotypes and the attribution of particular meanings, all due to one distinct recurrent framing practice. The musical experience honed by authoritative expectations and standards of acceptability, fixes world music discourse on views of distant cultures, as well as on transported 'native' performers and *their* musics, that when represented on stage, are poised to the stature of obscure commodities.[5]

A WOMAD performer responded to questions of his responsibility saying: "my responsibility as an artist is to see and to report through the expression of music, I see myself as that musical expression which allows me space, in the performance, to enable everyone [participants] in attendance to see as well."[6] On the relationship between art and philosophy, Spivak does "not believe there is a direct line between art and philosophy and social justice."[7] She says

> when artists and philosophers call for social justice they are acting as responsible citizens of the world, themselves perhaps changed by practicing art and philosophy, sometimes using the weight of their prestige, as celebrated artists and philosophers, in order to make an appeal. The real contribution of artists and philosophers is that they can be made to change minds. Art and philosophy detached from their producers become instruments for viewer, listener, player, teacher, to be changed from mere self-interest.[8]

Throughout this work, I have attempted to illustrate how framing practices at world music festivals aid in constituting a world music performance practice. My point in highlighting framing practices – paratext, naming and performances – was not only to exemplify how these practices inform world music performances or about a discussion of power relations and the production and acquisition of knowledge in world music. My point was also to illustrate that music also takes an active part in framing. For this reason, I have argued and attempted to show

[5] Kirkegaard 2001, 2005; Ventsel 2014.
[6] Conversation with Batch Gueye at WOMAD 2014.
[7] Keynote "A Borderless World?" at the University of Utrecht, Edward Said Memorial Conference, Tuesday April 16th, 2013).
[8] Ibid.

that notions such as movement, transformation, roots to routs, power/knowledge, and discourse could be discussed through music. To explore this argument, I conceived of music-making and the musics discussed in the confines of this work as performative, that is, in themselves they *did* something – they performed; as The Good One's musical performance gave another story to that of their paratextual framing or as steelband bomb-tunes engaged with difference thus blurring the distinction between self and other in music-making. This study sought to examine how music, on one hand, is a part of the sonorous spectacle as it is used in distinct ways in framing practices to organize and order – to discipline and encourage certain modes of behavior; and, on the other hand, it has enabled a step towards considering musical performance within the world music festival space, showing how music has agency in framing the festival space. I discussed this in the third and fourth chapter, exploring how musical performance potentially disrupts and challenges some framing practices that support one particular narrative. Here, as an example, I also call on the discussion of the third chapter where the paratextual framing of The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili was considered for its estranging nature as this was related to musical performance in the fourth chapter, exploring how music-making was part of the negotiation that took place between participants.

As the above connects to agency, I have concomitantly examined the various sorts of agency at play in both the separation or isolation of self and other as well as those involved in how they are brought into proximity. In concentrating on the sonorous spectacle, I was interested in identifying what it was, what it gave rise to in world music and how framing practices constitute it. In attending to agency, I have attempted to point towards distinct arrangements of practices and relations of power that order the specific consequences within the world music festival experience and effect within world music discourse. To do this, I granted extensive attention to the notion of musical performance as argued by Cook[9] in order to underscore the discursive properties of musical performance and festival framing practices.

Departing from the above, I examined world music in relation to its performance practice; mainly asking what an analysis of world music performance practice tells us about world music as a category, concentrating on the way it has been academically discussed thus far, what it tells us about music-making and what music reveals about itself as a practice that holds agency. To explain: each chapter focuses on specific aspects of framing as it emerges from the festival and, as I argue, it in part produces a performance practice as a sonorous spectacle. I wanted to bring world music as a conceptual and theoretical notion into relation with musical performance. First of all, I wanted to make clear that most of the musics that fall under this category are

[9] Cook 2003.

marginalized or coming from a people marginalized in some way whether it be through (post-, neo-) colonization, political and economic disruptions, wars and genocides, enslavement or settler colonialism. WOMAD and WOMEX are partially built around the homes of those music-making practices of the haunted, displaced and lost, the wounded and historically traumatized. However, this is not entirely a negative characteristic for it illustrates how in music and music-making these circumstances are negotiated. Thinking through music, we might discuss how these aspects of trauma and violence are turned into enduring spaces of ethical deliberation, political regeneration, and personal survival while highlighting the integrity of interaction.

This work told what the story was, who the people involved were and what happened at the visited festivals. In some ways, it happened in exactly that way and in others it strayed. This connects to my current position at this conclusion, which is about knowledge as I begin to rethink my position as one involved in framing not only as a participant and researcher at world music festivals but also in this present writing and academic contribution to world music discourse. Here, I learn something that I did not know at the beginning, in the same way, the notion of framing learned and collected baggage throughout this work and correspondingly as those involved in music-making did not know at the beginning. Power connects to knowledge, so that knowledge is where I end. There was an assumption of knowledge present in the framing of the festival flier discussed in the first chapter, but throughout this study, we understood that this assumption of knowledge and the confidence in it took on a different mode of being as I considered musical performance. This was my way of questioning the initial confident knowledge and the convention of wisdom in framing music in relation to who knows – who really knows what one or the other musical performance entailed in terms of world music and its performance practice and who has a voice. Thus, this research presents a furtive voice speaking in the way of musical examples but also in the emergence of the sonorous spectacle. The sonorous spectacle was and remains a voice of knowledge and control in world music performance practice; it controls its own narrative. However I, attempted to illustrate that music-making and performance are also voices of knowledge and thus present a resistance to the sonorous spectacle, which remains my reason for positioning world music as discourse. But now at the end, the sonorous spectacle is involved in re-thinking and reimaging through re-sounding and re-listening. This work is conceptual in its approach, but begins not from a concept but a question, which concerns itself with musical performance, agency and what music *does* in particular. More concretely asking how meaning(s) is/are negotiated and its/their emergence comprehended in the experiences enabled by (world) music-making. In concentrating on this main question which is interested in meaning(s), I was allowed to fully

explore how a particular world music performance practice was established and maintained across the various festivals attended. Moreover, in visiting diverse world music festivals and stages, I questioned, through the use of the sonorous spectacle, whether world music has come to be a place of antiquity, allure, remarkably fashioned – often handmade – instruments, exotic beings and sounds. A more surreptitious question that this work as a whole posed through attending to music-making and in relation to the overarching argument for a consideration of music as discourse is: how is the self-negotiated in music-making, how is musical performance a part of that which enables the reclamation of the self, especially when it is oppressed by the efforts of Othering whether purposefully or through denial and ignorance; this was exemplified in the analysis of steelpan and calypao. What were the measures taken in music-making and how do they emerge in the festival performance space? This line of questioning took the research into the main travelled highway towards exploring *what does music do?* Framed, provisionally, with another question *–if anything at all?* I argue in this conclusion that the second might now be forsaken.

Closing the circle: the relationship between framing and knowledge

As I have suggested, knowledge remains integral to these questions. At this end, which is entirely not an end but another beginning; for it is difficult to conclude a research of a practice such as world music that is ever alive, and thus continuously in a process of becoming. Any concrete or absolute answers remain impossible, however, statements and questions inevitably emerge. At this historical juncture, where a restless cultural musicology contributes to the discussion, I am nevertheless compelled to reassess judgements made on the phenomenon of world music. For this reason, it is innocuous to (re-)examine history, attending to tendencies and flowering advances that might supplement the analytical questioning we, as researchers, have thus far made of world music. At this end, that is not an end I argue that knowledge is intricately involved in annexing the circle. Knowledge is reacted on by, and responds to, framing and in this continuous flow a circle is formed. Here knowledge leads framing practices which further contribute to discourse and resultantly involves a relation between power and knowledge. The cusp where the whirls, bends, pivots and returns occur illustrates the secret of the vicious circle, which, following the spectacle is exactly its beauty. The question of the circle's vicious nature is an impertinent one. However, critical for the discussion of world music and its performance practice is that the circle is closed. The framing practices are fixed, the discourse is already blended in and subject to being taken as truth (as might be conceived from the literature review), the otherness is pathologized, heeding no challenge, once the knowledge

and the structure it engenders intercede to spark the acts of interpretation and presentation involved in framing world music stages as well as its academic discussions. The knowledge produced herein is inable to elude standing in a representational relationship to the already intrinsic knowledge of framing. I argue here that knowledge outlines the terms on which the interpretive act takes place, however, if we suppose that it did not, it is still involved in being unattentive to transformation, mainly in its ideology. As surreptitiously outlined throughout this work, this circle (the knowledge, framing practices, power/knowledge relation and emerging meanings that constitute it) suggests that only particular types of perceptions and agreements, only a distinct narrative which contributes to a certain discourse is conceivable and in a sense allowed. Other forms of the above, even if they veer slightly, are only admissible if they travel along the outlined route of the circle, where all avenues lead to one.

Research aims in relation to framing and knowledge

This research has theoretically departed from Foucauldian notions of discourse, power and knowledge. The reason for this lies in Foucault's critical approach to institutions as my aim herein has been to question the status quo in world music studies and its performance practice. In exploring Foucault and his thoughts on the articulation of institutional power and knowledge of the asylum, clinic and the prison, I thought, in agreement with Tony Bennett, that there is another institution overdue for analysis in Foucault's terms, the world music festival, and another field of knowledge, namely musicology, here broadly conceived. The world music festival shares certain characteristics with a wider range of institutionalized practices, such as world exhibitions, ethnological expositions and human zoos for instance, where, as Bennett suggests, connected locations for the progress and distribution of "new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations"[10] and where the progress of new mechanisms of perception are provided. Moreover, he makes clear that these constituted a converging array of disciplinary and institutional relations, which can be effectively examined as distinct exercises and articulations of power and knowledge.[11] For this reason, I have surreptitiously positioned the festival space as an institution which is one of exhibition, showing, spectacle, presenting and representing, which forms intricate relations of both discipline and power.

The disruption to this standing circle, envisioned by this research, involves turning to music where those subjugated knowledges are allowed, steering to novel avenues that lead to different

[10] Bennett, 1988, 73.
[11] Ibid.

interpretations involved in framing processes, which is what this research aimed to achieve through the discussion of steelpan for instance. It is for this reason that I found Foucault's understanding of discourse useful to identify this seemingly innate and thus often sly practice of Othering. It did so by illustrating how Otherness is negotiated musically, highlighting music's agency, something which has not always been emphasized within the study of world music. It also did so in its major aim which was to explore world music performance practice, concentrating on how those concepts and notions, previously discussed in theoretical terms, are made manifest in practice within the performance of the festival. Ultimately, the disruption of the circle through attending to subjugated knowledges emerged as another aim was to situate music and music-making as discourse, as part of the power relation, in the form of resistance. This further exemplified the agency inherent to musical performance. Finally, this research aimed to expose the nature of framing at world music festivals, initially placing the practice along colonial exhibitions such as the world fairs, ethnic exhibitions, human zoos, suggesting that these colonial practices remain important to my critique of world music framing for their characteristics extend and intersect especially in the way they are involved in attributing meanings, and producing and acquiring knowledge. In this work, I have used the notion of sonorous spectacle to illustrate the potential results particular modes of framing enable. I discussed at length their various implications in constituting the sonorous spectacle which I argue contributes to world music discourse. This discourse forms and directs the behaviour of artists and festivalgoers in agreement with particular aesthetics found in the established performance practice. By positioning world music performance practice as a sonorous spectacle, this work examined a large piece of the process by which power relations are created and maintained. This positioning involves a transformation in world music culture, and thus the framing processes in contemporary world music performance practice required an in-depth discussion. This slightly disturbs Foucault's casual disregard for Debord's spectacle as he suggests that society is no longer one of spectacle but of surveillance.[12] Foucault's slight is premature since, as this research clearly outlines, the spectacle still involves the negotiation of power relations, which is highlighted especially as it relates to music. This brings me to the limitation of the research.

Significance of the research findings

The significance of this work rests in its questions and not its verdicts. Its importance lies in its probing of world music performance practice as well as in its endeavour to situate music as

[12] Foucault, 1995, 217.

discourse, free from a semiotically informed approach, arguing that music involves more than simply what we can say about it. Departing from this, it greatly contributes to encouraging further research into non-textual considerations of how power relation are negotiated, the production of knowledge and the negotiation of personhood especially in relation to post-colonial studies, where music is able to contribute greatly to discussions surrounding power relations as it offers another perspective by thinking through it. In its critique, this research contributes to the post-colonial venture by offering, through considering musical performance, one way of how engaging with agency, difference and otherness might be attended to differently. Here I emphasize that music possibly offers a different way of thinking these terms; as was done in the discussion of Otherness in world music. This discussion occurs differently in conceptual/theoretical terms than it does in practical music-making at the world music festival. Abels positions the task of cultural musicology as "similar to the one which post-colonial studies have defined as their central challenge: de-colonising knowledge and bringing alternative epistemologies to the fore."[13] Abels goes a step further and suggests this as "one of cultural musicology's most important potentialities."[14] I have exemplified how music contributes to this discussion, concentrating on its *doing*, that is, its performance in negotiating difference and through its capacity to enable a relationship between self and other. I suggested that those musics and the peoples involved in their making, positioned as subaltern, can speak, a premise positioned as a corner stone and grappled with in post-colonial studies and thought. However this ability to speak is readily available for discussion, especially when the non-textual is taken into account and a broader notion of speaking and understanding of voice and voicing is considered.[15] This discussion was needed to make clear that world music is not solely about being other or Othered. It is however about articulating something about the quandary and necessity for us as festivalgoers to become and remain human, which is a meaningful venture. It entails not surrendering or yielding to the represented spectacular version of who we are. It means not giving into the colonizing narrative, its language and the rhetoric involved in its framing. It means examining how music takes us to a point in particular where we come to make sense of the world and is the reason for which this work remains relevant in addressing some of the initial steps towards this endeavour. In considering Othering, I am not marginalizing music; it is not set at the periphery. It is one thing to know and consider the Other and acts of Othering and its location in world music historically, abstractly, conceptually or in general terms, but experiencing that Othering and attending to the acts that produce it in different forms

[13] Abels, 2016, 9.
[14] Ibid., 9-10.
[15] See Weidman 2014.

through different framing practices at different festivals present another knowledge. Entering the discussion on Othering this way is a fundamental experience in its practical manifestation and the reason why its consideration in how Otherness is negotiated in music remains imperative.

The proven or disproved hypothesis

My departing hypothesis was formulated when I attended my first three world music festivals (in Almere, The Hague and Amsterdam) in 2010. It was simple: that which was discussed in theoretical terms in relation to world music (exposed to me in my first courses of graduate school) manifests itself within the festival space, doing so on a most practical way. Homogenization, a term that brought about great critical discussion in my music and cultural analysis course, was being musically performed in certain instances through the duration of the mentioned festivals. This research sought to show how the historically positioned Othered whole, often discussed in critiques concerning homogenization and world music, is musically situated within the festival space and informs its performance practice. The act of Othering conceived as inherent in the world music category is sometimes unashamedly present at the festival, which interestingly proves that, and as I hope has been made clear in my analysis, that which is discussed in academic discourse on world music can be heard and sonically experienced, as it is made available in the festival's music-making. I therefore position the performances as an Othered whole because in their framing they are presented as such.[16] The above approach makes this work unable to provide answers in the traditional sense. The research exposes findings and attempts to show how difference is negotiated within world music. This matters for the way world music is connected and stands in a relation to knowledge, in this case as knowledge*able*. It should matter to the broader field of musicology and more specifically to all those engaged with musics that fall under the banner of world music. As researchers, we should care about the voices involved in music-making, surely not disregard them; and this research sheds light on how a focus on music contributes to our doing so.

Contribution to the field of world music, relation to the literature review and its importance

It is so that the term world music is less preferred by those who critique it, both because it is too indistinct and general a term, and because it connotes an attitude of Othering both on a

[16]This is how the category informs the performance practice. The academic conceptualizations and discussions surrounding world music and ethnomusicology as discussed by Feld 2000, together with the record industry's labelling also continues to inform the performance practice of world music. Future studies might concentrate on technology and its ever changing relationship to the world music recording industry.

socio-cultural level as well as on musical grounds. Nevertheless, books are written and festivals are held with 'world music' as the focal point, with performers, festival producers, and listeners as their main authority. World music thrives not only through constructed festival spaces but also in discursive practice. Instead of looking at pre-existing structures within world music performance practice we should look at the processes through which these structures are enabled and the way they are reinforced. With this, world music as a category and its performance practice has a history and a particular tradition of thought, narrative and a multiplicity of ways of engaging with and using sound in music-making and specific discourse that gives it a life within the musics of the world. The case I put forward is that world music research has been slow to recognize musical performance because the discussion is so embedded in describing acts of Othering. If we are to historically understand musical performance in world music, we must continue to question and be sceptical of the emphasis placed on critiquing Othering, and be free of the authority it has in world music discussion and the ideological language and speech that surrounds it. This is not to suggest that acts of Othering in world music should be ignored, however, it is to suggest that only by questioning this staple critique can we comprehend musical agency and how Othering is negotiated herein. No one is sceptical of the critique anymore. As outlined in the literature review, for years the same critiques of world music, in its research circulate and are referenced, which contributes to academic paucity in world music studies as the same discussions take place, often times reproducing the same case studies as examples, such as that of *Graceland* in order to discuss the same theoretical concepts, and thus acquiring a particular scholarly authority. This work contributes to discussions of musical agency, asking what music *does*. Unlike the works referenced in the literature review, this research is principally concerned with studying the problem of Othering chiefly from a historical perspective, doing so by invoking the case studies and returning to the music-making before the world music pennant and its festival. This historical shift outlined different levels of power relations available in establishing a particular world music performance practice. It explored the 'us' and 'them' paradigm, showing how music potentially allows a disruption of this dichotomy. In doing so, music performs to locate that 'us' and 'them' in a relationship which involves a greater immediacy. Ignoring world music performance practice has seriously limited the past discussions, as these depart from a persuasive number of contemporary issues, they do not take history into consideration as they frame the issues in terms of and in relation to what is currently taking place. The subject of Othering is a staple in world music studies as recognized in the literature review, however, researchers have as yet only a murky idea of how this is situated within its performance practice

and music-making, additionally, this idea emerges more from the ideological luggage of the world music research tradition than from the empirical research of its performance practice. Instead of taking this notion that seems inherent to world music for granted I attempted a careful concentration into the nature of Othering as situated within the performance practice, mainly at the festival space, attending to its reception and perpetuation. Othering as a theoretical notion is the framework upon which the critical analysis is hinged. The above argument is however not to disregard the important research that has granted a foundation from which this research departs. Nevertheless, this research contributes to underscoring how this Otherness is negotiated in music. Once again illustrating how the theoretical notion discussed in world music studies is negotiated in practice; at the performance stage, where this notion of Othering also plays itself out, however offering a different perspective than that presented in the discourse about world music. For this reason, music is well situated for thinking through cultural phenomena while examining these with a concept based methodology. Knowledge about the above-delineated issues is available at many levels – philosophy, psychology, history, post-colonial and cultural theory at large, but here I argue that music also enables insight.

This also brings us back to the discussion and critique of the textual emphasis in knowledge production, in this case in world music studies. If this is considered in the discussion of problematizing the circle, I propose that the taking into account of subjugated knowledges again brings us back to the beginning where knowledge is once again involved (differently) in further, read as future, framing practices. And here lays the step to be taken in further research into world music performance practice, that is, considering how world music framing practices might transform as the circle is disrupted. This highlights how in this particular case, the responsibility in framing world music stages has much weight for it influences the way participants interact with music, how they ascribe meaning to music and the nature of the relationship that is established between the self and other. It also expresses how the new research, including technological implication, advances the previous.

The framing practices and the sonorous spectacle produced herein of world music enjoyed such an authoritative location that I suggest that no writing and thinking on world music is able to do so without taking into account the restraint imposed by the discourse of Othering. In sum, because of the act of Othering, those positioned as Other and their music-making are inhibited subjects of thought, thus making it possible that, until now, a performance practice has never been analysed or that musical agency has not been taken into account. I do not suggest here that framing practices and academic discourse arbitrarily ascertain ‘what can be said’, in Foucauldian terms, about world music, but rather that it is in a holistic sense a network of

actions and practices that are made available and thus always already actively entangled when world music is brought into question. The modes involved in *how* exactly this takes place are in part what this research attempted to illustrate and is thus a novel contribution to the study of world music in addition to its endeavour to examine world music performance practice.

This work shows why the study of music is important to post-colonial thought. Abels says

> post-colonial studies have time and again called for an appreciation of modes of knowledge alternative to hegemonic North Atlantic ones. The world's many musics all are sounding examples of such modes of knowledge, and cultural musicology is invested in making them resonate with the academic language alongside which we try to better understand music.[17]

My music analysis has attempted to show and to offer to the post-colonial enterprise, how interaction occurs differently; that there is a possibility of being able to relate differently to difference. It attempted to illustrate that; indeed, in music-making we may "elude the politics of polarity [and difference] and emerge as the others of our selves."[18] This was explored through all the presented case studies, a blatant example is offered in the way of bomb-tunes, where (post-) colonialism was negotiated in calypso, where those "unofficial histories" were and continue to be recorded. This might also be considered in the music-making of Seckou Keita and Catrin Finch as was discussed in chapter six, and as will be discussed in the following on how this research contributes to the academic areas of study. The research also underscores the fact that, though post-colonial theory should be critiqued, it should not be disregarded in the music analysis. I suggest that in the future those involved in framing take heed to the power/knowledge relation involved in the practice, questioning the interconnections and relationships that exist in creating an ideologically locked circle of knowledge production, and the cultural politics involved herein.

Contribution to the academic areas of study: On Cultural Musicology and World Music

For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.[19]

Ah, music […] A magic beyond all we do here![20]

It is important to note that the contribution of this research takes place on two levels within the area of study, namely cultural musicology and world music studies. That said, this work shows

[17] Abels, 2016, 4-5.
[18] Bhabha, 1994, 56.
[19] Lorde, 2007, 112.
[20] Rowling, 1997, 128.

one possibility of a cultural musicological endeavour, one informed by post-colonial theory. Before conceiving of this project and the research it called for I knew how I felt. My feelings on the matter of world music and its performance practice were the result of particular experiences, and like most, particular prejudices and held tenets. However, I am concerned with the complexity and the precarity of the ideas put forth in this work. What is presented here is not my steadfast belief. That would not hold true to the call of cultural musicology to *embrace restlessness*. Thus, in the spirit of a cultural musicological approach, what I presented here says 'this is what I may think for the moment' but followed by a conjecture in the form of questions 'could I be wrong?', 'what if I am – could it be something else?' How might it be extended? and what potential does my wrongness have? Along this line of questioning, my negotiation of this subject from beginning to this point came from a place of not knowing what it is, but being interested in uncovering what world music performance practice might mean to me and possibly to others. For this reason, in outlining how this research contributes to the field of study in which it is situated, namely, cultural musicology, in what follows I want to use this final chapter to issue a call to the field as I propose how further studies on the matter of world music and its performance practice might continue the research.

Throughout this work I have used Feld's critique of the division between music and world music and the formation of ethnomusicology[21] as a touchstone in concentrating on the separation and alienation of difference in world music studies as well as within the festival space. Thus, Feld's critique resonates both within the arena of the festival space as well as within the delineation of academic disciplines. In this section, I will stay close to the notion of difference as I discuss the implication of cultural musicology in world music studies, doing so, as mentioned, by touching on the performance of Catrin Finch and Seckou Keita. Most scholarly work on the matter of world music is carried out within the discipline of ethnomusicology, which has received a great deal of critical attention.[22] According to Connell and Gibson

> Ethnomusicology has concerned itself with the distinctiveness and dynamics of music in its socio-cultural contexts throughout human history. For many it has come to represent the study of music in 'traditional' societies. Central to the ethnomusicological tradition is a sense of endogeny – of musical expressions emanating from within relatively unique social landscapes, rather than interacting with outside flows, consuming and reproducing the products of others, or mimicking international sounds. At its most basic, ethnomusicology's concern with the endogenous relies on the 'traditional' as the subject of study, and, by inference, on constructions of 'modernity', 'contemporary' and 'non-local' in music as opposites of this. […] Recent ethnomusicological work has broadened to recognise and celebrate the diversity of musical production in both 'traditional' and 'modern' contexts,

[21] Feld, 2000, 147.
[22] See Cook 2008, Abels 2016 and Rice 2014.

> examining migrant musics in urban settings, examining and acknowledging the ways that all cultures have been implicated in, and affected by, colonialism and capitalist expansion. *Yet, important binaries established in earlier efforts persist in the current era, and have created a framework that most readings of contemporary music work within, or react against*.[23]

The literature review argued that academics often are critical and castigate world music on account of its inherent character to create an Other. Feld suggests that world music was circulated by academics in order "to celebrate and promote the study of musical diversity […] it was a friendly phrase, a less cumbersome alternative to *ethnomusicology*, the more strikingly academic term that emerged in the mid-1950s to refer to the study of non-Western musics and musics of ethnic minorities."[24] He makes clear that this academic designation and discipline refers to the analysis and engagement with

> non-western musics and musics of ethnic minorities. Like *ethnomusicology*, *world music* had an academically liberal mission, to oppose the dominant tendency of music institutions and publics to assume the synonymy of *music* with Western European art music […] the world music idea was meant to have a pluralizing effect on Western conservatories […] Whatever the success of these aims, the terminological dualism that distinguished *world music* from *music* helped reproduce a tense division in the academy, where musics understood as non-Western or ethnically other continued to be routinely partitioned from those of the West.[25]

In the very short introduction to ethnomusicology, Timothy Rice acknowledges that

> because most ethnomusicologist believe they should study music as a universal human phenomenon, it makes no sense to exclude some part of that phenomenon, as Kunst's original definition did. And yet, as a practical matter, the vast majority of ethnomusicological research and teaching today concerns what have been variously called – and few ethnomusicologists are happy with these terms – "traditional music," "non-Western music," or "world music." (world music, in the ethnomusicological sense, is a category far broader that the use of the phrase, since the late 1980s, to denote commercial and popular "ethno-pop" musical fusions.) While popular music from most parts of the world, as well as American "ethnic" forms of popular music, are now well-accepted "study-objects," studies of European classical music and Anglo-American popular music, with some important exceptions, remain rather thin on the ground.[26]

Most recently, Abels has contributed to the discussion by critiquing ethnomusicology for "zoning academic responsibilities"[27] and dividing "our planet into 'the west' and 'the rest'."[28] She is critical of Ethnomusicological tendency towards writing "about music along the west/rest divide"[29] and how this leads towards "writing about the musical Other in a particular way."[30]

[23] Connell and Gibson, 2003, 20-21. (Italics mine).
[24] Feld, 2000, 146-7.
[25] Ibid., 147.
[26] Rice, 2014, 7-8.
[27] Abels, 2016, 144.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

She says

> Ethnomusicology is that branch of music studies commonly taken to engage most concretely with music as a cultural practice, and while today it naturally is a highly diversified field, it has traditionally been considered to refer to that area of music studies occupied with a) non-European and b) so-called folk music, which includes music of European local traditions […] for a long time, popular music was considered to be out of its epistemological reach as well […] Ethnomusicological research is still primarily preoccupied with musical "others", imagined or otherwise, analysing them, reifying them, attempting to preserve them; processes that sometimes even result in what might be termed the ethnomusicological stewardship and preservationist safeguarding of a given musical "culture".[31]

Abels positions cultural musicology as a field which questions "extant academic structures"[32] as she makes clear that "the concept of a cultural musicology blur[s] the distinction between historical and "ethno-" musicology […] in order to do more justice to the musical realities of the twenty-first century."[33]

Departing from these critiques and frustrations in ethnomusicology and because of the disciplinary boundaries that compartmentalise the broader study of music, I see cultural musicology as a step towards ameliorating the disciplinary borders, and thereby interesting as an avenue for rethinking the notion of world music, doing so by firstly examining its performance practice. It is clear from the above that the previous descriptions have not completely kept and sustained our scholarly ventures or the musics that uphold us. In exploring feminist theory and the redefinition and recognition of difference herein, Lorde says:

> The old patterns, no matter how cleverly rearranged to imitate progress, still condemn us to cosmetically altered repetitions of the same old exchanges, the same old guilt, hatred, recrimination, lamentation, and suspicion. For we have, built into all of us, old blueprints of expectation and response, old structures of oppression, and these must be altered at the same time as we alter the living conditions which are a result of those structures. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.[34]

Cultural musicology restlessly seeks to thwart rearrangements of old patterns as it relates to world music. I argue that music seeks to do the same. The actions taken in questioning and challenging old patterns is clear from the way Finch and Keita brought tradition and folk medieval Welsh songs together with ancient Mandé songs and how these came into conversation with each other through composing and performance on the harp and kora. This discussion of a cultural musicological effort is not about a simple name change or a replacement. It is about taking another step along the way in actually being critical of and transforming past approaches to music studies as discussed above. Cultural musicology is more

[31] Ibid., 144, 150.
[32] Ibid., 20.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Lorde, 2007, 123.

than being inclusive of all musics or doing away with the ethno- prefix. The step that it takes along the way involves what Bhabha explains as the act of theory [being] the process of articulation.[35] He says "the event of theory becomes the *negotiation* of contradictory and antagonistic instances that open up hybrid sites and objectives of struggle, and destroy those negative polarities between knowledge and its objects, and between theory and practical-political reason."[36]

The first chapter touched on the celebratory narrative within the festival space especially in relation to the discussion of roots, multiculturalism and diversity. According to Feld a new discourse was structured in relation to world music, one of authenticity "forged out of narratives equally anxious and celebratory about the world – and the music – of world music"[37] Feld explains that celebratory narratives stressed

> the appropriation of Western pop, emphasizing fusion forms as rejections of bounded, fixed, or essentialized identities. That is, celebratory narratives of world music often focus on the production of hybrid musics. They place a positive emphasis on fluid identities […] Celebratory narratives tend toward hopeful scenarios for cultural and financial equity in the entertainment industries […] this can have the effect of downplaying hegemonic managerial and capital relations in the music industry […] Celebratory narratives of world music tend to normalize and naturalize globalization […] Celebratory narratives then imagine a natural tenacity of the past resounding in possibilities of an amplified present one characterized as an "endless creative conversation".[38]

The celebratory nature that surrounds world music is not limited to a scholarly discussion but extends itself further into the framing practices of the festival where one is encouraged to celebrate cultural and musical diversity. The festival is lauded as a space where culture is celebrated.

Conversations with participants would involve, however flippant, a tribute to celebrating cultural and musical diversity. The first chapter stood still at this, asking why this celebratory narrative is so needed and why it is so strident. I argued that, as festivalgoers, we should celebrate, however, I have suggested throughout this work and explicitly recognized in the first two chapters, that it is difference that should come into celebration. I still question why the emphasis on celebration, in the festival space, in the rhetoric of the paratext and narrative of the scholarly discourse as pointed out by Feld, was so blaringly produced. Thus the question, which I pose before, remains: why is diversity and multiculturalism so loudly proclaimed within the world music festival? Exploring this question, I suggested that historical recognition was unheeded. In the sonorous spectacle there was no recognition or way to highlight or bring to

[35] Bhabha, 1994.
[36] Bhabha, 1994, 37-8.
[37] Feld, 2000, 152.
[38] Ibid., 152-3.

attention that the musics subsumed under the category were not always celebrated; as might be deduced from the case studies of this work. Thus, there was a leap made over the history into celebration, this leap evaded history. Within the festival space, there was no acknowledging that these musics were not always celebrated. This gives rise to questions of the past, present and the implication of history in the celebratory narrative and the sonorous spectacle of which it is a part. History, according to Debord, is "the *measure* of genuine novelty."[39] With this, he explains that those involved in the exchange of novelty are also invested in annihilating the resources through which it is evaluated.[40] Herein there exists an infinite presence of the instant or occasion and at once thereafter its extinction and substitution.[41] He argues: "When the spectacle stops talking about something for three days, it is as if it did not exist."[42] Herein he positions the foundation of the spectacle as the eradication of history and historical knowledge, distinctly, the death of the recent past. "The precious advantage which the spectacle has acquired through the outlawing of history, from having driven the recent past into hiding, and from having made everyone forget the spirit of history within society, is above all the ability to cover its own tracks – to conceal the very progress of its recent world conquest."[43] However, I argue, departing from my analysis and concentrating on academic delineations, that a great deal of the past takes refuge inside the present.

By ignoring history in the festival's framing there is no recognition of how pernicious the act of Othering is in world music. I therefore argue that before we move to celebrate diversity, an acknowledgement of the fact that diversity, especially in relation to the musics discussed throughout this work, was not always celebrated. In my music examples and analysis I was concerned with the act of being Other(ed) and how that was negotiated musically. At the world music festival we are often faced with some of the most vulnerable human beings in the world; those placed at the periphery like The Good Ones and Staff Benda Bilili or like Mahsa and Marjan Vahdat from Tehran who face obstacles in performing in public because they were born female. Often these artists and musics have never held the main focal point when theoretically discussing world music. They are often positioned in writing and staging to add some colour or flavour and are spectacularized as they become available as part of a backdrop when they do appear in the discourse about world music (Staff Benda Bilili is such an example). They are sometimes positioned as minority to be compared as the category they comprised has been from its inception by the academic field that studies it. Therefore, to iterate, before taking a step

[39] Debord, 1998, 15.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., 20.
[43] Ibid., 15-6.

towards celebration, I wanted to concentrate on the Othering and the historical implication of world music in the discipline that has it as a subject, namely ethnomusicology. I also wanted to discuss Othering at the world music festival where the sonorous spectacle emerges in the framing of world music. I took this course because both contribute to establishing (world) music discourse.

I wanted to pick at and disturb the proverbial scab, which allows for the celebratory narrative. I did so not by concentrating solely on the theoretical discourse about world music, for this would be dismal in my opinion and would not entirely connect to the festival experience, as there would be a loss of delight and pleasure inherent to that experience. For this reason, I framed all chapters with music examples, thereby surrounding world music with some of the musics that are embraced by it, musical practices that historically know what it means to be marginalized and treated as peripheral, while having world music as a centre subject of the work. I wanted to disturb the gloriousness in which world music currently finds itself, in which it is practiced and thought of, I sought to look underneath the sunshine of the summer fun festival to find, how the past, and herein the present are conceived. Through the use of my case studies I located music's role, in pursuit of a cultural musicological endeavour, in part, as that which engages with history and knowledge, illustrating how it is articulated and what it tells us presently. Thus, I suggest that the past, in music and certainly in world music (as a category and scholarly study), is about the present. The celebratory narrative and sonorous spectacle of which it is a part presents the past as absolute, however I argue that the past is ever present, and has a future in world music studies and performance practice. This might be conceived in the music-making of Kobo Town where the festival performance stands in conversation with the calypso that was, at its inception, under sanction or censored. If the past, especially the colonial past, is not acknowledged in the analysis of music-making and performance at world music festival, it becomes difficult to negotiate and relate to contemporary practices in world music. It becomes difficult to critically engage in a discussion of Othering and agency in performance practice, which are either approached as novel inventions, are treated as common or ignored in the name of entertainment and celebration when the colonial and post-colonial nature of music practices is overlooked. Current discussions that surround world music and Othering come out of the past, most often a colonial past and this is the reason a post-colonial approach remains important in the cultural musicological endeavour and approach to world music performance practice. According to Lorde "by ignoring the past, we are encouraged to repeat its mistakes […] this gives rise to historical amnesia that keeps us working to invent the wheel every time we have

to go to the store for bread."[44]

History, within the festival space, in world music studies and in understanding its implication in the individual music-making that fall under the category, must be explored in order to comprehend the myriad of ways it has formed contemporary practices. Also, to understand how particular modes of framing relate differently to different musical performances. Thus, it might suggest why a different language might be employed in the paratextual framing of the steelpan or why an emphasis on the backstory of Staff Benda Bilili or The Good Ones might be differently involved in framing the music-making. As alluded to, the question of the past and present also involves the academic fields engaged in world music studies. The endeavour in cultural musicology is not to conquer or colonize the world of music, however in this work I have tried to fulfil part of its modest task by retrieving, sorting through, rethinking and presenting analysis in what may be an important period in world music research, namely the budding of cultural musicology as a field of study.

In exploring cultural musicology, while considering how this project contributes to world music research, I suggest that further studies take into account the resistance inherent in cultural musicology, a resistance towards institutionalization, where normalization and foregone, taken for granted determinations are challenged. This is possible exactly because critical questions are continuously asked, there is no assumption that the institution or the field of study itself is the answer, herein the very framework, read framing practices within which the cultural musicologist works is relentlessly commented upon. In this work I have attempted to embrace and celebrate the music as is done within the festival space and the creative work that is taking place within the staged performances. At the same time I sought to ask more complicated questions which might complement previous critiques; namely, how can I ask those questions that prevent complaisance. As mentioned, it is often argued that world music is comprised of those music-making practices that are most vulnerable because they are made by marginalized people. Together with this argument, the assumed Otherness inherent to the discussion of world music prompts me to argue for a restless awareness to which we, as researchers, are ourselves implicated in the very processes we try to critique. This questioning arises from the Finch and Keita performance, where once again Otherness was musically thwarted because there was a negotiation of differences in instrument (concert classical harp and kora – a lute-like harp), intonation, tuning,[45] music-making practices (playing from a score or by ear), voicing and arranging. In this musical performance, the above had to be worked out and was done in such

[44] Lorde, 2007, 117.
[45] Seckou plays a double-necked kora. The extension allows him to move between different tunings seamlessly.

a way that the seams cannot be heard.[46] A way towards avoiding complacency in our critique is to continuously raise questions, and the conceptual approach of cultural musicology helps to do so. We should question that which appears to be the ordinary state of affairs, acknowledged in the literature review and questioned in all the presented case studies and music analysis. From the world music discourse it is possible to deduce that getting ensconced into normalities in the discussion is rather easy, which prevents us from acknowledging the degree to which we are implicated within this discourse; in maintaining it, establishing it and continuing it through acts of Othering and marginalization, this is arguable because world music performance practice has yet to be extensively engaged with in scholarly world music research.

I call for a field of study that actively promotes change, recognizing the integrity of interaction. Finch explains that she came to realize, through the interaction in music, "that there are so many similarities in this ancient music."[47] I discussed cultural and musical transformation in relation to geographical and socio-cultural movement, but it is also necessary to speak of academic transformation in relation to that which occurs within the festival space. Acknowledging the integrity of interaction and negotiation, I call for a non-hierarchical musicology that encourages community across mapped borders of class, race, gender, sexuality, nation; a musicology that provides a more holistic approach to understanding music.

In this work, I attempted to redefine how the *world music* experience is situated in the largely conceived *music* experience.[48] The research is in part an effort to say to us as (world) music researchers that as we examine world music and everything that it entails (culture, art and socio-political practices), we are not engaging with a diasporic- or subculture research; that, in fact, what we are studying is music. This is an acknowledgement towards the understanding that the entry that is allowed in world music and the music-making practices of the people involved is transdisciplinary, thought provoking, reflective and that, above all, it is about both the self and the other – humanity. World music is not a separate thing that stands outside of music, it is for this reason that in certain places (world) music appears in parenthesis, suggesting that the discussed discourse it not simply remanded to world music but music as a whole; for the two are not separate, world music discourse is a part of music discourse.

The question is: what are the details of the lived experience, both past and present, that might be approached to aid in bringing about understanding of music-making within the festival space and within world music largely speaking. How do we define difference for all music-making practices involved in framing? As argued throughout this work, it is not difference that

[46] Example 9.1.
[47] Example 9.2.
[48] I depart here from the distinction between *world music* and *music* as critiqued by Feld 2000.

separates, but the reluctance to acknowledge those differences within framing practices and to effectively relate to the issues which have emerged from inattention to difference or its conflation with diversity. My cases have illustrated that the negotiation of difference in music is not an isolated event. The Finch and Keita example crisply brings my argument to light as another instance of how difference was creatively engaged with within the festival space. When Keita would present a motif, Finch would embellish upon it with an elaborate cascading glissando, which would in turn warrant a head nod or smile (a physical recognition of some sort) of the performed passage. This recognition of the other's contribution also occurs in music as Keita would attempt to emulate to the best of his ability, though in this attempt creating something different because of the capacity of the kora (which does not allow the same execution of a glissando). Communication, as discussed through Schütz,[49] is taking place as both performers are living together in the music-making even as they bring the audience into the established relationship. In their negotiation of difference, they make allowances for the other's character, playing style and musical ideas. There is a give and take that makes the coming together seamless, which offers a great deal to the discussion of Otherness in world music and to my argument that the act of establishing difference matters for nothing when considering music-making.

Research into power relations in world music is seemingly encouraged to recognize only certain differences as legitimate such as the west/rest, music/world music or dominant/subordinate dichotomous paradigm. The differences that lie within the Othered groups go unacknowledged. However, recognition of this is needed in order to radically break open the acts of homogenization, Othering and commodification that take place in scoring these legitimate differences. The future discussion of (world) music might depend on our ability to define and draw out other, read novel, descriptions of power relations and ways for relating cultural differences.

Cultural musicology provides a language and new tools by way of concepts, which allow us to think about the power relations that are involved and lie at the heart of world music as a category. In the music there resides a capacity that places an individual who historically might be a member of a privileged class in relation to peoples who have historically suffered discrimination, this is conceivable from the discussion of The Good Ones, though the world music festival as a whole is exemplary of this. In this relationahip, there is now a celebration of that which was once discriminated against and the contradiction or deeper implications herein is unrecognized, unless musical performance and performance practice are recognized within

[49] Schütz 1951.

world music scholarship. It is fair to recognize that multiple staging and parallel programming occur at all music festivals and that categorization and labelling occur in all music-making. But the above relationship, that between the historically privileged and the exploited, makes the case of world music distinct where framing practices are concerned. In sum, it is the historical dynamic of who is privileged and able to speak on behalf of the historically disadvantaged, which leads us back to the negotiation of particular power relationships inherent in this dynamic and in the framing practices of world music.

Musical meanings are constructed, and we cannot leave it up to the various disciplines, and fields of study to create those meanings. If the change that is called for within cultural musicology does not occur in the way outlined above as it relates to world music, what has nevertheless been achieved is the landscape of the struggle, we have reconfigured the real estate on which we now try to support and enlarge the discussion of power relations For this reason, I have been relatively concerned with the question of rhetoric and language in the paratextual framing of world music. I have also been interested in the demand to think about conceptual tools used that in of themselves require constant questioning not only of those aspects that cultural musicology seeks to challenge but also of the way in which we want to transform them and the instruments used to conceptualize said transformation. To take an example from this work: the notions diversity and multiculturalism, they unsettle me, not because of any supposed uselessness on their part, however, because of how they occupy the larger particularities of cultural difference and the recognition thereof[50] in world music discourse. The festival programing calls upon diversity and evokes it in the discourse pointing toward difference in culture, music. It gears towards the superficial, not necessarily directing towards specificity. I am in favour of a vigorous critique of diversity in the discourse of world music. I argued throughout this work that the only way for achieving this is by considering a difference which in fact makes a difference,[51] which will lead to diversity. The prevailing feeble conceptions of diversity conceal difficulties, questions and potential solutions; implications that should be related to in analytical criticism; the music-making of Finch and Keita, in how it differently negotiates Otherness, provides a rallying cry for this criticism of the standard. Unless diversity is vigorously approached and defined anew, it has the potential to leave constructions and negotiations of meanings, framing practices and the Othering that arises herein unimpaired in world music research.

It is not necessary for musicology in the world music discussion to be simply about the

[50] Bhabha 1994; 1983.
[51] Hall, 1996, 470-1.

segregation of music but I see musicology as a methodology that can better enable us to conceptualize and struggle for progressive transformation in the discussion of representation, agency, voice and Othering. The kind of musicology, cultural musicology, that I refer to calls upon us, as researchers, to seek out relations, to make connections that ought to be obvious but are not because of the ways in which our perceptions of world music are so deeply ideologically influenced. Finch and Keita made the usual discussion of Otherness strange and brought the uncommonly discussed interaction with and negotiation of Otherness in world music into the research. In the same way, cultural musicology produces a new way of thinking of world music, in its approach to arrive at new perspectives it allows new ways of knowing, new modes of knowledge for transforming how sense is made of the world in musical performance. The prefixes ethno-, cultural-, applied-, historical-, comparative-, new-, are not nearly as important as we sometimes conceive or would like them to be. I am not fussed so much by the word; I, however, do take prudence towards acknowledging that the significant aspects of musicological and musical contributions are grasped. I am concerned in particular that we discern that the categories we construct (as was done in the case of world music itself) fizzle and are weak in recognizing, endorsing, affirming and (re)presenting the musical practices and cultural phenomena that we call upon them to make intelligible. This is why we have to continue questioning our framing practices, herein developing a different language to that which went before, in the way a different song was composed by Finch and Keita, ultimately, exploring and creating more complete and complicated engagements with world music and the world of music. As participants, we are called to celebrate diversity when we haven't even recognized and celebrated difference, which we can't celebrate without acknowledging power relations. As it stands in world music we have this catchall term – diversity, which seems simply on account, or in the interest of having it when the framing practices do not reflect it.

Cultural musicology acknowledges that socio-cultural realities, such as movement and transformation, will always exceed our own ability to explain them. The whole discourse of world music bears witness to our failure to nullify acts of Othering, created for us in part by colonial structures and historical acts of Othering. Confronting the notion of roots in relation to music and its allusion to autonomous cultures, gives rise to questions of transition and transformation as situated within interaction and movement. The supposition of cultures as located geographically and rooted in a particular place has enabled the power of representation[52] to positively disguise the representation of power relations.[53] However, music-making unmasks

[52] Debord 1983.
[53] Foucault 1980a.

both, pointing out where there might reside a different way of knowing. The obscured space that is assumed in the definition of ethnomusicology as the study of music/musical expression in its cultural and social context – in the singular – may be one of the reasons why its history is tainted with notions of imperialism. For if we depart from the assertion that music and culture are fluid in their connection, instead of naturally distinct and disconnected, then musical and cultural transformation grow into not a matter of expression but one of reconceptualising difference through movement and interaction as was done in the cases of music-making discussed in this research.

After this journey of participation in festivals, expos, lectures, movie screenings and carnivals as well as engaging with the musics that comprise the confining category, I realized that music and world music do not have to be binary opposites as they are conceived to be by those critical of the label and what it suggests, which parts of this work outlines in detail. At this moment I have come to understand that the conflict of identity between world music and music may be a non-issue; world music participants give themselves to the community, they need the security, comfort and conformity as the musics it comprises remain outside, unbound, disruptive, disorderly and irrepressible. The musics that are subsumed under the category proved themselves to be experimental in different ways as some of my case studies show, they are often outlaw(ed), they are not passively residing in a particular power relation, they resist and therein have agency. These musics are a resistance and thus part of the power relation and are available to their individual performances and the imagination of those involved in their performance. The stories that emerge in framing, the definitions of the colonizing narrative and sonorous spectacle are not owned by the musical performance. As I have suggested, these music-making practices are radically open and make listeners do their own describing, herein creating their own meanings and on their own personal and individual conditions. Thus I am attempting to put two strands of music-making together: Firstly, the music festival which is nurturing though its framing practices often is productive of a sonorous spectacle and relies on a celebratory narrative without a critical imagination, but does afford a coming together. Secondly, musics, in the individual performances that have no roots, no grounding in which to be planted. I think that the above two entities need each other. World music (category and festival) obviously needs the music-making that comprises it and the music needs the space of the performance practice that world music, the category, affords. The either/or scheme of *music* and *world music* presented in the literature review is unwelcomed in this mode of thought where one thing can be and another cannot. It is entirely possible to celebrate diversity as long as we recognize difference, we can celebrate and attend world music festivals and engage with world

music in all its definitions and dimensions as long as we don't ignore the fact that there are individual musics and music-making practices that comprise the category, that give of themselves and afford particular experiences. With this project, I suggest that there are different processes involved in both music-making and the festival but that both contribute to articulation, interaction, voicing and experience and to have them mutually engaged makes the experience completely fulfilled. I will end on a personal note: I am a musician. My faith in the world of music is intense, bereft of naivety and irrationality. Music takes us. In its performance, music makes us take a journey beyond power relations, colonialism and hegemonies as it enables us to bear witness to and make sense of the world both as it is and as we believe it ought to be. Through music, we come to know beauty as we are invited to solicit it. Music has the capacity to enables us to convene this beauty from even the most deplorable and destitute circumstances. Music conveys to us a message, one that continuously emphasizes our belongingness in this world (it reminds us that we belong here). My faith in music resists the esteem I hold for other discourses. I trust that music's conversation with the human and among its different genres is critical to appreciating and comprehending what it means to passionately care as we are invited to profoundly attend to being wholly human in and through music.

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