

SOUNDSCAPES AND TERRITORY: WORLD MUSIC IN TERRITORIAL MARKETING

João Luís Jesus FERNANDES*

University of Coimbra, Geography Department, Centre for Geographic Studies
and Territorial Planning, Portugal, [e-mail: jfernandes@fl.uc.pt](mailto:jfernandes@fl.uc.pt)

Abstract: Landscapes are dynamic, heterogeneous and built of material and immaterial elements, what makes its appropriation, experience and perception a broad multi-senses exercise, from seeing to feeling, from smelling to hearing. In this sense, the sound environment is one of the most important elements of a landscape, because it can condition the quality of life but also because it is assumed, when associated to music, as a factor of identity statement and territorial marketing. Despite the sound, artistic expressions resulting from complex population mobility, musical instruments and sound styles, which create phenomena of sharing, hybridism and diversification, many musical genres, especially the ones marked as traditional music are associated to specific places. Thus, World Music, for its multiterritory expression, has been a means for statement and marketing of places before touristic flows, nowadays with greater space mobility but also with more fragmented appetites. Tango's Buenos Aires, folk music's Dublin, fado's Lisbon or samba's Rio de Janeiro, by bounding sound artistic experiences to very particular events and urban environments, are posters for tourism promotion of the cities that intend to state before global flows of cultural tourism. In a global logic of competition between places, culture, and, in its core, musical expressions, it moulds cultural landscapes and attract audiences, mainly for the intervention of cultural industries with a strong diffusion power and market capture.

Key words: music, geography, identities, marketing, tourism.

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SOUND AND TERRITORY - INTRODUCTION

In its cultural derive, contemporary Geography gives special importance to the multi-senses relation of the population with the space. It dislocates produces, consumes, appropriates but, in the construction of personal and cultural of territories, intervenes in senses like felling, odour, taste and sound. Theses senses are important in geographical themes as mobility, orientation of blind people in urban areas, in case of feeling; environmental life quality, issue in which the smell sense is a relevant variable or, in another record, gastronomic tourism, which evokes the territorial importance of the palate. In what sound is concerned, there are a lot of associations to geographic space and to the territoriality of populations.

* Corresponding author

Firstly, the sound must be highlighted as a determinant variable for the populations' quality of life, an important issue given the transformation of sound environments that accompany territorial and landscape dynamics as industrialization and urbanization. Humanizing the landscapes had aesthetical and visual effects but also sound effects, especially in urban areas but also in rural geographic spaces of lower densities, which diversified and received new functions, like tourism and the support of infrastructure as fast communication ways or, in the periphery of consolidated urban spaces, the advancements of peri-urbanization.

It is through sonority that the sustainability of some development projects is questioned, and it is also through this variable that some population deterritorialization processes occur *in situ*, i.e., following the concept of Rogério Haesbaert (2004), the loss of bonds of the populations regarding their personal territories. Besides, many territorial conflicts have a sound dimension: problems like the crossing of residential areas by fast communication routes or, in some historical centres, the proximity of many nightlife establishments and houses, especially with an elderly population, are challenging for territorial planning. Besides permanent sound transformations associated to more perennial infrastructures, Geography should still be opened to temporary changes of the sound environment, that occur in multiple circumstances, like rave parties or urban music festivals that, in many cases, seek places in low density rural spaces (Sarmiento, 2007). These events look for broad multi-senses experiences, in which sound is just a part of a whole that includes vision, movement (dance), and even the creation of an interstitial and ephemeral space, sometimes recurring to hallucinogenics (Vasconcelos, 2008). On the other hand, it is through sound that, in what could be named the *mp3 generation*, private spaces are created - walled individual territoriality cells, with very little studied and unevaluated social and personal effects. This is the sound dimension of a growing process of individualization of the urban social life, of more atomized and fragmented citizens that interact less with the surrounding spaces (Carmo, 2008; Simmel, 2004).

Secondly, the sound dimension of the landscape presents a patrimonial side that, in some circumstances, can be attractive in tourism terms, as occurs with the fruition of rural spaces that have in the proximity of the sounds of nature one of the main attractions¹. Thus, it is interesting to discuss the sound environment as a symbol of individuality of places in the tension between the place that it is intended to state and the global flows that circulate allograft elements with less spatial bonds. However, the sound expressions that are associated to specific places can also travel through flows that, through cultural industries, voice multiterritorial manifestations as *World Music*.

THE MULTITERRITORIALITY OF WORLD MUSIC²

Many times confused with *Ethnic Music*, *World Music* is associated to cultural manifestations and communication such as dancing, but it is also bounded to certain places and geographical contexts. It was with this territorial affiliation that it reached wider consumption markets, especially after the 1980's (Bohlman, 2002). The record of this vocal heritage intensified in the colonial period; however the growing popularity of *World Music* is one of the expressions of socio-cultural, economical and technological globalization that structured in the last decades. The edition of the

¹ In a holiday camp in Noudar Nature Park, in Alentejo (Portugal), one of the activities as the suggestive title 'sounds of the night' (Check <http://www.parquenoudar.com/>).

² About the multiterritoriality of World Music, it contains some ideas discussed in the communication *Globalização e multiterritorialidade: o exemplo da World Music*, apresentada no III Congresso de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Literarios de Cultura Popular (SELICUP), in the University of Extremadura (Cáceres) in April 2008.

album *Graceland* (1986), by Paul Simon, which incorporated African sounds in an Anglo-Saxon musical record, marks an important moment in broadcasting and interest in diversity music. The global statement of this ethnic music was also acknowledged with the creation of the *Grammy for World Music*, award that gives global relevance to local interpreters.

The academic interest for this cultural expression is related with paradigm shifts verified in social and human sciences. Here it is not discussed the concept of post-modernism, but it is important to highlight the end of functionalist metanarratives. This change opened space to the expressions of diversity, to multiple voices and to the valuing of oral expression and immateriality, fact confirmed with the creation, by UNESCO in 1997, the status of *Oral and World Heritage*.

World Music is associated whether to religious and mythical rituals whether to rural life styles. Thus, the growing adhesion to these cultural expressions is also an act of self-clearing and a return to the origins of the urban-industrial societies. In another sense, *World Music* expresses the end of bipolarity of international relations, symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, opening the world to multilateralism, to variable geometry and to the growing perception of the *Other* while political actor and creative agent (Connell & Gibson, 2004).

The popularity of *World Music* results from the time-space compression and the consequent shortening of distances. The technological development in recording, reproducing and broadcasting the music, mainly since the passage from an analogical support to digital support, was determinant to the space and time shortening of distances. The expansion of cultural industries associated to radio, television and cinema also helped in the social and spatial broadcast of these musical genres. However, the global projection of *World Music* is due mainly to its multiterritorial character, to the way how it gained expression in the multiple dimensions of the geographic space that were being built throughout the 20th century, especially from the technological innovations and socio-cultural dynamics that accompanied it onwards.

The contemporary geographic space remains scarred by the Euclidian metric, of continuous territories and movable but well defined borders, in a geographic logic associated, for example, to nation states. To this geometric dimension of the geographic space topology must be added, in which many socioeconomic and cultural phenomena are expressed: space organized in a network of flows and vertexes, the same that, for example, supports immaterial circulation of financial flows. According to Rogério Haesbaert (2004), in this integrated geographic dualism, it is possible to identify human groups, sedentary or in motion, the so-called *exclusion agglomerates*, characterized by the absence of freedom, interlocking and some disengagement to the previous two levels, like in some degraded neighbourhoods in urban areas or mobile refugee groups. For this Brazilian author, the human phenomena present a larger geographic complexity, marked by the territoriality articulated in the mentioned spatial levels, in a multiterritoriality that, for example, makes *World Music* a global phenomenon.

The Euclidian territoriality of *World Music* is expressed in the way how it has been used as symbol for statement and territorial marketing of the classic nations states: the *fado*, in the Portuguese case, is an example. In this nationalist statement, realities are simplified and bonding speeches are adopted from cultural expressions interpreted as unity symbols around a territory and a flag. This way, music is an instrument of consolidation for nationalities, whether for the fact of creating a *unisonance*, a collective assertion of the gregarious spirit that promotes a symbolic affiliation (Bohlman, 2002).

However, the adoption of an artistic speech, as collective voice of a country, is always the result of an ideological, political or ethnical choice. This selectiveness is downstream of some imbalances and inequalities of political and economical power, in

favour of some groups and/or specific regions. For example, still in the Portuguese case, the consolidation of the Lisbon *fado* and its bonding to the identity and political image of the country cannot be disassociated of the geographic predominance of the capital.

The bond between music and a continuous space can occur also in other geographic scales. The production of places and its identity is bonded to ways of cultural expression. For example, New Orleans is a city whose identity cannot be disassociated. It is also through music that *topophilia* is expressed (Tuan, 1980), i.e., affective connections between a population and a place. Hogan (2007) refers to the bond between the music of John Spillane and Cork, in the Republic of Ireland. The *Balada da Despedida* has, regarding the city of Coimbra, such an interpretation. The successive *baladas da despedida* (farewell ballads) emphasize the student identity of the place and the circulation of students that come and go. The memory and the feeling of *saudade* (missing) bond a network of former students that, dispersed in different places, are grouped in a central identity place – Coimbra and the University. Coimbra *fado* is, in this sense, a permanent evocation of the university identity of this place, and its relation with the Mondego River, and the symbolic strength of the aggregation of multiple student generations.

This example evokes other territorial dimension of *World Music* – the topologic space of flows and space mobility. The geographic dislocation of the population has lead to the diffusion of several shapes of capital, like human, economic but also cultural. Music and music instruments disseminated this way, assuming value as symbol of identity aggregation of multiple diasporas, networks of communicates united by culture, religion and language and by an ancestor common origin. The diasporas transport instruments, melodies, ways of living and being, narratives and mythologies. Being the diasporas an organized structure of network space mobility, with a broadcasting centre and different receiving vertexes, in the arrival places there is a representation of the space of departure – an enactment of the centre – that involves gastronomy, architecture, place naming and music. For example the Cape Verdean *mornas* that sings the *saudade* and the *topophilia* of Cape Verdean emigrants with their islands, as well as Indian music with singers like Sheila Chandra. This last case evokes some particularities that characterize the territoriality of *World Music* in topologic networks spaces. Firstly, the broadcast of this identity element, not from a diasporas centre, in this case India, but its broadcast and production from one of the most important vertexes, the United Kingdom. Secondly, the example of Sheila Chandra, whose musical style is framed in the so-called Indi-pop, shows the effect of the broadcast but also of innovation of the musical styles inspired in sounds from the departing places that, in the delocalization path, gain new hybrid contents.

The same occurred with the broadcast of African music, mostly during the called *middle passage* – the path of slavery to Europe and North and South America. This path accompanied by melodies and musical instruments opened African music to the world and lead to its recreation in period style and places so diverse as the blues and jazz, samba or rap, contributing to the material and immaterial heritage of dynamic cultural landscapes outside Africa. This broadcast can also be illustrated with examples like polka, traditional music from Bohemia (current Czech Republic), that expanded with the emigration to other parts of the globe, mostly the USA. In this path, it gave origin to new hybrid sounds, due to miscegenation with other local styles, creating new sound landscapes (*soundscapes*) like the Polka Belt. Not by accident, the *International Polka Association* is based in Chicago, in which region there is one of the most important vertexes of the Czech diaspora (Bohlman, 2002).

It is in the greater global immigration metropolis that the main encounters between different musical genres happen. Here, space must be understood as an *ethnoscape*

(Appadural, 1990), in which each cultural group prints its mark. Music is part of those impressions, defining a particular *musicscape* marked by diversity (Hogan, 2007).

World Music is a cultural phenomenon with strong impression in the flow space due to the technological expansion of the broadcast means, appropriate by multinational that untie the sound of their places of origin, promoting consuming markets of the symbolic. The dissemination of consuming locations also places new problems. The geographic delocalization of a music category with sense of place promotes the risk of staging authenticity. Untying sounds from their context of origin and its fast multiplication and appropriation by other sectors of cultural industries like cinema, has placed new ethical questions, resulting from the differentiated control of those means of reproduction. This deregulated dispersion can also create problems of copyright, in face of which the international community responded with the creation of WIPO – World Intellectual Property Organization.

The territorial expression (or multiterritoriality) of *World Music* is still bonded to the agglomerate of exclusion referred by Rogério Haesbaert (2004). Effectively, music has been a frequent means of statement for excluded groups, like the aforementioned African slaves. The genres deriving from that route, like *samba*, *rai* and *rap*, are today an instrument of identity cohesion and resistance of communities with less economic and politic power. In this sense, music is also a means for re-territorialization, of recovering social and spatial bonds and conquest of power by groups that, by not belonging to the socioeconomic and politic elites, have less effective means of statement, as occurs with the descendants of Africans in the Brazilian and North-American societies. In the first case, the *favela* was even a place a place of flourishing of the black and mestizo culture of the Rio de Janeiro, from where also emerged great contributions for *samba*, today a national Brazilian expression, and the school of *samba*, an important community institution for social cohesion and promotion of human capital of more vulnerable groups (Tramonte, 2003). In the same way, *rap* is more than a musical genre, it is also a critical reaction to social, economical and environmental problems that affect populations with less economic and politic power, a musical expression integrated in the *hip-hop* movement, originated in the 1970's, specially in the African-American neighbourhood in the Bronx, New York (Filho, 2004; Zeni, 2004).

This complex phenomenon that today is associated to territorial marketing strategies of (re) building and statement of the image of places that compete to capture moving agents, especially tourists.

WORLD MUSIC AND TERRITORIAL MARKETING

According to Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005, p.506) "*Places have long felt a need to differentiate themselves from each other, to assert their individuality in pursuit of various economic, political or socio-psychological objectives. The conscious attempt of governments to shape a specifically-designed place identity and promote it to identified markets, whether external or internal is almost as old as civic government itself. Thus, any consideration of the fundamental geographical idea of sense of place must include the deliberate creation of such senses through place marketing.*" In fact, the contemporary global system remains scarred by places that compete in capturing investments and student flows, creative residents or tourists (Kotler et al., 1993; Philo & Kearns, 1993; Kavaratzis, 2008). It is a post-modern logic of greater global interdependence that, despite the cooperation experiences at several geographic scales, from the networks of small places that try to assert in the tourism market until wider and broader cooperations, like the European Union, leads the places to a strategic placement to reach greater centrality and a stronger polarization (Rainisto, 2003). This proactive positioning is important due to

the instability of the relative positioning of the places and the lack of resources, mainly in counter-cycle of economic growth, a context that confers territorial marketing an important instrumental value of conditioning the future (Florida, 2008). Following (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2005) but also (Avraham & Ketter, 2008), the image is important, especially for the fast reproduction and intertextual broadcast of positive or negative references to places, crossing visual representation with text and sound, photography with cinema, paper with digital. This diffusion affects the perception one has from space and, despite the non-passivity of audiences, conditions behaviours, mainly of agents that are fluid and sensitive to circumstances, like tourists. In this process of (re)build-diffusion of images, it is important the intensity of that image, which depends of the fact that the place is more or less known, but it is also relevant its diversity, i.e., if the place is associated with many or few parameters, and if that geographic space is only associated with one vector, many times stereotyped, or if on the other hand, this place has a strong and diverse image, like it is the case of the main urban centres of the World Metropolitan Archipelago.

It is in this context that *World Music*, by its multiterritoriality, for the way it reproduces in the network of cultural industries, projects itself in this era of digital information and, despites its hybrid and contact origin, it bonds to certain geographic spaces, interferes in (re) building the image of places and, with that, in their territorial marketing. This fact is due to the association of music and other languages like cinema, literature, tourism promotion publications, travel guides, photography and circulation through channels like the internet, cinema, press, CD ROM/DVD or television. *World Music* is, therefore, a factor of attractiveness to tourism flows that, in different contexts, seek symbols of identification of the place, expressions of culture and diversity.

This attractiveness can go through formulas like festivals, meetings of the diversity of the world that take place in a fairly regular way in different parts of the world and that, in those occasions, create attractiveness and Project the name of those foster places. Sometimes these festivals are associated to brands like *WOMAD*, *World Music Arts and Dance*, an event created by Peter Gabriel, Thomas Brooman and Bob Hooton that includes a diversified program of representation of music with origin in different parts of the world. The first festival took place in 1982, in England, but since then this formula expanded in countries like Denmark, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Abu Dhabi or New Zealand.

In an internet search through the search engine Google, crossing words like *World Music* and *Tourism*³, there are various references like the *Sarawak Rain Forest World Music Festival*. These events, organized and divulged by a Malaysian tourism department, were presented like a poster that gave touristic centrality to Malaysia, like in different places occurred with the *Edge of the World Music Festival*, taking place in British Columbia (Canada); the *World Music Festival* in Weissstein, Switzerland or even the 5th 'Nebo' *Zagreb Festival of World Music* in Croatia. In the website of the World Tourism Forum it was still mentioned the *Tel Aviv World Music Festival*, an event that, besides the touristic interest, would also bridge between the Jewish and Islamic worlds, fact that reinforces the association of this event to others like the *Desert Festival* in Essakane, an Islamic music festival in Mali. In this brief search it was interesting, in the *World Music Central* website, the reference to the Sinhalese musician Alston Koch, as an important ambassador of the touristic image of Sri Lanka, despite this artist having emigrated to Australia in 1969. In the same way, the *Ghana Business*

³ In this brief content analysis, it were searched on June 10th 2009, the first 20 sites identified in Google after a search with the words "World Music+Tourism". It were used the terms in English not only because the websites are in this language, fact that does not stop the search in other languages but does not contaminates the goals of this search that is used, in this text, merely as illustrative example.

News website, the Ministry of Tourism of that African country assumes the culture in general and music in particular as important factors of promotion abroad of Ghana's attractiveness and image, mainly for the fact that the future does not point towards mass tourism, but for niche flows, like the case of the *music tourism*. This was the theme searched in the website of the www.songlines.co.uk website, which dedicated wide attention to the subject: to this specialized publication, instruments like the kora should be heard in the place of origin (in this case, Mali), as well as the tango should be felt in Buenos Aires or the flamenco in Andalucía. So, this magazine created, in a partnership with a travel agency, the called *Songlines Music Travel*, a service for support to the trip through music, an option of, like it mentions, "*music trips for music lovers worldwide, bringing you the excitement of real music directly where it's made*". In this service there are divulged programs like *Lisbon – Fado Fever*; *Morocco – The Gnawa and World Music Festival*, in Essaouira; *Cape Verde – Baia das Gatas Festival*; *Mali – The Beating Heart of the Mande Empire*; *Buenos Aires – Get Tangoed* or even *Serbia – Guca Brass Band Festival*.

Still about the association of ethnic music festivals with the promotion of the touristic image of places, one should highlight a Malaysian tourism site that informed about a forum that got together journalists, radio and television producers and tourism businessman of several countries with local authorities, in the scope of the *Rain Forest World Music Festival*, in order to promote the image of attractiveness of the country. This event parallel to the music festival takes an importance of indirect promotion of the tourism image of a place, mainly from the public opinion making elites, a strategy already mentioned by (Avraham & Ketter, 2008). Still in this scope, the *CSM Communications* website, a documentary and other television contents producer, informed about the *World Music Initiative*. In this project, the company would organize a set of *World Music* festivals in countries like Cape Verde, Madagascar or Mongolia, creating an event of touristic attraction and reinforcement of the global image of each place ("*ventures that bring tourism, investment and media attention to the host country*"), recording and reproducing in different languages and broadcast means, like documentaries and video clips.

Indeed, ethnic music, for its multiterritoriality, gained space as factor of statement of places that, in global competition for visibility, seek to capture tourism niches of music fans. This flows of enthusiasts follows specific music genres in cultural landscapes with a strong image like Irish folk music in places like the Temple Bar in Dublin; or creates specific routes of festivals, many times associated to brands like WOMAD, that are meeting points of sound diversity at a global scale. In one way or another, *World Music* is a statement camp of cultural industries that, in an intertextual logic of crossing sound and image, reinforce the image of place where music is created and/or represented in certain events. It is certain that, with this broadcast, there is the risk of simplifying the image: the presence of the place in the exterior market in reinforced but that image can be simplified. However, in this global game of competition, music is one more factor of statement of the geographic relevance of places, a statement of difference, of the exclusive, but also of the exotic and this, in the current context, has a wide market.

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