Genre Collisions, Culture Collisions:

Identifying and Understanding Different Types of Cross-Cultural Influence in

Music

Sixteen Compositions (*Flight Cycle*)

and Thesis

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Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

James Carr

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Link to *Flight Cycle* Landing Page

https://jimmicarrmusic.com/james-carr-dca-submission/

This links to a private page on my website that contains a streaming music player to play *Flight Cycle* and a link to a folder where high quality .wav files of the songs can be downloaded. I recommend listening to the album for the first time after reading chapter one.

Abstract

"Genre Collisions, Culture Collisions" explores cross-cultural composition, cultural appropriation, and post-colonialism in music, through theoretical research, creative practice and musical analysis. I critically assess how various types of cross-cultural borrowing can affect notions of cultural influence and appropriation.

The specific focus of the creative work and musical analysis is the fusion of Anglo-American pop music with both traditional and popular music from Africa, particularly from South Africa and West Africa. The result of the research is one hour of recorded music presented as an album, *Flight Cycle,* accompanied by the thesis. The primary field of research is cross-cultural composition. Contained within that field are the sub-fields of post-racial identity in music and cultural appropriation. The fields of post-colonialism, critical race theory and ethnomusicology are also integral to the study. Some key reference points have been the work of Kofi Agawu and Austin Emielu in the field of ethnomusicology; Edward Said, Robert Young and Ghassan Hage in the field of post-colonialism; and Jim Chapman and Susan Fast in the field of cultural appropriation.

The study responds to the following core questions:

- How do power relations between artists and cultures inform notions of cultural appropriation in music?
- What are the distinctions and where are the boundaries between cultural appropriation and ethically sound forms of cross-cultural exchange and influence?
- Do composition and production techniques change the nature and ethics of cross-cultural borrowing? If so, in what way?

As a first generation Australian from a migrant White South African family, I see myself as being part of what Carfoot (2016) describes as a "coloniality of power", where Western colonisers and those in the post-colonies often have the upper hand in cultural exchanges with non-Western others. Middleton (2002) suggests that cultural appropriation, as a concept, is defined by the perception of a power imbalance between the appropriator of cultural artefacts or musical practices, and the people or culture associated with the origins of those practices. This study attempts to define where the

ethical boundaries are between types of musical borrowing and influence between cultures. Through case studies of cross-cultural fusions between West African and American pop music (Fela Kuti, Talking Heads), and fusions between South African and Anglo-American pop music (Paul Simon, Die Antwoord), I will argue that power dynamics between artists and cultures are key to establishing whether cross-cultural music can be considered cultural appropriation. Paul Simon's *Graceland* album is used as an example of well-known music that engages in appropriation but is also the result of cross-cultural collaboration. Fela Kuti and Die Antwoord are examples of non-typical cultural appropriation, the norm being Anglo-American musicians appropriating the work of Black others.

Production and recording techniques can alter an audience's perception of the source material and potentially its cultural origins. This can make ethical considerations less clear. The project explores this idea through both my own composition and recording, and through case studies of works by artists including Jon Hassell, Brian Eno and David Byrne, who explored Hassell's concept of "fourth world music".

The theoretical studies have led to a greater understanding of my creative processes and a greater awareness of the need for ethical reflection when approaching the music of non-Anglo-American cultures. In turn, my practice, in terms of the exploration of elements found in African music and their fusion with musical elements from my own background in Western pop and rock styles, has helped me to better understand the concepts of cultural influence and appropriation, and labels attached to musical styles relating to ethnicity and culture. The study concludes that not all cross-cultural borrowing or influence should be considered cultural appropriation. Factors including intra-ethnic influence and crossovers between class and race mean that a nuanced approach is needed to gain an understanding of the ethics cross-cultural composition.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Context

"Genre Collisions, Culture Collisions" explores cross-cultural composition in music, cultural appropriation, and post-colonialism in music, through theoretical research, creative practice and musical analysis of the composition and production of cross-cultural music. I identify and critically assess how various types of cross-cultural and cross-genre borrowing can affect our understanding of notions of cultural influence and appropriation in different ways. In order to do this, I lay out a set of criteria with which to analyse and discuss these issues in relation to selected musical case studies.

The specific focus of the creative work and musical analysis is the fusion of Anglo-American pop music with both traditional and popular music from Africa, particularly from South Africa and West Africa. The result of the research is one hour of original recorded music presented as an album, *Flight Cycle,* accompanied by the thesis. The focus of the study comes in part from my own background. It contains an element of auto-ethnography, which stems from an exploration of my family and cultural history as a White post-colonial musician in Australia from a migrant South African family. The auto-ethnographic element is covered briefly in this chapter but is also explored through my compositions, particularly the lyrical content. While the primary field of research is cross-cultural composition, contained within that field are the sub-fields of post-racial identity in music and cultural appropriation. The fields of post-colonialism, critical race theory and ethno-musicology are also integral to the study. Some key reference points have been the work of Kofi Agawu and Austin Emielu in the field of ethnomusicology; Edward Said, Robert Young and Ghassan Hage in the field of post-colonialism; and Jim Chapman and Susan Fast in the field of cultural appropriation.

Agawu (1992) and Emielu (2011) represent African perspectives on the academic study and representation of African music. Their work has been informative in developing an understanding of traditional and popular African music beyond outdated Western exoticisation and essentialisation of the African "other". Ethnomusicology is the study of music from other cultures. This has often centred White Anglo/European academics, with non-Western musical cultures taking the place of the studied other. Agawu argues that the theme of ethnomusicological study is "music and identity" rather

than a simple us/them binary.[1] This approach has been useful when approaching the music of both Black and White artists from other cultures.

Said (1978) delves deeper into these concepts and how the West formed notions of the "oriental" other. His work illustrates misconceptions long held in the West about imbalances of power and status between the West and its others which have led to a blinkered understanding of cultural appropriation in the West. Young (2015) provides an invaluable history and set of definitions on empires, colonies and the after-effects of those systems. Chapman, an Australian academic whose PhD thesis (2007) has many parallels with this project, has developed a number of frameworks for understanding the ethics of different types of cross-cultural borrowing. Fast's (2001) work investigates how some Western rock bands (specifically Led Zeppelin) have created fantasised versions of non-Western cultures through mixing cross-cultural elements and lyrical imagery in ways which distort notions of cultural appropriation. This has been useful in creating an awareness of possible cultural insensitivities that could arise in my own compositional practice and also a better understanding of key milestones in cross-cultural borrowing in Western popular music.

Musically, my reference points range from South African township music through to West African afrobeat and modern dance music and hip-hop in South Africa and globally. Specific examples of these styles are analysed in terms of musical structure, production techniques, and their influence on my compositions. The case studies I have selected for analysis are Paul Simon's *Graceland* album; South African rap/rave group Die Antwoord; artists that make up what I refer to as the "fourth world school" of musicians in the late 1970s and early 1980s including David Byrne and Brian Eno; and West African musician and creator of the afrobeat style, Fela Kuti. I've chosen these points of focus because of their personal relevance to my life and cultural origins as a White Australian musician with South African heritage who has been involved with the Australian rock, hip-hop, and dance-music scenes and has a long-standing interest in funk music and afrobeat.

I have conducted the study through both theoretical research and practice-led research. With regard to the creative practice component, theoretical studies have led to a greater understanding of my compositional process in relation to cross-cultural

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[1] Agawu, "Response to Rice", 328.

composers and researchers whose work has been part of this project. Surveying the fields of critical race theory, ethnomusicology and post-colonialism has also led to greater awareness of the need for ethical reflection when approaching the music of non-Anglo-American cultures. With regard to the practice-led theoretical component, my exploration of elements found in African music and their fusion with musical elements from my own background in Western pop and rock styles has helped me to better understand the concepts of cultural influence and appropriation, and labels attached to musical styles relating to ethnicity and culture.

Chapter one presents an overview of the key concepts and problems that the thesis will address and introduces the case studies and the creative component. Chapters two, three and four explore different types of cross-cultural influence and appropriation through a series of case studies. Chapter five discusses the creative component and how it has shaped and been shaped by the theoretical component. The final chapter presents a concluding summary of the study.

Musical Context

My interest in cross-cultural composition with a focus on Anglo-American/African fusions has been driven by two primary factors. First, it is a logical progression from my previous research and creative practice in the field of genre fusion. Second, I want to bring together my musical research and practice with learning more about my cultural and family history and cultural identity as a first generation Australian from a White South African family.

I grew up as a student and practitioner of alternative and progressive rock music in the 1990s, reaching adolescence when grunge and other forms of heavy alternative rock crossed over from the underground into mainstream popularity. I went from listening to a mix of my parents' music that was largely from the 1960s, 70s and early 80s, to Michael Jackson and "hair-metal" bands such as Bon Jovi and Poison, to an adolescence listening to and emulating so-called "alternative" bands such as Primus, Red Hot Chili Peppers, Living Colour and Nirvana, as well as heavy metal bands such as Metallica, Pantera, and Sepultura. During this time, I was also introduced to the music of Frank Zappa, which has remained a key influence, particularly in my academic studies. In my

mid-teens I formed a funk/metal crossover band, which achieved some success in the flourishing alternative music scene in the Blue Mountains in the mid-1990s.

In my late teens I became involved in the underground electronic music scene in Sydney, attending many illegal warehouse parties (gigs). Some of my close friends and peers were musicians in that scene, a sub-culture that would eventually grow into what is now referred to as "doof culture". Doofs are outdoor electronic music festivals that are often attended by thousands of people in remote locations all over Australia (and the world). Those early experiences of underground electronica had a significant impact on me and would eventually be a factor in my exploration of electronic/rock fusions and entry into the doof scene more than a decade later with my band Innamech.

Innamech came about through a series of composition and performance experiments in which I worked on expanding my musical practice and collaborated with musicians who worked in fields I hadn't previously explored. I started incorporating live beat-making and looping with pre-programmed electronic arrangements and live vocals and instruments. I then formed a two-piece act with electronic musician Samantha Rich (aka Sammy Psyborg), which became Innamech. The band went on to release an EP and a full-length album and do a number of performances at doofs as well as in more traditional venues. Having written and produced the second Innamech release as part of my Honours project on genre-fusion, I wanted to build on that research and creative practice for my doctoral studies.

Another important turning point in my journey towards this project also happened during undergraduate studies. I was drawn to southern African and Malagasy music through a research and composition project which fused elements of Madagascan music with progressive rock. I found the Malagasy mix of South African, Indonesian, Arabic, and French folk music influences to be a fascinating blend of musical textures, rhythms and melodies. I was also interested in looking specifically at South African music, not only because of my appreciation of the music, but also because of my family connection to the country.

Cultural and Family Context

I have long been interested in exploring the effect that my family history and cultural background has had, and continues to have, on my creative practice. This section

presents a brief history of my family's life in South Africa and subsequent migration to Australia.

My mother emigrated from South Africa as a child with her siblings and parents. Her parents were anti-apartheid activists who were forced into exile after my grandfather was arrested following the Sharpville massacre in 1960. My grandparents (Margaret and John Brink, both now deceased) have been great influences on my life. My interest in South Africa is largely due to my interest in their life and political work. As vocal opponents of the apartheid regime, the Brinks were subjected to surveillance and intimidation by special branch police. My grandmother ran a number of illegal night schools for African and Indian students in the 1950s and was a founding member of The Black Sash women's protest movement, which held silent vigils and lobbied politicians, often under dangerous circumstances. The Brinks witnessed brutal attacks on peaceful political congregations of Black people, including women and children.

In the days following the Sharpeville massacre, the then head of the African National Congress (ANC), and later recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, chief Albert Luthuli, came to stay with the Brinks.[2] He was seeking safe haven in Pretoria during the treason trials.[3] During his stay the chief organised an event where he was photographed by the local press burning his pass.[4] Passes were work permits that Black people were obliged by law to carry and have signed by employers to be allowed in "White areas". Both Luthuli and my grandfather were arrested shortly after and held without charge or trial for what they were told would be an indefinite period. It was wrongly assumed that white liberals must have put the chief up to this protest.[5] Upon John's release he was ordered to report to the special branch police weekly as a spy on other political activists. This was intolerable to my grandparents. They were also concerned for the welfare of their young children, who were traumatised by these events. The family had been the target of intimidation and abuse during peaceful political gatherings at their home by

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[2] In 1960 Black South Africans peacefully handed in their passes to police stations in protest around the country. In Sharpville, police opened fire on a crowd, killing dozens of unarmed protesters. Many were shot in the back.

[3] The Treason Trial (1956 – 1961) involved 156 Black, White and Indian South Africans being accused, and eventually acquitted, of conspiring to overthrow the government. Of particular interest to the prosecutors were members of the ANC.

[4] John Brink gathered and saved the ashes of the pass, foreseeing that the special branch would come searching for them for evidence (which they did). When the Brinks left for Australia, they entrusted the ashes to John's brother. The ashes were late enshrined in a church in the presence of Nelson Mandela.

[4] Brink, *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika,* 21.

pro-apartheid mobs. At that point they decided to migrate to Australia and encountered no trouble gaining residency as white migrants from within the Commonwealth of Nations, despite their political activities.

After their arrival in Australia the Brinks continued to be politically active in both the fight against apartheid in South Africa and the Aboriginal rights movement. In 1985, their house on Sydney's north shore was petrol bombed by neo-Nazis. My seven-year-old cousin was asleep in the house at the time. Luckily no one was hurt.

These events have had a lasting impact on my mother's generation in the family. In the early stages of my research, I became interested in post-memory and inherited trauma as I felt it might help explain some psychological patterns in my family and myself. I wondered if this could be a way of making a stronger connection with my family history in South Africa, and potentially also a way to understand multi-generational trauma in the post-colonial world and what that might mean for cross-cultural fusions in music. I was interested in exploring the concept of collective cultural and family memory and how it can affect one's interaction with other cultures and also with cultural artefacts such as music.

It became clear, though, that a detailed psychological study into these issues was neither appropriate nor feasible. Gaining an awareness of the concept of cultural memory in music has, however, led me to question how my own cultural and family memory informs the music I make and my interactions with the music of other cultures, particularly from South Africa. One such effect I have become increasingly aware of is strong discomfort when utilising elements of music originating in Black communities from Africa.

In the face of these issues, I've continued to listen to and compose music on my own. I've also kept an auto-ethnographic journal in which I've documented my research into my family as well as discussions and informal interviews conducted with my mother and her siblings. Although much of the work doesn't appear directly in the thesis, what I've gained from the process has informed my understanding of ethnicity and the concept of race in a post-colonial world.

Post-Colonial Context

Discussions of race and racism are not always conducted with appropriate acknowledgment of colonialism and imperialism.[6] This is relevant to the study because the history of European colonialism and slavery is inseparable from the formation of modern popular genres in music and ethnic-based identities and stereotyping in music. I am seeking to both understand and situate my own post-colonial, ethnic identity as a musician and to dismantle it. I do this by interrogating the cultural impulses around engaging with and borrowing from African musical genres and critically assessing how my own explorations of cross-cultural influence sit within the fraught ethical terrain of cultural appropriation. This is a way of approaching cross-cultural music with an openness to cross-cultural possibilities but also within appropriate ethical boundaries.

Modern Australia, like South Africa, was founded as a White settler-colonial state. There are, however, some key differences between the countries. Young (2015) describes settler colonies as containing three distinct groups: "the colonised natives, the colonial rulers who came from the metropolitan centre, and the settlers."[7] In post-colonial states such as Australia, those from the settler group become the masters, whereas in colonial states still under imperial rule, settlers often feel, or are treated as, inferior to those in the homeland of their forebears.[8] In contrast, South Africa, by Young's definition, could perhaps be considered as truly *post* post-colonial as it is now run by a government with a Black majority. This is also the case in several other African nations, the music of which is relevant to this project. The equivalent to this in Australia or other post-colonial states such as the US or Canada would be if Indigenous Australians or First Nations Americans respectively formed a governing majority and were the majority of the population.

South Africa's recent political history and the global awareness of the struggle against, and eventual defeat of, apartheid have greatly elevated the profile of Black South African culture, especially music. My family's involvement in that history has drawn me to exploring South African music. I also found an accessibility and recognition of sounds which comes from the cross-cultural fusions already present in the township music of Black ghettos in places such as Soweto, where musicians interacted with and

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[6] Young, *Empire, Colony, Post Colony,* 46.
[7] Young, *Empire, Colony, Post Colony,* 34.
[8] Young, *Empire, Colony, Post Colony,* 34.

incorporated American jazz and pop, and European church music, into traditional styles.[9] My recognition of this represents an insight into what Young describes as cultural colonisation.[10] This means cultural imperialism without direct imperial rule, which is apparent in current US cultural dominance across the world. I recognise aspects of my own Americanised Australian culture in Americanised South African culture.

Cultural colonisation has also created what Erlmann (1999) describes as the "global imagination", which exists in the "global age" (i.e. from the late nineteenth century to present).[11] US cultural influence, through mass-media, on cultural practices around the world falls under the larger umbrella of globalisation. Erlmann argues that the emerging world system, which started at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is the creation of a continually rehearsed and glorified bourgeois (colonial) "gaze" upon the world.[12] This is a blinkered and self-serving vision that persists in the West and has continued to affect the way Western musicians have often seen themselves as "discoverers" of music from non-Western parts of the world. This can lead to a sense of entitlement to the music of other cultures.

Globalisation accelerated exponentially, via industry and technology, throughout the twentieth century and into the internet age. The internet has greatly increased cultural globalisation in music and has further blurred the boundaries between distinct musical cultures. It was easier to discern the distinct boundaries between Paul Simon's American pop music and the South African township music he was borrowing from in 1986 than it is to identify Madonna's incorporation of club music styles from Africa and Latin America in her recent album *Madame X.*[13] This is because the electronic dance music she is borrowing from is already a relatively indistinct global amalgam compared with cross-cultural fusions that rose to world-wide popularity before mass internet-led cultural globalisation, such as reggae, which, while it was a cross-cultural genre-fusion, is broadly received as distinctly Jamaican.[14]

The exchange and re-use of musical styles and genres between America and the rest of the world, and the homogenisation of musical elements and production

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[9] Emielu, "Some Theoretical perspectives", 373.
[10] Young, *Empire, Colony, Post Colony,* 65.
[11] Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Age,* 62.
[12] Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Age,* 64.
[13] Smirke, "Madonna Talks".
[14] Foster and King, "No Problem Mon", 11.

techniques in music that are considered trendy or popular on a global level makes the original cultural identity of those elements increasingly opaque. South African group Die Antwoord (covered in detail in chapter 3) is another example of this global culture-mashup. Their accents and use of both English and Afrikaans language are identifiably South African but otherwise their sound is an amalgam of Western urban and dance music styles.

Erlmann argues that mythologies, tonalities and rhythms specific to concepts of race and nation in modern music are often imagined or romanticised.[15] He suggests that this type of historical amnesia hit a peak in so-called "world music" in the 1980s and 90s.[16] This is true of music from that era which, for example, incorporated the use of hand drums to allude to an imagined "African sound" such as Peter Gabriel's "Biko" (1980).[17] While Erlmann's argument holds some weight, it suggests that "world music" from that era is largely inauthentic due to western musicians often appropriating and misrepresenting musical elements or styles from the non-Western world. This is a broad brush and assumes a lot about the intention of musicians whose music has been labelled "world music", and how audiences have interpreted the use of non-Western elements by those musicians.

David Byrne (Talking Heads), an artist who has created music considered by some critics to fall under the banner of "world music", has stated his distaste for the label.[18] He has suggested that the term creates further distance between "us" (Western artists whose practice is informed by music from other cultures) and "them" (exoticised non-Western others).[19] According to Byrne this is a "none too subtle way of reinforcing the hegemony of Western pop culture".[20] By this, he suggests that interaction with musical styles from other cultures doesn't have to be viewed through a lens of Western (particularly White) cultural centrality. Byrne's point goes to both the intention of the artist and the reception of the audience.

Erlmann's and Byrne's arguments are important in relation to this study, particularly the creative element of musical composition and production. The project is about cross-cultural fusion between specific cultures and is also a broad overview of

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[15] Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination,* 66.
[16] Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination,* 66.
[17] Drewett, "The Eyes of the World are watching Now", 41.
[18] Kalia, "Why the Term World Music is Dead."
[19] Kalia, "Why the Term World Music is Dead."
[20] Kalia, "Why the Term World Music is Dead."

cultural appropriation. As such, I have attempted to avoid vague allusions to "African-type" instrumentation or arrangements, instead utilising specific elements of cross-cultural music from Africa, and fusions between Western and African music, to create something that can be understood by myself as the artist, and potentially by the audience, as a particular type of cross-cultural music rather than something less defined, such as "world music."

Practice-led Research in Cross-Cultural Composition

Finding an "appropriate" compositional point of departure from my own cultural reference points and into the music of other cultures has in many cases come through experimentation. The research has been a journey through literature and recorded music that has informed my perception of the work of others in the field of cross-cultural composition. It has also informed some of my compositional choices, limiting my creativity at times during the early songwriting process. The sense of creative limitation eased during the later stages of composition and production, as awareness grew about the nuances of determining where the boundaries lie between cross-cultural influence and appropriation.

Cross-cultural influence and engagement differ from unethical cultural appropriation. In the case of this study and the creative work, influence drawn from the music of other, mostly African, cultures shaped and informed musical themes and compositional techniques. Cultural appropriation, on the other hand, usually involves direct imitation of cultural practices of cultural or ethnic groups to which one does not belong, in this case the imitation of musical styles or culturally-coded language or mannerisms. Appropriation is most conspicuous when the imitated styles or practices are of particular value to those groups and the usage of them by outsiders is contested.[21]

Beard and Gloag suggest that imitation is distinct from influence. They are discussing music from the past rather than music from other cultures, but the concept holds true for both. They ask "Why assume that using the past is the same as being influenced by the past?"[22] The distinction being made is that making conscious compositional choices to copy or imitate music from the past, or in the case of this study,

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[21] Lenard and Balint, "What is (The Wrong of)", 339.
[22] Beard and Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts,* 138.

other cultures, is different to learning from the work of other composers, the result of which is identifiable similarities in one's own compositions to those from the past or from other cultures.

The creative work presented in this study walks a fine line between influence and imitation (and in turn appropriation) because the compositional choices are clearly thought out in terms of the use of musical themes and mechanisms from other cultures. However, the work always avoids direct quotation of culturally contested music and significant time was spent on the process of listening to many cross-cultural composers and African artists rather than pinpointing specific compositional techniques from one or a handful of artists in order to replicate them.

During the early stages of the study, I sought out the work of other researchers in the fields of both ethnomusicology and cross-cultural composition in an attempt to understand how the fields intersect. Emielu takes a long view of African popular music, noting common influences and ingredients of music from across Africa that could fall under the overarching title of "African Pop".[23] His approach is to document these commonalities in African pop music, which he suggests have come about through the common influence of the dominant colonial cultures (European Christians and Middle Eastern Muslims) and migration of people between African nations.[24] He argues that these influences, as well as a shared struggle with colonial occupation, have helped forge what could be described as an "African Pop" sound, despite the vast distances and cultural differences between groups in Africa. Emielu's argument is useful to me, as an outsider to African pop music, because it helps define African pop music in a way that would otherwise be difficult without being essentialist.

Agawu's focus is even wider. He looks at the problems of power imbalance and lack of ability to properly translate and represent African music in Western ethnomusicology. He discusses the underlying problem of an "us and them" mentality in ethnomusicology. Writing in 1992, he suggests that the "us" (primarily European or at least Western) is nearly always centred and at an advantage to "them" (cultural or ethnic others to the West).[25] "We" are the theorists, and "they" are the informants. Writing twenty-four years later, Lewis notes that in more recent times the notion, within

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[23] Emielu, "Some Theoretical Perspective", 374.
[24] Emielu, "Some Theoretical Perspective", 374.
[25] Agawu, "Representing African Music", 262.

the academy, of Western centrality is shifting. He states, "Our academies are now full of the 'other'; 'they' are our students, lecturers and colleagues at all levels of function."[26]

These articles are critical and have an arms-length perspective to the music and issues they discuss. Engaging with them, and others of a similar nature, informed much of my early research journey, even before writing or recording any music. I was searching for a "right" place to start engaging with music from other cultures. There are evidently limits, however, to how much influence such critical reading can have on a composer. While the reading has informed my approach to the creative work in terms of attempting to work within ethical boundaries and having an informed understanding of critical theory in the fields I'm working in, it hasn't significantly changed my composition and performance on a micro-level. Listening to and playing African and cross-cultural music has had a greater influence on the creative work. Chapman states, "Musical processes become clearer when they are exposed to unfamiliar styles and techniques."[27] I have found that the ethical boundaries of my compositional approach have been established more through the work of making the music than by trying to work to pre-existing guidelines.

I made the decision early in the planning and pre-production process for composition and recording that the creative component (album) would be a solo project rather than a collaborative project featuring music from other cultures. The study is about types of cross-cultural influence rather than cross-cultural collaboration. Some of the case studies, such as Paul Simon's *Graceland* involve collaboration between cultures, but collaboration isn't the primary focus here. Issues around the ethics and power relations in cross-cultural collaborations have, however, been an important part of the study.

This is a study about musical influence and exchanges in popular music from different cultures rather than exchanges between Indigenous and non-Indigenous music. Had I decided to focus on Indigenous music and cross-cultural exchanges between White settler music and Indigenous music from Australia (or Africa) I would have sought out collaborations with Indigenous musicians. There is a history of such collaborations in Australia, as well as several academic studies on interactions between White and Black Australian musicians. These include Barney's (2013) study of "musical

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[26] Lewis, "Ethnomusicology, World Music and Analysis in African Music", 102.
[27] Chapman, "Afro No-Clash", 3.

entanglements" between White and Black musicians at the "contact zone", and Leigh-Bartlett's (2011) study of White University students travelling to Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory to collaborate with Indigenous musicians.

These studies have been useful in comparing the type of research I am doing with research that is practice-led through collaboration with cultural and ethnic others. Barney's study, particularly, discusses examples of White musicians and producers acting with respect for Indigenous musicians and culture that have helped provide contrast to unethical practices by musicians covered by this study.

My research is about examining power relations and the ethics of influence and appropriation in music between cultures, but it is also a personal search for individual and cultural identity. As such, I felt it would be more productive to work alone and to look at case studies of White artists who have been involved in cross-cultural work that involves considering the line between influence and appropriation, such as Brian Eno, David Byrne, and Die Antwoord. I also chose case studies that contrast my own experience and shed a different light on notions of cross-cultural influence and musical borrowing, such as Fela Kuti. Seeking out and collaborating with musicians from other cultures would have significantly altered the focus of the study and led to a narrower and less eclectic body of creative work.

Introduction to Cross-Cultural Musical Analysis

The project focuses on genre-fusions between separate cultures, issues of power imbalance in the musical exchanges between those cultures, and the ethical implications of various types of cross-cultural composition and production. If one considers ethics to be an important factor when borrowing or utilising elements of music from other cultures, then it is important to decide on criteria for understanding and making a judgment about what is and isn't "fair use" of those elements. For the purposes of the thesis and its accompanying creative work I have developed a set of criteria with which to approach my listening and composition and to provide a basis for discussion. These criteria are based, in part, on the work of Chapman and Blom on various types of influence and appropriation.

Influence occurs when a composer hears something that they find pleasing or interesting. It can take place subconsciously through passive exposure to music and also

through conscious engagement with sources of artistic inspiration. In a world of mobile populations and cross-fertilisation, it is inevitable. Influence and appropriation are, however, different. Two examples of different types of cross-cultural influence are: 1) the, arguably respectful, use by "British Invasion" (of the US) bands, spearheaded by the Beatles, in the 1960s of rhythm and blues styles originating in African-American communities, which had become a common musical language for Black and White musicians in the west; and 2) the collaboration between Paul Simon and South African session musicians on his 1986 *Graceland* album. Both cases clearly show cross-cultural influence but whether either engages in cultural appropriation is a more complicated issue.

In both cases musicians from the West came across music from another culture that they wanted to incorporate into their own compositions. In Simon's case he was already wealthy enough to be able to travel to the source of the music from which he was borrowing and employ musicians from that culture to collaborate with him. In some ways this could be seen as more ethical because Simon had the consent of the musicians he worked with to incorporate styles which they could be seen as having cultural ownership over. His status and power in the global music industry, however, created a significant power imbalance between Simon and the South African musicians that appear on *Graceland.* In the case of The Beatles who, at least during the early stages of their career, were young and working class, with limited resources, and were emulating both Black and White music from America, there was no apparent direct power imbalance. On a larger scale, however, the Beatles' Whiteness afforded them a greater capacity to commercialise and benefit from the use of the musical styles than many of the Black musicians from which they borrowed. After the Beatles rapidly became wealthy and famous, George Harrison's use of the Indian sitar in the Beatles' later albums was a forerunner of the approach Paul Simon took on *Graceland* to utilising the music of cultural others where there was a power imbalance. That is not to suggest that all cases where an imbalance of power is at play will necessarily lead to suspect or compromised ethics. Similarly, cases of appropriation where there is no obvious power imbalance due to wealth or ethnicity are not necessarily ethically neutral.

In his thesis *Afro No-Clash* (2007), Chapman develops several analytical frameworks for studying cross-cultural composition and cultural appropriation. These have been useful when considering how to approach my own analysis. He states, "there

has been a trend in recent decades towards cultural analysis of cross-cultural music, but very little work has been done on the technical analysis of such works".[28] He uses three analytic dimensions   cultural (contextual), aesthetic and technical, and suggests that appropriation of musical styles from cultural others is not necessarily unethical.[29] Similarly, in her auto-ethnographic study of cross-cultural composition, Blom (2016) uses the term "influence" rather than appropriation.[30] There is a similarity to Chapman's definition of appropriation as ethically neutral and Blom's use of the term "influence" rather than appropriation. I take Chapman's "ethically sound" appropriation and Blom's "influence" to mean roughly the same thing. For the purposes of this study, the term cultural appropriation implies that the act is problematic or ethically unsound.

There is a risk, when analysing cross-cultural music, of essentialising musical elements from particular cultures or regions in an attempt to disentangle them from each other. That is, implying that specific aspects of music are inherently of one culture or another. Chapman falls into this trap when he differentiates the aesthetic preferences of Western and African music as a way of dissecting compositions in his analytical study. This may simply be an analytical tool without which it is difficult to break down cross-cultural music into its constituent parts for analysis. Muller (2000) argues, however, that trying to "disentangle 'African elements' from 'Western elements' is futile".[31] He suggests that trying to seek out a fusion of styles on an analytical level creates an oppositional model of "African vs Western", which is then enforced as legitimate.[32]

It is important to differentiate African musical styles from an imagined idea of "Black music". As Tagg noted in the late 1980s, music can neither be White nor Black.[33] This also goes to the issue of essentialising musical elements. A colonial view of music by Black others that has lingered and expanded in the post-colonial age is that musical elements such as syncopation, blue notes, polyrhythms and call and response are essentially to do with "Black music".[34] These features have, in fact, also existed in European folk music and art music for hundreds of years.[35]

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[28] Chapman, *Afro No-Clash*, 4.
[29] Chapman, *Afro No-Clash*, 4.
[30] Blom, "Using Intercultural-Historical Auto-ethnographic Writing", 8.
[31] Muller, *Sounding Margins.*
[32] Muller, *Sounding Margins.*
[33] Tagg, "Open Letter", 287.
[34] Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.
[35] Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.

Criteria for Analysis of Cross-Cultural Influence

A number of criteria to differentiate types of cultural influence and appropriation have been used across the case studies. The criteria are - ethnicity and identity, intra-ethnic influence, class, first- and second-hand appropriation, collaboration, use of musical signifiers, and abstract appropriation. A multi-media approach has been taken to the analysis, which includes artists' use of video clips and other promotional materials, as well as the music itself. The choice to include analysis of media beyond music itself has been made on a case-by-case basis. For example, the South African rap/rave group Die Antwoord, one of the case studies, use video clips as a key element of their cross-cultural borrowing. In their case, an examination of cultural appropriation which excluded the video format would be incomplete.

Ethnicity and Identity

The use of musical practices or compositional structures from distinct ethnic groups and social identities, that are other to the practitioner, is a primary factor in creating notions of cultural appropriation. Most of the case studies in the thesis concern relations between groups from Africa or the African diaspora and from Anglophone settler colonies. Broadly they consider relations between those that assume they belong to a normative "White" identity and those who are othered or otherwise counterposed to that identity as "Black." Entrenched, structural power imbalances and racism between White and Black people exist in the West and in South Africa.[36] The specific nature of the inequality varies between regions depending on the progress of decolonisation and issues such as access to political decision making. This power imbalance overwhelmingly favours White people, and the effects of racist power structures and racism affect Black people negatively in terms of opportunities and life outcomes.[37]

Cross-cultural influence and borrowing are often viewed as cultural appropriation when carried out by White musicians being influenced by or borrowing from music with Black origins. This can be within nations and between nations. The weighting of structural power imbalances towards White musicians is why cultural borrowing by Whites from Blacks is often considered as appropriation or viewed as ethically

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[36] Nkanjeni, "Whites Earn Three Times More Than Blacks".
[37] Nkanjeni, "Whites Earn Three Times More Than Blacks".

questionable. Black musicians being influenced by white artists is rarely viewed similarly critically because the power structures mentioned position White musicians as belonging to the dominant force in mainstream society. So "White music" is a blend of whatever white artists want to utilise, whereas "Black music" is something that Black people do.

Intra-Ethnic influence

Intra-ethnic influence occurs between people or cultures with shared ethnic backgrounds. In terms of this study, the term primarily refers to cross-cultural influence between people from the African continent, the African diaspora and their descendants.

Some artists and genres are largely considered African or "Black", such as Fela Kuti and the afrobeat genre he developed. This is despite the fact that afrobeat is a blend of styles from Africa and the US that can be considered variously as White and Black. These include highlife, which is itself a blend of European colonial forms such as brass band and marching band music, and traditional African rhythms. Funk and soul music, which can be viewed as Black but not as African, also inform afrobeat, as do influences from Kuti's education in European art music, which he studied in England.[38]

The intra-ethnic borrowing by Kuti of Black US funk/soul music is not generally viewed as cultural appropriation because of a perception of a global African diaspora in which the power imbalances between Black and White are not an issue, even though in many cases a power imbalance between the West (Black and White) and Africa is still at play.

Class

This term refers to the socio-economic status of groups within societies. Class hierarchies exist across boundaries of ethnic background. Issues of class have an effect on whether cross-cultural influence and borrowing should be viewed as cultural appropriation. Inter-generational socio-economic disadvantage relating to geographical location and access to education, and in turn career opportunities, can create power imbalances between class groups that are similar to and have cross-over with structural inequality due to the divide between ethnic groups.

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[38] Oikelome, "Highlife Jazz", 41.

First and Second-hand Appropriation

First-hand appropriation occurs when members of one (usually ethnic, usually White) group are influenced directly by and borrow from another group (usually Black) who are the originators of styles or genres. This, like previously discussed issues of ethnic appropriation, can happen within nations and between them. An example of first-hand appropriation, internationally, is the liberal borrowing of African-American blues music by British artists such as Eric Clapton and Led Zeppelin. An example of first-hand appropriation within the US is the influence and borrowing from African-American rhythm and blues musicians by early white rock and roll icons such as Elvis Presley.

Second-hand (and third-hand and so on) appropriation occurs when styles that originated in a particular culture become "mainstream" through the success of, usually White, first-hand appropriators. This creates an environment where awareness of ethnic appropriation is diminished, by both artists and audiences, as genres such as hip-hop and funk are viewed as being part of the White-dominated mainstream and therefore fair game for use by other white musicians.

Collaboration

When collaboration occurs between musicians across ethnic or class divides, issues of appropriation are blurred and can at times be viewed as cross-cultural influence or interaction. This is a different issue to firsthand appropriation although there are links between the two. Cultural appropriation due to power imbalances can still occur even in collaborations between consenting members of separate cultures. This is explored in the case study of Paul Simon's *Graceland.*

Use of Musical Signifiers

Certain musical elements or practices can have specific cultural relevance and meaning for cultural or ethnic groups. These are musical signifiers. They can be modes of performance and associated personas and presentation, or styles of music that are specific to cultural practices. Signifiers can represent commonly understood allusions to religious beliefs or sacred practices, such as the recuring use of the number seven in sacred European music from the renaissance to represent, for example, the praise of

god.[39]

The use by outsiders of musical signifiers that have important cultural meaning for a group or society can be considered a sign of disrespect. The deliberate use of musical signifiers or even instrument types other than in their intended context or societal function can be considered the most unethical form of cultural appropriation in music. This could be the use of ceremonial music, or instruments used only in specific cultural ceremonies. Some musical signifiers, such as types of rhythmic phrasing, may not be problematic when used by outsiders, or may be commonly used in different contexts by various cultural or ethnic groups without knowledge or questionable intent.

Abstract Appropriation

Abstract appropriation refers to the act of mutating sounds or structures commonly associated with ethnic or cultural groups by means of compositional techniques, sound effects or production processes to the point that they are virtually unrecognisable. This could be done, for example, with distortion effects or through the stacking of textures or overlapping of rhythmic patterns. Abstract appropriation may still be considered unethical in some circumstances. This concept will be explored through the case studies, particularly the "fourth world school" that features Jon Hassell, Brian Eno and Talking Heads.

Introduction to Case Studies

Choosing a manageable number of artists and works to focus on has been a challenge. For the purposes of my creative work, research and analysis I've chosen artists who have either inspired compositional directions that I have explored, who occupy a similar social position and identity to me, or who challenge stereotypes about power balances and interplay between African and Anglo-American music and musicians. Artists I considered for case studies but did not take up include Daman Albarn and his *Mali Music* album, South African art music composer Kevin Volans, Steve Reich and his "Drumming" series, Peter Gabriel's interactions with "world music", and Stewart Copeland's album

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[39] The number seven was represented by groupings of instruments or voices in musical arrangements and in rhythmic and melodic structures. Seven represents practices such as praying every day of the week.
Elders, "Seven as Signifier", 7.

The Rhythmatist. Music by these artists has influenced my approach to cross-cultural composition. However, they were not key to the compositions included in the creative component of this study to the same extent as the artists included as case studies analysed in detail in the following chapters.

Paul Simon: *Graceland* (1986)

Paul Simon is a revered and influential singer-songwriter who has achieved a high level of worldwide success, both commercially and critically. In the mid-1980s, after some relatively poorly received albums, Simon heard some mix-tape compilations of music from South African townships and became interested in utilising elements of the music, and in working with South African musicians. Simon travelled to Soweto and employed a local Black rhythm section, as well as the vocal group Ladysmith Black Mambazo to sing backing vocals. The resulting album, *Graceland,* went on to sell sixteen million copies worldwide.[40] *Graceland* is the first case study covered because it is a landmark release of cross-cultural music and Western pop music more broadly, rather than the first chronologically. It raises many questions about the ethics of cross-cultural borrowing that don't have easy answers and, as such, key issues that are followed in the other case studies.

Graceland is an album I was first exposed to as a child, and it had a significant impact on me. It is the first time I remember hearing an African vocal group and the first time I noticed an obvious musical fusion between Western pop music and non-Western musical styles. I chose it for analysis both because of its influence on me and because it helps to illustrate how attitudes have shifted around the issue of cultural appropriation in the last forty years. *Graceland* has had a lasting impact on the discourse on the subject and an enduring influence on pop music such as with twenty-first century bands like Vampire Weekend.

On the surface, from a Western perspective, it's possible to view *Graceland* as a positive coming together of cultures, which celebrates unity. As previously mentioned, the South African musicians were well paid for the sessions, and some went on to achieve further international success, helped by their involvement with the album. There are some ethical questions, however, due to the nature of the interaction between

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[40] Zuckerman, "The Internet is Not Enough."

Simon and the musicians he employed. The cross-cultural borrowing contains elements of collaboration and firsthand appropriation.

Fela Kuti (1970s afrobeat works)

Fela Kuti was a Nigerian musician credited with creating the afrobeat style. He studied jazz in London in the 1950s and, returning home during the height of popularity of the highlife genre, he fused the two styles.[41] Kuti toured America in 1969, where he encountered African-American funk/soul music, and the Black power movement.[42] He was struck by the pride in Black Americans of their African roots, and inspired by the attitude and rhythms of funk music, particularly that of James Brown. He proceeded to fuse funk with his jazz/highlife style to create the afrobeat genre.

Kuti is a black African artist who absorbed Western music from both Black and White culture, which he fused to create what he intended to be a distinctly "African sound". This contrasts with the power imbalance of wealthy Western musicians over African musicians illustrated in the examples of Paul Simon and the "fourth world" composers. Kuti's raises questions about the ethics of cultural influence between artists with a shared ethnicity can understood in terms of ethics. Kuti's afrobeat genre is an example of intra-ethnic influence.[43]

Die Antwoord (2008 – Present)

Die Antwoord is a white South African rap/rave band. They incorporate electronic dance music with rapping and catchy pop hooks. Their musical style lands somewhere between mainstream rave and house music from the 1990s and American gangster rap, albeit with a distinctly White South African persona.

Cross-cultural signifiers in the music of Die Antwoord are not always obvious. The boundaries between Black and White, or between a perceived Anglo/European music culture and an imagined African music culture, are distorted by the level to which Die Antwoord inhabit their distinctive musical style and image-based personas. The clearest cultural crossover in their music is between a modern White South African culture and American pop-culture, particularly African-American hip-hop. On closer inspection,

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[41] Stewart, "Make it Funky", 103.
[42] Stewart, "Make it Funky", 109.
[43] Chapman, *Afro No-Clash,* 83.

however, the band's projected image is significantly appropriated from Cape Flats gang culture, which exists in the slums on the outskirts of Cape Town, predominantly inhabited by people who are Black or of mixed ethnicity.[44]

Die Antwoord have labelled their style "zef", which they describe as "poor but fancy, kind of trashy but proud debris of American culture."[45] They present cultural caricatures, and the fact that they are so unguarded about it can disarm easy accusations of cultural appropriation. Die Antwoord's cross-cultural borrowing can be viewed as both ethnic and class-based appropriation because they portray themselves as both gangster rappers, a trope appropriated from African-American culture, and as representative of a mixed-ethnicity and poor-White underclass which they are not members of.

Die Antwoord, like myself, are White musicians practicing genre- and cross-cultural fusion in a contemporary, post-colonial setting. They also represent a link to South Africa and my own, real or imagined, cultural heritage. I feel, somewhat surprisingly, more common ground and connection between my own music and Die Antwoord's mix of hip-hop and dance music than I do with modern Australian hip-hop. This is despite the fact that some of Australia's biggest hip-hop acts are my direct peers and, in some cases, friends.[46]

"Fourth World Music" - Brian Eno / David Byrne / Jon Hassell / Talking Heads (1978 – 1981)

Experimental musicians Jon Hassell and Brian Eno collaborated in 1980 on the album *Fourth World Vol. 1: Possible Musics.* The compositions and performances on the album involved the use of techniques from a number of cultures. Hassell's stated aim was to "make a music that was vertically integrated in such a way that at any cross-sectional moment you were not able to pick a single element out as being from a particular country or genre of music".[47] This involved layering elements of music from separate cultures to create sonic textures rather than necessarily placing elements such as

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[44] Bowers Du Toit, "Gangsterism on the Cape Flats", 2.
[45] Bowers Du Toit, "Gangsterism on the Cape Flats", 2.
[46] Hermitude and Thundamentals are groups from the Blue Mountains (where I'm also from) that have both become number one selling artists in Australia. Members of both bands are friends of mine. Hermitude have guested on my albums or been involved as session musicians. The Blue Mountains has also spawned a number of other successful hip-hop artists including Urthboy, Dialectrics, Joe New and Down Under Beats Crew.
[47] Reddell, Trace. "Ethno-forgery and Outsider Afro-futurism", 100.

contrasting rhythms side by side in more overt juxtapositions. This is an example of abstract appropriation. The abstract way of fusing disparate cultural elements used by Eno et al is what drew me to these works and has inspired aspects of my own compositional process.

Talking Heads' *Remain in Light* (1980), produced by Eno, fits this description.[48] The songs on *Remain in Light* were built on rhythms and riffs that the band came up with while jamming, which they looped in a way similar to the use of sample-based loops in contemporary music production, rather than conventional pop songwriting. The album, however, as well as its predecessor *Fear of Music* (1979), were also explicitly influenced by Fela Kuti and the afrobeat genre. So, while the bulk of *Remain in Light*'s compositions started as jams, the influences were considered, and the appropriation was deliberate.[49] This is an example of first-hand appropriation across nations where White artists borrow from what can be considered Black music.

Eno, in collaboration with Talking Heads' front man David Byrne, took the fourth world concept to a different place on the album *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1981). As with *Possible Musics*, they sought to create an imaginary culture or parallel reality and were even planning to include fictional liner notes with *Bush of Ghosts* that spoke of this imagined culture.

Bush of Ghosts was cutting edge and highly influential in its use of sampled speech and singing from various cultural sources, including a Black televangelist preacher, Middle Eastern folk singing and a recording of a priest performing an exorcism. The eclectic and disembodied nature of the vocal samples places the album in a grey area in terms of cultural appropriation. The samples, in combination with the afrobeat inspired instrumental arrangements, create a cross-cultural mixture that falls somewhere between first-hand appropriation and abstract appropriation.

Introduction to Creative Component

The creative component of the project comes in the form of an album, *Flight Cycle*. The compositions are influenced by, and utilise elements of, South African and West African traditional music and pop, early African-American funk/soul, gangster rap, and modern

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[48] Reddell, Trace. "Ethno-forgery and Outsider Afro-futurism", 100.
[49] Reddell, Trace. "Ethno-forgery and Outsider Afro-futurism", 102.

hip-hop and dance music from Australia and South Africa. These styles are combined with Anglo-American pop and rock. I have spent considerable time listening to and analysing South African township styles including kwela, mbaqanga and isicathamiya, West African popular styles including highlife and afrobeat, and modern dance music and hip-hop from South Africa including kwaito and rap/rave crossover styles. I've also traced influences on the styles to gain a broader understanding of the building blocks that generated them and, in turn, explored music that has been influenced by the genres, with particular focus on Anglo-American artists such as Paul Simon, Talking Heads and Vampire Weekend. Hip-hop, and its evolution from African-American communities in New York in the late 1970s and early 1980s to a global culture, particularly in Australia and South Africa, has also informed my compositional approach. These influences have been melded with my pre-existing interest and work in genre-fusion, particularly progressive and heavy rock combined with electronic dance music.

The compositions fuse aesthetic elements found in African music such as percussive instrumentation, distorted sounds, and trance-like "feels", as well as structural elements such as polyrhythm, polymeter, and vocal harmony, with elements more closely associated with Western pop music, progressive rock and electronic dance music. Through composition, production and performance techniques I attempt to illustrate the types of cross-cultural influence discussed in the thesis. This reinforces the core argument of the project: that not all cultural borrowing should be viewed as cultural appropriation.

The creative work has performed similar and complementary roles to the theoretical and critical work in exploring the themes of the study. Writing music, and particularly lyrics, has been an abstract but effective way of prising open personal understandings of cultural identity, post-colonial issues and cultural appropriation. Exploring whether something fits my own ethical framework and boundaries is brought into sharper focus upon hearing myself creating music I am uncomfortable with or unsure of, rather than scouring the works of other composers for meaning.

As stated, the creative component is a solo work and as such I have performed multiple roles that are often filled by several people for an album project. Those roles are songwriter, producer, recording engineer, mixing engineer and multi-instrumentalist. The recordings include acoustic instruments, electric instruments, and electronic and MIDI instruments.

The album features the use of sampled software instruments, most notably from the (unfortunately named) company Native Instruments. I have been careful to avoid using samples of musicians performing music that is culturally valued or the use of which is contested. Balint and Lenard's (2019) article on definitions and ethics of types of appropriation has been useful in understanding where make boundaries when using samples or sampled instruments from other cultures. On some songs, I've played single note samples on a MIDI keyboard, which have then been processed with effects to create ambiguous and other-worldly textures, reminiscent of works by the "Fourth World" composers.

Another link to the "Fourth World" case studies in the creative work is the use of samples that originally appeared on *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* by Eno and Byrne. The rationale and methodology for the use of samples and software instruments is covered in detail in chapter five.

In chapter one I have the laid out the background and context of the project and presented an overview of the key concepts and problems that the thesis will address. I have also introduced the case studies and the creative component. Chapter five outlines my approaches and techniques in composition and production and how they relate to cross-cultural influence and the case studies. This is intended as a reference point for listening to the pieces and is not a detailed analysis or review of the pieces. Instead, my analysis of the works of other artists in the field is intended as a starting point for analysis of my own works by listeners and readers. Chapter six presents a concluding summary of the study in relation to identifying and understanding genre and cultural collisions.

Chapter 2: Cultural Appropriation and Post-Racial Identity

Coming to grips with the concept of cultural appropriation, and issues surrounding it, has been key to this study. Understanding the complexities and nuances of cross-cultural influence and appropriation, suspect or otherwise, has entailed establishing a set of ethical considerations through which to explore the movement of musical ideas and tropes between cultures. These considerations include acknowledgment of source material, respect for sensitive cultural practices, and fair remuneration for use of performances by musicians who are culturally other. This chapter explores some examples of cultural influence and appropriation in practice, as well as factors that may determine whether cross-cultural borrowing is received by audiences and critics as influence or appropriation.

A central consideration is whether all musical building blocks should be "fair game". After all, they can be seen as simply frequencies placed in sequences. On the other hand, elements within compositions and performances can be seen as sonic symbols that bring with them extra-musical associations and meanings, signifying important and sometimes sensitive cultural connotations that are specific to a cultural group. It is important to understand why certain musical elements and processes are perceived as "belonging" to groups, ethnic or otherwise.

The first section of the chapter discusses essentialism, and the pitfalls of fixing ethnic labels or stereotypes to musical styles. This is followed by a focus on factors that can disguise and distort the perception of cultural appropriation, such as the notion of post-racial identity.

Cultural appropriation has overlaps with the concept of post-racial identity, in that the increasing globalisation of popular music has meant that musicians from many locations and ethnic backgrounds aspire to or are pushed towards adopting new global, post-racial musical identities or ideals. These ideals tend to favour homogenisation in both genre and presentation of styles that were, until recently, characterised as "Black" or "White". The idea of post-racial identity in music can at times allow cultural appropriation to go unchecked because it creates the illusion of an even playing field, when in many cases it reinforces power imbalances.

The next section looks at audio sampling, a practice that has strong associations with the hip-hop genre. By the time the genre had risen to mainstream popularity in 1980s and early 90s, ethical questions regarding sampling were focused more on legal issues relating to copyright than on cultural appropriation. The two issues do, however, have some crossover. Examples covered in this chapter of instances when sampling falls into the category of cultural appropriation are the self-titled album by White French group Deep Forest (1992), which sampled and mislabelled ethnological field recordings of music from the South Pacific, and White US artist Moby's album *Play* (1999), which sampled Alan Lomax's ethnological recordings of African-American blues music from the early twentieth century.

The final section of the chapter looks at Paul Simon's 1986 album *Graceland*. The album is relevant both because of its influence on the creative component and because it stands as an example of the contrast between an artist's stated intentions, an audience's reaction to their work, and the personal and political impacts created by the cultural appropriation contained in the work. *Graceland* is an example of collaboration but also first-hand appropriation where the issue of power imbalance is at play.

Essentialism

Sometimes music that is received as containing cultural appropriation could be more accurately described as the product of essentialism, although there are often connections between the two. Essentialism is the practice of applying attributes that are used to categorise people, including gender, sexual identity and nationality. Essentialism in musical analysis typically ascribes musical practices or the use of certain musical elements to a particular group of people as defined by their race. More broadly, it can ascribe stereotypes of musical practices to geographic regions that are also often associated with racial groupings. Those stereotypical practices, for example "African" hand drumming, can be used by cultural outsiders to imply a general or specific sense of cultural otherness.

Musical techniques or processes ascribed to groups could be types of musical phrases or accents, or the use of certain instruments. For example, describing the use of polyrhythms as fundamentally African is essentialist. Hofman (2010) argues that essentialism in academic (ethnomusicological) analysis, where cultures are reduced to

their most obvious definitions, inevitably leads to inaccuracies.[50] This is largely because musical practices arise from a historical/cultural context, not because of the skin colour or nationality of the practitioners.

Tagg (1989) explores essentialism and how the concept of race and the study of the "other" have been expressed in the study of music. He looks into terms he considers problematic: "Black music", "White music", "African-American music", and "European music". He says there is an assumed, "common sense", understanding of what they are supposed to mean.[51] He argues that the terms are problematic because they are often used only in reference to music being made by groups that fall outside of the White patriarchal norm.[52] Music can neither be White nor Black, he argues. There can be no grounds for a cultural definition of either Black or White music, so it has to be a physiological definition, which Tagg suggests is racist.[53] He notes that the number and variety of Black people and the music they make means that saying something like a blue note, or a polyrhythm is "Black" automatically excludes the music of many Black people.[54]

Some musical elements and processes commonly associated with "Black music" are call and response, syncopation, improvisation and blue notes.[55] Tagg debunks these assumptions, stating that blue notes are found in both African traditions and Appalachian folk music.[56] Likewise, antiphonal (or call and response) singing has been performed in church settings in Europe for centuries.[57] Syncopation has long appeared in European classical music, as has improvisation.[58] The notion that these musical elements are "Black" also excludes many "lower class", non-classical, European styles.[59] Tagg argues that terms such as such as "Black music" have reinforced the colonial notion of separate races and have been used as a way to further subjugate Black people.

Some symbolic musical signifiers are associated with particular genres and cultures. These could be a particular rhythmic accent that appears regularly, a vocal style, or use of urban slang in lyrics. They could also be the choice of instrumentation.

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50 Hofman, "Maintaining the Distance", 25.
51 Tagg, "Open Letter", 285.
52 Tagg, "Open Letter", 285.
53 Tagg, "Open Letter", 288.
54 Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.
55 Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.
56 Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.
57 Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.
58 Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.
59 Tagg, "Open Letter", 290.

Sometimes genre- or culture-specific elements like these are borrowed and borrowed again until they are widely accepted as being part of popular music through second- or third-hand appropriation, as discussed in chapter one. This doesn't necessarily neutralise the ethical problems associated with the appropriation, but it desensitises both composers and audiences to them. Sometimes, however, the use of certain musical elements *are* identified by composers, critics and audiences as ethically questionable. These include the use of traditional Indigenous instruments, such as didgeridoo, because the instrument has not been used often by non-Aboriginal composers and is readily associated with Australian Aboriginal culture.

When then, does music become available for use by anyone and everyone? The context in which a piece is written or performed can go some way towards unpacking this question. If there is an understanding of the cultural relevance of musical elements to cultural others, and the music is composed and performed with respect and proper acknowledgment given to the music's culture of origin, it may overcome ethical concerns around cultural appropriation to some extent. This is because, under those circumstances, a composer isn't taking something under the assumption that they are free to use it without due respect and permission.

The Australia Council's *Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Music* sets out some useful ethical guidelines for working with traditional music from Indigenous cultures. Key points include the importance of consultation with, and respect for, cultural laws, and that the appropriate respect should be given to the nuances of non-Western scales and rhythms.[60] It also states that the cultural diversity of Indigenous communities should be respected. For example, there is not a single correct way of dealing with African or Australian Indigenous music because there is a vast number of different nations and social groups in both continents, each with different cultural practices and laws.[61] In relation to the practice of playing digeridoo, for example, Magowan notes that "as the didgeridoo is not restricted to one region or one form of social organisation but is used by different groups from unrelated backgrounds and for traditional and popular music events, there are many Indigenous views of the ways in

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[60] Janke, *Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Music,* 26.
[61] Janke, *Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Music,* 36.

which the didgeridoo may entail both inalienable ritual obligations as well as alienable exchange values which are shifting and complex."[62]

Dr. Christopher Sainsbury, an Australian composer and academic with some Indigenous heritage, has created a program called Ngarra-Burria ("to listen, to sing" in Dharug language) in order to combat appropriation of Indigenous music.[63] He argues that any use of Indigenous words or traditional music should only occur in consultation with relevant, specific first-nations representatives.[64] It should be noted that there is a troubling lack of Indigenous Australian voices in academic literature directly stating ethical concerns about non-Indigenous people working with culturally sensitive music practices. The Australia Council's point about respect for the nuances of musical elements such as scales and rhythms and Sainsbury's argument about consultation on use of language are important because they address cultural perspectives on the meaning of those elements. The usage of a musical phrase or style of performance borrowed from another culture may seem to a Western composer like a minor issue but may cause significant cultural offence if misunderstood or used without consultation.

"Inventing" the Other

Essentialism has crossovers with the concept of orientalism. The definition of orientalism used in this study is based on the work of Edward Said (1978). Orientalism is the ascribing of stereotypes to non-Western others as a way of reinforcing post-colonial power imbalances in favour of the West.[65] The "orient" has often been used to describe the Middle East and Asia, but orientalism does not specifically relate to one racial or geographic group. It is a means of othering non-Western people and cultures. In the case of this study it refers to the stereotyping of musical practices as being "African" or representing "Africa". It also refers to the misrepresentation and mixing of musical styles from non-Western cultures to create an imagined, generalised "other".

Rock musicians have practiced cultural appropriation since the beginning of the form. Although the incorporation of African-American blues music is almost taken as a given, many bands have gone beyond this and sought to exoticise their music by fusing elements from music of other cultures. Susan Fast notes that Led Zeppelin used a self-

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[62] Magowan, "Playing With Meaning", 84.
[63] Cross, "The Indigenous Composer".
[64] Sainsbury, paraphrased in Cross, "The Indigenous Composer".
[65] Chua, "Orientalism and Methodology", 3.

confessed technique of "filtering" various musical styles from other cultures through their own musical template. Early in Zeppelin's career this meant following the well-trodden path of White British bands interpreting and borrowing from African-American blues artists like Robert Johnson, Muddy Waters and Chuck Berry, which fits into the ethically questionable but popularly accepted appropriation of early rock and roll.

Later in their career, with songs such as "Kashmir", Led Zeppelin sidestepped direct cultural appropriation to an extent by invoking a fantasy of an exoticised foreign other through a blending of stereotypical lyrical imagery and musical elements. Fast suggests that this is a case of Western musicians wanting to "invent the other" (culture) for their Western audience.[66] She says singer Robert Plant does this through his lyrics in "Kashmir". Plant had never been to Kashmir when he wrote the lyrics, but he evokes a general and romanticised otherness, with Kashmir acting only as a symbol or metaphor for it. He uses words about deserts and "elders of a different race".[67] Fast questions Plant's intentions in doing this, although his lyrics are too vague to be labelled as overtly racist. The music, however, is problematic. It evokes Arabic rather than Indian musical elements. This is an example of Edward Said's notion of orientalism, which in this case is represented by a romanticised otherness of an imagined Eastern culture, rather than direct cultural appropriation. Recent critics of Said's *Orientalism*, have labelled his notion of orientalism as an essentialist construct, but making a distinction between the two is useful for the purpose of this study.[68]

Brackett discusses the problem of trying to judge Western musicians' use of the music of "others" by how deep their engagement with it seems to be.[69] He cites Peter Gabriel as an example of an artist using "other" musics in a shallow or clichéd way.[70] Gabriel is certainly guilty of using percussive instrumentation in a way that seems to convey a clichéd and simplified sense of African musical styles.[71] His song "Biko" (1980), about the murder in prison of Black South African political activist Steven Biko, is an example of this, with its use of hand drums to create an "African sound" to accompany its theme.[72] However, this cultural insensitivity was largely overshadowed in the view of

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[66] Fast, *In the Houses of the Holy*, 92.
[67] Fast, *In the Houses of the Holy*, 93.
[68] Varisco, *Reading Orientalism,* 263.
[69] Brackett, "Questions of Genre", 78.
[70] Brackett, "Questions of Genre", 80.
[71] Drewett, "The Eyes of the World". 41.
[72] Drewett, "The Eyes of the World", 41.

some critics at the time, by the fact that the song has a clear and potent political message that reverberated around the world, exposing many in the West to the nature of the apartheid regime in South Africa for the first time.[73] The political intent of an artist, however, does not override ethical considerations of cross-cultural borrowing. Gabriel's projection of an imagined "Africa" in "Biko" is, like Led Zeppelin's allusions to "another race", a form of essentialism. This contrasts with Paul Simon's *Graceland* album, covered later in this chapter.

Post-Racial Identity

The term "post-identity" can be used to describe a number of identity constructs including post-gender identity, post-sexual orientation and post-racial identity. The concept of post-racial identity can manifest in ways that "whitewash" histories of racial inequality, serving to make members of a dominant ethnicity (usually White) feel more comfortable about race relations without doing anything concrete to improve racial equality in meaningful ways.[74] An example of this was an attempt to introduce "proposition 54" in California in 2003, which would have banned classification by race, ethnicity, colour or national origin.[75] Stanley (2005) argues that this was an attempt to "enforce a post-identity age", which could result in failure to acknowledge the problems faced by ethnic minorities due to ongoing forms of discrimination.[76] On the other hand, she acknowledges that it is difficult advocating for clear ethnic and cultural identities without falling into "ethnic absolutism and essentialism".[77]

In relation to music, James (2017) argues that diversity is now privileged over purity in relation to notions of post-genre and post-racial identity. He suggests that, "progress past traditional commitments to White racial purity is both the defining characteristic of post-racial Whiteness, and what makes multi-genre pop practice count as post-genre."[78] While the various "posts" that James discusses overlap, which can become confusing, he makes some salient points regarding ethical boundaries around

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[73] Drewett, "The Eyes of the World", 49.
[74] "Whitewashing" refers to the recording and remembering of history that favours the white writers and readers of that history.
[75] Stanley, "Teaching the Politics of Identity", 193.
[76] The proposition 54 ballot was defeated in parliament 63.9% to 36.1%
[77] Stanley, "Teaching the Politics of Identity", 193.
[78] James, "Is the Post- in Post identity the Post- in Post-genre?", 25.

cultural appropriation in different cultural contexts. He explores this issue in relation to modern American pop music trends, stating that both post-genre pop music and post-identity politics seek to "overcome obsolete investments in [genre or racial] purity [in favour of] an aesthetically pleasing, respectable mix."[79] This works differently for Black and White artists. White pop artists such as Taylor Swift are more likely to be referred to as post-genre, whereas Black artists such as Beyoncé are more likely to be pigeonholed by their genre-based racial identity.[80] This is despite the fact that Beyoncé's music is arguably more appropriately described by the term "post-genre" than Swift's, because it features a more consistently eclectic blend of genres. [81] Joseph (2017) argues that, although race in the US was often imagined as no longer a relevant issue and that post-ethnicity is the new ideal, systemic racism still occurs. He suggests that mixed race Black women with relatively light skin such as Beyoncé are held up as a symbolic representation of a post-ethnicity, post-gender, utopia.[82] It is worth noting that during the Donald Trump presidency (2017-2020) and with the increased momentum of the Black Lives Matter movement, issues of race have come to the forefront politically and in the US media. Joseph's argument remains persuasive to a large extent in relation to trends in Western pop music and presentation of identities.

Brackett explores the history of racially determined genre definitions, arguing that genre can't be understood simply as static groupings of empirically verifiable musical characteristics. He argues that they also contain social connotations about race and gender.[83] This is especially true for genre labels that tie music to race or culture such as "Black music" and "country music." The global homogenisation of genre mixes in contemporary pop music has started to break down some of these divisions.

The situation in South Africa presents an exemplary case study for thinking about the emergence of notions of post-racial identity in music due to the extreme political upheavals and power shifts between the Black majority and the previously all-powerful White minority.[84] Influences on South African music include the longstanding and continually evolving indigenous cultures, the imposed colonial cultures and, more

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[79] James, "Is the Post- in Post identity the Post- in Post-genre?", 25.
[80] James, "Is the Post- in Post identity the Post- in Post-genre?", 25.
[81] Post-genre refers to contemporary pop music that doesn't fit easily into ethnically-based genre stereotypes such as RnB or country.
[82] Joseph, "New Millennium Mulattas'", 1.
[83] Brackett, "Questions of Genre in Black popular Music", 80.
[84] The policy of segregation that came to be known as apartheid began in 1948 and came to an end in the early 1990s.

recently, the widespread impact of US culture. Ballantine looks at problems with the concept of racial identity in post-apartheid South Africa.[85] Like Tagg, he argues that an individual's identity in the modern world is defined by more than simplistic racial definitions, and that categories such as Black, White, woman, English etc. are merely a starting point. This may be true, but it is also true that Black people in South Africa and around the world are more likely than White people to be externally defined by reductive racial definitions. As Tagg argues in relation to essentialism, music that happens to be composed or performed by Black people is far more likely to be marked as "Black music" than vice-versa in the case of White musicians.[86] This labelling becomes problematic if applied by cultural outsiders, such as White people labelling music as "Black" in a derogatory or otherwise pejorative way.

In the years directly preceding and following the end of apartheid and the election of Nelson Mandela and the ANC, several white South African musicians started to fuse traditional "Black" styles with more mainstream "White" styles. A prominent example is Johnny Clegg, a White musician who mastered maskanda, a neo-traditional Zulu style, and teamed up with Black musicians to form the successful act Juluka.[87] Clegg's collaboration with Black musicians is not as ethically problematic as the cross-cultural borrowing by White musicians such as Paul Simon, a complete outsider to the culture he borrowed from. This is because Clegg studied the music extensively and had long term collaborative partnerships with Black musicians.

More recently, White youth radio stations and nightclubs in South Africa have started to identify with newer idioms such as kwaito, which was previously predominantly produced and consumed by Black youth.[88] Ballantine (2004) points out contrasts between groups and artists who genuinely symbolise a unified South Africa through mixed-race band membership, the fusion of musical styles and the mixing of languages on one hand, with White artists whose connection to multi-racial South Africa is superficial and unrepresentative on the other. The latter, who contribute to electronic genres, tend to exoticise pre-colonial African music and produce a "pseudo spiritual" style that alludes to "Africa" but has little to do with South Africa.[89]

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[85] Ballantine, "Rethinking Whiteness", 105.
[86] Tagg, "Open Letter", 285.
[87] Brackett, "Questions of Genre in Black popular Music", 110.
[88] Brackett, "Questions of Genre in Black popular Music", 111.
[89] Ballantine, "Rethinking Whiteness", 112.

Sampling

An example of cultural appropriation given in the *Australia Council's Guidelines for Interacting with Indigenous Music* is the previously mentioned self-titled 1992 album by electronic band Deep Forest. It was made by White French producers who sampled field recordings captured by ethnomusicologists without permission from the owners of the music. Chapman also cites this as an example of unethical use of music from a culture foreign to the composers.[90] He contrasts Deep Forest with UK band Cornershop, which has Indian and White members and utilises samples of Indian street music. According to Chapman, their attitude and intent set them apart from Deep Forest, who used samples of music from the South Pacific, labelled it as African "pygmy" music, and avoided payment of royalties.[91]

The issue of appropriation through sampling also played out in American hip-hop music in the late 1980s and early 1990s. At the time the ethical issue had more to do with remuneration than cultural theft. The legal ramifications of sampling due to copyright issues are distinct from cultural appropriation but can crossover. Record labels began to object to, and litigate against, the extensive sampling of their musical catalogues in hip-hop songs.[92] Sampling went from being effectively free in 1988 to prohibitively expensive by 1991.[93] Clover (2009) suggests that the widespread legal crackdown on sampling was part of an attempt to hinder the growth of (specifically African-American) hip-hop.[94]

A well-known example of a band that had to modify their sampling practices is Public Enemy, a highly political African-American hip-hop outfit that was, and still is, outspoken about racial and social inequality.[95] Public Enemy often sampled audio from the popular culture they were part of, such as television, or from other African-American artists.[96] Their use of samples from sources with Black origins can be defined as sound collage rather than cultural appropriation. That is not to suggest that sound collage cannot contain cultural appropriation when there *is* a cross-cultural dynamic. In contrast to Public Enemy, for example, White artists including Moby, on his *Play* album

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[90] Chapman, "Afro No-Clash", 26.
[91] Janke, *Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Music,* 28.
[92] Reynolds, "Chuck D on the Early Days of Sampling", 4.
[93] Clover, *Bob Dylan Didn't Have This to Sing About,* 38.
[94] Clover, *Bob Dylan Didn't Have This to Sing About,.,* 35.
[95] Reynolds, "Chuck D on the Early Days of Sampling", 4.
[96] Reynolds, "Chuck D on the Early Days of Sampling", 4.

(1999), and Brian Eno and David Byrne, on *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1981), have sampled recordings of music and speech in a way that can be considered cultural appropriation because they are taking artefacts from cultures which they don't belong to. *Bush of Ghosts* does, however, have some similarities with Public Enemy's sampling practices as it also contains samples taken from American television.

Moby sampled field recordings taken by ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax of poor, rural, African-Americans from the early twentieth century.[97] In Eno and Byrne's case, they sampled music and speech from various locations, including religious music and audio of a priest performing an "exorcism".[98] The ethical issue in the latter case is whether the cultural artefacts being sampled are being taken from their creators when they are powerless to object or at such a disadvantage as to not have the means to fight against the appropriation legally. In the case of Moby's *Play,* some of the responsibility for gaining permission for use and reproduction of the original music lies with Lomax, who made the recordings and released them. However, the issue of permission and appropriation changes when the artefacts (sounds) are not simply presented in their original form. Moby is labelled as the musical artist on the cover of *Play,* and he made a substantial amount of money from it. This is a case where a power imbalance is at play, but it also represents a type of second-hand appropriation. It is, however, a different kind of second-hand appropriation than that exhibited by artists who use often-copied phrases or sounds rather than simply duplicating specific sounds for the second time. This is a key difference between sampling recordings and imitating musical ideas through composition or performance.

If there is a cultural connection and lineage to the learning and re-use of the works of other artists, such as the example of Muddy Waters borrowing from other Black artists, a perception can be created amongst musicians and listeners that the music simply belongs, culturally, to the borrowing artist. African-American blues musician Muddy Waters, when interviewed by Alan Lomax about performing and recording the song "Country Blues", gives several seemingly contradictory explanations as to its origin. He appears quite comfortable about this. Waters first points to his own active authorship: he "made it" on a specific date. Then comes a "passive" explanation: "it come to me just like that." Lomax presses Waters on the issue of influence, to which Waters

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[97] Hesmondhalgh, "Digital Sampling and Cultural Inequity", 57.
[98] Beirens, "Voices, Violence and Meaning", 212.

says that he heard a version by Robert Johnson, but that his mentor, Son House, taught it to him. In the middle of that complex genealogy, Waters states, "this song comes from the cotton field."[99] Waters comes from a cultural and musical lineage connecting him to Son House, and in turn to Robert Johnson. They all existed on a continuum of "Black music" – the blues. Alan Lomax, as an ethnomusicologist, is at the distance of an observer of the music of Waters and the musicians he recorded who were later sampled by Moby. Moby, by extension, as a White musician many years later, is at an even greater disconnect from the original sounds and music. This disconnection from a cultural continuum of learning, and the fact that Moby takes the music of obvious others to him, culturally, as opposed to simply being musically influenced by it, means that his appropriation is both unethical and overt.

Paul Simon: *Graceland*

Paul Simon's 1986 album *Graceland* is a landmark of cross-cultural and genre fusion, which raises many difficult questions about how collaboration between members of different cultures can affect notions of power imbalance. The album has been the subject of ongoing controversy due to the widely held perception that it engages in cultural appropriation. Issues at play are, in addition to collaboration, the effect of broader socio-political realities on the practice and perception of cross-cultural interaction, remuneration and acknowledgment of cultural others, and positive flow-on effects for musicians due to their involvement in the project.

The political climate in South Africa and around the world today is very different to when *Graceland* was released in 1986. At that time South Africa was still governed by the apartheid regime and there was a United Nations-led cultural embargo on the country, which included sport, music and art. This boycott by other nations was widespread. The boycott sought to prohibit musicians from outside South Africa performing in the country.[100] Several international musicians had already ignored the boycott, performing in the early 1980s at Sun City, a resort in South Africa that was predominantly patronised by White people. These musicians included Elton John and Linda Ronstadt.

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[99] Lethem, "The Ecstasy of Influence", 60.
[100] Contreras, "Caught in the Cross-Fire", 59.

Simon's collaboration with Ronstadt on the song "Under African Skies", which appears on *Graceland*, caused controversy due to Ronstadt being placed on a United Nations Boycott list for performing at Sun City. Even though Simon also ignored the boycott, he later claimed that the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid had given approval for his collaboration with Black musicians.[101] This was disputed by some, including Dali Tambo, son of ANC president Oliver Tambo and founder of Artists Against Apartheid.[102] Whether or not Simon was given the green light by the UN to work with Black South African musicians on the album, collaborating with Ronstadt angered some groups both internationally and in South Africa because it indicated Simon's disregard for the UN's stance against apartheid.[103]

Meintjes (1990) poses the question: do the political implications of a project create musical meaning?[104] She suggests it is doubtful, or a difficult argument to make in the case of *Graceland* because Simon had a liberal but politically ambiguous attitude toward South Africa.[105] Simon's cultural fusion purportedly came through the desire to create new and interesting music rather than to make a political statement.[106] This goes to intent, but as stated previously, intent is not a sound basis on which to make judgements about the ethics of appropriation.

Simon exposed the outside world, in many cases for the first time, to the music of oppressed people in Soweto. Greer (2006) argues that this validated them and their music, so it can be seen as positive.[107] However, the fact that Simon sought to avoid making direct political statements about South Africa means that the political implications of the album can neither be used as evidence of Simon's intent, nor as a defence for the cultural appropriation he engaged in.[108] Goldstuck (1992) suggests that many South African musicians "regard [Simon] as the single most important factor in bringing (South Africa's) township rhythms to world prominence.". The leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Joseph Shabalala, refers to Simon as "Vutlendela," [or] "the man who opened the door."[109]

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101 Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.
102 Denselow, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*: The Acclaim and Outrage".
103 Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 46.
104 Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 39.
105 Meintjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 39.
106 Denselow, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*: The Acclaim and Outrage".
107 Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 31.
108 Mientjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 39.
109 Goldstuck, "Political Storm", 26.

Others have judged Simon and *Graceland* more harshly. Musician Jerry Dammers of The Special AKA, who released the influential protest song "Free Nelson Mandela" (1984) two years before *Graceland*, and who was heavily involved in the Artists Against Apartheid movement, expressed anger at Simon's decision to record in South Africa, saying "Who does he think he is? He's helping maybe thirty people and he's damaging solidarity over sanctions. He thinks he's helping the cause for freedom, but he's naïve. He's doing far more harm than good".[110]

Another issue is the implications of endorsement of the album by the White, apartheid-era government. Hamm (1989) points out that *Graceland* was mainly bought by a White audience, was widely praised by the pro-apartheid government press, and was not explicitly supportive of the anti-apartheid movement.[111] He seems to suggest that these facts are an indictment of Simon, but as his stated aim for making *Graceland* was neither to support nor protest the apartheid regime, it is difficult to fault Simon on those political grounds. Where Simon *can* be faulted is his apparent disregard, or at best naivety, regarding the fact that collaboration with musicians inside South Africa would be regarded as breaking the boycott, even though they were Black.

The issue of credit and remuneration is an important factor in establishing the ethics of appropriation in specific circumstances or situations. The musicians on *Graceland* were reportedly well paid as session musicians and some were given creative credits for helping to compose songs.[112] This goes some way to establishing the collaboration was ethically sound. However, the level to which Simon reportedly relied on South African musicians for his compositional material throws this into doubt. During the recording sessions, Simon arrived with basic ideas for songs but few finished compositions. He asked the South African musicians to play various "common musical feels" in their distinctive "township style" and recorded them doing so.[113] He then worked from those recordings to establish arrangements and structures for the pieces, upon which he superimposed his lyrics and melodies.[114] Reddell (2013) is disdainful of Simon's approach, describing it as "ethno-musical tourism".[115] This suggests that Simon's compositional approach was exploitative.

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[110] Denselow, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*: The Acclaim and Outrage".
[111] Hamm, "*Graceland* Revisited", 302.
[112] Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.
[113] Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.
[114] Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.
[115] Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.

Simon said of his approach to using music from other cultures on *Graceland*

> I guess you could say the preparation for this album goes all the way back to
> the sixties, when I started doing things like "El Condor Del Pasa" [from *Bridge*
> *Over Troubled Water* (1970) adapted from a traditional Bolivian folk tune].
> I've always found it easy to go to a place where the music is good and make music
> there. But this is the first time I really immersed myself in the style, instead of
> trying to do a quick sketch of it, like I did with gospel or reggae [on the tracks
> "Love me Like a Rock" (1973) and "Mother and Child Reunion" (1972) respectively].
> I tried to integrate my musical thinking with theirs, and let the synthesis be
> something that was neither mine nor theirs.   [6]

This goes some way to explaining Simon's approach to composing in the studio. However, while his stated desire was to create a synthesis of cultural styles that was neither totally his nor that of the South African musicians he was employing, this is problematic in relation to cultural appropriation. Most of the songwriting credit and the vast majority of the financial rewards from the project went to Simon alone. In that sense, to a large extent, what was "theirs" became his. There was a sense of entitlement in Simon's use of music originating in another culture that comes from a power imbalance between him and the musicians that were providing the musical building blocks for *Graceland.* He was wealthy, famous and White. As such, he arrived and did as he pleased. However benign Simon's intent may have been, the cultural appropriation evident on *Graceland* can be seen as unethical. The issue that Mientjes points to, that Simon's political stance on apartheid remained ambiguous in the face of its impact on the musicians he worked with, suggests that his intent wasn't benign but rather blinkered and self-serving.[117]

As previously mentioned, the current political climate and state of the music industry has changed considerably since the release of *Graceland* in 1986. At that time there was no internet creating almost unlimited access to music from other cultures, South Africa was still an apartheid state and there was an active political movement against it. If *Graceland* were made today, it would be received differently. Much pop music today presents an image of post-racial identity where artists exist in a globalised

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[116] Santoro, *Stir it Up*, 3.
[117] Mientjes, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 39.

environment in which issues of ethnicity and appropriation are less easily defined than they were in the 1980s.

Graceland Musical Analysis

The style that pervades the South African influenced songs on *Graceland* most heavily is mbaqanga. The album's opening song "Boy in the Bubble" begins with the accordion, an instrument traditionally associated with South African popular music. The introduction is rhythmically ambiguous, which is common in mbaqanga songs.[118] The snare drum then joins with a strong downbeat and in measure nine the bass comes in with a groove that helps establish both the rhythmic and melodic themes of the song. Melodic basslines that harmonically and rhythmically reinforce other instruments, particularly the lead vocal, are also common features in mbaqanga music.[119]

The drums, bass and accordion on "Boy in the Bubble" are played by South African band, Tao Ea Matskha, a mbaqanga band that appeared on the mix tape of township music that initially attracted Simon to record in South Africa.[120] The fact that Simon not only went straight to the geographical location of the music he sought to emulate, but directly to the source, shows that the appropriation contained in the song is obvious and direct. It can't be seen as imitation or syncretism (a term I will unpack in the following chapter).

The title track, "Graceland", incorporates South African styles in a less overt way. It presents a good opportunity to observe overlap between Anglo-American and African themes and styles. The lyrics of the song evoke a nostalgic sense of place, with references to the American musical heartlands of the Mississippi Delta, Memphis Tennessee and New York City.[121] The drum pattern in the verses would not be out of place in a country or rockabilly song, with its simple snappy kick and snare drum pattern on the down and up beats respectively. The chorus maintains the momentum with the simple drumbeat but seamlessly transitions into a mbaqanga style bassline, which is not identical to the lead vocal line but mimics it extensively in both rhythm and melody.[122] The smoothness of this crossover between styles is unsurprising given, as

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[118] Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 19.
[119] Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 19.
[120] Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 28.
[121] Bennighof, "Fluidity on Paul Simon's Graceland" 217.
[122] Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 34.

Simon himself noted, there are strong similarities between township styles and early rock 'n' roll, to which he is heavily indebted.

Mbaqanga is like a cousin of rock and roll in that it shares the common ancestors of American jazz and blues music.[123] The similarities between the styles include the simple driving drumbeats, energetic tempos and harmonic structures that often stay within I-IV-V chord patterns and combinations.[124] In the case of "Graceland" a relative minor is introduced because the bass player, Bakithi Kumalo, imitated the way Simon had composed songs in the past rather than sticking to major chords in the South African style.[125] Simon described the sound of the song and its rhythm section as something akin to 1950s country and early rock and roll produced by Sam Phillips of Sun Records by artists such as Johnny Cash.[126]

These brief analyses provide an understanding of Simon as creating both genre-fusion and cross-cultural fusion. This was achieved through collaboration and cross-cultural borrowing. The album showcased South African music and exposed it to a large international audience. This can be seen as positive, even considering the power imbalance between Simon and the Black session musicians, and the cultural appropriation contained on the album. On a larger scale, *Graceland* has opened the door for much second-hand appropriation by musicians of subsequent generations, which has led to decreased awareness of the cultural source material. The directness of Simon's borrowing shed light on the music of South Africa in a way that has been diminished and homogenised when blended into Western pop music through its influence on others.

Notwithstanding the ground-breaking nature of the album and the positive flow-on effects mentioned, Simon's apparent ambivalence towards the political realities in South Africa at the time suggests that his use of Black musicians was largely a self-serving exercise, rather than simply an attempt to bridge cultural divides. There are no easy answers regarding the ethics of the cross-cultural borrowing on the album. The fact that there was collaboration with, consent from, and fair wages for the Black session musicians doesn't give excuse Simon for his cavalier attitude about the aforementioned political issues. As Jerry Dammers points out, the benefits for the small number of Black

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[123] Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 34.
[124] Greer, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*", 21.
[125] Simon, *Graceland Deluxe Edition*.
[126] Simon, *Graceland Deluxe Edition*.

South Africans directly involved with the album were outweighed by the negative implications of ignoring the cultural embargo on South Africa under apartheid.[127]

This chapter has explored a number of subjects to unpack issues surrounding cultural appropriation and its crossovers with other ethical and legal issues. Essentialism and orientalism in music are ways of stereotyping and generalising groups of people and geographic locations based on, among other things, race. This reinforces what Carfoot (2016) describes as a "coloniality of power", covered in the next chapter, where Westerners see themselves as "discoverers" of the cultural practices of others, to use and represent as they wish.[128] Also covered has been the idea of White musicians getting a "free pass" for cultural appropriation due to either an ethical balancing of the scales due to perceived "good deeds" in the case of Paul Simon, or because of fashionable concepts such as post-racial identity. The latter invariably favours White musicians over Black. This is because being "post-race" is a convenient way for White people to present and view themselves as transcending racial divisions while avoiding responsibility for potential cultural appropriation.

The following chapter explores issues surrounding non-typical cultural appropriation (from the viewpoint of White, Western centrality) through case studies of Black and White artists from the African continent borrowing from African-American musical styles.

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[127] Denselow, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*: The Acclaim and Outrage".
[128] Carfoot, "Musical Discovery, Colonialism", 6.

Chapter 3: Atypical Cultural Appropriation

This chapter will focus on two case studies, Fela Kuti (1938   1997) and Die Antwoord, to further explore and understand these issues. Both are examples of artists from the African continent borrowing from US music, although they are separated by period, geography, and ethnicity. Kuti was from Nigeria and was most musically active and successful during the 1970s. Die Antwoord are White South Africans, musically active from the late 2000s to the present. The artists were chosen because their work can be considered atypical examples of cultural appropriation due to being based in Africa and borrowing from African-American music. Cultural appropriation is more commonly understood to occur when White Western artists incorporate musical styles originating in Africa or cultures of the African diaspora.

There are several well-balanced studies on the history of Western music appropriating the music of other cultures.[129] They include papers by Richard Middleton (2000) on Western music and its relationship to the music of "low others", George E. Lewis (2002) on credit being ascribed to White composers for popularising musical forms originating in Black culture, and Mimi Haddon (2017) on the integration of dub and reggae music into White punk culture in England in the late 1970s. These studies represent a relatively recent rethinking of the problem. Born and Hesmondalgh (2000) suggest, however, that academic discourse on cross-cultural influence and borrowing has too often, "been portrayed as primarily an open-minded and empathic gesture of interest in and fascination with marginalised musics."[130] This stems from what Agawu describes as an "us and them" mentality, where the "us" (usually European or Anglo-American) is nearly always centred, and the "them" (the other) is marginalised.[131] This can manifest in the portrayal of cultural appropriation as an act of discovery and wonder.[132] Carfoot (2016) describes "wonder" in this context as a "pre-rational affective moment", which can lead to a desire to find and learn about the source of that affect. He describes Western, Eurocentric, concepts of invention and discovery in music as existing

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[129] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others,* 8.
[130] Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and its Others,* 8.
[131] Agawu, "Representing African Music", 262.
[132] Carfoot, "Musical Discovery, Colonialism", 6.

within a "coloniality of power", a concept he takes from Aníbal Quijano (2007).[133]
Quijano explains this power imbalance by suggesting that Eurocentric colonial
domination of cultures has continued beyond the age of physical colonisation.[134] In a
broader historical context, this idea of discovery in music parallels the "finding" of
previously unknown (to them) lands by European explorers as having been written into
the history of the dominant Western culture as "discoveries".[135] Carfoot argues that the
cultural artefacts of others, and the others themselves, are thought to be a sort of
"magical" pre-existing source of wonder and discovery.[136]

It is important to recognise this coloniality of power in Western music discourse
when analysing the output of artists who are not Anglo-American or considered
Western, who have been the "discoverers" of music from cultures outside their own. In
other words, when those typically othered by Western culture are the cultural
borrowers. Fela Kuti falls into this category.

Die Antwoord, although they can be seen as part of global "Whiteness", also
conduct their cultural borrowing in a non-typical way because they take their influences
not only from a genre that can be considered "Black" (gangster rap), but also from a
culture they are geographically close to and claim to have a connection with (Cape Flats
gang culture, discussed later in this chapter). Die Antwoord present themselves as
existing outside of dominant White Western culture, but their appropriation is done
from within a coloniality of power.

These artists represent different points in history and musical language, but both
borrow heavily from dominant forms of Western music to create something that
uniquely represents their own cultural identities, or at least the cultural identities they
wish to project. Fela Kuti and Die Antwoord have each "re-coded" African-American
music, funk and gangster-rap respectively, to the point where their incorporation of it
into their styles can be seen as something new. Kuti moved from playing jazz-infused
highlife music in the 1960s to creating the afrobeat style by incorporating US funk/soul
music into his jazz/highlife hybrid. Die Antwoord created their rap/rave "zef" musical
style in the late 2000s by fusing elements of American gangster rap with electronic
dance music influenced by 1980s and 90s house and techno from Europe and the US. A

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[133] Carfoot, "Musical Discovery, Colonialism", 4.
[134] Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity / Rationality", 169.
[135] Mignolo, "Subalterns and Other Agencies", 395.
[136] Carfoot, "Musical Discovery, Colonialism", 8.

fuller overview of both acts is set out later in this chapter. Johansson argues that the re-coding of music by a foreign culture, or the ascribing of new culturally specific meaning to it, is no less powerful or significant than the original coding.[137] This is true for both these artists, although in the case of Die Antwoord, the power and significance of the re-coding of musical genre and culture that originated through Black musicians in the US, and in "coloured" gang culture in South Africa, is problematic.[138]

There are a number of obvious differences between Kuti and Die Antwoord – skin colour, genre, real vs. imagined connection (respectively) with the African-American cultures they borrow from. There are also some important, albeit less obvious, similarities. Both claim to have created musical genres that represent subcultures of diversity, power and agency. For Kuti, it was afrobeat, which centred around his political messaging and the physical spaces of his Kalakuta compound and his nightclub The Shrine, both in Lagos.[139] In Die Antwoord's case it is "zef" music and culture. "Zef" represents an imagined crossover between working class Afrikaans and "coloured culture" based in and around Cape Town, South Africa, specifically the Cape Flats region. Both acts actually came from far more privileged positions in their respective countries than the cultures they claim to belong to.[140] Kuti was the Western-educated son of a powerful, wealthy family, who based himself in an underprivileged area and became a champion for poor and working-class Nigerians.[141] The members of Die Antwoord are English-speaking White South Africans from relatively wealthy backgrounds who claim to represent a modern, mixed-race underclass in their country.[142]

Another similarity between the artists is the controversy surrounding the messages in their music and their projected image, as well as their lifestyles and attitudes. Neither claim ideological purity and both have problematic gender politics.[143] Kuti was highly political, whereas Die Antwoord claim to be apolitical. Both, however,

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[137] Johansson, "Making Sense of Genre", 51.

[138] Kitchiner, "From Compton to Cape Town", 65.

[139] Fela Kuti's home and base of operations for much of the 1970s, "Kalakuta", was a compound in the socio-economically disadvantaged area of Mushin in Lagos. He declared Kalakuta an independent state. He lived there with his wives, bandmates, bodyguards and followers. He proclaimed himself president of the "Kalakuta State" (Sithole, 2001). Kuti also owned a nightclub in Lagos called The Shrine, where he regularly performed during the 1970s with his band Africa 70.

[140] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 421.

[141] Kuti stayed at the Kalakuta compound for many years, even after the compound was brutally attacked by the army. He could easily afford to live in a safer, more affluent area or another country but chose to stay amongst the people he sought to represent. The compound contained a free health clinic.

[142] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 421.

[143] Olynian, "The Cosmopolitan Nativist", 77.

embody political upheaval and cultural transformation in postcolonial Africa, albeit separated by time and geography. Kuti has been criticised for the perceived corruption of traditional tribal culture and values with regard to his multiple wives and attitude towards women.[144] His lifestyle didn't fit with either traditional practices or emerging feminist ideals.[145] He claimed to reject Western colonial values and pressure to conform to them. Die Antwoord have been criticised for their approach to the issue of race in their music and image, including the use of blackface in their videos. They have also drawn criticism for their use of racist and homophobic language including regular use of the words faggot, nigger and kaffir.[146] They had several tour dates cancelled in 2019 following the release of a video showing Ninja and Yolandi levelling homophobic abuse and intimidation towards a fellow performer at an Australian music festival in 2012. They also falsely accused the same performer of sexual assault on Yolandi.[147]

A method used by both acts to present their music with "street credibility", and in turn gain broad popularity, is the use of creolised or mixed forms of language.[148] Kuti's lyrics are composed in Nigerian pidgin, which is widely spoken in urban areas of Nigeria. He uses short phrases that are readily understood by most Nigerians. His use of this creole idiom of the streets, or lower classes, can be compared to Die Antwoord's use of Cape Flats hybrid "street" language, which includes English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, and gang or prison slang. Where these artists' use of language differs is in Die Antwoord's appropriation of ethnic and cultural tropes that don't entirely fit with their background.[149] There is a crossover between class and race in both cases but Die Antwoord's Whiteness makes their use of creolised language more problematic than Kuti's. Kuti, like Die Antwoord, was relatively privileged within his society. He sought to speak for justice and equality for all in his home country, while Die Antwoord appear to be exploiting notions of equality of class and race in postcolonial South Africa.

Terms for cultural mixtures

Terms such as syncretism and creolisation have largely taken on positive connotations in academic discourse in the last thirty years. This was not always the case. The term

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[144] Olynian, "The Cosmopolitan Nativist", 77.
[145] Olynian, "The Cosmopolitan Nativist", 77.
[146] Cork and Obard, "Skin Salvaged", 425.
[147] Norris, "Die Antwoord Reschedules".
[148] A blend of languages and slang common to an area.
[149] Kitchener, "From Compton to Cape Town", 71.

creole has racialising origins in the slave trade and has, in some colonial cultures, referred to enslaved people who had lost touch with their cultural origin but were not of the ruler culture either.[150] Currently, the term is commonly used to describe cross-cultural practices such as language, cooking, and music in societies of mixed-ethnicity where two or more ethnic groups are displaced from their geographic origin.[151] There are some examples in this paper of creolisation of genre and language in music, such as Fela Kuti's blending of African-American funk and soul, arguably already creolised genres, with West African highlife. There is crossover here between creolisation and what could be better described as syncretism.

Syncretism refers to the blending of cultural artefacts of two or more cultures to form something new that can be classified as distinct. For example, afrobeat is distinct from the West African and African-American genres it draws on. It is different from creolisation because it is more likely to describe cross-cultural mixtures of indigenous and non-indigenous cultures, whereas creolisation usually refers to mixtures of displaced cultures. Chapman, in his study of cross-cultural composition uses the term syncretism to describe the fusion of two or more practices or belief systems to form a new one.[152] He uses "syncretic composition" as another term for cross-cultural composition. The level to which syncretism has occurred in the work of Fela Kuti and Die Antwoord will form part of the analytic consideration.

Another consideration will be to avoid essentialism, as covered in the previous chapter. It is incorrect to define music originating in a particular culture with catch-all terms such as "African music" or "Western Music". Chapman suggests the term "African music" can contribute to "orientalising" what is in fact a large, complex and varied array of musics.[153] Emielu notes, however, that particularly in the case of African popular music, it can be useful to find links between musical traditions across Africa that he says can appropriately be called "African pop music", where there is great diversity of musical styles, but a relative coherence of some key concepts when viewed from a wide angle.[154]

In my analysis I use terms such as syncretism and "abstract appropriation", as set

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[150] Stewart, "Syncretism and it's Synonyms", 45.
[151] Velupillai, *Pidgins, Creoles and Mixed Languages,* 43.
[152] Chapman, "Afro No-Clash", 19.
[153] Chapman, "Afro No-Clash", 61.
[154] Emielu, "Some Theoretical Perspectives", 374.

out in chapter one, but will avoid terms such as "Western elements" or "African elements". I will instead look to the specifics of the music and culture of the artists studied for points of musical departure and syncretism.

Fela Kuti

Fela Anikulapo-Kuti was a Nigerian musician credited with having created the afrobeat genre. He achieved his greatest success during the 1970s. Kuti was born in 1938 to an upper middle-class family. His father was a protestant minister and schoolteacher, his mother a prominent left-wing political activist and feminist.[155] Kuti's parents had the means to support their children to study overseas and encouraged them to do so. Kuti studied and performed jazz in London in the late 1950s and returned to Nigeria in 1963 during the height of popularity of the highlife genre.[156] Kuti proceeded to fuse jazz and highlife.[157] This combination was seen by many as too highbrow to achieve mass popularity, and Kuti's mother advised him to "play music that people can understand".[158]

In the 1950s and 60s, US rock and soul music were gaining popularity in West Africa and Kuti was determined to create a successful blend of those styles with West-African popular music. He travelled to America in 1969 to promote his jazz/highlife style. A series of misadventures and loss of support from management teams and booking agents meant that the tour wasn't successful. However, it did prove to be pivotal in Kuti's musical and political development, exposing him to the burgeoning funk/soul music scene and the Black power political movement.[159] Witnessing the pride in Black Americans for their African roots compared to what he perceived as shame in African-ness in his homeland inspired Kuti to create what he hoped would be a "truly African sound".[160] This meant incorporating the "loud and proud" sound of African-

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[155] Labinjoh, "Fela Anikulapo-Kuti: Protest Music", 120.
[156] Highlife is a syncretic blend of western influence and instrumentation and indigenous African styles. Highlife refers to "high living" (Collins, 1972). It is dance music that was designed to appeal to the aspirational elite in west Africa with "highbrow" taste (Oikelome, 2009). Highlife evolved from brass band music played by regimental bands during the early twentieth century and peaked in its development in the 1960s. After that time its popularity declined due to the proliferation of imported rock and soul music and the emergence of other popular music forms like afrobeat, jùjú and fuji. (Oikelome, 2009).
[157] Stewart, "Make it Funky", 103.
[158] Stewart, "Make it Funky",102.
[159] Labinjoh, "Fela Anikulapo-Kuti: Protest Music", 119.
[160] Stewart, "Make it Funky", 103.

American funk into his jazz/highlife hybrid. The combination of these styles marked the birth of afrobeat.

Afrobeat is an example of intra-ethnic influence rather than cultural appropriation. This is because both Kuti and the African-American musicians that influenced him regarded themselves as being part of a pan-African, global, Black culture as part of the political upheavals of decolonisation. Kuti felt a strong cultural connection to funk/soul music and the Black power movement in the US. He described the new ideology he arrived at after encountering Black US music and politics as "Blackism".[161]

Kuti's long-term collaboration with drummer Tony Allen was key to the creation of the afrobeat sound. Allen was one of the first West-African highlife drummers to incorporate the use of hi-hats into his drum kit.[162] Unlike most of the other musicians he worked with at the time, Kuti trusted Allen to compose his own (drum) arrangements.[163] Perhaps the greatest influence of funk/soul on Kuti and Allen's work was the emphasis on straight (as opposed to swung) eighth-note and sixteenth-note drum patterns, or "feels", with an emphasis on syncopation rather than swing.[164] There are obvious similarities in drum patterns between many of James Brown's funk/soul rhythms and those in Fela Kuti's afrobeat songs. They are the foundation of musical borrowing on which afrobeat is built. The following analysis is informed by a framework for comparison of funk and afrobeat rhythms laid out by Stewart (2013).[165]

Both Brown and Kuti's songs have a strong rhythmic emphasis on the first beat in a bar of music, and on the "4 &" eighth-note offbeat (figures 3.2 and 3.4) or the "4 & a" sixteenth-note offbeat (figure 3.1) which leads back to the first beat of the next bar. This creates a feel that lends itself to dancing because it is easy to identify where the beginning of a bar is, even though there is a lot of syncopation in the sixteenth notes, as well as polyrhythms. A key difference is that Brown's funk songs often have a snare hit on the second and fourth downbeats in a bar, making the rhythms feel "square" in rhythmic shape (figure 3.1). Kuti's songs often feature snare on syncopated sixteenth-note off-beats or on the first beat of a bar (figure 3.4). The latter is the opposite of most funk and rock forms. Kuti's songs also feature more kick-drum beats than are commonly

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161 Olaniyan, "The Cosmopolitan Nativist", 79.
162 Stewart, "Make it Funky", 103.
163 Stewart, "Make it Funky", 104.
164 Stewart, "Make it Funky", 106.
165 Stewart, "Make it Funky", 109.

found in funk, often in groups of two or three sixteenth notes, which adds a distinctive West African characteristic (figure 3.3). Stewart notes that this is because, in traditional West African music, the largest drum is often the lead or most prominent drum.[166] The example in figure 3.3 is from Fela Kuti and Afrika 70's song "Colonial Mentality", which is also used later as an example of Kuti's lyrics.

Afrobeat drum patterns are generally busier than funk, that is, they have more accents or hits. A distinction between the two styles is that funk patterns are often two-bar phrases whereas afrobeat patterns are often a repeated one-bar phrases with improvised variations. Figure 3.2 is an example of a well-known two-bar funk drumkit pattern from the James Brown song "Cold Sweat" (1967). Figures 3.3 and 3.4 are examples of one bar (repeated) afrobeat drumkit patterns (with minor hi-hat variations) played by Tony Allen. The three lines of notation relate to the bass drum (lowest), snare drum (middle), and hi hats (highest). The circles indicate open hi-hats.

Figure 3.1:
"Funky Drummer" – James Brown (1970)
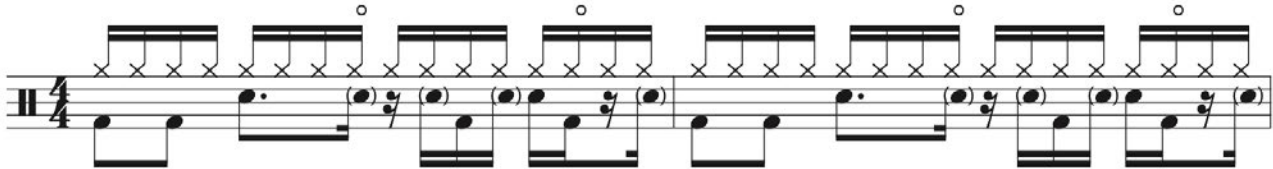
Figure 3.2:
"Cold Sweat" – James Brown (1967)

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[166] Stewart, "Make it Funky", 110.

Figure 3.3:
"Colonial Mentality" - Fela Kuti and Africa 70 (1977)
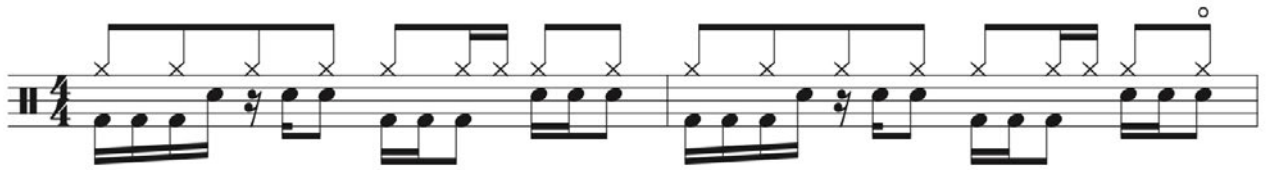
Figure 3.4:
"Expensive Shit" - Fela Kuti and Africa 70 (1975)
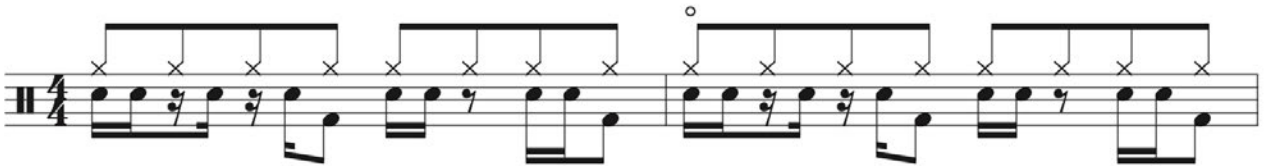
Another influence from James Brown's style of funk found in Kuti's music is simple chants and punchy rhythms vocalised as short words, shouts or grunts. Chanting also has links to traditional West African music, and the combination of these influences created a sound that Kuti felt represented African-ness in a traditional cultural sense and also "Blackness" in a modern, urban, cross-cultural sense.[167] Kuti also found in Brown's performance of funk a template for increasingly expansive live shows and recorded music which included dancers, extended improvised instrumental sections and call and response singing.[168]

Kuti saw funk music as being emblematic of "Blackness" in Africa and the African diaspora. This made it a primary ingredient in his "African sound".[169] His decision to incorporate James Brown's funk/soul style into his music was a move that he rightly felt would modernise his appeal and spread a message of Black pride in Nigeria.[170] He told biographer Carlos Moore (1982)

> This James Brown music...This is what's gonna happen in Nigeria soon-o.
> I saw it so clearly. That's why I said to myself, I have to be very original and clear
> myself from shit. I was still hustling. Hustling to make bread. I must clear myself
> from this mess. I must identify myself with Africa. Then I will have an identity.

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[167] Spencer, "Fela Kuti Remembered".
[168] Spencer, "Fela Kuti Remembered".
[169] Olanian, "The Cosmopolitan Native", 79.
[170] Moore, Fela, 74-75.

Fela Kuti's contempt for and antagonism towards the postcolonial state in Nigeria is most sharply expressed through his lyrics. He positioned himself with his words and chants as an agitator against the post-independence government.[171] Kuti was enraged by its corruption and brutality, particularly where middle-class Nigerians rushed to fill the roles left absent by the British colonial administrators. Kuti, in the late 1970s stated, "South Africa is better than Nigeria [because] in South Africa you have Whites mistreating Blacks but in Nigeria you have Blacks mistreating Blacks, that is worse."[172]

Kuti wrote several songs on this topic. "Colonial Mentality" for example, specifically called out and exposed the trend of Black post-colonial governments persisting with the corruption and authoritarian behaviours of their former colonial oppressors while the population remained oppressed and impoverished.[173] This excerpt from the lyrics succinctly express Kuti's anger:

He be say you be colonial man
You don be slave man before
Them don release you now
But you never release yourself
I say you fit never release yourself
Colo-mentality [174]
(Translation)
You look like a colonial man
You were once a slave
They have now freed you
But you have not freed yourself
I say you can't even free yourself of
Colonial mentality [175]

These lyrics are also an example of Kuti's preference for Nigerian Pidgin English. Pidgin is an element in Kuti's music that points to a syncretism between Black and White

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[171] Sithole, "Fela Kuti and the Oppositional Lyrical Power", 2.
[172] Kuti, *Fela: Music is the Weapon.*
[173] Ogunyemi, "Fela Kuti's Black Consciousness", 9.
[174] Kuti, "Colonial Mentality", 1977.
[175] Translation by Ogunyemi.

culture. The use of elements of funk-soul music in afrobeat can also be seen as a syncretism between disparate cultures of Black, African origin, as well as between African and Western culture.

Kuti's liberal borrowing from African-American funk would have been viewed differently if he were a White musician from another country or during a later point in history. This was indeed the case when Paul Simon was criticised for borrowing from South African township music in a similarly liberal manner.[176] The perception of the use of musical elements that originated in cultures of African origin by White musicians is also changed through second- and third-hand (and so on) influence or appropriation. Modern pop music is a blend of styles, many of which originated with or were greatly influenced by identifiably Black musical traditions. In turn, the work of White musicians has often enjoyed great commercial success and the broad distribution that comes with it. This has then affected the musical choices of musicians of all colours, worldwide. For example, Paul Simon's *Graceland* album is a clear influence on the music of both Ben Harper, a mixed-race American musician with African and European heritage, and Vampire Weekend who are Jewish New Yorkers.[177] *Graceland's* influence on Harper manifests through lyrical themes and vocal delivery, whereas Vampire Weekend often utilise similar mbaqanga-style guitar lines, polyrhythms, and uplifting major key melodies similar to those found on *Graceland*. Both artists are influenced by African music, but also by the enormous impact of *Graceland* on Western pop music. Similar examples of the borrowing-influence-borrowing cycle created by successful artists are The Beatles, Led Zeppelin, and Beastie Boys. All are White artists who borrowed from African-American sources that have left indelible marks on pop, heavy rock, and hip-hop, respectively, through their influence on subsequent generations of Black and White artists.

Middleton (2002) discusses the idea of a "low Atlantic", which poses popular against elite, and within that, "low" (class) and Black are often aligned due to socio-economic disadvantage.[178] Fela Kuti represents a complicated juxtaposition between between "low" Black popular music, highbrow jazz, and an education in European art music, which fits more closely with Middleton's idea of music for and by the "elite" in

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[176] Simon, "Paul Simon's *Graceland*: The Acclaim and Outrage".
[177] Richards, "Vampire weekend is Back".
[178] Middleton, "Musical Belongings", 60.

societies. Jazz was originally considered "Black music" but was adopted by the Anglo-American elite. Classical music is often considered to be "White" or at least European music. The funk/soul music Kuti borrowed from was considered almost exclusively Black music in the late 1960s when Kuti discovered it but it was soon appropriated by White musicians from the 1970s onwards in a similar way as jazz before it and hip-hop after it.

Fela Kuti's afrobeat style is an example of intra-ethnic influence as well as syncretism between White colonial music and Black traditional music. Although he was from a wealthy family and was well-educated, the cultural and political differences between the US and Nigeria during the late 1960s and 70s make an assessment regarding the balance of power between Kuti and the Black US music and culture that influenced him difficult. Shared African ethnicity and cultural origins, and the post-colonial damage done to Black people in both countries, neutralise ethical issues around the cross-cultural exchange.

Die Antwoord

Die Antwoord is a White South African band whose music incorporates elements of electronic dance music and US gangster rap. They have been active since 2008. The group consists of rappers Ninja (Tudor Watkin Jones) and Yolandi Visser (Anri du Toit) from Cape Town and DJ Hi-Tek (aka GOD, whose identity remains a mystery). Early in their career the instrumental element of their music was largely electronic, built on synthesizers and drum machines. The band described their sound as rap/rave. It contained elements of Euro-dance music and mainstream rap/dance hybrids from 1990s America and was reminiscent of acts such as C + C Music Factory.[179] More recently their backing music has incorporated the style from which they borrow their stage personas to a large extent   American hip-hop and specifically gangster rap. This manifests through a greater diversity of instrumentation and rhythmic "feels", a relative increase of sampled loops of live drums and a greater emphasis on sampled speech. The band's latest album, *House Of Zef*, released in 2020 with no publicity as the Covid-19 pandemic took hold worldwide, revisits their electronic rave roots. The sound has been

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[179] Wright, "Scene and Heard: Zef."

updated to incorporate trap style beats that have become ubiquitous in hip-hop and electronic music during the past decade.

Die Antwoord's Cultural Appropriation

Die Antwoord represent a kind of White otherness, both in their homeland and on the international stage. They fall into many of the categories that have historically come to represent the other to Western music   primitive, bohemian (non-conformist), exotic or, to use the band's own terminology, "fancy".[180] O'Toole attributes their global success to a growing interest in what he calls "weird Whiteness".[181] This trend, particularly in South Africa, could be born out of what Marx and Milton (2011) describe as an acute self-consciousness in White people of their colour amid rapid shifts in power structures after apartheid.[182] This manifests in Die Antwoord's music and presentation as a rejection of Whiteness as a dominant, oppressive, mainstream force. Although their sound and personas have been received as fresh and distinctive by many, they are also built on a foundation of cultural appropriation.[183]

The most obvious form of cultural appropriation employed by Die Antwoord is of American gangster rap, a genre that has been almost entirely based in African-American culture.[184] The worldwide success of the band may be attributable to audiences' fascination with White musicians seemingly being able to achieve an image and sound that comes across as authentically tough or "gangster". Not as obvious to an international audience is Die Antwoord's appropriation of "coloured" gang culture within South Africa, specifically the Cape Flats region.[185] Although there is some musical borrowing from the gangster rap genre, particularly in their more recent work, the most persistent appropriation of gangster rap and culture displayed by the band is through their lyrics, image and posturing. Through these means, the band perform what

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[180] Scott, "Die Antwoord and a Delegitimised South African Whiteness",751.
[181] O'Toole, "Die Antwoord's State of Exception", 394.
[182] Marx and Milton, Bastardised Whiteness,'' 723.
[183] Haupt, "Die Antwoord's Revival of Blackface".
[184] Kitchener, "From Compton to Cape Town", 66.
[185] Cape Flats is a large flat area to the south east of Cape Town on South Africa's south west coast. Since the 1950s the area has been home to marginalised "coloured" (mixed race) and Black communities. Slums were built on the deep sand of the flats. The area has endemic problems with gang culture, violence, drug abuse and poverty. The coloured community speak a mixture of Afrikaans and English with local indigenous inflections. The Black community primarily speak a mixture of English and Xhosa.

Kitchener describes as "thug minstrelsy" where White bodies perform essentialised, negative stereotypes of Black culture.[186]

Die Antwoord, and Ninja in particular, use invented personas to exploit various forms or states of South African otherness. The Ninja persona, expressed through both stage act and in real markings on Jones' body (tattoos), uses symbols to present an image of roughness and streetwise attitude. His tattoos are done in a hand-drawn style reminiscent of jail tattoos and alluding to, but not specifically referencing, Cape Flats gang culture.[187] Jones is in fact a middle-class English-speaking White South African.[188] Haupt suggests that the band's references to "cape coloured culture" both in images and lyrics amounts to "Blacking up".[189] This argument is supported by such antics as the band members actually performing in Black body paint in the video for their single "Fatty Boom Boom".[190]

Although Die Antwoord's presentation of themselves as a kind of multi-racial "gangster" hybrid is controversial and can be seen as culturally insensitive or even racist, it is part of a fantasised post-identity reality created by the band. This means the band projects an imagined sub-culture of racial unity, where distinctions between White and Black are unimportant. Smit describes this as a "hyper-reality" where sincerity is subverted.[191] Because of this it is difficult to define whether anything the group does is "real" (genuine and designed to be received as truth), including their comments in interviews. They create their own imagined society from what they describe as the "debris of American culture".[192] The band's presentation of this "hyper-reality" of weird Whiteness is, according to O'Toole, driven by profit rather than a desire to clarify White South African otherness in a realistic way.[193]

Ninja, through his lyrics in "Enter the Ninja" proclaims himself "the White kaffir". Kaffir is a derogatory term for Black Africans traditionally used by White Afrikaner colonisers in South Africa.[194] It has not, however, been re-appropriated for everyday use in the Black community in the way that "nigga" has in African-American hip-hop. Ninja's

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[186] Kitchener, "From Compton to Cape Town", 65.
[187] Bowers Du Toit, "Cape Flats Gangsterism", 2.
[188] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 421.
[189] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 421.
[190] Die Antwoord, "Fatty Boom Boom."
[191] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 3.
[192] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible 2.
[193] O'Toole, "Die Antwoord's State of Exception", 397.
[194] Krueger, " *Zef*/Poor White Kitsch Chique", 402.

use of "kaffir" is particularly controversial, both because of its racist origin and connotations, and because of Ninja's claim of ownership of it. He implies through his use of the term that he is the same as Black or coloured people or is connected to them through solidarity. Ninja is actually quoted as having said, "God made a mistake with me. I'm actually Black, trapped in a White body."[195]

The same kind of overt claim to "Blackness" would be more heavily scrutinised if it were made by a White rapper in the US. Eminem, an extremely successful White rapper, for example, has displayed many of the tropes of being authentically streetwise and musically legitimate through, to some extent, implied "Blackness". This comes through an honest portrayal of his socio-economic origins, and association with the Black hip-hop community. He has never proclaimed anything as blatant as Ninja's statement "I'm the White kaffir", though. Eminem, if the backstory he publicises is to be believed, has more of a claim to gangster rap authenticity than Die Antwoord, having grown up poor in a trailer park in Detroit, mixing with and endorsed by a primarily Black musical cohort, particularly producer Dr. Dre, a key figure in gangster rap.[196] Ninja's apparently shameless claim to Blackness can be seen in a number of ways. One reading is that he genuinely identifies with and is accepted by until recently disempowered and marginalised others. Another is that he displays a desperation for acceptance through being "cool" and authentic as a newly marginalised White other. He could also simply be displaying a still present white privilege and disregard for potential offence caused to Black South Africans (and Black people globally) despite his apparent identification with "coloured culture". It is likely a combination of these things. There is, however, evidence of Jones, while not in his Ninja stage persona, using the word "nigga" in a casual and offhand way, which is blatant racism.[197] This behaviour is masked by his projection of almost total irony, but is deliberate sensationalism by which he manufactures outrage to promote his brand.

The comparison between racial power relations in the US and South Africa is illuminating with regard to Die Antwoord's music, but the social conditions underpinning racial politics are very different. Black people in the US are a minority,

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[195] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?."
[196] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 3.
[197] Footage taken backstage at a festival in Australia shows Ninja chasing and attacking another musician while using homophobic slurs. He then brags to members of his entourage about it, reputedly addressing them as "nigger". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONfWlsH8tI8

have supposedly had equal rights to Whites for far longer than those in South Africa, but are still marginalised and discriminated against. Black people in South Africa represent the vast majority of the population and as such, since the end of apartheid, have had the power to elect a largely Black government. This, however, has not changed the poor living conditions or prospects for much of the Black population. It has instead created a new Black elite.[198] This has similarities with the political situation in 1970s Nigeria that Fela Kuti railed against in his song "Colonial Mentality". The changeover of power in South Africa has created the illusion of a more level playing field between poor, or working class, White and Black people. Ninja, however, fits this category only as an act or stage persona. As Haupt points out, Jones is "neither coloured nor Afrikaans working class".[199]

Marx and Milton suggest that Jones explicitly constructs the character of Ninja as a "poor White living on the borders of the Cape Flats" (reminiscent of Eminem's real life growing up on Detroit's Eight Mile) in an attempt to promote a creolised, hybrid Afrikaans identity where issues relating to class and race interact.[200] This may be true but given Jones' background, the construction of the character is exploitative.

Die Antwoord Analysis

Die Antwoord's aesthetic is primarily presented through three mediums: music, language and image. Their use of language and image, primarily in lyrics and videos, informs how their music is received to such an extent that these dimensions must be included in any analysis of the band's output. The three volumes of instrumental music, stripped of vocals and with no accompanying videos, *Made By God Vols. 1, 2 and 3,* released between the band's third and fourth albums proper are an example of this. Due to the removal of the front-person personas of the vocalists, the albums come across as fairly generic EDM (electronic dance music) that could come from anywhere in the world. As all artistic elements are enmeshed in a way that is integral to the band's presentation, the analysis that follows will look at all three elements.

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[198] Robertson, "The Constraints of Colour", 458.
[199] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 421.
[200] Marx and Milton, Bastardised Whiteness,'' 738.

Image: "Zef" Style

The overarching theme and title Die Antwoord gives to their style and attitude is "zef". "Zef" is an ethos that informs the band's cross-cultural use of signifiers and musical elements. The term "zef" typically refers to poor or working-class Afrikaans and "Cape coloured" people with "unrefined" tastes and habits. It is similar in tone to the way "White trash", or "redneck" are used in the US or how the term "bogan" is used in Australia. Die Antwoord uses the term and concept to project an image of White otherness. This manifests in their lyrics and presentation as allusions to socio-economic marginalisation, and a connection with Black ethnicity as "coloured culture". Die Antwoord have identified themselves with White otherness, or undesirability, as a fashion statement, musical style and attitude that blurs notions of authenticity. Audiences are left to make their own judgments on whether the band's presentation of "zef" is ironic or sincere.

Die Antwoord's presentation of "zef" as a "cool", streetwise otherness that plays on how "Blackness" represents these qualities in much US hip-hop, is in stark contrast to apartheid-era ideals of Afrikaans culture, which privileged middle-class respectability in both presentation and lifestyle.[201] This represents an attempt by the band to differentiate themselves from both historical constructs of "Whiteness" in South Africa and from the country's racist past. The band's presentation of "zef" has more to do with the visual presentation of the band members and the lyrical content of their songs than it does with any static musical genre definitions. Those elements are what tie together the package of Die Antwoord as "zef", where it could otherwise be seen as simply a rap/rave crossover, as the band have described their sound.

Meintjes suggests that the band use culture as a "found object."[202] They describe themselves as "the love child of diverse cultures   Black, White, coloured and alien".[203] They are deliberate and shameless about the cultural caricatures they present. Elements of irony and comedy are at play, which disguises their cultural appropriation as not serious.[204] It becomes a sort of self-parody that compels the audience to speculate on whether the band members are engaged in authentic self-expression. Ironically, the visual presentation of the band, along with the coarseness of their lyrics and delivery of

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[201] Meintjes, "Facilitating Afrikaans Youth Identities", 22.
[202] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 1.
[203] Clare, "Die Antwoord and a Delegitimised South African Whiteness", 746.
[204] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 3.

them is so "bad" and so "trashy" that it can come across as disarming and genuine or authentic.[205] Ninja has been dismissive about the label of "trashy", saying, "We're not trashy ... maybe it's because your country is like, much more first world than our country so maybe we look a bit trashy to you".[206] This is a facetious claim which illustrates the band's dishonest presentation of themselves through cultural appropriation of tropes of both ethnic- and class-based disadvantage. Whites in South Africa, on average, earn three times what Blacks do, which means that while many Black people still live in third world conditions, the majority of White people do not.[207]

Blackface: The "Fatty Boom Boom" Video Clip

The video clip for "Fatty Boom Boom", from Die Antwoord's second album *Ten$ion* (2012)*,* was chosen for analysis because it is particularly controversial in its imagery, which includes the use of black face and body paint. The clip parodies the West's exoticising of South Africa through a narrative featuring a figure reminiscent of American pop singer, Lady Gaga. Die Antwoord had recently turned down an offer from Gaga to perform as her support act on a tour.[208] The Gaga character is used as a metaphor for Western misconceptions and projections of South Africa. This plays out through the presentation of ridiculous stereotypes of urban South African culture, such as big cats and hyenas on city streets, viewed by "Gaga" from a van during a fictional "concrete jungle tour".

Another such "attraction" on the tour is Die Antwoord themselves on the street performing "Fatty Boom Boom" in full body paint. Ninja initially appears in White and red paint with alarming red contact lenses, while Yolandi is painted entirely jet Black and is wearing yellow contact lenses with black dollar signs in the centres. DJ Hi-Tek is played by a very large Black man wearing a hood who "performs" the (actually electronic) beats on large African drums. The painted "skin colour" of the band throughout the video is layered and multi-coloured, indicating an intent not to perform "in" blackface but to disarm easy judgements about what they're doing and its cultural hermeneutic.

The band's use of face and body paint in the video is both confronting and

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[205] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 3.
[206] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 4.
[207] Nkanjeni, "Whites Earn Three Times More Than Blacks."
[208] Lipshutz, "Lady Gaga Calls Out Die Antwoord."

confusing. It can be seen however, within the context of this satirical video, as a comment on the West's objectification of the exoticising of the South African "other".[209] Smit notes that many of the practices and attitudes Die Antwoord are satirising in the video, such as tours for Westerners of fake townships, represent racism and that their use of black face paint illustrates this rather than adds to it.[210] The fact, however, that Die Antwoord seem to be making a subversive statement through their use of body paint in the video doesn't lessen the potential negative impact on multi-ethnic audiences worldwide, many of whom perceive any use of Black or brown paint on White skin as inherently racist.

The "making of" video for the "Fatty Boom Boom" shows the band interacting in a friendly manner with Black members of the community in Johannesburg while they are on the street in their body paint in a way that suggests they are in a community that accepts what they are doing as humorous and tongue-in cheek. A first impression of the video might suggest that outsider or White discomfort or offence to the imagery in the clip could be somewhat redundant as it relates to cultural appropriation or racism. However, when grouped with other examples of the band releasing what could be described as manipulative videos to either accompany offensive content or generally promote themselves as non-racist or non-homophobic, the video appears to be simply an attempt at protection against public backlash.[211]

Ethnic and Stylistic Diversity in Die Antwoord's Music
Over the course of their career, particularly on more recent albums, Die Antwoord have collaborated with ethnic and cultural others that represent American gangster rap, a major constituent part of their genre-hybrid. They have also collaborated with several Black South African musicians. These collaborations can be seen as exploitative in cases where there is a clear imbalance of power between Die Antwoord and their collaborators. They act as alibis to the band's false presentation of themselves as having a strong connection with disadvantaged cultural others. At other times, when they've

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[209] Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 5.
[210] Tours are conducted in South Africa for western tourists of fake, constructed townships or slums.
[211] Another example of the band attempting to protect themselves against public backlash is the "explanation" video they released after video emerged of their homophobic tirade against a fellow performer at a festival in 2012. The band have released several other videos that seem like a cynical attempt to promote themselves as authentically lower class and non-racist, including on their "zef tv" series which appears on YouTube and the band's website. One of these videos shows the band hanging out and writing lyrics in a township shack with an unidentified "local" woman.

collaborated with wealthy and successful Black US musicians, the power imbalance is neutralised to an extent. This means that those collaborations aren't directly exploitative in the same way, which differentiates them from cultural appropriation and places them in the category of collaboration.

When removed from the imagery Die Antwoord present and gangster posturing of much of their lyrics, their early albums don't show much evidence of musical appropriation from genres or cultures that are considered Black, other than the fact that they contain rapped vocals. The techno, Euro-dance, and rave music that makes up most of their early backing music, in combination with Ninja and Yolandi's nasal and childlike voices respectively, don't sound like African-American hip-hop. On their second LP, *Ten$ion,* they do, however, borrow heavily from 1990s "boom-bap" style gangster rap on the track "So What". Ninja opens the song by saying, "Yo Hi-Tek, let's fuck around with some of that old-school feel-good gangster shit". The beat then drops, and the minimal, heavy kick and snare drum samples playing under thin melodic synthesizer and piano lines are reminiscent of the production style of Dr. Dre and Ice Cube albums from the 1990s.[212] Their lyrical delivery since early in their career is also imitative of 90s era gangster rappers. For example, both vocalists often bend the pitch or stretch the length of line ending words, which is reminiscent of the delivery of Snoop Dog, a prominent exponent of '90s gangster rap.

On their 2016 studio album *Mount Ninji and da Nice Time Kid,* Die Antwoord delivered their most hip-hop oriented musical material. It contains collaborations which bring the music closer to the source of much of their borrowing, gangster rap. There is a guest appearance by Sen-Dog from Cypress Hill, a mixed-ethnicity American hip-hop group, whose music could be described as a crossover between stoner-rap and gangster rap. They also collaborate with DJ Muggs, another member of Cypress Hill, who produced the music for many of the tracks under the name "The Black Goat".

Cypress Hill rose to prominence during hip-hop's "golden age" (late 1980s to early 1990s).[213] They present some of the tropes that have come to define Die Antwoord and "zef" culture, such as the glorification of drugs and gang culture, underwritten by a sense of social injustice. On "Shit Just Got Real", Ninja and Sen Dog trade raps about being

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[212] Dr. Dre and Ice Cube are founding members of N.W.A. (Niggas with Attitude), arguably the most significant and recognised of all groups in the gangster rap genre. N.W.A. were active in the late 1980s and early 1990s.
[213] Dunker and Martin, "In Search of the Golden Age", 80.

"gangster" and doing "gangster shit" over unusually muted (for Die Antwoord) sampled drums and analogue instruments. It is reminiscent of a classic Cypress Hill song such as "How I Could Just Kill a Man" (1991) or "Insane in the Brain" (1992). When Yolandi comes in for a verse she is shouting in her trademark guttural Afrikaans. Other collaborators include actor Jack Black and burlesque artist and musician Dita Von Teese, both US pop-cultural icons.

Mt Ninji is deliberately Americanised through these collaborations and through the blending of their dated, "trashy", house and techno beats and crass multilingual vocals with "old school" hip-hop production. This makes it their most collaborative work in terms of blending with their real influences, as opposed to what Smit describes as the band's use of US pop-culture as a "found object" or the band's own description of their songs as the "debris of American culture."[214] The collaborations on the album are not exploitative in terms of power relations but they can in some cases be seen to falsely position the band as legitimate exponents of gangster rap culture.

Die Antwoord's latest album *The House of Zef* (2020) finds the band returning to their roots of minimal techno beats and synthesisers, with relatively uncomplicated raps and hooks. This album features a number of relatively unknown Black South African artists, including Bukhulubakhe, Bobajan and Gqwa!. It also features a guest appearance by Moonchild Sanelly, another Black South African artist, who is already popular in South Africa but is only starting to attract attention worldwide.[215]

This showcasing of Black and "coloured" emerging underground talent through collaborations is not entirely new. Some stand-alone singles by the band leading up to the release of the album feature similar collaborations. These collaborations can be seen on one hand as positive endorsements of Black and "coloured" culture and talent, which may lead to further success for the featured artists. They also show Die Antwoord's willingness to mentor and nurture emerging Black artists. However, this does not diminish the band's cultural appropriation, and in fact represents a further step in the band's ongoing exploitative quest to be seen as legitimately streetwise, gangster, or "zef" by appearing alongside less privileged Black others. An example of this is the 2019 song and accompanying video, "Baita Jou Sabela", featuring Slagysta. The video is shot in a prison on South Africa's western cape and features a fictional narrative about Ninja

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214 Smit, "Enter the Imperceptible", 4.
215 Hutchinson, "One to Watch: Moonchild Sanelly."

being locked up in the prison until Yolandi comes to free him in a Lamborghini by bribing a prison guard. Ninja is the only White "prisoner". Slagysta raps in prison slang in a crowded cell while other prisoners smoke drugs and show off their gang tattoos.

The song and accompanying video clip have been heavily criticised by opponents of gang culture. Hip-hop artist and campaigner against gangsterism and negative cultural stereotyping of coloured people, Emile YX?, suggested that the band were exploiting such stereotypes for profit rather than inclusiveness.[216] He compared it to other prominent White musicians in South Africa and the US, who he suggests have made their name and fortune in a similar way, saying "Elvis did it with rock [music], Johnny Clegg was the best known Zulu [Clegg is White], Eminem is the best known rapper. It's how racist the industry actually is. White people need other White people to first say it's OK."[217] White people (myself included) around the world who have consumed Die Antwoord's musical product have, by implication, said "it's ok".

Cross-cultural musical fusions and collaborations exist in many cases within a coloniality of power. This means that the "discoverers" of the music of cultural others, often Anglo-American or European musicians seeking to broaden their musical palette, have tended to treat their musical "discoveries" as a sort of disembodied and pre-existing source of wonder.[218] This coloniality of power is disguised to an extent by Die Antwoord's manipulative and misleading presentation of themselves as "gangster rappers" and as representatives of Cape coloured gang culture. Their cross-cultural borrowing is ethnic- and class-based cultural appropriation.

In Fela Kuti's case, the cross-cultural influence occurred under the larger umbrella of global Black culture or pan-African culture. As such it can be seen as intra-ethnic influence rather than cultural appropriation. Kuti borrowed musically from others of a shared ethnic background, African-Americans, and brought it home to the Nigerian people. He based himself with the poor even though he could afford to live elsewhere. He fought against a Black government that he saw as no better than their colonial forebears. He was influenced by a social and political movement, Black power, that he was genuinely part of and could translate into his African sound.

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[216] Francke, "Die antwoord's New Video Slammed."
[217] Francke, "Die antwoord's New Video Slammed."
[218] Carfoot, "Musical Discovery, Colonialism", 6.

Die Antwoord also came to prominence in the years following a significant handover of power. They are part of a generation of White South Africans that grew up as part of the ruling class and ethnic group and later became a much more obvious minority in a Black country. They became, in a sense, the other. Due to the stain of apartheid, that otherness was a badge of shame and embarrassment for White South Africans rather than pride in resilience as is often the case with oppressed minorities. White people may have been stripped of their obvious political domination but were still at a large socio-economic advantage in relation to the Black and coloured underclass. Die Antwoord have used this to their advantage by attaching their image of "weird Whiteness" or "trailer trash" to Cape coloured gang culture, which they grew up on the fringes of but were not part of in a real way. They have on one hand, shone a light on that culture and exposed some of the area's talent to a wider world, but on the other hand have exploited cultural symbols of less advantaged others to create a false sense of authenticity. This exploitation has come in the form of false posturing under the banner of "gangsterism" and the essentialising of Black and coloured culture by promoting negative stereotypes. Those stereotypes, presented by White people through what is commonly understood to be a Black genre, reinforce racism by association. The band have, in effect, taken a fantasy of African-American gangster rap culture and superimposed it onto modern South Africa with themselves playing the role of the gangsters. It is not possible as an outsider to South African culture to have a true sense of the connotations and power dynamics at play in Die Antwoord's rise to fame but it is clear that the residue of colonial privilege is a key factor in their behaviour and the fascination the western world has had with the band.

The struggle for equality and civil rights is a common theme in music made by African musicians and those of the African diaspora, whether in their homelands such as Fela Kuti, or regions to which their ancestors had migrated or been displaced such as funk/soul artists like James Brown, political hip-hop artists like Public Enemy, or artists who represent the gangster-rap genre such as Dr. Dre and Ice Cube. The posturing of gangster-rap artists as tough, streetwise and struggling against an unequal society, comes from the lived experience of its exponents. Gangster rap songs about crime and violence sit alongside songs about hope, pride and resilience.[219] When artists from other

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[219] Kitchener, "From Compton to Cape Town", 76.

cultures, who don't share those experiences, emulate either the posturing or the claim to similar experiences through lyrics or imagery, the borrowing is unethical and constitutes cultural appropriation. This is the case with Die Antwoord's presentation of themselves as "gangster" and their subversion and exploitation of the genre.

When artists from an outside culture borrow musical elements from another culture or culture-specific genre for purely artistic or compositional reasons, as is the case with Brian Eno and Talking Heads, the borrowing can be understood through a different lens. In these cases, the influence and borrowing are not deliberately exploitative and misleading. However, presenting musical elements in a new context, detached from the cultural experiences that originally formed those elements is also problematic in the sense that it presents those elements as purely artistic, aesthetic, objects. This displaces the extra-musical meaning the elements hold for members of their source culture. This can be more, or less, problematic depending on the respect and acknowledgment with which the new music is presented and promoted. These issues are covered in depth in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Where is the Fourth World?

This chapter uses the concept of "fourth world music", first imagined by avant-garde trumpet player and composer Jon Hassell, to consider whether cross-cultural composition and production can reach beyond simple binaries such as Black/White or Western/other. I will explore this through musical analysis and an assessment of the reception and legacy of the albums and artists covered in the case studies. The types of cultural influence and appropriation contained in the case studies will also be identified and discussed.

Hassell described "fourth world music" in 2009, saying, "it means a combination of third-world, traditional, spiritual and first-world technology - hopefully, a blend that's respectful of the third-world sources it came from."[220] The most explicit exploration of the "fourth world" concept appears on Hassell's collaboration with producer and sound artist Brian Eno, the 1980 album *Fourth World Vol. 1: Possible Musics*. Eno explored the concept further on his collaboration with David Byrne, the 1981 album *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* and, to some degree, through his production and collaboration on Talking Heads' 1980 album *Remain in Light.*

The "fourth world artists", particularly Jon Hassell and Brian Eno, but also David Byrne and to some extent, Talking Heads, use abstract appropriation, as laid out in chapter one, to create cross-cultural music that blurs the lines that typically define cultural appropriation. The abstract appropriation varies across the three case studies, from fantasy-based, idealised exoticism on *Possible Musics*, abstraction through sound collage and displacement of cultural personas on *Bush of Ghosts*, to a disorienting blend of new wave "Whiteness" and African sensibilities and influences on *Remain in Light*.

A potential problem with the "fourth world" concept is that, in imagining a musical space or culture beyond considerations of real cultural identities, composers may feel that they can take freely from other cultures' musical practices, using musical elements in ways that may be ethically questionable and culturally insensitive. This could be done under the guise of positive or at least benign intent, or artistic abstraction of the musical

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220 Yelton, "Ambassador from the Fourth World", 1.

elements. It is telling that the artists who explicitly stated their intention to explore the "fourth world" are White.

Hassell wanted to deliberately create a sense of cultural ambiguity. He said of the album *Possible Musics*   [The] "aim was to make a music that was vertically integrated in such a way that at any cross-sectional moment you were not able to pick a single element out as being from a particular country or genre of music".[221] This is a clear statement of intent in regard to creating a "fourth world music", and is a useful reference for measuring the extent to which the artists and albums discussed in this chapter have achieved or strayed from Hassell's original musical ideal and can be considered "fourth world". It would be difficult when analysing any style of music to clearly identify its cultural origins or influences from a single "cross-sectional moment", but timbral features or amplitudes associated with specific instruments or performance techniques can provide clues.[222] Hassell and Eno mask and manipulate the timbres of instruments, particularly Hassell's trumpet, in ways that help achieve Hassell's stated goal of creating cultural ambiguity. I will not focus on the cross-sectional moments mentioned by Hassell, but rather the overall effect achieved by performance and production techniques used in those moments.

Precursors to the Fourth World

Jon Hassell (1937-2021) had a long history in avant-garde and electronic music prior to linking with Brian Eno in the late 1970s. He achieved a master's degree in orchestral trumpet before receiving a grant to study electronic music in Germany with influential experimental composer Karlheinz Stockhausen.[223] Later Hassell worked with minimalist composer Terry Riley and studied Indian raga under the tutelage of vocal master Pandit Pran Nath, who greatly influenced his performance and compositional techniques.[224] This grounding in Indian music is a link to Hassell's exploration of non-Western performance techniques and sonic textures on *Possible Musics.* Those techniques include

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[221] Yelton, "Ambassador from the Fourth World", 2.
[222] The "cross section" referred to by Hassell is between the horizontal, time-based structure of music and its vertical, harmonic or textural structure.
[223] Yelton, "Ambassador from the Fourth World", 2.
[224] Yelton, "Ambassador from the Fourth World", 2.

half valve and tonguing methods that mimic the slurs and melodic embellishments found in Indian vocal music.[225]

Other trumpeters have explored cross-cultural influences in ways that can be seen as precedents for "fourth world music", including French trumpeter and singer Jacques "Jac" Berrocal, who experimented with processed trumpet and freeform compositional structures, and Don Cherry, whose 1970s output references Indonesian, Arabic and Indian music. Miles Davis's arrangements and instrumentation on his '70s albums, particularly *Bitches Brew* (1970) and *On the Corner* (1972), are also an obvious influence on Hassell. Hassell said – "Miles used percussion instruments and rhythms from various cultures, Indian drone instruments, electric guitars, and improvisation. That music is a source I can point to, a precedent for the kind of blending I do."[226]

US experimental rock band the Residents attempted a similar project to *Possible Musics* with their 1979 album *Eskimo,* a forerunner to "fourth world music". It can be seen as breaking similar ground to *Possible Musics* and was released a year earlier. Palmer states that the album – "brought a new sophistication to the descriptive use of sound effects in instrumental rock".[227] The conceptual difference between that album and *Possible Musics* is that the Residents were creating an imagined cultural space under the name of a real culture, that of the Inuit people of the arctic. *Eskimo,* like *Possible Musics,* features other-worldly sonic textures and has a similarly mournful and trancelike quality. The band claimed the music was a western translation or interpretation of Inuit stories and music. This is more immediately problematic in regard to both cultural appropriation and orientalism than *Possible Musics* because it draws on a specific culture and misrepresents it from an outsider perspective and for an outsider audience.

Stockhausen's ground-breaking work in audio manipulation, through tape editing and sound processing, was an influence on the "fourth world" concept and techniques. In "Hymnen" (1967), recordings of performances of national anthems from around the world, interspersed with speech, are manipulated through tape editing and effects, such as distortion, to create a disorienting cross-cultural sound collage. In addition to Hassell, Stockhausen's students included members of German experimental rock band Can, who released music that can also be seen as a forerunner to "fourth world music", particularly their "E.F.S." (ethnological forgery series, 1974), in which they imitated styles from other cultures.

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[225] Palmer, "The Pop Life", 20.
[226] Palmer, "The Pop Life", 1.
[227] Palmer, "The Pop Life", 1.

There is some precedence for "fourth world music" as a concept, albeit under a different banner and made with different intentions. In the 1950s, a genre emerged that has retrospectively been dubbed "exotica".[228] Some notable exponents were US composers Les Baxter and Martin Denny, and Peruvian singer Yma Sumac. Exotica explicitly evoked fantasised "others" and other cultures through the use of clichéd musical signifiers based on either essentialised projections of foreign cultures (to the US) or completely fabricated musical signifiers to represent cultures named in album and song titles such as *Ritual of the Savage* (1951) by Les Baxter and "Island of Dreams" (1958) by Martin Denny. Exotica was, at the time, referred to as lounge music or "bachelor pad music".[229] The similarity with "fourth world music", and *Possible Musics* in particular, is in seeking to create an imagined culture or space using evocative musical signifiers. A key difference is that exotica artists often used exploitative racial stereotypes to create fantasised versions of real cultural others, whereas the "fourth world artists" sought to project an imagined culture beyond cultural realities. Although the stated intention of Hassell in exploring this imagined space, and the presentation of the albums, was less ethically problematic than the practices of the exotica composers, it is possible to read similar stereotypes and clichés in the music itself.

"Fourth world music", particularly in the form of Hassell's *Possible Musics, Vernal Equinox* (1978) and *Dream Theory in Malaya* (1981), exists in a similar cultural space as exotica. That space is Western music with fantasy-based cultural themes and concepts. Hayward (1999) suggests that the Residents' *Eskimo* exists on a continuum of the tradition of exotica because "exotic non-Western noise" is used to create a sense in listeners of "musical otherness".[230] This also describes the method and effect of *Possible Musics,* and *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts.*[231]

Brian Eno studied art in the mid-1960s and was exposed to avant-garde ideas about artistic practice, including some members of the Dada movement's disdain for the ideal of an individual creative genius.[232] The influence of these ideas is evident in his work on both *Possible Musics* and *Bush of Ghosts* in the absence of a prominent lead-singer personality type or "lead-ego". He approached Hassell with a view to collaborating after hearing his 1977 album *Vernal Equinox* and seeing a performance by Hassell in New York of a piece that would eventually become "Grace" on *Possible*

[228] Wenaus, "Anxiety in Stereo", 485.
[229] Wenaus, "Anxiety in Stereo", 485.
[230] Hayward, "The Cocktail Shift", 11.
[231] Hayward, "The Cocktail Shift", 11
[232] Lindau, "Avant-gardism, Africa' and appropriation", 195.

Musics.[233] Hassell agreed. He was impressed with Eno's approach to music production and mixing, which he described as having an "art-school sensibility".[234]

Hassell and Eno: *Possible Musics*

Hassell and Eno's ideas and concepts for *Possible Musics* are based on fantasy and idealism to a large extent. The "fourth world" they talk about has been described by Eno as an "interface between primitive and futuristic" where "futuristic" sounds and technologies (Western) are combined with "primitive" sounds ("tribal", non-Western or "ethnic") to create music that could be imagined as if came from some other ("fourth world") culture.[235] In this imagined culture, concerns such as cultural appropriation or divisions between the West and its others, are less important or visible, or maybe don't exist at all. Eno's use, at the time of the album's release, of terms such as "primitive" and "tribal" are problematic. The explanation he gives for the term "primitive" is that he means "unchanged aspects of the old world" [Africa].[236]

Trace Reddell (2013) describes Eno and Hassell as "outsider Afrofuturists".[237] "Afrofuturism" is a term usually used to describe art that imagines an optimistic future, or at least alternative reality for people of African descent, in a technologically advanced society.[238] Reddell lists some Afrofuturists as Parliament, Lee Perry, Tricky and Janelle Monae, all Black artists. He then lists some White artists - Hassell, Can, and Byrne and Eno, whose musical practices are comparable to Afrofuturists, although somewhat problematically, due to their cultural otherness to Africa and the African diaspora. Reddell describes Hassell and Eno's "fourth world music" as "ethnological forgery", a term originally coined by the band Can, but argues that it marks a turning point in the practice as their meta-concept of "fourth world music" is designed to "challenge received notions of national, racial and ethnic identities", rather than simply acting as smokescreen for cultural appropriation.[239] This blurring of the boundaries of racially-based identities in music sets the album apart from works in which identity boundaries

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233 Lindau, "Avant-gardism, Africa' and appropriation", 195.
234 Yelton, "Ambassador From the Fourth World", 3.
235 Eno, "The Life of Brian."
236 Ibid.
237 Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 95.
238 Bennett, "Afrofuturism", 92.
239 Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.

are clear but are tied together through the juxtaposition of cross-cultural musical elements, such as Paul Simon's *Graceland,* and works by Western artists that have been described as "world music".

Possible Musics doesn't fit neatly under the overarching title of "world music", which became a catchall for various types of cross-cultural and non-Western musical styles in the years following its release, particularly during the 1980s and '90s. Dale (2015) suggests that tying "fourth world music" to "world music" is a simplistic reading of what Hassell and Eno achieved on the album.[240] He argues that the music is too abstract in its sonic textures to fit into the category of "world music", which is often represented either by Western artists borrowing recognisable musical elements from other cultures, or music performed by non-Western artists.[241]

A key to making a distinction between "world music", the "fourth world music" on *Possible Musics*, and music that was simply experimental in its use of instruments and techniques from other cultures, is the use of abstract appropriation. Hassell uses abstraction of texture and timbre to fulfil his stated aim on the album, of creating music that is difficult to distinguish as belonging to a specific location or culture. His heavily treated trumpet (with audio effects, most prominently a harmonizer) sits atop beds of hand percussion and synthesisers. The treatment of the trumpet disguises the instrument's acoustic properties, but the textures it creates are not entirely ambiguous. The sounds are similar to those produced by a number of Middle Eastern and Central Asian wind instruments including the duduk, the ney and the kawala. Hassell's incorporation of melodic phrases featuring Middle Eastern scales suggests that the association is deliberate. An example of this is the first melodic trumpet line in the piece "Griot (Over 'Contagious Magic')" between 00:10 and 00:15. Although Hassell is attempting to create other-worldly sounds, the "other world" created suggests an exoticised, albeit futuristic, fusion of Middle Eastern, Indian and African styles.

The percussive elements, performed by Nano Vasconcelos, from Brazil, and Aiyb Dieng, from Senegal, are also often treated with effects including phase shifting and distortion. The hand drumming is evocative of a sense of a non-Western culture, which could be African, South American or Indian but is not definitively any of these. The

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240 Dale, "Fourth World Vol 1: Possible Musics", 88.
241 Dale, "Fourth World Vol 1: Possible Musics", 88.

percussion instruments used are the ghatam from India and conga drums, originally from Cuba.

In simple terms, the hand drum layer in the music seems to represent the "primitive" that Eno refers to in his description of the "fourth world music" concept, and the treated trumpet and synthesisers represent the "futuristic" element in the manifestation of it. An issue with this is that hand percussion is often associated with Africa or South America and therefore the idea of the "primitive" in the music is associated with Africa and the African diaspora by implication. "Primitive" is a term with negative colonial baggage in relation to describing non-European societies. This connection is not explicitly stated by Eno or Hassell but is implied, particularly through Eno's references to Africa in interviews about the "fourth world" concept.

Although the use of hand percussion can be seen as essentialist and the allusions to Middle Eastern music are a form of exoticism, the ambiguity in intent and performance, and the "futuristic" production techniques and layering with the eerie trumpet and synthesiser textures goes some way to masking these problems, if not completely neutralising them. The use of hand percussion in music, in and of itself, is not essentialist, but using it as an allusion to an idea of a "primitive" culture, that of Africa or perhaps another developing nation, can be seen as a type of abstract essentialism which forms a large part of the abstract appropriation contained on *Possible Musics.*

The abstraction of cross-cultural signifiers, and the fact that the album does not contain direct quotation of musical phrases or samples from other cultures, means that the approach taken, and techniques used, by Eno and Hassell cannot be considered direct appropriation, but rather abstract appropriation.

Eno and Byrne: *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts*

My Life in the Bush of Ghosts (1981) is an album credited to Eno and Byrne which consists of sampled recordings of voices from various cultural settings combined with acoustic, electric and electronic instrumentation. The album followed closely from *Possible Musics.* Much of it was recorded before the making of Talking Heads' *Remain in Light* but it was completed and released later due to the need to attain legal clearance

for use of the vocal samples.[242] Chronologically, *Remain in Light* was the first of the three albums on which production commenced.

 Bush of Ghosts was first conceived as a three-way collaboration, but Hassell was eventually left out of the project. Lindau suggests that, although Hassell was not a credited contributor to *Bush of Ghosts,* "fourth world music served as the album's underlying concept."[243] Byrne says of the original goal for the album "Brian [Eno], Jon [Hassell], and I fantasised about making a series of recordings based on an imaginary culture".[244] This is similar to the previously mentioned album *Eskimo,* by the Residents, although that album is based on a fantasised version of a real culture rather than an imagined one. Hayward groups *Bush of Ghosts* with the *Eskimo* and Can's E.F.S. cycle, which he describes as a series of works of "cultural fakery" from the late 1960s to the early 1980s.[245] Hassell said that the original idea for *Bush of Ghosts* was to – "make a record that …. would be somewhat like the Residents' *Eskimo*, that is a faux tribe, invented, that doesn't exist."[246] This points to the "Fourth world" composers' position within a coloniality of power, as described in chapter 2. They are viewing real and imagined cultural others from a position of power; power to manipulate, control and reimagine narratives of cultural practices from regions that have in many cases been oppressed by White European empires and colonies. That is not to suggest that being in a position of power and privilege compared with influential cultural others necessarily leads to unethical practices. In the case of Hassell and Eno, and Talking Heads to an extent, there is a sense of the influence, rather than the appropriation of the cultural artefacts of others as expressed through musical gestures and textures rather than overt theft or misuse.

 Bush of Ghosts creates a different and arguably more disorienting cultural ambiguity than *Possible Musics* and *Remain in Light*. This is achieved through the use of audio sampling and tape editing. The album was produced before the computer-based looping and editing of samples that is ubiquitous in electronic music production today. The musicians played repetitive "loops" of percussion rhythms and simple riffs. The instrumental musical bed is quite similar on *Bush of Ghosts* and *Remain in Light*, with

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[242] Byrne, "Bush of Ghosts - Making of".
[243] Lindau, "Avant-gardism, Africa' and Appropriation", 200.
[244] Byrne, *How Music Works*, 150 -151.
[245] Hayward, The Cocktail Shift, 11.
[246] Hassell, *Oceans of Sound*, 123.

funk and afrobeat-style rhythms played on traditional rock music instruments, synthesisers, and hand percussion. Disembodied voices from contrasting cultural settings sit atop the rhythmic beds of *Bush of Ghosts* to form the sonic layer usually taken by a lead singer or vocalist. They variously preach, shout and chant mostly incoherent messages over the instrumental arrangements in a way that scrambles binary concepts of Black/White or east/west.

This scrambling is achieved by removing the voices from their cultural contexts. In some cases, however, the "vocalist" in a song uses identifiably Black cultural modes, such as the preacher in the track "Help me Somebody". The assumption that some of the voices are "Black" is influenced by a history of the presentation of "Blackness" through speech inflections and slang in popular culture, particularly through "Black" music such as funk and soul. The preacher's voice sounds, in some respects, similar to, and is edited and arranged in a way, that is reminiscent of James Brown's style of vocal delivery. It is often shouted but still has a musical quality. Fela Kuti also used this type of vocal delivery. The musical backing includes frenetic, afrobeat style drumming and hand percussion.

Questions of cultural sensitivity are raised by the types of samples and their use. Critics at the time of the album's release noted this. *Rolling Stone* magazine's review described the album as "cultural imperialism".[247] This is a strong criticism, but accurate. The vocal samples include the previously mentioned preacher, commercial recordings of Arabic singers, and a recording of a priest performing an exorcism. The sense of "cultural imperialism" comes through Eno and Byrne travelling, metaphorically, to other cultures, religions, and levels of society, and taking what they want in order to create something that bears their own names. Legal clearances were sought for the use of the samples, but this was a precaution against potential litigation rather than a sign of cultural sensitivity.

In the years following the release of *Bush of Ghosts,* a number of Western artists including Paul Simon, Peter Gabriel, and Ry Cooder released cross-cultural music that involves collaboration. As previously discussed, the power dynamics at play in those collaborations has called into question the ethics of the interactions. Lindau notes that, unlike its successors, *Bush of Ghosts,* "doesn't even pay lip service to the idea of

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[247] Pareles, "My Life in the Bush of Ghosts".

collaboration with its non-Western source materials".[248] This suggests that *Bush of Ghosts* is less ethically sound than Paul Simon's *Graceland* for example. It is however a very different artefact from *Graceland* and other collaborative cross-cultural albums of the time. It is a collage rather than a collaboration or simply direct appropriation. Although the use of samples on the album is ethically questionable, it isn't a case of the artists claiming credit for the performances of cultural others. Rather they are claiming credit for the assemblage of the cross-cultural materials in the same way DJs and hip-hop producers have done in the years since the album's release. The question of ethics arises because of the theme of cultural otherness (to the artists) that is presented across the album, through sampling.

Bush of Ghosts was ground-breaking in its use of samples and has been credited by prominent hip-hop artists, including Public Enemy producer Hank Shocklee, as the birth of sampling.[249] It was not the first album to use audio samples but was one of the first to assemble them on a release in a beat-driven, rhythmic context that would become synonymous with hip-hop, which was influenced by it. The way the sampled voices are used displaces and distorts their original meaning and context and adds to the abstract appropriation contained on the album. The abstraction of sounds in this case, in contrast to the fantasy-based sounds of *Possible Musics,* is in the mutation of real cultural artefacts through sound manipulation and editing.

 Beirins (2014) notes that "by treating speech as if it were musical material, it is already being deprived of its original communicative function."[250] This doesn't mean, however, that the vocal layer doesn't communicate emotion or messages. The inflections of the voices and the emotional connotations they convey are more coherent in most cases than the words they are saying. This is similar to an instrumental performer eliciting emotional responses from an audience that correspond with techniques they are using, such as dynamic range or tempo. Byrne said of the effect of the spliced samples

> More than just a way of tricking the mind, we also felt that when successful
> this effect also 'tricked' the emotions. Some of the tracks at least, generated
> genuine (to us) emotional reactions; it felt like the singer was genuinely

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[248] Lindau, "Avant-gardism, Africa' and appropriation", 205.
[249] Yelton, "Ambassador from the Fourth World", 1.
[250] Beirins, "Voices, Violence and Meaning", 219.

responding to the music and vice-versa.[25]

Jon Hassell said in a 2018 interview that *Bush of Ghosts* is "not what [he] had in mind as an extension of the fourth world idea."[252] Eno and Byrne took the "fourth world" concept in a different direction, away from Hassell's idea of vertical integration and back towards more conventional horizontal, event-based, compositional structures. In this way it fails the "fourth world test" in terms of its method of creating a new imagined world. It is less abstract in its appropriation than *Possible Musics* but does create a new cultural space, albeit one where the cultural elements are more identifiable. Rather than alluding to an imagined culture, as is effectively done on *Possible Musics,* real cultural elements are cut up and stuck back together. This creates the sense of a scrambled culture rather than an idealised, fantasy culture.

For Eno, the album represented a "vision of Africa".[253] This points to an implied "Africa", like that of *Possible Musics.* It suggests arrogance and perhaps naivety on Eno's part because few of the samples are of African music and, as with *Possible Musics*, the most obvious reference to African music is the use of hand percussion and polyrhythms, both associated with "Africa". The album also contains references to, and samples from, Middle Eastern music. The appropriation of Middle Eastern, including Egyptian, music is direct and obvious. Arabic pop records were sampled, as were recordings of folk singers from Lebanon.[254] All the sources sampled are credited on the album packaging, which is an acknowledgment of the work of cultural others and indicates a level of cultural sensitivity.

Two questions that arise in relation to cultural appropriation on the album are: does intent neutralise ethical considerations of cultural appropriation? And, does innovation or historical importance retrospectively neutralise those same considerations? Podmore (2021), in a contemporary reappraisal of the album, suggests that although it is an example of "cultural appropriation in its most complete, imperial form", it is paradoxically a case of "appropriation gone right".[255] "Gone right" only seems to indicate that the music is pleasing to Podmore. The description is simplistic and

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[251] Byrne, "Bush of Ghosts - Making of".
[252] Hassell, "Jon Hassell at 81."
[253] Robertson, "The Life of Brian".
[254] "Regimen" features a sample of singing by Dunya Yunis from *Music in the World of Islam, Vol. One: The Human Voice.* "A Secret Life" features a sample of singing by Samira Tewfik from *Les Plus Grands Artistes Mondo Arabe.*
[255] Podmore, "Brian Eno and David Byrne's Cultural Appropriation".

excuses the way that cultural appropriation contained in the album plays out in relation to power dynamics. Eno and Byrne were Western artists with a sense of entitlement similar to that of Picasso during his "African Period". Although the appropriation on the album can be seen as problematic, it is not evident that Eno and Byrne sought to steal or profit from specific ethnic others. The album has a sense of "art for art's sake" rather than a quest for financial reward or a cynical exercise in theft, an example of which is the work of Die Antwoord, covered in the previous chapter. While ethically problematic, the cross-cultural borrowing on *Bush of Ghosts* in a different category to the type of appropriation that appears on *Graceland* or the more closely related self-titled album by Deep Forest, covered previously.

Talking Heads: *Remain in Light*

Talking Heads are connected to the "fourth world" concept, primarily through their *Remain in Light* album (1980), but also the song "I Zimbra" from *Fear of Music* (1979). Brian Eno produced both albums and they were released during the same period as *Possible Musics* and *Bush of Ghosts.* These albums share personnel and use similar cross-cultural techniques to create a "new" sonic landscape or "world" through abstraction of musical elements. *Remain in Light* differs though, in that it is clearly and explicitly influenced by Fela Kuti and afrobeat, in addition to the eclectic and ill-defined cultural influences that appear on the other albums.[256] An unfinished outtake that appears on the 2005 deluxe version of the album is titled "Fela's Riff". Synthesiser and keyboards mimic a clipped, staccato, afrobeat-style horn section or rhythm guitar line. A distinctive sixteenth-note rhythmic pattern, broken up by eight and sixteen note rests, is used in a very similar way to the rhythm guitar lines in Kuti's song "Zombie" (1977). Improvised synthesiser appears to mimic Kuti's saxophone style and plays over the repeated riff and a simple 4/4 rock drumbeat.

Kuti's influence can also be heard across the official album, particularly in the repetitive, clipped guitar riffs and ostinatos. The drumming is never as rhythmically complicated or busy as Tony Allen's. It generally has a strong single accent on the first beat of each bar played by the kick drum, common in rock and funk, rather than the

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[256] Byrne, "I Seem to be Running Around.", 29.

double sixteenth note accents starting on the first beat of a bar or a two-bar phrase of afrobeat (as analysed in the previous chapter). The rhythmic complexity and frenetic feeling of afrobeat, created largely through its busy drum patterns, is mirrored on *Remain in Light,* but is created through a combination of other instruments playing against each other in polyrhythmic patterns, often two rhythm guitars and a keyboard. "Crosseyed and Painless" is an example of this.

Byrne was also influenced by South African music, although he didn't find the same affinity with it as he did with afrobeat, saying, "some of the stuff is difficult to listen to. It's not stuff you grow up with. With the ethnographic records you have to concentrate to hear what's going on, and for me it isn't always easy".[257] In contrast, he found Fela Kuti's afrobeat style more accessible, saying "with Fela… stuff like that, you know… just listen to it. It might be chants or something but it's no trouble, no sweat." This is likely because afrobeat had assimilated US music that Byrne was also influenced by funk.

Byrne's (1979) use of the term "ethnographic records" rather than using a genre title or even specific geographic title suggests that he is taking an academic, analytic approach to his African influences.[258] This creates a distance between himself and the cultures and people who created the styles that interested him. It also creates a sense of cultural hierarchy where the Western artist or researcher sits above the ethnic others who are studied and observed.

First-hand appropriation with an element of abstract appropriation, describes the cross-cultural influence on the album. The band engages with their African influences energetically to create music that is genuinely "funky", but there is also a sense of irony and knowing inauthenticity in their songwriting and performances. This "inauthenticity" comes through the album's blend of the rigid, angular rhythms of post-punk and new wave, primarily White genres, that were prominent in the band's previous work, with the rhythmic complexity and structural looseness of afrobeat.

The perception of authenticity in rock music up to that point had primarily been connected to what Cateforis (2011) describes as "the expressive history of the blues and other African-American styles".[259] He suggests that "new wave was overwhelmingly perceived as a White genre of music", and that its tight, "constricted beats" were, in a

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[257] Byrne, "I Seem to be Running Around.", 29.
[258] Byrne, "I Seem to be Running Around.", 29.
[259] Cateforis, *Are We Not New Wave?,* 72.

way, a rejection of a perceived "Blackness".[260] New wave was not only "White" but also often performed by middle class, university educated artists. Talking Heads' presentation as clean cut and "preppy", and their performance personas, can be seen as distinctly "White", whereas the music they were most influenced by on *Remain in Light*, afrobeat, can be seen as distinctly "Black". The contrast of such a "White" band interpreting such "Black" music creates a kind of ironic light-heartedness which distracts from the cultural appropriation in which the band is engaging.

"White" new wave masculinity was often personified through performative nervousness, and David Byrne was the embodiment of this. Cateforis argues that the performance of nervousness by new wave front men projected a "refined sensibility, a heightened awareness and reception to the world around us."[261] The presentation of stiff, middle-class neuroticism by new wave front men such as Byrne was a rejection of the aspirations to, and performance of, "looseness" in the late 1960s and '70s. "Getting loose" for the White middle class in America in the '70s often involved appropriating the "slang, fashion, and bodily expressions of African American culture".[262] Byrne's Performance, in the late-1970s and '80s, of getting "tight" rather than "loose" was also ironic because it represented rebellion through what was previously thought to be its antithesis   middle-class, clean cut and highly strung.

There are some similarities here to the irony in the presentation and music of Die Antwoord, as previously covered, although Talking Heads' appropriation is primarily musical, whereas Die Antwoords' appropriation also comes in their presentation and lyrical content. Die Antwoord's cultural borrowing can be seen as "White" presenting as "Black", whereas Talking Heads' borrowing can be seen as cross-cultural fusion presenting as "White". The band's style, although (appropriately) commonly grouped with other White, new wave artists, was informed, from their beginnings, by funk, disco and rhythm and blues. Their first hit single was a cover of "Take me to the River" by Al Green, a Black soul artist. This suggests that, although Talking Heads, and Byrne in particular, are a prime example of the performance persona described by Cateforis, they embraced Black music and weren't deliberately rejecting "Blackness".

Marzorati (2003) suggests that *Remain in Light* is the first album to "deliver on

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260 Cateforis, *Are We Not New Wave?,* 72.
261 Cateforis, *Are We Not New Wave?,* 73.
262 Cateforis, *Are We Not New Wave?,* 82.

Eno's prophecy" of the advent of "fourth world music".[263] Eno's interest in how the projection of the corporeal in African music could fuse with the projection of the intellect in Western music was key to the production and performances on the album. Eno said in 1995 –

> African music underlies practically everything I do, even ambient, since it arose
> directly out of wanting to see what happened if you 'unlocked' the sounds in a
> piece of music, gave them their freedom, and didn't tie them all to the same clock.
> That kind of free float, these peculiar mixtures of independence and interdependence,
> and the oscillation between them is a characteristic of West African drumming patterns.
> I want to go into the future to see this sensibility I find in African culture......
> I desperately want to see this next stage when African culture begins once again to
> strongly impact ours.[264]

The idea of independence and interdependence play out on *Remain in Light* in the seemingly disjointed, angular rhythms played against each other across the instruments in the arrangements to create a sound that is unified in its driving rhythm. "Born Under Punches (The Heat Goes On)" is an example of this.

Eno states that a key influence in implementing influences from African music in his collaborations with Byrne was the book *African Rhythm and African Sensibility* (1979) by John Miller Chernoff.[265] He said – "The idea [of borrowing from styles with African origins] is that the music of the third world provides spiritual nourishment lacking from popular music of the West, witness the importance of reggae in our Black community."[266] This statement is telling in regard to Eno's desire to take something from "Black music" that he saw as missing from "White music". Upon the album's release Byrne described the "spiritual" influence of African music on the album

> There's precedents for [syncopated polyrhythms] in our previous stuff [before
> *Remain in Light*]. But in the moments when this group really works, the underlying
> sensibility is very different from what it was before, a real radical shift [due to
> African influence]. This music, when it comes together right, has a transcendent

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[263] Marzorati, "Talking Heads' Remain in Light", 104.
[264] Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 105.
[265] Byrne, "The Music Has a Transcendent Feeling", 36.
[266] Byrne, "The Music Has a Transcendent Feeling", 36.

feeling, like a trance of some sort. That's exactly what happens in traditional African

music and other Third World music.[267]

This last statement can be seen as essentialising, or at least culturally insensitive. It speaks to Eno and Byrne's desire to appropriate or reinterpret something beyond the structural elements of African music. They recognise a key difference between Western art/pop music and traditional African music, which is its function in society and communities.

 In the same 1980 interview Byrne said

It's something that isn't sought after in most [Western] pop music. We're aiming at something different, although some elements may be the same. When it works you get the feeling: forget yourself and become part of the community. It's wonderful, and it doesn't happen every night.[268]

Remain in Light does at times successfully convey a sense of trance-like joyousness similar to that of afrobeat or some traditional African music. This "feeling" in the music is created through the use of identifiable techniques and musical elements, many of which are borrowed, but these cross-cultural influences transcend notions of cultural appropriation. This is because a trance-like euphoria created in an audience and the performers of the music can't be seen as belonging to specific cultural groups. The end result of the music, however, being its effect on an audience, doesn't neutralise ethical considerations around cultural appropriation. Byrne had an awareness of the colonial residue in the band's borrowing. Again, in the same 1980 interview, he said   "As far as [colonialism] goes… I realise that's a little bit of what we're doing, but I can't help it. That's some of the music we're most excited about."[269] This statement shows entitlement in Byrne's attitude towards his use of music from other cultures.

    Chapman suggests that Talking Heads' use of African rhythms is problematic because the power imbalance is large, the stakes are high, and cultural appropriation becomes an issue.[270] This is a grey area however, because rather than clearly defined

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267 Byrne, "The Music Has a Transcendent Feeling", 36.
268 Byrne, "The Music Has a Transcendent Feeling", 36.
269 Byrne, "The Music Has a Transcendent Feeling", 37.
270 Reddell, "Ethnoforgery and Outsider Afrofuturism", 100.

rhythms as used in traditional African music, they are influenced by and borrowing from the rhythmic "style" of afrobeat. Afrobeat is not traditional African music. Although it is influenced by it, it is also influenced by funk.

In addition to the influence of afrobeat, *Remain in Light* is connected to the real world as opposed to the "fourth world" through political messaging in some of the songwriting, albeit through fictional story telling and through cultural signifiers. The song "Listening Wind" tells the story of a North African terrorist who plants a bomb "in a free trade zone" due to his resentment of "foreigners who live in fancy houses".[271] Another song, "Houses in Motion", features "Arabic-style" melodies played on effected trumpet by Jon Hassell, in a style similar to his work on *Possible Musics*. The cultural signifiers are Arabic scales that suggest the cultural realities faced by North African others. The socio-political commentary in "Listening Wind" doesn't constitute cultural appropriation because it is fictional and doesn't use specific musical elements from other cultures.

Although the elements of performative "Whiteness" and Black influences are evident with a retrospective analytical lens, *Remain in Light* was, at the time of its release, largely received as cutting edge in its cross-cultural fusion.[272] It is not possible to separate the music from the knowledge that a famous White band is performing it. Even considering this, the music itself presents as not specifically White or Black. This shows that the band did succeed in creating the impression of a culture that is neither first nor third world, even if the musical world they projected was not the "fourth world" Jon Hassell had originally imagined.

The case studies covered in this chapter represent a historical juncture where abstract appropriation, sound collage, and first-hand appropriation meet and cross over. Abstract appropriation, in the case of *Possible Musics,* comes about through implied references to other cultures, particularly Africa, or the "tribal", to create a fantasy of a new, "fourth world" culture. In the case of *Bush of Ghosts,* abstract appropriation is achieved through sound collage, with the sampling of real voices from other cultures, which are edited and warped in such a way as to create an imaginary lead vocalist

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271 Talking Heads, "Listening Wind".
272 Lewis, *The Ultimate Music Guide: Talking Heads,* 33.

fronting a real band. On *Remain in Light* musicians "jam out" a White, new wave, approximation of Black styles – afrobeat and funk – and present it through the persona of nervous, White, middle-class masculinity. All are ground-breaking but also problematic in terms of cultural appropriation. Those problems include the essentialisation and misrepresentation (as "African") of "Black music" by White musicians who are operating from within a coloniality of power.

The least ethically problematic of the three is *Possible Musics*, which achieves a fantasy-based cultural ambiguity that is close to Hassell's stated goal to "make a music that was vertically integrated in such a way that at any cross-sectional moment you were not able to pick a single element out as being from a particular country or genre of music".[273] *Bush of Ghosts* was conceived with a "fourth world" in mind, but one that was imagined and enacted through a different lens and different techniques altogether. The cultural references and musical signifiers are clear, but the overall effect is eerily other-worldly. The combination of a first world, futuristic, technological fantasy with an implied cultural other is realised. The end product of the album, however, when weighed against Eno's stated aim of creating an "African psychedelic vision", shows that its creator's idea of "Africa" was both essentialist and exoticised.[274] "Africa" is represented by vague allusions to rhythmic ideas and instrumentation, but it is Middle Eastern voices that are, at times, brought to the fore.

Remain in Light carries the residue of the "fourth world" concept, and the mark of its creators, through personnel, production, composition and performance techniques. It presents "Black" as "White" in a way that both lessens the impact and obviousness of the cultural appropriation the band and producer are engaging in and deepens the ethical problems with it. Like the other case studies in this chapter, the cultural appropriation is hidden behind a presentation of White innovation. The innovation is real in all three cases, but all rely on either a framework of Black music or an allusion to an essentialised Black other.

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[273] Yelton, "Ambassador From the Fourth World", 102.
[274] Podmore, "Brian Eno and David Byrne's Cultural Appropriation".

Chapter 5: From Research to Creative Practice

This chapter will focus on my creative work and its links to the written, theoretical research component. The creative component is *Flight Cycle,* an album of original compositions*.* All the pieces on the album were composed, performed and produced by me. [275]

Practice as Research

The process of composing and recording the pieces for *Flight Cycle* has been concurrent with the process of developing the written component. Due to this, the practice-led element of the project, which consists of songwriting, performance and studio production, has been informative as another way of gaining an understanding of different types of cross-cultural influence   collisions and non-collisions.

The creative component is not designed to showcase a definitive ethical outcome of cross-cultural practice in music. As the critical process of undertaking the case studies unfolded, many of the same types of influence and appropriation were revealed in my own work. This is due to the fact that the case studies were chosen because of their relevance to and influence on my work. Ethical practice is, however, one of the aims of the project, and I have revised some works completed early in the process to alter them in light of better understandings of cultural appropriation. Examples of this will be identified and discussed later in the chapter. *Flight Cycle* stands as a creative work that illustrates the issues and creative techniques covered in the thesis, but also as a body of original works reflecting my own post-colonial family background and musical interests. As such, the analysis in the thesis can be used as a frame for understanding the creative component.

The project was conceived, in part, as a vehicle for finding a clearer personal understanding of post-colonial issues relating to my own life, family history and creative practice. The process has been revelatory on that front, even as it has shed light on

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[275] The song "Cahooty Patooti" features background vocals by Amanda Carr. This is the only instance of a performer other than me appearing on *Flight Cycle.*

broader problems with cultural exchange and related power dynamics in the post-colonial world. My thinking around incorporating cross-cultural influences in my music practice has shifted and expanded. There are few simple "right" or "wrong" answers to the question of what can be considered ethical use of musical elements from cultures other than one's own. This work has, however, helped establish a set of considerations for cultural sensitivity when practicing cross-cultural composition. Some of those considerations are relatively simple, some are more complicated. In what follows, I will reflect on some of the issues I've faced in making decisions about cross-cultural borrowing that might stray into cultural appropriation. I will give examples and explanations of the influences on *Flight Cycle* and how they are expressed through performance and production techniques.

For contemporary composers and producers, access to music from around the world is instant through the internet. Royalty free samples are available with leading software instruments and DAWs (digital audio workstations). Because of this, sounds that would have been clearly recognisable as culturally or racially "other" in the past are being integrated into the homogenised texture of global pop music. Part of the creative project was utilising samples and software instruments that represent examples of instruments from specific cultures. Music software company Native Instruments' collections of sampled instruments and MIDI players have been particularly useful. I drew on the "West Africa" collection extensively as well as occasionally using instruments from the "Middle East" and "Cuba" collections. Some of the pieces were performed entirely on "real" instruments, including drums and percussion, and some were a combination of real instruments, sampled instruments and electronic instruments such as drum machines and synthesisers. In some instances, instruments were processed with effects to the point that they are hard to recognise. This touches on the idea of abstract appropriation.

The line where cross-cultural influence becomes appropriation in not always clear, as is evident in the case studies. I have attempted to keep on the side of the former rather than falling into exploitative or otherwise unethical practices. At times I've used ideas for composition and performance techniques that have led to outcomes that were ethically questionable and could conceivably cause offence to cultural others. In these cases, pieces have either been discarded or changed. This has been a process of

following feedback and guidance from my supervisory panel and, informally, from peers in the academy and the music industry.

One idea I shelved was for the piece "Post-Memory Blues". I wrote and recorded lyrics and vocals that were performed using several accents to represent cultures from both my cultural heritage and those that have influenced my music practice. I only used what I felt were "White" accents — Irish, Afrikaans, American, Australian. Accents are not, however, racially exclusive. Even though I am white and share a racial identity with peoples whose accents I felt I was using, I decided that this type of mimicry of speech was inappropriate because it assumed ethical neutrality on the basis of racial similarity, which is not a sound basis for the practice. Accents and vocal delivery are a grey area but can be strongly associated with presentations of race and class.[276] I have been influenced by both Black and White artists and have used some vocal techniques that are similar to Black artists including Fela Kuti and James Brown, but I have tempered that by combining it with my own accent and vocal style as a projection of my identity.

Another example of an approach I tried but pulled away from was for the piece "O.G. (King of the Frogs)". I had initially written lyrics for the song that were influenced by the type of faux-gangster posturing of Die Antwoord. I had imagined the song as a satirical comment on inauthentic, performative "Blackness", by White artists like Die Antwoord. I decided against that approach because it could too easily be mistaken as deliberately offensive appropriation. The approach I took with the song, discussed in the next section, retained some of the attitude and approach to production, but without the posturing.

One Person, Many Roles

The composition, performance, audio engineering, production and mixing of *Flight Cycle* were all performed solo. This is a home studio or "bedroom producer" approach that is becoming more common with the increasing affordability of high-quality studio equipment and software. In the past, even relatively recently, albums produced at home without an external producer often had a lo-fi quality to the sound and a homemade feel. Some examples of this are the debut solo album by Paul MacCartney, early albums by

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[276] Paladino, "The Role of Accent", 34.

The Black Keys and arguably the most well-known lo-fi album, *The Basement Tapes* by Bob Dylan and The Band.[277] In more recent years, home studio productions have become almost the norm for independent artists, and some have achieved great sophistication and commercial success, including albums by Tame Impala and Billie Eilish. I aimed at the latter approach, wanting to achieve high production values and a professional "studio" sound.

Each of the roles required a different approach to the themes and considerations of the project. For example, when performing vocals I was aware of representing certain cross-cultural influences without descending into cultural parody or inappropriate and potentially offensive mimicry. This included using my own accent, sometimes in a slightly exaggerated way, as is the case on "O.G. King of the Frogs".

In deciding how I intended the album to sound as an overall production I was careful to only use very culture and/or genre-specific production techniques if I felt that referencing them was illustrating a point or theme in a song, rather than making a disposable pastiche of various genres and cultural tropes. For example, the doo-wop vocal introduction to "Method Illogic" is a reference to African-American doo-wop music and music by White musicians such as the Beach Boys, who were influenced by it.[278] This ties in with the samples of an African-American voice, covered in more detail later, saying "help me somebody" and "there's no escape". The point the song is making is that the lineage of influence and appropriation from Black to White musicians is almost impossible to ignore or escape.

I wanted to achieve a clean, punchy, modern sound as the overall aesthetic. Although I utilised distortion and saturation on some instrumental and vocal parts as well as on the stereo mix-bus on some tracks, the album always maintains a hi-fi sound. I decided on this approach because I wanted the album to sound like something new, rather than an imitation of a production aesthetic from a particular genre, culture or point in history. The overarching sound was achieved through a combination of engineering choices in the studio, such as microphone choice and placement, musical arrangement, and mixing techniques such as equalisation, sound processing with effects and choices of studio hardware such as outboard compressors.

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[277] Encarnacao, *Punk Aesthetics*, 135.
[278] O'Regan, "When I Grow Up", 154.

"O.G. (King of the Frogs)" for example, is a homage to the West Coast (US) g-funk, gangster rap production style of Dr. Dre, but I have created a cleaner, sharper drum sound than is common with the, often sampled, thick analogue drum textures associated with the genre. I've also used several audio effects on the vocal parts including delay, distortion, and modulation so that almost every line of vocal and backing vocal has a slightly different sound. This is more in keeping with modern hip-hop trends and helps it sit with the psychedelic EDM styles that are also an influence on the track.

At the level of song-writing, I spent months writing lyrics that reflected the themes of the project or that reflected a mood I felt suited cross-cultural influences I was working with. I recorded guitar riffs, drum patterns and MIDI patterns as initial demo ideas and then matched them with lyrical ideas. The arrangements and production choices often grew from there. Sometimes, such as on the track "Devil Silhouette", the lyrics came after the instrumental arrangement and recording was close to completion.

Relation of the Creative Component to the Case Studies

Some of the case studies set precedents for my creative work in terms of studio production, arrangement and structure. The genres that have had the most influence are afrobeat, "fourth world" music, mbaqanga and related South African "township" genres, EDM/techno, Australian hip-hop, gangster rap, funk/soul and rock. I've looked at how other artists have blended cultural influences, which has helped me make decisions about what I am comfortable with in choices about how to reflect on cross-cultural combinations of musical materials. Die Antwoord, for example, present personas through vocal delivery and cultural tropes that are heavily influenced by African-American gangster rap. This, as opposed to the music and production that accompanies the vocals, is the most problematic aspect of their borrowing and can be considered cultural appropriation that is ethically unsound.[279]

I was influenced by the production techniques used by some of the artists featured as case studies, particularly Brian Eno and David Byrne in their work on *Bush of Ghosts* and Talking Heads' *Remain in Light.* On the former, the studio is used as another, or perhaps overarching, instrument through the use of tape editing and sampling. I have

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[279] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 420.

made use of current computer editing technology which can readily achieve many of the same cutting and pasting methods. Editing and sampling are prominent elements in the cross-cultural borrowing and presentation on the album and their methods are credited by prominent early sample-based producers as having paved the way for the culture-mash of sampling in hip-hop that followed.[280]

In terms of creating a modern sound and representing the harder edges of my own Australian cultural identity through accent and use of language I was influenced by Die Antwoord.[281] This influence included song-writing, performance and production. Notwithstanding the aforementioned ethical issues surrounding the band's cultural appropriation, I have found a level of authenticity and humour in their undisguised and possibly exaggerated South African accents as well as their incorporation of Afrikaans language and slang. The influence of Die Antwoord is most apparent in tracks on Flight Cycle that feature minimalistic, hard-hitting EDM and techno beats and synthesisers such as "Cahooti Patooti", "Post-Memory Blues" and the hip-hop track "O.G. (King of the Frogs)".

In "O.G.", the instrumental arrangement is, in part, a homage to the gangster rap style of Dr. Dre and Snoop Dog, influential and prominent exponents of west coast (US) gangster rap. This is also a nod to Die Antwoord's incorporation of gangster rap elements. The references to Dre-style production include the drum pattern, with a strong emphasis on the kick drum landing on the 1 & eighth-note offbeat, the deep orchestral strings sample on the same accent, and the high, floating synthesiser lines. The "gangster rap" sections in the piece are interspersed with techno beats in a combination of cross-cultural styles similar to those used frequently by Die Antwoord.

When writing and recording lyrics and vocals for the song I avoided emulating a cultural identity that is inauthentic to my cultural background. In other words, I didn't pretend to be "gangster". The "gangster" persona is a key, and often authentic, presentation of cultural identity presented in African-American gangster rap.[282] I've used a personal style in the piece that, while influenced by the inflections of Black hip-hop artists, is not attempting to mimic them. The lyrics are rapped in my own accent, which is in keeping with the "Aussie hip-hop" genre that I've grown up alongside and

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[280] Yelton, "Ambassador from the Fourth World", 1.
[281] The thesis writing process included a draft of a section featuring case studies on Thundamentals and Def Wish Cast and the contrasts between their approaches to cross-cultural borrowning.
[282] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 417.

participated in. Also in keeping with hip-hop tradition, Australian and otherwise, my home area and landmarks in it are name-checked. K-town is local slang for Katoomba, the town in the upper Blue Mountains where I grew up. "Gearbox" is local slang for the Hotel Gearin, a now closed hotel with arguably the best live music room in the mountains. "Wrong side of the tracks" was the name of a regular showcase of electronic and experimental music I organised, promoted and performed at with my "progrocktronica" band Innamech in the mid-2010s at the Hotel Gearin.

The title of the piece, "O.G. (King of the Frogs)", is a tongue-in-cheek take on "original gangster", a term often used in gangster rap. This is meant as self-effacing rather than mockery. "Ginga" refers to my being red-headed, a trait primarily associated with White people from a Celtic background. While the lyrics in some cases have cross-over with themes and stories presented by gangster rap artists, this is because the hip-hop genre is often an outlet for authentic stories and of marginalisation and socio-economic problems. That's how I've chosen to use it in this case. While the lyrics and vocal delivery are meant to have an element of irony, the story presented is sincere. Some of the references will be unfamiliar to non-Australian audiences because the slang used is specific to Australia, the area in which I grew up and still live, and in some cases only a small subculture. The use of local slang is also a common feature of hip-hop and is a way of defining cultural capital.[283] These elements are presented in the style of a gangster rap/EDM hybrid but represent a common theme in hip-hop globally, stories of growing up with problems and finding some level of success, against the odds, through music.

The influence of performance styles of the artists and genres studied, and also related thematic and emotional elements of those styles, runs throughout the pieces. Like Brian Eno and Talking Heads, I've been drawn to the uplifting mood present in much of the South African and West African music I've studied. There is an overarching sense of joy across *Flight Cycle*, even when accompanied by themes of hardship. This wasn't often present in my previous songwriting, apart from in songs that were specifically about positive or "happy" themes. Even then, the strong influence of grunge and other hard-rock styles I grew up listening to often permeated the music, giving it a sense of melancholy. Those influences are still present in these new pieces, and the

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[283] Connor, "Good Buddha and TZU", 49.

fusion of emotional elements between genres and across cultures is an important factor in how the pieces were created. Some examples of this are "Devil Silhouette", "Shadow man in the Light" and "Trick of the Light", which all combine uplifting dance music, African-influenced rhythms and positive themes with elements of alternative rock and darker, emotionally disturbed themes. This combination of elements is part of what ties *Flight Cycle* together as a unified piece despite its eclecticism.

The afrobeat drumming style developed by Tony Allen in Fela Kuti's bands has been a major influence on many of the pieces. Afrobeat style drumkit and percussion patterns appear on a number of pieces including "Statictician", "The 5th World Breaks", "Got the Motion" and "Trick of the Light". In some cases, such as "Trick of the Light", the beat is based on afrobeat patterns but is simplified and played at a slower tempo. This is an attempt to create distinctive rhythmic patterns that reference but don't exactly copy specific rhythms from afrobeat songs and so avoids treating them as appropriated cultural signifiers. Elements of funk and soul music, to which afrobeat is indebted, are also evident throughout the portfolio, particularly in the rhythm guitar playing and approach to writing drum patterns. "Got the Motion" is an attempt to combine the distinct but related styles of funk and afrobeat. The drumkit pattern in the verse is based on Fela Kuti/Tony Allen style afrobeat patterns, whereas the drum pattern in the chorus is based on James Brown style funk patterns. The guitar riff in the first section of the chorus of the piece imitates the main riff in James Brown's "Get Up I Feel Like Being a Sex Machine". The technique of placing snare hits on the "on beats" (first and third rather than second and fourth) in a bar is common in soul music as well as afrobeat. That technique appears on "Method Illogic", "Got the Motion" and "Trick of the Light".

Funk and afrobeat style rhythm guitar playing is combined in a number of pieces with energetic, melodic single note and double stop patterns similar to the style present on much mbaqanga music from South Africa. An example of this the polyrhythmic interplay between acoustic and electric guitar parts on "Edge of a Storm". The approach to guitar on that piece is also influenced by Malian blues styles in its rhythmic phrasing and its acoustic/electric textures.

During my listening to music from across Africa in preparation for the project I noticed a rhythmic pattern that appeared in music across many regions and genres, including modern electronic music genres such as Kwaito in South Africa. It could be described as an inverted funk style beat. For the purpose of this example, I've named the

pattern "afro-funk". It is a syncopated pattern with snare drum hits landing on off-beat sixteenth notes (the '2 & a' accent), and off-beat eighth notes (the '2 &' accent). In a standard funk beat the corresponding accents would land on the kick drum instead. The following example shows this.

Figure 5.1a   Figure 5.1b

'Afro-Funk' Beat   'Standard' Funk Beat
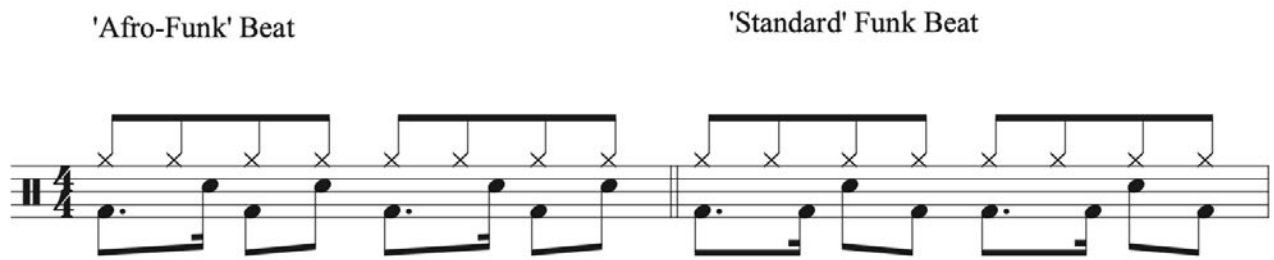
The type of funk beat shown in figure 5.1b is common across western popular genres, particular pop, rock and hip hop. The "afro-funk" beat, shown in figure 5.1a, seems to be similarly ubiquitous across popular genres in Africa. A number of pieces in the portfolio feature the "afro-funk" beat, including "Devil Silhouette", during the bridge section, and "Trick of the Light", during the chorus. In terms of movement and dancing, which are key aspects of much of the music covered by this study, kick drum accents tend to engender a downward, stomping movement whereas snare drum accents tend to engender a lighter, upward movement. Kick drums produce most of their energy in the low frequency spectrum whereas snare drums are much "brighter", with most of the energy coming from the high midrange frequencies. The inversion of the kick and snare accents between the two examples creates a sense of upward, bouncing movement and energy in the "afro-funk" beat rather than a sense of downward, stomping energy in the "standard" funk beat. Because the majority of the music that influenced *Flight Cycle* is dance oriented, a sense of movement and energy is key to the album. The "inverted" energy distribution in much of the African music studied, in contrast to Western popular styles, is a prominent feature of afrobeat drum patterns, which often feature snare rather than kick drum on the first beat of bars or phrases. The example below shows afrobeat style patterns that appear on two of the pieces on *Flight Cycle*.

Figure 5.2a   Figure 5.2b

'Trick of the Light' Verse Pattern   'Got the motion' Verse Pattern

The use of polyrhythm and polymeter is another recurring feature across the pieces on *Flight Cycle.* While use of these elements to create cross-cultural music that alludes to Africa could be seen as reductive or essentialist, they *are* common in Western African music, which is a specific focus of this study.[284] Polyrhythmic patterns are used in most of the pieces' rhythm section arrangements (drums, bass and rhythm guitar) to a create hypnotic, phasing rhythmic motion   a feature of afrobeat.

Polymeter is when separate time signatures play against each other across instruments in an arrangement. An example of the use of polymeter is the verse section, or main riff, in "Devil Silhouette", in which the drum pattern is in 4/4 time and the guitar and bass parts are in 5/4. Other examples are the shifting time signatures across multiple instruments in "Edge of a Storm", and the lead electric guitar part in the chorus/bridge section towards the end of "Trick of the Light" which is in 5/8 time against the 4/4 timing of the rhythm section. The use of polymeter also features in the music of progressive rock and "math rock" acts that have influenced the project such as King Crimson, Frank Zappa and Tool. The commonality of rhythmic devices across genres and cultures is part of the distinctive sound of *Flight Cycle.*

The "fourth world" concept developed by Jon Hassell and explored by Brian Eno and David Byrne was a key influence on the project. The two most obvious statements of the "fourth world" idea are *Fourth World Vol. 1: Possible Musics* by Hassell and Eno and *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* by Eno and Byrne. Both albums informed my approach to composition and production on several songs. Two examples of the type of techniques present on *Possible Musics* are the instrumental pieces "The 5th World Breaks" and "Statictician". I attempted on both to create a sense of ambiguous cultural "otherness" while using instruments and techniques from African and Middle Eastern music. "The 5th World Breaks" features a software emulation of Middle Eastern stringed instrument the

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[284] Fishkopf, "West African Polyrhythm", 2.

kemence, which I played in real-time on a MIDI keyboard. The recordings is heavily processed with effects and treatments include a harmonizer, a beat warper/generator, flange, distortion and compression. The drum layer is made up of deconstructed samples of afrobeat drumkit patterns that are sped up, dissected and re-configured to form breakbeat style rhythmic patterns in the later sections of the piece. "Statictician" also features afrobeat drum patterns alongside electronic drums, which sit beneath a "vocal layer" that is filled by samples of speech on CB radio, picked up as interference through amplifiers and speakers. The effect of the CB radio voices is unrecognisable language masked by static. This technique also ties the piece to the exploration of the "fourth world" concept on *Bush of Ghosts.*

Bush of Ghosts creates its "fourth world" through a combination of afrobeat and funk style rhythms with samples of speech from various cultural settings, as covered in chapter four. The idea of emotive but difficult to place vocals being used to create a disorienting, cultural sonic space, is also used on the pieces "Not Everybody", "Method Illogic" and "Method Logical Remix". In the latter two pieces, some of the same vocal samples were used that appear on *Bush of Ghosts.* This was possible because, while researching that album, I found a link to a free download of the music and vocal sample stems from two pieces on the album.[285] These were made available to the public by Eno and Byrne as part of the promotion for the 2006 reissue of the album for the purpose of allowing members of the public to remix the songs. The next sections detail my rationale for using particular vocal samples as well software instruments that feature sampled instruments.

Use of *Bush of Ghosts* Samples

The idea of incorporating some of the sampled voices from *Bush of Ghosts* appealed to me because it connects *Flight Cycle* to a continuum of genre and cross-cultural influence and abstract appropriation with *Bush of Ghosts* and the "fourth world" concept. The use of those particular samples was, however, potentially problematic in regard to issues laid out in this thesis around cultural appropriation. As stated in chapter two, Eno and Byrne's use of samples from public television broadcasts was similar to other well-

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[285] Stems are stereo tracks of single sound sources or instruments such as drums or keyboards

known exponents of sampling that followed, such as Public Enemy. Both sets of artists used publicly available recordings to create sound collages. A distinction is that Public Enemy often created political statements with samples, whereas Eno and Byrne's sampling on *Bush of Ghosts* is more abstract, and if there are intended political statements, they are more subtle.

The potential ethical issue with some of the *Bush of Ghosts* samples, and in turn my use of the same samples, is that some of the voices are recognisably African-American voices. The use by White artists of Black voices has a history of controversy, as with the case of Moby's *Play* album and, more problematically, Deep Forest's self-titled album. The vocal samples that I've used appear in the tracks "Method Illogic" and "Method Logical Remix". They are taken from a broadcast sermon by Black televangelist preacher Paul Morton in 1980. The samples were legally cleared for use by Byrne and Eno.

My use of the samples falls somewhere between the type of sampling done by Public Enemy in the late 1980s and early 90s and the type featured on *Bush of Ghosts.* The later uses sampled voices to create the sense of a disembodied front-person or singer, performing lyrics that are evocative but also obtuse. Public Enemy, in contrast, often arranged sampled voices to say specific things that have meaning within the context of a song. An example of this is the track "Incident at 66.6 Fm" from *Fear of a Black Planet* (1991), which uses samples of callers to talk-back radio talking about the band.[286] Most of the callers are critical and at times racist. The song makes a statement about culture and race relations in America at the time.

In a similar spirit, my use of the vocal samples in the tracks mentioned is designed to contribute to the themes of the songs and the album. In both tracks, the samples are of the preacher passionately pleading "help me somebody" and "there's no escape!" The use of these phrases, which are shouted in a way that would not sound out of place on a James Brown funk song, is designed to make a statement about ubiquity of cultural appropriation. The disembodied voice represents a sort of "ghost" of Black music in history and the cry of "there's no escape!" speaks to the ingrained nature of White borrowing of music with Black origins.

I'm aware that, as a White artist, there is an irony in my use of the samples in this context. I have a level of discomfort with my own borrowing from styles and genres with

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[286] Cariington, "Afrofuturism, Public Enemy."

African-American and Black African roots, including in these songs. That is what the songs are about.[287] The lyric - "empathologic, method of defence" is about trying to empathise with or understand some of the struggles and oppression faced by Black people in communities where funk, afrobeat and township styles formed, and feeling fraudulent or unhealthy in the exploration and utilisation of those styles. Processing those feelings and attempting to create the album in a conscious and ethical way has been an important part of the research. The use of the samples was not intended as a caricature of Black people or culture, or as an act of theft. Rather, they are used to make specific statements and provoke questions in the listener.

Use of Sampled Instruments through MIDI

Some pieces on the album feature the use of a software sampler to play various "virtual instruments". I used a Komplete Kontrol MIDI keyboard (a Native Instruments product) to play sampled instruments in real time. Some of the instruments trigger pre-recorded samples of acoustic instruments. The instrument that is probably the most identifiably based on samples is the classical kemence (or kemenche).[288] This is a common stringed instrument from the Middle East and northern Africa. It was used on the album's first track "The Fifth World Breaks". The MIDI keyboard interacts with the software so that some keys play notes, and some apply articulations or playing techniques such as slides and bends. Although the software allows for a realistic emulation of the instrument, which is identifiably Middle Eastern in sound, my performance should not be confused with a recording of traditional or ceremonial Middle Eastern music. It is not an attempt to emulate one.

This is an important ethical issue relating to the creative work. The line I drew when using samples or sampled instruments from other cultures always hinged on the questions   Is the performance an original composition rather than a direct copy of music from another culture or a recording of a traditional performer? And   Is the instrument considered off limits to cultural outsiders by groups that can be considered to have cultural ownership of the instrument? If the answer to these questions was no, which it was in each case, I proceeded with the performance and recording.

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[287] "Method Logical Alternative" is an alternate version of "Method Illogic" and, as such, covers similar themes
[288] The classical kemence sampled on "The 5th World Breaks" is distinct from the kemence of the Black Sea, which is box-shaped rather than bowl shaped.

After recording the MIDI keyboard performance of the kemence for "The Fifth World" I manipulated the sampled sounds with audio effects to add to the track's abstract and culturally ambiguous sonic space. The name of the track is a reference to the "fourth world" concept and works by the "fourth world artists", that influenced it. I was conscious of the problems with the "fourth world" concept regarding a coloniality of power, as discussed in chapters 2 and 4, and tried to avoid creating a soundscape that represented what Hassell described as a "faux tribe."[289] That description was given when he was discussing the original concept for the *Bush of Ghosts* album and also relates to *Possible Musics.* It suggests that in creating an imagined "tribal" other, Hassell was perpetuating broad colonial stereotypes of Black people. The term tribal doesn't necessarily refer to Black people, but in the context of Hassell, Eno and Byrne's statements about the influence of African Music and third world music on their work, it is likely he was associating the term "tribal" with African people.

The intention of the "fourth world artists" and my own intentions in creating *Flight Cycle* may be lost on listeners who aren't aware of the background of the works. I exist in a privileged position within a coloniality of power, as did Hassell, Eno and Byrne. My hope is that my intent for the work and awareness the history of cultural theft and misrepresentation has helped create something that is thought provoking, while also ethical.

Elsewhere on the album I used software instruments based on samples from a collection of West African percussion, including djembe, calabash, bells and dunuba. Sometimes the aim of this was to point to the origin of the musical styles that influenced a piece. This is the case on the track "Not Everybody", where the heavily processed electronic textures give way to the rhythm section being performed by acoustic hand drums and percussion. I also used the drums to create contrast between electronic and organic sounds, which is a feature of the album.

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[289] Hassell, *Oceans of Sound*, 123.

Lyrical Content

Lyrics are used in some of the pieces to explore the themes of project, including post-colonial issues, the "fourth world" concept and the concept of inherited trauma, which I had focused on during the early research process. "Post-Memory Blues" refers to the inherited trauma as well as some of my feelings about approaching the music of other cultures as an outsider. The lyrics reflect the discomfort and disconnection I felt when borrowing from African music, and sense of shame in the history of White appropriation of Black music. The music in the piece, ironically, does not borrow from African styles to the extent that many of the other pieces do. Below is an example of lyrics from the song. "The ghost with the blue suede shoes" is a reference to Elvis Presley, a prominent example in Western popular music of a White artist who borrowed from and popularised Black styles, specifically rhythm and blues, amongst White audiences.

You don't exist in my world
You are just a figment of my imagination
And if I recolour my current situation
You might just disappear from my new destination

I don't exist in your world
I am just a figment of your imagination
Colour coded ghost
I ain't nothing but a talk show host

I'm the host with the most
I'm the ghost with the most
Post-memory blues
I'm the ghost with the blue suede shoes

"Not everybody" explores a fantasy "fourth world" future, where issues of race are less important. The singing on the recording is processed with effects to the point that the words are deliberately difficult to understand. This was an attempt to capture what

the "fourth world" concept means to me. Below is an example of the lyrics from the song's chorus.

Ancient future
Faceless creature
Singing through its
Raceless features

Ancient creature
Faceless future
Ancient racist
Doesn't suit ya

Other examples of addressing issues covered in the thesis include "Little White Scar" and "Method Illogic". Below is an example from the latter piece which relates to colonialism and the "White washing" of history.

Empathologic
Method of defence
Method Illogic
Don't make any sense
Witness the confiscated cultures of the motherlands
Written the history by the vultures of another clan

The use of lyrics as a vehicle for exploring post-colonial issues covered by the study has been useful as a means of expressing my thoughts and feelings about the research outside of the conventions of academic writing. The project is about how post-colonial race relations and interactions are illustrated and played out through the medium of music, often through lyrical content, so it felt appropriate to explore those issues through that medium. Lyrics also represent the auto-ethnographic aspect of the study because they tell stories about my socio-cultural situation and background.

Alongside the instrumental and production elements of *Flight Cycle,* lyrics are used as part of the presentation of the outcome of the research. The metaphorical and at

times abstract nature of the lyrics is designed to create another layer of understanding of the themes of the project, both for me and the listener. That layer is at times shallower than the written component, at times deeper, but is also a more nuanced and emotionally integrated manifestation of the research outcome.

This chapter has explained my personal creative process and its relation to the case studies and broader themes of the project. In my creative work, I've used cross-cultural influences in ways that don't directly copy musical elements, or imitate postures, personas or practices that can be seen as cultural signifiers of others. I've attempted to identify and understand key musical elements that interest and move me, intellectually, emotionally and physically, and use them to create a fresh genre- and culture collision, with respect and acknowledgment given to my influences.

Conclusions and Reflections

The aim of this project has been to identify the nuances of cross-cultural influence and appropriation in music in order to understand them. This exploration has been conducted through both the theoretical and creative components. The study illustrates the impact of colonialism on music, which is still present in the post-colonial world. A set of criteria for examining cross-cultural influence and practice has been laid out, which includes issues of racial and class identities, and the use and abstraction of cross-cultural signifiers. The criteria have helped to illustrate instances, explored through case studies, where the use of music from other cultures is unethical and constitutes cultural appropriation.

Cross-cultural influence is a driver of innovation in music, as is evident in the case studies. The case studies also show that cross-cultural influence can become problematic in some circumstances, such as when artists like Die Antwoord inauthentically present themselves as "gangster" and by implication "Black" through lyrics and performance personas, even while giving themselves cover through irony.[290] There are some cases when the ethical implications of cross-cultural borrowing are not clear cut, such as Paul Simon's collaboration on *Graceland* with Black South African

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[290] Haupt, "Is Die Antwoord Blackface?", 417.

musicians during the apartheid era. In this case, although an argument can be made for the fairness of the cultural transaction due to proper acknowledgment and payment of the Black musicians, the cross-cultural borrowing is problematic due to the power imbalance between Simon and the musicians he worked with, and also between the Anglo-American West and Black South Africa at the time. *Graceland* is a landmark album of cross-cultural music and is, like the music of Die Antwoord, an influence on the compositions on *Flight Cycle.* In both cases I've attempted to express that influence without engaging in either the inauthentic posturing of Die Antwoord or unbalanced power relations of the collaborations on *Graceland*.

In the case of "fourth world" music, particularly the *Possible Musics* album, the influence of cultural others is implied rather than explicitly stated. This creates a cultural ambiguity, the effect of which is ethically "cleaner" than cases where specific elements or personas are replicated. The abstract appropriation contained on *Possible Musics* and, to an extent, *Bush of Ghosts*, has also influenced my compositional choices, particularly on songs where a sense of cultural ambiguity is created through the mutation of instrumental timbres with audio effects.

Talking Heads explored the trancelike and transcendent effect they experienced through the African music that influenced them. This can be seen as a positive, rather than exploitative expression of cross-cultural influence. I have also attempted, through my creative work, to convey the sense of joy and movement I've experienced through the African influences on it, particularly the afrobeat and mbaqanga genres.

The project has also been an exploration of my own identity as a first generation Australian from a White South African migrant family of political activists that escaped apartheid-era South Africa. I've learned that whatever one's political leanings or socio-economic situation, White privilege has been and continues to be a dominant force in cross-cultural exchange in music in the post-colonial world. This has manifested across multiple generations of first- and second-hand appropriation up to the present, where access to music and audio samples from around the world makes it harder to define musical and ethical boundaries between cultures. *Flight Cycle* is an example of this, but I have attempted to be clear about where my influences are from, and to make informed ethical choices about their use. It has been confronting, however, to realise that even with the best of intentions and a strong ethical underpinning for the work, I may be seen to have at times fallen into the same practices of essentialising cultural others and

borrowing with White entitlement that are exhibited in the case studies. This realisation has been retrospective to the completion of the final mixing and mastering of the album, and with the guidance of my supervisory panel I've decided that enough care was taken during the process and evaluation, that removing tracks or sections of music was not necessary.

The process of completing this study has been illuminating in regard to both my own practice and the ongoing story of genre collisions and culture collisions in the post-colonial world. It is my hope that other scholars and musicians will find this look into some landmark cases of cross-cultural interaction useful when making decisions about the direction of their creative work. The homogenisation of distinct cultural elements in popular music and culture has always occurred but in the internet age this has greatly accelerated. Issues of racial equality and cultural appropriation have been brought into sharper focus. It is a fertile time for a clear-eyed appraisal of the ethics and nuances of cross-cultural borrowing, especially from a Western perspective, and in my case, the perspective of inherited White privilege.

It is clear from the case studies that not all cross-cultural influence should be considered cultural appropriation. Genre- and culture-collisions have driven innovation and cultural awareness throughout history, even when mainstream understandings of the deeper issues have been limited or some of the practices and attitudes of musicians have been unethical. This doesn't give artists a "free pass" from scrutiny based on limited criteria such as, for example, a collaboration justifying a project or artefact. Collaboration, if it involves respect and reward for all involved, can be seen as ethically sound, but larger issues of power imbalances between individuals and nations, and the socio-political realities in which collaborations occur can muddy the water and warrant closer inspection. Similarly, White musicians engaging with "Black music" shouldn't be seen as inherently wrong. This study sheds light on some uncomfortable realities while also engaging with and celebrating music that combines influences across genres and cultures.

Flight Cycle Credits

Track	Time
1. The Fifth World Breaks	4:03
2. Come on Over	3:55
3. Devil Silhouette	3:46
4. Trick of the Light	3:41
5. O.G. (King of the Frogs)	3:59
6. Cahooti Patooti	3:06
7. Shadowman in the Light	3:59
8. Method Illogic	3:33
9. Statictician	3:35
10. Post-Memory Blues	3:29
11. P.Trog Dub Frog	4:06
12. Got the Motion	3:38
13. Little White Scar	3:17
14. Method Logical Alternative	2:15
15. Not Everybody	2:56
16. Edge of a Storm	6:00

Written, performed and produced by James (Jimmi) Carr.

Backing vocals on track 13 by Amanda Carr.

Mastered by Mitchell Hart.

Artwork by Helen Bells

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